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STONE MEN OF MALEKULA

VAO

By

JOHN LAYARD, M.A.
(*Cantab. and Oxon.*)

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*

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To the memory of

DR. W. H. R. RIVERS

who once told me that he would

like to have inscribed on his tomb-

stone the words

"He made ethnology a science"

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PREFACE

THIS volume is the first of a series giving the results of work carried out in the years 1914 and 1915 in the Small Islands off the north-east coast of Malekula in the New Hebrides, one of the chain of Melanesian archipelagos stretching from New Guinea to Fiji and lying roughly parallel to the north-east coast of Australia at a distance of some 1000 miles. I had intended to make a longer stay, but the Great War intervened, and since then a number of circumstances have combined to prevent earlier publication. Choice of the Small Islands as a useful place to carry out field-work was due partly to the fact that a previously planned expedition to New Guinea in company with Dr. Haddon had fallen through, and partly to the influence of the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, who had just finished his *History of Melanesian Society* and wished to take the opportunity afforded by the meeting of the British Association in Australia in the summer of 1914, which we both attended, to continue the study of Melanesia, and asked me to go with him. At that time great interest was being aroused by theories of megalithic migration into the Pacific. Codrington had already called attention to the stone-work on Gaua in the Banks Islands. Though the culture responsible for the erection of those monuments had long disappeared, new evidence had, however, just come to light of a living megalithic culture through the publication by Dr. (now Professor) Felix Speiser of the results of an expedition to the Northern New Hebrides, where he recorded the existence of numerous megalithic monuments such as dolmens and monoliths still being erected by the natives in the course of their rites.

One of the chief centres of this megalithic culture was the group of small coral islets called the Small Islands already mentioned. It was therefore to these that, with the kind assistance of Mr. (later Sir) Merton King, then Resident Commissioner, Rivers and I eventually made our way. Rivers, however, after staying about a week, left for a Mission station on the island of Tangoa off the south coast of Santo, and I never saw him again in the islands save for a brief meeting on his way home. I stayed behind on one of the Small Islands called Atchin, where my chief field-work was carried out.

It soon became clear that the culture of these islands was far from simple, and that, on account of their situation midway between two main cultural areas, as well as of their favourable climatic position, they were a meeting-place where much culture contact had occurred, and was indeed still taking place. The instability resulting from this contact showed itself most clearly with regard to the two main elements of culture in these islands, namely in the matter of kinship, in which considerable changes were taking place, leading to not infrequent wars

on account of new influences affecting the regulation of marriage, and above all in the megalithic ritual, new forms of which were constantly being acquired from further south.

Expeditions to other islands confirmed this initial impression of a northward movement of culture, and it was for this reason that, as part of an effort to establish a historical sequence of cultures, I turned my attention to the most northerly islet of this group, namely Vao. There I found an earlier form of kinship structure in which, despite the uniformly patrilocal nature of all Small Island culture, the matrilineal element received more overt expression than in those islets further south where patrilineal influence is being constantly reinforced by the same cultural drift as is responsible for the new forms of megalithic ritual. The same matrilineal element also dominated the mortuary rites, showing that these also belonged to an older layer of culture than those in the remaining Small Islands. It is for this reason that, despite the fact that my main field-work was carried out on Atchin, I propose to devote this first volume to Vao in order to supply a firm historical basis for the accounts to be given in later volumes of the more recent developments of megalithic culture in this region.

For hospitality during my visits to Vao, where I did not, as on Atchin, live in native quarters, I am indebted to the kindness and real friendship of Père Jamond of the Marist Mission, at that time Roman Catholic priest on that island, where he had lived alone for over nine years. Our first meeting had been one of unveiled hostility on his part, since he had heard exaggerated accounts of my performances in native dances on Atchin, of which he severely disapproved. But once that little difficulty had been overcome and he recognised a fellow-student of native culture, our friendship quickly ripened, and he was indeed the only white man in the islands with whom I felt I could speak about native matters on equal terms. He was a keen philologist, spoke Vao well (which he described as being "*aussi beau que le français*"), and had compiled a considerable dictionary of the language. His flock, however, was small, consisting for the most part of a few old men and young children, and the majority of the population was quite untouched by Mission influence, the natives of all the Small Islands having at that time, despite the presence of Missions of several denominations, for the most part definitely turned their faces against any form of Christianity. Nevertheless, owing to his humour and understanding and quite obvious sincerity, the natives regarded him with affection, and in cases of trouble with white men, not only the natives of Vao but even those from other islands ostensibly belonging to other Missions often sought his aid.

While fully conscious of the pitfalls attending a comparatively short stay under such conditions, these were, however, considerably minimised by the fact that, as known to the Vao natives, I had lived half a year

on Atchin, where I had become familiar with many of the problems involved, and was thus primed with a knowledge of the general outlines of Vao culture before ever I set foot on the island. In the second place, I was already known personally to many of the Vao natives who intermarry with Atchin. In the third place, I had the good fortune to meet immediately with a first-class informant, Ma-taru, a man in the prime of life, who had once been a member of a Presbyterian Mission school but had renounced Christianity and had returned to Vao in order to rebuild the fortunes of his family by an intensive prosecution of megalithic ritual. This man was descended from the former inhabitants of the now submerged island of Tolamp which once flourished between Atchin and Vao, who, owing to historical circumstances to be recounted below, hold a privileged position in the cycle of megalithic rites. His information was therefore of the highest value. Not having time to learn the language of Vao, which is different from that of Atchin though the two islands are only three miles apart, my work with him was carried out in pidgin-English supplemented by comparisons with Atchin, which I spoke sufficiently well by that time to serve as a useful check. On matters of tribal history and kinship his information was supplemented by interviews with Pelur, one of the leading men on Vao, whose photograph appears on Plates V and VIII, who knew no pidgin-English and for whom Ma-taru acted as interpreter. Added to this was the fact that I had evolved a highly efficient technique of recording and cross-referencing which was the admiration of the natives, who believed therefore that anything I had once learnt I never forgot.

It had been my original intention to include in this introductory volume only the information thus recorded, together with a survey of Small Island culture as a whole in order to place it in its proper setting. When I had already started preparing this material for publication, however, my attention was called to an account of certain aspects of Vao ritual that had appeared in *Les Missions Catholiques*, a French Mission journal, from the pen of the Rev. Jean Godefroy, S.M., who had succeeded Père Jamond after my visit as Marist priest on Vao. Perusal of this showed it to be of great value, particularly since the aspects of Vao culture that it dealt with were in the main other than those that I had myself investigated. At the same time, where his information coincided with mine he showed such a high degree of accuracy and understanding of the problems that I had every confidence that those parts of his work that I was myself not able to check were equally reliable. It was therefore with the greatest regret that I read, half-way through the serial publication of his work, that Père Godefroy had died from elephantiasis in Vila after a vain trip to Europe to re-establish his health. Nevertheless, being desirous to make my own volume on Vao as complete as

possible, I wrote to the editor of *Les Missions Catholiques* for permission to translate and include in this work all relevant portions of Père Godefroy's account. This permission was most kindly granted, and I was further referred to the Rev. Eugène Courtais, of the *Missions d'Océanie*, who had himself spent many years in the New Hebrides and who was good enough to send me a revised edition of Père Godefroy's work re-edited by the Rev. Père A. Landès, S.M., that had just appeared in book form under the title *Une tribu tombée de la lune*, the same as that used for Godefroy's original publication, and referring to the native belief that children are begotten by the creator deity Ta-ghar on the moon, whence they descend into their mothers' wombs. The Rev. Eugène Courtais was at the same time good enough to put me in touch with Père Godefroy's brother, Monsieur l'Abbé A. Godefroy, *Aumônier des Servantes du Saint Sacrement* at Angers, who had the generosity to enter into a detailed correspondence with me regarding his brother's work, and to send me copies of letters he had written home containing further information about the natives. He also indicated to me the original text of his brother's account that had appeared, before either of the publications just mentioned, in the *Bulletin trimestriel de l'Association Amicale des anciens élèves*, published by the *Institution Libre de Combrée* at which Père Godefroy had received part of his training. This, he told me, was the only reliable text reproducing word for word what his brother had written. I therefore applied once more for permission to use this text rather than the others as the basis for my translation. This was generously accorded to me by Monsieur l'Abbé Joseph Pinier, *Chanoine Honoraire* and *Supérieur de l'Institution Libre de Combrée*, and in the present volume it is from this text only, and from the letters, that all translations and quotations from Père Jean Godefroy's work have been made. To these reverend gentlemen, all of whom have extended to me the utmost courtesy, I wish here to express my respect and to tender my sincere thanks.

As to Père Godefroy himself, I hope this work will assist in keeping alive the memory of a remarkable man whose devotion to his Mission, which incidentally cost him his life, was equalled by an abundant sense of humour. Coupled with these, he possessed the spirit of a true mystic, which led him, though not actually becoming a member of the Carmelite Order, to practise many of its injunctions, and it was doubtless this quality that gave him the insight he had regarding the spiritual life of the natives. In particular, he is the only white man known to me to have appreciated the character of the megalithic ritual in these islands, despite the great elaboration of its rites and the many other uses to which it has been put, as essentially a "mystery" in the sense in which the Church uses this word. This point of view agrees with my own conclusion that this ritual is comparable with the mysteries of classical

antiquity. It is an interesting fact, however, that, though Godefroy spoke of this ritual in conversation, no accounts of it are included in his written work. Whether this was because he felt too deeply about it, as his brother suggests, or whether on account of his faith (for the same reason that is said to have led a member of the Anglican Mission to tear up his manuscript concerning the Banks Islands secret societies owing to their similarity with masonic rites) I am unable to say. It is none the less to be regretted that my own account of the chief megalithic rite called Maki, which was the chief subject of my study on Vao, stands alone in its complexity without the added illumination that the professed mystic might have shed on its more recondite meaning. Who knows that Père Godefroy may not himself have had a certain conflict in destroying what he so much admired, for when his mission on Vao came to an end he claimed to have converted a third of the population to Christianity.[1]

It remains for me in this Preface gratefully to acknowledge the receipt of the funds that have enabled this work to be prepared, and to thank those working along similar lines who have assisted in other ways. The field-work was carried out with the aid of a grant from the Wort's Fund supplemented by a small contribution from the funds of the British Association. Preparation for publication has been generously assisted by grants from the Leverhulme Trustees and from the Electors to the Wyse Studentship in Social Anthropology.

Among anthropologists I have to thank Dr. A. C. Haddon for my first introduction to anthropology, for his untiring interest and help, and perhaps above all for his patience in awaiting the long-delayed publication of this first volume; Professor C. G. Seligman for his encouragement and assistance in many respects; Professor Radcliffe-Brown for kindly reading and criticising some of the sections on kinship; Dr. W. J. Perry and the late Professor Sir Grafton Elliot Smith for their contribution to our knowledge of the distribution of megalithic culture and some of the forces that gave rise to it, and their consequent interest in this work; the late Professor A. M. Hocart for criticism, and above all for his clarity of thought with regard to the organic growth and morphology of social structure; and, last but not least, the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers for introducing me to Melanesia, and whose contributions to anthropology, despite certain weaknesses of which he was well aware, will outlive much of the criticism that has recently been levelled against him.

Finally, no work on the natives of Malekula would be complete

[1] For further information regarding Père Godefroy and his Mission, see the obituary notice in the *Bulletin* mentioned above (of which the full title is to be found in the List of Authors Quoted under Godefroy, 1), dated October 20th, 1933, pp. 202 ff., and the biography by Claude Renaudy entitled *Seul chez les Canaques*.

without tribute to the memory of the late Bernard Deacon, through whose death in South-West Bay, under circumstances that have not yet been fully cleared up, anthropology has lost one of its finest workers. Deacon had read through most of my field-notes before going to Malekula, and it was on my recommendation that he went to South-West Bay. His work on this and other parts of Malekula, published posthumously by Miss Camilla Wedgwood, is a model of scientific observation of an unusually understanding kind, and his discovery of a 6-section system of kinship on the neighbouring island of Ambrim was a landmark in the history of anthropology and has, as such, been used as the basis for the discussion of kinship in this volume. I wish to take this opportunity of expressing the great admiration I feel for him not only as a scientific investigator but also as a man, and at the same time to thank his editor for her great service in undertaking the difficult task of preparing his field-notes for publication.

With regard to the publication of the present volume, acknowledgments are due also to Professor Felix Speiser for permission to reproduce Plates IV 2, VI, VII, X 3 and 4, XVI 2, XIX and Map V; to the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute for permission to reproduce Plate X 1 and 2, and Figs. 61, 62, 63, 85; to Messrs. Kegan Paul for kindly allowing me to quote certain passages from my article on *The Journey of the Dead from the Small Islands of North-Eastern Malekula*, published among the *Essays presented to C. G. Seligman* in 1934, and to reproduce Fig. 86; to Dr. Gerhard Adler for suggestions regarding the first chapter on Initiation; and to Mr. Tom Harrisson for many stimulating conversations regarding certain aspects of Malekulan culture, and for his contribution contained in the Appendix on the ritual importance of birds. His book *Savage Civilisation* also removes the need to expose some of the grosser effects of European immigration into these islands.

Others to whom I wish to express gratitude for their assistance in the preparation of the manuscript are : Mrs. Lola Brook for compiling from my field-notes a preliminary vocabulary of native words, chiefly in the language of Atchin, with additions from Vao and other Small Islands, and Miss Muriel Campbell for making a subject-index of my material from all these islands. Both these compilations have not only assisted the preparation of the present volume but will serve also for future volumes on the Small Islands of Atchin and Wala. The former, combined with a considerable number of tales transcribed in the language of Atchin, has served also to provide Dr. A. Capell with the material from which he has compiled a grammar and comparative dictionary of the Atchin language, which, together with notes on other Malekulan languages, still awaits publication. Dr. Capell has also kindly made a number of observations regarding the Vao language which will be found throughout this volume and in the Glossary at the

end. For further devoted help in the writing of this volume I have to thank my wife, who has also assisted in reading the proofs. Mrs. Meinhard has been responsible for the Index. I wish also to express my very warm appreciation for the generous way in which Messrs. Chatto and Windus have produced this volume, and to the printers my admiration for their skill in dealing with the figures and for the accuracy with which they have reproduced so many unfamiliar native terms.

PART I

Introduction

CHAPTER I

OUTLINE OF CULTURE IN MALEKULA

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

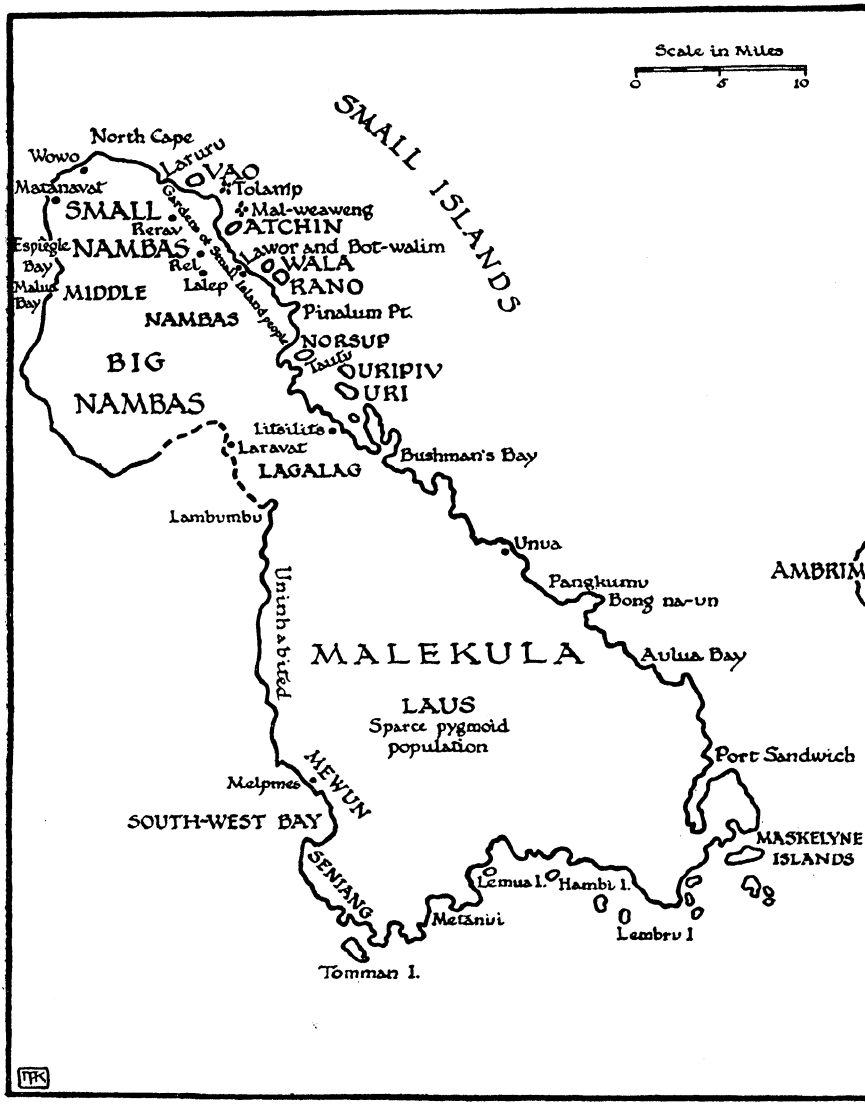
THE islands of the New Hebrides form a long archipelago stretching for about 400 miles from north to south between the 165th and 170th parallels of South Latitude and the 13th and 20th degrees of West Longitude, about midway between the Solomon Islands and Fiji, and flanked on the south-west by the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia.

The southern islands of this archipelago are few and far between. In the centre is the island of Fate, with Vila, the port of call. Close by, on small islets, are two Polynesian-speaking communities whose ancestors are thought to have drifted over from Polynesia in comparatively recent times, but which have not greatly affected the culture of their neighbours. Some fifty miles northward of Fate the archipelago divides, one branch going due north and the other north-west. The nodal point where these two branches divide is a volcanic area containing two active craters, one on the small island of Lopevi consisting of a single volcano rising sheer from the sea, and the other on the larger island of Ambrim where, in 1913, a whole Mission station was engulfed in an eruption. Westward of this lies the southern portion of Malekula, an island sixty miles long, forming the base of the north-westerly branch of the archipelago. Off its south-eastern coast lie the Maskelyne Islands, and at the western extremity of its southern coastline is South-West Bay, where Deacon did most of his field-work. It is from this southern and south-western region of Malekula that the artificially elongated skulls found in so many museums have been acquired, cranial deformation not being practised in the more northerly regions of the island. It is here also that exists the elaborate mortuary ritual during the course of which these skulls are mounted on wooden effigies and preserved in the men's houses.

Very different from the relative isolation of South Malekula is the situation of the Small Islands that lie off its north-eastern coast. They are in the fortunate position of facing inwards towards the comparatively enclosed inland sea bounded on the south by Ambrim, on the east by Raga[1] which stretches due north of Ambrim, on the north-east by Oba, and on the north-west by Malo and the largest island of the group called Santo. The islands that bound this inland sea, together with Maewo[2]

[1] Also called Pentecost.

[2] Also called Aurora.



MAP I

Sketch-map of Malekula.

which lies due north of Raga, constituted for the Small Islanders, before the coming of the white man, the utmost limits of the world. Each had, and still has in their eyes, its special character.

Thus, Ambrim is first and foremost the home of the dead of high rank, who, wandering from the Small Islands down the east coast of Malekula, are transported by a ghostly ferryman to the opposite shore, whence they climb on to the volcano and there carry on life after death. This island (among the natives inhabiting whose shores Deacon discovered the 6-section systems of kinship already mentioned) forms part of the predominately patrilineal area to which Malekula and the Small Islands also belong. In this area, though matrilineal descent is given due weight, the overt organisation is patrilineal with patrilocal residence, that is to say that all men remain within their father's village and marry women from other villages. To this patrilineal area belongs also the southern part of Raga regarding which Père Tattevin has written an important memoir. These islands of Malekula and Ambrim, together with the southern part of Raga, are collectively referred to as the North-Central New Hebrides.

Immediately to the north are the Northern New Hebrides, in all of which overt descent is matrilineal, and in which society is based on what is called a dual organisation consisting of two exogamous matrilineal moieties. This division between an overtly patrilineal area in the south and a matrilineal dual organisation area in the north embraces both branches of the archipelago, the dividing line running due east and west between Malo and Malekula on the one hand and across the middle of Raga on the other. In the minds of the Small Islanders the dual organisation is particularly connected with the islands to the north-east, namely North Raga, Oba and Maewo, all of which are also regarded as the home of the creator-deity known in the Northern New Hebrides as Tagaro and in Vao as Ta-ghar. Particularly is this the case with regard to Oba, to which special pilgrimages are made for the sake of initiation into sex, and which white men have called Lepers Island on account of the light, almost Polynesian coloured skin of its inhabitants.

To the north-west lie Malo and the large island of Santo with its very mixed population, who, though also in the dual organisation area, by no means share the reverential attitude accorded to the inhabitants of the north-eastern islands and are visited chiefly on account of the turmeric which they produce and which is used by the Small Islanders as a basic dye for their few articles of clothing. Students of European colonial expansion will remember that the full name of Santo is Terra Australis del Espiritu Santo, so called by Quiros when in 1606 he, the first white man to sight it, landed to found New Jerusalem on a site now entirely lost.

Northward of the New Hebrides lie the two small archipelagos called the Banks and Torres Islands, which are beyond the ken of the

Small Islanders. These islands also form part of the dual organisation area, and were the seat of Codrington's main work. Northward of these, with a gap of some 150 miles, are the Santa Cruz Islands, famous for their feather money, some 200 miles to the westward of which lies San Christoval, the most southerly of the large Solomon Islands, whence it would be possible to reach the Asiatic continent without once losing sight of land.

Seasons.

The climate of the New Hebrides is one of the least variable in the world, leading, among other interesting results, to the fact that there is no regular breeding-season for birds, each species having adapted its life-cycle differently to conditions which allow of breeding at almost any time of the year.[1] Being somewhat aside from the main track of cyclones, it is on the whole rather less unhealthy than most parts of Melanesia. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the climate is uniformly moist and rain may fall any day of the year, two main seasons are sufficiently clearly marked off to have an important bearing on the economic and ritual life of the natives. The first coincides with the south-east trade wind that blows from about the middle of May till the end of October, with July as the coolest month, which, under favourable circumstances, somewhat resembles high summer in England. During these months, when there is almost always a cool breeze and sea and sky dazzle in the sunlight, the islands are comparatively free from malaria and the white man is grateful for a blanket at night. These are also for the natives of the Small Islands the months of plenty, during which the main yam crops are dug up and harvested, and during which most of the elaborate ritual activities take place. Towards the end of this season the marine annelid which white men call *palolo* appears during the night at certain phases of the moon. This phenomenon, heralded by the flowering of the erythrina tree in July, is eagerly watched for by the natives at certain stages of the moon's cycle during August and September, and its chief appearance on the twentieth night of the October-November moon is also the time when the dead return to visit the living, and marks the beginning of the New Year.[2]

This also marks the end of the comparatively cool, dry season. Now the prevailing wind veers round to the north-west, bringing with it a sultry equatorial heat. Clouds cover the sky, though still with intervals of brilliant sunshine, till in December squalls become frequent, continuing throughout January and culminating in February in the nearest approach to cyclones which these islands experience. This is also as a rule the hottest month of the year, and that in which fever and diseases are apt

[1] See the works of Dr. John Baker and Mr. T. H. Harrisson.

[2] The word *palolo* is probably of Samoan origin. Much misconception exists among white men regarding the appearance of this annelid. A detailed description of its various appearances and of its influence on the native calendar will be given in a future volume on Atchin.

to be most prevalent. Rain-storms and cloud continue to alternate with brilliant periods throughout March and April, till in May the pleasant season of trade winds once more begins.

Under these humid conditions the west coasts of all the larger islands suffer the most, the east coasts being more open to the refreshing trades. Most favourably situated of all are the Small Islands, which are among the most pleasant spots in the whole archipelago. Here the temperature rarely rises above 95° Fahrenheit, even in the hot weather, and though the moisture makes this feel much hotter than a similar temperature in a dry climate, the nights are nearly always cool.

Geology.

While the geological composition of the larger islands of the group varies and most are mountainous, the highest peak in Santo rising to a height of some 4500 feet, there is little doubt that the whole group owes its position above the surface of the ocean to volcanic action. There is on many islands, including Malekula, evidence that this action has taken place in abrupt stages, seen in the coral terraces that rise in giant steps, clothed in thick jungle, up the mountain-sides, each representing a sudden elevation of the land. Though this has doubtless been the general trend, contrary cases of submergence are also on record, such as that of two reefs situated between Atchin and Vao which formerly were populous islands, the story of whose submergence is told below.[1]

Except in the case of a few well-populated coral islets, however, all minor natural features are obscured from observation by a uniform mass of dark green bush formed of huge trees and tangled undergrowth coming right down to the shore of the larger islands, relieved only in some cases, as in North Malekula, by the light green of the bamboo groves capping the mountains which rise behind. Here and there, if one approaches closer, small groves of coconut trees close to the coast mark the presence of human habitation. But, owing to the necessity of sheltering their dwellings from the hurricanes, it is rare that any house is ever visible from the sea. Save for the meeting of an occasional canoe, however thickly the land may be populated, the only sign of life visible from a boat is in the season for burning the bush for new gardens, when tall columns of smoke may be seen from the interior climbing up into the still air. In most places, also, the coast is fringed with coral reefs, making approach dangerous except by means of the few channels carved through them by the fresh water from some mountain stream.

Fauna.

On the other hand, though the sea abounds with sharks and certain low-lying areas are infested with mosquitoes and fever, no native need

[1] See Chapter XXII.

have any fear of beasts. For, with the exception of man himself, the dog and pig which he has brought, the rat which came in his rafts or canoes, and the fruit bats that may have arrived nestling among his provisions, no mammals of any kind have reached these islands from the land-masses where they evolved. Thus, the native lives free from the fear of animals, or of anything worse than the climate, the mosquitoes, the hurricanes which sometimes spoil his crops or wreck his canoes; and the only living things he is ever called on to defend himself against are other men, as will be seen in the chapter on Warfare. Even the snakes are harmless—although the fear of them is great, owing largely to psychological causes taken advantage of by certain magicians said to have power to change themselves into these creatures, and possibly partly also to a racial memory of continental origin where snakes are physically harmful.

DISTRICTS OF MALEKULA

The origin of the name Malekula is obscure. Though now used by those of the younger natives who have been on plantations and speak pidgin-English, there is no known native dialect to which it belongs. Dr. Ivens suggests that the first half of the word, which corresponds with that of Malaita in the Solomon Islands, means simply "people," and points out that in both islands overt descent is patrilineal, while their neighbours are for the most part matrilineal.[1] However this may be, no natives of any part of Malekula today possess any name for the whole island. This may be due partly to the restricted nature of their geographical knowledge,[2] but may also be attributed to the complete lack of any cohesion, either political or linguistic, or even racial, of the innumerable small groups that form its scattered population.

It is not my intention to attempt here any but the briefest survey of the cultures of Malekula, an island with an area of about 780 square miles (that is to say about half the size of Cornwall, which it resembles somewhat in shape), where, apart from other cultural differences, the languages are so numerous that each group of villages speaks a distinct dialect of its own sufficiently different from that of its neighbours that a journey of three miles often takes one into an entirely distinct linguistic area. So unknown are most parts of Malekula still today, and so intricate the mountain ranges that intersect it, that few parts of the interior have even been visited by a white man, and almost the whole of our very limited knowledge of it is confined to a few of the coastal districts.

[1] Ivens, 5, p. 20.

[2] This statement may seem strange in view of the existence of sea-going canoes. It is a fact, however, that in spite of their voyages to other islands over what I have termed the inland sea, not even traditions exist of any Small Island canoe having ever sailed round Malekula.

Pygmoids in the mountains.

Among this medley of small communities, each having contact only with its immediate neighbours, there are nevertheless certain broad distinctions to be drawn.

First among these is the definite racial distinction between the coastal peoples as a whole, including those inhabiting the northern plateau, all of whom share certain physical characteristics in common, and the small, almost pygmoid inhabitants of the mountainous interior of South Malekula who represent the last remnants of an earlier racial stock similar to that found also in the interior of certain other of the larger land-masses in the Western Pacific. Though some of these occasionally come down to the coast at South-West Bay and other spots, practically nothing is known about them.

"Mat-skirt" and "Fringe-skirt."

Among the remaining inhabitants of the island Deacon drew a broad distinction between what he termed the "mat-skirt" people and the "fringe-skirt" people, based on the different types of dress worn by the women.[1] The mat-skirt is a plaited strip made of split pandanus leaves worn round the buttocks with short lengths left unplaited at either end which, when worn, are gathered together in front. It is invariably dyed red, and often decorated with geometric patterns coloured a faint yellow on account of the turmeric bath in which the mats are soaked before applying the red dye, these being bound round a stick during the dyeing process in such a way as to form the desired pattern by preventing the red dye from reaching the parts so bound.[2] The fringe-skirt is, on the other hand, a short petticoat made of shredded banana leaves or numerous pieces of finely twisted string undyed and hanging loosely about the loins. The mat-skirt is worn, with one exception, by the women of all the coastal peoples, and of those inhabiting the northern and southern extremities of the island, among all of whom the men wear a penis-wrapper made of similar material. The fringe-skirt is worn by the women of one coastal district only, namely Mewun, immediately to the north of South-West Bay, and is also the characteristic female dress of those tribes inhabiting the interior of Central Malekula. These two types of dress correspond also with an important cultural distinction, the use of the mat-skirt being definitely correlated with the megalithic culture practised by all the mat-skirt people but not by the fringe-skirted inhabitants of the interior. While it is true that the inhabitants of Mewun already mentioned, whose women wear the fringe-skirt, also perform megalithic rites, these latter have only been adopted by them during recent years. The same also applies to the neighbouring island of Ambrim, where a similar state of

[1] Deacon, 4, pp. 702 ff.

[2] This process is technically known as "reserved dyeing."

affairs exists, and where the megalithic ritual is also known to have been introduced comparatively lately from Malekula.

"Mat-skirt": Four main cultural areas.

Confining ourselves now to the mat-skirt region, while Deacon mentions some fifteen cultural areas, each containing numerous sub-divisions speaking distinct dialects, he was nevertheless able to distinguish four main regions, each possessing certain outstanding characteristics not found in the others.[1] These are, with my own additions from the ritual point of view:

(*a*) The south coast from slightly north of Port Sandwich in the east right round to South-West Bay, including the Maskelyne Islands on the south-east and Tomman Island on the south-west. This region is best known for the practice of artificially elongating the head and of preserving the skull, which is then modelled with clay and fibre to resemble the dead man's face while yet alive, and mounted on a wooden effigy representing the body, which is then decorated with all the insignia acquired by the dead man during his lifetime and preserved in the men's Lodge. In this region comparatively little stonework is set up during the rites, this being confined to the erection of monoliths, some plain but some carved with representations of the human face, and of small stone circles surrounding some of the cycas palms and other small trees ritually planted. On the other hand, the number of ranks taken during the graded society ritual associated with these monuments is very high, amounting in some places to over thirty. The coastal inhabitants of this southern region formerly possessed large sea-going canoes, and those in the south-west believe in a group of mythological culture-heroes who in the district of Seniang are called Ambat and are there said to have had light skins and prominent noses, and after founding certain institutions to have sailed away. In the neighbouring district of Mewun, however, the corresponding Kabat, whose megalithic tomb is referred to later, is said to have had two sons who in turn procreated ten stones whose sons became the ancestors of the ten sub-clans in this village.[2]

(*b*) The northern head of the island, in which the dominating tribe is that of the Big Nambas, so called on account of the exceptionally large size of the penis-wrapper which the men wear.[3] This is the most homogeneous tribe of the whole island, and the only one having hereditary chiefs and among whom kava is drunk. The inhabitants live in large fortified villages in striking contrast to the much smaller villages in most

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 15.

[2] See p. 706 and Deacon, 4, pp. 630-2. There is a slight confusion in this account as to the actual number of stones, which may have been twelve, thus corresponding with the twelve brothers in Banks Islands mythology.

[3] See p. 481.

other parts of the island, are very warlike and reputed to be particularly fierce cannibals, practise a form of circumcision in contrast to the lesser operation of incision performed by all other known Malekulan peoples, and are moreover notable for a system of organised homosexuality. Little is known regarding their ritual life save that they erect both monoliths and dolmens and that the number of ranks in the graded society is limited to four, two of which are the prerogative of the chiefly families. The Big Nambas themselves occupy the south-western corner of the plateau, the remaining part of this mountainous region being occupied by what Mr. Harrisson calls the Middle Nambas in the centre and the Small Nambas towards the north-west. The Big and Middle Nambas, being inland folk, possess no canoes.

(*c*) The tribes occupying the western side of the "neck" and north-central parts of Malekula, centering round the villages of Lambumbu and Laravat on the west coast and the district of Lagalag adjoining the trade-route that crosses the neck of the island where the mountains are least high. The megalithic culture of the two first villages is characterised by the erection of long avenues of monoliths, and that of the centre by stone monoliths arranged round circular dancing-grounds in such a way as to produce large stone circles. The number of accompanying ranks in the graded society is high, and it is known that the higher ranks in South-West Bay have been derived from Lambumbu, whence the paraphernalia for them was formerly taken in sea-going canoes past the uninhabited stretch of coastline between Lambumbu and Mewun.

(*d*) The Small Islands, including the east coast from Pangkumu northwards. Regarding the coastal villages little is known. The Small Islands, on the other hand, are conspicuous for their possession of the most highly organised megalithic culture in the whole group, as the most casual visitor setting foot on any village dancing-ground may see from the rows of dolmens, monoliths and stone-platforms that meet his eye. These islands also contrast with all other parts of Malekula in that, while in all other districts the ranks achieved in the megalithic ritual are taken by individuals, and in certain areas in the north-west some sections of the population are altogether debarred, in the Small Islands the whole population takes part in such a way that, though individual leaders rise to special heights in the hierarchy, all male members of the community also take rank in two groups, each group being composed of alternating generations in the male line of descent. These groups result from the presence in these islands of two matrilineal moieties, not found, so far as I know, elsewhere in Malekula, which are allied to similar matrilineal moieties forming the basis of the dual organisation in the Northern New Hebrides and the Banks Islands well known through the writings of Codrington and Rivers. These moieties exist also in Ambrim, where they form an essential part of the 6-section system of kinship in that

island already referred to,[1] and, through their co-existence with the overt patrilineal organisation shared by the Small Islands with Ambrim and with all parts of Malekula, have produced in the Small Islands also a sectional organisation not found elsewhere in Malekula. The result of this organisation on the megalithic ritual of the Small Islands is to divide the whole population of any given patrilocal village into the two groups already mentioned, each of which alternately performs the rite; and this rite is consequently of such a protracted nature that the cycle of ritual observances accompanying it takes almost a generation to perform, the minimum period in Vao being some fifteen years, followed by an interval of several more years before the resources of the community have sufficiently recovered for the other group composed of alternate generations in the male line to shoulder the responsibility of, and reap the honours due to, its repetition. In Atchin the minimum period is even longer, the ritual cycle there lasting about thirty years.

MEGALITHIC RITE CALLED MAKI

Main characteristics.

This main megalithic rite is in the Small Islands called *Maki*, and its counterpart throughout the whole mat-skirt area of Malekula is called by variants of the same word, of which the best known is *Mangki*,[2] as recorded by Deacon from South-West Bay. It is on the one hand a "mystery" in the sense outlined in the Preface, based, like all mysteries, on a ritual re-birth, of which the outward and visible signs are here the taking of a new name and lighting of a new fire on which, or from brands taken from it, the food for the re-born individual's sustenance must be cooked. As a rule, also, during the period immediately following the culminating act of re-birth the celebrant ritually becomes a child, in that for a minimum of thirty days he may not cook his own food nor leave the holy place where he has taken up his abode. During this period of spiritual as well as physical retirement, though his food may be cooked, with due precautions, by his wife, he abstains from sexual intercourse and observes many other taboos, one of the commonest of which is that he may not look on the sea. By these means he becomes at one also with the ancestral dead in whose footsteps through the observance of the rite he treads. The stone monuments he sets up are likewise erected not only for himself and, in the Small Islands, for all those who perform the rite with him, but also for those same ancestors who have performed it before him, and whose ghosts, together with his own after his death,

[1] See p. 5 and later on pp. 118 ff.

[2] In Deacon's posthumously published work this is referred to throughout as *Nimangki*, in which *ni-* is only the indefinite article and is therefore redundant. For other variants of this word see p. 692.

hover near them and are commemorated by them. Closely connected with this is the propitiatory aspect of the rite, which is at the same time a prophylactic against the wrath of all ancestors as constellated in the figure of a devouring Guardian Ghost. In the closely associated megalithic ritual in South Raga described by Tattevin,[1] those demanding special propitiation are the male representatives of the maternal line such as the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother, whose favoured position under the former system of matrilineal descent has been undermined and to a large extent overthrown by the system of overt patrilineal descent, that, coming from the south, is the dominating feature of the latest cultural wave to have overtaken this part of Melanesia and the distribution of which in the North-Central New Hebrides coincides very closely with that of the Maki. In this sense the Maki also is a kinship rite of the highest significance, and in its component sub-rites also includes the ritual payment of debts to a great number of living relatives, chief among whom are the mother's brother and the wife's father.

Coupled with this is the effort to achieve immortality implicit in the attempt to ward off the evil activities of the Guardian Ghost, who is an earthbound creature guarding the cave through which the ghost of the dead man must pass on his way to the Land of the Dead, and who will devour him if not duly propitiated by the lifelong performance of these rites, supported by sacrifices performed by the dead man's kinsman during the ritual carried out at his death, and by the further presentation of a gift by the ghost of the dead man himself. This effort to escape the annihilating influence of the grave and rise superior to earthly considerations is further expressed in the identification of each individual performing the rite with the mythical hawk who presides over the rites and whose image adorns the shrines built in honour of the ancestral ghosts as well as the place of retreat to which the celebrants retire after their ritual re-birth.

Every step in this ritual is further accompanied by singing and dancing of the most elaborate kind expressing the whole gamut of emotions, accompanied by rhythms played on an orchestra of slit gongs formed from tree trunks hollowed out by means of a longitudinal slit. These gongs, many feet higher than a man, are in Malekula planted upright in the ground, and are carved at the top to represent a face of which the upper end of the slit takes the place of the mouth. These gongs thus represent ancestors, and the sounds issuing from the slit when they are sounded are the ancestral voices urging and encouraging the living to dance themselves into that state of communal ecstasy that banishes personal affects and brings them into communion with collective forces passed on from the long line of those now dead, who have themselves performed these rites, to their representatives now living and dancing, and to the issue of these still to come.

[1] See p. 721.

Sacrificial tusked boars.

To achieve the results set out above, however, one more thing is necessary; for every one of these acts depends for its efficacy on, and derives its sanction from, what is possibly the most important item in the whole ritual, namely the sacrifice of tusked boars.

These boars are the most treasured possessions the natives have, and their ritual value lies exclusively in the artificial elongation of their tusks. This is brought about by knocking out the upper canines, so that each tusk, having nothing to bite on, curls upwards and back, re-enters the jaw, and, growing forward again inside the curve described by the tusk on its first outward passage, once more issues from the jaw and continues to grow till its tip is for the second time seen gleaming outside the animal's lip. It is then said to have described a complete circle, and is at this stage fit for the highest form of sacrifice. Every stage of growth up to this point has its special name as listed in Chapter X, and in the long cycle of rites connected not only with the Maki but with all of the numerous lesser ritual performances such as the mortuary rites, the consecration of a new Lodge or canoe, and on innumerable other ceremonial occasions, each act is accompanied by the sacrifice of a boar whose tusks have reached the appropriate stage. Under favourable circumstances and with great labour the tusks may be induced to describe two or even three complete circles. Such boars become famous, large fees are charged to any wishing to view them, and their sacrifice confers specially high rank on the fortunate and painstaking owner.

By means of such sacrifice the natives, in a witty but true phrase uttered by Godefroy, "spend their time in consecrating," and the most important objects they consecrate are themselves. For the main purpose of the enormous labour devoted to rearing these animals is the sacrifice of the Maki, when, after innumerable lesser sacrifices accompanying every step in the fifteen-year-long ritual, the chief tuskers are sacrificed on the dolmen and stone-platform which on Vao are the chief monuments erected, and 200 or more valuable animals are sacrificed on a single day, attached to long lines of small upright stones, some of which are the monoliths already mentioned. The efficacy of this sacrifice results from the fact that the sacrificial animals have themselves previously been consecrated through sacrifice of yet other boars, and have by this means become identified with the Guardian Ghost, and in the highest grades have been invested with a title similar to its own. At the moment of sacrifice the ghost of the boar passes into the sacrificer, who by this means himself becomes identified with this Being, and in this way builds up a power within him that he hopes will ensure him from being devoured when he dies. This sacrifice of tusked boars is said by the natives to replace the former sacrifice of human beings. In spite of the fact that human

sacrifice was still practised in the Small Islands on certain ritual occasions till put a stop to by the white man, and is still practised on the Malekulan mainland, this does not form part of the ritual of the Maki itself, which, by the substitution of tusked boars, is held by the natives to constitute the main force in their culture making for peace.

Details of the procedure accompanying the sacrifice of these animals will be given in later chapters. This brief summary of their ritual importance is given here only to explain the immense value attached to them and the amount of time and care spent in their rearing. Not only are they reared at home, however; for trade in pigs is also the chief motive for the voyages undertaken by the Small Islanders in their sea-going canoes to the distant islands of Oba and Raga to the east, to Malo in the north as well as southward to Ambrim and the east coast of Malekula.

Tusked boars are also used, while alive, as currency. For, despite the elaborate ritual life that goes on in these islands, the Malekulan, not excluding the Small Islander, is nothing if not commercially minded, driving hard bargains, exacting the highest possible price for his daughters from their suitors, lending pigs out on loan, receiving high fees for the performance of magical rites, cures and other services; and, above all, in one of the most interesting ways of amassing wealth, namely the institution of copyright by which new songs and dances and even new forms of ritual are passed on from one individual or community to another on payment of high prices in pigs regulated according to the elongation of their tusks, without which payment not even the smallest element of ritual or artistic culture may be acquired by those not having previously possessed it.

New forms of the rite introduced from Lawor and Bot-walim.

This custom in turn enormously enhances the commercial importance of prestige, and itself largely results from the extraordinary mixture of cultures existing in these islands. For it is a fact well known to the inhabitants of every Malekulan village that hardly a single element of megalithic culture is indigenous. Every village has its own stories of where such and such an element of culture came from, and in the Small Islands it is known for a considerable number of generations back precisely what individual "bought" it and from where.

I have already mentioned the acquiring of the highest ranks in the megalithic hierarchy in South-West Bay from the village of Lambumbu some twenty miles up the coast. For the Small Islands the centre of distribution of innumerable new forms of ritual during the past eight generations has been the two villages of Lawor and Bot-walim which formerly flourished on the Malekulan mainland opposite Wala, but are now extinct owing to the bloody fighting that resulted from the first

introduction of firearms to the natives by unscrupulous Whites, whereby the Small Islanders, who were the first to acquire these weapons, succeeded in exterminating almost the whole of the once numerous population inhabiting the villages on the adjacent Malekulan coast.[1] This tragedy, now bitterly regretted by the Small Islanders themselves, has prevented any further enquiry as to how these two villages themselves acquired the rites. I do not know the actual date of this extermination. It cannot, however, have occurred very long ago, and in the generations preceding it a mass of ritual practices emanating from these two villages had already been acquired by Wala, whence a great deal has since been acquired in turn by Atchin but only a certain amount by Vao, and that only by the villages on one side of this island. This is one of the reasons why, as stated in the Preface, I have chosen Vao as the subject for this first volume in order to establish the historical sequence of cultures on these islands. Where this megalithic culture came from it is not the business of this work to discuss, and, except as regards a few outstanding features, the historical aspect of the problem is not mentioned.

Genealogical records and their connexion with stone monuments.

One relevant fact must nevertheless be mentioned because of its effect on the natives' own outlook. This is the sense of historical continuity possessed by the natives of the Small Islands, in which they differ notably from any other known tribes in this part of Melanesia, and which is expressed and fostered by their extensive orally transmitted genealogical records. I have already called attention to the fact that the cycle of rites comprising one performance of the Maki lasts approximately a generation, and to the stone monuments erected during each such performance. These monuments are never removed, and remain as a perpetual memorial of those who set them up. Each such performance is moreover distinguished from all others by some outstanding feature by means of which those taking part in it hope to eclipse in magnificence all previous performances, either by the acquirement of some new form of ritual or in the grandeur of the stones erected or, most impressive of all, by the number of boars sacrificed and by their value in terms of the elongation of their tusks. It is as a rule in accordance with this latter form of emulation that each Maki performance is named, these names, such as "The Circle-Tusker" or "The Five Hundred," referring to the quality or number of boars sacrificed, being treasured by the natives of each village as part of the historical heritage enhancing their own prestige. Not only is each Maki remembered, however, but also the leading men who organised it and carried it through, by means of the monoliths erected and at which some of the chief tuskers are sacrificed. Details of these sacrifices are also remembered, since, with

[1] See p. 602.

the progressive increase in skill in the rearing of tuskers (another feature to be discussed later), these have on the whole improved in quality during each successive generation, and the memory of these improvements, resulting in ever greater curvature of the tusks, adds to the prestige of those who sacrificed them and also to that of their descendants. These facts, handed down from father to son, together with the ancestral stone monuments standing in every village dancing-ground, form a historical framework by the aid of which the natives of the Small Islands preserve a mass of information regarding their past history, and of the personalities and exploits of their ancestors. Since most of the facts so preserved are centred round the successive performances of the Maki, there can be no doubt at all that this historical sense is part and parcel of the megalithic culture it represents. There is also very little doubt that it is closely connected with patrilineal descent, for in Vao, where patrilineal descent has been comparatively recently introduced and the dolmen representing the female principle is still the chief monument erected, the genealogies do not go back more than nine generations. In Atchin, on the contrary, where patrilineal influence is stronger and monoliths representing the male principle have largely supplanted the former use of the dolmen as the chief sacrificial monument, they go back nineteen generations to the slaying by two brothers of an aboriginal man-eating ogre named Ias associated with an older layer of culture, memories of which still survive in South Raga, where legends are told of mythical baby-snatchers called *ias*, and the same word is used also as an honourable title for successful killers of men.[1] The two Atchin brothers said to have killed Ias nineteen generations ago were clearly the last representatives on this island of the former system of overt matrilineal descent, since their successor Iwas was their sister's son, and it was this man Iwas who introduced the existing system of overt patrilineal descent through which the inhabitants of the chief village on this now patrilocal island trace kinship with him, the youngest boy at the time of my visit belonging to the seventeenth generation of his descendants in the direct male line.

"STONE MEN"

The importance of monoliths in tracing descent is due almost certainly to the fact discussed on p. 699, that these monuments, now consisting of plain coral blocks, for the most part undressed, represent what at one time in the history of this culture were stone statues carved to represent the dead. Thus some of the monoliths erected for the higher ranks in the district of Seniang in South-West Bay (which in turn were derived,

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 409, 410; also 2, 1931, Tales XXIX, p. 879 and XXX, pp. 880-1. The same personage figures in the mythology of Oba as the man-eating ogre Taso (Codrington, 3, pp. 398-402).

as already stated, from Lambumbu, some twenty miles up the coast) are still carved to represent most parts of the human figure, while on those set up for some of the lower though still elevated ranks the carving is restricted to mere representations of the human face. This would explain the phenomenon already mentioned that is found all over Malekula, that the ghosts of all ancestors who have previously performed the rite inhabit or hover near these monoliths. This belief in the in-dwelling of the ghosts of the dead in stone, well known in many forms of megalithic culture, has, in Malekula and the surrounding islands, been extended in two directions. In the first place, any natural coral or stone block of unusually large dimensions or otherwise interesting appearance is apt to be indicated as the dwelling-place, or even the petrified person, of some mythical hero. This is particularly the case in those districts observing the later forms of Maki ritual in which monoliths are the chief type of monument erected. Thus on Atchin the Guardian Ghost, who, for reasons given below, is thought to be a woman, is conceived of in two different ways. In the first place, she is thought of as a culture-heroine who once lived on the island and, as such, is represented by a very ancient dressed monolith standing by the roadside at the site of what was once part of the chief village but which has since been abandoned, and by the side of this is another dressed monolith representing her daughter. In the second place, she is, however, thought of as the mythological Being already described who stands ready to devour the ghosts of the dead if not duly propitiated, and in this capacity is in the Atchin and Wala versions of the story [1] conceived of as dwelling in a great natural coral block standing on the reef forty miles away down the coast of Malekula at a spot whence the dead of all the Small Islands who have duly performed all the necessary rites take their departure to the Land of the Dead situated in the crater of the great active volcano on Ambrim. In the same way her ten mythical grandsons who are among the chief culture-heroes on Atchin are to be seen today in the form of ten coral rocks of varying shape and size on the coast of that island. Yet other culture-heroes, many of whose names begin with the syllable *Bat* meaning "stone," are said to have been coral blocks capable of detaching themselves from the surrounding reef and travelling to and fro between Atchin and certain other islands whence their descendants are said to have come.

Finally, among the Big Nambas inhabiting the North Malekulan plateau, this quality is shared even by living men whose ancestry is of particular importance, as seen in the fact reported by Miss Cheesman that the chiefs of at least one village in this district all have the same syllable, here pronounced *Pat*, suffixed to their personal names.[2]

[1] For a comparison of this story with that told on Vao, see pp. 218 ff.

[2] Cheesman, p. 181. This name is probably also equivalent to *Ambat* and *Kwat* (see pp. 209, 493).

Other cases of the in-dwelling of ancestors in stone will be met with in the course of this work, and it is for this reason, coupled with the natives' absorption in megalithic ritual, that I have chosen the title "Stone Men of Malekula."

DIFFUSION OF MEGALITHIC CULTURE

How this megalithic culture came to be present in Malekula and its neighbouring islands it is outside the scope of this work to enquire. It may on the one hand be the case that this corner of Melanesia represents an isolated backwater left behind from the great stream of megalithic culture that Dr. W. J. Perry and the late Professor Sir Grafton Elliot Smith consider to have originated in the ancient centres of civilisation and to have been borne along maritime routes to the Malay Archipelago and thence across the Pacific to Easter Island and to the American continent where it gave the impetus which led to the rise of the great pre-Columbian cultures. There are of course many pitfalls in handling a subject of such magnitude, and particularly in defining what megalithic culture is. It must be remembered that this phrase covers many aspects of culture other than the mere use of stone monuments, as these writers never cease to point out and as their detractors constantly ignore. The phrase "megalithic culture" is thus used to refer to a very definite culture-complex for which no better name exists, and is convenient simply because the stone monuments are the most durable aspect of it in a world in which material objects not only outlive their creators but are also so much more easy to observe and describe than the ideas which give rise to their creation. Another difficulty arises as to the size of the stone monuments referred to, since there is clearly at first sight a considerable difference between the chambered galleries of the Mediterranean area and the dolmens of Vao, between Cleopatra's Needle and small monoliths, or between the stepped ziggurats of Mesopotamia and the stone-platforms of Malekula. A point in common, however, about all these and innumerable similar monuments over a wide area is that, comparatively small as may be those found in outlying places such as Cornwall on the one hand or the New Hebrides on the other, they are in no case the work of individual men but are the result of a communal effort which, not being utilitarian in the material sense, indicates a religious attitude sufficiently deep-rooted to justify the considerable labour entailed in their erection. Since some phrase must be used to describe this widespread phenomenon (and in a work which is purely descriptive of Small Island culture no obligation rests on the author to prosecute comparative studies), the phrase "megalithic" is here used quite non-committally to refer to monuments erected from a religious motive of stones too large to be lifted by hand but need-

ing for their transport some implement such as the sledge illustrated in Plate XVI, 2.

Some indication has already been given of the manifold religious concepts connected with the erection of such monuments on Vao, and many more will become apparent during the course of this work. Considering the close similarity not only of the monuments themselves, but also of the ideas connected with them, with similar combinations in the Arue Islands off the coast of New Britain, in Nias, among the Nagas of Assam and in the islands of Indonesia, as well as the Indonesian roots traceable in many of the most important words used in the ritual, there can, I think, be no doubt whatever of the immediate origin of the megalithic culture of Malekula and the surrounding islands from the Malay Archipelago and the neighbouring mainland of South-Eastern Asia. As to the wider movements of this culture mentioned above, I am inclined to agree with the main thesis of Perry and Elliot Smith, with the proviso, to which I know both these agree, that not one but many movements have contributed to its varied manifestations. Thus we have already noted two main types of megalithic culture in Malekula alone, one of which is progressively ousting the other, and this far from exhausts the number of major variations even in this small island. Some indication of the similar complexity of megalithic culture in South-East Asia may be gathered from the detailed work of Heine-Geldern. A further point as regards the intricacy of the problem in Melanesia is the similarity between the organisation into ranks found in the Maki and its variants in Malekula with that found in the corresponding institution in the Banks Islands known as the Sukwe, in which the fire element is stronger than in Malekula but from which megaliths are entirely absent. On the other hand, dolmens are set up in connexion with other forms of ritual in the Banks Islands, and on one of them, at Gaua in Santa Maria, has been found hidden away in the bush the only completely carved stone statue known in this part of Melanesia,[1] while from the same island Codrington illustrates stonework used in the construction of houses of a kind also unknown in this region.[2]

DUAL ORGANISATION AND CLASS SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP

So much for the complexity of the problem as regards the details of distribution. In one important respect, however, the study of Small Island culture may throw new light on an aspect of megalithic civilisation that has been the subject of much controversy. This is the dual organisation that Dr. Perry has found to be one of the fundamental characteristics of megalithic culture in its main centres of distribution

[1] See Harrisson, 2, Plate facing p. 322.

[2] Codrington, 3, Frontispiece.

throughout the world. Various theories, none very satisfactory, have been advanced in explanation of the many forms which this duality has taken, and I submit here that the solution of this problem probably lies in the kinship organisation that is seen to be so intimately connected with the megalithic ritual on Vao, in accordance with which, as already stated, representatives of each matrilineal moiety within the patrilocal village alternately perform the rite. However this may be, I wish to emphasise here that possibly the most valuable contribution of the present work towards our knowledge of the development of human society is the connexion shown to exist between the megalithic culture on this island and what have been called class systems of kinship, namely those primitive systems, till recently believed to exist only in Australia, in which society is segmented owing to the simultaneous operation of matrilineal and patrilineal moieties, of which the matrilineal are the most fundamental. It is unfortunate that, while on Vao, I was not fully alive to the importance of this aspect of the kinship structure, so that I did not give it the attention I now see it deserves. Nevertheless, the fundamental cleavage between the two matrilineal moieties, corresponding to the matrilineal dual organisation in the neighbouring Banks Islands, is a feature so prominent in all Small Island ritual that, while not fully appreciating its meaning, it was impossible not to observe it. Since, then, the whole kinship situation in this part of the New Hebrides has been so clarified by Deacon's discovery of the 6-section system on Ambrim that, with the added assistance of Professor Radcliffe-Brown's masterly analysis of the Australian systems, combined with the penetrating study of the organisation of human society made by the late Professor A. M. Hocart, it has been made possible not only to make sense of what at first sight appeared to be the extraordinarily complicated social organisation of Vao, but also to view all our knowledge of class systems from a new angle and to state their fundamental principles in the form of a few very simple laws.

These laws are stated in Chapter V and need not be anticipated now except to point out that the small tribes in which these principles operate most clearly, often containing even fewer members than the 400 individuals all related to one another at present inhabiting Vao, may be regarded from this point of view as more or less self-contained organisms in which the segmentation of social divisions proceeds automatically in obedience to the impersonal forces that underlie human conduct. This does not of course mean that personality is appreciably less highly developed among them than among ourselves. Even with us it is recognised that the most prominent individuals are but the spearheads of forces operating in the community quite independently of persons. So also among primitive peoples individuals exist, but their success and reputation depend on the degree to which they are in touch with innate and impersonal tendencies working themselves out in the

community to which they belong. Conversely, among such peoples whose lives and social organisation are expressed so largely in terms of kinship, traditional accounts of the foundation of villages in the somewhat dim past will keep alive the memory of just so many men as are necessary to represent the social divisions into which the tribe is divided. In this way the chief village on Vao is said to have been founded by four brothers, because the village itself has four Quarters, this being also the magic number representing completion, and these Quarters in turn result from a four-fold division in the kinship system having as its foundation the two matrilineal moieties already mentioned.

Whether the dual organisation so closely associated with megalithic culture in other parts of the world had its origin in class systems of this nature is a matter that must be left for others to find out. It is enough to point out that a four-fold division not unlike that on which all class systems are founded is also a frequent feature of this culture. If the connexion here suggested is a valid one, it remains, however, to be explained why the chief seat of class systems in the world as it presented itself to the enquiring spirit of the first serious anthropologists operating in the nineteenth century was the continent of Australia, where signs of megalithic influence are so slight as to be said by some to be non-existent.

In attempting to answer this question it must in the first place be pointed out that such systems were not always confined to their existing geographical limits. As Professor Radcliffe-Brown has pointed out, signs of their former existence occur in many parts of the Australian-Dravidian area, reaching as far westward as South India [1] where signs of a previous megalithic civilisation are also prominent. Indications of similar systems existing in the very recent past if not still today are found in South Abyssinia in a region where there are great numbers of megalithic monuments very similar to those erected in Malekula.[2] Among more civilised people capable of leaving behind written records, class systems, as shown later in this work, also existed some 3000 years ago in China.[3] There is, moreover, a good deal of information leading to the supposition that the four main castes giving rise to the existing caste system of India arose out of a 4-section class system not differing in essentials from the 4-section systems of Australia.[4] These are but a few examples of the mass of information now being accumulated regarding the former existence of class systems over a wide area which coincides very closely with that of megalithic distribution.

With regard to the question of Australia we may, so far as I understand the problem, suppose either that the 4-section system based on

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1, p. 344.
[2] Jensen, pp. 315 ff. (for kinship); pp. 448 ff. (for megaliths).
[3] See p. 151.
[4] See G. H. Held, *The Mahābhārata*, Amsterdam, 1935.

matrilineal moieties is so fundamental to a certain stage of human development that it became attached to the earlier forms of megalithic culture but has since disappeared from most parts of the world owing to various causes; or else that certain aspects of what is called megalithic culture penetrated Australia as the practice of sub-incision is said to have done, but that the erecting of stone monuments was not one of those retained, owing to the nomadic habits of most Australian tribes.

This question I leave unanswered, and will end this introduction with a warning regarding the use of the word "primitive" when applied to human institutions. If we may regard the building up of civilisation as in a manner comparable to the building of a house, we must realise that, however wide the prospect from the top story, this still depends on the foundations, deeply as these may be buried. This type of simile is of course a familiar one when speaking of the personal unconscious of individual people. There is, however, also a racial unconscious which expresses itself in the pattern of culture it produces and in the mythology which partly reflects and partly compensates for this pattern. So that things often regarded as primitive in the sense in which this word is frequently used, as meaning stages that have been passed through and therefore no longer play any rôle in existing social conditions, may on the contrary prove still to be a basic part of our heritage which in view of later developments we are apt to ignore, but on which those later achievements are in fact built. This may be seen, as Professor Hocart has shown, in some of our most time-honoured institutions as well as in the constantly recurring groupings of social and political life which, while ever changing on the surface, for ever reproduce old patterns in accordance with the fundamental tendencies of the collective mind. The simple point I wish to make here, therefore, is that the word "primitive" on the rare occasions when it is used in this work does not carry with it the connotation of "inferior" or even of "backward," but rather indicates a condition in which some of the basic factors governing human life are more clearly seen, because less overlaid, than in the so-called "higher" civilisations which have been built up on these earlier foundations.

CHAPTER II

THE SMALL ISLANDS AND VAO

THE term "Small Islands" is a pidgin-English one used by the natives of the coral islets fringing the north-east coast of Malekula in contrast to "Big Island," which they use in reference to the Malekulan mainland. These islets, each of which contains less than half a square mile of land, are due to outcrops of what Darwin calls a "fringing reef," caused by the action of coral polyps on the coast of land that has been raised by successive upward movements due to volcanic action. I have already called attention to the coral terraces on the adjacent mainland bearing witness to successive upheavals of this nature. Such fringing reefs are caused by the action of salt water, which encourages the growth of coral, combined with the contrary action of fresh water flowing down from the hills, which, together with the sediment which this fresh water brings with it, checks the activities of the polyps. The result is the formation of strong coral on the outer edge, combined with the decay or less vigorous growth of those parts nearest the land. Owing to the seaward flow of fresh water, in which coral will not grow, and to other causes, the outer edge breaks up into islands, between which and the land mass there forms a channel of varying depth. Owing to the causes outlined above, each Small Island has a good beach facing the channel, rises slightly towards the centre, and on the outer seaward side ends abruptly with a more or less elevated escarpment of coral rock. It is important to remember this formation for the bearing it has on the social organisation of these islands, owing to the greater desirability of the side facing the mainland and the bleakness of that facing the open sea.

There are seven of these islands, Vao, Atchin, Wala, Rano, Norsup, Uripiv and Uri, the inhabitants of which, together with those of the adjoining promontories of Pinalum and Tautu, form a loosely knit cultural unit of sufficient cohesion to refer to themselves collectively as "Sea Folk" (*mwere n'das* in the language of Atchin) on account of their maritime situation and their common use of sea-going canoes, which the inhabitants of the mainland villages apart from the promontories do not possess. Each island had at the time of my visit a population some 400 strong, with the exception of Uri, which was then almost depopulated, and Norsup, which is very small. Despite their small numbers and the loose cultural bond already mentioned, however, the inhabitants of each island speak separate languages (excepting Wala and Rano, which, being very close



The beach Kowu, early in the morning before the departure of the canoes to the gardens on the mainland of Malekula, seen in the distance across the dividing sea. One native has already hoisted a European sail

together, share approximately the same dialect) and differ considerably one from the other as regards social organisation and ritual observances. These differences all occur nevertheless within certain cultural limits, such as the broad lines of megalithic culture which they all share in common and the matrilineal moieties which persist among them despite the overt patrilocal organisation, as well as many linguistic similarities over and above their common Austronesian basis, these similarities occurring most strikingly in the common use of the same, or approximately the same, terms in connexion with megalithic rites, of which the most obvious is their common use of the word Maki.

Of all these languages, that which differs from the others most is that of Vao, not only in vocabulary but also in pronunciation, since, by a peculiar forward movement of the tongue between the lips, certain consonants take on a very un-Malekulan form, making it difficult at first hearing to distinguish between, for example, *t* and *d*, or *m* and *n*. This is most striking to the European in its effect on the consonant which elsewhere in Malekula is pronounced *w* or *v*, and which in Vao sounds like a voiced *th* (*dh*) very similar to the *th* in the English word *the*. Other sound-changes are that Malekulan *g* is softened to *gh* and Malekulan *s* becomes *h*. A notable example is the pronunciation of the word used for the Guardian Ghost, which in Atchin (which retains the Malekulan consonants) is *Le-saw-saw* and in Vao is *Le-hev-hev*, pronounced in a manner that at first hearing I transcribed as *Le-heth-heth*. This sound *th* is characteristic also of certain tribes on Santo. Since all words in which it occurs can, however, be traced to their parallels on Atchin and elsewhere I do not propose to confuse the philological issue by rendering this aberration in print, and wherever this sound occurs in Vao I shall render it by the more usual Malekulan *v*.

From every one of these coral islets may be seen each morning, when the weather is not too stormy, a fleet of small canoes sailing or paddling to the mainland, where the natives of each island have their gardens. For the islets themselves are too small and their soil too shallow to support their population in garden produce, and are, moreover, largely given over to the rearing of pigs, which in their younger stages (before the tusks have appeared and are therefore liable to be damaged if their owners were allowed to run wild) are permitted to forage where they will. It is this habit that has given rise to the French saying that each island is a *parc au porcs*. This is not true if it be understood as meaning that the islands are a mass of wandering pigs; but is true to the extent that no young succulent plant is secure from the occasional ravages of these animals without very heavy fencing to protect it. For this reason the natives have their main gardens on the adjacent mainland, large tracts of which are regarded as the property of the island immediately facing it, and only certain ceremonial gardens surrounded by carefully

constructed fences are made on the Small Islands. The daily exodus of canoes to the mainland, after the leisurely taking of the morning meal and when the sun is already high in the sky, is one of the most delightful sights in the whole archipelago. The return takes place during the late afternoon, when each canoe comes back separately, laden with yams [1] wrapped in leafy parcels, bunches of bananas, bread-fruit and other delicacies with which to prepare the evening meal, or towards the festive season, with larger quantities of yams to store on special yam-tables raised above the ground and roofed so that the accumulated food-stuffs may be kept dry.

Since few years pass without some small war breaking out between the various communities inhabiting these islands, it might be thought that their island position would fit them admirably to serve as small fortresses with the sea acting as a surrounding moat. But this is only partially the case, since, as we shall see in the chapter on warfare, the war-making unit is never the island, wars being usually internecine, founded on a standing enmity between two Sides of the same island, and when alliances take place these are with the corresponding Sides of other islands or with certain villages of the adjacent mainland, among all of whom the same dual organisation exists. These wars, however, rarely result in much bloodshed, and are but one aspect of the creative rivalry between otherwise friendly groups on which, as will be seen later, the social organisation of these islands is based.

APPROACH FROM THE SOUTH

If now we approach these islands from the south, whence the patrilineal influence has come and whence also most white men approach them after entering the archipelago at the port of call in the island of Fate some 100 miles to the south, our first introduction to the natural forces that have pushed up the North Central New Hebrides from the ocean bed is the active volcano of Lopevi rising sheer out of the water. Passing to the left of this, the next impressive sight is the large island of Ambrim, crowned by an active crater with innumerable small fissures around it, whence comes the volcanic dust that, mixing with the coral sand and humus of the Small Islands forty miles to the north-west, gives their dancing-grounds the peculiar surface that renders them so soft and firm for dancing, and at the same time is heavy enough not to rise. From the same source come also the currents that sweep in a north-westerly direction up the Malekulan coast, causing certain beaches to have a fine grey sand called "black sand" while others that

[1] Taro, the staple diet on Oba, is not grown here, for lack of terracing and irrigation, but a species, called by the name of *na-mbet*, has recently been introduced as food for pigs.

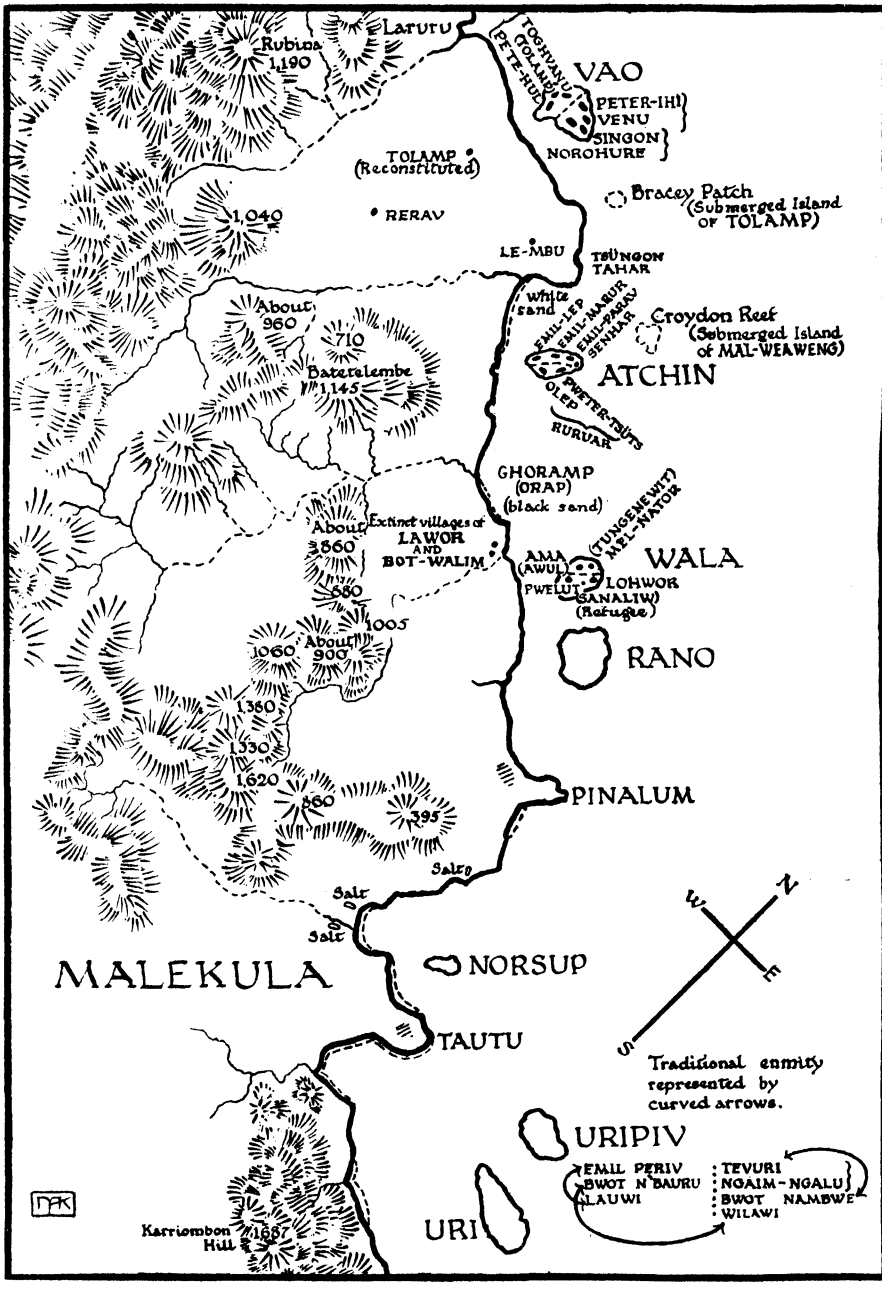
escape these currents are unmixed with this and therefore called "white sand." On these same currents float the pieces of pumice-stone that the natives use for various purposes, including the removal of superfluous hair from their chins, while from the island of Ambrim itself is brought in canoes the hard volcanic stone from which rain-stones (see Plate XXIV, 1) are carved. The Ambrim volcano plays, moreover, a very active part in beliefs concerning the home of the dead held in the Small Islands, whence (though Vao, the most northerly of these islets, lies forty miles away) all the dead of high rank are said to journey down the east coast of Malekula and over the ten-mile strait to Ambrim, where they climb up to the crater and there for evermore dance every night and rest sleeping by day. Rivers in fact goes so far as to suggest that the presence of volcanoes such as this and others in Melanesia may to some extent have determined the settlement of early migrants from other volcanic areas having similar beliefs.

Like all New Hebridean islands, however, apart from the smoke sometimes issuing from the crater and the accompanying dull red glow which is by no means always present, Ambrim, as well as the opposing Malekulan coast, wears the monotonous dark green mantle of bush growing right down to the water's edge, showing no sign of the life going on in the native villages which it engulfs. At most points approach is dangerous even at a distance, owing to the treacherous reefs that jut out sometimes far into the sea. On one of these, sprawling out from the Malekulan promontory of Bong-na-un near Pangkumu, there stands a giant upright coral block, which, according to the belief held in some of the Small Islands, represents the Guardian Ghost waiting to devour the ghosts of the dead unless propitiated with the gift of a pig, which in turn is the ghost of one sacrificed by surviving kinsmen at the dead man's grave.[1] It is from here that, having passed this ordeal, the dead man gathers fuel with which to light a beacon to attract the attention of the ghostly ferryman on Ambrim who will conduct him to the opposite shore, and any small pieces of driftwood or dried banana skins that may be seen floating off it are said by the natives to be his canoes.

After this, the heavy coastline continues unrelieved by islands till a long low promontory stretching out into the sea encloses a wide mangrove shark-infested swamp behind which, in the low foothills, are said to live sorcerers called Ghamba Lep,[2] capable of flight and of assuming the shape of snakes and other things and of so harming the dwellers of the mainland villages.

[1] This is the belief held in Atchin and Wala which contrasts with the Vao belief (see p. 13) that the Guardian Ghost is met with in the cave. For further information on this see pp. 227, 233.

[2] See p. 238.



MAP II

Sketch-map of the Small Islands.

From here on the view changes. No longer do the waves beat direct upon inhospitable shores. For here the reef has been pushed out from the cliff and broken into the series of coral islets known as the Small Islands. First Uri, swampy and low. Then Uripiv, clothed with luxuriant vegetation, where, in the year 1895, Rear-Admiral Boyle Somerville, then a lieutenant on a surveying expedition in H.M.S. *Dart*, landed, and to his surprise and joy found himself in the midst of one of the Maki performances which he later graphically described in his book, *The Chartmakers.*[1] Further inshore is the small island of Norsup. These three islets are somewhat isolated from the others, and to the voyager coming from the south the full beauty of the Small Island scene does not unfold itself until he rounds the promontory of Pinalum. Here, if he is lucky, he may hear the gongs booming from the village that nestles at its base.

But as a rule he will hear nothing but the waves beating against the rocks, or, on calm days, the cry of sea-birds perhaps migrating down the coast. Before him, nestling low into the water, is Rano, and to the left, sombre and hot, the long beach behind which rise the mountains of North Malekula. No sooner is Rano passed than Wala opens up, slightly more elevated and comparatively densely populated, so close to Rano that the noises of everyday life may be heard across the narrow channel dividing them. Opposite Wala, on the Malekulan coast, now lost in bush, are the sites of the extinct villages of Lawor and Bot-walim, from which, as already mentioned, the Small Islands have derived so many new forms of megalithic culture. A little beyond these the "black-sand" beach called Ghoramp,[2] coloured grey by the action of volcanic dust, where lies the cave entered by the dead of all Small Islanders of high rank before setting out on their ghostly journey to Ambrim. Beyond this lies Atchin, and, on the mainland facing it, another long beach, made this time of white coral sand, on which during the hot middle of the day the islanders' canoes may be seen ranged in groups, according to the Atchin village from which they have come, while their owners work in their mainland gardens.

This seems at first sight the last of the Small Islands, since beyond it lies the great promontory called Tsüngon Ta-har, which in the language of Atchin signifies "Lip of (the creator-god) Ta-har." The word "lip" is used in the Small Islands in the same way as we use the word "nose" disguised as "naze" or "ness" to describe a promontory. Ta-har is equivalent to the Vao creator-god Ta-ghar, whose attributes will be discussed later. Around this promontory the sea, even on the calmest day, is never still. For this reason natives from Atchin, who always travel to Wala by canoe, when travelling to Vao, which lies beyond the

[1] See p. 335.

[2] This is the Vao pronunciation of the word. In the clipped dialect used by the young men on Atchin it is Orap.

point, as a rule cross over to the mainland and from there go by foot behind the promontory till they come out in front of this most northerly island, to which, sooner or later, they will get taken in a Vao canoe. For those who venture by sea the "Lip of Ta-har" is found to divide itself into three smaller promontories, after rounding the first of which the extreme north-eastern point of Vao comes into view. Seaward, the surf breaks on the two half-submerged reefs of Tolamp and Mal-weaweng already referred to, which were once islands inhabited by folk some of whose descendants are now refugees on Vao. Keeping well to landward of these, and rounding the last point, the whole island of Vao comes into view, sprawling in the tropical sea.

THE ISLAND OF VAO

Main physical features. First view of the natives.

This island is roughly square, containing about 250 acres, or rather less than half a square mile of land, on which about 400 people live.[1] Its curving coastline accounts for the fact that its longest east-to-west axis is rather over half a mile long.

The whole island is covered with vegetation, but the humus in which it grows is in most places not more than a foot and a half deep. Below this, on the side facing the channel, is a layer, not more than a foot thick, of sand, below which is a thin layer of hard volcanic ash.[2] Below this again is sand, in which fresh water appears when the level of the sea is reached. It is from this source that the natives obtain their water supply, by means of artificially dug pits. The level rises and falls with the rise and fall of the tide. Its comparative freshness is probably due to the filtering action of the sand through which it passes, but its sea origin is seen in the fact that when left to stand it very quickly becomes stale.[3]

This sandy soil exists only on the south and west parts of the island. To the north and east it is replaced by a kind of clay formed by the decomposition of coral rocks. The highest point marked on the Admiralty chart is 120 feet. Seen from the mainland, however, this elevation is hardly visible, on account of the trees which from a distance appear to cover the whole ground. For, as is the case with all the Small Islands, no sign of habitation is seen from the sea.

Only as we approach the islet itself do we become aware of the rare

[1] For discussion of past and present population see Appendix I.

[2] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 31, 32. He adds that the thin layer of hard volcanic ash is found also in Oba, where the word for ash is *gwie*, and that for the hard volcanic layer is *gwengwea*.

[3] Really fresh water can be obtained only from the streams that flow from the mountains on the adjacent mainland, which the natives bring over in large hollow bamboos, the free ends of which are stopped with leaves.

View of Vao from a landing-place on the mainland of Malekula. The broad beach on Vao is Kowu, belonging to the Superior Side of Vao and used by the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu. In the foreground are the sterns of two small coastal canoes waiting for owners who are tilling their mainland gardens.

beauty of Vao. Here, facing the channel, on the island's south-western shore, is the lovely beach called Kowu,[1] forming a long shallow bay, bounded on its north-western extremity by a wide reef. If we have the good fortune to arrive not too early in the morning, before the exodus to the mainland has begun, we may see no fewer than eighty canoes ranged side by side, following the curve of the beach, high up on the sand, out of reach of the tide. Slowly the natives come down, the men with their guns bought from white traders, without which they never move off the island, the women with baskets, their babies on their backs, the children playing and occasionally helping.

After much talk and laughter, each family group will separately carry or drag its canoe down to the sea, and soon a fleet of perhaps fifty canoes will be crossing the channel, each heading for its own landing-place on the mainland opposite. If the wind is favourable, sails made of pandanus strips dyed red, plaited by the women and sewn together by the men, are hoisted, each shaped like an inverted triangle.[2] If there is no wind, or if it is in the wrong quarter, paddles alone must do the work, and the gay cries of the paddlers echo over the sea.

WALK THROUGH THE VILLAGE DANCING-GROUNDS

Men's paths and women's paths. The sacred way.

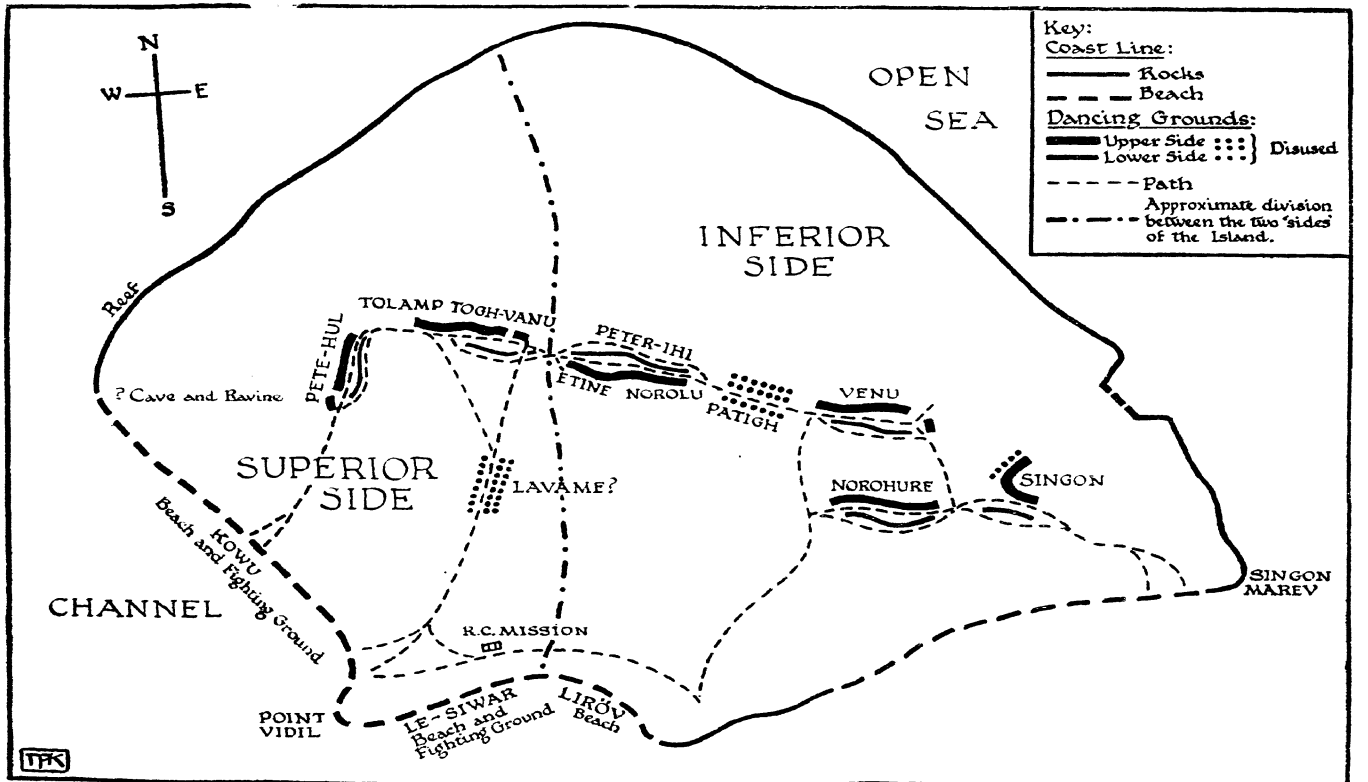
If, having watched this pleasing scene, we now turn towards the interior of the island, we find the choice of two paths. Perhaps a few stray natives are still coming down to the shore. Of these we notice that the men with confident air take one, while the women, more modest with their load of baskets, take the other. At the spot where the men come out on to the shore there is a wall of stones [3] lining the path, which has been consecrated by the sacrifice of a large number of tusked boars. This marks the shoreward end of the great sacred way that leads from one end of the island to the other. The stone wall itself and the boars sacrificed on it indicate among other things that this section of the way is taboo to women and to male children who have not yet taken the first step in their formal religious life by themselves sacrificing their first boars.

This way leads upwards towards the centre of the island. About thirty yards from its abutment on the shore it is joined by the women's path, and from here onward it may be used by women as well as men, since no further sanctified monuments lie on this part of the way. On approaching the first village dancing-ground, it divides once more, the

[1] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 30), following his predecessor, Père Jamond, supposes this word to be derived from the English word "cove," and tells a circumstantial story to prove it. This is a false derivation. It is a native name and occurs in song-language as *ke-u*.

[2] See p. 460.

[3] I did not record the name for this wall on Vao. In Atchin it is *na-wor*.



MAP III

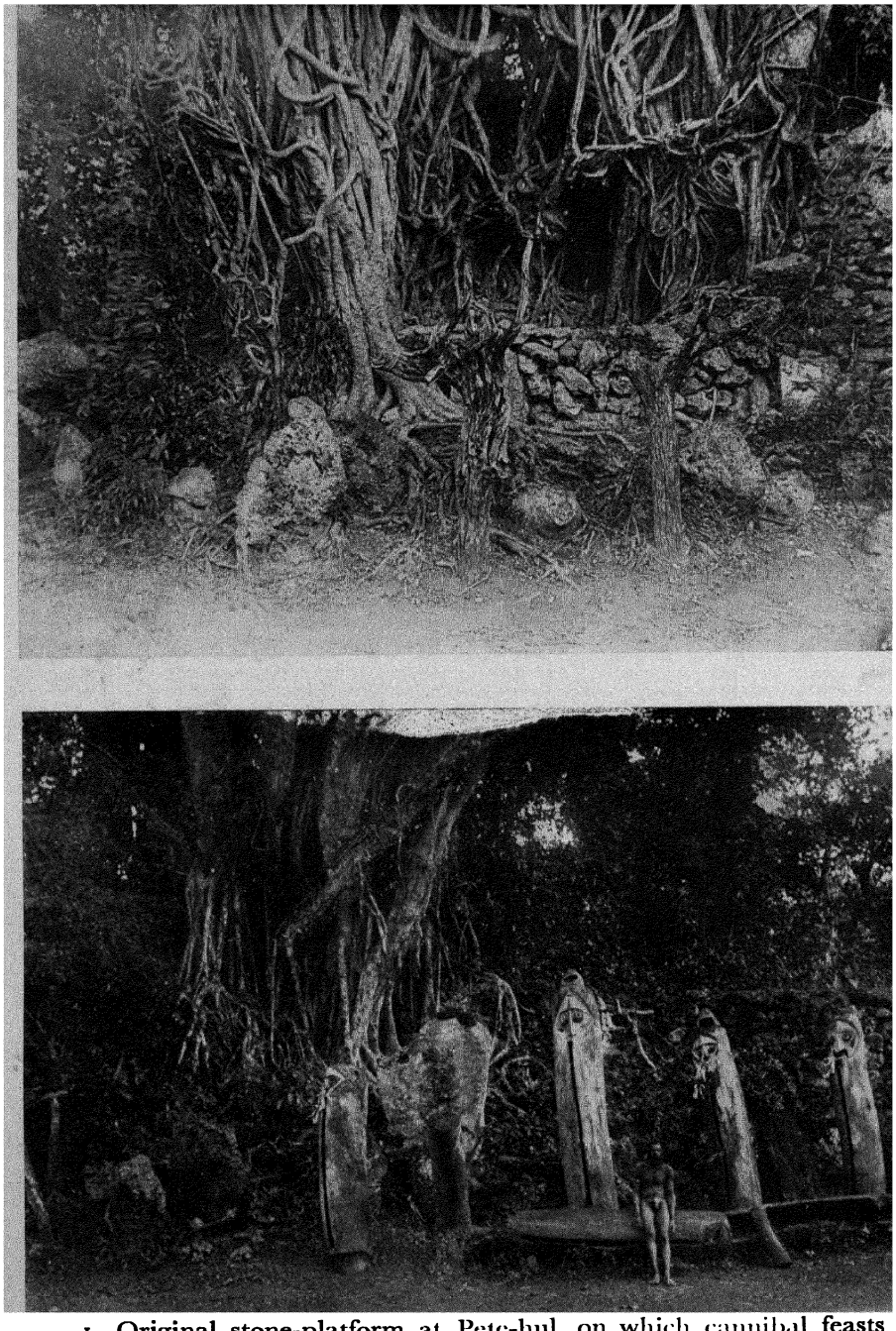
Sketch-map of Vao marking the position of the six village dancing-grounds and the division of the island into two asymmetrical Sides, the Superior Side containing the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu (as well as the refugee community of Tolamp), and the Inferior Side the two double-villages of Peter-ihi–Venu and Singon–Norohure. The map also indicates the position of the main beaches and of the paths leading to them, with the exception of that leading from Peter-ihi, which was not recorded.

main way broadening out to become the dancing-ground itself, of which the sanctity is proclaimed by the dolmens and monoliths that line its sides, the women's path going parallel to it behind what is termed the "Lower" Side. Once past the dancing-ground, the women's path again joins the great way, which then proceeds to the next village dancing-ground, where it once more divides. In this way the men's path traverses all the main dancing-grounds on the island, each of which has in addition its own way down to its own beach, divided at the shoreward end into a men's path sanctified by the presence of a stone wall on which sacrifices have been performed, and a women's path marked only by the track which they have themselves made.

Dancing-ground of Pete-hul.

If we now follow the way inshore from Kowu we find ourselves in a minute valley, the ground gently rising on either side. After a minute or two fences appear, indicating the proximity of houses. A little further on the path widens, on the left a great banyan tree raises its mighty branches from which innumerable aerial roots redescend into the ground, and we find ourselves in the midst of an arena which is the dancing-ground of the chief village of Pete-hul. This arena is scooped out of the head of the shallow valley we have been following, which here widens, and then closes again. The tiny declivity would be almost unnoticeable were it not for the hand of man that had converted it into a place of unforgettable memory.

The whole surface of the ground with its mixture of volcanic dust is scrupulously weeded, and provides an incomparably soft yet firm and resilient medium for processional and other dances. Both sides of the dancing-ground are lined with the stone monuments set up during successive Maki rites, but these sides differ in that the monuments on the left, or what in native terminology is called the "Upper" Side, are incomparably the more magnificent. Opposed to these are the comparatively insignificant stones lining the "Lower" Side behind which runs the path taken by the women, who, as stated, may not set foot on the dancing-ground proper except on stated occasions. In the lay-out of any such ground, if the land rises on either side this will invariably be chosen as the "Upper" Side, thus demonstrating the correlation between physical and spiritual height, which is a marked feature of all New Hebridean ritual. The terms "upper" and "lower" are primarily of a social and spiritual nature, and it is on the Upper Side that the chief sacrifices are made by men of high rank, those on the Lower Side being carried out only by young men and boys who have not yet, through sacrifice of the nobler grades of tusked boar, completely established their independence from the uninitiated women whose path lies immediately behind it. For men dominate society, and only those men who have performed the highest sacrifice have full access to the spirit world of the



1. Original stone-platform at Pete-hul, on which cannibal feasts were held in a "cave" hollowed out from the aerial roots of the overhanging banyan tree. (*See Frontispiece*)

2. Gong-orchestra at Pete-hul, with Ma-taru leaning against an old prostrate gong used as a seat when playing the mother-gong

ancestral ghosts around whose cult the ritual which takes place in the dancing-ground centres.

Turning our backs now on the Lower Side, let us, with the aid of the panoramic view seen in the Frontispiece and Plates II and III, survey the high place where the chief sacrifices take place. From end to end the ground is about 300 feet long. Along the whole of the Upper Side, built on the slight elevation which forms one side of the valley, is a continuous platform of coral blocks carefully fitted together, rising to a height of 10 to 12 feet from the ground. This, though in appearance a continuous structure, is in fact a succession of contiguous stone-platforms on which the most important tusked boars are sacrificed.[1] On the extreme left is the enormous banyan tree already mentioned, some of the aerial roots of which have been carved away so as to form a kind of cave within the tree, where, on a part of the stone-platform rather lower than the rest, cannibal feasts were formerly held.

To the right of this in front of the stone-platform is a small dolmen and other upright stones, and to the right of these again stands proudly the orchestra of upright slit gongs, huge trunks of forest trees transported from the mainland, hollowed out through a longitudinal slit so as to leave only a thin shell of the original trunk. Above the slit is carved an image representing the face of the ancestral ghost, whose voice speaks when the gong is sounded by hitting one side of the slit with a soft-wood stick. The nose of the image is pierced, and from it hang the jaws of the tusked pigs sacrificed in its honour on the day of consecration. The tallest of these gongs is about 12 feet high, not counting the base buried in the ground. Since no sacred object is ever removed, but simply allowed to rot where it stood, the remains of old gongs are also seen, two leaning to the right, one lying in front, now used as a seat for casual use. Four different sizes of gongs go to make up an orchestra, and the complicated and indescribably stirring rhythms they beat out are the wonder of all who have the good fortune to hear them.[2]

Beyond the gongs, supported on three stakes, is a rack displaying the jaws of tusked pigs recently sacrificed in one of the innumerable performances that go to make up the protracted Maki rite. To the right of this is another small dolmen, and beyond this again is a cylindrical cane structure set up to protect a special yam and banana tree planted during the mortuary rites for an old man.[3]

To the right of these again are three large dolmens. These, as will be described later,[4] were erected at successive performances of the Maki rite (as in the case of gongs, no sacred stone object is ever removed), and are the stone altars at which other important tusked pigs are sacrificed.

[1] For details of the sacrifices performed here and at the other stones see pp. 413 ff., 430.
[2] For details see pp. 311 ff.
[3] See p. 550.
[4] See p. 414.

Of these three, the latest to have been erected is still surmounted by the rotting remnants of the shrine with which all monuments are covered when in use, and faced with the ancestor-image which forms the fore-post of the shrine. Beyond these is another rack displaying the jaws of sacrificed tuskers, behind which is yet another disused dolmen, and finally, a monolith erected during the course of the rites at which high-grade tusked boars have been sacrificed and which is now both the memorial and dwelling-place of ancestral ghosts.

The ghamal.

Dominating the whole scene, behind the stone-platforms and partly hidden by trees, is a long thatched wooden building, nearly 100 feet in length, open at each end, and with its ridge-poles decorated at either end with a gigantic image of a hawk with spread wings cut from the buttress roots of a forest tree. This is the central village lodge, or *ghamal*, the roofed counterpart of the dancing-ground, where the old men congregate in bad weather for debates, and where all business connected with the Maki is conducted. This building, too tall to be included in the panorama, can be studied in Plate VII and Fig. 53. Part of the bamboo fence surrounding it is to be seen, however, on the panorama towards the right-hand side above the stone-platform. This *ghamal* had been erected only a short time before my arrival. As with the gongs and other sacred objects, no *ghamal*, even when past use, is ever pulled down, as may be seen by the rotting roof of the previous, now deserted, building seen at the extreme right hand of the picture.

Story of origin.

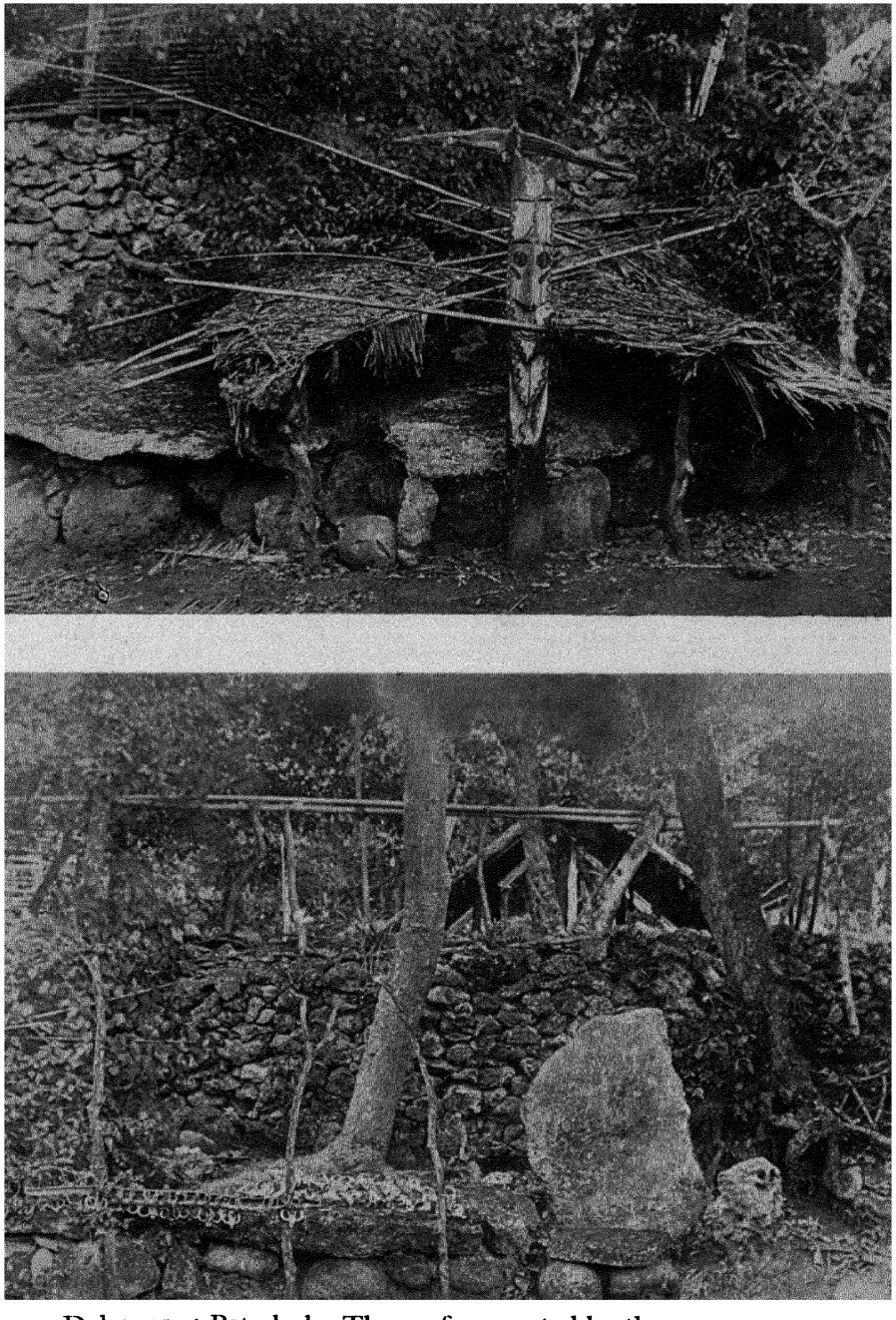
The spot we now stand on is that on which, according to legend, the creator-deity Ta-ghar founded the village of Pete-hul, by causing a certain fruit to fall which, splitting on the buttress root of a tree, gave rise to the first man and woman, and here their first son cleared away the bush to make his dancing-ground.[1] Behind, in the cliff flanking the north-western coast, is a series of caves called *mbarang*, the largest of which is behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground where the creation took place, and it is for this reason that this quarter of the village is called *La-mbarang*, meaning "At the Cave." [2]

Togh-vanu and Tolamp.

Leaving this sacred place now by its northern end, we find ourselves surrounded on all sides by houses. This is one of the centres of the village,

[1] See pp. 82, 89.

[2] The sides of the ravine leading to the cave are planted with coconut trees stretching right up to the great banyan tree already seen. Speiser (3, p. 92) refers to huts built partly under the rocks, and says that the natives sometimes make fires and cook there.



1. Dolmens at Pete-hul. The roof supported by the ancestor-image on the right has collapsed, causing the hawk-image over its head to fall awry. *(See Frontispiece)*

2. Large monolith and small dolmens on which lie the remains of a rack displaying the tusked jaws of sacrificial boars. Note the stone-platform behind. *(See Frontispiece)*

from which paths go in all directions to the various dwelling enclosures. The great way now makes a right-angle turn towards the east. We are now on the low flat summit of the island. Following this road, in a few minutes we find ourselves in a new dancing-ground, half as long again as that of Pete-hul, giving a broad sense the other lacks, but at the same time being less compact, since there is here no natural arena. This is in fact two dancing-grounds joined end to end. In order to explain the existence of these dancing-grounds it is necessary to anticipate to some extent the chapters on Social Organisation by saying that, soon after the creation of Pete-hul, certain elements from this village seceded to found an offshoot village named Togh-vanu. These two together now form one patrilineally exogamous double-village called Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, which occupies the whole of the west Side of the Island. Each of these has its own dancing-ground, but that of the offshoot village Togh-vanu has been added to by the intrusion of an alien element, the survivors from Tolamp, one of the submerged islands already mentioned. These folk, having for some generations subsisted on the mainland, became finally so reduced in numbers that they could no longer support themselves as an independent community, and the last remnants of them, claiming kinship with the inhabitants of Togh-vanu, finally settled on Vao where the Togh-vanu folk gave them land and allowed them to build a new dancing-ground end to end with theirs.

Each of these two dancing-grounds has its own set of stone monuments, similar to those already seen at Pete-hul, and its own set of gongs. The westernmost, that which we enter first, belongs to Tolamp, the easternmost to Togh-vanu. Fig. 2 and Plates XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII illustrate some of the stone monuments belonging to Togh-vanu.

Towards the end of this dancing-ground a way leads down to the sea at the southern end of the beach called Kowu from which we have come, and which Togh-vanu is thus seen to share with its parent-village Pete-hul. This way also on approaching the beach divides into two, one path for the women and another for the men. We will not, however, go down this path, but will continue along the great way through the centre of the island which follows the slightly raised ridge that forms a minute watershed running across the island roughly from west to east.

Asymmetrical Division of the Island into Two unequal "Sides"

At the far end of Togh-vanu dancing-ground are more habitations, with paths radiating in all directions. At first sight these habitations, clustered together as they are, would appear to belong to one village. But they do not. Between them there runs an invisible line, here marked by a path but elsewhere by nothing, which divides off one side of Vao

from the other, one side containing the double village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu (to which Tolamp has attached itself) through which we have just come, and the other containing the four remaining villages of the island paired into two double-villages called respectively Peter-ihi–Venu and



FIG. 2

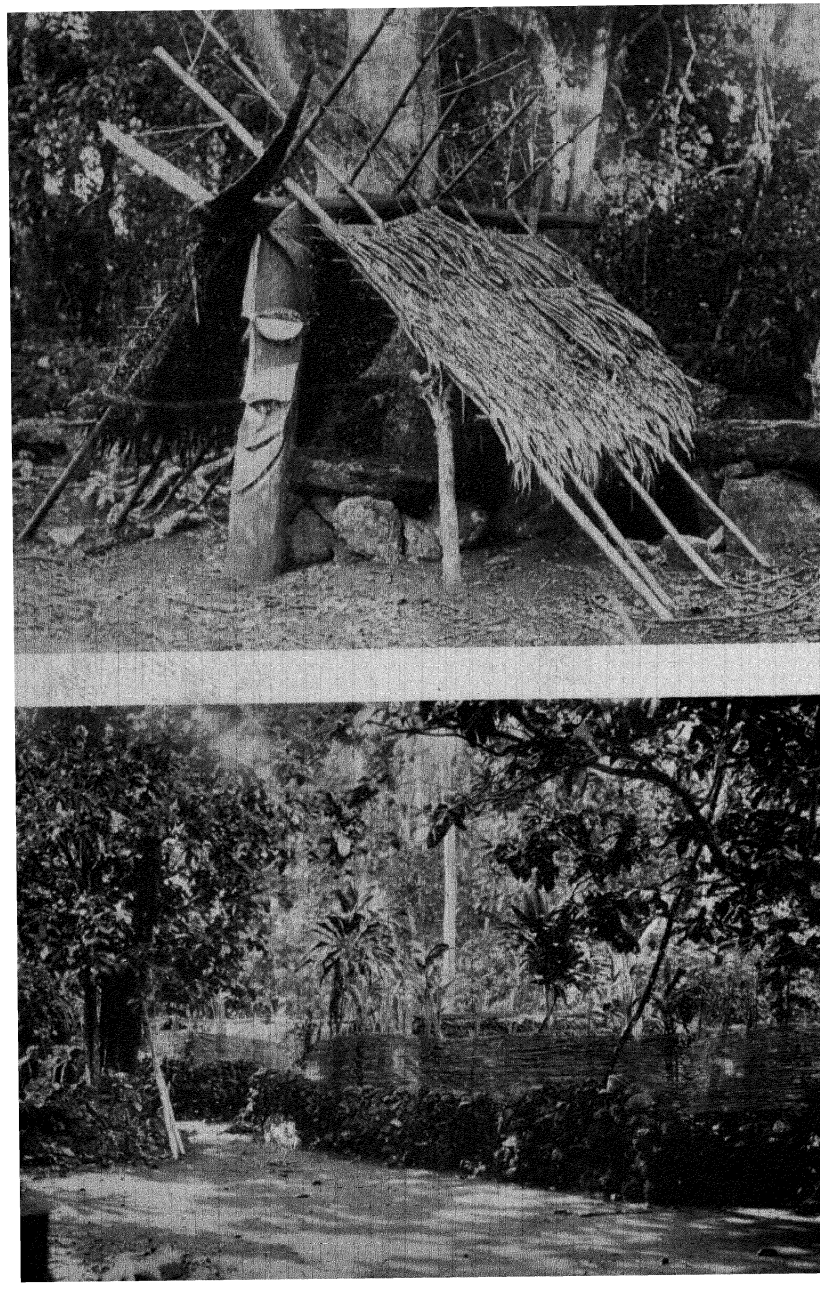
View of some of the dolmens and monoliths behind the racks displaying the jaws of tusked boars at Togh-vanu seen in Plate XVII. The backs of two of these racks, rather inadequately represented owing to their foreshortened position, are seen to the extreme right. The drawing is made from a position on the table-stone of one of the dolmens. The stakes and transverse bamboos in the centre are the remains of the now rotted roofs once forming part of the shrines erected over the dolmens. To the left are some fresh bamboos ready for the construction of the shrine over the stone-platform seen in Plate XVIII. In the background towards Peter-ihi are the wall and surmounting fence surrounding a house-enclosure.

Singon–Norohure. This asymmetrical dual organisation will be described in the following chapter, and the forces giving rise to it in the sections on Kinship.

Peter-ihi–Venu.

To the superficial eye there is, however, no visible division, and, after passing a single house-enclosure on either side of the way we find our-

PLATE IV, 1 and 2



1. "Fore-stone" shrine (see p. 425) erected for Low Maki at Peteriihi, typical of the ten shrines set up in connection with the monolith-Maki recently introduced on the Inferior Side of Vao

2. Village street, showing stone walls surmounted by reed fences surrounding each house-enclosure. (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 15, *Fig.* 4)

selves almost immediately in the dancing-ground of Peter-ihi. Here, though in its general configuration this dancing-ground is similar to those we have already seen, the individual monuments are strikingly different. In the first place there is no great wall of contiguous stone-platforms on the Upper Side, but in its place a number of much smaller individual stone-platforms; and, in addition, the place of the great dolmen erected for each Maki in Pete-hul and Togh-vanu is taken by a number of composite structures each formed of a small dolmen with a monolith immediately behind it, surmounted by a roof the ridge-pole of which is supported in front by an ancestor-image and which is itself carved to represent the head and wings of a hawk. These monuments form part of the new form of Maki derived from the mainland villages of Lawor and Bot-walim and recently introduced from Atchin into all the villages on this side of Vao.

Pursuing our way through this dancing-ground, we first pass through a derelict dancing-ground called Patigh, and then emerge on yet another well-kept one belonging to the offshoot village of Peter-ihi, called Venu, whence yet another way goes down to the sea at a beach on the southern coast, separated from that of Kowu by a sandy point. This beach belongs jointly to Peter-ihi and Venu, each of which has its own way down, divided at the end into two paths.

Singon–Norohure.

From the dancing-ground of Venu the great way, now much reduced, leads to yet two more villages, Singon and its offshoot village Norohure, in which also we see monuments of the newer type. Of these the most easterly is Singon, philologically the same word as the Atchin *tsüngon* meaning "lip" or "promontory," this village being so called because it includes in its territory the most easterly portion of the island, a bluff formed of coral rocks which appear to be piled one on top of the other, called Singon Marev, meaning "Broken Lip" or, as we should say, "Broken Ness," humorously translated by Godefroy as "*geule cassée.*" [1]

Westward of this bluff is yet another beach, where the men of these two villages keep their canoes.

Le-siwar beach and fighting-ground.

Having reached this seaward extremity of the island, the easiest way back to where we came from is by way of the southern shore. This is for the most part fringed with coral sand, save for a small rocky point, on rounding which we find ourselves on the beaches called Liröv and Le-siwar, used by the men of Peter-ihi and Venu, where the invisible line separating the two Sides of the Island approaches the shore. Le-siwar was formerly a fighting-ground on which set combats used to occur

[1] Godefroy, I, 1933, p. 30.

between these two Sides. Close to this now stands the Roman Catholic Mission, and separating this beach from Kowu is a sandy spit now called by the white men Point Vidil, after the Mission founder, who died on the island on Easter Eve 1898.[1]

BRIEF NOTE ON EVERYDAY LIFE

If in the cool season, we may now rest awhile on any one of these beaches, watching the still splendour of the tropic noon or, at low tide, minute blue fishes swimming in the pools. Small girls, perhaps, will pass looking for shellfish on the reef, or an occasional old woman seat herself beneath a shady tree on the shore side to plait.

During most seasons of the year it would be possible during the middle of the day to walk from one end of the island to the other without seeing a soul, save, maybe, for old women too feeble to work, old men who, after a recent performance of the Maki rite, have taken vows to stay at home, together with their wives who now must feed them since they are too holy to touch their own food, small children, or a young man sick with yaws. Everyone else is busy on the mainland, and the Small Island is empty of human life.

But, if we wait till the late afternoon, a very different scene meets our eyes. Now, one by one, canoes laden with produce put out from the mainland creeks, each making for its own landing-place on Vao. Bananas, yams, green "native cabbage," mangoes, mammy apples, perhaps a flying fox, fish caught in traps (there is no hook-and-line fishing), parcels of sundry foods tied up in green leaves, all are unloaded amidst laughter and a general sense of well-being after a cheerful day. Canoes are dragged ashore. Children and young boys bathe, shouting and slapping the water to keep off stray sharks. The women carry the produce homeward. The men see to the gear. Parties enquire from one another how the day has fared. And so, with endless delays, gradually the beaches empty and the villages become alive.

House-enclosures.

Within the village[2] each married man possesses an enclosure, fenced round with stones usually surmounted by a high screen of interwoven

[1] Père Vidil died from eating a dish of crayfish that had gone bad. His death was wrongly attributed to the malignity of the Vao folk, who were accused of having poisoned the crayfish. Mgr. Douceré hotly denies this imputation (see Douceré, pp. 202 ff.).

[2] This paragraph is based on my knowledge of conditions on Atchin, where I made detailed records of the arrangements inside the house-enclosures which I did not repeat on Vao. A much fuller description, together with native terms, will be given in a later volume. So far as I know, the conditions described here do not differ greatly from those on Vao, though the organisation into Lodges given in the following paragraph differs considerably from that on the remaining Small Islands.

reeds. The village paths, or streets, are thus lined on both sides with high fences pierced at intervals by entrances left solid at the bottom, both to keep out stray pigs and to keep in those belonging to the owner of the enclosure. The upper part of each entrance is usually open when the owner is at home, but can be blocked, when he so wishes, by a movable reed panel. No man ever enters the enclosure of another without invitation. Indeed, the general communism and publicity of life is counterbalanced by a very great sense of possessiveness about a man's actual home. There are, it is true, certain occasions when even this private spot may be rudely violated, but these are ritual occasions which in a description of everyday life may be left out of account. Within the enclosure are two courts. Firstly an outer court, containing the wife's house,[1] or, if there is more than one wife, a house for each. Here also live, in the same house with their mother, unmarried daughters as well as sons till these are able to dispense with her help. It is into this court that the entrance from the village street gives access. Behind this, partly separated from it except in the case of the very newly wed by another reed screen, is the inner court where is the husband's own house. With him live sometimes a young son or two, but these are usually provided for by the erection of a communal bachelors' house shared by closely related boys and unmarried youths, who may also have friends from other less closely related families to live with them. Both outer and inner court also contain storehouses for yams and yet other houses for the pigs, but valuable tuskers are always kept by the husband in the inner court. Cohabitation occurs only in the wife's house, never in the man's, for fear of pollution by menstrual blood, and never during the woman's menstrual period. There is a tendency, though it is by no means a set rule, for a rich man to gather his married sons around him in a larger compound composed of a number of enclosures with inner and outer court such as have just been described, and it is in these compounds that the bachelors' houses are built.

Lodges.

Besides dwelling-houses, each Vao village possesses a number of lodges,[2] or what in current anthropological literature are called club-houses, which in Vao are called *na-tamp*, in which the males of certain sections of the clan congregate and sometimes sleep. These are quite different from the *ghamal*, which belongs to the whole village, and are from one point of view the mortuary chapels of the family or group of families to which they belong. Each lodge is surrounded by a stone wall

[1] Houses are so constructed that the thatched roof reaches the ground on either side. For details of construction see construction of *ghamal*, p. 440. Ordinary dwelling-houses are similarly constructed but on a smaller scale.

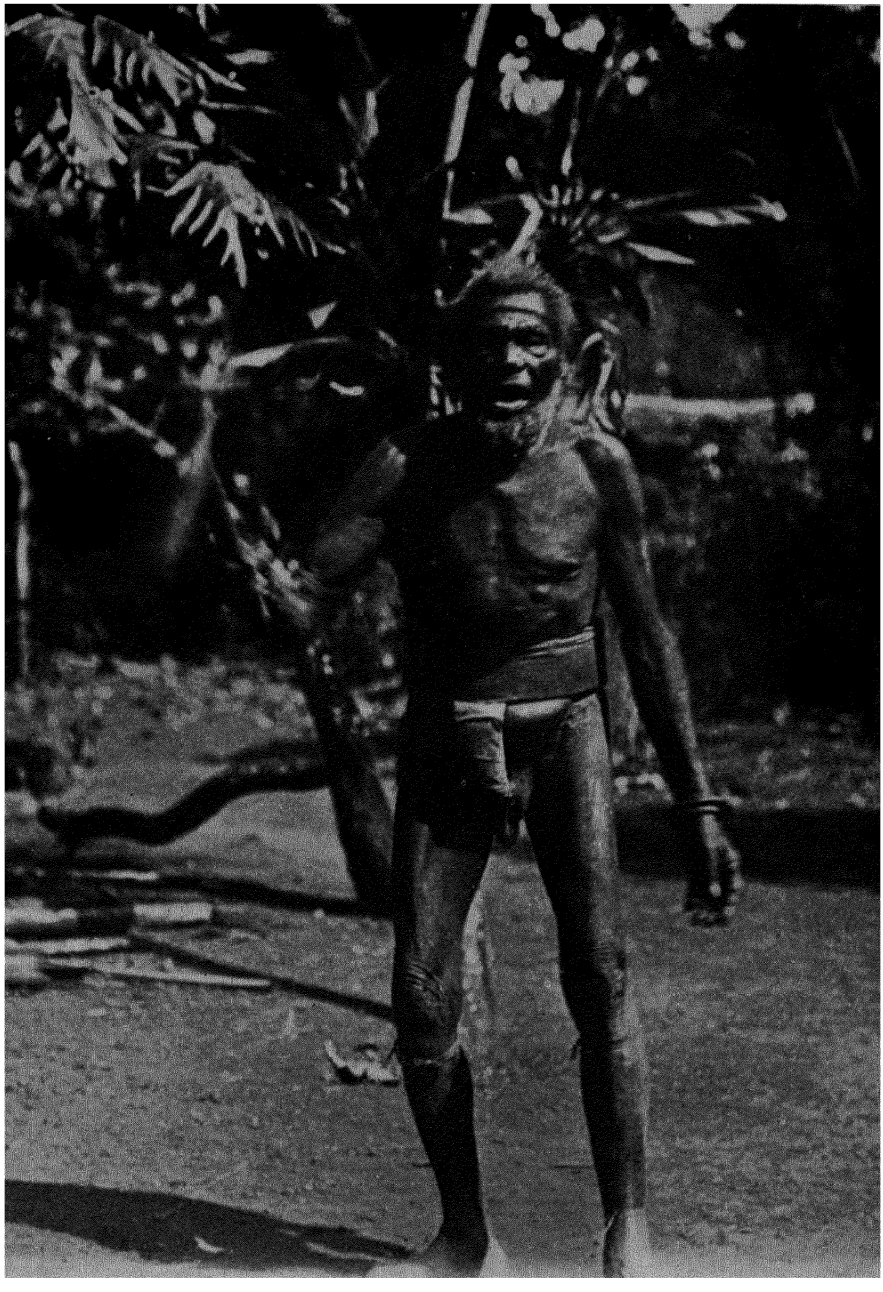
[2] See p. 63.

within which is also the family cemetery in which old men of high rank are buried. No women born outside the village (which, owing to clan exogamy, includes all wives and mothers of clan members) are allowed inside this enclosure, and those born within it (that is to say, the lodge-members' sisters and daughters) are only allowed in when specially invited on some errand by one of the senior members, or on certain ritual occasions.

This organisation into lodges will be fully described in the chapter on Social Organisation. Enough has been said now to enable us to enter the village without trespassing where we are not wanted and to understand something of what is going on.

Dress.

As we go up from the beach we shall have the opportunity first of observing native dress. As may be seen in the photograph of Kowu beach (Plate I), young boys and young girls go completely naked. When they are about six or eight years old, the boys start wearing a plaited string belt of soft material around their waists. This belt will have at first only a single coil, but as they grow older the number of coils increases till the string belt assumes quite lengthy proportions and may be wound as many as six or seven times around the waist. At about the age of puberty the boys put on a new garment. This is a penis-wrapper made out of a banana leaf stripped longitudinally in half with the midrib removed but leaving enough of the central fibre to withstand a certain amount of wear. This leaf is wound round and round the penis spirally, in such a way that the windings continue beyond the glans. This continuation of the wrapper is then drawn up over the string belt and finally tucked in behind it from above. The penis is thus held vertically upwards parallel to the central line of the abdomen, with the testicles completely exposed to view. This is the ordinary dress of youths not yet initiated. On initiation, the banana-leaf wrapper, called *nu-mba-nu-mbe*, is retained as an under-garment, but is now covered by a ceremonial penis-wrapper (*na-avu*) consisting of a flat strip of material plaited by women from thin strips of pandanus-palm leaf, dyed red and ornamented with designs in the dull yellow colour left by immersion in the juice of turmeric leaves. Both ends of the wrapper are so constructed as to leave a fringe of the same material, slit very fine so as to form tassels. This wrapper is wound round the penis in the same way as the underlying banana-leaf wrapper, and the tassels similarly tucked over and behind the plaited string belt. Over the string belt and tassels is now wound a broad bark-board belt called *na-tuve*, about six inches wide, made of the inner bark of a special tree sometimes covered with coconut fibre, wound round in super-imposed coils, which cover the abdomen from above the navel to the groin. This is in turn held in place by a plaited belt called *ne-tuw*, also made by women and in



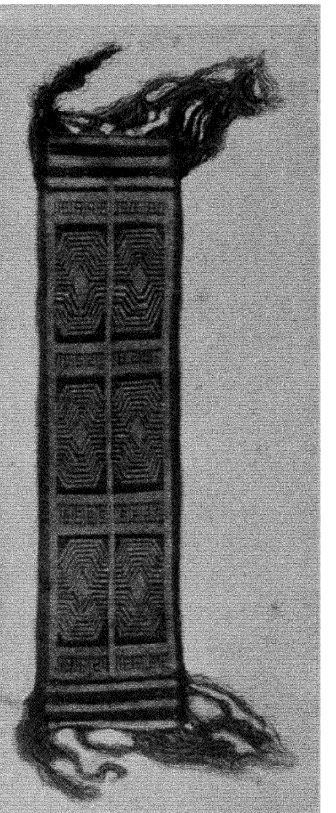
Pelur, of Togh-vanu, wearing bark-board belt and penis-wrapper. He is singing a cannibal song while holding in his right hand the sacrificial wooden hatchet figured in Plate XXIV and Fig. 59



1. Plaited penis-wrappers from East Malekula and Raga. (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 43, *Figs.* 11, 12, 13)



2. Money-mat (*mangau*). (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 75, *Fig.* 6)



3. Dancing-mat obtained from Oba (see p. 523). (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 74, *Fig.* 4)

construction and design similar to the penis-wrapper, though rarely more than an inch wide and long enough to reach round the waist. The plaited belt is tied at the side and its tassels fall half-way down the thigh. This constitutes full adult male dress. On important ritual occasions the place of the bark-board belt is taken by a belt of similar dimensions made of a light brown, almost whitish fibre, the ends of which are laced together when in position on the body.[1]

The women's dress is simpler, consisting mainly of a narrow mat-skirt (made of similar material to the men's penis-wrappers and plaited belts and similarly dyed), ten to twelve inches broad, wrapped round the pudenda and buttocks. There are several types of these, used for every-day wear and ritual occasions.

The Oba *mal-mal*, a yet more finely woven mat worn by men apron-wise from the waist downwards, is not worn in the Small Islands save at the time of the return of youths from the pilgrimage which they undertake to that island for the sake of Initiation into Sex, described in Chapter XX.

Personal decorations.

As ornaments the women often wear long strings of pierced shell beads (*na-sum*) such as are used elsewhere in Melanesia as money, as well as small but very dainty bracelets made of turbo shell called *na-lel*. Young men as a rule go unadorned, but old men wear as bracelets the tusks of circle-tusker pigs [2] that they have sacrificed, filled in at the end with fibre, and often worn yellow with age. On ritual occasions, apart from the numerous ferns, leaves and feathers which men wear in their hair and tucked into their bark-board belts, the chief ornaments are the arm-badges (*na-mban*) worn by both sexes, but particularly by men, made of white and black beads, the former of sea-shell and the latter of coconut-shell, arranged in geometric designs.[3] On ordinary working days these are not worn. Even so, however, we can tell at a glance quite a lot about the personal history of each individual we meet. Leaves or feathers placed in the hair afford us, both from their species and from minute variations in their position on the head, information on quite a variety of subjects: in the case of a young man, whether, for instance, he has recently returned from his first visit to Oba, Raga or Ambrim, or whether or no he has succeeded in finding a lover after this expedition. Others may wear similar decorations slightly differently placed to in-

[1] Native terms used in Atchin will be given in a later volume. Nowadays, as a concession to white influence and because they genuinely seem to like it, some of the young men have adopted the fashion of wearing in addition white cotton or linen squares tied triangle-wise round the bottom of the bark-board belt in such a way that the apex of the triangle just covers the testicles. Leather belts are also frequently worn in place of the plaited and dyed tassel-belts.

[2] See pp. 243 ff.

[3] See Plate XX.

dicate that they have recently taken part in a certain type of Maki rite, or that they have secretly carried out a certain act of sorcery against persons unknown—a cheap type of self-advertisement apt, however, to be imitated by those only wishing to gain a reputation for occult power; or an old man may by similar means demonstrate to an admiring world the fact that he has sacrificed more than one home-bred circle-tusker.[1]

Forms of greeting.

Before reaching the village the average native knows from footprints who has already returned, for each man's footprints are known. In the case of a woman, it is more than likely that he knows also, from the impress of her foot, what load she has been carrying.

Meeting an individual or a party on the path, there is little need to speculate whither they come, for the polite formula of greeting is, "Where have you come from?" or "Where are you going?" Nor, under ordinary circumstances, will the question be evaded, since not only is it the custom to tell, but it would also be futile to conceal, since so many indications, as well as the publicity under which all members of the community live, make checking up on any individual's whereabouts easy. Gossip, too, spreads quickly and surely, and only sorcerers and adulterers have real need to conceal their movements.

Fire-making.

Once home, the first concern is the cooking of the evening meal, the most important in the day, since breakfast consists usually of bits left over from the night before, and the midday meal is made of yams roasted over an open fire close to the gardens where they work. Each house has in it an earth-oven, a simple hole dug in the ground. In this a fire burns all night, for warmth and to keep off stray ghosts. It also serves to keep away mosquitoes. Strong eyes are needed to resist the pungent, ubiquitous smoke whose only exit is through the interstices of the rain-proof thatched roof.

Fires rarely go out, since embers are carefully preserved. When new fire is needed, however, either at home or always when abroad, it must be made by the "plough" method. A flat soft-wood board is placed on the ground, and the fire-maker keeps this in place by kneeling on the nearer end, while, with a hard-wood stick about eight inches long gripped in both hands, he rubs backwards and forwards with it till a groove is formed in the board. This movement begins comparatively slowly, till the soft wood-dust formed by the friction begins to gather at the further end of the groove. Then the movement becomes faster and faster, till the increased friction results in a minute smouldering spark igniting the

[1] Such tuskers are more valuable if bred at home than if acquired by trade (see p. 242).

dust. Dry leaves kept at hand are then swiftly placed over the spark, and fanned by blowing into a flame. Under favourable and absolutely dry conditions fire can be made by this method in under a minute. But it is hard work, and the European trying for the first time may work for five minutes before getting a flame.

Ritual fires and sex dichotomy. Position of strangers.

There is no family gathering for the meal, however, for one of the fundamental principles underlying society in these islands is that those who have performed the Maki rite, that is to say practically the whole male population, have thereby become so holy that they may not eat with women. This sex dichotomy which decrees that all the men, apart from small boys who have not yet taken their first step in the Maki, must eat separately from women, is one of the most marked features of Small Island society, and has far-reaching results. It is largely bound up with the question of fires, which in themselves, when lit by a member of the Maki hierarchy, are holy. Thus one of the chief acts at the moment of consecration during this rite is the lighting of a new fire, with brands from which (according to one account) the oven on which his meals are henceforth to be cooked must be kindled. Tales dealing with the miraculous origin of certain fires as related on Atchin will be given in a later volume.

One of the results of this sanctity of fires, which affected the writer's entire outlook and conditioned much of his work, was the fact that he himself, not having taken Maki rank, was unsanctified. He was therefore unable to eat with the men, nor could he eat with women, since had he done this he would have been classed as one and therefore automatically debarred from knowledge of men's secret rites. So he was forced to eat alone. This resulted in practically no contact with women, and in the fact that, lacking the ordinary meal-time companionship which in other countries, and indeed among themselves within the sex ban, is the time of greatest sociability, his attention was largely concentrated on the more formal, ritual life of the natives, of which this fire ban is one of the most salient characteristics.

It is therefore not as an honoured guest that the stranger from outside the closed ranks of the Maki hierarchy will be received at meal-time, but as a stranger from a different world, tolerated on account of his personality and his adherence to a race that may indeed be superior in many other ways, but yet one outside the pale of communal eating, to whom it is no insult not to offer food, for the simple reason that it is impossible.

If, thus, it is desired to make a correct approach, meal-times are to be avoided as bringing too obviously to the fore the abyss separating the holy from the unclean who have never, by means of sacrifice, wiped out the stain of having, as boys, eaten with women. There are, it is true,

stories of men who have acquired such superlatively high Maki rank—there are none living now—that they have been strong enough, not without raising such storms in the community as almost to wreck it, to break the taboo and re-establish, for themselves alone, spiritual contact with the mother's milk by eating from the same fire as women.[1] Such men who have completed the circle between childhood and divinity are regarded with awe and terror as being almost equal to ghosts.

It is well, therefore, to wait until the meal is over, the pipes lighted,[2] and, with the gathering twilight lit up by moon and stars and by the smouldering fire, to approach with some casual appropriate remark and then sit down and listen, not with the head only, but, as the natives say, the "belly," or what we should call the heart.

Debates.

Another type of meeting from which women are excluded but which the circumspect stranger may attend is that of the debates, which in fine weather are held in the dancing-ground or in wet weather in the *ghamal*. These are described by Godefroy [3] as being either "small" debates, which are a kind of communal recreation when a little is said about everything, or "grand" debates, announced by the sounding of gongs. Such "grand" debates are held only on important occasions, when, for example, a woman has eloped or some insult has been perpetrated against one of the influential members of the clan, or else to announce the date of some rite, or because certain old men wish to summon an offender before this the only tribunal that exists.

If held in the dancing-ground, each member of the clan takes his place at the correct spot indicated by his rank. The oldest members take up their position on the Upper Side, close to the gongs; if there are five or six of them, they squat on their heels, in the form of a square; three paces behind, towards the middle of the ground, sit those one rank inferior to that of the old men; yet further off, and separated by the same distance from those superior to them, are a group of young men; finally, that of the older boys. All speak in a low voice, though the elders talk rather more loudly than the rest. They discuss the subject of their meeting.

[1] The story of one such will be told in a later volume on Atchin.

[2] A European innovation, hand-maiden of the trader who, by creating this artificial craving which occupies some of the native's surplus energy now that his work in the gardens has been so notably lightened by the introduction of iron, has established a tobacco-currency which, as the natives themselves despairingly say, "goes up in smoke," and must be eternally renewed, for the white man's profit.

[3] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 40-1. The word for these debates in his spelling is *sisilakuarean*, from the verb *sisilakuar*. The Atchin equivalent is the verb *tsil-tsilewere*, whence on that island I had conferred on me the half-joking title of Melteg-tsilewere on account of my long sessions with informants. (Melteg is one of the titles conferred on men of high rank in the Maki, see pp. 289, 432.)

After a time one old man will get up and close the debate by announcing in a loud voice the conclusion that has been reached. The young men have taken no part whatever in the discussion, the whole debate having taken place between the members of the first two ranks.

Position of women.

It is assumed often, on account of the dichotomy between the sexes already mentioned, that the position of women in these islands is a very inferior one. This is, however, only partially the case. It is of course true that they are not held in such high esteem as in the matrilineal islands further north. Nevertheless their position is infinitely better than among the Big Nambas who inhabit the neighbouring plateau of North Malekula. Though in the Small Islands men occasionally beat their wives and white men tell gruesome tales of ham-stringing by jealous husbands, such actions are rare and are by no means generally approved. If matters get too bad, the wife can leave and go back to her own people. If she persists in not returning and has the backing of her own relatives, these pay back the pigs the husband has given as bride-price, and she is free to marry again. But all the numerous minor pigs ceremonially presented to the wife's relatives are not paid back, so that the husband is the loser, even in pigs, and has therefore, if from this point of view only (which of course is not the only one), every inducement to make his wife's lot a contented one. During pregnancy and for some months after the birth of a child she is, moreover, carefully, almost fiercely, watched over by her own people, who at times take possession of the husband's house in order to ensure her welfare. Nor is the women's lot in the gardens too hard. Though she does indeed do most of the carrying, specially heavy loads are carried by the men, and though in the matter of time she is busy for longer periods, the heavy work of cutting down the trees, burning the scrub, and generally clearing the ground is done by men, while in the planting of the yams both share, and it is not unusual to see a husband with his wife and children all busy on the same yam-mound. At home, she feeds most of the pigs, but the most valuable tuskers are cared for by the men who are to sacrifice them. Women also have certain Lodges of their own which men may not enter, and receive complimentary titles when their menfolk perform the Maki rite.[1] They are said also even to perform a kind of secret Maki of their own.

Interior of houses. Tools and other domestic objects.

On the evening of any ordinary day, when no particular rite is in progress, the men and women, after seeing to the safety of the canoes in which they have returned from their mainland gardens, having each taken their own separate paths up from the shore and then shared the

[1] See p. 394.

common way leading to the village, go together into their dwelling enclosures, where the women set about cooking, while the men glance around their property to see that everything is in order and no untoward circumstance has occurred during the day. If we now accompany a man into his house we shall see, firstly, at the far end and somewhat to one side, the pit for his earth-oven, and, on the other side, a small bamboo frame, furnished with wooden pillow, and covered with a mat roughly plaited from the fronds of coconut leaves, which is his bed. If a young son is living with him, there will be two. Both beds are on what is called the "Upper" side of the house. This may be either side, but once chosen cannot be altered. Stuck into the thatch, or hooked on to the rafters which support it, grimed and preserved with the smoke of innumerable fires, are the objects he treasures. Polished stone blades hafted to adze-shaped handles for heavy garden work, felling of trees, cutting of roots. Shell adze blades, similarly hafted, for carving and for hollowing out canoes and gongs. Both these in many different sizes, and the latter of different shells, the larger ground down from giant clams and the smaller from small spiral shells. The delicate jaws of flying foxes, bracelets of pigs' tusks or turbo shell, arm-badges such as have been already mentioned. Feathered head-dresses for various occasions, badges of office or of Maki degree. Bunches of leaves for magic. If he is a sorcerer or rain-maker he will have, hidden away, the carved rain-stones and much other paraphernalia essential to his trade.

Cooking the evening meal.

Having surveyed these, the native home from his garden will decide whether to eat in his own dwelling-house or with his fellows in the precincts of the Lodge. If at home, his wife cooks for him, though not on her fire but on his. More usually, however, he will go to the Lodge. Here other men of his joint-family are gathered. Inside the Lodge the large earth-oven, a hole dug in the ground, sometimes surrounded by a lining of stones, is emptied. Fresh firewood is brought and kindled, or the old fire made up. On this round pebbles are laid to heat. Meanwhile the evening meal is being prepared. Yams, the staple diet, are scraped on to a leaf. If the day is an ordinary one, and no sacrifice has been recently performed, the only adjuncts are such small titbits as have been gathered during the day—an odd breadfruit or two, leaves of the native "cabbage," a flying fox, fish, shell-fish, turtles' eggs, prawns, eels, but if there has been a sacrifice, parts of a pig, or fowl. These are all placed on the yam-scrapings, and a fresh layer of these placed on top. Then the whole pudding is wrapped in layer upon layer of leaves so as to preserve it from direct contact with the fire or earth, and to keep in the juices. Meanwhile the pebbles placed on the fire have become red-hot. Half these are now removed by means of wooden tongs, and the wrapped

pudding placed on those that remain. On this are then replaced the stones that have been removed, and the whole covered in with earth. Here the pudding remains till it is judged to have been cooked. For a large ceremonial pudding on a ritual occasion it may be left in all night or even, for the very largest, as long as twenty-four hours. Whatever time the cooking takes, it is judged always to a nicety, and the resulting food is tender and succulent. We are here concerned, however, only with ordinary occasions, when the pudding is taken out soon after it is put in. Fresh leaves are brought on which to lay it, and the meal is ready. On rainy days it is consumed inside the Lodge. But on fine days—and most days are fine—it is eaten outside, the men squatting on their haunches in usual Small Island style, or perhaps sitting on a handy log. The pudding is sliced with wooden knives and eaten either with the bare hand or taken up with a leaf. When finished, what is left over is kept to be eaten cold next morning, and the cooking-leaves fed to the pigs.

Fellowship with the dead.

All this takes place either within or immediately outside the Lodge, within the Lodge enclosure a few feet from where, lined with stones, lie the graves of the ancestral dead. Much has been written of the fear of the dead in primitive religion, and it is curious that it is this aspect of ancestor cult that has been most emphasised by European writers. As Rivers points out, there appear to exist in Melanesia two diametrically opposed attitudes towards the dead, that of the early inhabitants, which was one of great fear, and that of later immigrants, who believed in their ever-present beneficent influence and so tried in all manner of ways to preserve contact with them.[1] In the Small Islands it is true that in some respects the ancestors are very much to be feared, and that their anger is held to be one of the main causes of disease or even death. But this is only when they have been offended by the neglect of ancestral respect, either on the part of the whole community as a result of the change in kinship regulations whereby the introduction of overt patrilineal descent has deprived the matrilineal ancestors of much of their former prestige, or on the part of individuals who have neglected their private offerings at the ancestral graves, or by the too bold introduction of innovations in mortuary ritual or in some other way have offended particular ghosts. It has already been noted how expiation of the communal sin brought about by the change in kinship regulations is one of the most important factors in the huge sacrifices performed during the ritual of the Maki, but we shall see later that it is through these very sacrifices that the living gain fellowship with the dead by ensuring their own future existence in the land where the dead continue to live. Private offences are similarly expiated by sacrifice or the discontinuance of the practices to

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 279.

which the ghosts have taken exception. Apart from these more or less normal occurrences, special types of ghost are particularly liable to cause misfortune, chief among which are the ghosts of those slain in battle, who, lacking due burial rites, are unable to meet the demands of the Guardian Ghost for the gift of a pig sacrificed at their grave, and so wander unsatisfied seeking to wreak vengeance on whom they may find. These exceptions, however, but serve to prove the rule that it is because they have lacked the normal loving care bestowed on the dead, together with the opening of the door to the future life that these sacrifices represent, that their unhappiness drives them to such acts.

For the normal attitude towards the dead in the Small Islands, far from being one of fear, is, once these duties have been performed, one of admiration and gratitude for benefits received during their lifetime and for the yet greater benefits it is hoped to receive from them after their death. For, just as the dead depend for their well-being on the continued sacrifices made to them by the living, so also do the living depend on the dead for their power over the unseen forces that rule their existence, such as their continued health and prosperity, the fertility both of themselves and of their pigs, the sunshine and rain that favour their crops, and the winds that can bring success or disaster to their voyages in their sea-going canoes. Thus ancestors constantly appear in dreams to advise or dissuade, and most major forms of magic contain some sort of appeal to them and derive efficacy from this fact.

While an element of fear certainly pervades the native attitude towards them, it is, however, the kind of fear that is better expressed by the word awe. For if fear in the degraded sense in which it is often used to express only an uncomfortable emotion were the ruling attitude, we should not find the centre of male communal life in each joint-family to be the Lodge built by the side of the very cemetery where the ancestral dead lie, nor should we be able to explain the numerous communion feasts held during the mortuary rites which the dead man of high rank himself shares by receiving morsels of food dropped down a bamboo tube leading to his mouth. At other times, as during voyages, when the ancestors are supposed to accompany and protect them, communion feasts are held which they are believed to share. At home the place where men feel safest is in the Lodge in closest proximity to their graves. This is their natural gathering-place, where they deliberate on all family affairs, sit about at odd times, and have their meals. Here also old men, whose mating time is past, are wont to sleep, close to the dead they soon will join.

PART II

Social Organisation and Kinship

CHAPTER III

OVERT SOCIAL ORGANISATION

THE SMALL ISLANDS AS A CULTURAL UNIT

IN the brief survey contained in the last chapter, we met with several factors of sociological significance:

The division of the island into two unequal Sides.

The fact that the six Vao villages, each with its own dancing-ground, are paired in such a way as to form three double-villages, one double-village on one Side of the Island and two double-villages on the other.

Sex dichotomy as one of the means by which the men maintain a position of ritual superiority over the women.

The existence of a central village men's house (*ghamal*) and of Family-Lodges (*na-tamp*) surrounded by the family cemeteries, into which women not born in the village may never enter and those born in the village may enter only on stated occasions.

(Godefroy also reports the existence of special Lodges in which women give birth to children and to which men have no access.)

In order properly to understand the meaning of these phenomena it is necessary first to examine the social organisation of Vao not as a unit in itself, but as part of the larger unit formed by the Small Islands as a whole.

Despite considerable differences in language, in the regulation of kinship and in ritual, and the not infrequent wars that break out between them, the inhabitants of all these and of the adjacent promontories recognise a common cultural bond. There is, however, no political cohesion. Nor, in the absence of chiefs, is there any centralised form of control or common action.

Within this cultural unit the inhabitants of each island and promontory included in it may severally be spoken of as constituting a "tribe" in the commonly accepted sense that they inhabit a definite locality, speak a common language, have a common name for themselves, and in spite of intermarriage exhibit a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding other people as strangers,[1] though in no case does the population

[1] The only possible exception to this is that of Wala and Rano, which lie very close to one another and in some respects act as a single unit.

of any single Small Island today greatly exceed 400,[1] and that of the two promontories is considerably less. I shall, however, in the following pages make only very occasional use of this term, since the natives' own habit of referring to themselves by the names of their islands or promontories is equally exact and has the advantage of conforming with their own methods of thought.

The population of each Small Island is divided into a number of patrilocal villages in which descent is overtly patrilineal, marriage being regulated at first sight on a simple basis of local patrilineal exogamy. The exogamous patrilineal unit may consist of:

(1) A single-village.
(2) A double-village, sometimes comprising the whole of one Side of the Island.
(3) A group of villages comprising a whole island, as on Wala.[2]

Thus, in each unit formed of a single-village, double-village or group of villages, the population is made up of males all claiming descent from a common ancestor or ancestors in the male line, together with their wives, and their unmarried sisters and daughters. According to the rule of patrilineal exogamy with patrilocal residence, no man may marry any woman born in his own village or group of villages and who could thus claim common ancestry with him in the male line. Thus, every woman on marriage leaves the village in which she was born and goes to live in that of her husband, and the children born of the marriage belong to the husband's patrilineal kin. The patrilineal kin is thus a clan in the true sense of the term, with the men all congregated in their own ancestral patrilineal village and the women seeking husbands outside. The system embraces the whole area under consideration, since marriages take place not only with members of other villages on the same island (except in the case of Wala), but also with those of other Small Islands, as well as of the villages on the adjacent mainland of Malekula.

This pronounced system of overt patrilineal exogamy has given rise to the prevailing opinion that descent in these islands, as in other parts of Malekula, is purely "patrilineal." That this overt patrilineal organisation forms, however, only one aspect of the social scheme, will be seen clearly when we come to examine the kinship systems of the various islands.[3]

What has been said is enough for the moment to demonstrate the interdependence of all the Small Island communities and the dominance of the patrilineal principle in the regulation of residence.

With this common background, let us now briefly survey the social organisation of the various islands with regard to the arrangement and inter-relation of their villages.

[1] For exact numbers see Appendix I, pp. 745 ff.
[2] See footnote on p. 56.
[3] See Chapters V and VI.

Arrangement of Villages in the Various Islands

Reference to Map II, appearing on page 28, will show that the island of Vao is not peculiar in being divided both geographically and socially into two unequal Sides. This is a basic feature of social organisation also on all the Small Islands. A second point common to all is the fact that, apart from refugee communities, the population of each island is divided into six villages, of which two are on what is regarded as the Superior Side of the Island and four on the other. A third point of similarity is that in each case the Superior Side of the Island is that possessing the best beach, which always faces the mainland and, containing only one double-village or two single-villages, is in all cases the smaller, while the Inferior seaward Side, containing four villages, is the larger.

Here, however, the similarity ends. Subject to these basic features common to all the Small Islands, each individual island differs from the others in the precise way in which its component villages are grouped together into exogamous units.

Vao.

In Vao the six villages are grouped into three pairs so as to form three double-villages, one double-village on the Superior Side of the Island and two double-villages on the Inferior Side. The solidarity of each of these three double-villages impressed itself so strongly on Speiser in 1910 that he described the population of Vao as being divided into "three large villages," [1] and during the time of my visit they were equally intact. The swiftness of the change now taking place in these islands is, however, shown by the fact that Godefroy, writing nearly twenty years later, refers to the four villages on the Inferior Side as having "no kinship ties." [2] This phrase presumably refers to a state of affairs similar to that on Atchin, where, at the time of my visit, each of the corresponding four villages on the Inferior Side was an exogamous unit. This tendency for the two double-villages on this Side of each Island to split up appears, for reasons given below,[3] to be inherent in the kinship system, and is but one aspect of the general collapse of sectional systems in this part of Melanesia. This process being more advanced on Atchin than on Vao, and the Inferior Side of Vao being in close contact with that island, this contact has apparently hastened the collapse on this Side of Vao. Since at the time during which my field-work was carried out, however, the three double-villages on Vao still functioned as such, this subsequent development will be ignored so far as my own results are concerned.

[1] Speiser, 3, p. 102.
[2] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 54.
[3] See p. 167.

Atchin.

On Atchin there is now only one exogamous double-village, occupying the Superior Side of the Island facing the mainland. This double-village is named, and its component twin-villages are also named.[1] On the Inferior Side of the Island the remaining four villages are, as already stated, no longer grouped into double-villages, but each forms an exogamous unit by itself. It is said, however, that formerly this was not the case, and that the entire island once formed a single unit.

Wala.

On Wala, the historic sequence which we have noted on Atchin is reversed, the entire island now forming a single exogamous unit, with two separate villages on one side and four on the other, though it is said that formerly each village was a unit in itself.[2]

Uripiv.

On Uripiv, regarding which island my information is very slight, there would appear to be three villages on one side (one of which may possibly be intrusive) and four on the other, two of which form an exogamous pair, the rest being separate units.

Mainland villages.

Regarding the organisation of mainland villages I have no information. There are, however, certain mainland villages between which and some of the Small Island villages there are traditional marriage connexions.[3]

New forms of culture diffused to the Small Islands from the mainland villages of Lawor and Bot-walim. Vao retains older form of culture.

These differences, as will be shown in later volumes, are due to the new forms of culture disseminated from the two now extinct villages of

[1] This is the double-village of Ruruar, with its twin-villages Pweter-tsüts and Olep.

[2] Wala is divided from the neighbouring island of Rano only by a very narrow strait, and it is possible that these two islands may at one time have been regarded as a single unit, in which case the two islands may have corresponded socially to the two "Sides of the Island" on Vao and Atchin, in spite of the fact that Wala itself now appears to have two "Sides." This supposition receives support from Mgr. Douceré's statement (Douceré, p. 292) derived from Père Salomon, at one time missionary on that island, that "Wala men marry Rano women and Rano men marry Wala women." This does not tell the whole story, since many marriages occur also between the natives of Wala and those of Atchin and to a less extent of Vao, but it certainly indicates a division into exogamous moieties, one such moiety including the whole of Wala and the other the whole of Rano. An exceptional position, however, is occupied by the Wala village of Mel-nator, said to have been founded by the shipwrecked crew of a canoe from Raga some six or seven generations ago whose history is well known on the island, and who in consequence of their foreign origin are permitted to marry members of other Wala villages (as well as those of other islands as shown by the genealogies I recorded on Atchin).

[3] See p. 162.

Lawor and Bot-walim formerly situated on the mainland opposite Wala. There is a considerable body of evidence, however, which suggests that at one time all the Small Islands were even more similar in organisation than they are today, and that the existing organisation on Vao is the model to which all formerly conformed. It would be anticipating future volumes to produce all the evidence here, and I will content myself now with repeating that it is on this account, and with a view to tracing the change, that I have chosen Vao as the subject of the first volume in this series.

Owing to the wealth of material, I propose in this volume to reduce references to the other islands to a minimum, leaving the description of the processes of change occurring in them to future publications, and to concentrate here exclusively on the older type of social organisation still existing on Vao. Even on Vao, influences disruptive of the old forms of culture are already at work, one example of which is seen in the tendency already mentioned for the two double-villages on the Inferior Side of the Island to split up into four exogamous units.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION ON VAO

"Sides of the Island."

As we have seen, the island of Vao is primarily divided, both geographically and socially, into two asymmetrical Sides. These Sides are not named, members of each moiety referring to the other simply as *tosan*, meaning "side," or, as we should say, "the other side." In order to distinguish these from the numerous other progressively dual divisions of society we shall meet with in this chapter, I will refer to them as "Sides of the Island." The two Sides of the Island, though indispensable to one another as parts of a single organisation, live in a traditional state of enmity one with the other.[1]

Double-villages.

On the Superior Side, facing the mainland and sharing possession of the best beach called Kowu, are two named villages, Pete-hul and Toghvanu, which together form the unnamed patrilineal exogamous double-village which occupies this Side of the Island.[2]

On the Inferior seaward Side of the Island are the two unnamed patrilineal exogamous double-villages composed respectively of the named villages Venu and Peter-ihi, occupying the eastern half of the central ridge, and Singon and Norohure, occupying the easterly point.

[1] For detailed accounts of this enmity, see Chapters XXIII on Warfare.

[2] One aspect of the superiority of this double-village is the fact that its inhabitants regard themselves as philological purists, rejecting linguistic innovations from Atchin, such as are favoured by those of the Inferior Side of the Island (Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 54).

Parent and offshoot villages.

Just as the whole island is divided into Superior and Inferior Sides, so also in each double-village one component village is regarded as superior, and the other as inferior. In each case the superior village represents the original foundation and will therefore be referred to as the parent village, of which the inferior village is the offshoot.

The six villages of Vao are paired in this respect as follows: [1]

	Superior (parent) Village	Inferior (offshoot) Village
Superior Side of the Island	Pete-hul	Togh-vanu
Inferior Side of the Island	Peter-ihi	Venu
	Singon	Norohure

FIG. 3

This phenomenon of parent and offshoot villages is always represented by the natives as being due to historical accident. As each double-village, however, is so split, and as the six villages so formed constitute the essential organisation of the island, we shall have to seek further for the real meaning of this arrangement. The historical explanation as given by the natives for the bisection of the Superior Side will be given in the next chapter. The actual mechanism causing the split and the "inferiority" of the offshoot villages will be dealt with in the chapters on Kinship.

Refugee communities.

The only sections of the community not referred to in the above account are:

(*a*) The refugee community of Tolamp, descended from the inhabitants of a now submerged island formerly situated between Vao and Atchin. The survivors and their descendants first took refuge on the mainland, where they built a number of villages in succession till in recent years the last remnants of them settled on Vao, on land belonging to the village of Togh-vanu, with which they had always had close kinship ties, and made a dancing-ground adjoining that of their hosts. Owing

[1] The number and names of married men in each village in the year 1932 are given on page 746. It is worth noting that the population on each Side of the Island is approximately equal.

to the fact that they acquired many of the chief Maki rites from the mainland of Malekula before these were acquired on Vao, they hold, despite their small numbers, a very special position on the island. Their history is recorded in Chapter XXII.

(*b*) The two former communities of Lavame, which has only three surviving members, also now living at Togh-vanu, and Handillagh, which is extinct. Lavame formerly possessed two dancing-grounds. The now deserted dancing-ground marked in Map III as being on the path leading from Le-siwar to Togh-vanu is probably one of these. The inhabitants formerly had close kinship ties with the mainland village of Le-huru. A tale dealing with the quarrel between Lavame and Handillagh is given on p. 80.

(*c*) The refugee community of Le-se-kere, of which only one man survives.

None of these, however, affect the essential organisation of the island, and they may therefore be left out of account here, with the passing remark that the confusion in the stories regarding the origin of the various Vao villages cited in the next chapter may well have arisen partly through a number of refugee communities attaching themselves to existing villages and so giving rise to contradictory legends.

I will confine myself in this chapter to a description of the overt social organisation, so far as I recorded it, of the six villages into which the native Vao population is divided.

Dancing-grounds.

Every Vao village possesses one dancing-ground,[1] called *ne-sar*,[2] which is the focal point of the village, the place where the stone-platforms, dolmens and monoliths, and gongs connected with the Maki, are set up, and the scene of the chief Maki rites. Though in the centre of the village and not guarded by any physical barrier, no woman may set foot on the soil of a dancing-ground except during certain dances and rites connected

[1] There are exceptional cases in which one village has two dancing-grounds (see pp. 61, 89).

[2] Sometimes referred to as *le-sar*, using the locative particle *le-* in place of the indefinite article *ne-*. The use of this word for dancing-ground, shared also by the adjacent Malekulan coastal villages, is, so far as I know, unique in the Malekulan area in which, as also on the remaining Small Islands and in Ambrim, the usual term used for it is some form of the word *(h)amal*, which in its turn is related to *ghamal* (see footnote p. 60). The root *sar* is, however, used in this sense also in South-East Oba, where in the district of Lologharo the word for dancing-ground is *sare*, in Losigwei *na-sar*, and in Lol-mangwe *sara* (Layard, 9). In South Raga it is *sar* (Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 377). In Vanua Lava "a man may plant a cycas in his garden as a sign that it is *sare tamate*, i.e. the lodge or resting-place of a *tamate*" (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 89). Dr. Capell suggests that the word is probably derived from the Indonesian *saghep*, "to sweep." Compare Mota *sara*, meaning both "court," "open space," and "to sweep"; *sarag*, "to wipe away"; *sarav*, "to rub," etc. By extension, *sara* also means "to gather, bring together," and *sargag* "to assemble" (Codrington, 2).

with the presentation of tusked boars. Here, men rule supreme, and here the main sacrifices to the ancestors take place. This is the spot from which each village is said to spring, and in all native accounts of the foundation of any village the construction of the dancing-ground is the founder's first act.

Ghamal.

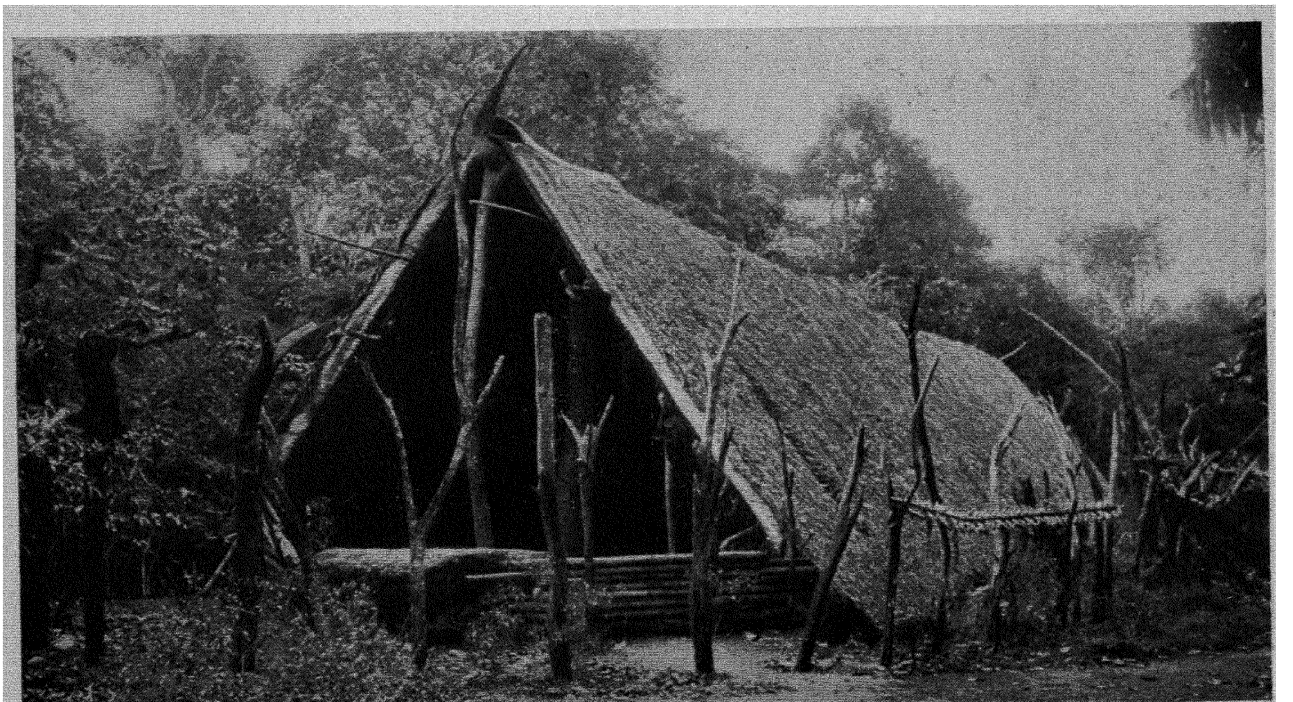
Close to the dancing-ground is the largest building in the village, called *ghamal*.[1] This is the roofed counterpart of the dancing-ground, being the centre for all such business connected with the Maki as needs protection from the weather. This also is sacred to men, no woman being allowed, save on certain specified occasions, to set foot across the fence surrounding it. The word *ghamal* is clearly connected with the Banks Islands *gamal*, and the intimate association of this structure with the dancing-ground is seen in the use of the word itself, since in Atchin the corresponding word *amal* is actually used for the dancing-ground, while the Initiation Lodge, which in Atchin occupies the same position with regard to the dancing-ground as does the *ghamal* on Vao, is called *lol-hamal*, meaning "in the midst of the (*h*)*amal*." Variations of this same word are applied throughout Malekula and Ambrim alternatively for the dancing-ground or for the structure connected with it.[2] It is probably the same word as *Mal*, the title taken by the chief sacrificer in the Maki rites throughout this area. This title is connected with the verb *pal*, "to

[1] Usually combined with the indefinite article as *na-ghamal*.

[2] Instances of the use of this term for MEN'S-HOUSE or LODGE are:
Banks Islands, *gamal* (Codrington, Rivers).
Torres Islands, *gamel* (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 185).
Oba, *gamali* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 232).
Santo (St. Philip's and St. James' Bay), *gamali* (ibid.).
,, (Nogugu), *na-gamal*, *na-gomali* (Deacon, 3, p. 473).
,, (,, and Epi), *komal*, *komali*, *komel* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 233).
South Raga (Pornowol), *mal* (Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 427).
Ambrim (Sulol), *himel* (Rivers, 3), *imel* (Deacon, 3, p. 512).
Malekula (Seniang), *na-amel* (Deacon, 4, glossary).
,, (Lambumbu), (*g*)*amal* (ibid.).
,, (Lagalag), *hamal* (ibid.).
,, (Big Nambas), *ghamal* (ibid.).
,, (Port Sandwich), *amil* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 233).
,, (Aulua), *n'amal*, *n'amel* (ibid.).
West Epi (Burumba), *gomali* (Deacon, 3, p. 504).

Instances of the use of the term for DANCING-GROUND all come from Malekula and Ambrim, and are:
Malekula (Atchin), *amal* (where *lol-hamal* means "Initiation Lodge") (Layard, 9).
,, (Wala), *n'amil* (ibid.).
,, (Lambumbu), *na-amel* (Deacon, 4, glossary).
,, (Lagalag), *hamil* (="sacred place of clan") (ibid.).
Ambrim (Sulol), *hemel* (where *himel* means Men's-House) (Rivers, 3).

In the Small Islands of Malekula, other than Vao, this meaning has become extended yet further, in that many VILLAGES themselves are called *emil*, with a qualifying adjective, e.g. on Atchin, *Emil Parav* (long), *Emil Marur* (narrow), *Emil Lep* (great).



A Vao *ghamal* (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 15, *Fig.* 1). Note the dolmen outside, enclosed by a fence, and rack displaying the tusked jaws of boars sacrificed at its consecration

sacrifice" or "to be sacrificed,"[1] and the sanction for the structure's sacredness is the human sacrifice which, together with the sacrifice of tusked boars, forms an essential feature of the consecration rite performed when it is built.[2]

It would appear, therefore, that the word *ghamal*, or *amal*, as used either for the dancing-ground or for the roofed structure associated with it, should properly be rendered "Place of Sacrifice."

The numerous functions of the *ghamal* will appear during the course of this work. It will suffice here to mention some of the most important. We have already noted its sacredness to men, that is to say to those who have performed the Maki rite, and have thus during their lifetime taken on some of the holiness of ancestors. Each man has his own place,[3] marked by his sleeping-mat (*tambaghar*) and by his earth-oven, at which either he or his sons cook his meals. Here all those who have performed the chief Maki sacrifice must sleep during the thirty-day period following the rite, eating of food specially cooked by their wives, though the most elaborate precautions are taken that this food shall not come into contact with that eaten by women.[4] Warriors also sleep in the *ghamal* before intended battle. Here also are made the masks and other perishable objects used in the special dances called *na-leng*,[5] and new gongs are hollowed out, accompanied by magic formulae. The most important feasts connected with the Maki are held here, and all decisions come to with regard to Maki rites. Here also debates are held at night, or when it rains, and young men are instructed by their elders in the history of the tribe.

End-to-end dancing-grounds.

It has been said above that each village has but one dancing-ground. This statement is true of all Vao villages with the exception of Peter-ihi, which has two dancing-grounds placed end to end. While in all other cases the dancing-ground goes by the same name as the village, the two dancing-grounds of Peter-ihi are called by different names, respectively *Etine* and *Norolu*. A similar arrangement is found in the Atchin village of Olep, where, however, one is called by the same name as the village, *Olep*, and the other *N'amal Para*, or "New Dancing-ground," of which Olep is the socially superior, and the "New Dancing-ground" the inferior.

This curious arrangement is explained by the natives to be due to historical reasons such as that accounting for the foundation of the double-

[1] Cf. the Indonesian *pamali, pemali, pomali*, meaning "sacred or taboo," used especially in connexion with the tabular sacrificial stone called *batu pomali* (similar to the sacrificial dolmen erected during the Vao Maki), closely connected with the Kakihan Society of West Ceram, which Deacon takes to be the prototype of Melanesian secret societies (Deacon, 1, p. 340).

[2] This rite, a special form of Maki, is fully described in Chapter XVI, where a detailed description of the building is also given.

[3] *Meleleku*, "l'endroit où je couche" (Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 36).

[4] See p. 400.

[5] See p. 337.

village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on Vao. According to this account, fully related below,[1] there was in the beginning only one village, Pete-hul, which was founded by two brothers, each of whom constructed his own dancing-ground, both being placed end to end as in the modern village of Peter-ihi. Later, owing to changes in the kinship system which will be fully discussed in Chapter VI, some of the descendants of the younger brother split off from the parent community to found the offshoot village of Togh-vanu by the construction of a separate dancing-ground some little distance away. I mention this here as a possible explanation of the existing two dancing-grounds end-to-end at Peter-ihi, the reason for which I omitted to enquire into on the spot.[2]

"*Sides of the Stone.*"

We have already noted (1) the division of the island into two moieties, and (2) that of each double-village into two twin-villages.

The next sub-division to be recorded is that of the population of each village into two yet further patrilineal moieties called *tosan na-vatu*. We have already met with the word *tosan* used by itself as referring to the two unnamed "Sides of the Island." Here also the word *tosan* means "side," and, combined with the word *na-vatu*, "stone," means "Side of the Stone." As in the case of the two "Sides of the Island," these two moieties are unnamed, members of each moiety referring to members of the other simply as *tosan na-vatu*, "Side (i.e. the other Side) of the Stone." [3]

Organisation of the Double-Village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on the Superior Side of the Island

Pete-hul founded by Ta-ghar.

What has been said above applies to every village on the island. With regard to the further dual divisions into which society is organised, we are faced with the fact of new disturbing influences from Atchin which have to some extent upset the old order.

[1] See p. 89.

[2] The situation in regard to Peter-ihi is, however, complicated by the fact that this village is already provided with an offshoot village, Venu. It would appear that the same process which caused the formation of the original offshoot village is again in operation, and that the parent village is once more in process of dividing into two.

[3] Natives of Vao automatically know to which Side of the Stone this phrase refers, since it must be that Side of the Stone in the speaker's own village to which he himself does not belong. When speaking to strangers, or of the Sides of the Stone in another village, distinction between the two Sides is made by referring specifically to the two Quarters (see p. 70 and Fig. 5) of which each Side is composed. Thus, in the case of Pete-hul, specific reference can only be made by speaking of one Side of the Stone as "*tosan na-vatu La-mbot-na-ninge, Nalu,*" these being the names of the two Quarters composing one Side (see below), and of the other as "*tosan na-vatu La-mbet-ra, La-mbarang.*"

There is in fact only one village on Vao which, owing to its alleged foundation by the sky-deity Ta-ghar, is said by the natives to have an internal organisation which is, as they put it, "straight," or as we should say, "perfect." This is the village of Pete-hul on the Superior Side of the Island. It was therefore to this village and its offshoot Togh-vanu that I turned my attention, and to which the following description applies. As will be seen, of the two villages composing this Side of the Island, it is in fact only the parent-village of Pete-hul that lives up to this reputation for perfection, the offshoot village of Togh-vanu failing to be completely perfect, for reasons which will be apparent when we come to study the kinship system.

Quarters and "Quarter-Lodges."

In the "perfect" village of Pete-hul, each of the two unnamed moieties called "Sides of the Stone" is further divided into two sub-moieties called *bang-ne-im*. The word *ne-im* means "house" or "group of houses," and, as the word implies, each of the four patrilineal sub-clans thus formed occupies a given district in the village, corresponding literally to the four "Quarters" of a town (see Map IV). I did not enquire at the time into the meaning of the first syllable of the term, *bang*, but it is probably identical with the word *na-mbange* meaning "banyan tree." These trees have a semi-sacred character, and it is possible that the numerous banyan trees found throughout the island were at one time associated with the "Quarters" of villages.

Each Quarter centres round a large building, sacred to men, called *na-tamp*. These *na-tamp* are smaller than the village *ghamal*, but much larger than the dwelling-houses. Of the word *na-tamp*, *na-* is the indefinite article, and the essential syllable is *tamp*, one of the many Malekulan variants of the Austronesian word of which the best-known form is the Polynesian *tabu*, meaning sacred. Each *na-tamp* is situated immediately alongside the cemetery in which the oldest and most honoured members of the male section of the Quarter in question, those called *mer-sean*,[1] or "greybeards," are buried. It is to these cemeteries that the word *tamp*, "sacred," really refers. The corresponding word in Atchin is *la-tap*, meaning both cemetery and its accompanying building. In each case the close association between the two is shown by a high wall enclosing both building and cemetery, as well as an open space before the former which serves as a common meeting-ground for the male members of the Quarter. Inside this building and on the open space before it the most important affairs affecting the whole Quarter are discussed. Here the main rites in honour of the dead take place, and the communion feasts are held. No women are admitted save when invited, with the exception of certain occasions when the female patrilineal relatives of the deceased

[1] See p. 531.

(i.e. the sisters and daughters, but never their mothers or wives) come to perform their part in mortuary ritual.

On ordinary occasions, this is the general meeting- and eating-place of men. Here the still living "greybeards" of the Quarter sometimes sleep, as on occasion may also such unmarried youths as have not yet constructed houses for themselves, or married men when they so wish.

Each *na-tamp* has its own distinctive name,[1] which is applied not only to the cemetery and its accompanying building, and to the enclosure surrounding them, but is used also as a collective name for all members of the Quarter to which it belongs, as well as to the village land[2] they own.

It is one of the principles of this work to avoid needless and confusing repetition of native terms, by finding English equivalents where possible. With regard to the secular aspect of the *na-tamp* as a general meeting-place for men, the hackneyed word "club-house" would serve. It will be clear, however, that the ordinary connotations of this word are very far from embracing the religious concepts which underlie the native term, and with no stretch of the imagination could the word "club-house" be made to include, as does the native term, also those members of the population who use it. I therefore propose to adopt the term "Lodge," which, like the native term, applies both to a closed community and to the building in which its members meet, and at the same time bears a similar semi-secret and religious connotation.

Since there is yet another type of Lodge to be considered, I will refer to those which have just been described as Quarter-Lodges.

"*Sides of the Lodge.*"

We have not yet reached the end of the progressive sub-divisions into which the community is split up. For each of the above-mentioned Quarters is yet further divided into two lesser moieties called *tosan na-tamp*, "Sides of the Lodge." These, like the Sides of the dancing-ground (see p. 34), are divided into Upper and Lower, namely *tosan a-ul* and *tosan a-tan*, meaning literally "Superior" and "Inferior." Each of these Lodge moieties has its own lesser Lodge building, also called *na-tamp*. As is the case with the Quarter-Lodges, the word *na-tamp* is used to refer not only to the Lodge and to the cemetery round it, but also to the group of individuals who use it. Each "Side of the Lodge" has its own individual name.

The "Side of the Lodge" represents the smallest cohesive group outside the biological family unit. Its cemetery is reserved for all those belonging to the age and rank entitling those who have reached them to be called *na-humbe*, the usual respectful title for "old man."[3] These two

[1] See p. 67.
[2] As opposed to garden land.
[3] See p. 530.

"Sides of the Lodge" are the meeting- and eating-places for all except the very oldest members of the Quarter.

That these "Sides of the Lodge" are definitely regarded as offshoots from the Quarter-Lodge, which is the main family division, is clear from the fact that in all ceremonial distributions of food the ritual phraseology is not that one set of yams is provided for each "Side of the Lodge," but that "two sets of yams" are given to each Quarter, the Quarter itself only being recognised by the general community and the division into "Sides of the Lodge" being regarded as a domestic affair within the Quarter.[1]

Members of a given "Side of the Lodge" refer to those of the other "Side of the Lodge" in the same Quarter simply as "*tosan*," "Side," or, more specifically, *tosan a-ul* or *tosan a-tan*, "Superior or Inferior Side." When it is necessary, for the sake of strangers, to be yet more specific, the name of the "Side of the Lodge" is added.

Togh-vanu had originally only two Quarters, but now has three.

Such is the internal organisation of Pete-hul, superior or parent partner of the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, which occupies the best side of the island. When we come to examine the organisation of its inferior or offshoot twin-village Togh-vanu, we find that, though composed of the same types of unit, these are arranged differently, and differ also in number. Thus:

(*a*) Instead of having four Quarters, Togh-vanu has only three, each with its own named Quarter-Lodge. It is important to note, moreover, as will be seen later, that there were originally only two Quarters, and that the third Quarter is of comparatively recent origin.[2]

(*b*) Instead of the two moieties called "Sides of the Lodge" into which each Quarter is divided, each having its own Lodge building, there is only one such "Side of the Lodge" building in each Quarter, and this building belongs to the Inferior "Side of the Lodge" while the Superior "Side of the Lodge" uses the Quarter-Lodge as its Lodge building.

These deviations from the theoretically "perfect" pattern of social organisation in Togh-vanu are put down by the natives to the fact that whereas Pete-hul with its perfect organisation was founded by Ta-ghar, Togh-vanu with its imperfect organisation was founded by mere man, and is therefore "all in a muddle."

What this phrase means we shall find out when we come to examine the creation myth and the formation of the kinship system.[3]

[1] See p. 303. Evidence cited below (pp. 156, 168) suggests a possible reason for this, namely that the two "Sides of the Lodge" may possibly be composed respectively of the members of the two matrilineal moieties within the Quarter.

[2] See pp. 91, 95.

[3] See Chapter VI.

Social Organisation illustrated by means of Sketch-map and Diagrams

Fig. 4 presents in diagrammatic form the existing social organisation of the island into successive moieties and sub-moieties.

In Table I the same diagram is presented in horizontal form, giving the names of the named moieties. In the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-

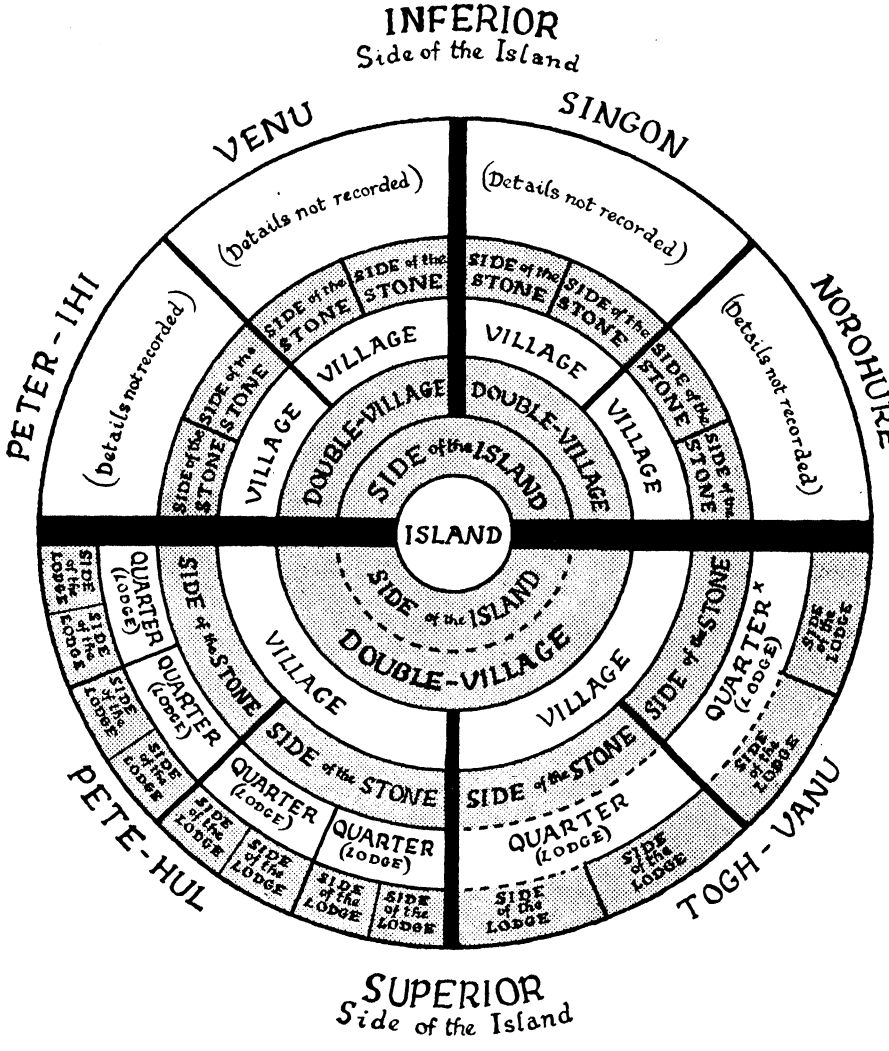


Fig. 4. Diagram illustrating the Overt Social Organisation of Vao.

Moieties known as "sides" (*tosan*), including unnamed double-villages, shaded. Names of villages outside the diagram.

× For subsequent development of this Quarter, see Table I and pp. 91 ff.

Island	Side of the Island (*tosan*)	Double-Village	Single-(Twin) Village	Side of the Stone (*tosan na-vatu*)	Quarter (*bang-ne-im*) Quarter-Lodges called *na-tamp*	" Side of the Lodge " (*tosan na-tamp*)
named	unnamed	unnamed	named	unnamed	named	named
VAO	SUPERIOR SIDE	Double-village	Pete-hul (parent)	Side of the Stone 1	*La-mbarang* A¹	*Mòle*
						Lok-na-vale
					La-mbet-ra B¹	*Na-tavu*
						Tosan na-hal
				Side of the Stone 2	*La-mbot-na-ninge* A²	*La-mbe-tumbu*
						La-tavò-wul-ghoghon
					Nalu B²	*La-tavò-kukur-vat*
						La-mbet-pung
			Togh-vanu (offshoot)	Side of the Stone 1 (with only one Quarter)	*La-mat-na-maki* B¹	(Uses Quarter-Lodge) *La-vag-vag*
				Side of the Stone 2 (originally with only one Quarter)	*Holovon* B²	(Uses Quarter-Lodge) *La-tamp*
					↓	
					La-mbang-ne-me-tine (Recent offshoot from Holovon)	(Uses Quarter-Lodge) *Peter-hei*
	INFERIOR SIDE	Double-village	Peter-ihi (parent) Venu (offshoot)	Each with two Sides of the Stone	(Further details not recorded)	
		Double-village	Singon (parent) Norohure (offshoot)			

TABLE I

Table of Overt Social Organisation on Vao.

vanu the Sides of the Stone are numbered 1 and 2 to demonstrate the fact that, though these moieties appear separately in each village, their appearance is in fact due to two moieties running through the whole kinship organisation. So also the two Quarters in each Side of the Stone in Pete-hul are lettered A and B to show that these also are due to yet another pair of moieties forming an essential part of the kinship system, as will be shown in the next chapter dealing with the native accounts of the origin of this village.

In the brief time available to me on Vao, I was able to make only a rough sketch of the central part of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu on the Superior Side of the Island, together with a few of the adjacent house plots of Peter-ihi on the Inferior Side. From the resulting sketch-map (Map IV) a number of salient facts emerge.

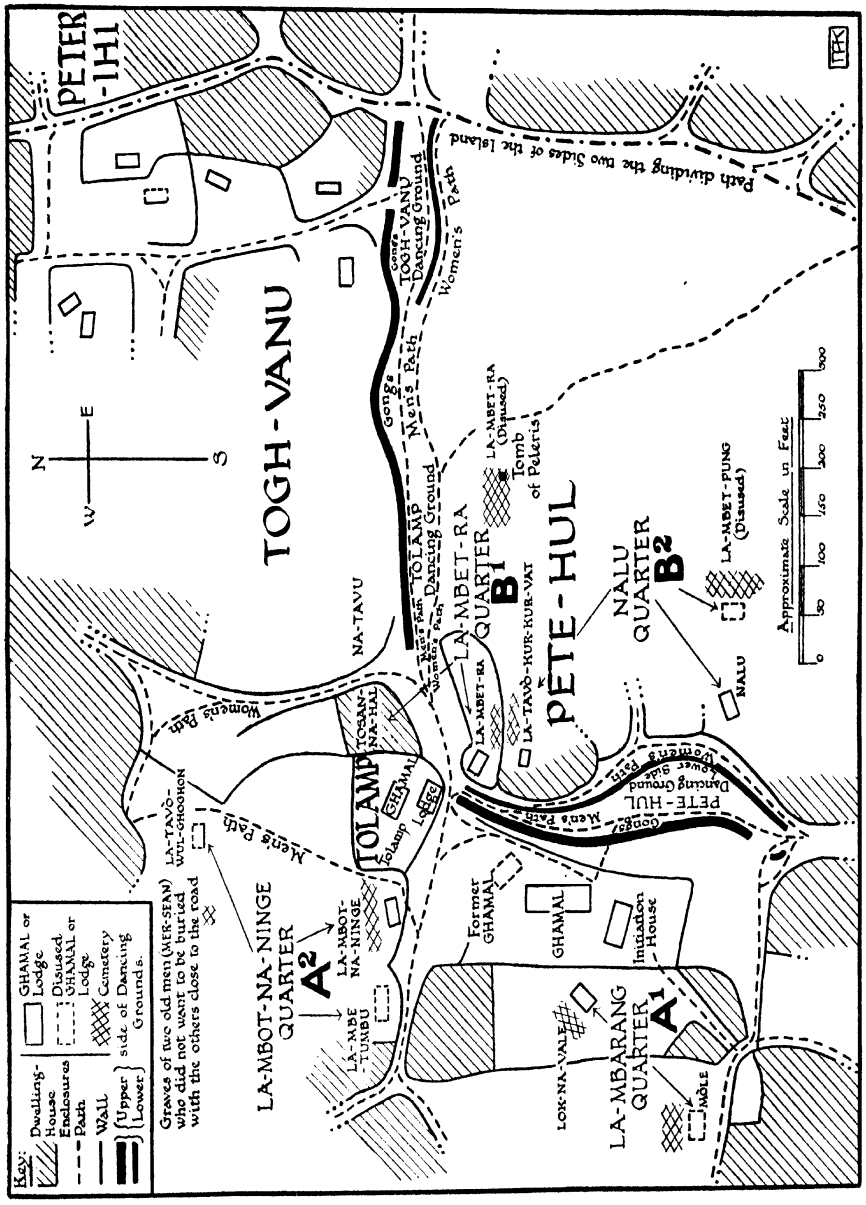
Sides of the Island.

In the first place, it will be noticed that the division between the two Sides of the Island, far from going across waste ground, such as is plentifully available on the island, is, where it approaches the dancing-grounds, actually the most populous street on the island, faced on both sides by house-enclosures, those on the west belonging to Togh-vanu and those on the east to Peter-ihi. Thus, in spite of the traditional enmity existing between the two Sides of the Island, the rival habitations approach one another as close as they possibly can. This significant fact will be fully discussed when we come to the subject of warfare,[1] and is only mentioned here in order to call attention to the fact that warfare, so prominent in the eyes of Europeans, who treat it as synonymous with enmity, is to the native but one out of a number of institutions having as their effect the stimulation of one group over against the other by means of a creative rivalry which is by no means confined to hostility but in fact permeates every aspect of social and ritual life.

The Four Quarters of Pete-hul.

In the second place, it demonstrates more clearly than any description the topographical arrangement of the 4 Quarters in the village of Pete-hul, which is the only "perfectly" organised village on the island. Thus, while tabulated in terms of moieties the 4 Quarters appear as in Fig. 5, in actual practice it will be noticed that these four Quarters are ranged round the dancing-ground in such a way that the two Quarters belonging to moiety A (including the founder's Quarter *La-mbarang* (A^1)) [2] are both ranged behind the Upper (or men's) Side, while the two Quarters

[1] See Chapter XXIII.
[2] For foundation see pp. 36, 87.



MAP IV

Central Region of the Double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on the Superior Side of Vao.
Note the 4 Quarters of Pete-hul, A^1, A^2, B^1, B^2.

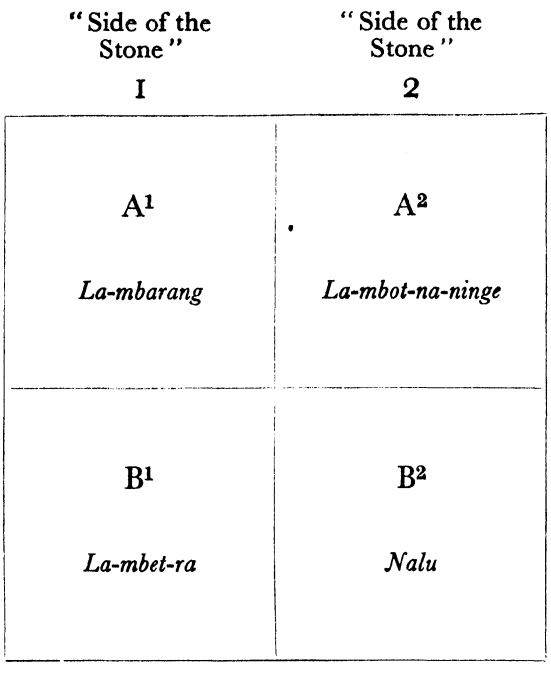


FIG. 5

Diagram illustrating the functions of the four Quarters of Pete-hul in terms of moieties. 1 and 2 represent the two "Sides of the Stone," each of which is divided into A and B.

belonging to moiety B are ranged behind the Lower (or women's) Side as in Fig. 6.

This arrangement has the result of dividing each Side of the Stone into two parts in such a way that the two Quarters of a given Side of the Stone are not contiguous, but occupy positions diametrically opposite to one another. Thus the Quarter *La-mbarang* (A^1) occupies the south-western quarter of the village,[1] while the Quarter *La-mbet-ra* (B^1), though belonging to the same Side of the Stone (1), occupies the north-eastern quarter diametrically opposite to it. In the same way the Quarter *La-mbot-na-ninge* (A^2) occupies the north-western quarter, and *Nalu* (B^2), though on the same Side of the Stone (2), occupies the south-eastern quarter.

One of the virtues in this arrangement, as in so many Small Island institutions, is that, whatever rivalries develop between the members of any given group, there is bound at the same time to be a counter or

[1] The Quarter-Lodge building of *La-mbarang* was, through inadvertence, not marked on the map, but its two "Sides of the Lodge," *Mòle* and *Lok-na-vale*, serve to show in which direction it lies.

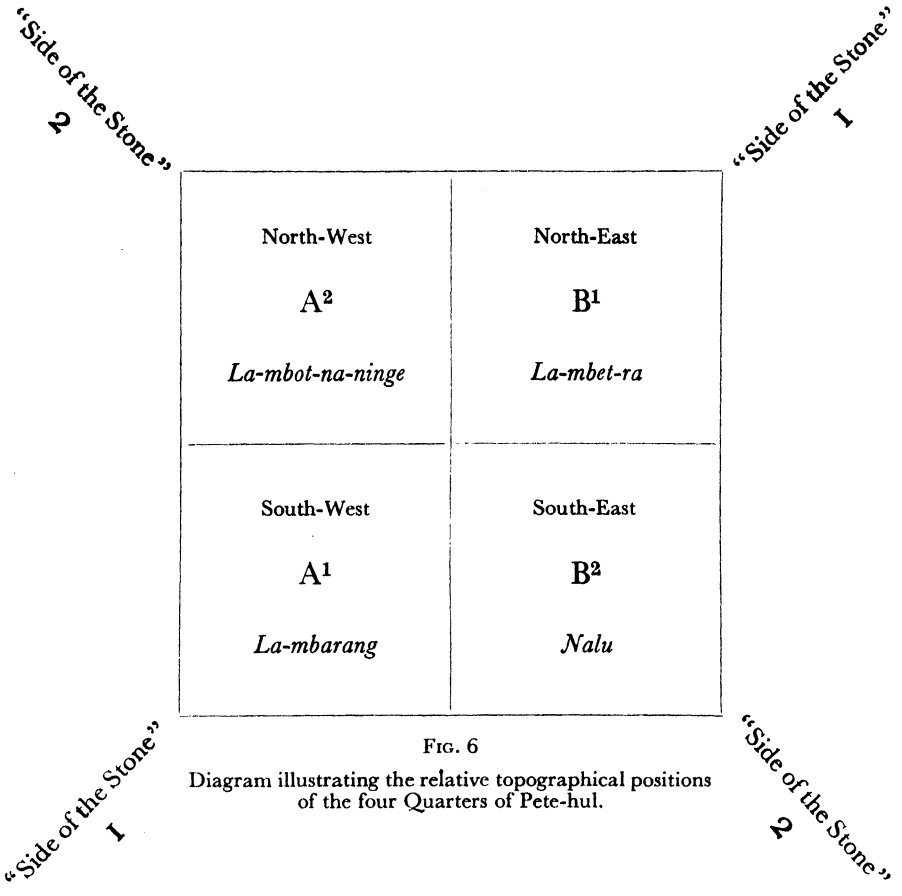


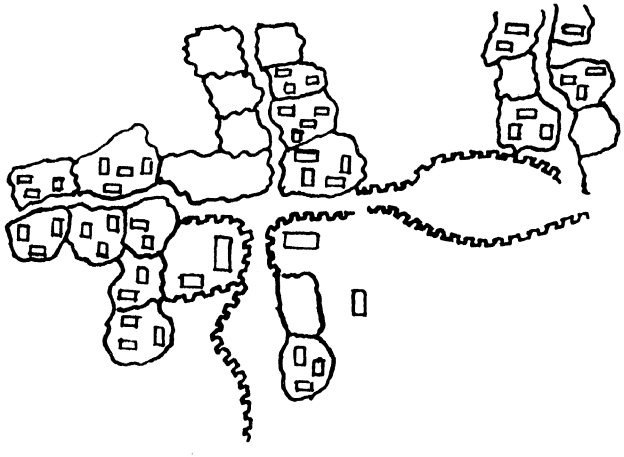
FIG. 6

Diagram illustrating the relative topographical positions of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

moderating pull in the opposite direction owing to mutually opposing loyalties. For, just as each Side of the Stone is geographically divided into two parts which could not join forces without encountering opposition on either flank, so also the two moieties A and B, though each forming a cohesive bloc, are apt to find aggression difficult owing to the fact that each contains a section of one Side of the Stone having friends and allies in the other.

Owing to the inadequacies of my sketch-map, the exact boundaries of the Quarters are not shown, but we have it in the words of Godefroy that "Each group of families (i.e. each Quarter) builds its houses parallel to those of its neighbouring group, leaving between them a space about two metres wide. The families surround their houses . . . with high palisades called *bakral*, giving them the aspect of fortresses. These palisades are in addition reinforced at the base with walls made of dry stones a metre or more high. The result of this is that the establishments of

two groups of families built parallel to one another and enclosed and surrounded by walls combine to form a long and more or less tortuous street not unlike those of ancient villages in Europe." [1] This aspect of town-planning on Vao is illustrated also in the rough plan drawn by Speiser reproduced in Map V. Godefroy does not discuss the details of social organisation, nor does he mention the existence of Quarters as social institutions, though he is sufficiently struck by the appearance of the houses to say that they resemble the "quarters" [2] of a town. I quote his remarks here not only because they could not be bettered as a description of what an observant visitor actually sees, but in order to emphasise the fact that, like the two Sides of the Island, though always potential



MAP V

Adapted from Speiser's rough plan of Pete-hul including parts of Togh-vanu and Peter-ihi (Speiser, 3, Plate 10, No. 6), showing arrangement of house-enclosures.

rivals, and even on occasion enemies, the Quarters do actually approach one another as close as they can in virtue of the collaboration which underlies all rivalry.

One further fact, not very well illustrated in either sketch-plan, is the process of decentralisation that is apt to take place in all Small Island villages. Thus the central part of the village, as witnessed particularly by the now disused cemeteries of *La-mbet-ra* and *La-mbet-pung*, used to be thickly populated, each cemetery having its own Lodge with the

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 36. He adds that the place where the four streets meet is called *gamul*. In most villages, such as Pete-hul, the *gamul* is obscured by other topographical features. The best example is in the village of Norohure.

[2] Godefroy used this term, as he thought, in a purely figurative sense, as it is used nowadays in Europe, not realising that the Quarters are actualities in Pete-hul. The European use of the term recalls the fact that Quarters were once actualities in Europe too.

dwelling-enclosures of the Lodge members clustered close around. As the cemeteries where old men are buried increased in size, and as, moreover, the number of burials of young men, women and children inside their dwelling-houses grew also, the original sites tended to be abandoned and new Lodges and cemeteries (such as that of the existing *La-mbet-ra* shown on the plan), as well as new dwelling-houses, began to be built rather further afield. This tendency has not, however, reached the point achieved in the Atchin double-village of Ruruar, which, as will be shown in a later volume, has now become so decentralised that the dwelling-enclosures form a kind of irregular ring round the site of the original village, which is now occupied exclusively by the cemeteries with their accompanying Lodges.

Women's Lodges

While the above account refers almost exclusively to the overt patrilineal organisation of the island, it is of interest to note the existence at the same time of Women's Lodges recorded by Godefroy on Vao, but not existing, so far as I know, elsewhere in the Small Islands.

Referring to a "large carefully guarded enclosure at the base of a slope" in which there are "five or six houses, well kept and with the ground around them carefully cleaned and even swept," Godefroy says: [1] "This collection of houses so carefully fenced . . . is strictly reserved for women. It is there that the matrons of Pete-hul and of Togh-vanu receive women of these same clans when they are about to give birth. The midwife of these two clans is assisted by their close relatives,[2] and together they give, or rather lavish care upon them over a period of three weeks. At the end of this time the mother or the grandmother of the woman who has given birth to the child comes, with other relatives, to take away the mother and her baby and bring them back to her own home." Thus "women also have places which are taboo to men. It is a fact that no men are allowed within this enclosure, and, I may add, only such women as have themselves been born there have the right of entry. A mother who has given birth there, but was not herself born there, is rigorously excluded excepting during the period of her confinement. It is for this reason that the place is called 'the birth enclosure,' [3] *hu ni-ar na woruan*. . . . It is quite simply a native lying-in ward." [4]

Special interest attaches to the name by which this enclosure is called. The term *hu ni-ar* is in fact composed of two words, *hu* which I have recorded in Vao as *hu-hu*, meaning "to suckle" or "to be suckled," [5] and *ni-ar* meaning "a fence." *Woruan* is clearly another spelling for the word

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 230.
[2] Presumably of the women in labour.
[3] "*Enclos de la naissance.*"
[4] "*Maternité.*"
[5] See p. 178. Compare Mota *hu-hu*, "to give suck."

woroan discussed in later chapters. This is the nominal form of the verb *wor*, widely used in this part of Melanesia as meaning "to come forth," and in a special sense "to come forth from a woman," and so "to be born." In a more technical sense still, the word *wor* is used in Ambrim as a noun meaning "marriage section," in the sense explained on p. 97, and on Vao the word *woroan* is used in a number of ways, one of which appears to be "matrilineal descent group." [1] It is probably in this sense that the word is used here, for it will be noted that it is the "matrons" of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu who own these special Lodges. In other words, this rather obscure statement appears to indicate that ownership is not in the hands of women born in the village, who all marry elsewhere, but, on the contrary, in those of married women who do *not* belong by birth to the double-village in question. It would appear, both from this and from the fact that "only such women who have been born there [i.e. in this enclosure] have the right of entry," that these Lodges are not patrilineal but matrilineal institutions and represent a survival, despite the existing patrilocal organisation, of the former system of overt matrilineal descent of which traces are still to be found in the terminology of kinship.[2] This supposition is supported by Speiser's report that special houses in which women give birth are found also in the matrilineal islands of Oba and Maewo and in North Raga, but not in the patrilineal districts of South Raga or in Ambrim and Malekula.[3] Such Women's Lodges no longer exist in Atchin, where the matrilineal element in the kinship system is much weaker than it is on Vao.

Gardens

As has already been pointed out,[4] each village possesses its own tracts of land on the mainland of Malekula, where the main gardens are, and to which the natives travel daily in their canoes except during hurricanes and at times of special ritual activity. Each village has its own beach, or section of beach, on Vao, and its corresponding landing-place on the mainland. In addition to the mainland gardens, each village also possesses its share of uninhabited land on Vao. This land, however, like that on all the Small Islands, is largely given over to pigs, which roam around the villages, so that but little cultivation takes place there, and those plots that are used for gardening must be heavily fenced. Exigencies of time did not permit me to make a detailed study of land tenure on Vao, as I did on Atchin, and for all matters dealing with this and with agriculture, the seasons and the calendar, the reader is referred to my forthcoming volumes on that island. There the only gardens made on the Small Island itself are of a ritual nature. All essential cultivation takes place on the Malekulan mainland.

[1] See pp. 133, 138. [2] See p. 126. [3] Speiser, 3, p. 282. [4] See p. 25.

Place-Names

We have already noted the intimate connexion existing on the one hand between the dancing-ground (with its attendant *ghamal*) and the Maki, together with the fact that each village originated in its dancing-ground, and on the other hand between the Quarter-Lodges and "Sides of the Lodge" and the more domestic details of everyday life and mortuary practice as seen in the fact that they adjoin the family cemeteries. Place-names are often a reliable guide, on the one hand to origins and on the other to the present-day attitude of natives towards the places named. It will therefore be useful here briefly to examine the meaning of the Vao village and lodge names.

Villages.

Of the six village names, three, and possibly four, are connected with the Maki and reflect the all-important rôle this institution plays in village life. Thus, the name Pete-hul means "High Stone" (from *pet*, meaning "stone" and *hul*, "high"). Peter-ihi similarly means "Three Stones" (from *peter*, also meaning "stone"—possibly an archaic plural—and *ihi*, archaic for "three"). These both refer to the megalithic aspect of the Maki. Togh-vanu refers to its spiritual aspect, and means "The Place of Retreat" (from *togh*, "to remain," and *vanu*, "village" or "place"), referring to the vows taken by performers of the Maki rite not to stir from the village for a stated period, sometimes amounting to years, but to remain passively intent on the sacrifice they have performed.[1] These names are all closely connected with the dancing-ground with its stones and images, where in each case the village is said to have been founded, and with the *ghamal*, where the intensest period of retreat takes place. The name of the fourth village is Venu, having the same derivation as *vanu*, and meaning "village" or "place."

The name Singon is, on the contrary, purely topographical, being so called from the promontory (*singon* means "lip" or "promontory") near which it stands. The meaning of the sixth village name, Norohure, I do not know.

It is worth noting that, of the six villages, the two whose names specially refer to stones, namely Pete-hul and Peter-ihi, and so also by implication to the Maki, belong to different Sides of the Island, each being the most important village on its own Side, but, on the contrary, that all names not directly connected specifically with the Maki are situated on the Inferior or seaward Side.

[1] See pp. 399 ff.

Ghamal.

The only name which I have recorded for a particular *ghamal* is for the existing *ghamal* of Pete-hul, which is called *ber hangawul*, meaning "ten posts," referring to the ten centre-posts which are the main feature of its construction.[1] The emotions leading to the adoption of this name are those of pride in the colossal achievement which, in the native view, this large building represents.

Lodges.

When we come to examine the names of the Quarter-Lodges and "Sides of the Lodge" we find a few references to the ritual of the Maki, but most are purely topographical, referring either to their position in the village or, more usually, to pleasant or otherwise interesting features of the spot they occupy. Most of these names begin with the locative particle *la-*, indicating place.[2] In Atchin this particle is used in ordinary parlance as inseparable from the noun, and all Lodges are referred to as *la-tap*, corresponding to the Vao *na-tamp*, with the result that in the actual names of Atchin Lodges this locative particle does not appear. Among the names of Vao Lodges listed in Table I, one, *La-tamp*, is simply this word without further qualification.

1. Examples of names connected with the Maki and cognate rites are:

   Peter-hei, including the word *peter*, meaning "stone (? s)," more usually met with in names of villages.

   La-mat-na-maki, "at the eye of the Maki," the word *mat* meaning "eye," but here used possibly in the sense of "fore-stone," to which the biggest sacrificial pig is tied.[3]

   La-tombo-tine, an alternative name for the above, means "at the great cemetery," the word *tombo* being a variant of *tamp*.

2. Topographical names:

   La-mbarang means "at the cave," referring to the large cave in the cliff behind the Pete-hul dancing-ground.

   La-mbot-na-ninge means "at the trunk of the *ninga* tree." [4]

[1] See p. 440.

[2] In much the same way as the French use the expression "*Au* Bon Marché," the English "*At* the sign of" or the German "*Zum* Goldenen Adler."

[3] See p. 425. The word *mat* is connected with the word *meten*, the usual Small Island word for "eye." Its use in ritual is, however, equivalent to the use of the Atchin word *no-on*, meaning "face," hence the connection with "fore-stone." Professor Hocart tells me that in Fiji *mata* means "face," "grave," or "sacred place." Thus, in Fiji, *mata ni-wai* means "face of the water," *mata ni vanua* means "face or holy place of the land," i.e. "grave," and *mata ni-mbure* "face of the temple" or, in the same way as we see the Vao clan identified with its lodge, simply "clan."

[4] The word *mbot* means "trunk," as opposed to fruit or leaf, and corresponds to the Fijian *vu*.

La-mbet-ra probably means "at the head of the yam," a synonym for "eldest son." [1]

La-mbang-ne-me-tine means "at the great banyan tree" (literally "the banyan tree which is great").

Na-tavu means, according to one informant, "the *tawò* tree," though by its pronunciation it more probably means "the conch."

La-tavò-wul-ghoghon is more explicit, meaning "at the *tawò* tree with the bitter bark."

Tosan na-hal means "the other side of the road," referring to its position in the village, on the other side of the road from its twin "Side of the Lodge" *Na-tavu* (see Map IV).

Lok-na-vali contains reference to a pudding (*na-longk*; Atchin *na-lok*): *vel-val* means "to fast."

The great mass of lodge names thus refer to natural features, and not to the Maki, and in this respect resemble the names of most of the villages on the eastern or seaward (Inferior) Side of the Island. The evidence of the names would suggest that the organisation into lodges, and the accompanying mortuary ritual, which has strong matrilineal features and is purely a family affair in contrast to the extreme publicity with which the whole Maki is conducted, belongs to an older layer of culture existing prior to the introduction of the Maki in its existing form which, as seen below, was derived from the mainland of Malekula in comparatively recent times.

[1] See p. 166.

CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN OF THE SIX VILLAGES AND FOUNDATION OF THE FOUR QUARTERS OF PETE-HUL

TALES OF ORIGIN

REGARDING the origin of the individual villages and of their populations there are many conflicting accounts, due to infiltrations on the one hand from the mainland of Malekula and on the other from the matrilineal islands to the north-east, chief among which are Oba and Raga. While most villages preserve oral genealogical records, the importance of the soil on which they live is so great that these in no case extend beyond the first ancestors who settled on Vao. Stories of origin nevertheless exist, but, since different families in one village sometimes trace their ancestry from different sources, the general picture is a kaleidoscopic one accompanied by a considerable mixture of physical types.[1]

Pete-hul–Togh-vanu.

The double-village which possesses the richest and most reliable historical tradition is that of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on the Superior Side of the Island. On Atchin, where I obtained genealogical records of the entire island, history opens with the foundation of the Superior double-village of Ruruar, also on the Superior Side of the Island, some seventeen generations ago.[2] On Vao history does not go back so far, but opens with the foundation of Pete-hul by four brothers representing the four Quarters about nine generations ago,[3] and of the subsequent secession of part of the population to form its offshoot village Togh-vanu. Where the ancestors of the present inhabitants of this double-village came from is uncertain. They themselves claim, as already seen, that the foundation of Pete-hul was due to the direct action of Ta-ghar, which is responsible for the fact that this village alone of all the Vao villages possesses a "perfect" internal organisation.

Various accounts are given regarding the foundation of the remaining villages.

[1] See p. 81. [2] See p. 170. [3] See p. 84.

Peter-ihi–Venu.

According to one version, the village of Peter-ihi was founded from Raga, as stated in the following tale:

There lived on Raga two brothers, Na-tò, the elder, and Viriümb, and the name of their landing-beach was La-tan-wolwol. And each one built a canoe. Na-tò made his from wood of the bread-fruit tree (*pego*), and Viriümb made his from the wood of the tree called *nev.* Having made the sails, they set out, each in his own canoe, for Ambrim. Na-tò, the elder, started first. Viriümb waited till his elder brother was well out to sea, and then, launching his own canoe, swiftly overtook and passed him, so that he landed first on the coast of Ambrim, where he triumphantly awaited the arrival of the belated Na-tò.

The two then remained on Ambrim, visiting their friends, and bargaining for pigs. But Na-tò (the elder) was unsuccessful and came back empty-handed, while Viriümb (the younger) had acquired a re-entrant-tusker (*bo-ware*).[1] On the return journey Na-tò again started first. Viriümb again waited till his elder brother was out of sight, then overtook him and landed first on their beach in Raga. But his mother came down to the shore and pushed his canoe back into the sea, saying, "Why do you always land first? Your brother is the elder; you should let him be the first to come ashore." So Viriümb remained floating close to the beach, till at last his elder brother came up. And Na-tò asked him, "Why have you not gone ashore?" Then Viriümb wept, and said, "Our mother pushed out my canoe and told me I must let you land first."

So Na-tò went ashore, but Viriümb remained afloat. And Na-tò called to him, "What's the matter? Why don't you come ashore?" "Oh, nothing," he replied. "I'm only waiting here for a bit." For he was angry with his mother for having pushed out his canoe.

And Na-tò went home. And while Viriümb, the younger brother, was still floating off the shore, a great wind, *rualo*, blew from the north-east, and he turned his sail and ran before the wind till he came to Vao, and landed at a beach that is now called La-ha-na-ruhute, after Ruhute, the name of his canoe. And he founded the village of Peter-ihi, and his descendants bred from the tusked boar he brought with him, that he had acquired on Ambrim. And that is why there are so many tusked boars on Vao and Malekula generally, and few on Raga, whither the Malekulans now go selling tuskers.

According to another account, the double-village of Peter-ihi–Venu is said to have been colonised from Oba. Oba and North Raga are both within the matrilineal dual organisation area.

On the other hand, Venu is said by some to have been founded from

[1] A boar of which the artificially elongated tusk has curled round and re-entered the jaw (see p. 243).

the Malekulan village of Tontore. Godefroy agrees with this, spelling the name Tountor and stating that it is situated somewhere among the mountains.[1] The same informants said that Peter-ihi originated from the Malekulan village of Buaror. According to yet another account, however, it is said that it was only the weather magic practised at Peter-ihi that came from Buaror.[2] Godefroy supports the mainland origin of Peter-ihi when he says that its inhabitants "seem in fact to have come from the mainland of Malekula, of which they are proud to bear the name."[3]

Singon–Norohure.

The double-village of Singon–Norohure is also said, according to one account, to have been founded from Raga. Godefroy, however, makes the interesting statement that the inhabitants of Norohure "were always on Vao, but do not know the story of the *memel* fruit," and that, with regard to the inhabitants of Singon, "no one knows where they came from."[4]

The story of the *memel* fruit referred to is the story of the foundation of Pete-hul by Ta-ghar recounted below.[5] The fact that neither Norohure, nor, apparently, Singon, are acquainted with this tale of origin shows, like the place-names, a distinct difference in cultural level between this easternmost double-village and those in the centre and west. Since the inhabitants of Norohure are said always to have been on Vao, and the foundation of Pete-hul and the introduction of its story of origin occurred only nine generations ago, this evidence points to the conclusion that, of the two Sides of the Island, we should expect the eastern Side to show traces of social organisation older than that of the west. This supposition is strongly supported by the fact that both double-villages on the eastern Side are said to be connected with the culturally older matrilineal areas of Oba and (presumably North) Raga.

Tale of the Quarrel between Lavame and Handillagh

Yet another tale, dealing with the now extinct communities of Lavame and Handillagh, shows the close connexion existing between the older stratum on Vao and the matrilineal island of Oba.

These two communities are said formerly to have lived close to one another on Vao, and the tale sets out to explain the reason why they quarrelled and finally broke up. The story relates that while some Lavame men were engaged on an expedition to Oba, the wife of one of them was unfaithful, and had connexion with a man from Handillagh.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 48.
[2] See p. 634.
[3] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 53. He states further (p. 48) that, like Pete-hul, this village was founded by the direct action of Ta-ghar.
[4] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 48.
[5] See p. 82.

But the couple were surprised by a Lavame man who had stayed at home. Now this man was a *Ghamba Lep*,[1] one of those who through membership of a well-known secret society can turn themselves into birds, and he resolved to make use of this power to warn the husband on his return from Oba. So, as the returning canoe rounded the sandy promontory of La-singo,[2] he transformed himself into two banded rails (*pilagh*), a male and a female, and he made the male rail chase the female along the shore till she yielded and they copulated.

Now the husband saw this from his canoe, and, recognising that it must be the work of a *Ghamba Lep*, determined to find out what had happened. So he went home, and beat his wife till she confessed her transgression, saying that she had lain with the Handillagh man. So the men of Lavame fought those of Handillagh till the decimated survivors of the latter took refuge in the village of Singon, and those who remained of Lavame left Vao and established themselves in a new village of the same name on the mainland. This village has now died out, the only survivors being one man and his two sons, who, having returned to Vao, are now living at Togh-vanu.

Physical Types

The result of this dual origin of the population still shows itself in a variation in physical type remarkable in so small an island. Thus Speiser comments that "it is possible today to distinguish clearly on Vao two types, the Melanesian type from Malekula, dark-skinned, thick-set and frizzly-haired, and the type from Oba, lighter-skinned, more slender and often with almost curly hair." [3] Owing to intermarriage, however, this variation in type is no longer correlated with any existing topographical divisions, but occurs sporadically throughout the whole population, which now forms a single cultural unit closely knit together through ties of kinship.

ORIGINS OF THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Turning once more to the evidence regarding the origin and nature of the existing social organisation, four sets of facts present themselves:

(*a*) The mythological data concerning the creation of the inhabitants of Pete-hul through the direct agency of Ta-ghar.
(*b*) Accounts of the subsequent formation of its offshoot village Togh-vanu.
(*c*) The genealogies.
(*d*) The kinship system.

I propose first to examine the mythological data and the genealogies.

[1] See p. 238. [2] Possibly Singon. [3] Speiser, 3, pp. 59-60.

Myth of the Creation of Pete-hul through the Direct Action of Ta-ghar

The following myth told of the foundation of Pete-hul is found throughout the Small Islands of Malekula.[1]

I have two main versions from Vao, one recorded by myself, and the other by Godefroy. I will begin with mine.

Author's account.

The scene of the creation was what is now the Upper Side of the dancing-ground of Pete-hul, where it abuts on the Quarter called *Lambarang* (A1), which means "At the Cave." At this spot there grew a huge tree of the kind called *gha-tambol*, with buttress-roots dividing the ground about its base into a number of separate compartments. Such trees are regarded with great veneration throughout Malekula, second only to the banyans as objects of religious awe. Many taboos exist regarding treading over their roots, a fact which does not, however, prevent the compartments they form being used for storage and other purposes.

Clinging to this particular *gha-tambol* tree was a creeper of the kind called in the Atchin dialect *memel*, but which Godefroy spells *noe-moel*. This creeper, which twines itself high up among the branches of the forest trees, produces a superb oval-shaped fruit, the size of a large plum, coloured a most lovely red. Each fruit swings separately on the end of its own hanging line of creeper. It is an object of passionate desire not only to adults, but also to children, who eat it with a kind of reverent relish not accorded to any other fruit.

According to my account of the creation, there were at first no people. Then Ta-ghar caused one of these *memel* fruit to fall so that it struck a buttress-root of the *gha-tambol* tree, reaching the ground in two halves, one on either side of the root. One half became a man, the other a woman. The name of the man was Ghiagh,[2] and that of the woman Le-huar. One day the man heard a noise, and, looking over the root, he saw the woman, and said, "Where did you come from?" She answered, "I've been here a long time. Where did you come from?" He said, "I've been here a long time too." They did not know they came from the *memel* fruit. They remained there, and after a time they married. And the woman bore four sons, the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

[1] For other versions see pp. 165, 171-2.

[2] I have no further information about Ghiagh other than a single detail clearly belonging to a longer story, to the effect that his hair was burnt by a jealous female sorcerer. His name is philologically equivalent to that of Ias in the oral historical records of Atchin mentioned on pp. 171, 715.

Godefroy's account.

Godefroy's account is more racy.[1] Having described the falling of the *memel* fruit on to the buttress-root of the *gha-tambol* tree, he says: "The fruit split in two. One half fell to the right, the other half fell to the left. And it happened thus, that one half was a man and the other half a woman. Both slept with a profound sleep. How long . . . did this sleep last? No one knows. But one day, when the woman turned over on her side, her elbow struck the buttress-root. This unexpected noise woke up the man, who, after thinking it over, raised himself from the ground by leaning on his arm, and looked over to the other side. 'Hallo,' he said, 'there is a woman!' The woman, in her turn, was awakened by the sound of this voice which she had never heard before. Wondering what it might be, she cast her eyes over the partition, and cried, 'Hallo, it is a man!' Her woman's tongue already itched to speak, and she could not prevent herself from asking, 'What are you doing there?'—'I was asleep.'—'And so was I; I have been asleep for so long, so long. . . .' The man, interrupting her, said, 'I am hungry. Go and find me something to eat. . . .' They both got up and looked for fruits with which to satisfy their hunger. That evening, they went back to their respective compartments, and again slept. Next morning they woke up cramped with the coolness of the night and with the dew, which had been heavy. So they made a fire [2] on which to cook chestnuts. Doubtless the rain troubled them. But it was not till several days had passed that they said to one another, 'Let us build a house.' Every evening after that they joined one another in their dwelling-place, and, finding themselves sheltered from the heat of the sun at noon and from the cold by night, they decided to remain together. It is in this way that the man married the woman."

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 45-6. Though claiming to be in the words of his informant, Val-vale, of the village of Togh-vanu, it includes, however, several European solecisms, which I omit.

[2] Speiser (3, p. 365), quoting verbal information from Père Jamond, former R.C. Missionary on Vao, gives further details about the origin of this fire in the following account: "Once a fruit fell from a tree on to the edge of a root. The fruit split into two and one part fell on either side of the root. These became man and woman. By the side of the tree grew a bamboo. The wind blew it so that it rubbed against a dead branch. That was the origin of fire. The man took the fire, fanned it and lit brushwood with it. The woman smelt the fire, looked over the edge of the root, saw the man and asked him what it was. He told her it was fire, and gave her some. Since then men and women have always had separate fires. Later, they married." The inclusion of the origin of fire in this account of the mating of the first couple is of special interest with regard to an article by the same author, in which he points out the symbolic meaning of fire as representing what he calls *Lebenskraft* (life-force) as opposed to *Zeugungskraft* (physical procreation), and sums up: "The strength-giving principle that contains above all the life-force is fire, which originally arose in the genital organs and is revealed in the act of copulation. The fire is communicated to the genital organs" (Speiser, 4, p. 250).

The Genealogies

In both accounts, the myth now merges directly into the genealogy of the human founders of Pete-hul.

Before using the evidence afforded by this, it is first necessary to say a few words regarding the reliability of the genealogical records kept orally by the natives. I have already called attention to the close connexion existing in all the Small Islands between these genealogies and the stone monuments erected during the course of the Maki rites, by means of which men, or groups of men, commemorate themselves, and in or near which their spirits are believed in some measure to survive. It is by means of these genealogies, and by the stones which act as a perpetual reminder of the lives and exploits of those who erect them, that historical tradition dealing with such ancestors as actually lived on the island is kept alive.

As to the accuracy of the genealogies, I can speak best from my experience on Atchin. There I collected the genealogies of the entire island, and possessed the means to check them from a great number of angles, historical, ritual and sociological, and through the converging of family pedigrees. The genealogy of the Superior double-village of Ruruar, as already mentioned, goes back nineteen generations.[1] The only doubtful points occurred in about the fifteenth and sixteenth ascending generations in the male line, when there was occasional doubt as to whether certain ancestors were brothers or not.

Foundation of Pete-hul nine or ten generations ago.

With regard to the Vao genealogies, I obtained only two, namely, the immediate family pedigree of my informant, Ma-taru, of Tolamp,[2] and the historical genealogy from the village of Togh-vanu leading back to the founders of Pete-hul, which is included in Table II. For this genealogy my authority was Pelur, at that time the oldest leading man of Togh-vanu, who was also my chief informant in several other matters. In so far as I was able to check him, he was entirely reliable, and several times over gave me the same list of ancestors, hesitating only over one name.[3]

According to his account, he was himself the seventh (or eighth) in the direct line of descent from the founder of Pete-hul, and the youngest living member of Togh-vanu, his son's son Naturel, was the ninth (or tenth). The best confirmation of his accuracy (within one generation) is, however, the corroboration afforded by Godefroy, who, quite inde-

[1] In the historical genealogies only men are recorded who stand in the direct male line. Women, being lost to the clan, are not remembered.

[2] See Table X.

[3] There was some doubt whether Peleris or Kalo-won was the father of Tulul.

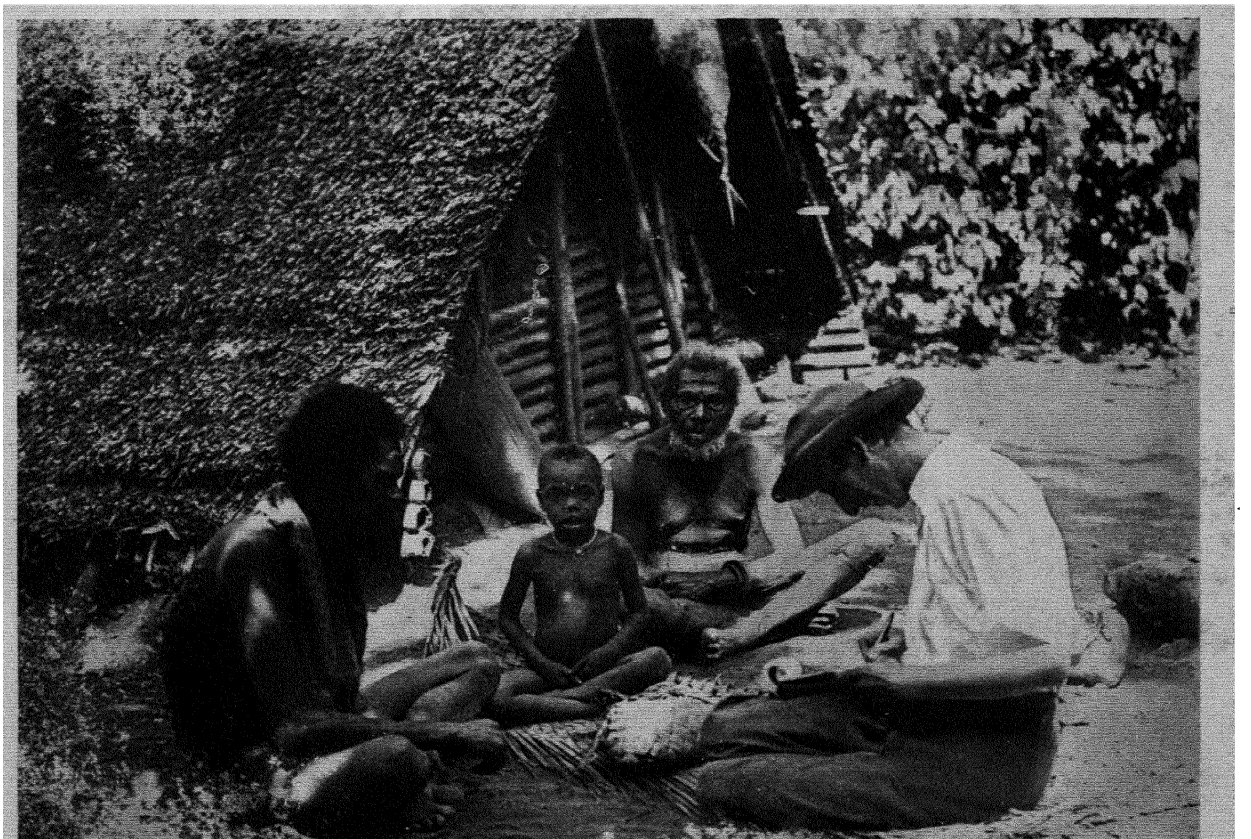


PLATE VIII

The aged Pelur, of Togh-vanu, holds forth on tribal history which the author records with the help of Ma-taru of Tolamp, whose son Na-sum sits listening too. The scene is the courtyard of Pelur's lodge

pendently of me and many years later, himself recorded the genealogy of another member of the same village, an old man named Val-vale, which leads back by an entirely different line of ancestors to the same founder, eleven generations removed from the youngest child then living (see Table III).[1]

The Four Founders of Pete-hul

Returning now to the account of the creation of the first man and woman from the two halves of the *memel* fruit, it will be remembered that, according to my version, the woman bore four sons, the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul. The names of these four brothers, according to the alleged order of their birth and with the Quarters they founded, are set out below:

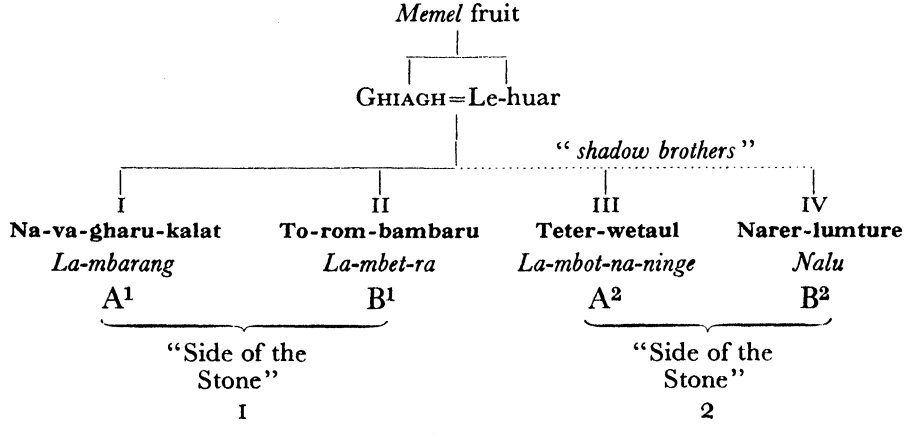


Fig. 7

Of these four names I am able to indicate the meaning of only the first two. *Na-va-gharu* means "two hundred," and *kalat* is the name of a stinging nettle used in neighbouring islands as a whip during initiation and in magic as a symbol of dangerous strength. The usual use of high numbers is for counting the tusked boars sacrificed during the Maki rite. Here it may only be taken as a superlative, so that the name of the eldest brother might possibly be translated "very dangerous man." The name of the second brother, To-rom-bambaru, means "straying wildfowl," a

[1] The genealogies of the remaining villages are not so extensive as those of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu. According to Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 49), those of Norohure go back only seven generations, and those of Singon seven or eight. He does not give the numbers for Peter-ihi and Venu. Nor did he succeed in recording the names of the first couple created by Ta-ghar, i.e. Ghiagh and Le-huar, for to his question, "What were the names of the first couple that issued from the *memel* fruit?" the humorous reply was, "We do not know, because the *memel* did not talk" (ibid. p. 47).

common sobriquet for "illicit lover," typical of the bold younger brother with a roving eye.[1] The other two names I am unable to translate.

In the accounts dealing with the foundation of the village to be recounted below, these four brothers are paired in two different ways:

(*a*) The two elder brothers versus the two younger, each of these pairs representing one "Side of the Stone," thus:

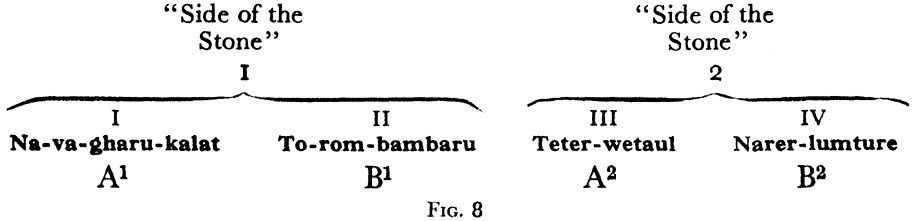


FIG. 8

(*b*) The first and third brothers versus the second and fourth, coupled, that is to say, in alternating ages:[2]

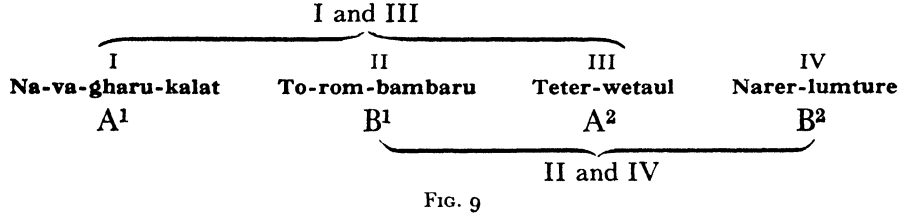
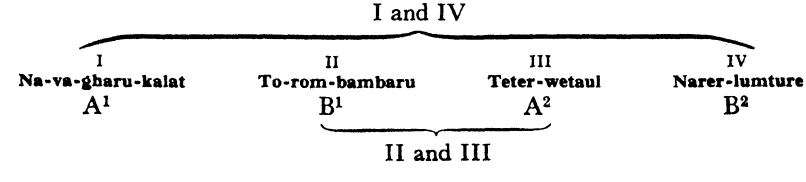


FIG. 9

It is well known that in this type of origin myth individual figures represent groups. It is of course possible, and even probable, that the individuals named actually existed. They cannot, however, have been isolated men, but leaders, and the number of men chosen to figure in the tales clearly depends on the number of groups into which society at that time was divided. It will be noted that the different methods of pairing the four brothers depend on two factors, which are in the first place the

[1] *To*="fowl," *rom*="wild," *bambaru* is a reduplication of *mbaru*="to stray." The name is similar to the name given, in the Atchin labyrinth dances, to the "bush-lovers" who play a prominent part in one of the performances referred to on p. 338.

[2] A third method of pairing not found in the foundation stories is seen on p. 451, in the account of a quarrel in which the descendants of the first and fourth brothers occupying the two northern Quarters of Pete-hul are paired against those of the second and third brothers occupying the two southern Quarters, thus:



two "Sides of the Stone" numbered 1 and 2, and in the second place the two divisions labelled respectively A and B. As a preliminary explanation of what these two methods of pairing represent, it is of no little interest to note that, according to Godefroy's account, recorded some years after mine, there were only two brothers, whose name he spells Navagarukolat and Torombamba. These clearly correspond to the first and second brothers of my version, both of whom belong to the same "Side of the Stone," but the elder of which belongs to moiety A and the second to moiety B. "The elder of these two brothers," he says, "established his *lesar* [dancing-ground] not far from the great cave, that is to say, at the same spot on which the dancing-ground of Pete-hul now is. He is the founder of the clan of Pete-hul. After a time, the two brothers quarrelled, and the younger, Torombamba, went a little further on to establish his own dancing-ground. That is the dancing-ground of Togh-vanu." [1]

This is a highly simplified version of the split-up of Pete-hul and the foundation of its offshoot village, fuller details of which, including the functions of all four brothers, are given below. I quote it here in order to show how one and the same story can be told from two points of view, depending on the angle from which the narrator sets out to tell it. Thus, despite the apparent discrepancy between the two accounts, both versions are right, and the discrepancy itself is of great value in showing what these two points of view are. In Godefroy's version the narrator was concerned with only one aspect of the kinship system, namely that of the two actual founders of the clan. For, as will shortly be seen, the first and second brothers, who are the only ones mentioned by him, represent in fact the two main patrilineal moieties A and B into which the existing double-village is divided. These are Na-va-gharu-kalat (A^1), the founder and elder of the two brothers, and To-rom-bambaru (B^1), the second brother, who co-operated with him at the foundation of the village and built a dancing-ground end-to-end with his, but some of whose descendants subsequently seceded to found a new dancing-ground which then became the centre of the offshoot village of Togh-vanu. As a result of this, Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru are now regarded as the joint ancestors of all the present inhabitants of Pete-hul, but the inhabitants of Togh-vanu are descended only from To-rom-bambaru. These two brothers, it will be noted, both belong to the same "Side of the Stone" (1).

The third and fourth brothers, Teter-wetaul (A^2) and Narer-lumture (B^2), both belonging to the other "Side of the Stone" (2), are not mentioned in Godefroy's account, since his narrator was at the moment clearly not interested in this aspect of the social organisation, but was concerned only with presenting it from one angle, namely that of the two main patrilineal moieties.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 46.

Owing to their function as sub-divisions of these two patrilineal moieties I will refer to them as the two "shadow brothers," leaving the reason for their inclusion in the story to be discussed later in Chapter VI, in which it will be seen that they probably represent the matrilineal moieties operating within each patrilocal clan.[1]

We thus arrive at the following diagrammatic representation of the social significance of the four brothers (Fig. 10), with which may be compared the relative positions of the four Quarters seen in Fig. 5.

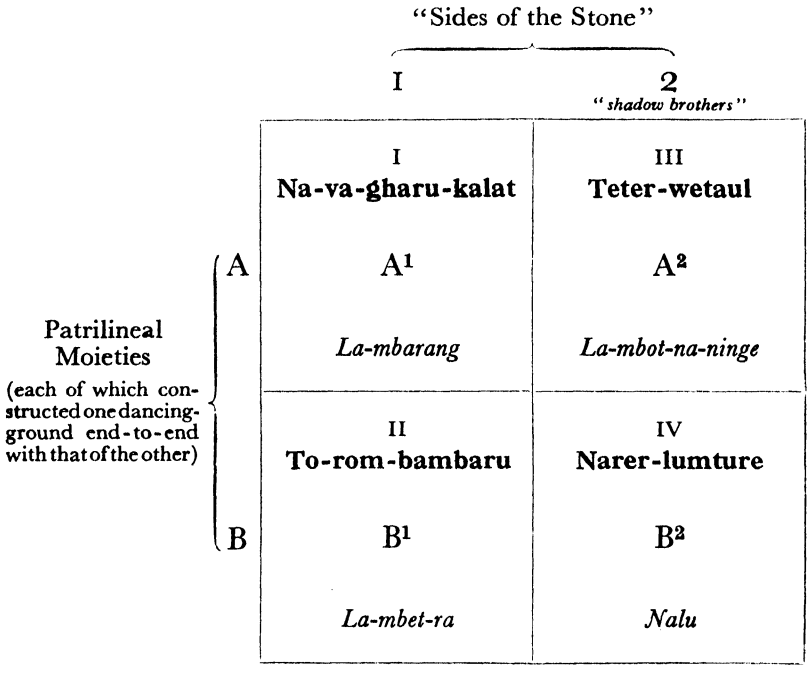


FIG. 10

Function of the four brothers in relation to the four Quarters of Pete-hul. (Brothers in heavy type. Quarters in italics.)

The alleged "ages" of the four founders represent order of precedence of the groups they founded.

A further point of no little importance if we are to understand this foundation story is illustrated by my own first record of it. According to this account, given by my informant Ma-taru without reference to the

[1] See p. 164. Compare Deacon's observation that the 6-section system of kinship of North Ambrim, which has been transformed from one based on overt matrilineal descent into one in which overt descent is now patrilineal, "would be easy to mistake for an ordinary non-class dual organisation" (Deacon, 2, p. 333. For an analysis of this system see pp. 121 ff. of this volume).

older men, To-rom-bambaru was said to be the eldest brother and Na-va-gharu-kalat the second. Closer enquiry elicited the fact that Ma-taru belonged to the refugee community from the submerged island of Tolamp, who had taken up their quarters on Togh-vanu ground. To-rom-bambaru being the ancestor of the Togh-vanu people, Ma-taru had sought, through personal pride, to claim seniority for him. This kind of juggling with ancestry prompted by emulation is common among all peoples, and is made easier in Malekula by the fact that in foundation myths, as in the kinship system, the terms "elder" and "younger" are often used for the "senior" and "junior" branches of a family or for the "Superior" and "Inferior" divisions of society. Thus, the alleged respective "ages" of the four brothers figuring in the foundation story do not in fact represent ages in years, but the accepted position in society of the groups they represent and the order of precedence accorded to these groups in ritual. By claiming seniority for To-rom-bambaru, Ma-taru was thus trying to establish a point of precedence, and not of age, and in so doing was in fact confusing matters of social organisation on Vao with his own undoubted right of precedence in matters connected with the Maki, due to quite different historical factors, which will be dealt with later.[1]

FOUNDATION OF THE OFFSHOOT VILLAGE TOGH-VANU

TWO DANCING-GROUNDS MADE END-TO-END. CHALLENGE TO STRANGERS LANDING AT KOWU SAID TO BE THE ORIGIN OF WARFARE

I propose now to return to my own fully checked and detailed historical account, which, in the narrations of the natives, follows immediately after the mythological story of the creation of the first man and woman from the split halves of the *memel* fruit. The woman bore four sons, whose names and alleged order of birth have already been given, together with the two ways in which they were paired.

These four brothers, coupled in pairs of alternating ages (that is to say as representing patrilineal moieties), made two dancing-grounds, Na-va-gharu-kalat (A^1) and Teter-wetaul (A^2), the first and third brothers, making one, and To-rom-bambaru (B^1) and Narer-lumture (B^2), the second and fourth brothers, making the other. The two dancing-grounds were constructed end-to-end, in the same way as the two dancing-grounds at present existing at Peter-ihi (see Map III) and in the village of Olep on Atchin, in contrast to the usual arrangement of separate dancing-grounds now existing in all the other villages in these two islands. Having made their two dancing-grounds thus end-to-end, the two pairs of alternate brothers proceeded to perform the Maki rite. Both pairs celebrated the

[1] See p. 281.

culminating sacrifice on the same day, and each sacrificed 100 re-entrant-tuskers.[1]

It is customary, on the thirtieth day after the sacrifice, when the month-long seclusion in the *ghamal* is over, for the chief participants to make vows dedicating themselves to some exemplary act of piety.[2] Members of all villages on Vao, as well as guests from the mainland and other Small Islands, having danced all night, adopt an expectant attitude and sing special songs. Suddenly one of the chief performers issues from the crowd and dances round them, hissing fiercely and holding out his right hand as if holding a spear. Then one of the dancers calls out, "Speak. Let us hear what you have to say." In the historical account, Na-va-gharu-kalat is represented as instructing them to do this, and when they called upon him, said, "What do you want me to say? I tell you to keep good watch on the beach Kowu, and, if any stranger come ashore there, to kill him and bring him to me to cut up. If any more come, do the same to them."

Then the people called on To-rom-bambaru, and he said, "What shall I say? My brother has spoken and told you that if any stranger come ashore at Kowu, you should kill him and bring him here, that we may cut him up. I have no more to say. I have finished." Then he sat down.

This arrogant speech of Na-va-gharu-kalat's, reflecting, among other things, the motive of human sacrifice which lives on in native culture despite the substitution of tusked boars in Maki ritual,[3] led to embittered fighting both on the island itself and with the peoples inhabiting the mainland of Malekula. A whole series of wars followed, some of which are recounted below, and it is said that not only these but all subsequent wars have their origin in the original challenge issued by Na-va-gharu-kalat.[4]

For reasons by no means clear from the bare story itself, but of which an explanation will be forthcoming when we come to examine the history of the kinship system,[5] this speech led also to a split in the village itself, half of the sub-clan represented by To-rom-bambaru seceding to form the offshoot village of Togh-vanu as a semi-independent unit. In this way, out of the single-village of Pete-hul was formed the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu.

[1] Tusked boars are graded according to the length of curvature of tusk. These grades are described on pp. 242 ff. A re-entrant-tusker is one of the higher grades, and at the time with which this tradition deals, may have been the highest then known. For the mass sacrifice referred to see pp. 389 ff.

[2] See p. 405.

[3] See pp. 255, 617 ff.

[4] The reasons for the social upheaval which this speech caused will be discussed in Chapter VI, and some of the wars themselves in Chapter XXIII. The speech also recalls the practice of killing strangers, as described on pages 253, 601, and also in Codrington, 3, pp. 345-6.

[5] See pp. 153 ff.

TOGH-VANU FOUNDED BY TULUL

Though according to Godefroy's account the move was made by To-rom-bambaru himself, this was not actually the case, the new foundation in fact taking several generations to accomplish. For, as will have been seen from his reply to Na-va-gharu-kalat's challenge, To-rom-bambaru appears to have agreed with his elder brother's policy and to have remained in Pete-hul. According to my version it was his son Peleris who, for reasons to be gone into later, became angry, and it was his anger that finally resulted in the split-up of the village of Pete-hul and the foundation of the offshoot village. The move was not actually made by Peleris, however, but by his son Tulul, grandson of To-rom-bambaru. Tulul belonged to *Tosan na-hal*, the Inferior "Side of the Lodge" in To-rom-bambaru's Quarter. According to the native account, Tulul, when he seceded, took with him not only his own brothers, but also "any other members of the village who wished," no matter to what Lodge they belonged, all of whom helped him to found the new village.

It is important to note that it was not till the third generation, under Tulul, that the split in the village organisation took place. It is to be noted also that, though in my transcription of the story Tulul took with him "any other members of the village who wished," examination of the genealogies show that those who actually did follow him all came from two Quarters only, namely those founded by To-rom-bambaru, the second brother, and Narer-lumture, the fourth.

As a result of this reorganisation, Pete-hul, the "perfect" parent village, retained its four Quarters, but its offshoot village Togh-vanu had only two, as seen in Fig. 11.

FORMATION OF THE TOGH-VANU QUARTERS

Tulul himself founded the Quarter and "Side of the Lodge" *La-mat-na-maki*, and when his descendants multiplied, some of them split off and founded the offshoot "Side of the Lodge" called *La-vag-vag*.

The second Togh-vanu Quarter, *Holovon*, was founded by a party of men from the Pete-hul Quarter *Nalu*, descendants of the fourth of the original brothers, Narer-lumture (B^2), who, it will be remembered, was paired with To-rom-bambaru (B^1) in the making of the original two dancing-grounds placed end-to-end at Pete-hul. When the men of *Holovon* Quarter had sufficiently multiplied, one section of them split off to found the "Side of the Lodge" called *La-tamp*.

Thus, in the first place, there were but two Quarters in Togh-vanu.

The third Quarter, *La-mbang-ne-me-tine*, was founded from *Holovon*,

apparently as late as three generations later than Tulul, by a man named Ulter, one of whose sons, Bombo-ronge, subsequently founded the offshoot "Side of the Lodge" called *Peter-hei*.

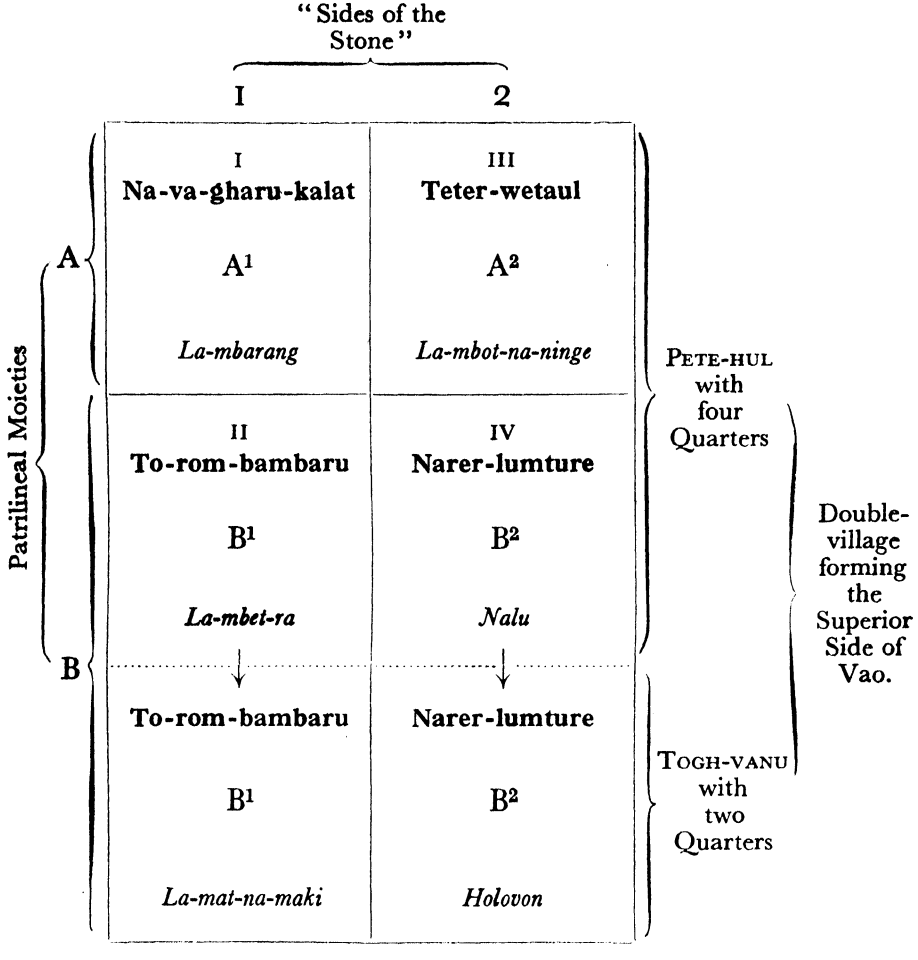
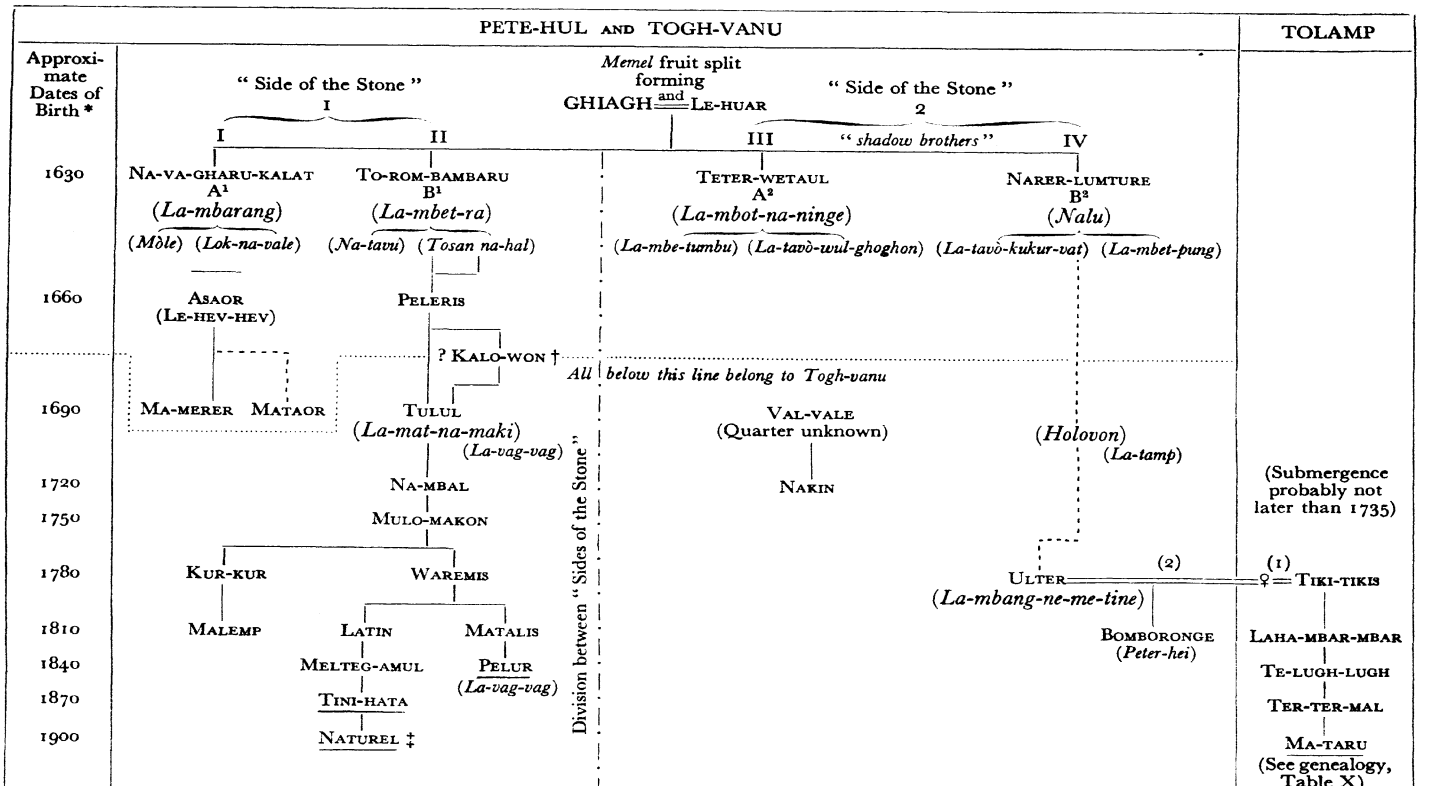


FIG. 11

Diagram illustrating the origin of the offshoot village of Togh-vanu, through the bisection of patrilineal moiety B, whereby half the descendants of To-rom-bambaru (B^1) and Narer-lumture (B^2) seceded to found the offshoot village, while the other half remained in the parent village of Pete-hul. Pete-hul and Togh-vanu together form the double-village occupying the Superior Side of Vao.

Thus, while all the descendants of Na-va-gharu-kalat, the eldest of the four founders, together with those of the third brother, Teter-wetaul, both belonging to patrilineal moiety A, remained at Pete-hul, some only of the descendants of the second and fourth brothers To-rom-



* For dating see p. 170. † There is some doubt as to the position of Kalo-won. ‡ Named after a well-known French planter. See also Appendix I, p. 750.

TABLE II

Genealogical Table illustrating the foundation of the 4 Quarters and 8 " Sides of the Lodge " in the village of PETE-HUL, and, below the dotted line, of the subsequent history of its offshoot village TOGH-VANU. In another column is a short genealogy of TOLAMP illustrating the events narrated in Chapter XXII. Names of those still living are underlined. Names of Quarters bracketed and in large italics. Names of " Sides of the Lodge " bracketed and in small italics.

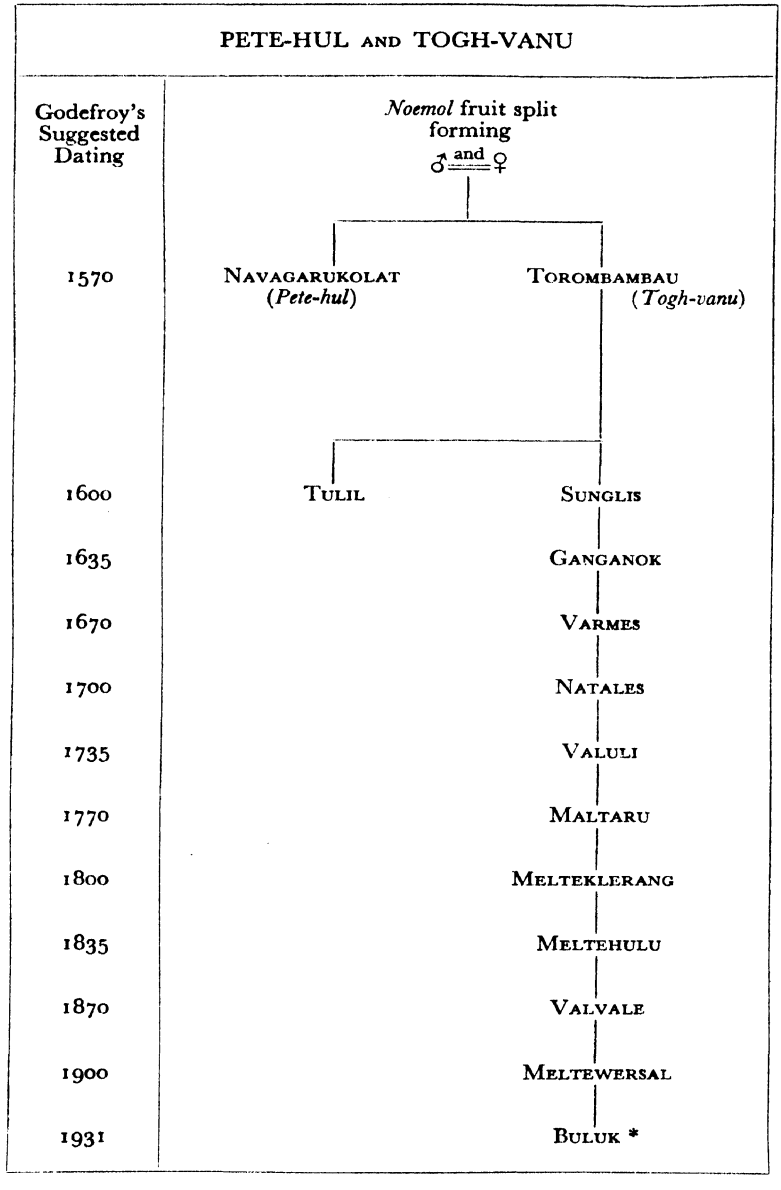


TABLE III

Godefroy's TOGH-VANU genealogy. †

* Buluk is the native pronunciation of the English "bullock," a popular name in the Small Islands.

† Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 52. The names are spelt very variously throughout his text, the spellings here given being the most common.

bambaru and Narer-lumture, both of patrilineal moiety B, seceded to found the twin-village of Togh-vanu, while yet other descendants from these last two also remained behind in Pete-hul.

It is important also, from the point of view of kinship organisation, to note that To-rom-bambaru is himself now regarded as the founder of Togh-vanu, though in point of fact this village was not founded by him but by his grandson Tulul, belonging to the third generation.

Owing to the process of adoption,[1] whereby, for the sake of maintaining a state of equilibrium between all recognised sections of a community, children are constantly being transferred from a strong Lodge or Quarter to a weaker, it is clear that the village of Togh-vanu would have had no difficulty in establishing four Quarters after the model of Pete-hul, and of approximately equal strength, had this been socially permissible. It is impossible to conjecture what proportion of its inhabitants left to found Togh-vanu. They must, however, have been considerably less than half. It might at first sight appear that it was owing to this fact that they divided themselves at first into only two Quarters instead of four. The fact that they did not do so had, however, to do with the kinship system, and not with numbers, as will be explained in a subsequent chapter.[2] They are today, in fact, more numerous than the inhabitants of Pete-hul.[3] In spite of this, though a belated attempt was made to imitate the four Quarters of Pete-hul by the establishment of a third Quarter, by the sub-division of the second, or Inferior, of the original two Quarters, this process has never been completed, and the essential organisation is still into two Quarters instead of four.

The inhabitants of Togh-vanu themselves put down their "imperfect" organisation to the fact that their village was not founded directly by Ta-ghar. This statement should not be dismissed as pure fantasy, but should be taken on its face value as meaning that in fact some other influence was at work which prevented the normal reproduction of a previously accepted pattern. This was clearly not due only to the effect of Na-va-gharu-kalat's speech, but to a more fundamental aspect of the kinship structure discussed in the following chapters.

[1] See p. 187. [2] See pp. 153 ff. [3] See p. 746.

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

I

THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF CLASS SYSTEMS IN AUSTRALIA AND MELANESIA

N.B.—In this and subsequent sections on Kinship use will be made of the following symbols current in anthropological literature :

F = Father or Father's.
M = Mother or Mother's.
S = Son or Son's.
D = Daughter or Daughter's.
Ch = Child or Child's.
B = Brother or Brother's.
eB = elder Brother or Brother's.
yB = younger Brother or Brother's.
Sis = Sister or Sister's.
eSis = elder Sister or Sister's.
ySis = younger Sister or Sister's.
W = Wife or Wife's.
H = Husband or Husband's.

Thus :

MB = Mother's brother.
MBW = Mother's brother's wife.
SisS = Sister's son.
FSisD = Father's sister's daughter.
MBD = Mother's brother's daughter.
MMBDD = Mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
HyB = Husband's younger brother.

Terms such as Aunt, Uncle, Grandfather, Grandmother are not used, as they are applicable to more than one kind of relative.

m.s. = man speaking.
w.s. = woman speaking.

Thus : B (m.s.) indicates the term used by a man for his brother.
B (w.s.) indicates the term used by a woman for her brother.

♂ = male.
♀ = female.

IN Chapter III, I have given an account of the overt social organisation of the island so far as my information goes, and we have seen in Chapter IV the stories of origin and such details as I was able to record of the natives' own accounts regarding subsequent historical develop-

ments. All these, it will be noticed, have been strictly from the patrilineal point of view, in accordance with the natives' present preoccupation with patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence.

There is, however, another side to the question, namely the principle of matrilineal descent, which is less obvious on the surface but nevertheless forms the foundation of the whole social system.

Matrilineal Moieties and Marriage Sections

We have already seen how Vao is the most northerly outpost of the patrilineal area, which includes the whole of the South and Central New Hebrides, and that in the islands immediately to the north and north-east there is a dual organisation consisting of two exogamous matrilineal moieties with descent reckoned in the female line. These two matrilineal moieties are found also throughout the Small Islands in the social divisions referred to by the natives in pidgin-English as "lines," the word "line" being applied to that section of each matrilineal moiety that is found in any one patrilocal village. In this way each village contains two "lines," each such "line" consisting of those members of the village who belong to one of the two matrilineal moieties that extend throughout this wide area despite the overt patrilocal organisation. Thus, in the great Maki rite each "line" alternately acts as introducer to the other.[1] In Atchin the wooden images set up by the members of each "line" are for this reason called *n'ei weaweng*, of which the first word, *n'ei*, means "wood" and hence "wooden image," and the second word, *weaweng*, is equivalent to the Oba expression *wai vung* meaning "matrilineal moiety," of which the literal rendering is "'bunches of fruit' . . . as if all the members hang on the same branch." [2]

Similar "lines" are found in Raga and Ambrim, where in each case their existence is due, as in the Small Islands, to the influence of the matrilineal moieties on the overt patrilineal social organisation.

It will be noted, therefore, that in all the areas just mentioned descent is both patrilineal in respect of the overt patrilineal organisation, *and* matrilineal in respect of the exogamous matrilineal moieties. This fact led Rivers, in his attempt to understand the kinship system of North Raga, to put forward the suggestion that there might possibly exist in these islands what are called "class systems" of kinship similar in essentials to those found in most parts of Australia.[3]

Rivers did not, however, succeed in working out the details of any such system, and it was left to the genius and determination of Deacon actually to demonstrate the existence of a class system in Ambrim.[4] This

[1] See p. 294.
[2] Codrington, 3, p. 26.
[3] Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 66, 75.
[4] Deacon, 2.

proved to be a 6-section system formed by the simultaneous operation of the two matrilineal moieties with three patrilineal descent groups, in which each patrilineal descent group was divided into two "lines," and each of the six "lines" so formed represented what among anthropologists is known as a "marriage section."

It will from the above description be clear that considerable similarities exist between the Ambrim system and that of Vao, where there are also two matrilineal moieties and three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three patrilocal double-villages. When my own field-work was carried out, however, class systems of kinship were but little known. At that time Professor Radcliffe-Brown's monograph on the Australian systems had not yet appeared, and it was not till many years after that Deacon discovered the Ambrim system. I was therefore unable at that time to interpret the indications found in the Vao system which, in the light of more recent knowledge, make it quite plain that, if not actually a class system, it at least has many features in common with one. A re-examination of the kinship terminology that I had recorded, and which is given in a later chapter, tended to confirm this supposition, and has made it possible, if not to solve the whole problem, at least to understand the principles that go to build it up, and to view the whole system as an organic structure.

This is the more necessary in that the more deeply we go into the mythology and ritual activities of the natives, the more evident it becomes that of all factors leading to their development the problem of kinship, and especially the changes that have come about in the kinship system, are the most vital and far-reaching.

One of the main difficulties in the understanding of class systems has always been the manner in which they have been presented to the reader by means of a complicated system of lettering without adequate diagrams and with so much emphasis on detail that the main principles on which they are founded, though quite simple, have been obscured. Thus, while the two systems discovered by Deacon on Ambrim were made clear to him by the natives by means of stones representing the three patrilineal descent groups combined with lines indicating the division between these groups and others indicating descent in the two matrilineal moieties, these systems when written down in the terminology hitherto in use among anthropologists appeared so involved that the systems themselves have remained a sealed book to all but a few experts.

It was, therefore, in an attempt to simplify the presentation of such systems with a view to understanding my own records of the kinship system on Vao that I evolved a new technique of presentation which it is hoped will bring a knowledge of such systems within the grasp of any intelligent reader, and at the same time demonstrate their essential char-

acteristics in a manner that is highly significant for the study of the structure of human society as a whole. This being the case, I have no hesitation in devoting a chapter to the presentation of this technique before applying it in particular to the Vao system.[1]

For the sake of the lay reader I will begin by describing very briefly the "classificatory" principle on which most, if not all, kinship systems are based, whether these systems are "class systems" or not.

Brief Summary of the Classificatory System

According to the classificatory principle, though the individual family unit is fully recognised, the use of kinship terms is on the one hand extended to embrace a far larger number of collateral relatives than among ourselves, while on the other hand certain different kinds of relatives whom we class together are separated into distinct groups. Thus, while we use the term "father" for a single individual only, namely the presumed biological father, in a classificatory system this term is applied also to the father's brother. In the same way, and as a logical consequence of this, the father's brother's son (first cousin on the father's side) is called "brother." So also the father's father's brother's son is called father, and the father's father's brother's son's son (second cousin on the father's side) is again called "brother." The same principle is applied to all collateral relatives of this type in such a way that all relatives in the direct male line of descent are classed according to generations, all members of a given generation being addressed by the same kinship term. In the same way, the mother's sister is also called "mother," and the same term is extended to all her female cousins in the direct female line of descent, while all these women's sons are as a rule similarly called "brother." This does not mean, however, that there is any doubt as to the identity of the actual father or mother, any more than there is with us. What it does mean is that in small societies, and especially in those primitive societies where there are no chiefs, the whole social organisation is based on kinship in such a way that in any one tribe or group of tribes every individual belongs to one or other such kinship group, membership of which not only confers on him his social status but also imposes on him within certain limits the mode of behaviour he must adopt towards the members of each other kinship group together with the emotional attitudes which these entail. Thus a man may have many "fathers" all belonging to the same kinship section as his own father, towards all of whom his behaviour will be regulated on the same pattern and who will in turn call him "son" and treat him accordingly, but the

[1] This technique was first presented during the course of a paper on *Kinship and Ritual in North-East Malekula*, read to the Royal Anthropological Institute on March 22nd, 1938, but was not then published.

intensity of the relationship varies with the actual closeness of the genealogical tie. This fact is recognised in anthropological literature in that the actual or presumed progenitor is technically referred to as the "own father," while all those more distant relatives that the native calls "father" are referred to as "classificatory fathers," using the term "classificatory" for all relatives classed together under a single native term, and who fulfil similar sociological functions with regard to the speaker.

In this respect, relatives we call by different names are classed together on the principle that they all occupy the same sociological position in the kinship system. On the other hand, the same classificatory principle leads to a sharp distinction being drawn between certain other kinds of relative whom we class together. These distinctions arise from the principle of exogamy whereby a man and his wife necessarily belong to different groups. This shows itself in the first place in the different terms applied to two relatives both of whom we refer to as "uncle." Of these two, the father's brother is, as we have seen, classed with the father, but the mother's brother occupies a very different position, as being the chief male representative not of the paternal but of the maternal line of descent. He, therefore, and all the male members of his generation on the mother's side are known in all primitive systems by a special kinship term, and their attitude is as a rule fundamentally different from that of the father, since in any marital disputes they are naturally on the side of the mother and have a correspondingly benevolent attitude towards her child. Thus, while the father's brother is a sort of secondary father, the mother's brother is, as Professor Radcliffe-Brown puts it, a kind of male mother. A similar distinction is drawn between the two kinds of relative whom we call "aunt," namely, on the one hand, the mother's sister, who, as we have seen, is called by the same term as the mother and fulfils similar functions, and, on the other hand, the father's sister, who, together with all her classificatory sisters, is known also by a different kinship term and as a rule adopts a comparatively severe attitude by virtue of her position as a kind of female father.

The same principle leads to a sharp distinction being drawn between certain relatives whom we class together as "cousins," but who in most if not all classificatory systems are divided into (*a*) what are called "parallel cousins," namely the children of all those whom the speaker refers to as "father" or "mother," all of which children are thus sociologically equivalent to the speaker, and so, as we have already seen, are usually included under the term used for "brother" and "sister"; and (*b*) "cross-cousins," who are the children of the mother's brother and of the father's sister, all of whom, owing to the fact that in any exogamous system a woman marries a man belonging to a different group from that of her brother, necessarily themselves also occupy a different position

in the social order, and are so usually called by a different kinship term.

Yet other classificatory terms are used for the four kinds of grandparent and grandchildren (when, as sometimes happen, these are not all classed together), as well as for the different groups related to a man through his wife and to a woman through her husband. Thus, from the point of view of each individual, the whole population is divided into kinship groups, each member of which must be addressed with the appropriate term. Each term carries with it certain traditional attitudes, expectations and obligations to which the individual perforce responds, and within the framework of which he leads his life.

While most primitive kinship systems observe this classificatory principle, however, no two systems operate it in precisely the same way, the variations and the terminology resulting from them being in all cases based on the regulations governing marriage, together with certain historical factors in the past history of the tribe. These regulations in turn depend on the varying degrees of importance attached in different communities to the two principles of matrilineal and patrilineal descent.

The combination of two lines of descent within a single kinship system is an important element in primitive kinship systems that is not always fully understood. We in Europe are accustomed to the principle of patrilineal descent, but have difficulty in tracing, or even imagining, a matrilineal group traced entirely through the female line, since in our own society there is no mechanism corresponding to patrilineal surnames by which descent in the matrilineal line can be easily traced. So, when we think of our mother's family, what we usually think of is not her female line of descent, but, on the contrary, the members of her patrilineal descent group who all bear her maiden name. This is an extreme case, and in the early days of anthropological research the stress laid in many communities on matrilineal descent led to the equally erroneous conception that in such communities patrilineal descent played as small a part as matrilineal descent does in ours. Societies thus came to be spoken of as being either patrilineal or matrilineal, and marriage regulations were apt to be viewed solely from this standpoint.

It is now known, however, that in most, if not all, primitive communities both lines of descent are taken into account in the regulation of marriage, though in very varying degrees. In this way, though for one reason or another, such as the custom of matrilocal or patrilocal residence, society may at first sight appear to be organised on an exclusively matrilineal or patrilineal basis, this does not mean that the other line of descent is ignored. It does mean, however, that there is great scope for variation in the different methods by which the two lines of descent may be combined to form a single kinship system.

Morphology of Class Systems Analogous to that of Living Cells

Anthropologists have of course long been aware of the importance of kinship from the sociological point of view, and in recent years some work has been done on the psychological effects of different systems on the groups of which they are composed. Thus in this country and in America Malinowski, Fortune, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Bateson, Roheim and others have studied the effects of kinship on the attitude of various groups towards sex and other problems of corporate life. Others less well informed have indulged in generalisations such as some of those contained in Freud's *Totemism and Taboo*, largely based on the fallacy of the supposed communal ownership of wives, resulting from a misinterpretation of the classificatory principle outlined above.

None of these authors have, however, appreciated the fact that primitive kinship systems in small interrelated communities such as the class systems about to be described are themselves governed by laws not unlike those that govern the development of biological cells, laws springing from an innate impulse towards expansion in certain directions in accordance with some universal principle that operates not only in the biological field, but also in formation of human institutions and in the successive sub-divisions of the human psyche as demonstrated by the findings of modern psychological research.

Radcliffe-Brown has come nearest to this conception from the purely sociological point of view in his classification of the Australian class systems, all of which exhibit the same sectional or "cellular" pattern based on a division into two moieties which subsequently sub-divide in various ways.

This brief introduction is necessary in order to counteract the widespread impression that such terms as the "regulation of marriage" imply that such regulations are in any way imposed from above by some ingenious effort of conscious thought. Thus it is quite common to hear it said, "How could primitive peoples *invent* such complicated systems," as, for instance, the progressive division into moieties and sub-moieties that I have described in the above account of the overt patrilineal organisation on Vao? The answer is in the first place that, as we shall see later, the Vao system is a good deal more involved than has yet appeared, and in the second, that of course no one ever did invent it. It just happened, in obedience to innate and wholly unconscious laws; and the individuals composing it, far from ever having thought it out, are themselves caught up in it—often, as we shall see, very much against their wills.

When we come to examine the structure of these sectional systems we find that the primary division is founded on the biological split between the sexes as represented by a man and his wife, coupled with a funda-

mental emphasis on matrilineal descent. In this way two matrilineal moieties automatically come into being, and the union of complementary opposites occurring on the biological level in the coming together of the sexes is thus repeated also on the sociological level, since each moiety is essential to the other, and it is in all cases from the opposite moiety to his own that a man must seek his wife. This leads to a creative tension between the moieties, which are at one and the same time necessarily opposed to one another and also essential to one another's existence.

Bilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage, with Emphasis on Matrilineal Descent

This fundamental paradox, well known in the biological sphere, lies at the root of all class systems of kinship as they exist today in Australia and some parts of Melanesia, and probably obtained at one time over a much wider area. The matrilineal basis at least has a very wide distribution. Thus, as Professor Radcliffe-Brown has pointed out,[1] over the whole of the Australian-Dravidian area stretching from South India to Melanesia it is to the mother's family, in the person of the mother's brother, that a man goes in order to procure a wife. In the simplest form of kinship organisation all over this area, the wife whom the mother's brother produces for his sister's son to marry is his (i.e. the mother's brother's) own or classificatory daughter. This means that a man marries a woman related to him through his mother, who is not, however, his mother's daughter (who would be his own sister), but is a cross-cousin on the mother's side, namely the mother's brother's daughter. Thus:

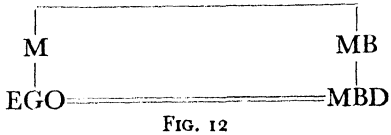


Fig. 12

This system, though emphasising the importance of the matrilineal connexion, does not necessarily imply the existence of matrilineal moieties, as the following diagram shows, in which each of the men marked 1, 2 and 3 marries his MBD, and which in a large community could be extended indefinitely in either direction.

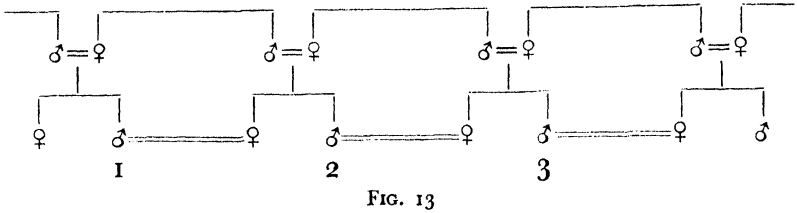


Fig. 13

[1] See p. 116.

There is, however, another basic principle that in many smaller communities operates at the same time. This is the reciprocal principle by virtue of which the loss of a woman to one group, through marriage into another, is made good by the husband giving, in exchange, his own or classificatory sister in marriage to his wife's brother.

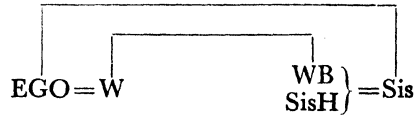


FIG. 14

This is called sister-exchange marriage,[1] and when combined with marriage with the mother's brother's daughter immediately creates what is called a closed system, by virtue of which the mother's brother's daughter is at the same time the father's sister's daughter. This bilateral cross-cousin marriage is commonly represented thus:

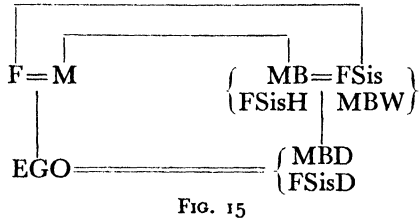


FIG. 15

"EQUIVALENCE"

With regard to the details of kinship terminology, this form of marriage has many interesting results. In the first place, it will invariably be found when recording relationships by means of the genealogical method that in such a system the mother's brother's daughter (MBD) and the father's sister's daughter (FSisD) are called by the same kinship term, since both occupy the same position in the kinship system. In anthropological language these two relatives, who in other systems may be known by different terms, are in all systems including sister-exchange marriage spoken of for this reason as being "equivalent" to one another. Other "equivalences" resulting from the same system are those of the mother's brother (MB) with the father's sister's husband (FSisH), and of the mother's brother's wife (MBW) with the father's sister (FSis), as shown in the above diagram, and of the wife's brother (WB) with the sister's husband (SisH), seen in Fig. 14. Other "equivalences" of a similar nature resulting from this are too numerous to mention, though attention will be called to some of the most important of them below. Such terminological "equivalences" are of great aid to the anthropologist in working out the details of any given system.

[1] Formerly (and still by some) called brother-sister exchange marriage.

Automatic Formation of a 4-Section System based on Exogamous Matrilineal and Patrilineal Moieties

Useful as these details are, however, what is of far greater importance for an understanding of the structure of society is the fact that bilateral cross-cousin marriage, when repeated in every generation, *automatically* gives rise to a system of matrilineal moieties such as have already been mentioned, and, equally automatically, to a simultaneously operating system of patrilineal moieties resulting from the same set of causes.

This fact is clearly set out in the following chart (Fig. 16), adapted

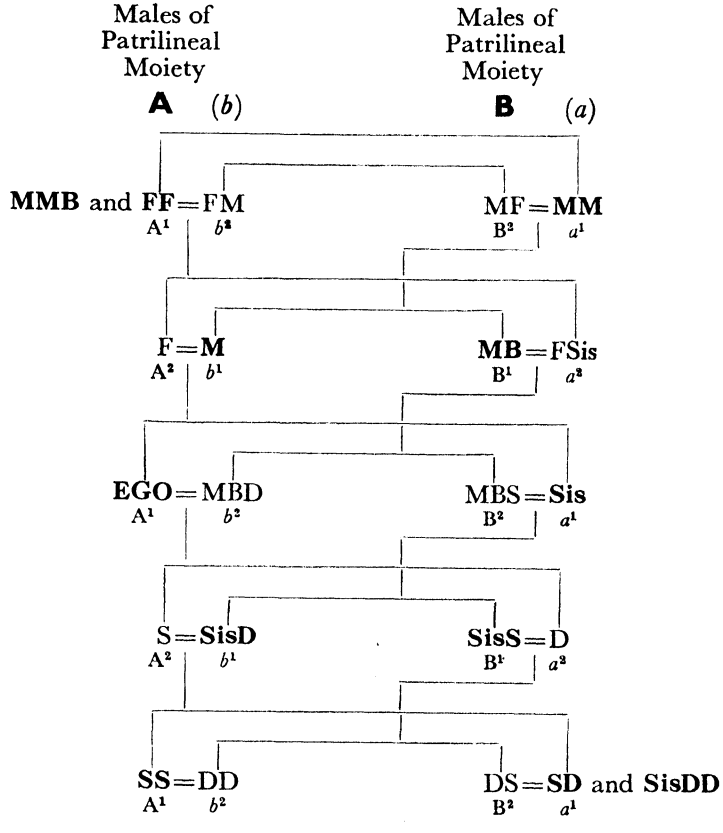


Fig. 16. 4-Section System. ♂=MBD.

Genealogical chart constructed from the point of view of overt patrilineal descent. The patrilineal moieties are lettered A (for men, *a* for women) and B (for men, *b* for women). Members of the two matrilineal moieties are numbered 1 and 2 respectively. Members of EGO's matrilineal moiety 1 are marked in thick type, those of his wife's matrilineal moiety 2 in thin. Each man marries his MBD (who is also his FSisD) and gives his own or classificatory sister to be married to his wife's brother.

with certain modifications from that published by Professor Radcliffe-Brown to illustrate the system as found among the Kariera of West Australia, and which he refers to as class system Type I.[1]

It will be noticed that in this system every man marries his bilateral cross-cousin, that is to say his MBD who is also his FSisD, and at the same time gives his own sister to be married to his wife's brother.

The two modifications here introduced into Professor Radcliffe-Brown's representation of this system are for the purpose of demonstrating more clearly the structural elements out of which it is built up.

(*a*) This structure, it will be remembered, consists of two matrilineal moieties which I propose throughout this work to refer to by the numbers 1 and 2, and two simultaneously operating patrilineal moieties which I shall refer to by the letters A and B. In this diagram arranged in terms of patrilineal descent, therefore, column A represents the males and column *a* the females of one patrilineal moiety, while columns B and *b* respectively the males and females of the other.

(*b*) The second modification is the use of thick type for the members of EGO's own matrilineal moiety 1, and thin type for his wife's matrilineal moiety 2. This brings out clearly the fact that such a society is divided into two equal halves in two distinct ways, firstly into two patrilineal moieties represented by columns A*a* and B*b*, and secondly into two matrilineal moieties 1 and 2, which, it will be noticed, coincide with the two patrilineal moieties in each alternate generation in the direct male line in such a way that, among numerous other "equivalences," the FF is at the same time the MMB. The result is a 4-section system formed by the interaction between the two sets of moieties in such a way that each of the four sections is composed of persons all belonging at the same time to one of the two patrilineal moieties represented in columns A and B *and* to one of the two matrilineal moieties 1 and 2. In this way it will be noticed that every member of the community is either A^1, A^2, B^1 or B^2, and it is for this reason that I have adopted this method of lettering rather than that used by Professor Radcliffe-Brown when referring to the four sections in the Kariera system by four different letters, which give no indication as to the elements out of which the four sections are built up.[2]

Since this is the basis from which all class systems spring, it is important to note one fact to which all such systems adhere, namely that, in contrast

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 2, p. 49.

[2] The correlation between the two sets of lettering is as follows:

Radcliffe-Brown's.	Mine.
A	A^1
B	B^2
C	B^1
D	A^2

to non-class systems of kinship in which the rules of exogamy may be applied without limit either in the matrilineal or in the patrilineal line of descent while being reckoned only up to a limited number in the other, in class systems there is no such limit in either direction, exogamy being absolute both in the male and in the female line. At the same time other considerations usually bring it about that one line of descent receives more overt recognition than the other. Thus, among the Kariera, as all over Australia, the natives live in patrilineal hordes, and it is for this reason that Fig. 16, which could quite as easily have been made with columns 1 and 2 representing the two matrilineal moieties in which the patrilineal moieties alternate from one generation to the other, has in fact been constructed on a patrilineal basis.

Introduction of New Technique

Equivalence of Alternate Generations in the Direct Male Line of Descent

All such charts drawn up on a genealogical basis have, however, when applied to class systems, the grave disadvantage of separating the males and females of any given descent group from one another on account of the marriages which they contract. For this reason I have devised as an introduction to a more satisfactory method of presentation a new type of diagram which overcomes this difficulty by keeping all members of one moiety (including females as well as males) in one column, while all members of the opposite moiety are shown in the other.

Diagrams of this type can be constructed either from the patrilineal or from the matrilineal point of view. Fig. 17, constructed from the matrilineal angle, demonstrates exactly the same set of facts as those already given, and the lettering is in both cases the same. The two matrilineal moieties are found in columns 1 and 2 divided by a central vertical line. Each pair of brother and sister is joined by a bracket. Each man marries his MBD in the opposite matrilineal moiety, and each gives his sister to be married by his wife's brother. From each marriage a curved line leads to the children of that marriage, who remain within the matrilineal moiety of the mother. These in turn marry in the same manner as their parents, and the same process is repeated in every generation.

In this way males and females of one matrilineal moiety are all found in one column, in which descent is purely in the female line.

If now we trace descent in the male line we see rather more clearly than before how this system, founded on matrilineal moieties, at the same

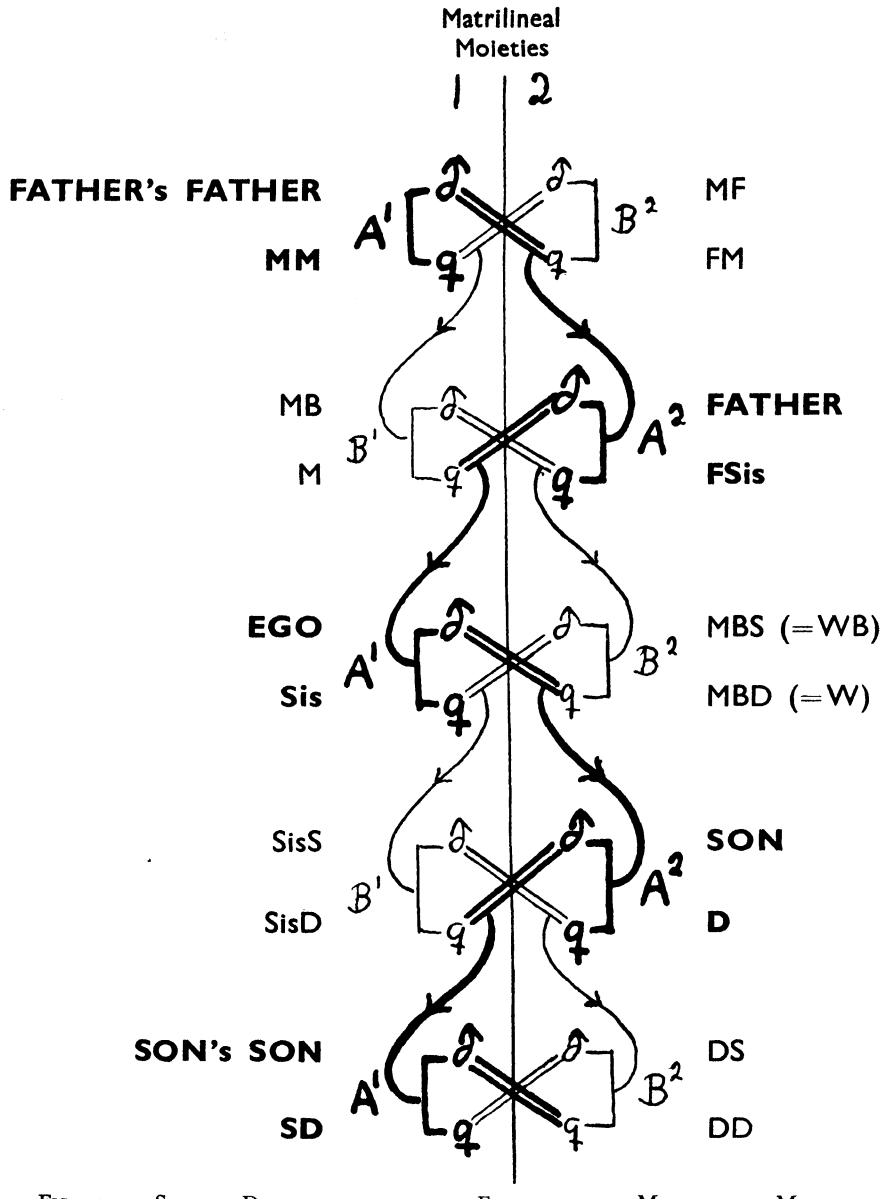


FIG. 17. 4-SECTION DIAGRAM SHOWING THE EFFECT OF THE MATRILINEAL MOIETIES ON PATRILINEAL DESCENT.

♂=male. ♀=female. Brackets [ ] join brother and sister. Double lines indicate marriage. Curved lines indicate descent. The two matrilineal moieties are arranged in vertical columns numbered 1 and 2, in each of which descent is purely in the female line. The two patrilineal moieties are marked A and B, and are further distinguished by EGO's patrilineal moiety A being rendered in thick type and his wife's patrilineal moiety B in thin. Note the equivalence of alternate generations in the male line of descent due to the fact that each patrilineal moiety crosses over in each generation from one matrilineal moiety to the other, thus causing EGO, his FF and SS to belong to one matrilineal moiety and his F and S to the other. These, together with their respective sisters, constitute the two "lines" or marriage sections (A^1 and A^2) in EGO's patrilineal moiety. Patrilineal moiety B is similarly divided into two "lines," B^1 including EGO's MB and SisS, and B^2 including his WB, MF and DS.

time automatically creates the two patrilineal moieties A and B, here marked respectively in thick and thin type. It will be noted that each patrilineal moiety crosses from one matrilineal moiety to the other in each successive generation, thus demonstrating once more the fact that, while a man, his FF and SS all belong to one matrilineal moiety, his F and his S (and, if we extend the figure, his FFF and SSS) all belong to the other.

Development of Technique to include all Individuals of the Same Sex and Marriage Section under One Sign

Figs. 16 and 17 could both be extended indefinitely in a vertical direction, both upwards and downwards, though not sideways. Neither is, however, perfect, each having the disadvantage from the kinship point of view that it is one-sided. Thus, in Fig. 16, while descent in the male line can be traced in direct vertical lines, descent in the female line is criss-cross. In the same way, in Fig. 17 we get the corresponding disadvantage that it is the patrilineal moieties that wander alternately from one matrilineal column to the other.

Thus, however we may arrange diagrams of either type so far reproduced, one line of descent is bound to be stressed at the expense of the other. This method of presentation is, it is true, eminently suitable if it is desired to emphasise what may be called "political" factors, such as the existence of matrilineal or patrilineal clans, in which case Fig. 16 accurately represents the composition of patrilineal groups such as those of the Kariera. As a representation of class systems from the purely kinship point of view they are, however, for this reason imperfect. A yet further disadvantage lies in the fact that both types of diagram still separate persons of the same section who belong to different generations such as a man, his FF and his SS.

It was in order to overcome these disadvantages that I evolved the technique that I am now about to present, in which both sets of moieties are given equal weight, and all persons of a given section are brought together, thus presenting all the essential facts at a glance without reference to complicated lettering, while having the additional advantage that distinguishing letters and numbers can also be included if desired.

This technique depends upon the use of the male and female signs ♂ and ♀ to represent not only all classificatory brothers and sisters as in Fig. 18, but in addition all individuals of all generations who belong to a given kinship section. In order to demonstrate the working of this method, I will begin with a purely theoretical diagram illustrating a hypothetical matrilineal dual organisation without sub-divisions, combined with sister-exchange marriage.

In this purely theoretical diagram (Fig. 18), brother and sister marry sister and brother in opposite matrilineal moieties, and the children of each marriage belong to the moiety of the mother.

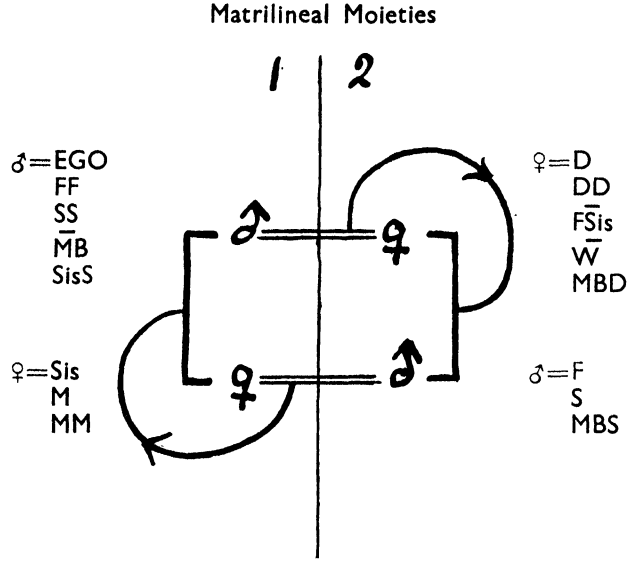


Fig. 18

Conversely, if we isolate the patrilineal element, we get Fig. 19, in which the children of a marriage belong to the moiety of the father.

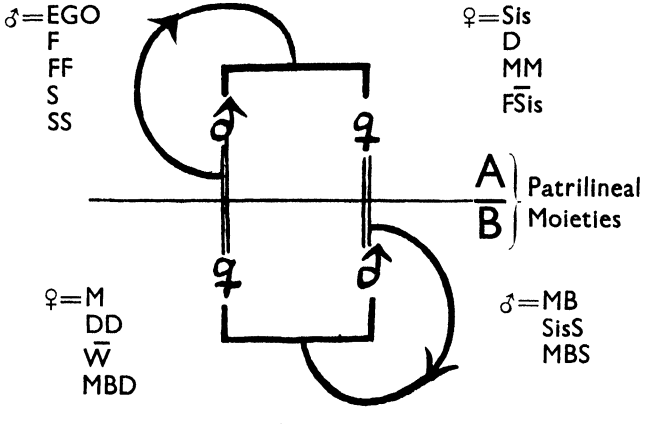


Fig. 19

If we now take these elements together, we get a simple diagram (Fig. 20) representing a 4-section system. This diagram combines all

the elements which go to build up a 4-section system, namely: two matrilineal moieties, two patrilineal moieties, and sister-exchange marriage, each union taking place between persons of opposite matrilineal and patrilineal moieties. All possible relatives are included in this scheme, and each of the four divisions represents a marriage section or class.

The diagram could be used, and is in fact constructed, without the use of any numbers or lettering at all, but for the purpose of demonstration

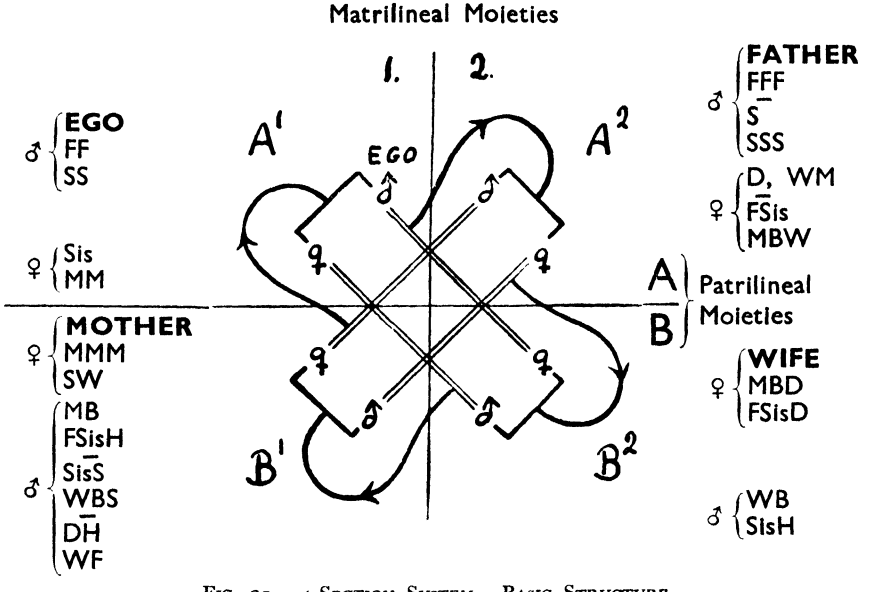


FIG. 20. 4-SECTION SYSTEM. BASIC STRUCTURE.

Matrilineal moieties in vertical columns 1 and 2. Patrilineal moieties in horizontal columns A and B. Each of the four quarters so formed represents a marriage section. Male and female signs ♂ and ♀ represent *all* men and women in a given section, in which each man marries his MBD who belongs to the opposite matrilineal moiety *and* to the opposite patrilineal moiety from himself. Curved descent lines lead from each marriage to the children of that marriage, who belong to the matrilineal moiety of the mother and to the patrilineal moiety of the father. Thus a man of A^1 marries a woman of B^2 and their children are A^2, but his sister's children are B^1.

I have included the numbers 1 and 2 for the matrilineal moieties, and the letters A and B for the patrilineal moieties.

The essence of the system is that a man may marry neither into his mother's matrilineal moiety nor into his father's patrilineal moiety, and that, given these conditions, he marries the nearest available relative in his own generation who belongs to neither. Thus, if EGO is A^1, his mother is B^1, that is, of the same matrilineal moiety but of the opposite patrilineal moiety; his father is A^2, that is to say, of the same patrilineal moiety but of the opposite matrilineal moiety; his wife, on the other

hand, belongs neither to his matrilineal moiety nor to his patrilineal moiety, and is B^2; and this individual, who is primarily his MBD, is at the same time his FSisD. The children resulting from such a marriage belong to the patrilineal moiety of the father and to the matrilineal moiety of the mother, but in both cases to the opposite section of the moiety from that of the parent. Thus the children belonging to a man of A^1 remain in patrilineal moiety A but in the mother's matrilineal section of it, namely A^2; and the children of his sister, who also belongs to A^1, remain in matrilineal moiety 1 but in their father's patrilineal section of it, namely B^1. It thus comes about that:

A man of A^1 marries a woman of B^2 and their children are A^2.
" " A^2 " " " B^1 " " " A^1.

And conversely:

A man of B^1 marries a woman of A^2 and their children are B^2.
" " B^2 " " " A^1 " " " B^1.

For this reason these four sections A^1, A^2, B^1 and B^2 are referred to as "marriage sections," each man knowing from his earliest infancy the prescribed section from which both he and all his classificatory brothers must seek their wives, the wife in this case being the MBD who is also the FSisD.

This diagram also demonstrates more clearly than any hitherto the sociological equivalence of alternate generations in the male line due to the action of the matrilineal moieties, on which is founded the division in the Small Islands into the two "lines" already mentioned, which are a feature of all class systems however they may differ in other respects, these "lines" being here equivalent to "marriage sections" and consisting of:

(*a*) A man, his FF and SS, all of whom belong to the same patrilineal moiety *and* to the same matrilineal moiety, and thus to the same marriage section A^1.

(*b*) His F, his S, his FFF and his SSS, all of whom belong to the same patrilineal moiety A but to the opposite matrilineal moiety in it, and thus all belong to marriage section A^2.

The whole system thus repeats itself every two generations, each man being sociologically equivalent to his FF, and his sister to her MM.

Circular (Functional) Technique

This method of presentation, while most suitable for the presentation of a simple 4-section system, becomes somewhat complicated when applied to systems containing more than four sections. It was therefore in order

to solve the problem of how to present these more complicated systems in graphic form that I evolved a second technique of circular diagrams, which I will now describe.

As will be seen, this technique shows more clearly also the repetitive nature of those advanced systems with a cycle of more than two generations.

The impetus towards this was a method introduced to me by Mr. Gregory Bateson, by which a sheet of paper is rolled so as to form a cylinder round something hard, such as a jam jar, so as to provide a surface for writing (see Fig. 21). Half-way down the cylinder a horizontal line is drawn, dividing it into two bands, representing two matrilineal moieties 1 and 2. Vertical lines are then added, dividing off as many patrilineal divisions as the system to be presented contains. In the case of a 4-section system there will be only two, dividing the two patrilineal moieties A and B. This arrangement results in four compartments representing the four marriage sections. Each section contains a brother and a sister, who marry a sister and a brother belonging to opposite matrilineal *and* patrilineal moieties. In the case of the diagram (Fig. 21) only two of these pairs are seen, the other two being on the other side of the cylinder, and for this reason Fig. 22 has been added showing the cylindrical sheet opened out. Descent lines are then drawn linking each pair of brother and sister with their mother in their own matrilineal moiety and with their father in their own patrilineal moiety, as seen in Fig. 22, which, when folded round the cylinder in Fig. 21, thus produces a repetitive system.

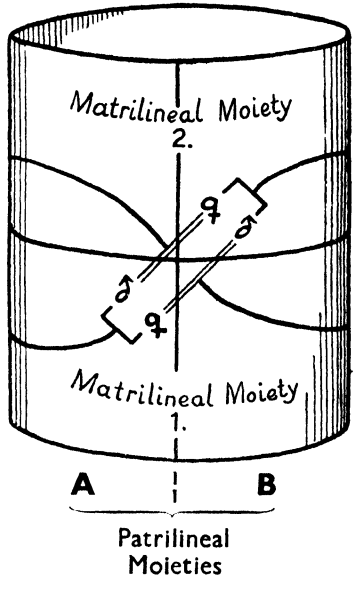


FIG. 21

4-SECTION SYSTEM (FUNCTIONAL)

The next problem is how to reduce the cylindrical presentation to two-dimensional proportions capable of being shown as a repetitive system on a flat piece of paper. The 4-section diagram already given in Fig. 20 is one method of doing this, by imagining the cylinder to be transparent, and thus getting the two sides superimposed. The method now to be presented, however, is to imagine the lower rim of the

cylinder to be splayed out so as to bring it on to the same plane as the upper rim.

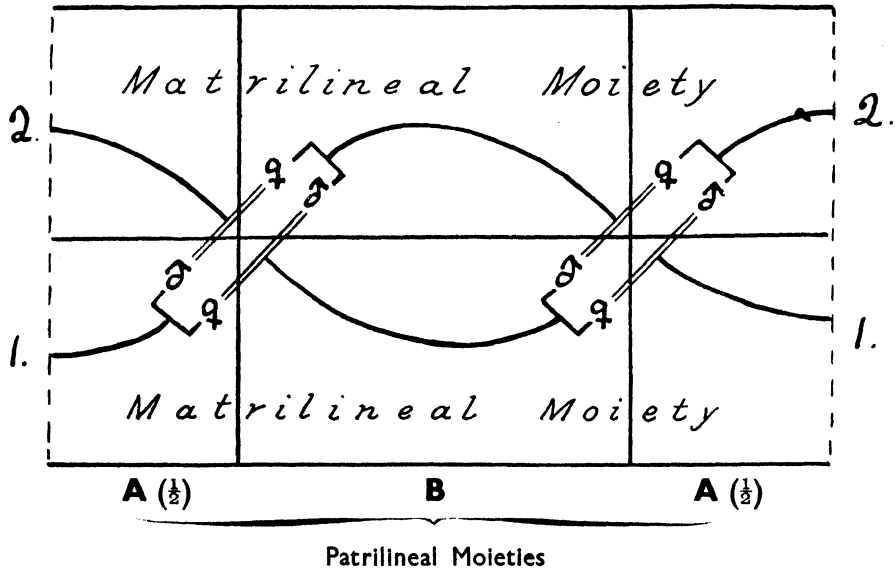


FIG. 22

By this means a circular diagram is obtained as shown in Fig. 23, in which the matrilineal moieties are now represented by two concentric bands, and the patrilineal moieties by radial lines cutting each matrilineal moiety into two.

This diagram shows precisely the same facts as have already been seen in Figs. 16, 17 and 20, each of the four marriage sections being here represented by one arc of a circle. Thus, EGO, his FF and SS are all seen to belong to matrilineal moiety 1, but his father and son belong to the opposite matrilineal moiety 2. In the same way EGO's sister and MM and *her* DD (but not his) all belong to matrilineal moiety 1. At the same time all these belong to the same patrilineal moiety A, while EGO's mother and his wife (who is also his MBD) belong respectively to opposite matrilineal moieties in patrilineal moiety B.

8-SECTION SYSTEM

PROBLEM OF THE WIFE'S MOTHER

What we have just been discussing is a 4-section system such as is found in many parts of Australia, and indications of the former existence

of which occur also in various parts of Melanesia.[1] From this common 4-section basis the more complicated systems of Australia and Melanesia have, however, expanded in different directions.

What has happened in some parts of Australia is that *each* of the two patrilineal moieties has divided into two, thus producing four patrilineal descent groups which, crossed with the two matrilineal moieties, form an

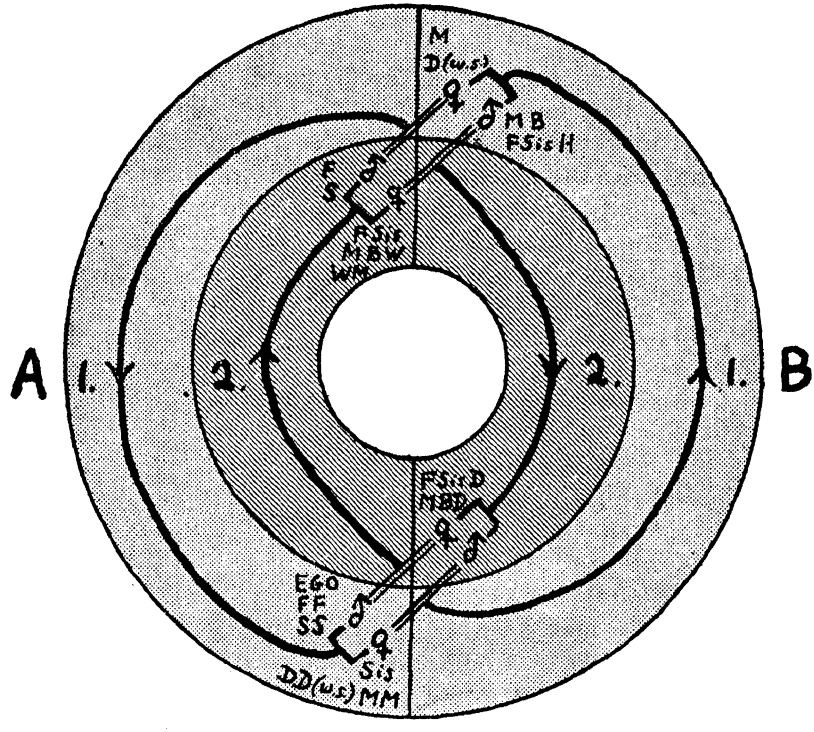


FIG. 23. 4-SECTION SYSTEM. FUNCTIONAL DIAGRAM. ♂=MBD.

Matrilineal moieties represented by circular bands 1 and 2, patrilineal moieties by divisions A and B divided by radial lines bisecting the figure. Each arc represents a marriage section. Each pair of brother and sister marries a sister and brother in the opposite matrilineal moiety *and* in the opposite patrilineal moiety. Descent lines lead from each marriage to the children of that marriage in the band representing the matrilineal moiety of the mother, but in the opposite patrilineal moiety which is that of the father.

8-section system. General tendencies such as that of cellular organisms to sub-divide often appear to have particular causes, and in this case I propose to use as an illustration one of the reasons put forward by Professor Radcliffe-Brown to account for this split.

[1] Radcliffe-Brown (1, p. 344) mentions Vanua Levu and the Koro sea-tribes of Viti Levu (Fiji), Tanna and the Buin of Bougainville. Deacon also records marriage with the MBD from Epi. Harrisson reports verbally the existence of the same form of marriage in several parts of Santo.

It will be remembered that one of the fundamental principles underlying all class systems is the fact that a man looks to his MB to provide him with a wife, and that in a 4-section system the wife so procured is the MBD, who is at the same time the FSisD. Whatever the more fundamental reasons may have been, one of the overt factors making for the development of the more complicated forms of class system was, in the opinion of Professor Radcliffe-Brown, the desire on the part of the native to avoid marriage with the FSisD. The reason he puts forward for this is the universal obligation imposed on a man to avoid his WM. Now, in a 4-section system in which a man marries his FSisD the WM is equivalent to the FSis, which in a patrilocal community leads to the awkward situation of a man having to avoid all his classificatory father's sisters, many of whom are unmarried and live in his own patrilineal horde. It is for this reason that, according to this theory, a man, while still seeking a bride related to him through his mother but of the opposite matrilineal moiety, marries, not his first cross-cousin on his mother's side, but a second cousin who in other respects fulfils the same conditions, namely not his MBD but his MMBDD, which is the prescribed form of marriage under an 8-section system.

Fig. 24 represents this system from a structural point of view, showing the bisection of the two patrilineal moieties and the resulting marriage of each man with his MMBDD. It will be noted that by this means his WM is removed from his own patrilineal descent group A, which she occupies in a 4-section system, to the newly formed sub-division of that group here marked AA.[1]

Fig. 25 represents the same 8-section system from the functional angle as a smooth-working repetitive system repeating itself every four generations. Both diagrams show precisely the same set of facts, among which are the continued sociological equivalence between a man and his FF due to the action of the matrilineal moieties, though it will be noted that a woman is no longer equivalent to her MM as in a 4-section system but, owing to the four patrilineal descent groups, to her MMMM.

In this diagram we still have the two bands representing the two matrilineal moieties, but there are now four patrilineal divisions, forming the eight marriage sections.

[1] Compare Radcliffe-Brown's 8-section genealogical chart (2, facing p. 50) representing the Aranda system, which he refers to as class system Type II. The correlation between his lettering for the four patrilineal descent groups and mine is:

Radcliffe-Brown's.	Mine.
P	A
S	B
Q	AA
R	BB

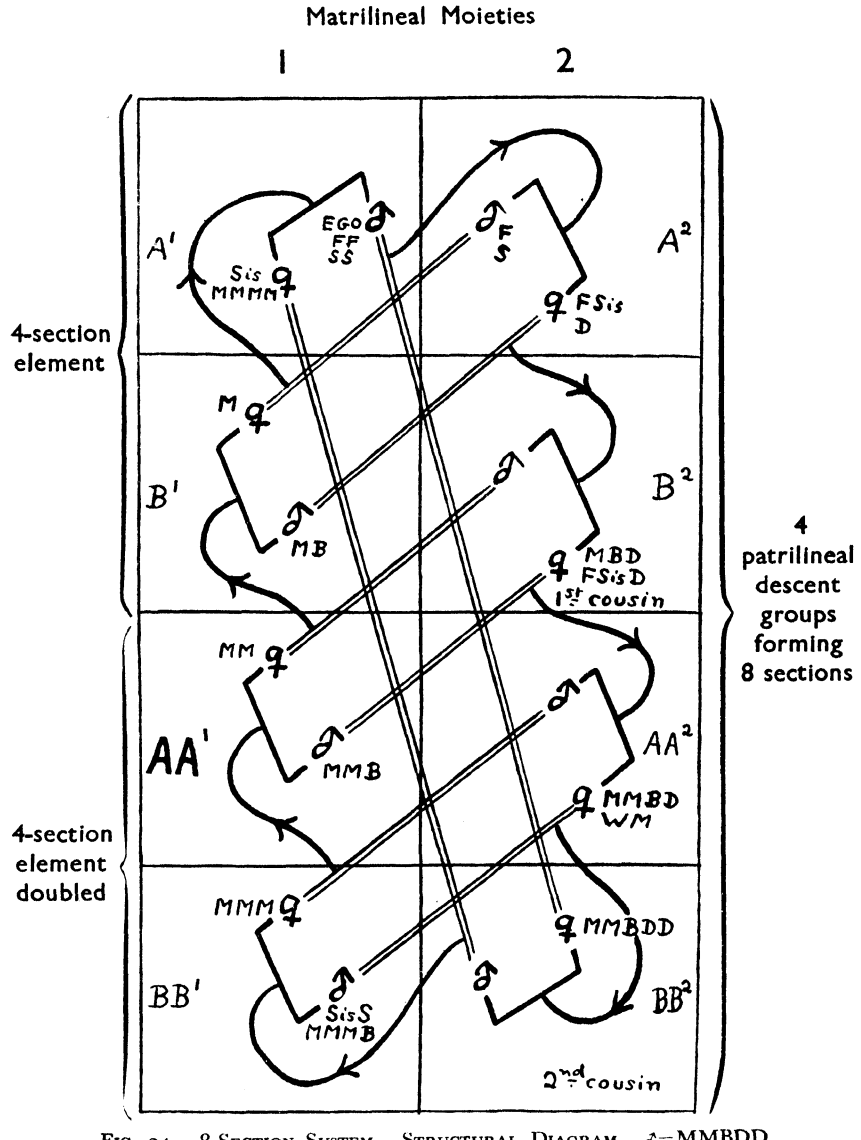


FIG. 24. 8-SECTION SYSTEM. STRUCTURAL DIAGRAM. ♂=MMBDD.

Two matrilineal moieties and 4 patrilineal descent groups formed by the bisection of each of the two patrilineal moieties A and B into two halves, A, AA, and B, BB. (Note the removal of the WM from EGO's patrilineal descent group A into AA.)

The 6-Section Systems of Ambrim

These are the two main types of class system in Australia. There is, however, yet another way by which a man may marry a woman on his mother's side of the family but of a different matrilineal moiety, without marrying a woman who is, at the same time, his FSisD, and without abandoning the principle of brother-sister exchange marriage. This is

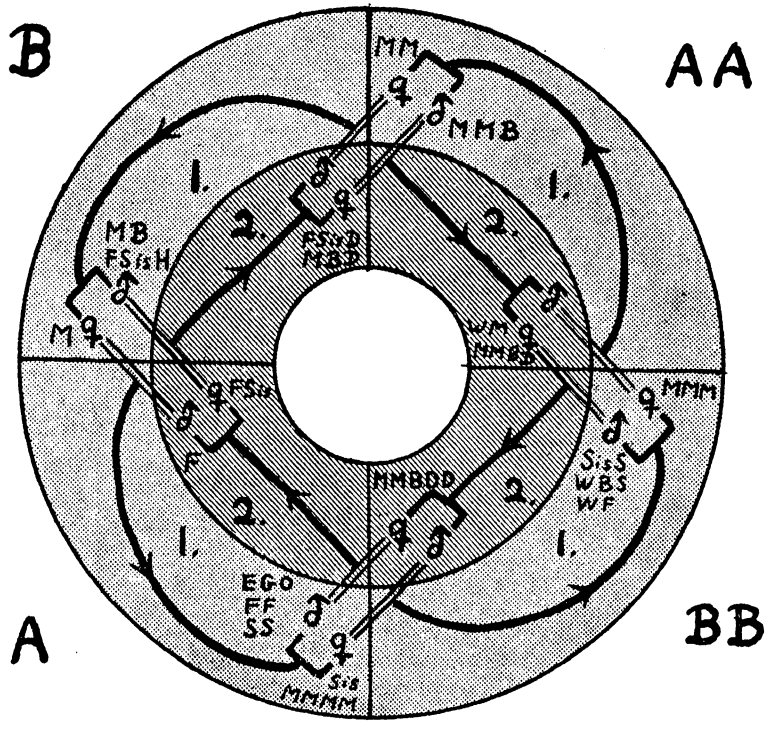


Fig. 25. 8-Section System. Functional Diagram. ♂=MMBDD.

Matrilineal moieties represented by circular bands 1 and 2. The 4 radial lines divide the 4 patrilineal descent groups A, AA, B, BB (formed by the bisection of patrilineal moieties A and B). Each man marries his MMBDD belonging to the opposite matrilineal moiety and to a sub-section of the opposite patrilineal moiety.

the method followed in the 6-section systems discovered by Deacon in Ambrim. In these systems the change in the form of marriage by which the MBD no longer became identified with the FSisD is effected, not as in an 8-section system by a man marrying his MMBDD, or what we should term a second cousin on the mother's side, but, on the contrary, by seeking a wife still on the mother's side but who is neither his MMBDD nor yet his MBD, but something in between the two. The solution in

this case takes the form, therefore, of a man marrying a cross-cousin in what we should regard as a different generation from his own who is the daughter of the woman whom he would normally have married under a 4-section system. In other words, he marries his MBDD, or what in our terminology might be called a cross-cousin once removed. This form of marriage, which is the prescribed form under a 6-section system, belongs to that class of marriage which till recently was termed by anthropologists "anomalous." The use of this term was, however, due to a misconception owing to a confusion between our concept of a "generation" with the native organisation into marriage sections. For it must be realised that, just as in any society, even such near relatives as first cousins can be of very different ages, so to a far greater degree marriage sections contain persons of all ages, including not only the living but the dead and those yet to be born.

The result of this system on the social organisation of the North Ambrim district of Ranon is that, while the matrilineal moieties remain intact, instead of *both* patrilineal moieties being divided as they are in an 8-class system, only *one* patrilineal moiety is so divided while the other remains intact. By this means, instead of having two patrilineal moieties as in a 4-section system, or four patrilineal descent groups as in an 8-section system, there are here formed three patrilineal descent groups which, crossing with the two matrilineal moieties, produce six marriage sections forming a 6-section system.

It was in the attempt to work out this system from the complicated arrangement of letters and numbers with which it was described that I evolved the technique now presented. Fig. 26 shows this system from the structural point of view demonstrating the manner in which the inferior patrilineal moiety B has been split, thus forming three patrilineal descent groups here labelled A, B and C. Fig. 27 shows the same facts from the functional point of view as a repetitive system.

As will be seen, the system, which appears so complicated when the principles on which it works are not properly understood, is in fact very simple. The two circular bands represent, as before, the two matrilineal moieties, and the three radial divisions the three patrilineal descent groups, which probably are at the same time patrilocal clans such as exist in the Small Islands.[1] The six arcs, each containing a man and his sister, represent the six marriage sections.

The diagram is complete without letters or numbers of any kind, but

[1] Thus fulfilling Professor Radcliffe-Brown's prognostication (1, p. 348), when discussing the Ambrim systems, of "the possible existence of such a system of patrilineal clans as a hypothesis to be tested in any future field-work in the same region." It is possible, though not certain, that there may even be a philological connexion between the second syllables of the Ambrim terms for patrilineal descent group (*bwulim* in Ranon and *bwelem* in Balap) and the Vao *him* or *im*, meaning "house" or "village."

if it is desired these can be added, the numbers 1 and 2 representing the matrilineal moieties, and the letters A, B and C the three patrilineal descent groups, or, as I propose to call them, patrilineal trisections.

The system, like all class systems, includes brother-sister exchange marriage, and each marriage sign crosses two lines, each individual

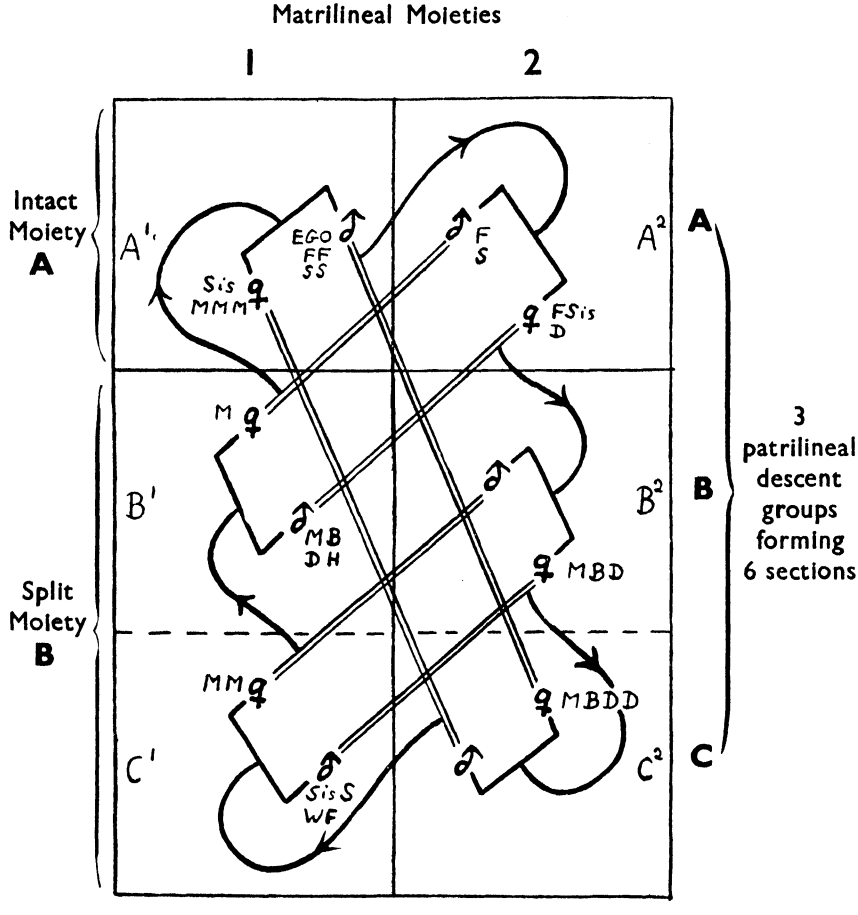


FIG. 26. 6-SECTION SYSTEM. STRUCTURAL DIAGRAM. ♂=MBDD.

Two matrilineal moieties and 3 patrilineal descent groups formed by the bisection of moiety B into two halves here labelled B and C, patrilineal moiety A remaining intact.

marrying both into the opposite matrilineal moiety *and* into one of the two remaining patrilineal trisections. A man marries his MBDD, but this individual no longer belongs to the same patrilineal descent group as the FSisD, so that the WM is no longer equivalent to the FSis.[1]

[1] It will be noted that a man's MBD in this system becomes the wife of his SisS.

6-SECTION SYSTEM OF RANON IN NORTH AMBRIM

One advantage of this technique is that the kinship terms can be written, if desired, inside the space allotted to each marriage class, while the corresponding English terms recorded by the genealogical method

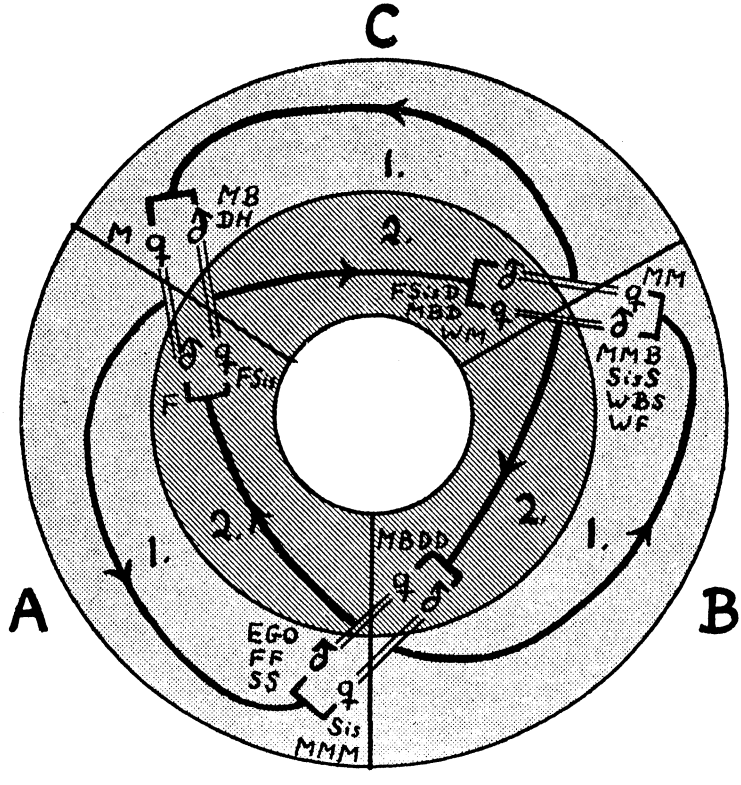


FIG. 27. 6-SECTION SYSTEM. FUNCTIONAL DIAGRAM. ♂=MBDD.
Matrilineal moieties represented by circular bands 1 and 2. Radial lines divide the three patrilineal trisections A, B and C.

can, for completeness, be added outside. Fig. 28 represents the North Ambrim (Ranon) system in this way.

There is no space here to go into the details of the kinship terminology, so I will confine myself to pointing out one or two matters of general import. In Ranon each of the two matrilineal moieties (1 and 2) is called *batutun* and each of the three patrilineal descent groups (A, B and C) *bwulim* or *fwatau*. The six marriage sections thus formed are called *wor* or *verachei* and are referred to in pidgin-English as "lines," corresponding to the "lines" already met with in Vao.[1] It will be noted that in this

[1] See p. 97 and Index.

system marriage takes place in each case with a person of another patrilineal descent group *and* of the opposite matrilineal moiety within that group. Since, as in every class system, when a man marries he gives his sister (or classificatory sister) in exchange to be married by one of his wife's own or classificatory brothers, it is clear that for each marriage that occurs, when a woman goes to live with her new husband, a corresponding marriage must take place sooner or later in which a woman from the husband's group goes over to the wife's. Thus, according to a common expression, in every class system marriages "go both ways,"

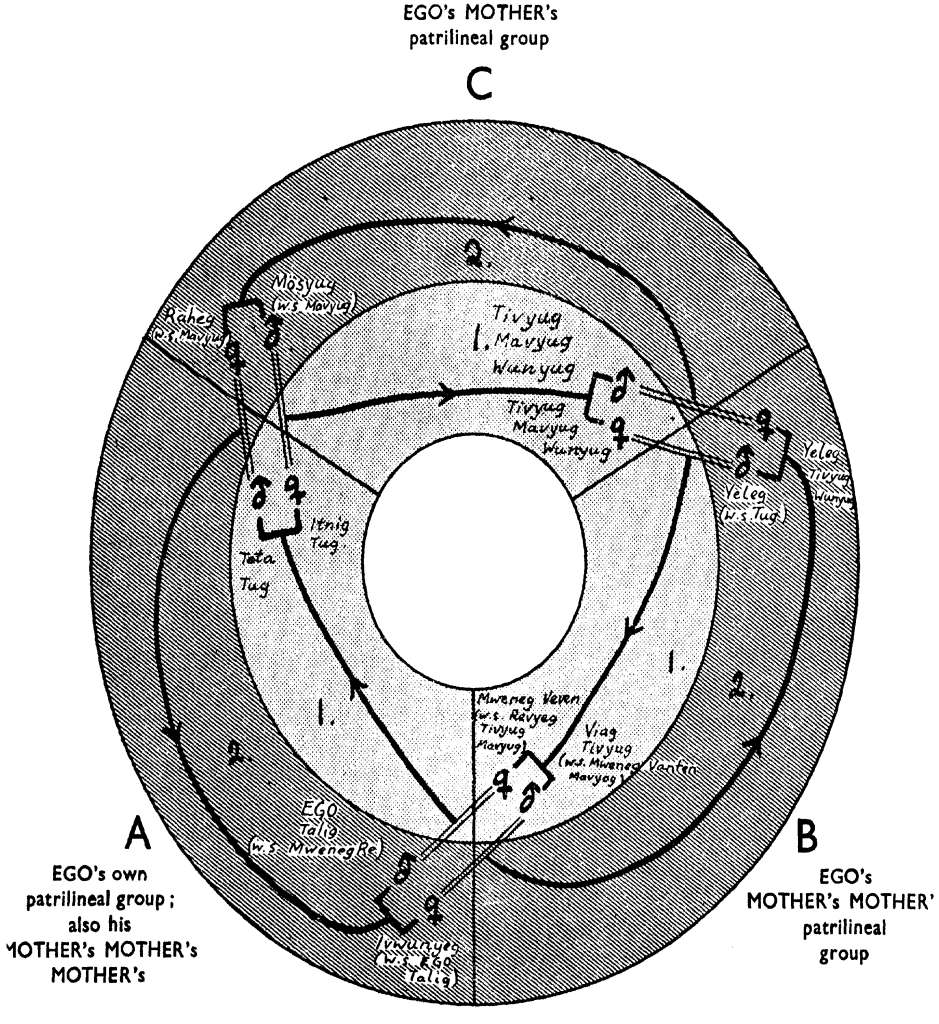


FIG. 28. 6-SECTION KINSHIP SYSTEM OF RANON IN NORTH AMBRIM.
(See legend on opposite page.)

as indicated by the small arrows attached to the descent lines in each diagram.

In all cases, the children of the marriage remain in the husband's patrilineal descent group, but in the wife's matrilineal moiety. This leads to the grouping into alternate generations in the male line such as we have already met with in all class systems. Thus if we trace the descent of any individual in the direct male line, this line never leaves its own patrilineal trisection, within which a man's father and son both belong to the opposite matrilineal moiety from himself, but his FF and SS both belong

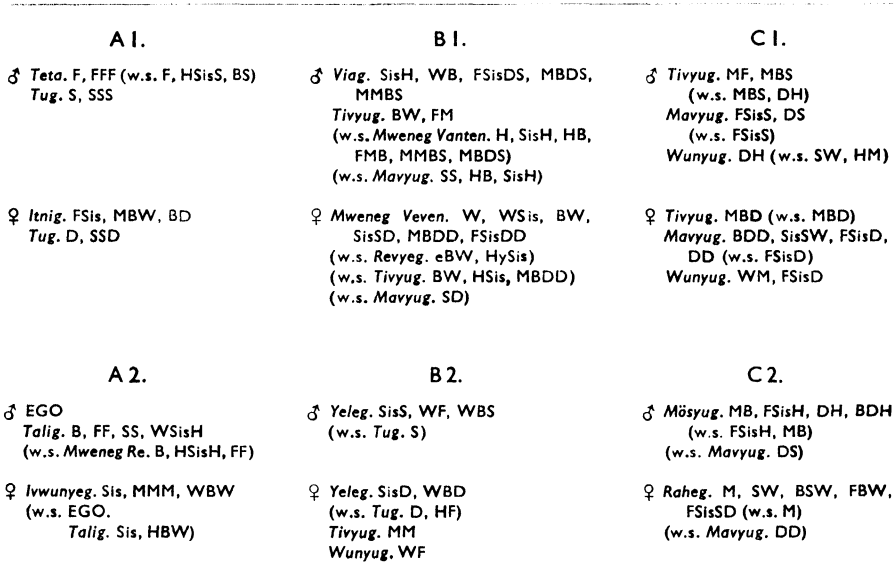


FIG. 28. 6-SECTION KINSHIP SYSTEM OF RANON IN NORTH AMBRIM.

Diagram illustrating the 6-section system of kinship recorded by Deacon from Ranon in North Ambrim. The two bands (1 and 2) represent the matrilineal moieties called *batutun*. The radial lines represent the divisions between the three patrilineal descent groups (A, B and C) called *bwulim* or *fwatau*. The bisection of each of the three patrilineal groups by the two matrilineal moieties produces the two marriage sections or " lines " (*wor* or *verachei*) of which each patrilineal group is formed. The resulting six divisions are the six kinship sections. Arrows mark the direction of descent, which goes clockwise in matrilineal moiety 1 and counter-clockwise in matrilineal moiety 2.

All kinship terms are written inside the diagram next to the signs representing the groups of individuals to whom they are applied. It will be noticed that certain groups are represented by more than one term, depending on the distinction drawn between generations within the same marriage section. Each native term is repeated outside the diagram, where letters are added to indicate its equivalent in English.

N.B.—It will be noticed that the numbering of the matrilineal moieties is reversed, matrilineal moiety 2 being outside, and matrilineal moiety 1 inside. This is due to the fact that, for some reason, Deacon worked out his system of lettering with EGO as A^2 (as opposed to A^1, which is the position occupied by EGO in all the other diagrams in this article and by most writers, whatever technique they follow), and I have been careful in this diagram to maintain his system of lettering so that students may be able to verify the correctness of the diagram by comparison with his published work. This alteration of lettering makes no difference to the accuracy of the diagram, which, as I have pointed out, can be used without lettering of any kind, or combined with any other system of numbers and letters that may be deemed desirable.

to his own matrilineal moiety as well as to his own trisection, and are so called by the same term *talig* as is used for the brother. In this way relatives in the direct male line occupy positions similar to those they occupy in a 4-section system.

With regard to those in the direct female line of descent, however, the position is very different, for while the female descent lines in each matrilineal moiety remain within the circular band representing that moiety, the result of the patrilineal trisections is to divide relatives in the direct female line not into two generation groups, as is the case in the male line of descent, but into three. A man refers to these three patrilineal descent groups respectively as:

My own; (A)
My mother's; (C)
and My mother's mother's. (B)

In this way, while a man belongs to the same matrilineal moiety and marriage section as his FF, he belongs to the patrilineal descent group and marriage section not of his MM but of his MMM, for which reason it was stated by Deacon's informant that a man's MMM "came back" to his own patrilineal descent group and to his own "line" or marriage section in that group, and that he therefore calls his MMM (and not his MM) by the same term (*ivwunyeg*) as he calls his sister.[1]

This point is clearly brought out in Figs. 27 and 28, one of the basic facts thus graphically illustrated by means of this circular technique being that the equivalence of relatives in the direct matrilineal line of descent depends on the number of patrilineal descent groups, and conversely that the corresponding equivalence in the male line of descent is due not to the number of patrilineal descent groups but to the action of the matrilineal moieties.

Dissolution of the 6-Section System in favour of Unilateral Patrilineal Descent

Having now briefly indicated some of the main factors governing the development of class systems both in Australia and in Melanesia, I wish, before proceeding to an account of the Vao system, to call attention to one further point of great importance with regard to the forces leading to their dissolution, namely the ever-increasing stress laid on the importance of patrilineal descent.

Thus, while in the North Ambrim (Ranon) system both lines of descent are equally important so that, in Deacon's words, "it would be

[1] Deacon, 2, p. 329. Deacon also recorded the existence of a 6-section system in the neighbouring island of Paama, similar in essentials to that of Ranon but with kinship terms differing in accordance with the difference in language (Deacon, 3, pp. 506-11).

difficult to say which mode of descent is followed," in the system of Balap in South-West Ambrim, though similarly divided into six sections, it appeared to him that the matrilineal moieties were "absent, or only slightly developed." [1] This is an overstatement probably due to the fact that this was the first class system he met with and that, as in some Australian systems, these moieties, though they exist, appear not to be named.[2] Nevertheless the fact remains that the patrilineal element is here more in evidence than in North Ambrim, and this emphasis is undoubtedly due to the proximity of South-West Ambrim to the predominately patrilineal island of Malekula, whence this increased patrilineal influence has undoubtedly come in such a manner that, without destroying the 6-section system, it has here given it a new aspect by its insistence on overt patrilineal descent.

Added to this is the fact that in both Ambrim systems certain kinship terms are said by the natives to be "not straight," [3] by which is meant that these terms are applied to members of more than one kinship section, showing that the natives themselves clearly recognise that the system is already in process of dissolution, due almost certainly to the influence of the non-class patrilineal organisation encroaching from the south.

Similar Changes in Progress on Atchin

Similar changes are in progress also in the Small Islands, where, for example on Atchin, one dominant patrilineal descent group has, during the past eight generations at least, been responsible for one innovation derived from the Malekulan mainland after another, in matters not only of ritual, as described elsewhere in this book, but also of kinship. At the time of my visit to that island, one of the main causes of domestic upheaval was the insistence of the dominant patrilocal village of Ruruar that the custom of marriage with the deceased father's father's wife, still practised on Vao and in the other patrilocal villages on Atchin owing to the action of the matrilineal moieties, should cease. This gradual innovation, illustrated by genealogical evidence as well as by accounts of the resulting domestic quarrels, leading at times to civil war within the group, will be fully dealt with in a future volume on Atchin.

[1] Deacon, 2, p. 333.

[2] That Deacon did not himself at that time fully understand the implications of this system is shown by his irregular numbering of the two "lines" or matrilineal moieties within each patrilineal descent group. Thus, instead of using the same number to designate a given matrilineal moiety throughout the Balap system, he represented one matrilineal moiety as consisting of A^1, B^2, C^2, and the other of A^2, B^1, C^1. This error was rectified in his description of the Ranon system, in which, as already seen, the two moieties are labelled A^1, B^1, C^1 and A^2, B^2, C^2.

[3] Compare the similar phrase used on Vao where only the organisation of Pete-hul is said to be "straight," being founded by Ta-ghar, and that the social organisation on the rest of the island is not "straight," having been founded by "mere man" (p. 154).

CHAPTER VI

KINSHIP

II

VAO

HAVING examined the main lines on which class systems are built up, and particularly those of Ambrim, I propose now, using the same technique, to examine the evidence which I recorded on Vao. This consists of:

(*a*) The facts already given regarding the overt organisation of the island, together with certain marriage regulations.
(*b*) The terminology of kinship.

Owing to the briefness of my stay on Vao, and other factors already mentioned, I was unable at that time to understand the significance of much that is contained in these records, and in particular to reconcile certain aspects of the kinship terminology with the overt organisation.

On re-examining them in the light of later knowledge, however, it began to appear that owing to recent changes in culture the kinship terminology had not kept abreast of actuality, and probably represents an archaic system based on overt matrilineal descent such as clearly existed till comparatively recent times in the Small Islands; this having within the last few hundred years been greatly modified by the introduced patrilocal organisation which we have already seen to be operating in Ambrim, and of which the story of Na-va-gharu-kalat and his brothers probably represents the introduction into Vao.

Judging not only from the recent date at which this introduction took place, but also from the geographical position of the island and from the largely matrilineal character of many of its rites,[1] it is almost certain that Vao is one of the latest places to have succumbed to this patrilocal influence, of which it is now the most northerly outpost. It is therefore not surprising to find that many features of the kinship terminology show a far closer resemblance to those of the matrilineal area to the north than to those of the patrilocal area immediately to the south. Most noticeable of these is the Vao use of the word *sogon* (1st person singular *soguk*) [2] for a group of relatives including the mother's brother and sister's son, which

[1] Particularly the mortuary rites, see Chapter XXI.
[2] See p. 131.

is equivalent to the Banks Islands (Mota) *sogoi* used for the members of a man's own matrilineal moiety. As opposed to this, however, the overt social organisation of Vao is, as we have seen, now patrilocal.

This being the case, we have the interesting phenomenon of a kinship terminology based on overt matrilineal descent surviving in an area that is now overtly patrilocal, thus affording a rare opportunity for the study of change arising from this circumstance. This chapter consists of an attempt to trace the course of this change by, in the first place, determining the type of system that gave rise to the terminology and, in the second place, discovering as far as possible the mechanism by means of which this system was transformed into the existing organisation based on the patrilocal clans described in Chapter III.

I

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

(Recorded from Ma-taru, belonging to the refugee community of Tolamp, with the aid of the genealogy given in Table X, in which will be found all relatives mentioned by name in the text.)

Te (term of address)
Tete } terms of reference } F, FB, MSisH.
Temak [1] }

These are the terms for father, father's brother and mother's sister's husband. *Te* is used in address. Its reduplication, *tete*, is the usual familiar term of reference. A man will say "*tete e me Togh-vanu*," "my father comes from *Togh-vanu*." *Tete* has no possessive suffix, from which it will be seen that it was probably in the first place, like *te*, a term of address. In cases of great stress, however, the possessive pronoun *nanuk* may be added. Thus, on the death of a man's father, the son may cry out "*tete nanuk*," "my father." [2]

Temak carries the possessive suffix, declined in the usual way, *-k*, representing the 1st person singular. This term is used in ordinary conversation if the relationship is to be emphasised, or in speaking to a stranger. Thus, if a stranger asks a man "Who is this?" he will reply with the term "*temak*," "my father."

The reciprocal term is *natuk*, "child."

Mbembe (term of address)
Mbambeahu } terms of reference } M, MSis; FSis; MBW, FBW.
Tinak [3] }

[1] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun. In all cases in this list, terms taking this suffix will be given in the 1st person singular.

[2] Godefroy says that the term *tete* is applied to what he terms the "legal" father, i.e. the mother's brother, and that the real father is more often addressed by name (see p. 180).

[3] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

These are the terms for mother, mother's sister, father's sister, mother's brother's wife and father's brother's wife, and are used in the same way respectively as the three terms for father.

The word *mbembe* is related to the verb *mpep*, "to carry," used of carrying a load on the back, and also to "bear," i.e. to "carry" a child, whether before or after birth. A woman with child is called *vene mbamb*. *Mbembe* also means "womb." [1] This is the usual term of address.

Mbambeahu is the same word with the addition of the 1st person singular possessive suffix *-ahu*, and is declined.

Tinak, with the 1st person singular possessive suffix *-k*, also declined, is used in emphasis, or to strangers.

The reciprocal term is *natuk*, "child."

Tutu (term of address) } eB (m.s.), eSis (w.s.); also elder parallel
Toghak [2] (term of reference) } cousins on both sides; HeB; eBW (m.s.) (also called *ne-netun tutu*); FFF (m. and w.s.); FFM (m.s.) (also called *tete tumbun*).

Tehik [2] (term of address and reference). yB (m.s.), ySis (w.s.); also younger parallel cousins on both sides; HyB; yBW (m.s.) (also called *ne-netun-tehik*); SSS (m.s.) (also called *netun mambik*).

Tutu (or *toghak*) and *tehik* are terms used respectively for elder and younger brother, or elder and younger sister, primarily by persons of the *same* sex. The terms are extended in the classificatory sense to include the father's brother's child and the mother's sister's child, i.e. to parallel cousins on both sides.[3]

The distinction between elder and younger depends in this case on the actual ages of the speakers, and not on that of their parents.[4]

These terms are also used by persons of the *opposite* sex, before the marriage of the sister, or after her marriage when questions of age make the distinction useful, since the term used for the brother-sister relationship, *hogutuk*, makes no distinction between elder and younger.

A wife will also call her husband's brothers by these terms (and not by the brother-sister term *hogutuk*), "because this is what her husband calls them."

The reciprocal term used by a man for his brother's wife may be *tutu* (if she is older) or *tehik* (if she is younger), but is more usually *ne-netun*

[1] Cf. Mota *veve*, Motlav *vev*, meaning "matrilineal moiety" (Codrington, 3, pp. 25 ff.). *Veve* is also used as a verb, "to call mother." Mota *pepe* means "to carry a child on the back or astride on the hip" (Codrington, 2).

[2] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

[3] Cross-cousins, on the other hand, are called by descriptive terms based on the term *soguk*, used by a man both for his mother's brother and his father's sister's husband. Thus, the mother's brother's son is called *netun soguk*, and the father's sister's son is called *sogun tete* (see under *Soguk*, p. 131).

[4] Thus while Ter-ter-mal calls his elder brother Melteg-mal *tutu*, Ma-taru, son of the younger brother, calls Vago-lili, son of the elder brother, *tehik*, since of the two Ma-taru was born first.

tutu or *ne-netun tehik*. *Ne-netun* is a familiar word connected with *natun* meaning "child" (3rd pers. sing.) but with the secondary connotation of "little" used in an affectionate or playful sense. A man thus refers to his brother's wife as "little (elder or younger) sister," a form of address which carries with it no kinship significance, but falls into line with what we should call the "baby" name used by a man for his own wife, namely *na-natuk* "the my-child." [1] (See p. 130.)

These terms are also used by the wives of those originally entitled to use this form of address. Thus:

Le-si (Ma-taru's wife) calls Le-sevak HFBSW(e) *tutu* or *ne-netun tutu*
,, ,, Le-tambe ,, (y) *tehik* or *ne-netun tehik*

One of the outstanding features of the kinship system is that the terms *tutu* (or *toghak*) and *tehik* are applied not only between persons of the same generation. The terms *tutu* and *toghak* (elder brother) are also applied to the father's father's father, also called sometimes by the descriptive term *tete tumbun*, "my father's grandfather," and the term *tehik* (younger brother) is applied by a man to his son's son's son, sometimes also called *netun mambik*, "my small grandson" in the sense of "my grandson's son." Thus:

Wale-kobu calls Te-lugh-lugh FFF (m.s.) *tutu*
Te-lugh-lugh ,, Wale-kobu SSS (m.s.) *tehik*

Hogotuk.[2] B (w.s.), Sis (m.s.); HSisH.

The term *hogotuk* is a reciprocal one denoting the brother-sister relationship, but is used only after the sister's marriage. Before the sister's marriage, or even after it when it is necessary to distinguish between elder and younger, the terms *tutu* or *toghak* (elder) and *tehik* (younger), normally used between persons of the same sex, are also used by men and women standing in the brother-sister relation to one another.

These women reciprocate, calling the men *hogotuk* or else *tutu* or *tehik* according to which is the older.

The term is also used by a woman for her husband's sister's husband, both real and classificatory, though the husband himself uses towards this man a special reciprocal term *tahuk*.

Like *tutu* and *tehik*, the term *hogotuk* is also used between certain persons of the opposite sex three generations apart.[3]

[1] Compare *netin na-mborav*, meaning "sow's young," used of tusked boars born of a sow reared by the owner (see p. 242).

[2] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

[3] Details are unfortunately lacking as to precisely which relatives three generations apart are so addressed.

Natuk.[1] S, D; BS, BD (m. and w.s.); SisS (w.s.) (also *netun tutu*, *netun tehik*, *netun hogotuk*); W.

Natuk is the term for offspring. A son may be particularly referred to as *natuk namere*, "male child," and a daughter as *natuk vavine*, "female child." These longer terms may be used in address if a girl and a boy are present at the same time and it is necessary to distinguish between them.

The terms are used for their children by both parents, and are employed by both of them also for all those individuals standing in the next generation on either side of the family, always excepting the man's special relation with his sister's child and his wife's brother's child, for whom he employs the reciprocal term *soguk*. Even these children, however, are called *natuk* by his wife. In this extended sense, the term *natuk* is interchangeable with the terms *netun tutu*, "little elder brother," and *netun tehik*, "little younger brother" (m.s.), or *netun hogotuk*, "little brother" (w.s.), each of which in fact means "(elder or younger) brother's child."[2]

The term *natuk* is also one of those used reciprocally between husband and wife. This is almost due clearly to identification with their children and cannot in this sense be counted as a kinship term.

In a still more extended way it is used to include both parents and children. Thus, *M. men na natun* means "M. and his family."

Bumbu (term of address)
Tumbuk[3] (term of reference) } FF, FM, MF, MM; HF, HM; HFF, HFM.
Mambik.[3] SS, SD, DS, DD; SSW.

The terms *bumbu* and *tumbuk* are used for all grandparents. The reciprocal term for all grandchildren is *mambik*.

The terms are also used of the grandparents of the husband (for those of the wife I have no record).

The terms *bumbu* and *tumbuk* are also used by a wife for her husband's parents (but not by a husband for his wife's parents). The reciprocal term in this case is *vinguk*.

Vavine nanuk. W, WSis.

This is the term for wife and wife's sister and means literally "my woman."

The wife is in practice called by a variety of names, most usual among which is *natuk*, "my child," or by the actual name of her child itself.

[1] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

[2] The process is carried so far as to apply this term to the second husband of a woman originally married to one to whom the term applied during his lifetime. Thus:

Ma-taru calls Naleli FBSSW2ndH(m.s.) *natuk* or *netun tutu*
Le-si " " HFBSSW2ndH " " "

[3] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

Or she may be called *tine natuk*, "my child's mother," [1] or even "M.'s mother," where M. is the name of her child. She and her sisters in general are also frequently referred to as *natuk tinar*, "my child's mothers."

(Husband.)

I recorded no direct word for husband, save the familiar *natuk* due to identification with the children, which cannot be reckoned as a kinship term. He is also addressed by the descriptive terms *teme natuk* or *natuk taman*, both of which mean "my child's father."

The husband's brothers, own and classificatory, are called *tutu* or *tehik*, "elder (younger) brother," terms which are anomalous not only because this is the only case in which they are not reciprocal, but because there is a definite prohibition against using the usual word for brother (woman speaking), which is *hogotuk*.

Tahuk.[2] WB, SisH (m.s.).

This is a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's brother, both in the own and in the classificatory sense.

Ravak.[2] HSis, BW (w.s.).

This is the corresponding term to the above, being that used between a woman and her husband's sister, real and classificatory.

Soguk.[2] MB; SisCh. (m.s.); FSisH; WBCh.

This is the reciprocal term used between mother's brother and sister's child (m.s.).[3]

It is also used reciprocally between father's sister's husband and wife's brother's child.

The mother's brother's child and the father's sister's child are called respectively by descriptive terms referring to the *soguk* relationship. The mother's brother's son is thus called *netun soguk*, "my little maternal uncle," and the father's sister's son is called *sogun tete*.

Pelegak.[4] WF, WM; DH (m. and w.s.).

This is the reciprocal term for wife's parents and daughter's husband

[1] Compare the Banks Islands custom according to which a man frequently refers to his wife as "the mother of his child" (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 41).

[2] Takes the suffixed personal pronoun.

[3] Godefroy says that the term of address, *tete*, usually used for "father," is here used by a child for its mother's brother, whom he refers to as the "legal father" (see p. 127). The word *soguk* (3rd pers. sing. *sogon*) is akin to the Mota and Motlav word *sogoi*, there used among one another by members of the same matrilineal moiety, called "side of the house" (Codrington, 3, pp. 25, 35 ff.). As a verb it means "to be one of the same" (Codrington, 2). See also p. 126.

[4] Takes the suffixed personal pronoun. It is related to the Mota *qaliga*, which "embraces all of the other side of the house [i.e. matrilineal moiety] who have been brought near to one another by marriage" (Codrington, 3, p. 37).

(but not for the husband's parents and son's wife, who are called respectively *bumbu* and *vinguk*).

Though the son's wife's parents are called by the descriptive name of *pelegen natuk*, the daughter's husband's parents are called *natuk tumbun*, or *tumbun natuk*, "my child's grandparents."

Vinguk.[1] SW (m. and w.s.).

This is a special term for the son's wife (m. and w.s.), own and classificatory. The reciprocal term is *bumbu*, normally used for grandparents.

General Terms

There are certain other terms of a more general character than any of the above, used to denote wider groups of relatives. These are:

Verik.

This term is a reciprocal one, and can be used either alone or with the possessive pronoun *naghak*, e.g. *verik naghak*, "my *verik*." I was first told that it applied to all persons of both sexes who are more than three generations removed from the speaker. The only concrete example I obtained with the aid of my informant's genealogy (Table X) was that the term was used between the boy Ni-sel (2) and the couple heading the genealogy, namely Te-lugh-lugh and Legter-melteg-mal, who stand to him in the relationship of father's mother's father's parents. Of these, the FMFM, according to both interpretations of the kinship system given below, occupies the same position as Ni-sel's own sister, and is thus seen to belong to his own kinship section.[2]

Na-hal, halak, halar.

The word *hal* means "road" or "path." *Na* is the indefinite particle, which is also sometimes prefixed to *halak* and *halar*, which are the same word *hal* with suffixed possessive pronoun (1st person singular and plural

[1] Takes the suffixed personal pronoun.

[2] This term *verik* is clearly the same as the North Ambrim *verachei* meaning "kinship section" (see p. 121), and the South Raga *berek*. The same word appears in the groups called *verana* (1st pers. sing. *veraku*) in North Raga, which Rivers describes as groups within the matrilineal moieties which at the same time appear to be localised but of which he was unable to discover the exact nature. These groups appear to have certain elements in common with the Vao "lines." Thus in the first place the FF is sometimes called "man of my *verana*," thus corresponding with the "line" grouping on Vao. In the second place it is said that "formerly all property belonged to the *verana*," a special case cited being canoes. As will be seen later (see p. 462), canoes are in Vao owned also by "lines." (See Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 190, 195, 209; vol. II, pp. 74, 81, 146, 149.)

Compare Mota *verig*, of which Codrington (2) says "a man gives this word for his name, instead of it, not being willing to name himself."

respectively). *Halak* therefore means "my road," and *halar* "our roads." These are the reciprocal terms used between a man and all his relatives by marriage, irrespective of the term by which these should individually be called. The terms have reference to the many times a man travels the road to his wife's people, bringing the endless customary gifts which it is his duty to render.[1]

Being a collective term, it is usually used in the plural. If a man sees all the people of his wife's village coming, he will say, "There are my *halar* (in this case used as a plural) coming." It can also, however, be used in the singular. As my informant put it to me, "If a man asks me, 'Why do you give so many presents to this man?', and I am too lazy to explain that he is my *tahuk* (wife's brother) or *pelegak* (wife's father), I will just say, 'Because he is my *halak*' (road)."

Although the word *halak* may sometimes be used in address, particularly to the daughter's husband (man or woman speaking), who is less important than parents-in-law, it is usual when addressing particular individuals to use the correct term for the relationship in question.

That the literal meaning of the term is present in the minds of the natives is clear from the fact that the only member of the wife's village to whom it can never be applied is the wife's own mother, regarding whom the rules of avoidance cited below (p. 135) preclude the possibility of this individual being regarded, or spoken of, as "my road."

Woroan.

This term, already met with in connexion with the Women's Lodges mentioned on p. 73, is the nominal form of the verb *wor*, "to be born," a word also used in Ambrim for "marriage section," where, according to Deacon, it is equivalent to the word *verachei*, which, as mentioned in the footnote to p. 132, corresponds to the Vao *verik*. There can be little doubt, however, that on Ambrim as on Vao the two words must refer to different though probably allied groups. The Vao evidence as I recorded it is conflicting.

On the one hand, the uses of the word *woroan* recorded on pages 74 and 138 suggest that, like the Ambrim *wor*, it is equivalent to "marriage section," called in pidgin-English a "line."

According to one statement, however, all women are divided from the male point of view into two groups, respectively called *vene na woroan* and *vene na laghean*. *Vene* means "woman," and the word *laghean* is the

[1] The corresponding Mota word is *gasala*, which Codrington translates "fellow-wayfarers," and is there applied to one another by parents whose children have intermarried (Codrington, 3, p. 37). In Seniang, however, the word *hala*, also meaning "path," is used in a very different way, for "all members of the same generation . . . in a patrilineal descent group" (Deacon, 4, p. 75).

nominal form of the verb *lagh*, "to marry," literally "to take." The two phrases thus mean:

(*a*) *vene na woroan*, "women of (a man's) own *woroan*";
(*b*) *vene na laghean*, "women we marry."

The explanation was that *vene na woroan* referred to women "born in the village," and *vene na laghean* referred to women married into it. The *vene na woroan* are particularly active during the mortuary rites (see Chapter XXI), when these women, who have all necessarily married into other villages, return to the village of their birth and join in a very intimate way in the ritual that takes place inside the dead man's lodge. Taken at their face value, therefore, the two phrases *vene na woroan* and *vene na laghean* would appear to be applied respectively to the women belonging to two opposed patrilineal groups.

Yet another informant told me on one occasion that the word *woroan* was applied also to three generation groups in the male line, in which

(*a*) all persons of a man's own group are called *woroan naghak*, "my *woroan*";
(*b*) all those of his children's generation group are called *woroan natuk* or *natuk woroan*, both meaning "my child's *woroan*"; and
(*c*) those of his father's generation are called *tete woroan*, "my father's *woroan*."

These groups spread, like the "lines," beyond the confines of Vao, causing, among other things, my Vao informant Ma-taru to refer to one of my Atchin informants named Mari as belonging to his (Ma-taru's) "child's *woroan*," in spite of the fact that, if anything, Mari was the elder.

As none of these statements were subsequently checked, I do not propose to use this word in the analysis of the kinship terms undertaken in this chapter.[1]

RULES OF AVOIDANCE

Younger brother's wife, son's wife and wife's parents.

We have seen on p. 128 that in Vao brothers are not all grouped together, but are divided into elder (*toghak*) and younger (*tehik*). This feature is common to all the Small Island systems, and with it goes the rule that a man may not marry his deceased younger brother's wife (*ne-netun tehik*). This prohibition is enforced by strict rules of avoidance, of

[1] Information on this point would be particularly welcome from any resident in the islands whom this book may reach, and who has made himself familiar with the facts set out in this and the foregoing chapters.

Godefroy (1, 1933, pp. 42, 43) also mentions a term *hombombok*, which I did not record, and which he describes as being used by the members of a clan for one another, and which he translates "my relative," "my cousin." He does not know its etymology, and uses the term to translate the word "neighbour."

which the chief is that a man and his younger brother's wife may not speak to one another, and if they meet on the road she has to turn aside to let him pass. This rule is part of the price paid by the elder brother for his superior position in a society in which primogeniture plays an important rôle, as, failing some such regulation, he might be tempted to exert his authority in a manner that would damage the solidarity of the clan. On the other hand, when the elder brother dies, his wife normally falls to the lot of the younger brother, who takes her in marriage and adopts the rôle of father towards his brother's children. This is one of the most frequent causes of polygamous marriage, and owing to this there are no rules of avoidance between a man and his elder brother's wife, even during the elder brother's lifetime.

In the same way, a man may not speak to his son's wife (*vinguk*), and if the two meet, the woman must make way for and turn her back on her husband's father lest they should view one another from too close. A somewhat similar prohibition exists also with respect to a man and his wife's mother (*pelegak*), to whom he may neither speak, nor mention her name, nor go behind her back. These two elementary restrictions are not based on the same propinquity of dwelling as is the case with a man and his younger brother's wife, and appear rather to be due to the fact that in a 4-section system of kinship, which, we have seen, forms the basis of all class systems, these two women belong to the two sections (B^1 and A^2, see Fig. 20) into which, together with his own, he may not marry.

In the rules governing a man's behaviour to his wife's mother there is also another element, namely that of respect, which he shows also to his wife's father (also called *pelegak*), whose superior position is seen in the fact that, though the two may speak, the daughter's husband may not mention his wife's father's name nor go behind his back, and in this way treats him in the same way as he treats his wife's mother.

2

IMPLICATIONS OF THE VAO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

THE 4-SECTION ELEMENT

If now we examine the kinship terminology, we find clear evidence of the existence of a class system in the large number of terminological equivalences caused by the grouping together of persons belonging to the same marriage section. Of these the simplest are:

(*a*) *tahuk*, used by a man for his WB and SisH;
(*b*) *ravak*, used by a woman for her HSis and BW;
(*c*) *soguk*, used for the MB and FSisH.

These three equivalences are common to all class systems owing to the custom of sister-exchange marriage.

(*d*) What is, however, so far as I know, unique in this part of Melanesia is the fact that not only are the MB and FSisH called by a common term, but this term *soguk* is used also for the SisS and WBS, thus:

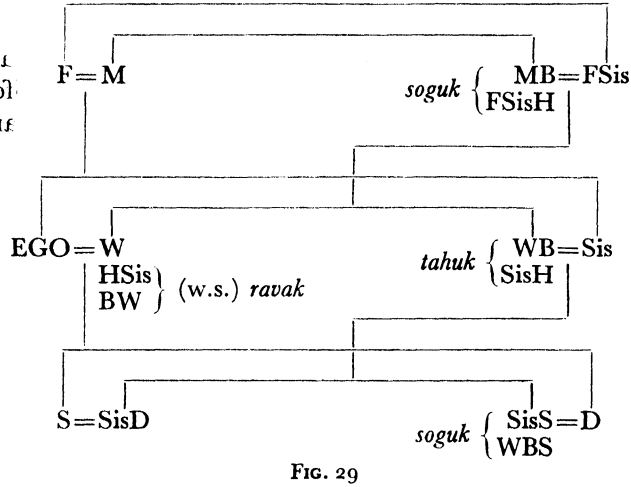


FIG. 29

These facts taken by themselves would indicate the existence of a 4-section system, as seen in Fig. 30:

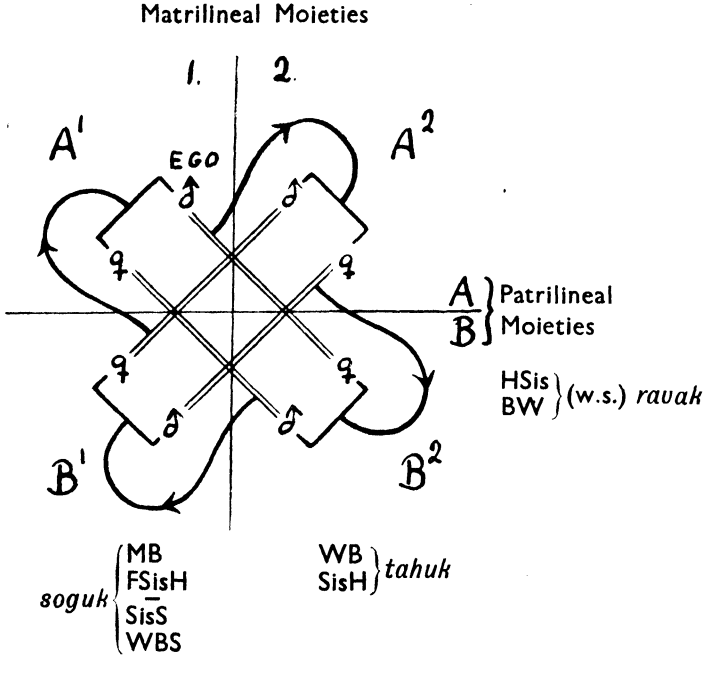


FIG. 30

Not incompatible with this is the fact that all grandparents are referred to by one term (*tumbuk*, *bumbu* in address) and all grandchildren by another (*mambik*).

MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

Two very definite indications, however, show that this kinship system has developed beyond the 4-section stage.

(*e*) First among these is yet another terminological equivalence, this time between the DH and WF, who in a 4-section system belong to the MB's section B^1, but are not included under the same term *soguk*, being addressed, on the contrary, by a different term, *pelegak*. This difference in terminology implies that they no longer belong to the same marriage section, and consequently that this section has become split.

Reference to Figs. 24 and 25, representing an 8-section system, and Figs. 26 to 28, representing the North Ambrim 6-section system, will show at a glance that in neither of these systems does the SisS belong to the same section as the MB, nor does the WF belong to the same section as the DH.[1] It is clear, therefore, that whatever the Vao system may be, it is not a class system belonging to either of these types.

(*f*) One very simple comparative feature makes this doubly clear, and furthermore points to the distinctive character of this system, by which it differs from all these previously recorded. It will be remembered that both types of class system just mentioned developed out of the original 4-section system by means of the sub-division of patrilineal moieties, and that while the matrilineal moieties in each case persist intact and cause a man to belong to the same marriage section as his FF and SS, the four patrilineal descent groups in an 8-section system cause a woman to belong to the same section as her MMMM and the three patrilineal descent groups in a 6-section system cause her to belong to the same section as her MMM. In other words, the number of generations separating those sociologically equivalent in the direct male line of descent results from the number of matrilineal descent groups, and in the female line from the number of patrilineal descent groups. In Ambrim the three patrilineal descent groups result not only in the equivalence of a woman with her MMM, but also in the fact that a man addresses his MMM by the same term as he addresses his sister, while the FF is called "brother."

[1] In these systems these relatives occupy the following sections:

8-Section		6-Section (Ambrim type)	
MB, FSisH, DH	B^1	MB, FSisH, DH	C^1
SisS, WBS, WF	BB^1	SisS, WBS, WF	B^1

E*

In the Vao system, as well as in that of all the other Small Islands, it is, on the contrary, a man's FFF whom he addresses as "elder brother" (*tutu, toghak*), and his SSS whom he calls "younger brother" (*tehik*). It will be seen from the above principle that this terminology points to the existence, formerly if not now, of three *matrilineal* descent groups (trisections) formed at some time by the bisection of one of the two matrilineal moieties, in contrast to the three *patrilineal* descent groups formed by the bisection of one of the two patrilineal moieties in Ambrim.

FORMULATION OF A 6-SECTION SYSTEM WITH MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

According to this interpretation, those aspects of the Vao kinship terminology so far examined thus point to a 6-section system similar to that of Ambrim in the number of marriage sections, but differing from it in that the sexes are in each case reversed. Both as a partial solution of the Vao problem and for its own theoretical interest, this system is illustrated in Fig. 31, in which the unsplit patrilineal moieties are represented in two columns with their original lettering A and B, and the three matrilineal trisections are, for reasons which will be apparent later, labelled X, Y and Z.

This formulation is seen to satisfy all the requirements of the Vao kinship terminology so far mentioned, namely:

(*a*) The equivalence of the WB and SisH, both of whom are referred to by a man as *tahuk*, together with the corresponding equivalence between the BW and HSis, both of whom are referred to by a woman as *ravak*.

(*b*) The equivalence of the MB, FSisH, SisS and WBS under the common term *soguk*.

(*c*) The separation from these of the DH and WF, both of whom are referred to by a man as *pelegak*.

(*d*) The equivalence of a man with his FFF, whom he calls "elder brother" (*toghak*), and with his SSS, whom he calls "younger brother" (*tehik*).

It also agrees in certain respects, though not entirely, with the reports recorded on pp. 74, 133 of the two apparently contrary meanings of the word *woroan* as being applied both to patrilineal moieties and to matrilineal trisections. With regard to the trisections, I was told that a woman's F and HF both belong to the same *woroan*, thus agreeing with their common membership in this diagram of trisection Y.[1]

[1] The case in point was that of Le-si's father Singon-tal (see Table X), whom she calls *te*, and her husband's father Ter-ter-mal, whom she calls *bumbu*, but both of whom belong to the same *woroan*.

It will be noted that the form of marriage which would result from such a system would, tracing descent through the male line, be that of a man with his MBSD,[1] as opposed to that found in a 6-section system

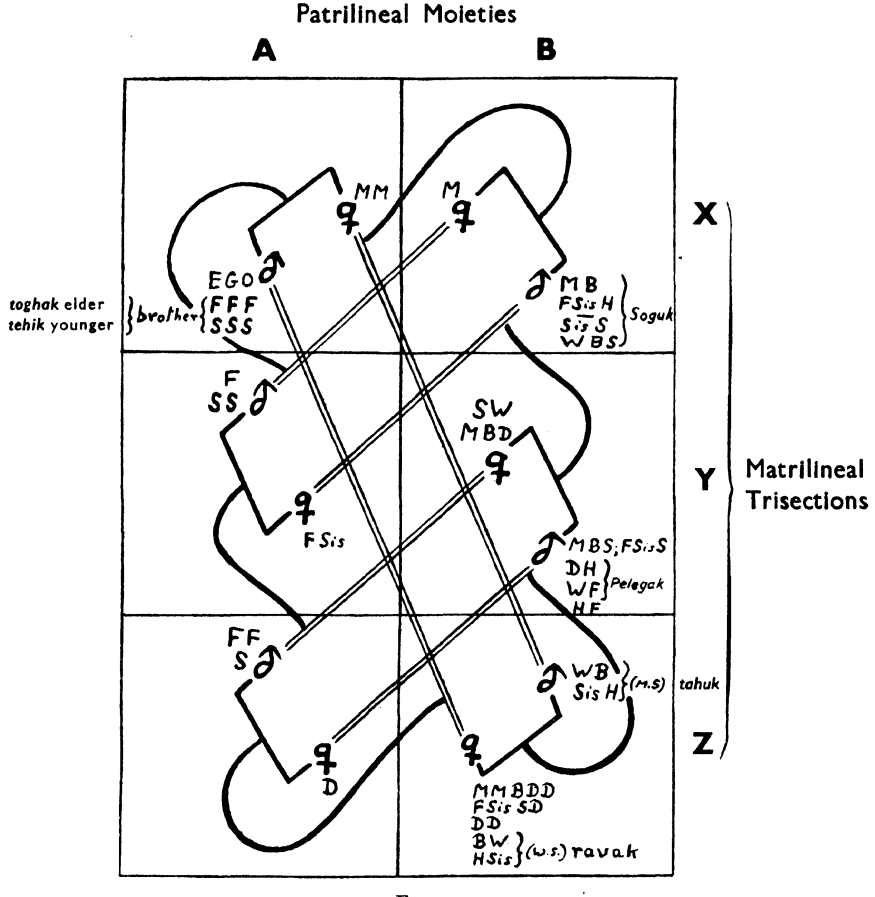


FIG. 31

6-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE) FORMED OF MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS X, Y, Z, AND PATRILINEAL MOIETIES A, B.

Includes most important equivalences in Vao kinship terminology. Note that of a man with his FFF and SSS, causing these to call one another " elder and younger brother."

$$\delta = \begin{cases} \text{MMBDD} \\ \text{FSisSD} \\ \text{DD} \end{cases}$$

of Ambrim type, which is that of a man with his MBDD. Both these are what might be termed first cross-cousins once removed traced in opposite lines of descent.

Traced through the female line, however, it will be seen that the

[1] This woman is also his FSisSD (see Fig. 31 and p. 158).

prescribed bride is the same as that in an 8-section system of Australian type, namely that of a man with his MMBDD, or second cross-cousin in the female line. It will be noted further that, owing to the unsplit patrilineal moieties and the consequent equivalence between a man's sister and his MM, his MMBDD is at the same time his DD, whereas in the 6- and 8-section systems above mentioned, owing to the split patrilineal moieties, she is not. This fact is of more than theoretical importance, since it agrees with the statement made by one of Rivers's informants that in North Raga, where overt descent is still matrilineal, men "married their granddaughters."[1] Deacon, judging from his experience in Ambrim, where, as he himself shows, the former system of overt matrilineal descent has already been transformed into a patrilineal one, criticised Rivers's statement, interpreting it to mean that a man marries his MBDD as he does in Ambrim.[2] But the North Raga system agrees in so many other features with that of Vao that I am inclined to believe in Rivers's interpretation that a man did in fact marry a woman who was sociologically equivalent to his DD in the sense that he took his wife from the same marriage section as that to which his DD also belonged. If we may take Rivers's informant at his word, therefore, this evidence strongly supports the partial formulation deduced from the kinship terminology of Vao set out above.

Evidence from South Raga

Yet stronger evidence than this comes from South Raga, where, as in the Small Islands, the kinship system is in a state of transition and there are now, as in Vao, six patrilocal clans one of which has an origin myth recalling that of Pete-hul, it being said that the man and woman who were the first progenitors of the clan issued from an enormous liana.[3] Here there appears also to be a conflict between the existing marriage regulations based on patrilineal trisections[4] and a former system in which the trisections were matrilineal. This former system in South Raga is enshrined in a creation myth of the utmost importance, since in it the practical results of the kinship system it describes are stated in no uncertain terms.

According to this myth,[5] the creator-deity Barkulkul is represented as being one of six brothers. By throwing a roasted chestnut at the sixth brother's genitals Barkulkul turned him into a woman. Despite this, however, this brother still appears also in the legend as a man, and all six brothers go to the woman one after the other, whereon she addresses them all by different kinship terms.

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 199.
[2] Deacon, 2, p. 327.
[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 388.
[4] See p. 157 below.
[5] Tattevin, 2, 1929, pp. 984-7. The full story is much longer, and contains many important details besides the kinship factor here quoted.

The sixth brother she calls "brother."
„ fifth „ „ „ "father."
„ fourth „ „ „ "first cousin," by which is meant "mother's brother's son."
„ third „ „ „ "grandfather," which similarly means "father's father."
„ second „ „ „ "son."
„ first (Barkulkul himself) she calls "her lover, her dear sorcerer," and they all say, "It is good. It is you whom she will marry." That evening he went in to the woman and married her.

If now we plot out these six relatives it will be seen that each one belongs to one of the six sections in a 6-section system with matrilineal trisections similar to that deduced from the kinship terminology of Vao, always remembering that in this case the speaker is a woman.

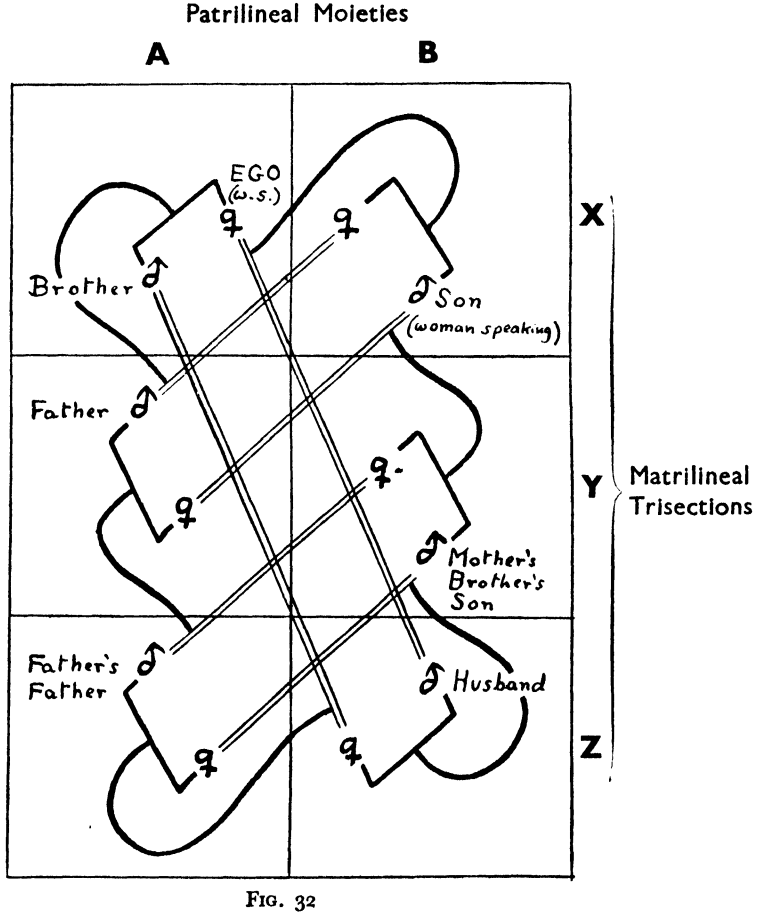


FIG. 32
Kinship diagram illustrating the South Raga Legend of Barkulkul.

At the same time, a second myth from the same district shows very clearly how, in spite of the asymmetrical division of society into 6 sections, this is still based on a fundamental 4-fold division. This myth [1] tells of a stone called Burto, which is now split, but formerly was not. Two women lived in it. There were also two boys who were twins whose mother threw them away, and they went to live in a cave. Later they both went to take part in a festival. The two women who lived in the stone came there too. The two men became enamoured of the two women, and the two women became enamoured of the two men. After the feast they all went home, the two women into their stone, and the two men into their cave. . . . The two men said to one another, "Let us go and see the two women." So they went, and saw how the two women were always in the stone. Then they split green canes into four sections, like arrows,[2] and struck the stone, singing:

"The song sings, the song cries,
The song cries, let her be my wife,
The woman who is there,
The two women, they two
Who are in the sacred stone,
Who sit inside,
Who live in the stone,
The song cries, let both women come outside."

The stone called Burto opened. The two men looked inside, but saw nothing. They struck the stone again, singing the same song. The stone opened in another place. They peered through the opening, but saw nothing. They struck again, singing the same song. . . . They struck six times, still seeing nothing, but the sixth time the stone opened, and they saw the two women in this hole, a small hole on the side facing the bush.

The two men married the two women, and they all came back to the cave.

This myth demonstrates in the clearest way the fundamental importance of the four original sections out of which the 6-section system has developed, as well as the principle of complementary opposites on which the 4-section system is founded. Stone and cave represent the two principles of male and female descent. The two women live in the male element (the stone) and the two men in the female element (the cave). The two women and the two men represent the fundamental matrilineal and patrilineal moieties in the 4-section element of the 6-section system, which is again symbolised by the splitting of the cane into four sections.[3]

[1] Tattevin, 2, 1931, pp. 863-4.

[2] Arrows are frequently used in marriage rites as a symbol of male sexuality.

[3] For the importance of the number 4 in magic and its connexion with the 4-section element in the kinship system, see p. 647.

The six sections are referred to only in a secondary way in the account of how they struck the stone six times before it was opened.

FORMULATION OF A 12-SECTION SYSTEM WITH MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

Returning now to the Vao system, this 6-section formulation, however, omits one highly important fact, namely that, despite the presence of matrilineal trisections causing the equivalence between a man and his FFF and SSS leading all these to call one another "brother," there still exists at the same time the organisation into "lines" which cause a man for ritual purposes to be identified with his FF and SS. These "lines" are due, as we have seen, to the action of the original unsplit matrilineal moieties, which are thus seen to persist despite the secondary division into matrilineal trisections.

These moieties form the basis of the kinship systems throughout the Small Islands, North Ambrim and the whole of the Northern New Hebrides. Their inclusion as a fundamental feature of life on Vao leads to the final formulation of a 12-section system of a type hitherto unrecorded, formed by the simultaneous operation of matrilineal moieties *and* matrilineal trisections which together form six matrilineal descent groups, each sub-divided into two through the action of the patrilineal moieties.

Such a system is capable of being presented in a great number of ways, each emphasising various aspects. I will therefore follow the plan adopted for other class systems in giving first the structural representation seen in Fig. 33.

This diagram is a repetition of Fig. 32 twice over, to include both sets of moieties, the matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and patrilineal moieties A and B as well as the matrilineal trisections X, Y and Z. The native kinship terminology is not inserted (this will be given in full in Fig. 34), but letters representing English equivalents indicate certain outstanding features of the system.

It will be seen that, according to this final formulation based on the terminology of kinship, the reason for the apparently opposing claims of the second and third generations in the direct male line to equivalence with EGO is clearly shown. For, while the FF and FFF are both found to be in patrilineal moiety A, they are at the same time separated respectively into matrilineal moieties 1 and 2. The same holds of the SS and SSS. In this way it is seen how the equivalence of alternate generations in the male line is due to the action of the matrilineal moieties, EGO, FF and SS all being found under matrilineal moiety 1, and EGO's F and S under matrilineal moiety 2 ; while the equivalence between EGO

and his FFF and SSS causing these to be referred to as "elder and younger brother" is due to their common membership of matrilineal trisection X.

It will be noted further that the form of marriage resulting from such a system is still such that the prescribed bride is equivalent in the matri-

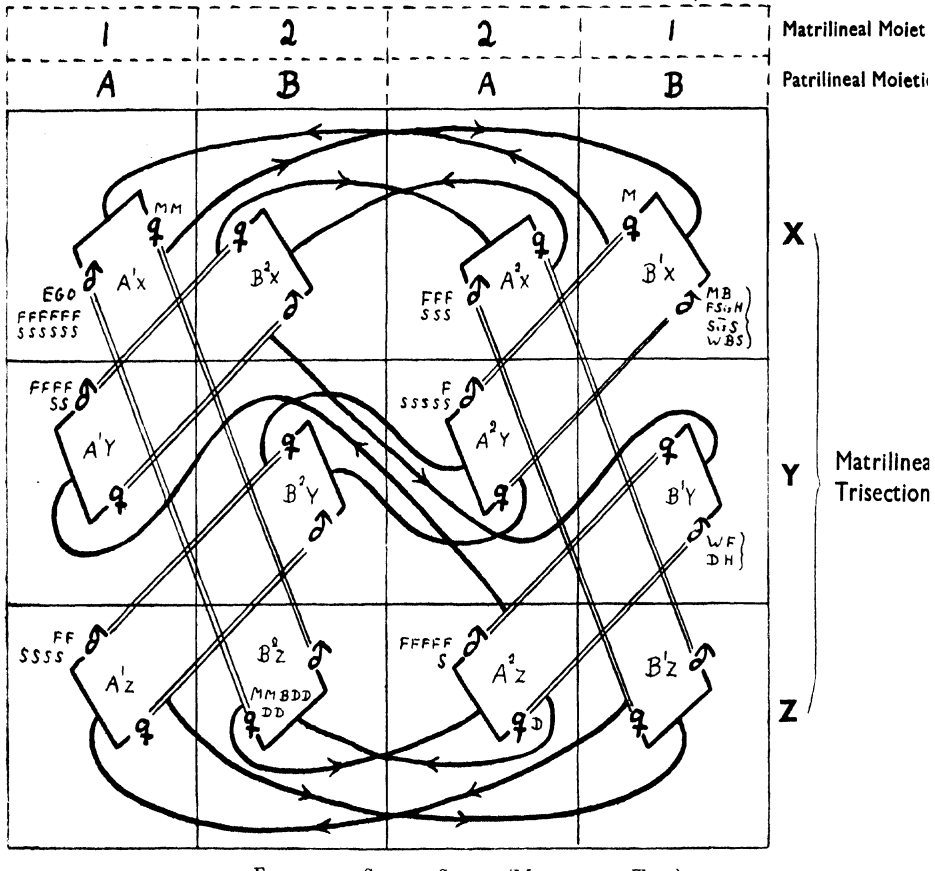


FIG. 33. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE).

Formed on a 4-section basis consisting of matrilineal moieties 1, 2, and patrilineal moieties A, B, to which are added the matrilineal trisections X, Y, Z, giving rise to six matrilineal descent groups. The whole system repeats itself every six generations in the male line of descent. ♂=MMBDD; FFFSisSSD; DD.

lineal line to the MMBDD as in an 8-section system, and is thus a second cross-cousin in the direct female line, and so also to the DD, thus maintaining the affinity with North Raga. In the direct male line, however, a new equivalence is set up, namely that with the FFFSisSSD, or third cross-cousin on the male side.

The third feature arising from the interaction of matrilineal moieties

with the matrilineal trisections is the formation of six matrilineal descent groups each sub-divided by the two patrilineal moieties, namely:

A^1X — B^1X
B^2X — A^2X
A^1Y — B^1Y
B^2Y — A^2Y
A^1Z — B^1Z
B^2Z — A^2Z

with the result that the whole system repeats itself every six generations with the final equivalence of EGO with his FFFFFF and SSSSSS who are the nearest two relatives in the male line of descent to belong *both* to his matrilineal moiety *and* to his matrilineal trisection. In this respect also this system agrees with that of North Raga, of which Mrs. Seligman points out that "in the direct male line a man comes back to his own group after six generations." [1]

Fig. 34 represents the same 12-section formulation in terms of circular technique. The four bands represent the basic 4-section element in the system formed of the two matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and the two patrilineal moieties A and B, which, operating together, produce the four sections A^1, A^2, B^1 and B^2. Radial lines crossing these four sections divide the three matrilineal trisections X, Y and Z. Each arc represents one of the twelve marriage sections.

For the sake of clarity I have repeated this diagram twice, Fig. 34 emphasising matrilineal descent, and Fig. 35 the patrilineal. In Fig. 34, therefore, the two matrilineal moieties (A^1—B^1 and A^2—B^2) are picked out by different types of shading. In the same way the two matrilineal moieties in each trisection are distinguished by the fact that the marriage and descent lines of one are drawn thus — and of the other thus ---. Thus EGO's own matrilineal descent line runs from A^1X to B^1X and then back to A^1X, moving from one matrilineal moiety to the other without leaving its own matrilineal trisection. The six matrilineal descent lines are thus easily distinguishable. All kinship terms that I recorded are inserted inside the figure, and repeated outside it with letters indicating their English equivalents.

Fig. 35 shows precisely the same formulation as Fig. 34, but the shading and the use of continuous and broken lines indicating marriage and descent are in this case employed to emphasise patrilineal descent. Thus one type of shading is used for patrilineal moiety A and another for patrilineal moiety B, each of which is yet further sub-divided by the two matrilineal moieties 1 and 2, so that A^1 and A^2 together represent one patrilineal moiety, and B^1 and B^2 the other. In this way EGO, his FF and

[1] Seligman, Brenda, 2, p. 548. This does not mean that the two systems are identical. There are in fact considerable differences, but their close similarity in this and other respects is very marked.

SS, all of whom belong to the same patrilineal *and* matrilineal moiety, are all found in the outer band A^1, but his F, S, FFF and SSS belonging to the opposite section of the same patrilineal moiety are all found in the inner band A^2. Patrilineal moiety B is similarly divided.

If we continue to trace these lines of descent we find that, in contrast to the six matrilineal descent lines seen in Fig. 34, there are here only two patrilineal descent lines representing the two patrilineal moieties, each repeating itself every six generations. Thus:

EGO is A^1X.

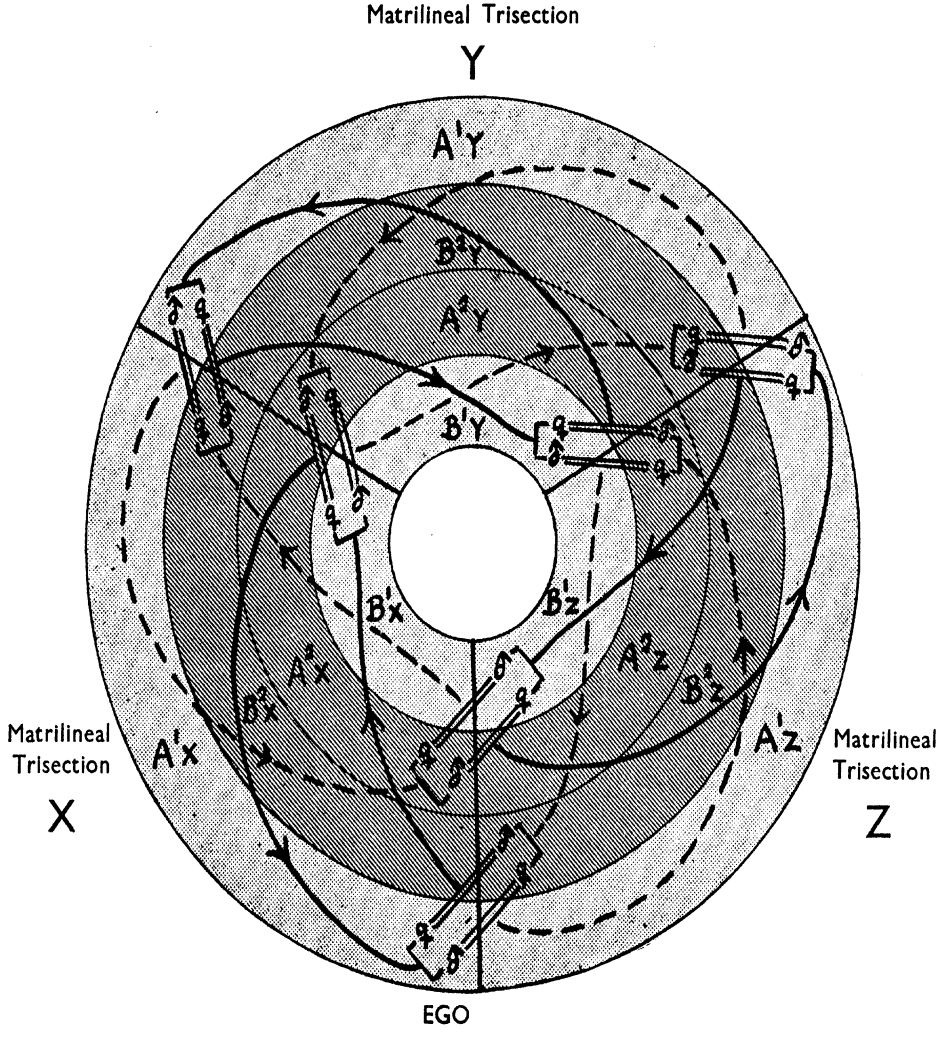


FIG. 34. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE), CIRCULAR DIAGRAM, SHADED TO EMPHASISE MATRILINEAL MOIETIES.

(See legend on opposite page.)

EGO's son (A^2Z), while belonging to the same patrilineal moiety, is of the opposite marriage section or "line" of that moiety, and at the same time in another matrilineal trisection.

EGO's SS (A^1Y), while in yet another matrilineal trisection, returns to EGO's "line."

X	Y	Z
A^1X	**A^1Y**	**A^1Z**
♂ EGO *Toghak.* eB *Tehik.* yB (w.s. *Hogutuk.* e and yB)	♂ *Mambik.* SS	♂ *Tumbuk.* FF
♀ *Hogutuk.* e and ySis (w.s. Toghak. eB w.s. Tehik. yB)	♀ *Mambik.* SD *Pelegen natuk.* SWM *Natuk tumbun.* DHM	♀ (not recorded)
A^2X	**A^2Y**	**A^2Z**
♂ *Toghak.* FFF *Tehik.* SSS	♂ *Temak.* F, FB, MSisH (w.s. *Pelegak.* DH)	♂ *Natuk.* S, BS
♀ (not recorded)	♀ *Tinak.* FSis, MBW (w.s. *Vinguk.* SW)	♀ *Natuk.* D, BD *Pelegak.* WM (w.s. *Tumbuk.* HM)
B^1X	**B^1Y**	**B^1Z**
♂ *Soguk.* MB, FSisH, SisS, WBS (w.s. *Natuk.* S)	♂ *Pelegak.* WF, DH (w.s. *Tumbuk.* HF)	♂ ♀ (not recorded)
♀ *Tinak.* M, MSis, FBW (w.s. *Natuk.* D)	♀ *Vinguk.* SW	
B^2X	**B^2Y**	**B^2Z**
♂ *Pelegen natuk.* SWF *Natuk tumbun.* DHF	♂ *Sogon tete.* FSisS *Netun soguk.* MBS	♂ *Tahuk.* WB, SisH *Tumbuk.* MF *Mambik.* DS
♀ (not recorded)	♀ *Tumbuk.* FM *Netun Soguk.* MBD	♀ *Vavine nanuk.* W *Mambik.* DD (*Toghak.* eBW *Tahik.* yBW) (w.s. *Ravak.* HSis)

FIG. 34. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE), CIRCULAR DIAGRAM, SHADED TO EMPHASISE MATRILINEAL MOIETIES.

The shaded bands represent the matrilineal moieties 1, 2, each of which is sub-divided into two owing to the action of the patrilineal moieties A, B. The radial lines divide the matrilineal trisections X, Y, Z. Each of the twelve arcs represents a marriage section. The two matrilineal descent lines within each matrilineal trisection are emphasised by the fact that one is indicated thus ——— and the other thus — — —. It will be noted that each such descent line remains both within its own trisection and within its own matrilineal moiety. The element binding the six matrilineal descent lines together is that of the patrilineal moieties, emphasised in Fig. 35. All Vao kinship terms which have been recorded are listed above, together with letters representing their English equivalents, under the headings A^1X, etc., corresponding to those found in each section of the figure.

N.B.—If the whole figure could be rolled in the shape of a quoit, A^1 and B^1 would be contiguous in the same way as A^2 and B^2.

EGO's SSS (A^2X) returns to EGO's own matrilineal trisection, thus ranking as a "younger brother," but to a different "line" in EGO's patrilineal moiety.

EGO's SSSS (A^1Z) belongs to the same matrilineal trisection as EGO's son, but to the opposite "line."

EGO's SSSSS (A^2Y) belongs to the same matrilineal trisection as EGO's SS, but to the opposite "line."

Finally, EGO's SSSSSS (A^1X) "comes back" in the sixth generation, into the same matrilineal trisection *and* into the same "line," i.e. the same matrilineal moiety, as EGO.

All these individuals belong to the same patrilineal moiety. Ascending generations in the same moiety may be traced in reverse order. Thus:

FFFFFF	=	EGO	(A^1X)
FFFFF	=	S	(A^2Z)
FFFF	=	SS	(A^1Y)
FFF	=	SSS	(A^2X)
FF	=	SSSS	(A^1Z)
F	=	SSSSS	(A^2Y)
EGO	=	SSSSSS	(A^1X)

The ancestry or descent of any man in the opposite patrilineal moiety, for example that of EGO's mother's brother (B^1X), may be similarly traced by following the broken line, till they coincide again in the sixth ascending and descending generation, thus:

MFFFFFF	=	MB	(B^1X)
MFFFFF	=	MBS	(B^2Y)
MFFFF	=	MBSS	(B^1Z)
MFFF	=	MBSSS	(B^2X)
MFF	=	MBSSSS	(B^1Y)
MF	=	MBSSSSS	(B^2Z)
MB	=	MBSSSSSS	(B^1X)

This is, of course, a theoretical presentation of the case. The natives themselves do not possess kinship terms beyond the third ascending and descending generation, as we have seen from the existence of the term *verik* (see p. 132).

EVIDENCE FOR THE FORMER EXISTENCE OF MATRILINEAL 12-SECTION SYSTEMS IN OTHER PARTS OF MELANESIA

It is, however, not without interest to consider what evidence there is for the former existence of 12-section systems in the overtly matrilineal islands further north. In the first place, Deacon points out at considerable length that the most ancient form of social organisation in this part of Melanesia was the division into "two moieties with six marriage sections and matrilineal descent." [1] It needs no great amount

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 701.

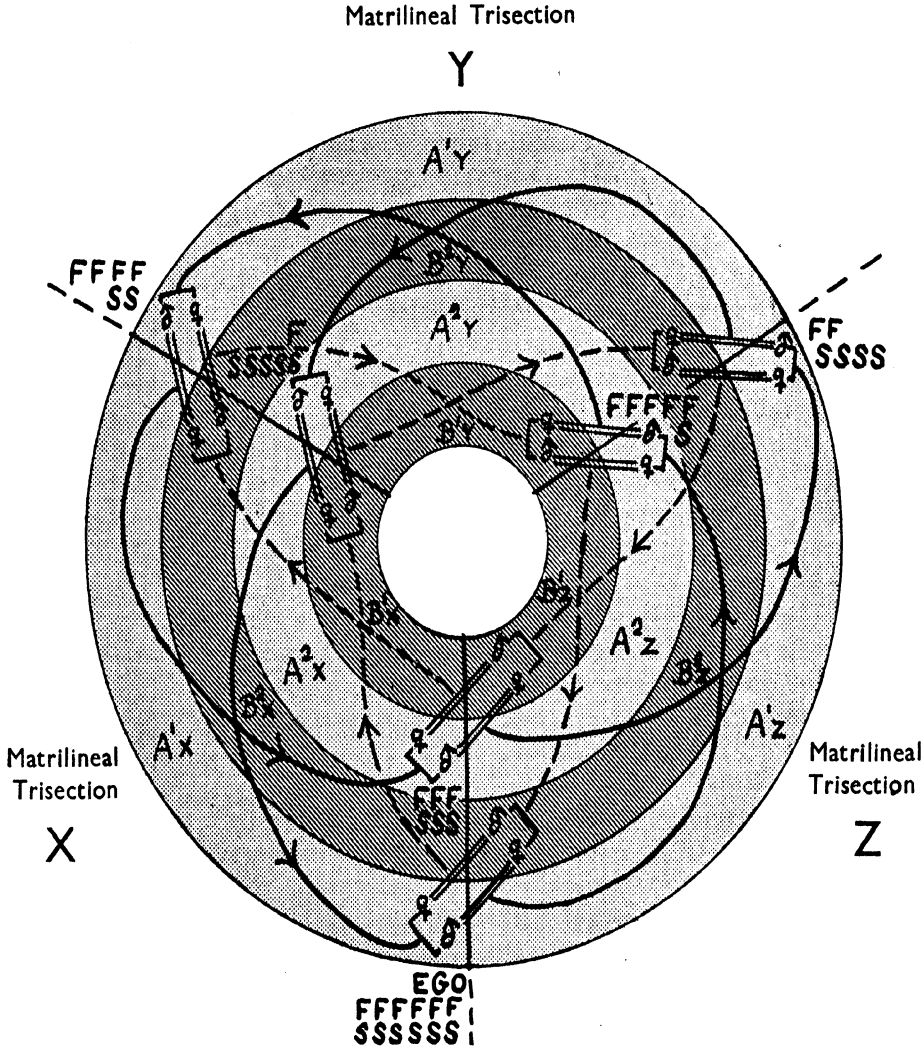


FIG. 35. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE), CIRCULAR DIAGRAM, SHADED TO EMPHASISE PATRILINEAL MOIETIES.

This diagram is identical with Fig. 34, but is shaded to emphasise the patrilineal moieties A, B, each of which is sub-divided by the action of matrilineal moieties 1, 2, and crossed by the matrilineal trisections X, Y, Z. Continuous and broken lines respectively further emphasise descent in the two patrilineal moieties, each line alternating between the two matrilineal moieties and including in its course each of the three matrilineal trisections. Thus, EGO is equivalent to his FF and SS by virtue of the matrilineal moieties, causing the division into "lines," and to his FFF and SSS by virtue of the matrilineal trisections, causing these three relatives to address one another as "elder and younger brother." The system completes itself when both these equivalences coincide, causing each male line of descent to repeat itself every six generations, resulting in the total equivalence of a man with his FFFFFF and SSSSSS.

of consideration, however, to realise that no sectional system can exist with matrilineal descent only. Even in overtly matrilineal areas some patrilineal descent must exist, and the minimum of such descent necessary to bind any system together is that of patrilineal moieties. This is, as we have seen, precisely what is indicated in the kinship system outlined above, and it is thus clear that for the words "six marriage sections with matrilineal descent" should be substituted "six matrilineal descent groups" such as exist in this formulation, with patrilineal moieties binding these six groups into a 12-section system.

Evidence for the former existence of such systems is at hand from many parts of Melanesia. Thus, from the Solomon Islands, Rivers reports six matrilineal clans in Guadalcanar,[1] and Codrington recorded six in the neighbouring island of Florida,[2] though later Rivers could find only four.[3] Codrington also records the foundation of twelve villages in the district of Florida by a man fleeing from the island of Ysabel immediately to the north, and of twelve shrines in the same district.[4] Rivers further reports that in the district of Kia at the north-western end of Ysabel there are three main matrilineal groups, each of which is yet further divided, one into six, one into nine, and yet another into twelve.[5]

Coming nearer to Vao, Rivers states that the two matrilineal moieties in Mota are further sub-divided respectively into six and seven subdivisions (the seventh is probably extraneous), thus making almost certainly an original total of twelve sections,[6] and probably accounting for the twelve brothers of Banks Islands mythology, of whom the best-known is Kwat.[7]

Evidence of the formation of three matrilineal descent groups by the division of one of two moieties into two, and that such groups are capable of yet further sub-division, is forthcoming from the neighbouring Torres Islands, where the place of the matrilineal moieties found in the Banks Islands is taken by three matrilineal descent groups called Temar, Gameljat and Gameltemata, suggesting, as Rivers observes, that the Gameltemata "may have split off from the Gameljat, and thus produced a threefold division."[8] Furthermore, while Temar and Gameljat each have four sub-divisions, Gameltemata has only two, so that Gameljat and Gameltemata, having together six sub-divisions, stand to one another in precisely the same relation as that in which the Vao village of Pete-hul with four Quarters stands to Togh-vanu with two.

These examples are but a few out of many, and indicate the former existence of sectional systems based on matrilineal moieties and trisections in many parts of Melanesia. Most of these systems have now

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 243.
[2] Codrington, 3, p. 30.
[3] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 241.
[4] Codrington, 3, pp. 94-5 (note).
[5] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 245-6.
[6] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 23, 98.
[7] See p. 209.
[8] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 177.

broken down owing to later influences, such as the custom of marriage with the mother's brother's widow. As reference to any kinship diagram in this and the foregoing chapter will show, this relative belongs to the same patrilineal moiety as EGO. This form of marriage thus automatically destroys any class system, but nevertheless leaves the matrilineal descent groups intact. Thus, for example, in the Banks Islands, where this form of marriage takes place, the matrilineal clans have survived but the sections have disappeared.

We have seen how, in South-West Ambrim, a different influence is at work, namely the ever-increasing emphasis on the importance of patrilineal descent. In South and West Malekula both influences seem to have combined to bring about the complete collapse of all sectional systems. Nevertheless elements of the former terminology persist, as seen in the fact that in the districts of Mewun and Lambumbu, for example, the FFF is still called "elder brother" despite the custom of marriage with the MBW and the apparent complete disruption of matrilineal clans.[1]

MATRILINEAL 12-SECTION SYSTEM DURING THE CHOU PERIOD IN CHINA

Lest it be thought that the 12-section system from which it is suggested that these clan systems have been derived represents only a theoretical scheme that in practice would be too unwieldy to work, it is interesting to note in passing that there is evidence of a similar 12-section system having flourished in the Chou period of China, between about 1000 and 300 B.C.

This evidence is derived from the *Êrh Ya*, a glossary dating from about the third century B.C., with additions in the second century B.C. and perhaps later, which contains a chapter in explanation of kinship terms used in writing from an earlier age. This chapter has been translated by Mr. Arthur Waley, who kindly called my attention to it and sent me a copy. There is no space here to analyse the whole system from the large number of kinship terms given. I will therefore confine myself to calling attention to two groups of facts only, namely:

(*a*) The 4-section element on which the whole system is built up as seen in the terms applied to close relatives in Fig. 36. Some of these terms are very expressive, such as those used by a woman for her DHF, whom she calls *yin*, meaning "draw near," and for her BSCh, whom she calls "returned (*kuei*) grandchildren," both these terms clearly

[1] Deacon, 4, pp. 92, 99. In Seniang, on the other hand (p. 77), it is the FFFF who is called "elder brother," which would be the logical result of a hitherto unrecorded type of 8-section system formed of two patrilineal and four matrilineal descent groups which, if it ever existed, has now collapsed for the same reasons.

referring to the fact that these relatives belong (i.e. "draw near" or "return") to her own kinship section.

(*b*) A long list of descriptive terms applied to relatives in the direct male line up to the fourth ascending generation (FFFF) and down to the eighth descending generation (SSSSSSSS), in which the FFF and SSS are called respectively *tséng tsao*, meaning "double grandfather," and *tséng sun*, meaning "double grandson," and male members of the sixth

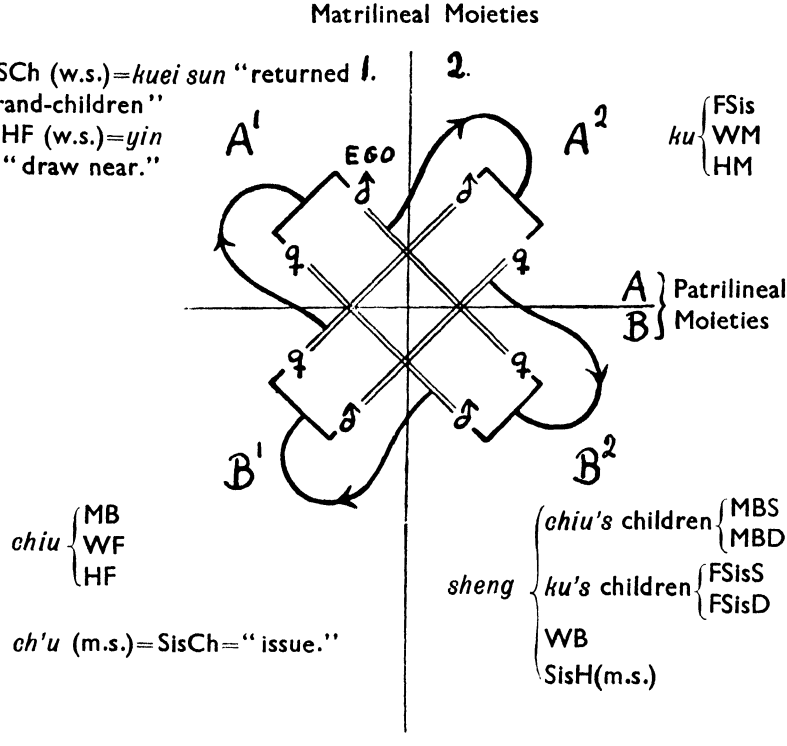


FIG. 36

descending generation (SSSSSS) are called *k'un sun*, meaning "elder brother grandson." Why this relative should be called "elder" instead of "younger" I do not know, unless this be a term of respect. Examination of Fig. 35, however, will show how these three terms describe exactly the position of these relatives in a 12-section system with six matrilineal descent groups. Thus the FFF and SSS both "double" EGO by returning to his own matrilineal trisection. These relatives are not, however, fully equivalent to him, owing to their membership of the opposite matrilineal moiety. Full equivalence with EGO is not reached till the sixth descending generation, and it is clearly for this reason that in this Chinese system it is the SSSSSS who is called "brother." Any

doubt as to the essential correctness of this interpretation is, I think, dispelled by the name given to the seventh descending generation (SSSSSSS), who is called *yêng sun*, which Mr. Waley translates as "repeat grandson." This phrase agrees so precisely with the fact that, as we have seen, a 12-section system repeats itself after each sixth generation that, since Mr. Waley had made his translation without any knowledge of the facts now being presented, I wrote telling him of my interpretation and asking for more information. He replied, "The word *yêng* does indeed mean 'the same thing over again,' 'as you were' and the like. It is used on the Analects of Confucius when they are discussing whether to rebuild the State treasury on a new plan, or to 'keep it as it was before.' It is defined as 'same as at the start.'" [1]

3

FORMULATION OF THE EXISTING PATRILOCAL ORGANISATION ON VAO

TRANSITION TO OVERT PATRILINEAL DESCENT

I have mentioned this ancient Chinese system not only as providing a parallel with the system deduced from the kinship terminology on Vao, but for a second reason also, namely as evidence for the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. For at the present day but little remains of the matrilineal element in China, where descent is now reckoned almost exclusively on a patrilineal basis, though a relic of the matrilineal moieties is still found in the practice of recording the names of ancestors in the direct male line on tablets arranged in two columns, each column containing the names of alternating generations corresponding to the "lines" composed of alternate generations in the male line of descent caused by the matrilineal moieties on Vao.

The same process has been at work in North Ambrim, which, as Deacon points out, is in a "transition stage to patrilineal descent." [2] Just how this transformation from matrilineal to patrilineal trisections has taken place is not explained. Nor am I able to explain through direct evidence the similar process that appears to have taken place on

[1] The above brief reference represents only one aspect of this ancient system, of which some of the kinship terms show signs also of a division into 8 sections, from which the 12 sections have probably been derived owing to the usual bisection of inferior moieties. An analysis of these terms was made by the author some years ago but has not been published, and it was therefore with interest that his attention was called, after the above passage was already in print, to a work recently published by Marcel Granet entitled *Catégories Matrimoniales et Relations de Proximité dans la Chine Ancienne* (Annales Sociologiques, Series B, Paris, 1939), in which he also demonstrates the 8-section basis of this system while pointing out certain differences between it and the 8-section systems of Australia.

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 701.

Vao. For, as seen in Chapter III, the existing social organisation in this island is now based not on matrilineal trisections but on patrilineal trisections represented by the three patrilocal double-villages. In this respect the organisation of Vao appears to bear a marked resemblance to that of North Ambrim, with certain additions giving rise to the bisection of the two double-villages.

FOUNDATION OF PETE-HUL–TOGH-VANU EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF KINSHIP

It is of interest therefore to note the development of the social organisation on Vao as seen in the stories of origin recorded on pages 81 ff. It will be remembered that the alleged "perfect" organisation of Pete-hul consisted of four Quarters said to be due to the direct action of Ta-ghar, while that of the rest of the island is "all in a muddle" owing to the intervention of "mere man." These four Quarters are said to have been founded by four brothers, of whom the most important were Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru who, in the light of the foregoing discussion, clearly represent the two patrilineal moieties A and B in a 4-section system, and at the same time belong to the same matrilineal moiety 1, while their two "shadow brothers" Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture represent the opposite matrilineal moiety 2.[1] This pattern, already expressed in terms of the four Quarters in Fig. 10, may be expressed in terms of an original 4-section system, as shown in Fig. 37.

By the action of "mere man," however, patrilineal moiety B became split, so that half the descendants of To-rom-bambaru and his "shadow brother" Narer-lumture seceded to found the offshoot village of Togh-vanu. By this action the two patrilineal moieties developed into three patrilineal descent groups, two of which remained in the four Quarters of Pete-hul, while the third founded the two Quarters of Togh-vanu. It will be noticed that this gives precisely the same pattern as the 6-section system of Ambrim seen in Fig. 26. Using the kinship formula, the fundamental elements going to build up the social organisation of the Superior Side of Vao may therefore be provisionally expressed as in Fig. 38.

EXISTING MARRIAGE REGULATIONS

This formulation also agrees with the three regulations regarding marriage that I recorded, namely:

[1] It will be remembered also that these two pairs of brothers represent opposite "Sides of the Stone." For the relation between "Sides of the Stone" and matrilineal moieties see p. 168.

(*a*) That a man may not marry his FSisD, a regulation which, as we have seen, is fundamental to all class systems having more than four sections.

(*b*) That in addition to the prohibition against marriage with any

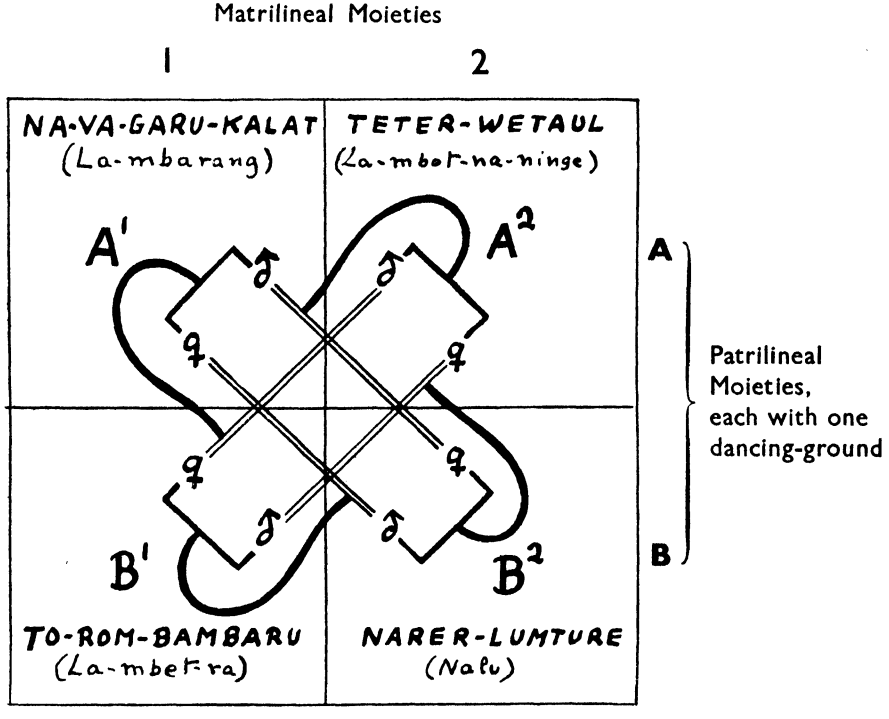


FIG. 37

Diagram showing the probable origin of the 4 Quarters of Pete-hul in terms of kinship. Each of the 4 brothers is here represented as belonging to one marriage section in a 4-section system. The names of the 4 Quarters are inserted below those of their founders. Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru represent the two patrilineal moieties A, B, each with its own dancing-ground. Both these belong to matrilineal moiety 1, while their respective "shadow brothers," Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, belong to the opposite matrilineal moiety 2.

(*N.B.*—For NA-VA-GARU-KALAT read NA-VA-GHARU-KALAT.)

woman belonging to a man's own patrilocal double-village he is in addition forbidden to marry any woman belonging to his mother's, or his mother's mother's "Side of the Lodge" in any other village.[1] This

[1] It is said that if a man transgressed any of these rules either he or his wife would die. My informant Ma-taru told me that it was on account of the increasing modern laxity concerning them that everything had "gone wrong" and the people were dying out. He himself had been perfectly within his rights in marrying a woman of his mother's village, but not of her Lodge. But she died, and he saw that he must have done wrong in marrying a woman of the same village at all. So in selecting a second wife he sought out one "who could by no possibility be of the same blood as himself," and married a woman neither of whose parents belonged to Vao.

not only confirms the existence of the three patrilineal descent groups A, B and C similar to those in Ambrim called "my own, my mother's and my mother's mother's," but suggests also a fact which I did

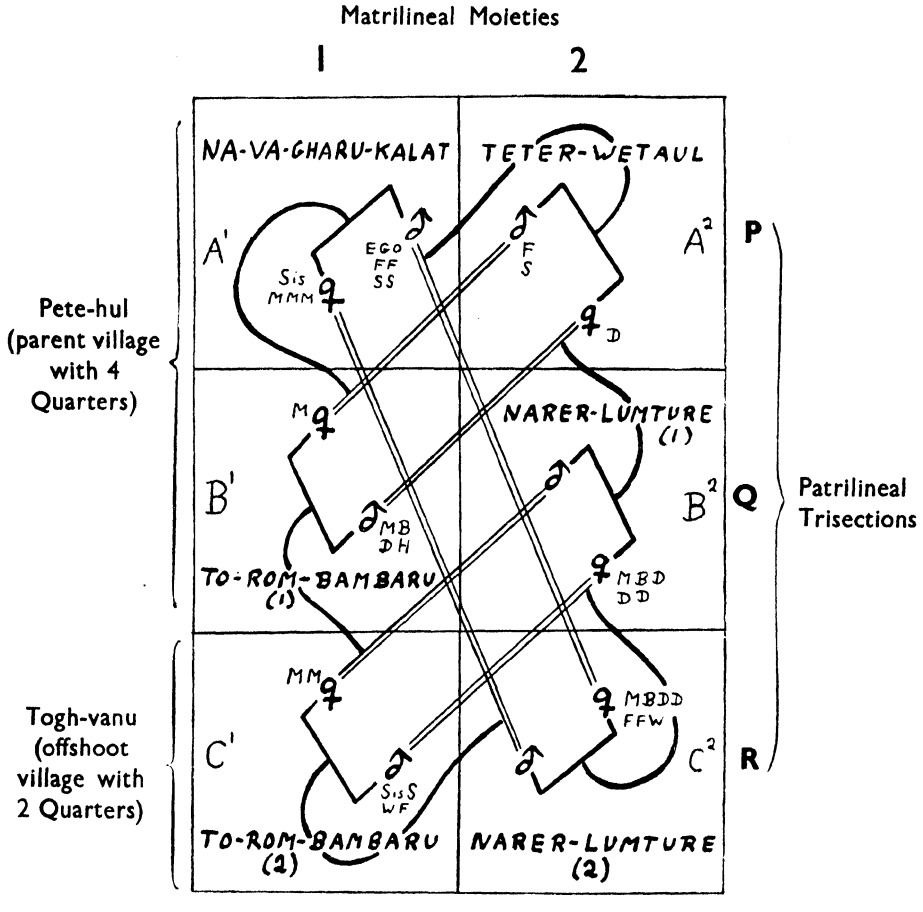


FIG. 38

Diagram illustrating in terms of kinship the probable nature of the split-up of the single-village of Pete-hul into the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu through the bisection of the inferior patrilineal moiety led by To-rom-bambaru and his "shadow brother" Narer-lumture. The kinship system thus indicated is a 6-section system (Patrilineal Type) similar to that of North Ambrim. This diagram is a purely theoretical one, not applicable to the social organisation as it exists today since this double-village is now an exogamous unit, and depends for its completion on the inclusion of the patrilineal moieties seen in Figs. 39 and 40. The letters P, Q, R are added alongside those of the three patrilineal trisections A, B, C for comparison with those figures.

not record during my enquiries into the organisation of the Lodges, namely that while descent in the Quarter-Lodges is patrilineal the division into two "Sides of the Lodge" may well represent the

division into the two matrilineal moieties existing within the Quarter-Lodge.[1]

(*c*) That a man sometimes marries his deceased father's father's widow, since EGO and his FF belong to the same marriage section.

12-SECTION SYSTEM WITH OVERT PATRILINEAL DESCENT

While Fig. 38 may be taken to indicate the basic factors leading to the social organisation of the Superior Side of Vao, it must not, however, be taken as expressing the kinship system existing in it today, since, as has already been shown, this Side of the Island does not stand alone, but forms part of a larger organisation including the whole island. For, while this Side of the Island is in fact composed of three main patrilineal descent groups represented respectively by the descendants of Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru forming the population of Pete-hul, and of those split-off descendants of To-rom-bambaru who founded the offshoot village of Togh-vanu, these three descent groups do not now intermarry, but form one exogamous whole.

If we now turn our attention to the organisation of the entire island, we find once more the same pattern of culture in the division into two Sides of the Island, one of which has split, thus forming three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three double-villages, each of which is divided into two single-villages (see Fig. 4). The difference between the two patterns is that in this case the three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three patrilocal double-villages are exogamous.

Combined with the two matrilineal moieties, this pattern results once more in a 12-section system similar to that illustrated in Figs. 33, 34 and 35 in that it is based on four sections consisting of matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and patrilineal moieties A and B, but differing from it in that the trisections are patrilineal, thus forming six patrilineal descent groups which actually exist in the form of the six patrilocal villages, in place of the earlier six matrilineal descent groups deduced from the terminology of kinship.

Fig. 39 represents this patrilocal system in terms of kinship, and at the same time indicates the presumed relative functions of the three double-villages. It will be seen that the form of marriage it indicates is that of a man with a woman who in the direct female line of descent is his MMMBDDD, or third cross-cousin, and in the direct male line is his FFSisSD, or second cross-cousin. This is of interest in that the FFSisSD is (through the equivalence of the FSisH with the MB) also the FMBSD, who is in fact the prescribed bride in the existing system of Pornowol in South Raga, where, according to Tattevin, a man "takes his wife from his father's mother's [patrilineal] clan," the bride being the daughter of

[1] For further discussion of this point, see p. 168.

the father's "first cousin" within that clan.[1] She also at the same time belongs to the same marriage section as the FFW, thus fulfilling the Vao statement that a man sometimes marries his father's father's widow.

Whether this form of marriage with the FMBSD actually exists on Vao I have at this distance no means of finding out.[2] The fact that it exists in South Raga, however, lends considerable support to the whole formulation here put forward, which at the same time explains so many hitherto obscure features in the organisation of the island that I propose to use it as a working formula, of which further field-work would be required to test out the details but the approximate correctness of which is at least strongly supported by the following facts.

CO-EXISTENCE OF PATRILINEAL MOIETIES AND TRISECTIONS ILLUSTRATED BY VAO SOCIAL ORGANISATION

In the first place, it explains the mechanism of the apparent paradox by means of which moieties can be split into trisections, but at the same time remain intact. It has already been shown in Fig. 26 how, of the

[1] Tattevin, I, 1926, pp. 375-6. What appears to have been the former 6-section system with matrilineal descent as seen in the mythology of this area has already been referred to on pp. 140 ff. In contrast, however, to North Raga, where overt descent is still matrilineal, South Raga has adopted the system of overt patrilineal descent from its more southerly neighbours. The result is that the existing organisation of Pornowol, as described by Tattevin, now consists of six patrilineal clans (as it does also on Vao), and though he denies the simultaneous operation of matrilineal descent within the system, this is implicit in a number of facts that he records, most notable of which is a passage in which he quotes a native as saying: "We are also divided into two moieties, in such a way that a father and his grandson are of the same moiety, and may joke with one another. But joking is forbidden between individuals belonging to opposite moieties; for example, a father can never joke with his own son" (Tattevin, I, 1926, p. 384). This is, of course, a well-known prohibition between members of opposing matrilineal moieties throughout the whole of the Northern New Hebrides and Banks Islands, and, as I have pointed out, these moieties are both in Ambrim and the Small Islands represented by "lines" composed of alternate generations in the male line. Tattevin himself later mentions the same prohibition against joking between members of opposing matrilineal moieties on the west coast of Raga (ibid. I, 1927, p. 578). There can thus be little doubt that these moieties exist also in Pornowol, where, though the kinship terminology as recorded by Tattevin appears to indicate certain archaic features, it is difficult to see how the six patrilineal clans combined with the matrilineal moieties could avoid leading to a 12-section system with patrilineal descent similar in essentials to that now indicated by the existing organisation on Vao (see p. 724, footnote 1). It must be pointed out, however, that marriage with the FMBSD is theoretically possible in any class system with intact matrilineal moieties, though it is unlikely that the relationship would be traced in such a roundabout way in any system containing less than twelve sections. It is not possible in any system including matrilineal trisections.

[2] It will be noted that the MBSD is the prescribed bride in a 6-section system with matrilineal trisections (see p. 139 and Fig. 31), so that in marrying the FMBSD a man would be marrying the woman who in that system would be married by his father.

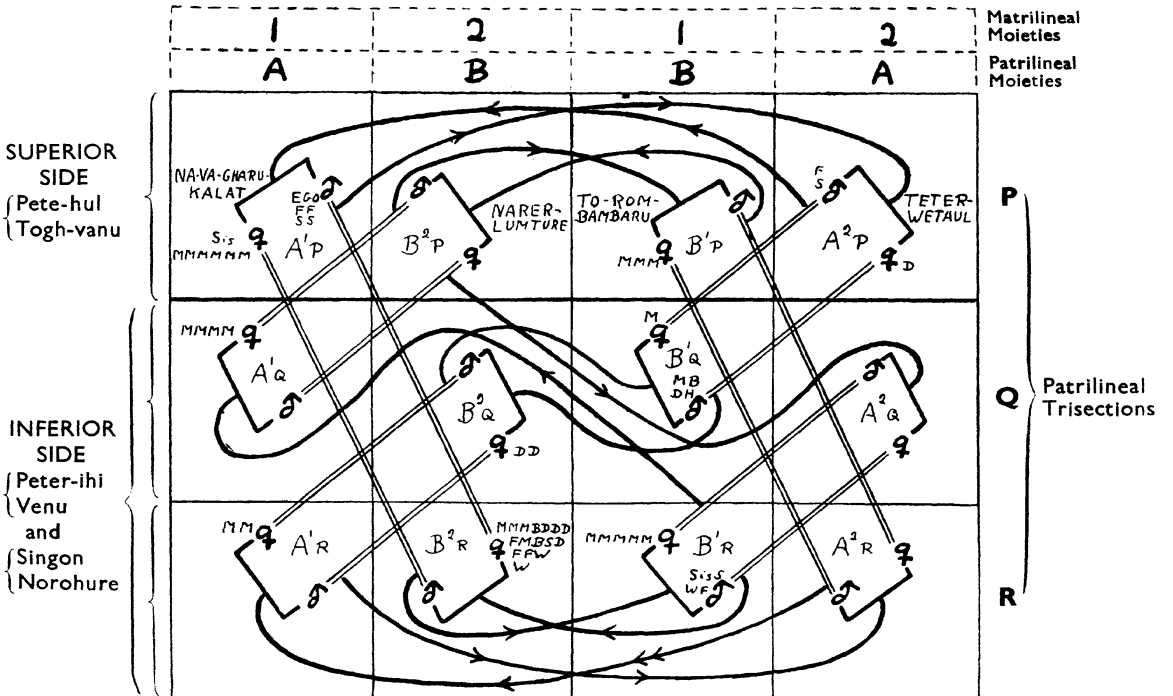


FIG. 39. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (PATRILINEAL TYPE) ILLUSTRATING THE MAIN ELEMENTS IN THE EXISTING SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF VAO.

While similar to Fig. 33 in that it is founded on a 4-section element with matrilineal moieties 1, 2, and patrilineal moieties A, B, it differs from it in that the trisections P, Q, R are patrilineal (and not matrilineal as in that figure), corresponding with the existing patrilocal organisation. Each trisection includes one double-village, one (P), namely Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, on the Superior Side of the Island, and two (Q, R) on the Inferior Side. The two double-villages on the Inferior Side are not individually allocated, since the evidence is not sufficient to show to which trisection each of these belongs. Each trisection contains two patrilineal descent lines corresponding to the two component patrilocal villages within each double-village. Each of these patrilineal descent lines passes in alternating generations from one matrilineal moiety to the other, thus forming two marriage sections, known in pidgin-English as "lines," in each single-village. There are thus two marriage sections in each single-village, 4 in each double-village, and 12 in the entire system which once probably embraced most of the Small Islands and the adjacent Malekulan mainland. ♂=MMMBDDD; FMBSD; FFW.

two patrilineal moieties A, B, in a 4-section system, the inferior moiety B becomes split, thus forming three patrilineal trisections, A, B and C. The same pattern is repeated in Fig. 38 representing the split between Pete-hul and Togh-vanu, in which the same lettering is used in the interior of the figure but, for the purposes of this demonstration, these same trisections A, B and C are also labelled P, Q and R.

If we now look at Fig. 39 we find these same trisections P, Q and R (corresponding to A, B and C) each representing a double-village, of which P (derived from A) represents the intact patrilineal moiety represented by the Superior Side of the Island with one double-village Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, and Q, R (corresponding with B and C) the split patrilineal moiety represented by the Inferior Side of the Island with two double-villages. At the same time, however, co-existing with these are the two still unsplit patrilineal moieties A and B represented by the two brothers Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru causing the bisection of each double-village into two single-villages, each of which traces its ancestry back to one of two brothers representing the two patrilineal sub-moieties within the double-village. Each of these sub-moieties is yet further bisected by the action of the matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 in such a way as to produce the "lines" consisting of alternate generations in the male line of descent.

This feature is clearly illustrated in the case of the Superior Side of the Island by the inclusion in it of two patrilineal descent groups together forming the one double-village on this Side of the Island, namely:

(*a*) Patrilineal moiety A representing the parent village of Pete-hul founded by Na-va-gharu-kalat (A^1) together with his partner Teter-wetaul representing the opposite "line" or matrilineal moiety (A^2) in the same village.

(*b*) Patrilineal moiety B representing the offshoot village of Togh-vanu founded by To-rom-bambaru (B^1) together with his partner Narer-lumture representing the opposite "line" or matrilineal moiety (B^2) in that village.[1]

The same pattern is found in the remaining trisections Q and R representing the two double-villages on the Inferior Side of the Island. It will be noted that each of the twelve "lines" so formed represents a marriage section. Fig. 40 represents the same system in terms of circular technique. Owing to lack of evidence at the moment it is impossible to say which of

[1] It will be noted that in this formulation of the kinship system To-rom-bambaru falls into the same marriage section as Na-va-gharu-kalat's MMM and SisDDD, thus supporting the evidence put forward below (p. 164) that this system is in fact derived from the former 12-section system with matrilineal trisections deduced from the kinship terminology, and that it took three generations, accompanied by much fighting, for the necessary adjustments to be made.

the two trisections Q and R corresponds to which of the two double-villages, though on theoretical grounds it is probable that Q represents Peter-ihi–Venu and R represents Singon–Norohure. That the uncertainty is not only a theoretical one but also actual is shown by the fact that not only on Vao have these two double-villages already begun to

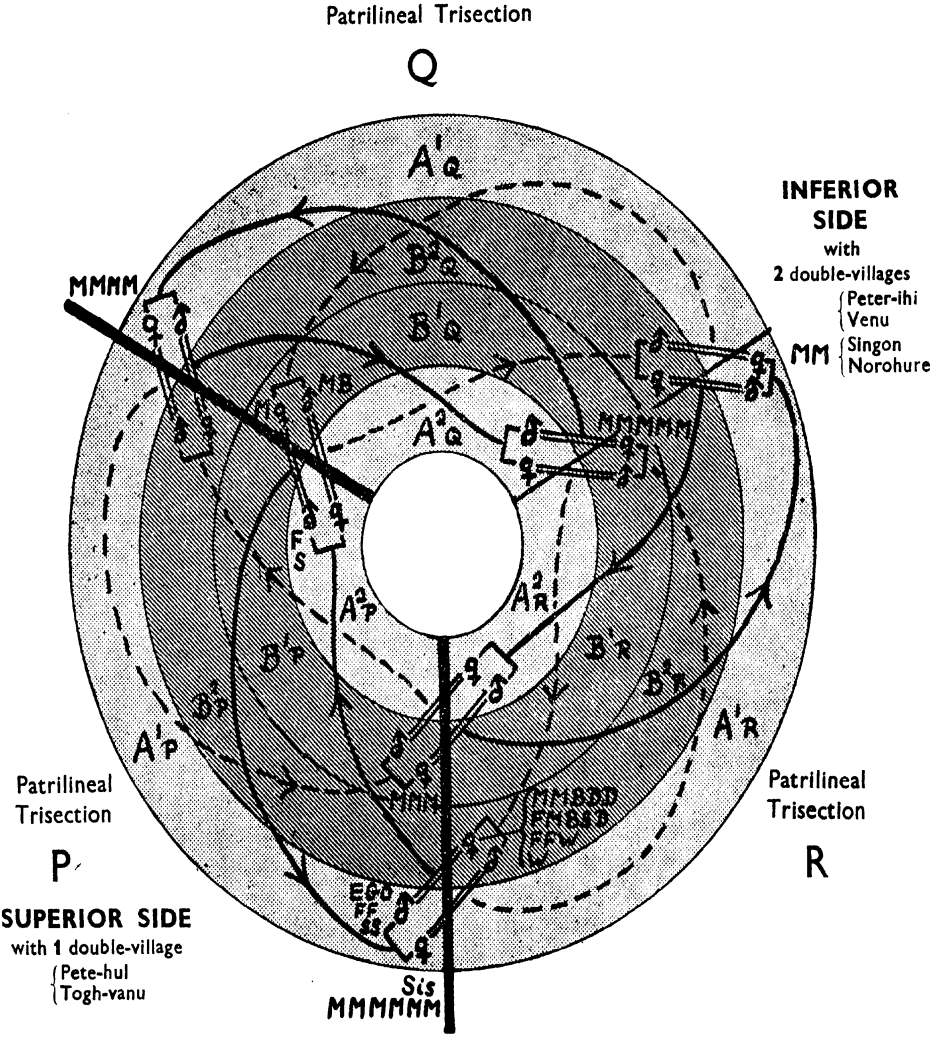


FIG. 40. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (PATRILINEAL TYPE) IN TERMS OF CIRCULAR TECHNIQUE, SHADED TO EMPHASISE PATRILINEAL DESCENT.

The shaded bands represent the patrilineal moieties A, B, and the two patrilineal descent lines within each double-village are emphasised by the fact that one is drawn in with continuous lines and the other with broken lines.

split up into four independent exogamous communities, but that on Atchin this process is already complete, the four corresponding villages on the Inferior Side of that Island being no longer linked in exogamous pairs, the only remaining double-village there being that of Ruruar on the Superior Side.[1]

MARRIAGES BETWEEN SPECIFIED VILLAGES

A further feature shown in this formulation is the fact that marriages take place between specified villages. Thus, A^1 (EGO) and his sister, both belonging to trisection P representing the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, both marry members of their father's mother's trisection R representing one of the double-villages on the Inferior Side of the Island, as also do B^1 and *his* sister. In the same way, A^2 and B^2 belonging to the opposite matrilineal moiety both marry members of their respective fathers' mothers' trisection Q representing the other double-village on that Side of the Island. This corresponds to the South Raga system of a man marrying into his father's mother's patrilocal clan.

The same feature of the kinship system doubtless explains the many indications of special marriage bonds existing between specified villages that I met with in the course of my work in the Small Islands. These special bonds extend, moreover, beyond the confines of a single Small Island to include villages not only on other islands but also on the adjacent Malekulan mainland. One such bond has already been mentioned on p. 59 in respect of the close kinship ties formerly existing between the inhabitants of Lavame and the mainland village of Le-huru.[2] It is thus clear that any scheme advanced to explain the kinship system of Vao must at one time at least have extended over a much wider area, so that, while the trisections P, Q and R must be taken to include the three double-villages on that island, they may also very well include, or have included, villages similarly organised in other islands and on the mainland of Malekula. Such were undoubtedly the two mainland units already mentioned forming the double-village of Lawor and Bot-walim [3] from which the whole of the modern Maki is said to have spread to the Small Islands. Genealogical evidence for the existence of such marriage bonds between neighbouring communities is in fact at hand in the family tree of my Tolamp informant Ma-taru (Table X), in which the recorded marriages of his father's father, his father, his father's brothers, himself and

[1] See p. 56.

[2] Compare also Corlette (1, p. 478), who, speaking of Malekula as a whole, says, "in some districts certain groups intermarry by custom," though adding "but this is not a rule even there."

[3] See pp. 15, 39.

all his classificatory brothers and sisters (with one exception)[1] show that they all married members of the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu in which the remnants of his clan have now taken refuge.[2]

4

HISTORICAL SURVEY

RELATIVE FUNCTIONS OF MYTH AND HISTORY

Having reached this approximate formulation of the Vao system, I propose now to make a final examination of the story of origin. For, while the co-existence of the trisections with the fundamental 4-section element in the system is clear, it is to be noted that no hint of these trisections is given in the creation myth dealing with the split *memel* fruit caused by the direct action of Ta-ghar.

In this respect the Vao myth resembles two very interesting examples recorded by Suas from the village of Logueguea on Oba. These myths also attribute the creation to Takaro, who is equivalent to the Vao Ta-ghar. The method is different, namely by means of modelling human figures with clay, but the import is the same, since the first myth accounts for the creation of the two matrilineal moieties, and the second for the creation of four groups, named after the four colours black, red, yellow and white, each of which is allotted to a specific area of land.[3]

The omission of any mention of trisections in all these cases expresses an important difference between myth and history, if we take myth as giving expression to those factors that are so taken for granted that there is no need to explain them, and historical accounts as being designed to emphasise change. Thus the Vao myth of the *memel* fruit splitting into two and so forming the two primary matrilineal moieties needs no circumstantial corroboration, since the facts referred to are, in the opinion of the natives, so basic as to need no further explanation.

What do need explanation from the Vao native's point of view are the further developments. First among these is the appearance of the overt patrilineal moieties represented respectively by their alleged founders, the two brothers Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru. The next

[1] The one exception is the marriage of Le-ragh-ragh with Marsung-parav of the village of Pwelut on Wala. Several others occur in the succeeding generation.

[2] It will be noted, however, that in this case they all marry members of the same double-village and not, as suggested from Fig. 39, that alternate generations marry into different double-villages.

[3] Suas, pp. 45-8. The two matrilineal moieties are called respectively *Takaro* and *Mweragbuto*, the latter corresponding to the male Guardian Ghost *Supwe* on Raga and to *Le-hev-hev* on Vao. A third myth (pp. 48-52) deals with the creation of an unclothed people whose social divisions are not specified.

figures to appear in the story are the two "shadow brothers," Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, who receive no further comment, their appearance being quite automatic as representing the basic matrilineal moieties still functioning within the new overtly patrilocal organisation. These four brothers together are the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

The next phase which, in the native view, requires explanation is the further development of the system into an asymmetrical one owing to the bisection of the inferior patrilineal moiety. It is this that, as we have seen, the natives ascribe to the action of "mere man," and therefore the subject of what in his view are definite historical accounts. It is for this reason that the mythical non-circumstantial account of the foundation of the four Quarters is immediately followed by alleged historical accounts relating with some violence the split-up of the original village of Pete-hul into two villages, leaving Pete-hul with four Quarters and Togh-vanu with only two.

It is furthermore important to note that, though To-rom-bambaru, the second brother, is now regarded as the ancestor of the inhabitants of the offshoot village Togh-vanu, the actual founder was not he, nor yet his son Peleris, but his son's son Tulul.[1] In other words, whatever the actual mechanism by which this change was brought about, it took three generations to accomplish, these being clearly correlated with the tri-sectional system which takes three generations to fulfil its cycle.[2]

INTRODUCTION OF PATRILOCAL SYSTEM. SIMILAR ORIGIN OF MATANAVAT IN NORTH-EAST MALEKULA

One question that arises from the very circumstantial accounts of this movement, based as they are on the substantially accurate genealogies already given, is to what extent the details are to be taken as historical truths. It is on the one hand quite clear from the comparative evidence already cited that neither the 4-section element nor the trisections came into being as isolated phenomena on Vao. On the other hand, it is evident from genealogies preserved by neighbouring peoples not only in the Small Islands but also in Santo,[3] that considerable movements of peoples occurred at about the time at which the Vao genealogies begin. Since no two peoples have exactly the same kinship system, it is clear that whenever contact is made, their fusion must lead to a violation of the kinship systems of both. Violations of this kind being among the most frequent causes of warfare in Melanesia, it would be expected that fighting of some kind would ensue. This is in fact what the native account

[1] See p. 91. [2] See also p. 160, footnote 1.
[3] Verbal communication from Mr. T. H. Harrisson.

claims to have been the case, for it is stated that the fighting accompanying the foundation of the new régime was so bitter that the people of Vao now put down all warfare to this occurrence.

I suggest, therefore, that the reason for this violent social upheaval was the impact between two at first sight incompatible systems of kinship, of which that containing the matrilineal trisections indicated in the kinship terminology was the indigenous one. What the immigrant system consisted of is not easy to say, except that it was almost certainly responsible for the introduction of the existing patrilocal organisation, and probably also for the change over from matrilineal to patrilineal trisections corresponding to the similar change that has occurred in North Ambrim. It may even be that it was these immigrants who introduced the current version of the *memel*-fruit myth. It will be remembered that the inhabitants of Norohure on the Inferior Side of Vao, whom I suppose to represent an earlier matrilineal stratum of the population, "do not know the story of the *memel* fruit." [1] It is thus worth noting that a similar myth told in Matanavat on the North Malekulan coast not far from Vao is in fact definitely attributed to an immigrant people. Thus Harrisson records how this village is divided into three parts, of which two represent two patrilineal moieties but the third part, called Botnia, once populous but no longer so, is somewhat apart. This third section of the population is said to be the oldest, and its members are looked down on by the other inhabitants of the village as "rubbish people," an expression used all over North Malekula to designate those who do such unpatrilineal things as eating sows, and who clearly represent an older matrilineal stock. Thus, "Botnia has no prestige and few rites. There are no Botnia stories. It is simply said of it: that it was always there . . . that there were men there when the first men came! The people were small; they had no canoes, only rafts." The two other parts of the village, however, were formed of the now dominant immigrants who trace their descent from "a succulent fruit" which Harrisson refers to as a rose-apple, and therefore to its descendants as the "rose-apple" people.[2]

The "rose-apple" story is the same in all essentials as the *memel*-fruit myth on Vao, and there is no doubt that the two myths are the same. Moreover, its distribution throughout Santo, Malo, North Malekula, the Small Islands and Epi [3] is almost identical with the area already mentioned in which the genealogies point to movements of people at about the time of Na-va-gharu-kalat. The foundation story following the Matanavat version of the myth tells of a "rose-apple" man named Toratora who first had a son who disobeyed and insulted him, thus following the matrilineal pattern of a youth who owes no allegiance to his father. The old man then married a Botnia woman who bore two sons, and

[1] See p. 80.
[2] Harrisson, 2, pp. 20-1.
[3] Harrisson, 1, p. 114.

these sons founded the two patrilocal divisions of the existing village, of which they became the "chiefs." The account ends with a statement that "it is by the marriage of Tora-tora's sons with Botnia women that Matanavat has grown."

While this story differs in detail from that told on Vao, its essential elements are the same. The correspondence becomes closer still when it is found that the patrilocal division founded by the second son is called *Lembeteram*,[1] which is evidently the same name as that of the *La-mbet-ra* Quarter founded by the second brother To-rom-bambaru on Vao. There is further a close similarity between the organisation of the two places, since each of the two patrilocal moieties in Matanavat is yet further divided into six lodges, making a total of twelve lodges, thus forming a cultural pattern similar to that of the twelve "Sides of the Lodge" on the Superior Side of Vao, and to the twelve "Sides of the Stone" on the whole island.

It is incidentally of interest to note that this organisation is reflected on Matanavat in the custom that on certain occasions six men sound the gongs [2] and that the formula for wind magic is repeated six times.[3] On the other hand, the 4-fold element is also still found there in the case of magic performed for the cure of sickness, during which the clairvoyant appeals to his four spirits: Tokon and Tapi, who are male, and Lelerits and Lesiri who are female. It is said that "such spirits always go in fours." [4] Each of the twelve lodges has, moreover, its own form of magic and "its own month in the year," [5] which throws an interesting sidelight on one of the factors possibly leading to the origin of the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

Leaving these suggestive details on one side, however, and returning to the kinship problem, the point to which I wish to call attention is that in Matanavat, as in Vao, no mention is made in the mythology of the incoming people of the trisections that form an essential element in the existing organisation. From this it would appear that these trisections did not form part of the immigrant culture, but, as we have seen from the kinship terminology, certainly did form part of that of the indigenous population following a system of matrilineal descent, to which the dominant incoming patrilocal element had to adjust itself, in each place doubtless in a slightly different way.

[1] This word apparently means "(Lodge) of the eldest son" (Vao *bete-ram*, see p. 181), and in fact should have belonged to the eldest son. But their father had told both sons to bring him yams of a particular kind. The elder brought the wrong kind, but the younger brought the kind the father had asked for, and so became chief of the Superior patrilocal moiety.

[2] Harrisson, 2, p. 31.

[3] Ibid. p. 50.

[4] Ibid. p. 56. For the connexion between magic and the 4-section system of kinship, see pp. 646 ff.

[5] Ibid. p. 23.

PROBABLE COURSE OF EVENTS ON VAO

It would appear from the native account on Vao that a party of these immigrants, under the combined leadership of the two brothers Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru, arrived by sea and settled themselves down on what is now the Superior Side of the Island, founding the single-village of Pete-hul, or else reorganising a previously existing village. The beach on which they landed, being the best on the island, must of course have been in constant use by the indigenous population.[1]

Na-va-gharu-kalat's first act was one of aggressive self-assertion, on behalf of all the immigrants, telling them to "keep good watch on the beach Kowu, and, if any stranger come ashore, to kill him and bring him to me to cut up,"[2] evidently for the whole community to eat. This speech, to which his younger brother, representing the second patrilineal moiety, wholeheartedly assented, is said to have been the starting-point from which all subsequent fighting took its origin.

This does not mean, of course, that there had been no fighting before, but that Na-va-gharu-kalat now assumed the headship of Pete-hul, and in virtue of this fact claimed the right of disposing of strangers landing on its beach in accordance with the general New Hebridean practice mentioned later with regard to a similar fate awaiting strangers landing on Raga.[3]

Doubtless, many former friends of the indigenous population would in this way become treated by the immigrants as strangers. The scene of the original conflict leading to the formation of the new patrilocal system was thus localised to begin with in the territory belonging to what is now the double-village forming the Superior Side of the Island.[4]

This social revolution, lasting three generations, must automatically have affected the rest of the island, and we are probably justified, therefore, in assuming that an analogous process was responsible for the formation of the remaining two double-villages on the Inferior Side of the Island.

AUTOMATIC NATURE OF CHANGES. FUNCTION OF "SIDES"

This brings us back once more to the automatic nature of many such changes. In this way it is to be noted that, while historical data are given for changes introduced from outside such as the arrival of immigrants and

[1] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 54) expresses the opinion that the inhabitants of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu were the earliest on the island. This opinion appears to be based on the shortness of the genealogies of the remaining villages. This argument cuts both ways, as the interest in genealogies was probably introduced by them and may therefore not have been indigenous.

[2] See p. 90.

[3] See p. 601.

[4] For the exclusive possession of a myth corresponding to the *memel*-fruit myth in Vao by one of six patrilineal clans in South Raga that has not spread to the remaining clans, see p. 140.

the consequent disruption of an existing social order, the development of the new pattern of culture resulting from this impetus proceeds as if from itself according to the operation of inevitable laws. Thus, while the new overt elements such as the split-up of one village into two is clearly described, and the two elements (i.e. villages) are named, subsequent adjustments occur so automatically that no reason for them is given, and the resulting divisions are not even named.

This is the case with all those sub-divisions which are known as *tosan*, which I have translated as "Sides," a fact emphasised by the shading in Fig. 4 in Chapter III on the overt organisation of the island. Thus, no account whatever is given as to the formation of the "Sides of the Island," nor yet of the "Sides of the Stone" or "Sides of the Lodge." This might be considered to be due to the comparative paucity of historical data from Vao. The same is, however, true of Atchin, from which island I recorded a great deal of historical material, but where in no single case was I furnished with an explanation of a division into the corresponding unnamed "Sides," which in each case appeared to proceed quite automatically. A good illustration from Vao is seen in a recent incident recorded on page 451 regarding the two northern Quarter-Lodges of Pete-hul, from each of which one "Side of the Lodge" owing to a quarrel departed to the mainland and stayed there, whereon the remaining "Side of the Lodge" promptly divided, without further ado, into two.

I have already suggested (p. 156) that the "Sides of the Lodge" may well represent matrilineal divisions consisting of alternate generations in the male line within a given Quarter. The same may also be true in some way of the "Sides of the Stone," which, though appearing at first sight as patrilineal groups, also fulfil in the Maki an alternating function that I failed at the time of my visit fully to understand. This supposition is supported by the fact that while the first two brothers in the foundation story, Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru, belong to different patrilineal moieties, they both belong to the same "Side of the Stone," the other "Side of the Stone" being represented by the third and fourth brothers Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, who in the formulation of the kinship system are seen to belong to matrilineal moiety 2 while the first two brothers belong to matrilineal moiety 1 (see Figs. 37 to 39 and footnote on p. 154). Thus at that period of Vao history, if not at present, the term "Side of the Stone" appears to have been equivalent to "matrilineal moiety." The word "Side" has in this case also a topographical significance, at least it has so in Atchin, where the ten shrines set up in line on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground are divided into two groups set end to end, those belonging to one "Side of the Stone" being to the right and those belonging to the other to the left. This arrangement recalls the two "sides of the house" representing the matrilineal moieties in the Banks Islands. There is moreover a certain resemblance between

the first syllable of the North Ambrim word *batutun*, meaning "matrilineal moiety," and the word *vatu* in the phrase *tosan na-vatu*, meaning "Side of the Stone." However this may be, the cumulative evidence points strongly to the presumption that these "Sides" all at one time represented matrilineal moieties or sub-divisions of such, even if they do not do so today, and that it is this fact that accounts for the automatic appearance of the divisions they represent. If this is so, then the same must apply to the "Sides of the Island." In this case there is no question of these being matrilineal now, since they represent very definitely the two main patrilineal divisions into which each Small Island is divided. Nevertheless, the attitude of almost permanent hostility and suspicion between these two "Sides" despite their close interrelatedness corresponds so very closely with that reigning between the two matrilineal moieties throughout the Banks Islands and Northern New Hebrides that it is to my mind more than probable that they also were in the first place matrilineal divisions, and that their present patrilocal character is yet another result of the social revolution due to the incursion of the patrilineal immigrants under the leadership of Na-va-gharu-kalat.

CONCLUSION

CHANGING NATURE OF ISLAND SYSTEMS

I have now sketched, from a combined study of the kinship terminology, the overt social organisation, the mythology and oral tradition of the natives, the probable course of development of the kinship system of Vao. It will be the task of future field-work to test the results. The system covers a larger area than the single island of Vao, since marriages also occur with the inhabitants of Atchin, Wala and other Small Islands, as well as with those of the mainland of Malekula, all of whom at one time apparently formed part of the same system, though at the time of my visit all these were already in course of disruption and Vao only retained the chief characteristics of a class system. There are thus in these remaining Small Islands many cases of anomalous marriages, leading to frequent disagreement and sometimes to open hostility. These will be studied more closely in future volumes dealing with the culture of Atchin, where the system is already breaking up owing to new influences encroaching from the south.

Among a seafaring population such as that of these islands, no system can be entirely self-contained. The ever-changing nature of these island systems as compared with the comparative stability of those in land-bound Australia is seen from the fact that if the above analysis is even approximately correct, the patrilocal kinship system now existing on Vao began to take on its present form only nine generations ago, and that it took three

generations for the system to become welded into a compact whole. This system has remained comparatively stable for some six generations at most. Even apart from the coming of the White Man, the system would not have lasted much longer, as it would have been bound to succumb sooner or later to the non-class patrilineal influence that is encroaching from the south.

APPROXIMATE DATING

With regard to the question of dates, nowadays, owing to the practice of the older men marrying more than one wife, the age at which a young man can marry is rarely under 20, more usually later. Though the rate of infant mortality is high, there is nevertheless evidence in the genealogies to show that families were large. The fact therefore that the population, so far as we know, before the arrival of the White Man was fairly stable, shows how great were the ravages wrought by periodic famines due chiefly to hurricanes, and to a less extent probably to war. We shall therefore not be far wrong if we assume a generation to cover about 30 years, which is the highest of the two figures usually used in reckoning dates in Polynesia.

On this computation, and assuming the boy Naturel (see Table II) to have been born about the year 1900, his first ancestor, To-rom-bambaru, nine [1] generations back, would have been born about the year 1630.[2] At the time of the foundation of Pete-hul, To-rom-bambaru and his elder brother Na-va-gharu-kalat were men in authority. If, therefore, we take their ages to have been then about 50, we arrive at the year 1680 as the approximate date at which the foundation took place.[3]

The genealogies which I recorded on Atchin go back considerably further, the youngest boy in the elder branch of the double-village of Ruruar on the Superior Side of Atchin being himself the 17th in the direct male line of descent from Iwas, the founder of that village.[4] This

[1] Omitting Kalo-won, whose place in the genealogy is doubtful. If he was in the direct line of ancestry, this and the following dates would have to be decreased by 30 years.

[2] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 52) allows 30 to 35 years for a generation (three generations to a century), and has recorded one extra generation, on which basis he calculates that To-rom-bambaru would have been born about the year 1570.

[3] The only other record of extensive genealogies in Melanesia is that of the chiefly house of Sa'a, first recorded by Codrington (3, pp. 50 ff.) and subsequently by Ivens (1, Chap. V). This house was founded twelve generations ago, and it is interesting that the same historical configuration exists there as in Vao, for Codrington records that the founders were four brothers, whereas Ivens points out that the two younger "brothers" were not brothers, but two fighting men belonging to their retinue (p. 113). These two thus seem to correspond with the two "shadow brothers" of Vao tradition. Ivens records (pp. 110-11) one genealogy going back thirty-nine generations. It is to be noted that, just as the Vao system is an intrusive overtly patrilineal one imposed on a previous matrilineal organisation, so also the people of Sa'a, together with their neighbours on Malo, represent an immigrant patrilineal folk in an otherwise matrilineal archipelago.

[4] For details see future volume. Including the present generation and the maternal uncles of Iwas, mentioned below, the total number of generations included in the Ruruar genealogies is 19.

takes us back, on the same reckoning, to the year 1390 as the date of Iwas's birth, and 1440 of his ripe manhood. Iwas was not only the founder of the village but also the introducer of patrilineal descent, there being no record of his father, but only of his two maternal uncles, Mal-mal-mari and Mal-mal-oba, who are the earliest figures in the oral accounts dealing with the history of Atchin. It was these two who, prompted by their mother, slew the aboriginal cannibal ogre Ias whose name is philologically equivalent to Ghiagh, that of the male partner in the Vao creation myth, and to the South Raga *ias* already mentioned.[1]

It was not till five generations after Iwas, that is to say (taking the dates of their birth) in about 1540, that four brothers appear in the genealogies of Atchin, corresponding with the four brothers in the creation story on Vao, and so antedating these by about 90 years according to my reckoning or 30 by Godefroy's calculations.

Thus, taking into account the slow northward movement of culture in the Small Islands, the genealogical records of Vao and Atchin tally, with the exception that on Atchin they go yet further back to some yet earlier social revolution regarding which the Vao records are silent.

MYTHOLOGICAL EPITAPH ON THE DECAY OF MATRILINEAL DESCENT

No better way could be found of summing up the encroaching patrilineal influence and its adverse effect on the status of women than to quote the following tale told of a Togh-vanu woman, clearly a variant of the Pete-hul creation myth.

It will be remembered that in the creation myth the *memel* fruit fell on to the buttress-root of a *gha-tambol* tree, splitting in half. The two halves became a man and woman who at first slept, unknown to one another, in adjacent compartments formed by the tree's roots, but subsequently married and produced four sons, the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

According to this variant, there was a Togh-vanu woman who was so covered with sores that no one could bear to look at her. So they decided to throw her away. They bound her with coils of the *memel* creeper to a banana stalk to act as a float, and threw her into the sea. The wind blew her northwards towards Santo, till at last she came ashore on an island called Aes, which lies off the Santo coast. As she had no house, she lived in one of the compartments made by two buttress-roots of a *gha-tambol* tree. The *memel* creeper with which she had been bound "grew up" and entered her womb, so that when she tried to take it out, she bled. After a time she conceived, and bore a girl. This girl bore a son, who became the ancestor of all the people of Aes.

In this tale we no longer hear of the *memel* fruit splitting into two,

[1] See p. 17.

forming both man and woman, but of the creeper only, which is exclusively male, and itself ruptures the woman's hymen. Nothing could describe better the inroads made on the old matrilineal system by the encroaching patrilineal influence, though there is still a strong reminiscence of matrilineal descent shown by the fact that the offspring of the union is a girl. However, the patrilineal influence prevails in that it is her son who is the ancestor of all the people of Aes.[1] The creeper is also used to bind the woman, clearly a metaphorical allusion to the inferior status of women in the overtly patrilineal communities of Malekula when compared with their position of far greater equality in the matrilineal communities further north. Sores are a punishment for incest. The whole story plainly refers to the conflict of kinship systems, and is a fitting epitaph on the progressive decay of the principle of matrilineal descent.[2]

[1] It would be interesting to know what type of organisation exists on Aes. The island referred to is probably Aise, another name for the island of Aore, which lies between Malo and Santo.

[2] Other versions of the same myth have been recorded from various places. One of these from South Raga has already been mentioned on p. 140.

Godefroy (1, 1933, pp. 45-8) mentions another non-Malekulan version according to which the *memel* fruit brought new life to an old grandmother.

Suas (1911, p. 907) records yet another version from Olal in North Ambrim, according to which Bugliam, the god of darkness, persuades the woman to eat the fruit.

CHAPTER VII

BIRTH AND ADOPTION

BIRTH

Physiological Paternity. Length of Gestation

THOUGH it is said that the creator-deity Ta-ghar begets all children on the moon, whence they fall down and use the mother's womb only as a portal by which to issue on to the earth,[1] this is a purely symbolical statement, and there is no doubt whatever that the natives are fully aware of the fact of physiological paternity. Even were it taken literally, the legend itself shows the recognition of the male function, and in point of fact the natives know as well as we do that sexual intercourse is a necessary preliminary to pregnancy. Whether or to what extent the part played by the semen is recognised, however, I am unable to say, and the natives' own calculations regarding the duration of pregnancy are based entirely on the date at which the menstrual flow ceases. My informant told me that a child may be born during the 8th, 9th or 10th moon after the last menstrual period, or sometimes even as late as the 12th, but that the best time for it to come was during the 9th or 10th. It must be remembered that the "moon" or "lunar period" is roughly 29½ days. This reckoning agrees substantially with our own, according to which a child is expected 9 "lunar months" of 28 days each after conception, which is equivalent to 9½ lunar months after the last menstrual period.

Pregnancy

That the natives are also aware of the time when the child within the womb may be expected to "turn" is shown by the fact that seven moons after it is seen that a woman is pregnant she is attended by a female expert, who later acts as midwife and is acquainted with all the magic songs and processes connected with birth. This woman is called *vene na man*. *Vene* means "woman" and *na man* magic (or medicine). These two now go to the shore, where the expectant mother takes off the rope-girdle (*na-tuwe*), of plaited string (*tel*) made of the inner bark of the *malaok* tree and so called *tel malaok*, which every woman wears beneath her mat-skirt around her waist, whereon the midwife winds a new and

[1] See pp. xx, 212.

very long one many times round her belly, at the same time singing the appropriate songs. The object of this is to prevent the child from being born too soon (*e wor malat*) or else born dead or sickly.[1]

Wife's People Invade Husband's House

Godefroy gives a graphic description of the power exercised over the prospective father by his wife's people during her first pregnancy: [2]

"During the period preceding the birth of her first child, the wife's parents pay frequent visits to their daughter, bringing her provisions and tasty titbits of all kinds. Out of respect for them, the husband leaves the house. For, on the preceding evening, his wife will have warned him: 'My mother and her people are arriving to-morrow.' This means that her mother, her father, her brother, in fact her mother's whole household, is going to arrive the next day on a formal visit. The husband orders his day accordingly; he does not take part in the general exodus to the gardens on the mainland with all the rest, but stays on the shore repairing his canoe or cutting a new paddle—there are always small jobs of this kind with which he can occupy his time.

"At about ten o'clock in the morning a child will be sent to tell him that his wife's people have taken possession of his house. He stays where he is. As soon as they are installed, the wife's mother and her daughters set about preparing the yam pudding which, well cooked and fragrant with aromatic herbs, will that evening rejoice the whole company, including the husband. During this time, the wife's father and his son inspect the premises, and test the construction of the house. . . . They continue their examination of all they can see, waiting for the moment when the husband will make his appearance along some neighbouring path. At last the husband comes, feigning indifference and conveying for all the world the impression that he knows nothing at all of what is going on.

"Husband and wife's brother now dispose themselves for their meeting, the wife's brother holding his head high, feeling himself really at home, the husband with eyes cast down, as if he were a stranger with no right to be there. They exchange a few words, and make formal conversation for the sake of attracting the attention of the wife's father, who then comes up and adds a word or two to the conversation.[3] That is all. The

[1] The importance of the physiological events occurring in the seventh month are marked in Lambumbu and Lagalag by prayers offered to the ancestors in order that they shall watch over and take care of the pregnant woman two months before the birth (see footnote on p. 177).

[2] The quotation following is from Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 109-10, substituting kinship terms for the names of the missionised natives concerned.

[3] The attitude of respect to the wife's father decrees that a man may not mention his name or go behind his back. There is also considerable hesitation about speaking to him, and this is done as a rule only in reply to a question addressed by the father-in-law (see p. 135).

presentation has been made.[1] The husband now enters the house on the pretext of fetching some tool or anything that will serve as an excuse to go in. In the presence of the women who are kneading and scraping the yams, he adopts an attitude of pleasure and utters joyful exclamations, but he does not speak a word.[2] This constitutes his presentation to the women. There is nothing left for the husband to do but to disappear, and to return to his work on the beach. His wife's brother goes with him. As for the wife's father, he seeks out, among the neighbouring huts, some man of his own age, and the rest of his day will be taken up with gossip and the lighting of interminable pipes.[3]

"Towards dark, the whole company, including the husband, prepares to take the evening meal. As during the morning, the husband occupies the position of guest. He takes part in the meal, but eats only a little.[4] As for the wife's family, they behave precisely as if they were at home, though in their son-in-law's house. When the meal is finished, they gather what is left over, to serve for their own breakfast the next morning. The husband adds produce from his own garden; at his own expense he fills his father-in-law's pipe. The food is then done up in parcels, the mother-in-law and her daughters load the parcels on their backs, and the visitors depart. The husband accompanies them a short distance, and the visit is over.

"This initial visit means that the members of the wife's family intend to take responsibility for all the care of which the young wife will shortly be in need before, during and after her confinement. This care is extended towards the child, even when it has grown to youthful manhood. The services, however, are not extended free. At the birth of a first child, the husband is obliged to present his wife's parents with a large tusked pig, worth £6.[5] Subsequent births are less heavily taxed. . . ."

Birth

In contrast to the practice on the mainland of Malekula and in the remaining Small Islands, where women give birth in their own dwelling-houses, in Vao, according to Godefroy, this takes place in one of the special women's Lodges already mentioned.[6]

[1] I.e. the husband is presented, in his own house, to his father-in-law, whom of course he has known all his life.

[2] A man may not speak to his wife's mother (see p. 135).

[3] A European innovation. There was no smoking before the advent of the white man.

[4] This also forms part of the attitude of respect incumbent on a man towards his wife's parents.

[5] The chief payment is actually made to her brother (see p. 178).

[6] See p. 73.

The midwife who attends the pregnant woman at the end of the seventh moon also attends the birth, for which she receives payment in the form of a pig. No gongs are sounded at birth, but if the child is a boy a conch-shell trumpet is blown. If the boy is the father's eldest son, the blowing of the conch-shell is the signal for the entire village to raid the father's enclosure. This will be described below in the section dealing with the "Eldest Son." [1] I have no record of special rites or beliefs concerning twins.[2]

After delivery, a number of women called *nain ghore* [3] sleep in the Lodge for a period of either five, ten or twenty days, being paid at the end of this time with money-mats varying in number with the length of their stay, and with a festive pudding with fowls in it.

I have unfortunately no details regarding delivery or the disposal of the afterbirth.[4] There are two methods of disposal of the stump of the umbilical cord (*biton*) when it withers away from the child's body. Both methods are applicable to a child of either sex, and the choice of method lies with the father. The stump must in either case be eventually placed in a *na-lil* shell, which is then deposited in a hole in the reef. If the father wishes his child to be a great shell-seeker he will tell the mother to dispose of the cord by depositing it in a *na-lil* shell in a hole in the reef. This she does on the Tenth Day after birth, when, as will be seen below, she goes to wash and throw away the leaves with which the child's excrement has been wiped up. If, on the other hand, he is afraid of the child developing a habit of hanging around the reef looking for shellfish instead of going to work in the gardens on the mainland, he will himself take charge of the stump by placing it in his ear, where by reason of its toughness it may remain for three or four years before he deposits it, as in the first case, in a *na-lil* shell in a hole in the reef.[5]

[1] See p. 180.

[2] Twins of either sex are called *na-lav*. In the brief genealogy given in Table X there are two pairs of twins, both in the same family. The first pair consisted of two Pete-hul boys, Mal-mari and Bahor (whose other name was Melteg-bimbihi). Both grew up and married and had children. When Mal-mari died, his wife Le-mbagho (of Peter-ihi) and their son Ni-al-sul went to live with his twin brother Bahor. This man Bahor in turn married Le-nimal (of Tolamp) by whom he also had twins, a boy and a girl. The boy was called Saki and the girl by the same name with the usual feminine prefix, namely Le-saki. Both these lived for about a year but then fell sick and died. In this case the tendency to generate twins seems to run in the male line, though there is not enough evidence to show whether this is a typical case.

[3] I do not know the meaning of this phrase. *Ghore* means "open" or "out."

[4] In Seniang it is buried in a hole in the house, and a fire lighted over this, over which the child is rocked to and fro that its body may be hot (Deacon, 4, p. 235). In Lambumbu it is left for five days and then buried outside (Deacon, 4, p. 238). The Banks Islands custom resembles that of Seniang, the afterbirth there being looked on as part of the child, even after it is born (see Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 144).

[5] For treatment of the umbilical cord in Seniang, Mewun and Lambumbu see Deacon, 4, pp. 225-38.

"Right of inspection" exercised by the child's maternal kin. Father and mother's brother pray for the well-being of the child.

According to Godefroy, immediately after the birth the husband's house is invaded by his wife's family, consisting of the child's mother's brother and her parents, to exercise the "right of inspection" over both mother and child in accordance with the rules of the matrilineal system. The father's brothers and their sons are not entirely excluded, since they too share the "right of inspection," though in a lesser degree and must exercise it with discretion.

If the child is a boy, and only then, a special rite occurs on the day after birth, in which the mother's brother takes a leading part. The father presents a fowl to the mother's brother, who takes it to his own Lodge, where it is cooked in a pudding. Then all the members of his Lodge together hold a feast of communion (*ghete-ghati*) with the ancestors, during which they recite a prayer. This prayer begins with the phrase "*Tamat wurogh*," which is the customary opening on all similar occasions. The word *tamat* means both "ghost" and "peace," and *wurogh* "to be quiet." The invocation may therefore be translated "Ancestors, peace, be quiet," meaning "Do not molest us, but listen to our prayer." This is then followed by a specific petition, which on this occasion begins "Here is a new child born to us," and goes on to ask the ancestors to look after it and let it grow up to be "first a youth (*malakel*) and in due time an honoured old man (*na-humbe*)." [1]

On the same or the next day, the mother's brother in return takes a fowl to the child's father, who cooks it in his Lodge, and in a similar manner, with the members of his Lodge, makes communion with his ancestors, begging them to let the boy grow up and become a *malakel* and then a *na-humbe*.

Fifth Day

(*a*) *Naming the child.*

The Fifth Day (*bong e-lim*) after birth is an important one, for on this day the child, whether boy or girl, receives its name, and the mother's brother his tribute of pigs. On the morning of this day the child is laid

[1] This is the set formula. The ancestors are never asked to make the child into a *mer-sean* (see p. 529), the oldest age-grade of all, since this term is a purely descriptive one and does not carry the religious connotation connected with *na-humbe* (see also p. 529).

For other instance of the use of the invocation *tamat wurogh* see p. 557. The phrase is used throughout the Small Islands.

Instances of similar prayers offered by the wife's brother to her deceased father (or father's father) in Lagalag and to her deceased mother or father's mother in Lambumbu are given by Deacon (4, pp. 237-8), though in this case they are offered during the seventh and eighth months of pregnancy and the object of the prayer is the safety not of the as yet unborn child but of the mother. The brother so praying is rewarded for his good offices by payment of a pig. The communion rite includes the cooking of a fowl and exchange visits between the wife's brother and the father as on Vao.

on a mat (*beturu*),[1] on which it is lifted up by 4 of the mother's attendants, one holding each corner of the mat. Yet another woman (probably the midwife), having lit a stick of erythrina wood (*na-rar*) [2] at a man's fire,[3] holds it underneath the child "to make it strong." Then they carry the child, still on the mat, and place its feet close up to a fruit tree, which may be of any kind, such as *tawò* or *nara*, and while in this position the 4 women call out its name, which has already been decided on by common consent. I received no explanation as to why the child's feet should be placed close to a fruit tree, but a similar rite, also unexplained, in which two trees are concerned, has been reported by Deacon from North-West Malekula.[4] Both rites almost certainly have to do with growth. The importance of the number 4, emphasised in Vao by the 4 women who carry the child, is in Deacon's account shown by the fact that, though only one person carries the child, the whole process of being passed over the fire and touching the trees is repeated 4 times.[5] In both cases the rite is a public one, and any men who wish may be present.

Examples of boys' untitled names are Rangon, meaning "branch," or Tur, in anticipation of the time when he will be able to stand (*tur*). Other such names may be seen in the genealogy on p. 587 and in the Appendix on pp. 747 ff. Girls' names are all prefixed by the syllable *Le-*,[6] followed by names similar to the boys', e.g. Le-tur, "she who can stand," or Le-memen, "she with the tongue (*memen*)." Later, as we have already seen in the account of the Maki rites, these names in the case of both boys and girls are changed many times during their lifetime on the occasion of the numerous re-birth rites.

(*b*) *Paying the mother's brother for the child.*

The naming rite is, as a rule, immediately followed by the important ceremony of paying the mother's brother for the child. This is called *ra voli ghini*, "we pay for it" (meaning the child). We have already seen how, in the case of a boy, the mother's brother offers prayers to the ancestors for the child's welfare. Now, after the naming rite, the mother's brother comes to the father's house, and, if the child is an eldest son, the father hands over to him five or six valuable live pigs or, in the case of a daughter or subsequent son, rather less. These pigs are called *e hu-hu ni*,

[1] Atchin *borot won.*

[2] The tree that blossoms with a red flower after its leaves have fallen, and is important in calendrical calculations and in the Maki (see p. 420).

[3] The stick is lighted at a man's fire in the case of a girl as well as for a boy.

[4] Deacon, 4, pp. 239-40.

[5] In Mota before the birth of a first-born child 4 male relatives are invited and transactions occur involving the exchange of 4 (sometimes 8) fathoms of shell-money. On the Twentieth Day after the birth 4 women assemble, who sit in a ring and the child is passed round the circle 4 times, each woman holding it for a moment on each of these 4 occasions (Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 146-8).

[6] Compare Mota *Ro-*, used in the same way (see Codrington, 3, pp. 37, 38).

"she suckles it," meaning that with this price the father pays his wife's brother for the labour the wife has had in suckling his own child. In this way the father indemnifies the mother's patrilineal descent-group for the loss it has suffered through her marriage into another village and the fact that the child now belongs not to the mother's village and clan but to the father's. The fact that the transaction is one affecting not only the individuals immediately concerned but also the whole structure of society is marked by the fact that the mother's brother does not come alone but is accompanied by all the men of his village or Lodge, and that they bring with them message-yams adorned with croton (*ro sas*) and hibiscus (*hakaul*) leaves. When they leave, the child's father in the same way presents them with message-yams similarly adorned.

Though this rite of "buying" a man's child from his wife's family is properly done as described on the Fifth Day, if the father has not a sufficient number of pigs of the requisite grades at his immediate disposal the payment may be postponed till the Thirtieth Day, when the mother first takes the child to the mainland and, if the child is an eldest son, other and much more spectacular rites take place.[1]

Tenth Day

Mother goes to shore to wash.

On the Tenth Day after the birth of her child the mother goes down to the shore to wash, and at the same time throws away the leaves, hitherto preserved, with which she has wiped away the child's excrement. It will be remembered that on this day she may also, if the father wishes, deposit the stump of the umbilical cord in a *na-lil* shell in a hole in the reef.

Thirtieth Day

Mother takes child to mainland.

On the Thirtieth Day the mother, who up till now has remained at home except for the purposes of washing and defaecation, takes the child for the first time to the mainland. The mother's brother may also be paid for the child on this day if the father has not enough pigs with which to pay him on the Fifth.[2]

[1] Nowadays it appears it may be postponed even later. Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 111) gives a circumstantial account of the payment for two children at once, when the wife was far from satisfied with the price paid by her husband and signified her displeasure by decamping for a month to stay with her brother.

[2] The Fifth, Tenth and Thirtieth Days after birth are each the occasion of important rites in South Raga. The woman's "purification" lasts for a month, after which she leaves the village for the first time and goes down to the shore (Tattevin, 1, 1928, p. 400).

In Vao and the other Small Islands this thirty-day period of retreat is repeated symbolically both by the Maki-men immediately after their re-birth (see pp. 399, 402) and in the thirty-day period of seclusion during the rite of Initiation into Manhood (see pp. 510, 521).

Authority of the Mother's People

According to Godefroy, during the whole of this period and during the next few months the mother's people continue at frequent intervals to invade the father's house, whence they visit the women's lodge in the exercise of their "right of inspection" over the mother and child. In the special case cited by him, when the child, in this case a girl, was about three or four months old the mother took it for a short stay in her parents' village, returning with presents of food.[1]

Henceforth "it is the mother's side of the family that exercises all authority over the children. The mother's eldest brother is in fact the legal 'father,'[2] and it is him that the children call *tete*, the word used elsewhere for 'father.'[3] The lack of social respect paid to the real father is shown by the fact that he is actually called by his own children by his personal name, not only in address, but even when his children are speaking of him to others."[4] Thus also "until he is married, a boy regards the family of the mother as his own true family. . . . When the child finds the parental scoldings irksome, he takes refuge with his mother's brother, and may even stay with him several months until his anger cools."[5] The rôle of the mother's brother in this respect is described as one of "guardianship and moderation."[6]

SPECIAL RITES WITH REGARD TO THE ELDEST SON

In addition to the rites described above there are two special rites connected with the birth and dedication of an eldest son. As in the more aristocratic sections of our own society in which primogeniture is a recognised institution, so also in Vao considerable emphasis is laid on the position of the eldest son. Thus, in the tale dealing with the foundation of the Vao Maki, To-wewe, the founder, was one of ten brothers, of whom he himself was the eldest.[7] The pattern of ten brothers is a common one throughout Malekula, closely associated with the decimal arrangement of upright stones on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground during High Maki and of the corresponding sacrificial stakes during Low Maki. It will be seen later how during High Maki each tenth stone may be furnished with a shrine.[8] In Atchin such an arrangement has been stabilised to the extent that the division of each village into Quarters has disappeared and has been replaced by a division into ten families, each

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 111-12.

[2] This of course only means that he exercises certain rights elsewhere exercised by the father.

[3] But see p. 127. The term of reference for the mother's brother in *soguk*.

[4] Godefroy, ibid. p. 109.

[5] Ibid. p. 111. [6] Ibid. p. 114. [7] See p. 284. [8] See p. 425.

having its own Lodge and each being responsible for one shrine. This is in turn mirrored in mythology, in the persons of ten mythical brothers of whom many tales are told in Atchin and in many other parts of Malekula having a similar decimal division of society. These ten brothers in the mythology of Malekula replace the twelve brothers known in that of the Banks Islands, of whom the eldest was Qat.

In these mythological cycles it is sometimes the eldest brother who is the hero, but more often the youngest, by which means, since these tales are often very humorous and not too seriously taken, the natives compensate in imagination for the preponderating influence that the eldest brother exercises in actual life.[1] The same compensatory symbolism occurs also in mythical or semi-mythical accounts involving only two brothers, in which, as in the story of the foundation of the Vao village of Peter-ihi given on p. 79, it is more usually the younger brother who carries off the prize.

Eldest brother called "head of the yam," youngest "base of the yam."

It is thus not surprising to find that, as in our own society, there are special terms not only for the senior brother (the heir) but also for the junior brother (the cadet), though of the two it is only the eldest who is officially recognised in the social order, and the intermediate brothers of a large family are all classed together as an undifferentiated group.

In Vao a whole family of children is figuratively thought of as a yam (*ram*), since, like this staple article of food on which the life of the community primarily depends, it must be tended with great care and labour but amply repays the energy expended on it. Thus, the eldest son is called *bete-ram*, "head of the yam," the youngest is called *kere-ram*, "base of the yam," each of which terms is regarded as a single word and so not needing a definite article before the word *ram*, but all intermediate sons are lumped together and referred to by the phrase *lugha na-ram*, "middle of the yam," which, as it is a phrase and not one word, needs the insertion of the article *na-*.[2]

Office of "eldest son" a patrilineal institution which must be ritually conferred.

In spite of the strong matrilineal element in the kinship system, the title and office of the "eldest son" is, as with us, a patrilineal institution conferred on the eldest son of the father only, but not necessarily on that of the mother. Thus, if a man has two wives, whichever bears him a son first, that son will be the *bete-ram*; the first son of the second wife will no

[1] Compare also the marriage of Tikitikis with the younger of two sisters, recounted on p. 581.

[2] The corresponding terms in North Raga recorded by Rivers (1, vol. I, p. 196) are: eldest son, *tuagai* (allied to *tuaga*, term of respect throughout the New Hebrides, often used for "elder brother" (m.s.) or "elder sister" (w.s.); compare Vao *tutu, toghak*); youngest son, *vabwehui*; intermediate sons, *lologi*, meaning "middle."

longer have any claim to the title. If, on the other hand, a woman bears a *bete-ram* to a man, and this man dies, and she marries a second husband to whom she bears his first son, then this boy is the second husband's *bete-ram*.

Though the position of the eldest son is in this respect similar to that occupied by the eldest son in our own aristocratic society, it differs from this in that in Vao *bete-ram* is an official title which, though unofficially applied from the moment of birth, does not become inalienable till the performance of a special rite called *va-vaghal-ean*, described below.[1] This constitutes the *bete-ram's* official dedication. Without this rite there can be no title. There is, however, always the possibility that if unduly delayed the eldest son will die before the rite has been performed. In this case the actual first-born will never become a *bete-ram* at all, and the rite will then be carried out for the father's second son, who will become the official *bete-ram*. If, on the other hand, the boy dies *after* the dedication rite, no subsequent son can achieve the title. The rite has been done once for all, and cannot be repeated. In this way the status of *bete-ram* differs from that of the European "heir," and it would almost seem as if in this respect the title had reference to a future life in which it is clear that no two people could hold the same position.

Eldest son (or daughter) may not be adopted.

As it affects this life and the social organisation of the island one notable result is that, among a people with whom adoption into another family is not uncommon, a *bete-ram* once dedicated as such may not be adopted.[2]

A man's eldest daughter is called *bete-ram vavine*, "female *bete-ram*," but this is, so far as I know, only a complimentary title entailing no dedication rite and no official rejoicings, though, like the male *bete-ram*, she also may not be adopted.

The Rites

(*a*) *At birth. Raiding the father's house.*

Though the official dedication of an eldest son does not occur till some time after birth, there is, however, a preliminary act of acclamation on the day when he is born, which takes the form of a wholesale raid on the father's premises. When the conch-shell trumpet is blown announcing that the child is a boy, if this boy is the father's eldest son all who hear it break into his house-enclosure, and even into his house (though not into that of the child's mother), and steal anything they can find. This is a recognised procedure with a special name called *ghoro ne-ime*, "raiding the house," and is done only in the case of an eldest son. Like many

[1] See p. 183. [2] See p. 188.

other originally serious performances, however, it has become more ritual than real, my informant telling me with a grin that the father will usually have had the sense to hide anything really valuable that he does not wish to be stolen in the bush or in some other safe place, and to put out a few yams and money-mats in prominent places for the raiders to take.

(*b*) *Va-vaghal-ean. Dedication, accompanied by sham fight.*

The raiding described above, though expressive of public rejoicing at the birth of an eldest son, does not yet constitute the boy as an official *bete-ram.* This is accomplished by the rite called *va-vaghal-ean*, reduplicated nominal form of the verb *vaghal*, "to fight," referring to the sham fight which constitutes the rite. This may be held on any day, from the day after birth to two or even three years after, the length of time elapsing depending on the father's wealth in money-mats, one of which he is bound to present not only to the participants but also to any onlooker who may choose to be present.

The function takes place on the dancing-ground, and opens with the sham fight, in which parties from each Vao village in turn ritually attack the members of the father's village. If the father is a Pete-hul man, all the men of this village will assemble, and the first attack will come from the men of its twin-village, Togh-vanu. The missiles used on both sides are wild oranges (*na-mul*). After an exchange of shots the attackers sit down with the hosts and await the next onslaught. Parties from the remaining Vao villages then attack one by one, in any order, and not in the fixed rotation prescribed in the Maki and other rites. As each party launches its attack, both the attackers and the defenders (the hosts) sing the song sung by To-wewe, founder of the Vao Maki and himself an eldest son, when with his sister-wife he was about to "sacrifice" the two hundred half-kernels of *tawò* nuts till interrupted by their father, who first taught them to sacrifice tusked boars. As will be seen below,[1] the meaning of this song is "the folk of some places are always fighting; I do not want to fight," and indicates the substitution of the sacrifice of boars for human sacrifice which is the essential feature of all forms of the Maki rite.

After all the sham fights are over, the dedication of the new *bete-ram* is sealed by the sacrifice of a single tusked boar (of what grade I did not record) which is then given to the members of one of the other villages (not especially that of the mother) to eat. Yams are laid out in heaps for all those who have taken part, and each participant in the rite, as well as each onlooker, is presented with a money-mat. Proceedings end with the sounding of the sacrificial signal on the gongs in honour of the tusked boar and, through him, of the now officially recognised "eldest son."

[1] See 285.

Godefroy's version of sham fight includes dedication as warrior.

Godefroy, writing nearly twenty years later, briefly mentions this ritual battle, which he calls *vagalian*. His version differs in several respects from mine, and is therefore worth quoting. He says: "As soon as the news of the birth of a son is spread, all the men of middle age, youths and grown boys meet the next morning on the dancing-ground, and a 'small war' begins. The small boys provide the missiles, banyan fruits, nuts of various kinds, green citrons, little oranges, yellow lemons, etc. . . . such as are to be found in groves planted by the side of each ground. A family combat is then held between those in the fifties and the younger members of the clan, during which each hit is greeted with cheers. This play lasts the whole morning, and when the battle is over the clan counts another warrior . . ., a warrior of tender years, it is true, but one who, like the little fish, will grow also if his relatives vigilantly combat the sorcery that will be levelled at him with stronger spells.

" . . . It is easy to understand, from this, how much the birth of a male child is prized; joy radiates from every face, hope is reborn among the elders in seeing their lineage increased with yet another warrior; despite all, the clan will remain strong and able to defend itself against all comers." [1]

Comparative survey showing transformation of the rite from one having to do with kinship to one having to do with war.

While there is no doubt about the atmosphere of rejoicing that accompanies the mock battle, there are several signs that in other respects the rite has changed character considerably during the past twenty years. In the first place, the mock battle itself appears to have lost much, if not all, of its character as a contest between villages (i.e. groups of persons standing in a definite kinship relation one to the other). In the second place, it now seems to take place at the birth of any son, not only the eldest. In the third place, there is the very definite indication that the present object of the rite is to create a new "warrior."

A survey of comparative evidence from neighbouring cultures does, in fact, show that the rite is in process of completely changing its character from one which in the first place was concerned solely with problems of kinship to one in which the uppermost idea is that of introducing the boy into the ritual life of men by allowing him to make his first public sacrifice and at the same time instructing him in the art of war.

As with so many of the rites in this borderland between areas of predominately matrilineal and of predominately patrilineal descent, the geographical distribution of cognate rites taken from north to south at the same time represents the course of its development from its original to its later form.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 40.

(*a*) *Banks Islands* (*general*).

Let us first take Codrington's account of the corresponding rite held in connexion with the birth of an eldest son in the Banks Islands. He says: "There is raised upon that event, a noisy playful fight, *vagalo*, after which the father buys off the assailants with payment of money to the other *veve* [matrilineal moiety], to kinsmen, that is, of the child and his mother." It will be noted that the word *vagalo* is the same, allowing for dialectical variation, as the Vao word *va-vaghal-ean*, and his comment on the meaning of the rite is that "it is hardly possible to be mistaken in taking this fight to be a ceremonial, if playful, assertion of the claim of the mother's kinsfolk to the child as one of themselves, and the father's payment to be the quieting of their claim and the securing of his own position as head of his own family." [1]

(*b*) *Motlav.*

In the account given above, Codrington does not refer specifically to any particular district in the Banks Islands. Rivers, on the other hand, differentiates between the practice followed in the island of Motlav and that followed in Mota, slightly further south. In Motlav, the child remains in the house, and it is conspicuously the father only who stands at the door and is pelted by the mother's brothers with fruit, after which he pays them with shell money.[2] This proves beyond question the correctness of Codrington's interpretation.

(*c*) *Mota.*

It has been seen that there is in Motlav no question of the child itself being put through any kind of initiatory rite, whether as an introduction to warfare or anything else, the issue being one solely between the mother's brothers and the father. In Mota, however, a new element is introduced. The rite here is called *kalo vagalo*. "A little bow is put into the hands of the child and a woman stands with the child in her arms at the door of the house. All the . . . maternal uncles of the child collect outside and shoot at the woman and child with blunted arrows or throw lemons at them. The woman moves the child about so as to diminish the chance of its being struck, and after a time the father puts an end to the business by paying money to the uncles." [3]

(*d*) *Atchin.*

So much for the rite as held in the predominately matrilineal area north of Vao. If we now turn to the predominately patrilineal Small Islands immediately to the south, we find, in Atchin, a rite called *wa-wahalen*, again corresponding with the Vao *va-vaghal-ean* and held, as in

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 231.
[2] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 149.
[3] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 146.

all the above cases, only at the birth of an eldest son, in which considerable changes have occurred. For here, though the element of the sham fight persists, the chief emphasis is laid on the boy's dedication as a warrior. For this reason the rite is put off till he is himself capable of carrying a bow and arrow, that is to say, as nearly as I could compute, till he is about ten years old. The father's house is indeed raided, but this time by the women, who throw water over his bed and for some reason also over one another's. A very modified form of sham fight is carried out at sea between boys and girls ranged on opposing sides, and includes a kind of introduction to seafaring, the eldest son in whose honour the rite is held being placed in a canoe; but the original meaning of the rite is maintained in the fact that he is himself the only member of the conflicting parties who takes no part in the fight. The mother's brothers are indeed paid, but only with mats (poor payment, since here mats are so much more inferior as currency to pigs), and the position to which even they have sunk is shown in the fact that they too are at one moment soused by the women with water while, by a curious reversal of rôles owing to the transformation of the sham fight into a sex battle, they are now themselves actually protected by the fathers. The most complete break-away from the original meaning of the rite occurs, however, when the eldest son, forsaking his passive rôle, for the first time in his life sacrifices a boar in the dancing-ground, and hands it over to his own mother's brother to eat.[1]

(*e*) *Wala.*

In the Small Island of Wala, the next further south, somewhat similar rites are carried out, but this time it is the boy's mother herself who is pelted with missiles while bathing, and the rite is no longer called by any term comparable to the Vao *va-vaghal-ean* but is on the contrary called *melarum*, the name of the dance-cycle performed during the rites, and is itself regarded as a kind of preliminary step giving the right to participate in the Maki.[2]

(*f*) *Matanavat.*

A sham fight on the lines described for Vao has been reported as forming part of the rites gone through at the birth of a "chief's" eldest son at Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula.[3]

(*g*) *South Raga; S.W. and N.W. Malekula.*

Further south, in South Raga, where overt patrilineal descent is balanced by a very strong matrilineal element, special payments are made to the mother's brothers at the birth of an eldest son, but no sham fight

[1] For a full account of this rite in its proper setting see future volume on Atchin.
[2] For a full account see future volume.
[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 42.

has been recorded; [1] nor is there any record of a sham fight in the detailed accounts given by Deacon of birth rites in the still more predominately patrilineal districts of South-West and North-West Malekula.[2]

(h) Conclusion regarding Vao.

There is thus little doubt that the institution of the sham fight over the first-born on Vao, however elaborate it may have become, and in spite of its present use as a dedication rite, had its origin not in the desire to create a warrior, but in the rising power of patrilineal descent still ritually resented by the representatives of the old matriarchal system whom the father still has to indemnify with gifts. Like all rites in the Small Islands, however, it has been transformed by the natives' genius for the creation of dramatic situations into an occasion for fun and display.

ADOPTION

The practice of adoption is very widespread in the New Hebrides and Banks Islands, where in some districts it is carried out in such an extreme form that parents are often powerless to prevent their own new-born child from being adopted at birth even against their own will. No adequate explanation for this to us extraordinary custom has so far been put forward. Rivers ingeniously supposes a previous state of sexual communism among the matrilineal peoples of this area leading to community of children, coupled with the later immigration of a patrilineal people arriving by sea without womenkind and therefore having to assert their right to their own children by wholesale adoption.[3] This theory contains a number of assumptions for which no evidence exists. There is no evidence for the existence of sexual communism nor yet for any lack of women among the patrilineal immigrants, and still less for the lack of "natural" ties between parents and children which he admits that such a theory implies. There is, however, a certain "community" of children in the sense expressed among all primitive peoples by the classificatory system of kinship, namely that the strength of the immediate family tie is modified in a way that does not happen with us by the strong bonds existing between members of the same clan. These bonds vary in strength inversely in proportion to the size of the clan, and in small communities such as those of the New Hebrides are very strong indeed. In this respect Rivers is right in assuming a certain "community" of children. He is right also with regard to the comparatively recent introduction of patrilineal influence. There is no need, however, to seek further and largely hypothetical explanations, for what he does not perceive is that the whole practice of adoption in the extreme form in which it occurs in these islands

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 400.
[2] Deacon, 4, Chapter IX.
[3] Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 136-40, 400-3.

is closely connected with the class systems of kinship, which formerly existed throughout this part of Melanesia, and that its function is to keep a proper balance between the various sections of which society is composed. This fact is implicit in Codrington's statement that in the Banks Islands "childless parents naturally adopt a child of kin to the wife, so that the adopted child occupies the position of one born in the house [i.e. matrilineal moiety]; but if, as sometimes happens, an orphan child from the husband's kin is adopted out of pity, it is brought up as of kin to the wife, and care is taken to conceal the fact of adoption."[1] This is of course a simple case, since in the Banks Islands there are at present only two overtly recognised marriage classes, namely the two matrilineal moieties.

Regulations on Vao.

On Vao, where the marriage sections are more complicated, the rules of adoption as stated to me were that:

(*a*) The adopted child must be of the same generation as the adopter's own children.
(*b*) The choice is usually restricted to the children of a man's own classificatory brothers within his own patrilineal double-village.
(*c*) This rule may be departed from and a child adopted from another double-village only if the real and adopting fathers' mothers are sisters. Thus, men of Pete-hul and Peter-ihi may adopt one another's children only in those cases in which the real and adopting fathers have common maternal grandparents.

Thus, while in certain cases minor kinship adjustments would have to be made, it is seen that in maintaining the balance of social organisation by the device of frequent adoptions the greatest care is taken to make as little disturbance as possible in the kinship structure.

Male and female children may both be adopted, though the adoption of boys is more frequent than that of girls. In no case, however, may an eldest son or eldest daughter (*bete-ram* or *bete-ram vavine*) be adopted.

Occasional return of the body of an old man to the Lodge of his birth.

An interesting sidelight on the close bond of kinship still recognised between an adopted man and the Lodge of his birth, as well as on the importance to a community of its own powerful dead, is seen in the attitude of his kinsfolk to the disposal of his body after death. Thus, if a man of one "Side of the Lodge" adopts the male child of a man of the other "Side" of the same Quarter, and that child dies young, he is buried in his adopting father's house. If, on the other hand, he grows to be an honoured old man (*na-humbe*), there is frequently a discussion as to which

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 25. See also Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 53.

of the two "Sides of the Lodge" he shall be buried in, and he is as often as not taken to be buried in the cemetery belonging to the Lodge of his birth rather than that of his adoption.

The Rites

The act of adoption is called *tor-torean*, from *tore*, to "carry" or "lead by the hand." This contrasts interestingly with the word used for the same rite in Mota, namely *ramo*, of which the primary meaning is to "snatch," since in that island, as in all the Banks Islands of which we have record, not only have the parents no power to prevent the adoption of a new-born child, but those aspiring to adopt actually race to the spot the moment they hear of the birth, and the first to arrive and pay the midwife automatically obtains the child.[1] A somewhat similar race also takes place on Atchin.[2]

Adopting father "retains" child by giving its mother's brother the "communion fowl."

On Vao, however, matters are, as a rule, regulated in a somewhat more seemly manner. There, if a man has no sons or wishes to adopt another either for private reasons or to maintain the balance in the social system, he will go to one of his classificatory "brothers" whose wife is about to deliver and will say to him, "If it is a boy, I will give the fowl to his mother's brother." [3] This refers to the fowl which the father of a new-born male child takes to the mother's brother the day after birth and with which this man makes a communion pudding in his own Lodge when all the members of the Lodge pray for the well-being of the child.[4] This constitutes a definite proposal to adopt. The prospective father may refuse, and cannot in any case accept without the mother's consent. If this consent is withheld, the matter rests there, but no further proposal from another man may be accepted. Considerations as to the character of the adopter do not arise. The parents cannot pick and choose among prospective candidates. It is a matter of wanting the child or not wanting it. If they wish to let it go, it must go to the first applicant.

If the parents of the future child agree, the adopting father a day or two after its birth takes the promised fowl to the mother's brother, who cooks it in a special pudding and, with the male members of his Lodge, makes communion with the ancestors in the manner already described. The mother's brother then makes a return present of a fowl to the adopting father, who performs a similar communion rite in his own Lodge. Though the latter has not yet paid for the child, he by this act officially "retains" it. This rite of retention is called *e tutu ghore*.[5]

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 50-5.
[2] See future volume.
[3] *Ghu lore na-to na-ghan*, "I will give him the fowl to eat."
[4] See p. 177.
[5] The same phrase is used for "retaining" a girl at betrothal (see p. 192).

Child suckled.

As a rule, the child remains with its real mother till weaned. Sometimes, however, if the adopting mother has just lost her own child in childbirth or shortly after, and is still lactating, she will herself immediately take the child and suckle it, carrying it back to its own mother when it cries, until the transference from the real to the adopting mother has been fully effected.

Adopting father indemnifies real father with pigs.

When the child is weaned and finally taken over by the adopting parents, the adopting father indemnifies the real father by giving him a circle-tusker or a re-entrant-tusker,[1] and four or five smaller pigs as payment.

If the child dies before this payment has been made, none is demanded. If, on the other hand, it dies shortly after payment, no claim will be laid to their return.

I have no account as to which of the two families perform the remaining rites connected with birth. It is presumably the adopting father who pays the mother's brother for the child on the Fifth Day, but the real mother who performs the purification rites held on the Tenth and Thirtieth Days. Rites connected with the birth of an eldest son do not come in question, since an eldest child may not be adopted.

[1] For explanation of these technical terms regarding the growth of pigs' tusks, see pp. 242 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

MARRIAGE

Polygamy.

THERE being no chiefs on Vao, or on any of the Small Islands, the practice of polygamy, common throughout Malekula, is not carried to any great lengths. The greatest number of wives possessed by any man at the time of my visit was four. Godefroy, writing nearly twenty years later, says that in 1933 there was only one man with as many as three, and that not more than half, or possibly a third, of the married men have more than one.[1] The rest have two, which is considered by most to be the ideal number. There is, however, no social compulsion to have more than one, and some men of wealth and influence of high Maki rank content themselves with a single wife.

The result of this, and of the high bride-price to which all near paternal relatives (that is to say all members of the suitor's Lodge) contribute, is the late age of marriage, which rarely takes place before the husband is 25. The competition to obtain wives shows itself in the early age at which girls are betrothed (see pp. 192, 193).

There are two main methods by which a man acquires a second wife :

(*a*) by inheritance of the wife of a deceased elder brother; [2]
(*b*) by choice.

In either case an additional wife is a definite asset, not only in providing children, but also in helping in his gardens. Since, when a man feeds at home, and on certain ritual occasions, his wife cooks for him, this aspect of marriage is somewhat cynically expressed by the phrase that a man with two wives is "master of two cooks."

THE RITUAL OF MARRIAGE

I give here two accounts of the marriage rites, a short one recorded by myself and a longer one by Godefroy.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 134.

[2] See p. 135. Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 34) asserts that it is usually the deceased's elder brother who, as chief provider of the bride-price, usually inherits his deceased younger brother's wife. This was, at the time of my visit, forbidden, and if it is allowed now, must be the result of a break-up of the old kinship regulations.

Author's Account

Betrothal. Young girl proposed for by the suitor's parents.

It is usual for a girl to be betrothed to a man, or literally "retained" (*e tutu ghore*)[1] by him, when she is in about her sixth or seventh year. A man chooses the girl he wants to marry, but negotiations are carried out exclusively between the respective parents, the girl herself not being consulted. The proposal is made by the suitor's father or mother, one of whom goes to the girl's father and says, "Wouldn't it be a good thing if my son were to marry your daughter?" If the father agrees, an appointment is made for two or three days later, when the suitor's parents (still not the suitor himself) return, bringing with them a single pig, of any size up to that of a crescent-tusker, and ten or twenty money-mats. By this payment the girl is officially "retained." The new set of kinship terms resulting from the proposed alliance are immediately adopted, and at every subsequent feast or ceremony held in their respective villages the suitor and the girl's parents must present to one another the customary pigs, as if the girl were already married. Needless to say, the balance of gain is strongly on the side of the prospective parents-in-law.

Bride-price.

When the girl has arrived at the proper age, negotiations are entered into concerning the bride-price. The pigs which the suitor proposes to pay are displayed to the girl's father, who usually objects that they are not many or good enough. The suitor then produces others. In the haggling that follows the prospective father-in-law has completely the whip-hand. If he is still dissatisfied with the proposed bride-price he will say, "Never mind, my daughter can wait," and the suitor and his family are sent scouring the country, to bargain or beg for yet further pigs from their friends. They cannot protest or threaten not to take the girl away, for they would then lose not only the pigs paid at betrothal, but also all those presented to her father at every subsequent rite.

Bride left with her husband. Payment.

At last the price is agreed upon, and the suitor's parents (still not the suitor himself) go to the girl's father and appoint a day when he shall come and leave his daughter with her new husband. This is called *e tulo ni*, "he conducts her." On the appointed day the girl's Lodge-brothers come to the suitor, bringing a basket of yams for each pig that is to be paid. Returning home, they oil and decorate the bride and she

[1] Compare the name of the betrothal rite recorded by Codrington from Oba and called *huhu vuhe goroe*, meaning "to give her suck with a drinking coconut and secure her" (Codrington, 3, p. 241).

partakes of a farewell pudding cooked by her mother.[1] Then, with her face painted red and herself now carrying a basket of yams, she is escorted to the house of the bridegroom. The pigs are handed over one by one without ceremony, beginning with the smallest, and distributed among the bride's relatives. If the last and biggest has attained the size of re-entrant-tusker, a conch-shell trumpet is blown. The bride is now left with her husband. Formerly he would have already built a house for her, but with the incipient disintegration of native culture he is now, as a rule, too lazy, and the couple live together either in his own house or in that of his father while he slowly constructs a new one.

Godefroy's Account

Godefroy's account [2] is longer and more graphic, and, while omitting some of my facts, contains others omitted in my record.

Words used for "marry."

To express the act of marrying they use a word, the root of which is common in almost all dialects, namely *lage*, together with the corresponding substantives *lagean*.[3] This is the true word meaning "to marry" or "marriage." In Vao there is a second word, which does not appear to go to the bottom of the matter as does the first, but which indicates rather the symbolic gesture, namely *tuka*, "lead into the house" (a native takes a woman into his house only in the case of marriage). When one hears the words "*Mal-kali mo tuka vavine*," literally "Mal-kali has led a woman," everyone knows that this means "Mal-kali has just been married, he has taken a woman."

Betrothal.

This is how the natives perform the marriage contract. Let us take a typical case. Melte-sale is a young man 18 or 20 years old; his parents have decided that the time has come for him to marry. They themselves choose the spouse, a girl who has been nubile for a year or two. They make their decision known to the young man. If he makes no objection, this is a sign that the choice pleases, and that he agrees.[4]

[1] Speiser (3, p. 295) states that if the bride is still very young she is provided with false breasts made of painted coconut shells. False breasts made in this way are worn by young men taking the part of women in the *na-leng* mumming plays described on p. 338 of this volume, but I never heard of them being worn by young brides. Speiser states also that the bride's mother on this occasion places a yam on the girl's lap as a fertility symbol.

[2] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 117-21. Paragraph headings and footnotes are mine.

[3] My spelling of these words is *lagh* and *laghean* (see p. 133). Cf. Mota *lag*, "to marry"; *lagia*, "marriage."

[4] Elsewhere, however, and contrary to my information, Godefroy says, "It is the mother's brother who makes it his business to find his sister's son a wife, whom he himself chooses."

The ceremony of betrothal consists in a presentation by the young man's parents to the girl's relatives of several pigs and three or four pounds in English money,[1] saying, "*Kam tuto gore*," [2] "We have retained her." The news immediately spreads, and from this moment the betrothed girl becomes taboo; she is now under the vigilant watch of her future husband and of his parents. The betrothal is always accompanied by a feast.

Date fixed for the wedding. Pigs and yams collected.

Several months later, a date is fixed after the coming yam harvest, when the marriage ceremony is to take place. Meanwhile, the young man's clansmen, his father, father's brothers, his own brothers, his paternal cousins, toil to collect the twenty or so tusked boars and the thirty or forty pounds which will be necessary to pay for the girl.[3] On their side, the girl's relatives go to their gardens every day to dig up the desired number of yams—two or three hundred. These yams are brought to the young man's village and stored on great yam-tables constructed from bamboos in the form of a platform; this platform rests on stakes, about three feet from the ground, in order to preserve the yams from the ravages of the pigs which roam over the island. The young man's people also dig yams, but in smaller quantity.

Preparations for the wedding. Decoration of yam poles.

One or two weeks before the appointed day, the men, youths and boys set about energetically cutting bamboo poles, to which each individual's share of the yams will be attached. These bamboo poles, about twelve feet long, are garlanded with wild flowers, dark red, with strong, almost fadeless petals, called *lok-lok*.[4]

Each works at his allotted task, and the preparations for the ceremony advance. All of a sudden, it is announced that the great occasion is fixed for the day following the next full moon; there are only two days left. Orders are given to keep the pigs ready for delivery; others are given to complete the decorating of the bamboo poles. These famous bamboo poles are arranged thus. The young men, with a hibiscus flower or two jauntily stuck into their hair on one side of their heads, carry the poles to the front of the husband's house; one end is cut so as to form a fork. An arm's length below the fork are attached two or three yams, according to the rank of him, or of those, for whom they are intended; then, between the yams and the fork, they tie on the red *lok-lok* flower; to this

[1] Replacing the ceremonial mats (*mangau*) still in use during my investigations.

[2] Godefroy's *tuto gore* is equivalent to my *tutu ghore* (see p. 192).

[3] Compare the ten pigs said by Harrisson (2, p. 26) to compose the bride-price at Matanavat. But this is a vague statement, as neither the rank nor value of the pigs is given.

[4] Amaranthus.

are added branches of many-coloured crotons. When the toilet is finished, the bamboos are arranged regularly leaning against the branch of a tree, the decorated end on top, and the other resting on the ground. If the relatives are numerous, thirty or forty such trophies may be counted. In front of this array of bamboos and lying on the ground are fifty or sixty packets of yams carefully wrapped in dry banana leaves also decorated with *lok-lok* flowers.

Three-quarters of these yams are furnished by the bride's relatives. When everything has been so arranged, the view is an enchanting one from the natives' point of view, especially when a bright sun brings out the lively colouring of the crotons and *lok-lok* flowers. . . .

Morning of wedding day. Pigs for bride-price assembled.

All these preparations take place during the morning. There is a ceaseless and excited coming and going while the married women bring loads of yams and the young men decorate the bamboos. Now the sun is at its zenith; now is the time for the adult men. They are full of affairs; some cut the stakes to which the pigs are to be tied, while others, more numerous, lead in the "lord pigs," [1] dragging them by a rope tied round one of their fore-feet (which the natives call "arms"). There are numberless pigs, and they raise every possible obstruction on the way; they seem in a bad humour: doubtless they have been well lodged, well fed, and now they have to change masters. Some waddle along in a leisurely way, as if used to the manœuvre; they have had to change hands so many times! What odds can it make once more or less! . . .

At last they arrive in the enclosure in front of the bridegroom's house, and are tied up here in the shade, for they detest the full heat of the sun.

As soon as the masters of ceremony have ascertained that the agreed bride-price in pigs is assembled, they begin to set out the pigs in the correct order. The first stake, that nearest the house, is destined for the most valuable boar, usually one of which the tusks have not only made a complete circle, but are also three-quarters of the way round towards completing a second; such a tusker has a marketable value of £50 or £60 in English money; this pig will go to the bride's father or her nearest living male relative in the paternal line. After this prize follow six *bouar*,[2] boars of which the tusks have made one complete circle and the third of another; each of these is worth £20. After this, four or five pigs of lesser value are

[1] I.e. consecrated tusked boars of high rank (see p. 259).

[2] Evidently the *bo-ware* of my list (see p. 243). The enormous increase in the value of the bride-price that has occurred during the past twenty years is commented on in Layard, 5, p. 349. Elsewhere he mentions a girl of 14 whose bride-price consisted of twenty-three tuskers, of which one was a circle-tusker valued at £40, another was worth £16 and the rest £1 to £4 each. He calculated that the total value of pigs was about £80, and of the yams about £5. (Letter to his mother, dated August 24th, 1925.)

aligned at the foot of the poles; lastly, a good two dozen young pigs, of no great value, lousy, ill-made, etc., make their way with a debauched air towards the remaining very inferior stakes which are just good enough for them; they will soon be delivered, without ceremony, to the bride's young cousins and more distant relatives.

While the more lordly tuskers are being carefully tied up, the crowd of witnesses is already pressing forward towards the front of the enclosure. All admire the great boars, tuskers of noble rank, discussing whence they have come, for one came from a distant isle and called for the manning of a great whale-boat [1] with a crew of twelve.

The rows of bamboos, with their bunches of yams and their bouquets of red *lok-lok* flowers, standing almost vertically with their heads garlanded with croton leaves whose colours shine brilliant under the noonday sun, form a triumphal background to this brave scene. . . . The assembled company awaits, in festive mood, the solemn moment which is about to occur.

Arrival of bride, with face painted vermilion, accompanied by female maternal relatives.

Suddenly, at one end of the enclosure, the assembled onlookers part to make way for someone. What can it be? The rest of the crowd, kept in their places by the row of pigs and yams, lean forward to look; they have no need to move; it is the bride, with her family; a young girl moving with easy gait and natural demeanour, just a little proud at the sight of such wealth of which she is the cause, advances towards a spot reserved for her. Her whole face is painted a bright vermilion, the supreme pigment, expression of the most perfect beauty. . . . She is followed by a suite, being accompanied by her mother, her grandmother,[2] her aunts, her cousins, her sisters and several friends; all these seat themselves around her. . . .

Bride-price distributed among bride's relatives.

At the same moment, as if obeying a signal, the bride's male relatives rise and form a compact group around her. Then the bridegroom's eldest brother advances and, untying the smallest pig from the row, calls out the name of one of the bride's relatives. All the bride's relatives receive in this manner part of the payment for her, and each acknowledges that he has been given a pig of the correct grade according to his degree of kinship with her. The presentation begins with the pigs of least value, for the sake of leaving those of noble grade to the last. As each takes into his hand the rope to which his captive property is tied, all the male relatives depart to their own houses, each one dragging his share in the prize by its foot. It is now the women's turn. To them are

[1] Substitute for the old sea-going canoe (see p. 456).
[2] Godefroy's use of kinship terms is not very exact.

distributed—each one being called by name—the yams piled on the ground. The tall decorated bamboo poles are assigned to those families which are most closely related to the bride. Each family takes its departure as soon as it has received its share; this filing past of guests presents an interesting and animated scene . . . the rite has cast an air of festivity both over the scene and over the people; a traditional act has been performed and no hitch has occurred; the people are pleased.

Ancestors.

"The ancestors, if they see us, will be satisfied with us, because we have accomplished it well." This is the question after every rite: "Are the ancestors satisfied with what we have just done?" "Yes, because we have done as they did." Their greatest spiritual pleasure comes from this declaration: "Our ancestors are satisfied with us because we do as they did: we continue [their work]."

Bride's female maternal relatives invited to wedding feast, but refuse, and leave.

While each one is returning to his home, dragging his pig or carrying her load of yams, while the young boys gather the gay flowers that have fallen from the tall bamboos to adorn their heads, while the noise of the crowd grows distant and becomes diffused, what has become of the pretty wife, the young bride with her scarlet paint, whom the sight of so much riches just now made so proud? And her ladies-in-waiting, where are they? Neither she nor her little court of grave matrons have moved; they are still sitting in a circle in the same place. But here comes a crowd to visit them. These are the mothers, the grandmothers,[1] the aunts, the sisters and the female cousins of the young husband who come to invite them to a grand wedding feast this same evening. Thereupon, those seated all rise; the bride's mother makes her excuses, the grandmothers and aunts likewise; have they not to prepare supper for their lords and masters, and that now?

The young wife now takes tender leave of her mother, and of all her maternal relatives; tears flow on all sides without the slightest effort; they all press her hands, cover the young wife with touching and sincere caresses, and finally go.

Bride formally appropriated by husband's clan.

Then the husband's relatives surround the young girl, and lead her in front of the house of a widow,[2] closely related to the husband. It is this act of appropriation of the newly married girl by her husband's clan, an act to which she herself consents, which signifies her acquiescence in the new state of life imposed upon her; soon she will give open proof of

[1] See note 2, p. 196.

[2] It is not clear who this relative is. Probably the wife of a deceased father's brother or father's father.

her consent by drying her tears and preparing to take a joyful part in the wedding feast.

This willing participation in the feast, together with the quiet sleep the following night, which she passes in the married women's quarters,[1] are the final and clear expression of the complete acceptance of her married state by the young wife and her maternal relatives; . . . the young girl has gracefully accepted the feast which has been prepared, and she has passed a good night with her new female relatives. . . . The marriage is now a fact.

The wedding feast. Men and women eat separately, but within sight of one another.

The wedding feast is held in the women's quarters already mentioned. The young husband makes sure that all is well there, and then turns his attention to the corresponding feast for the male element of his clan, his father's brothers, his brothers, and his male paternal cousins. When all is ready, he cries "*Ra gen-gan te*," "Let us eat." The men sit down around their *na-longk* [pudding], made of yams and pork; the women, on their side, do the same. During the meal the husband casts frequent glances towards his young wife. He notes how modestly she sits, taking her part in the feast with ease and complete lack of shyness; so all goes well, and he is happy.[2]

Dance from nightfall to midnight. Bride sleeps with married women for the next month, after which she goes to her husband.

At nightfall there is a dance,[3] and towards midnight each one goes home to sleep. Then the married women take the young bride to their Lodge, and with them she spends the night. For a whole month she continues to sleep with them, after which the husband leads his young wife to a new house he has constructed for her, close to his own, the two roofs touching one another.

AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT (*continued*)

Bride returns home for five days.

On the fifth or tenth day after the marriage [4] the husband and his friends conduct the young wife back to her father's house, presenting him with a small pig. This pig is called *e werehi bang-ne-im*, of which the literal

[1] It is not clear what this means, whether the women's Lodge, or the house of some elderly female relative, wife of a member of the clan.

[2] This whole paragraph is very obscure. Men eat together in their Quarter- or Family-Lodges, from which no woman's house can be seen. Can it be that the writer is here referring to a feast in the Mission grounds?

[3] The type of dance is not specified, nor where it takes place.

[4] I would still [illegible]

translation is "he hands her back to her own Quarter." Here she remains five days, at the end of which time her father brings her back again to her husband, bringing with him a basket of yams in return for each of the pigs which made up the bride-price.

ADULTERY

A woman taken in adultery runs the risk of being killed on the spot, if her husband is so minded, and no one will blame him. Godefroy describes a former form of revenge: "A small pebble of lava would be made red-hot, and used to brand the unhappy woman's body; nine times out of ten, this would result in her death." [1]

A male adulterer is similarly liable, in principle, to be punished by death by the relatives of the outraged woman. . . . As a rule he escapes by payment of a heavy fine to the injured husband, in the form of a tusked boar.

TREATMENT OF WIVES WHO RUN AWAY

As a rule, marriages are stable, especially after the birth of children. There are, however, in the earlier years of marriage, fairly frequent cases in which the wife runs away, either on account of the husband's cruelty, or simply because she prefers someone else. When such flights from the home become more than the husband feels he can put up with, three remedies are possible:

(1) He may forcibly detain her by physical means.
(2) She may take refuge with another man.
(3) She may return to her own people, and, ultimately, a divorce may be arranged.

(1) *Forcible detention by physical means.*

Forcible detention is among the ugly features of Small Island culture, frequently alluded to among white men as a proof of the despicable nature of the natives. So far as my experience goes, such cases are rare, and could not take place if the wife's near relatives were alive and exercised effectively their right of interference.[2] One of the stock stories one hears is that of a man hamstringing his wife. Godefroy records yet another method:

"Rorin-mal is well known for his ungovernable temper; he has two wives, Le-mbe and Le-rak-rak, each of whom is jealous of the other. When Le-mbe is in the ascendant, Le-rak-rak sulks and disappears for days. Last year Rorin-mal, tired of her continued flights, resolved on a method of obtaining, with regard to her, a few months' peace. Unwinding a roll of plaited coconut sinnet, he seized her, tied her hands

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 127.

[2] See p. 175.

behind her back, and in this way suspended her from the ridge-pole of her house. Then, tying her knees together, he lit a fire under her feet. Her agonised cries brought the neighbours running to see what had happened. The husband was in no way put out by the publicity, and, just as methodically as he would roast the side of a pig, proceeded to roast her knees after he had finished with her feet. . . . Then he sat down on a stone and lit a cigarette . . . saying, 'She is always running away, and I have no other means of putting a stop to it.' . . . But he allowed her own relatives to put an end to her sufferings by tending to the sores made by the fire." [1]

Such cases, as I have said, are rare, though mild chastisement, such as beating or throwing stones, is common and is not regarded as of public concern.

(2) *The wife places herself under the protection of one of her husband's relatives.*

An intermediate stage between successful maltreatment and straightforward divorce is illustrated by the following type of scene, which is somewhat less rare:

"Owing to some domestic quarrel, a woman has taken flight from the conjugal hearth. For several days she wanders from clan to clan; in the morning she may be seen sitting on the sea-shore, wild eyed and sullen; towards evening she may be observed standing on the reef seeking shellfish with which to satisfy her hunger at nightfall. Everyone on the island knows that she has had a disagreement with her husband and has run away. One of her husband's near relatives may decide to shelter her. In such a case he will approach her in a friendly way and say, 'Come with me; come into my enclosure.' If the woman is willing, she makes her way to her protector's house. From the moment she gets there, she starts helping the woman whose consort she will henceforward be. Everyone says, '*Meltek mo tuka*,' 'Meltek [2] has taken her, for himself.'

"For the first few months that she spends in his enclosure Meltek will not touch her; he will confine his attentions to caring for her and treating her as the friend of his legitimate wife. After a time, it becomes necessary for the situation to be cleared up. The two men meet: if they prove reasonable, matters are amicably arranged. On the one hand, Meltek, on receiving compensation for his trouble, may return the woman to her rightful owner. On the other hand, if the husband is tired of his wife's flights, or if in the end her protector is so disposed, then

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 126-7. Speiser (1, p. 70), who visited the island before Godefroy, mentions a similar case. Many such stories can be traced back to a single exceptional incident. Godefroy hastens to add: "Very different is the case of Melteronge. He also has bought two wives. Since they are both sweet-tempered and peaceful, he lives in peace with both of them and with the eight children they have presented to him."

[2] A Maki title (see p. 289) held by most adult men.

a divorce will be arranged, and Meltek, having paid an agreed sum in pigs, finds himself 'at the head' of a second wife." [1]

(3) *She runs home to her own people.*

The most usual solution of marital troubles between young people is for the young wife to run home repeatedly to her own people, resulting, if she persists, in divorce, though sometimes even this may lead to fighting, as seen on p. 613.

DIFFICULTIES WITH OVER-GRASPING PARENTS-IN-LAW

In addition to the motives for divorce stated above there is another, from the husband's side, namely the burden of unreasonable or over-grasping parents-in-law. One of the everlasting complaints of all Small Island natives is the permanent state of indebtedness in which a man stands towards his wife's parents. He not only pays them a huge sum in pigs and mats as bride-price. He also pays for his betrothal, for each child at birth and later to "buy it back" [2] from its maternal relatives. He is, moreover, obliged to present his wife's parents or brother with tusked boars of considerable value at every rite that either he or they perform. This obligation, based on the recognition of matrilineal descent which the existing emphasis on overt patrilineal descent has by no means overcome, is looked on by the natives as one of those galling tricks of fate which it is impossible to escape. The fact that he is assisted, particularly with regard to betrothal and bride-price, by his clansmen is no comfort, since he in turn, when they marry, must assist them. The consequent eternal borrowing of and trading for pigs creates wheels within wheels of indebtedness and the reverse, detailed accounts of which will be given in future volumes. Since pig currency differs from most other forms of currency in that the pig is an animal which may or may not grow longer and longer tusks, and since, however exactly graded, the grades merge into one another by slow growth, the latitude for bargaining and misunderstandings is very great. It thus comes about that the claims of the wife's parents may be just bearable, or they may be so grasping as to make the burden of a man's obligation even more than the best wife is worth. In this case, in order to get rid, not of his wife, but of her people, he may seek a divorce.

DIVORCE

The procedure for divorce is, theoretically, simple, involving nothing more complicated than the return of the bride-price to the aggrieved husband. But in fact the dice are heavily loaded against the husband. In the

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 125-6.

[2] See p. 178.

first place, if he does recover the whole bride-price, he loses the "interest" on it in the form of the amount that the pigs paid would in the meantime have grown. In the second place, there is no hope of the return of the pigs paid for betrothal. In the third place, though it is true that the wife's parents make counter-presentations in return for those made by the son-in-law during the various Maki and other rites, these counter-presents in no way equal those which they receive, and the balance is never repaid. In the fourth place, the bride-price, though theoretically repaid in full, is as a rule only paid back in part, the pigs composing it having been divided among her paternal relatives, who see no reason why they should return them.

So, though divorce is easy, it is an expensive matter, involving such loss in pigs that a man thinks more than twice before he goes in for it, and its occurrence after the birth of a child is rare.[1]

[1] Godefroy (1, 1933, pp. 109-14) cites several cases of divorce with particular reference to the reactions involved between the matrilineal and patrilineal elements in the kinship system. These are, however, recent cases complicated by the incipient breakdown of the kinship system due to white influence among missionised natives, and are the only ethnological material published by Godefroy which is not included in this work.

PART III

Ritual Life

CHAPTER IX

MYTHOLOGY

MYTHOLOGICAL BEINGS

(*A*) TA-GHAR

Founder of ideal village organisation, equivalent to Tagaro and Tangaroa.

WE have already met with the creator-deity Ta-ghar who caused the falling of the *memel* fruit which, splitting on the root of the *tapol* tree, gave rise to the creation of the first man and woman and to the alleged "perfect" organisation of Pete-hul.

The Atchin form of the name is Ta-har, used in the designation of such striking natural formations as the Malekulan promontory called Tsüngon Ta-har, "Ta-har's lip," jutting out into the sea between Atchin and Vao.

This deity is clearly identical with the beneficent sky creator-god Tagaro, who is the supreme deity in Maewo, Oba and North Raga, and whose home is said to have been on Maewo.[1] These names correspond closely with those of the Polynesian god known variously as Tangaroa (in New Zealand), Tangaloa (in Samoa and Tonga), Tanaoa (in the Marquesas), Ta'aroa (in Tahiti) and Kanaloa (in Hawaii), and although his attributes differ considerably in each of these groups it will be seen later that the beliefs regarding him in the Small Islands combine most of the elements thus found scattered throughout these Polynesian islands.[2]

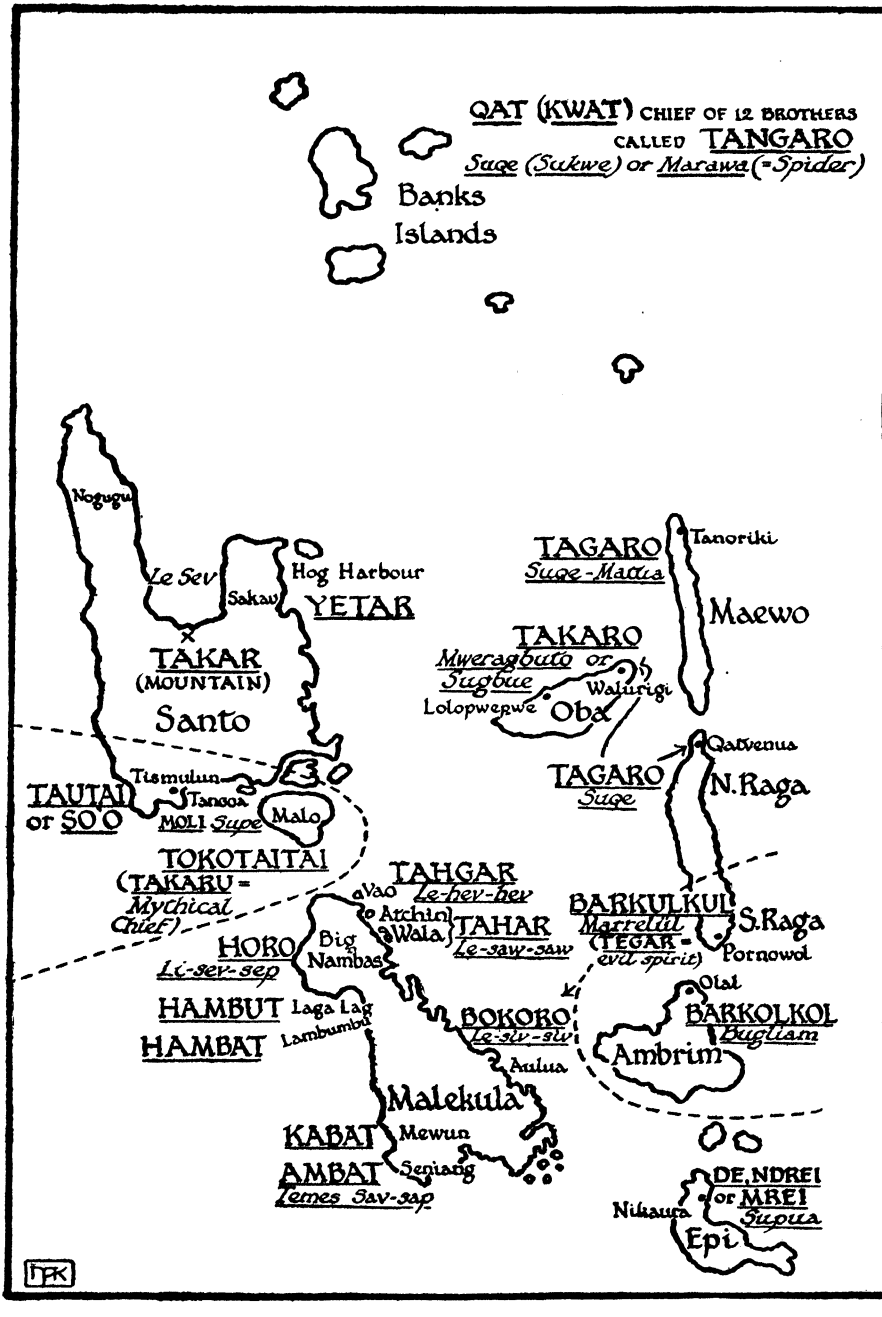
Other forms of the name.

In Hog Harbour, on the west coast of Santo, we find a curtailed form of the same word in the name used for the sky-deity Yetar, and in that of the mountain called Takar, where the dead of that region are said to go.[3] In neighbouring regions, where the sky-god goes by other names, the same name is used in various ways for less noble beings. Thus, in Malo, where there is a conflict of cults represented by a belief in two separate sky-worlds, the supreme deity in one is Tokotaitai, but the other is said to be the dwelling-place of Takaru, who is here regarded as having the status

[1] See Codrington, 3, p. 168. Harrisson tells of another home of Tagaro on Mount Lombenbenon, Oba (2, p. 395). The Small Islanders, however, regard Maewo as his home.

[2] For general summary and discussion of these Polynesian attributes see Williamson, pp. 238-43.

[3] Deacon, 3, pp. 463-5.



MAP VI

Sketch-map of the Northern New Hebrides and Banks Islands, showing distribution of deities of the Tagaro-Kwat-Ambat cycle (in capitals underlined), and the associated Guardians of the Dead (in italics underlined). (*N.B.*—For TAHGAR read TAGHAR.)

of "big chief." [1] A little further west, at Tismulun on the south coast of Santo, he disappears altogether, and the deity is called variously Tautai or So'o.[2] At the other extremity of this area, in South Raga, we meet with yet another deity, Barkulkul, but the name of Tagaro still survives in the form of *tegar*, used to designate an evil spirit.[3] The Barkulkul area spreads to North Ambrim (Olal), where the name of the deity is Barkolkol.[4] In the Aulua district on the east coast of Malekula his name is Bokoro.[5]

LIST OF REFERENCES TO MAP VI

Banks Islands.	Codrington, 3, pp. 154 ff.
Maewo.	,, ,, p. 168.
Oba: Walurigi.	,, ,, p. 171.
Lolopwepwe.	Suas, 1912 (and Codrington, 3, p. 170).
Raga: Qatvenua.	Codrington, 3, p. 169.
Pornowol.	Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 329, 389 ff.
Ambrim.	Suas, 1911, pp. 906 ff.
Epi.	Capell, 1, p. 65.
Santo: Hog Harbour.	Deacon, 3, pp. 463-4.
Tismulun.	,, ,, p. 488.
Tangoa.	Capell, 1, p. 54. *Moli tanume* and *supetanume* are terms applied to "chiefs higher and lower of the spirits."
Malo.	Paterson, p. 27.
Malekula: Vao, Atchin, Wala	Layard, p. 205.
Big Nambas.	Harrisson, 1, p. 113.
Lambumbu.	Deacon, 4, p. 637.
Lagalag.	,, ,, p. 638.
Mewun.	,, ,, pp. 628 ff.
Seniang.	,, ,, pp. 554 ff., 617 ff.
Aulua.	Leggatt, pp. 701, 707.

The Big Nambas Horo.

Among the Big Nambas, the deity is called Horo.[6] This name raises an interesting point, since it appears to be equivalent either to that of the Society Islands god Oro, or else to the Atchin Ta-har, but without the syllable *ta-*. While fully aware of the numerous suggestions that have been put forward by various authors regarding the provenance of the

[1] Paterson, p. 27. I am indebted for this reference to the Rev. A. Capell (see also Capell, 1). Another account, possibly from a different part of Malo, speaks of Taharo as being regarded in this island as a deity to whom prayers and offerings are secretly made, and sacrifices performed on a stone hidden in the devotee's house (Donau, quoted by Speiser, 3, p. 362).

[2] Deacon, 3, p. 488.

[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 389 ff. Though usually evil, these spirits are, however, sometimes good. Tattevin quotes the expression *tegar te tu*, "let the spirit be favourable," adding that some are regarded as tutelary spirits (ibid. p. 392).

[4] Suas, 1911, pp. 906 ff.

[5] Leggatt, pp. 701, 707.

[6] Harrisson, 1, p. 113.

names and of the beliefs associated with Tangaroa in Polynesia, ranging from Micronesia to South China, it may be worth pointing out that in many parts of the Northern New Hebrides, *ta-* is a personal prefix meaning "man of." Thus, in the language of Atchin, with which I am most familiar, *ta-Ba* means "man of Oba," and *ta-Mbü* "man of Ambrim," or, as the natives put it when speaking pidgin-English, "man Oba" and "man Ambrim."[1] In the same way, the familiar Melanesian word for "ghost," which in Vao is *ta-mat* and in Atchin *ta-mats*, is simply the word *mat* or *mats* meaning "dead" prefixed by the same personal particle *ta-*. So also, in Malo, where *nunu* means "shadow" or "reflexion," *ta-nunu* means "soul."[2] It is of course true that the personal prefix *ta-* does not occur in Polynesia, but if, as is held by more than one authority, including Dr. Haddon, the belief in Tangaroa went to Polynesia *via* Melanesia, it is nevertheless possible that the original name of the god may have been akin to the existing Big Nambas form Horo, and that the prefix *ta-* became attached to it in Melanesia but was unrecognised as such in Polynesia, whither the word Tangaroa proceeded as a single word. In the Banks Islands, where Kwat takes the place of Tagaro, we find a form closely allied to Big Nambas Horo in the name of Kwat's mother, Kwatgoro.[3]

Myths connected with this deity mirror social organisation.

Without wishing to stress this suggestion unduly, let us return to an examination of the problems connected with the belief in this deity in the area dealt with in this book. We have already seen how, in Vao, Ta-ghar created the first man and woman, and is held responsible for the "perfect" organisation of Pete-hul into four Quarters, and how this myth is paralleled by the creation by Takaro of four groups in the village of Logueguea on Oba.[4] It is thus clear that the legends concerning him are closely bound up with the existing organisation of society in areas in which they are told. The more usual number associated with this deity is ten, seen in the ten brothers he is said to have in North Raga,[5] and the ten sons which he is said to have had on Oba.[6] On Atchin, the corresponding deity Ta-har is closely associated with ten brothers who correspond with the division of each village, for ritual purposes, into ten families, and there can be little doubt the number ten associated with Tagaro in North Raga and Oba has a similar connexion with the organisation of society there too.

[1] Thus also, with the vowel-change invariably occurring in the Small Islands before certain combinations of letters, *to-Vao* means "man of Vao," *to-Tsan* (in the Vao language *to-San*) "man of Atchin," *to-Wala* "man of Wala," *to-Rano* "man of Rano," *ti-Era* "man of Raga," etc.

[2] Ivens, 4, p. 45.

[3] Codrington, 3, p. 156.

[4] See p. 163.

[5] Codrington, 3, p. 169.

[6] Ibid. p. 171. According to Suas, 1912, pp. 45-7, he makes ten men of clay. One of these he transforms into a woman by knocking off his genitals; this woman becomes the mother of two sons, representing the two matrilineal moieties.

Kwat the "chief Tangaro."

In the Banks Islands the place of Tagaro is taken by Kwat, said to have been the oldest of twelve brothers, probably indicating the presence at some former date of a twelve-section system of kinship in these islands.[1] Of these twelve brothers, all but himself are called Tangaro.[2] This is again the same word as Tagaro and Tangaroa,[3] and it would thus appear that the title Kwat probably means what the word *kwat* does in ordinary Mota speech, namely "head," here used in the sense of "chief." The title Kwat would in this case mean "the chief Tangaro." [4]

Kabat and Ambat.

Returning to the west coast of Malekula, Deacon further showed the equivalence of Kwat, both philologically and with regard to their respective attributes, with the Kabat of Mewun and the corresponding Ambat of Seniang,[5] whose names, as Dr. Ivens has pointed out, should properly be written Ka-Bat and A-Mbat.[6] To these may be added the Ha-Mbat of Lambumbu and the Ha-Mbut of Lagalag. It would therefore appear certain that the creator-deities bearing both types of name, Ta-garo (Ta-ngaroa) and Kwat (Ka-Bat, A-Mbat), found over an area stretching from the Banks Islands to South-West Malekula, represent two phases of a single culture complex.[7]

All the evidence points to the fact that this deity is a late-comer both in the Northern New Hebrides and in the Banks Islands. In all these islands the belief in him is accompanied by a rich mythology. Apart from being the creator, and giver of all good things, he is especially connected

[1] See p. 150. [2] Codrington, 3, p. 156.

[3] The full Polynesian form of the word is found in Mota in the name given to certain stones used to protect property, which are called *tangaroa*, "a name no doubt the same as that of the brothers of Qat" (Codrington, 3, p. 184). These stones are said to be the abode of a *vui* ("spirit," Codrington, 2). The word *tangaroa* is also applied to a certain kind of shark which is "a sort of familiar spirit, or the abode of one" (Codrington, 3, p. 187). The word *tangaro* is used for "a morsel of food or drop of kava . . . thrown or poured for a ghost" (Codrington, 2).

[4] Dr. Ivens has also noted the connexion between Kwat and the word *kwat* meaning "head," but thinks the connexion is with hats and masks rather than with the actual head (Ivens, 2 and 3, pp. 157 ff.).

[5] Deacon, 4, pp. 623, 632. The word Ambat is applied in the first place to a single being, and in the second to five brothers, of whom he was the chief. The Kabat was also one of five brothers. He had two sons, who in turn procreated ten stones, which are regarded as the ancestors of the ten families of the Mewun village of Melpmes, where the Kabat lived.

[6] Ivens, 2. The Seniang word for "head" is *mbat(u)*. Dr. Ivens regards Kwat or Mbat as being a generic name for the people of Perry's "archaic civilization" (Ivens, 3, p. 158). For the interchangeability of the sounds *kw* and *mb* see p. 219, footnote 3.

[7] Tagaro's special place of abode on Maewo was called Hombio (Codrington, 3, p. 168). It may or may not be significant that the home of the Ambat of Seniang was the island of Hombi and that the homes of the dead recorded by Deacon in West and South-West Malekula were Embw (Seniang), Iambi (Lambumbu) and Hambi (Lagalag).

with tusked pigs and conch-shell trumpets, but above all he is, in his terrestrial aspect, associated with the sea. He is represented constantly as sailing in a canoe, and in almost all, if not in all, areas where he is known, he is represented as having finally sailed away over the horizon to an unknown destination. In his heavenly aspect he is invariably associated with light and, in one way or another, with the sun and moon. There is but little evidence in the northern and eastern districts of this area, in which he is more of a deity than a man,[1] as to what kind of race he or the introducers of his cult may have belonged. With regard to the Ambat in the Seniang district of South-West Malekula, however, who are regarded more as culture-heroes than as deities, they are said to have been white-skinned (so much so that Europeans are now called by this name), and to have had aquiline noses. The chief Kabat in the neighbouring district of Mewun is said to have been buried sitting on a stone seat within a stone chamber covered by a mound of earth and loose stones—in other words, what we in Europe would call a chambered round-barrow —and his body and that of his wife are said to be incorruptible. The alleged "undecayed body," "a sort of mummy of the Kabat" and of his wife, are ritually washed, thereby ensuring the continuance of the human race, at the recurring feast known as the "Making of Man." [2]

With this brief introduction, I will return now to a description of the attributes of Ta-ghar on Vao, prefaced by a brief summary of beliefs concerning the corresponding Atchin deity Ta-har.

Two attributes of Ta-har on Atchin: as deity; as culture-hero.

In Atchin the aspects of Ta-har are two-fold. In the first place he is the moon [3] (which is also a stone), whence, according to a belief held very loosely by some families and quite irreconcilable with other mortuary beliefs, men come and to which they return at death. Closely connected with this is the belief in him as a creator who made the land and all men and gave the peoples of the earth their languages. On the other hand he is a culture-hero arriving in a canoe whence he presents to ten mythical petromorphic brothers, who in turn hand them on to all the people on the island, yams, coconuts, pigs and other necessaries of life. Then he sails away, rewarded, according to one version, with a wife. The

[1] Except in the village of Alo Sepere, in Vanua Lava, where he is said to have been born, and where inhabitants claim him as their ancestor (Codrington, 3, p. 155), and in Maewo, where he is said to have been "a great man of old times, very high in the *suqe*, as men used to be and are no longer now" (ibid. p. 168).

[2] Deacon, 4, pp. 649 ff. See also present volume, pp. 706-7.

[3] This is unusual, and clearly a late belief due, presumably, to patrilineal influence. As we shall see below, this deity elsewhere is primarily the source of light, more usually associated with the sun. The Atchin belief is, however, paralleled by Suas's account, rom Lolopuepue in Oba (1912, p. 33), that Takaro is the crescent moon, and the evil deity Mueragbuto or Sugbue (p. 60) the waning moon.

islands of Maewo, Oba and Raga are called "the land of Ta-har," and thither the youths of Atchin make pilgrimage for the sake of obtaining a specialised initiation into the mysteries of sex.[1] Detailed accounts of both these aspects will be given, with native texts, in the first of my forthcoming volumes on Atchin.

Owing to the briefness of my stay on Vao I did not make any special enquiries about him or the mythology connected with him on this island. I am therefore unable to state to what extent he is considered on Vao as having ever been a man, except in so far as here also he is said to live on Oba, where he made the first sea-going canoes, and whence the Small Islanders derived the art of making them.

In the aspect of creator, however, he has not unnaturally been a subject of considerable interest to missionaries,[2] and we are fortunate in the fact that Godefroy made a special study of his creative attributes on Vao, and of the natives' attitude towards him.

Godefroy's Account [3]

Godefroy's account is in the form of a dialogue between himself and an intelligent native named Melteg-lil-nale.[4]

Ta-ghar a bodiless beneficent creator; opposed to Le-hev-hev, the Guardian Ghost; lives in the moon and makes it shine.

When asked just how his ancestors spoke of Ta-ghar before men of his rank, his informant, after some hesitation, said:

"The old men say that Ta-ghar is like a ghost (*ta-mat*)." [5]

"Has he then no body?"

"He has no body."

"What does he do?"

"It is he who has put everything in its place. He makes the trees to

[1] See Chapter XX.

[2] The words Ta-ghar, Ta-har, and their equivalents in other districts, are used, by Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Seventh Day Adventists alike, as a synonym for God. The belief universally held by natives of the New Hebrides that the white man was their god (or ancestor) returning to them, is expressed by the inhabitants of North Malekula by calling white men Ta-ghar.

[3] All quotations in this section on Ta-ghar not otherwise marked are taken from Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 226-31 and 238-40. In the following analysis of his account it has been found necessary, for the sake of clarity, to alter the sequence of certain passages, to give certain explanations, and, in a few cases, to suggest alternative interpretations. The actual quotations, however, are quite literal.

[4] Godefroy spells this name Meltelilnale, showing how the soft Melanesian *gh* at the end of the title *melteg* becomes elided.

[5] Note he is not really a ghost, but only like one in so far as he has no body. See p. 225.

grow. He gives us our food in the gardens and on the trees. He is good, he never wishes us harm. He's very different from Le-hev-hev." [1]

The interlocutor refuses to be drawn at this point into a discussion about Le-hev-hev, and says, "Let us go on about Ta-ghar. Where does he walk? Where is he?"

Here follows an inconclusive attempt on the part of Godefroy to extract information about a vaguely conceived sky-world, which will be referred to below. Finally, having warded this off, Melteg-lil-nale at last said:

"Ta-ghar lives in the moon. It is he who makes it shine, so that it may illumine the night for our ceremonies, for our walks, our hunting and our fishing, and our sea-voyages."

Asked why he and his ancestors thought that Ta-ghar lived in the moon, he said, "Because we see him there. . . . You too, everyone can see him! When the moon is full, you must surely have seen a black thing in the middle of its disc. Look at it closely, and you will see that it is like a man."

His questioner then told him of the European notion of "the man in the moon," who brings a bundle of faggots with which to warm the moon and make it shine.

"Well," said Melteg-lil-nale, "that same thing that your ancestors call 'the man in the moon,' we say that it is Ta-ghar, and, like you, we say he causes the moon to shine."

"What does he do there?"

Begets human children on the moon, which is called "grandmother."

"He brings it about that it is the moon that gives birth to all men. Every child born on the earth falls from the moon, and sees daylight as soon as it has passed through its mother's womb.[2] In the moon, which we call our grandmother,[3] there are children who have only just begun; after a time they fall to earth and become men."

"Does what you are telling me now apply to white men as well as to the men of Vao?"

[1] Le-hev-hev, ferocious guardian of the life after death, is dealt with in the next section.

[2] Among the Big Nambas it is said that "the world and all things in it, including mankind, were created by the moon . . . but the man who gave this information denied that there was any cult of the moon in this tribe" (Deacon, 4, p. 46). In Matanavat, on the North coast of Malekula (according to Harrisson, 2, p. 41), it is said that "the moon shapes the child in the womb. Each new coming of the new moon is the time for such shaping." In Seniang, "the marks on its surface, 'the man in the moon,' are supposed to be the afterbirth, and at the first full moon after delivery the people will point to it and say to the mother: 'Look, there is the placenta.' The moon is also supposed to form the features of children" (Deacon, 4, p. 235). These beliefs are, however, in quite a different category from the official sun and moon cults in Epi and the Southern New Hebrides.

[3] It is not stated to which grandmother he refers.

"I do not think so, for what I am telling you the men of Vao said long before the white men came."

In later passages he quotes one of the natives as saying: "We do not know whether he begets white men, since our ancestors, not having seen them, never spoke of them. When we say that he begets all men, we think chiefly of those who inhabit the big islands that we can see: Santo, Oba, Pentecost [Raga], Ambrim, Pama, Epi, and our own big island of Malekula."

"Then so long as the moon shines there will always be men on Vao?"

"Yes, there is no doubt of that."

"Why are you all so uneasy and so melancholy when the moon is dark?" [1]

"That is because we ask ourselves, 'Will the moon come back?' If she did not come back it would mean that she must doubtless have fallen into the pit (behind the horizon there is a deep chasm), and in that case, when we died, there would not be any more Vao men to take our place."

"Is that why you are so joyful when you see her appear again, and that you then cry '*Selo! Selo!*'?"

"Yes, for that means that Ta-ghar is lighting her up again and that the two together will go on giving us children."

"So that is why the little children beckon to her and call her *le-le! le-le!* grandmother?"

"Yes, that is so."

Later, he again quotes a native as having said: "Ta-ghar is the father of light; he lights up the moon which he inhabits."

Godefroy sums up this aspect of Ta-ghar thus: "Seeing the image of Ta-ghar appearing on the moon's disc every time that she is full, they infer that Ta-ghar is there up above, occupied with the everlasting renewal of the race."

Associated belief that Ta-ghar is connected with the sun. Ta-ghar as "source of light."

Closely associated with the belief that Ta-ghar lives in and at the same time lights up the moon is the feeling that, as the source of light, he is also connected with the sun. Thus Godefroy recounts how "more than once, while mixing with them when they were at work, I have heard them speak to this effect: 'Yesterday, the clouds plunged us in darkness, but today Ta-ghar gives us light, Ta-ghar shines. Ta-ghar loves us, for *his* sun makes our food to grow (in our gardens). When Ta-ghar is with us (that is to say, when the sun shines) all the world is in light, and it is good; with Ta-ghar it is light, with Le-hev-hev it is the blackest night.' After two or three days' rain it is not rare to hear them radiantly cry,

[1] I.e. from the last quarter till the day after New Moon.

'*Ta-ghar mo har kele* (Ta-ghar shines again).'" Such phrases led him to "think sometimes that they [the natives] confused him [Ta-ghar] with the sun itself." [1] But, he says, "When I questioned them about this, they invariably replied 'No.'" He adds: "It is therefore permissible to conclude . . . that the conception of Ta-ghar and the conception of light are inseparable one from the other, and even that Ta-ghar is the author of light." This supposition, and the identification of Ta-ghar with light in any form, would appear at first sight to receive support from the statement, also made by Melteg-lil-nale, that the reason why the natives speak of the island of Oba as "the land of Ta-ghar" is that this island "lies in the direction from which the sun rises." This, however, is immediately dispelled by the same man's next statement: "The sun lights up the earth *just as* [my italics] Ta-ghar lights up the moon." This shows quite definitely that Ta-ghar is associated primarily with the moon, and only through analogy with the sun.

Alleged sky-world not primarily connected with Ta-ghar, but with the idea of "height" associated with the Maki.

Godefroy speaks also of the conception of a sky-world called *bakeran.* Wishing to demonstrate the evolution of moral ideas in accordance with Catholic missionary thought, and struck by certain analogies, on the one hand between Ta-ghar and the Christian conception of God, and on the other between Le-hev-hev and Satan, it was but natural that he should hope to extend the analogy by comparing *bakeran* with heaven. It is therefore worth while, in face of a conception equally vague both in Christian and in Malekulan theology, to see what he made of the comparison. His first mention of it occurs almost at the outset of his enquiry about Ta-ghar. Following on Melteg-lil-nale's statement, already quoted, to the effect that Ta-ghar was "very different from Le-hev-hev," he brought the subject back to Ta-ghar, asking:

"Where does he walk? Where is he? In the sky?" [2]

"No, he is not in the sky."

"But you say that he is up above."

"It's true he's up above."

"Well, up above, that is the sky-world."

"I don't know" [Typical answer of the native who feels himself being forced into a position he does not understand].

[1] Godefroy goes so far as to associate the word *Ta-ghar*, "which they pronounce with a very soft *g*, half-way between *g* and *h*" (i.e. the Melanesian *gh*), and which, as he points out, is in Atchin actually pronounced Ta-har, with the verb *har*, "to light up, or shine," and thereby concludes that the names themselves mean "source of light," or "that which lights."

[2] The French word *ciel* means, of course, in everyday language both "sky" and "heaven," and in an ethnological sense "sky-world." In the following translation I use all three expressions, as the sense demands.

"What do you mean, you don't know? . . . Where, then, is the sky-world?"

"We do not know."

"All the same, you often talk about your heaven, your *bakeran*?"

"That's true, but we don't know where it is."

"But, look, if Ta-ghar is up above, as you say he is, what place does he live in?"

The reply was, "He lives in the moon," and from there on the dialogue continued as already cited.

For the ethnologist and for the general reader the important point resulting from this dialogue is that, try as he would, the questioner was unable to establish any relationship between Ta-ghar and the sky-world apart from the fact that he inhabits the moon. This he later reaffirms, saying: "though they recognise the specialised occupation of Ta-ghar during a certain period of the lunar cycle, yet they do not know where he lives." In spite of this, however, he returns to his original thesis, or rather hope, by continuing: "strangely enough, they still remember the name *of his kingdom* [my italics], the sky; the *bakeran*, of which they often speak." This subjective lapse on the part of the reverend father is excusable only in so far as it is the only one of its kind to which, in an otherwise admirably objective account, he has succumbed. His next sentence gives us the clue to which system of native thought the conception of a so-called sky-world belongs. "During the interminable Maki rites they perform a dance which takes them to *bakeran*." This dance is possibly one of the labyrinth dances called *na-leng*, to which reference will be made later.[1] The statement makes it quite clear that the conception of *bakeran* is closely connected with the Maki, with which Ta-ghar has nothing whatever to do. The questioner's preoccupation with the conception of heaven, or the sky-world, as a place, and the natives' resistance to this idea, is shown by the statement with which he winds up his enquiry: "When one asks them, 'What is your *bakeran*, where is it?' they reply, 'We don't know; our ancestors did not tell us.' Nevertheless they have the notion that it is up above rather than down below, and that it consists of something beautiful and good." Though this last phrase would appear to smack of Christian dogma, it does, in fact, represent, but only in attenuated form, the native conception, which is not one of any place at all, but simply one of great and glorious height, typified, as we shall see when we come to discuss this rite, with the hawk's soaring upward flight.

The corresponding word *bageran* [2] in Atchin means "cumulus cloud," and was adopted by a native of my acquaintance as a "high" Maki title, in common with numerous similar titles indicating physical, social or moral "height." These will be discussed later when dealing with the

[1] See pp. 336 ff.

[2] The final syllable of this word may be connected with *ran* meaning "dawn."

Maki, when it will become evident that the idea of a sky-world as a place is in fact foreign to the native mind, which is occupied not with locality but with the conception of pure height as symbolical of that upward striving which is the essence of one aspect of that rite.[1]

The whole subject of a supposed sky-world has been raised here only as an indication of the danger of false association when possessed by an *idée fixe*, and to demonstrate the fact that Ta-ghar, though closely connected with the moon and secondarily with the sun, has no other connexion whatever with the sky.

As luminary, however, but only as such, Ta-ghar is also vaguely connected with the stars.

Ta-ghar not worshipped.

Godefroy sums up his cosmological attributes with the words: "Ta-ghar begets men by the moon: in that he demonstrates his power; Ta-ghar has ordained the earth, the sea, the stars, the light, the clouds, all for the greatest good of man, and thereby man recognises his goodness." There is no formal ritual connected with him, nor any act of worship. He has no influence over the weather, and is never supplicated.

He finds himself, however, again frustrated in his search for any kind of reciprocal action towards Ta-ghar on the part of men.

"And this Ta-ghar, who is so good to you, who begets you by the moon and who is therefore your father, who provides food for you every day and has ordered all things for you, how do you think of him? Do you love him? Do you honour him?"

"We know him well; but we do nothing for him. He never does us any harm, so we take care to leave him alone."

Godefroy adds:

"Ta-ghar is good . . . but this does not imply that the natives are in any way grateful to him, nor yet demand favours from him; their attitude is to show no interest in him, but to leave him alone."

This is indeed the case. In all the Small Islands I know of no formal ritual or act of worship connected with Ta-ghar. Nor have I met with any signs of gratitude nor of any other kind of emotion towards him other than one of simple acceptance of the fact that he exists. It is necessary here to point out that, though Melteg-lil-nale said that Ta-ghar was like a ghost (*ta-mat*), he very pointedly did not say he was one. The use of the word *ta-mat* was no more than a manner of speech intended to convey to an outsider the fact that, though not indeed a ghost, he was like a ghost in that he had no body. It is an essential part of the attitude towards ghosts (i.e. ancestors) that they are at once venerated and feared, and that their good or evil moods importantly affect the well-being of their descendants. But Ta-ghar is always good, nor does he ever change, nor

[1] See p. 732.

could he—a thing that never enters the native mind—be affected by supplication or coercion. Thus, though his light (of the moon, or sun) is greeted with joy when it appears, he is in no way responsible for climatic or meteorological vagaries. The natives "affirm that Ta-ghar, with his clouds and winds, has no power to cause rain to fall." [1] For this, or even to make the sun shine, it is necessary to resort to magic, which operates only through the assistance of a continuous line of previous, now dead, practitioners.

Thus Ta-ghar is never appealed to, nor are there any rites connected with him, but he is simply there.

Ta-ghar pleads with Le-hev-hev to let the ghosts of the dead pass into the land of the dead.

The only action, apart from just existing, and of begetting children by the moon, which he is reported ever to take is when, under the specialised name Ta-ghar Lawo, he intercedes with the Guardian Ghost Le-hev-hev in order that this Being may let the ghost of a dead man proceed on his way to the land of the dead; for which favour the new ghost makes him a present of a pig, the ghost of one killed during his mortuary rites. This incident will be described in the next section.[2]

Summary of Characteristics

To sum up, Ta-ghar appears in two aspects:

(*a*) As a mythical hero arriving in a canoe, whence he distributes food-stuffs and pigs, together with instructions how to rear them, and then sails away, betraying distinctly human feelings by accepting the companionship of a woman. The islands of Maewo, Oba and Raga are regarded as his home, and youths from all the Small Islands perform a pilgrimage to one or other of them for the sake of being initiated into the mysteries of sex.

(*b*) As a deity with the following attributes:

(i) Is creator of all men and things.
(ii) Lives in the moon, where his image may be recognised in the dark marks we call "the man in the moon."
(iii) Lights up the moon.
(iv) Begets all human children by the moon, which is called "grandmother," whence, when ready, the children fall into their mothers' wombs, which are the portal through which they come to the light of day.

[1] But see p. 634.

[2] See below, p. 227.

(v) Secondarily, and by analogy, as luminary, associated with the sun and to a lesser degree with the stars, and, by yet further analogy, with the clouds and winds.
(vi) Through his association with the sun makes trees and plants to grow; but has no control over the weather.
(vii) Is definitely not a ghost (*ta-mat*), though like one in respect of the fact that he has no body.
(viii) Is the object of no cult or supplication, but is accepted as in all ways good.

(*B*) LE-HEV-HEV, THE GUARDIAN GHOST

"*That which draws us to It so that It may devour us.*"

Having failed to discover any marked emotional attitude on the part of the natives towards Ta-ghar, Godefroy asked:

"Who then is it that you do think of?"

And was met with the reply:

"Of that other, of that which wishes to devour us as soon as we are dead."

"And what do you call him?"

"Le-hev-hev."

"Who is Le-hev-hev?"

"Le-hev-hev means: That which draws us to It so that It may devour us." [1]

Le-hev-hev, the sexless Guardian Ghost.

Le-hev-hev is the sexless Guardian Ghost, who bars the way into the land of the dead. As I have stated elsewhere,[2] it is not known on Vao whether this Being is a man or a woman, or indeed something that is neither one nor the other. All that is known about its nature is that it is "irresponsible and in all things defiant." [3] The Vao language does not differentiate between genders, so there is no help from that quarter.

The first syllable of the name, *Le-*, is the present-day feminine prefix with which every woman's name in all the Small Islands begins. In Atchin the name for the corresponding figure is Le-saw-saw, where it is definitely regarded as a woman, maternal grandmother of the ten petromorphic brothers to whom Ta-har is said to have appeared in a canoe and to whom he introduced food-stuffs and pigs.[4] Owing to the law of sound-change by which Atchin *s* becomes *h* in Vao and *w* is softened to *v*, Le-saw-saw and Le-hev-hev are philologically the same word. The

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 228-9.
[2] Layard, 4, p. 119.
[3] See p. 606 for tale of a man who for this reason called himself Le-hev-hev because he had killed his sister's son.
[4] See future volume on Atchin.

essential name, shorn of the prefix *Le-*, is thus seen to be *Saw*, seen also in *Te-mes Sav-sap*,[1] the name of the Guardian Ghost recorded by Deacon in Seniang, where, though it is regarded as a woman, the prefix *Le-* is absent. Among the Big Nambas we find an intermediate form *Li-sev-sep*,[2] where the vowel and final consonant are the same as in Vao, but the *s* has not been softened into *h*. All these names are equivalent to that of the *Suqe*, *Sukwe* or *Supwe*,[3] the corresponding male figure in the mythology of the Northern New Hebrides and Banks Islands, of whom it is said in Maewo that "Tagaro came down from heaven, made men and other things, and went back again to heaven. Suqe belonged to the earth; his head was forked, therefore he had two thoughts in it. Whatever Tagaro did or made was right, Suqe was always wrong. . . . Tagaro sent him to a place where is a bottomless chasm, somewhere inland in Araga [Raga], where he rules over the ghosts of the dead." [4]

As will be seen from the sketch-map on p. 206, this Being, further variants of whose name are *Supe*, *Sugbue*, *Supua*, *Le-siv-siv*,[5] etc., has a distribution considerably greater than the area covered by the creator-deities of the Ta-garo–Kwat–Ambat complex, and belongs almost certainly to an older layer of culture.[6]

The Guardian Ghost regarded as male in matrilineal areas but as female in patrilineal areas.

The question of the sex of this Being is of the greatest interest. In the Northern New Hebrides, where the kinship system is matrilineal, the Guardian Ghost *Supwe* is said to be male; in all parts of Malekula and the Small Islands, however, where kinship is overtly patrilineal, this same Being (known by the variants of the same name already cited) is, except in Vao, regarded as female. To this the writer can see no possible explanation other than a psychological one, namely, that in those areas in which conscious attention is directed chiefly towards the female line of descent, the unconscious which gives rise to the myth compensates for this undue emphasis on the female side by envisaging the Guardian Ghost as male; while in those areas in which conscious attention is concentrated

[1] See p. 651.

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 585. *Li-sev-sep* is also the name of the highest rank in the women's secret association called *Langambas* in Lagalag (Deacon, 4, p. 495).

[3] The consonants *q*, *kw* and *pw* all represent the same sound, which is a mixture of *kmbw* or *kmpw*, varying from dialect to dialect, for which the sign *q* has been adopted as a convention by the Melanesian Mission. Sounds having the same origin become in Malekula and the Small Islands *mb*, *b*, *p*, *v* or *w*.

[4] Codrington, 3, p. 169.

[5] In North Raga and Oba this Being is replaced by a special aspect of Ta-garo, namely Tagaro-lawua (Codrington, 3, p. 170), who is found also in Vao under the name of Ta-ghar Lawo with Le-hev-hev in the Cave of the Dead (see p. 227).

[6] The same name is found even further afield in Nguna under the form *Sugbwe* (Capell, 1, p. 71, quoting Milne).

on the male line, the unconscious compensates by envisaging this figure as female.[1]

Of all the Small Islands, Vao, though at first sight as patrilineal as the rest, is in fact geographically the nearest to the matrilineal area, and in its kinship system gives due weight to both lines of descent. This possibly explains the uncertainty existing there in regard to the sex of the Guardian Ghost, since there neither line of descent is too greatly over-emphasised.

Closely connected with the predominate line of descent is the name of the graded society itself. As already mentioned in the Introduction, this society is closely connected with the Guardian Ghost, and is, in one of its aspects, an actual representation of the journey of the dead. The interesting fact is that in the matrilineal areas this society is called by the same name as the Guardian Ghost; in the Banks Islands it is called *Sukwe*, and in Malo, where it appears to have been very similar to the present Vao Maki, its name is *Sumbe*.[2] In the patrilineal area of Malekula, and in Ambrim, it is, on the other hand, called by variants of the word *Maki* (*Mangki*, *Mangke*, *Mengge*, etc.).[3] This suggests an even closer connexion between the Guardian Ghost and the graded society in the matrilineal area than exists in the predominately patrilineal islands of Malekula and Ambrim.

Title of old men of high rank equivalent to Le-hev-hev and Supwe.

A further fact of first-class importance, both as indication of the close connexion existing between the two graded society-complexes and of the aspirations underlying both, is that the honourable title for old men of high rank used in ordinary parlance is actually a variant of the word used for the Guardian Ghost, namely *na-sup* in Atchin, *na-humbe*[4] in Vao. Thus old men of high rank are *ipso facto* identified with the Guardian Ghost.[5] This fact is of the highest importance in understanding the significance of the

[1] Thus, in classical mythology, among the patrilineal Greeks and Romans, the Guardian of the cave from which access to the land of the dead is had, is female, i.e. the sibyl (see Knight), whereas in matrilineal Egypt the corresponding figure is male. There are, however, certain exceptions, such as the Tubuan of the Dukduk society in the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, who is female, though the system of descent is matrilineal. These figures are all guardians; in all cases the ruler of the dead appears to be male, e.g. Anrum Mbwilei in Seniang (Deacon, 4, p. 556), Mal-kalaut in Vao, Mol in the Tasmaut district of Santo.

A curious feature is that the names of a number of undoubtedly male culture-heroes in the Small Islands as semi-historical figures also have the prefix *Le-*. Whether this also indicates a compensatory psychological process or whether these names have been adopted by men from female mythological figures, as Asaor (see below, p. 606) adopted the name of Le-hev-hev, I am unable to say.

[2] Rivers, 3. For other variants of the word see pp. 274, 691, 693.

[3] See pp. 691-2.

[4] It is this title which Godefroy translates "chief." See note on p. 233. This is not to be confused with the titles attached to names such as *Mal*, *Melteg*, etc. (see pp. 431 ff.).

[5] See p. 258.

whole graded society-complex. Its ritual and mythological significance will become abundantly clear as we proceed with the examination of these aspects of culture. Psychologically the implication is that if, as we have seen, the Guardian Ghost represents the reverse side of the social structure, so also does it represent the reverse side of the part played by the individual in the Maki. The extraverted bravado and extreme self-assertion associated with this dionysiac performance is thus seen to be balanced by a ferocious self-accusing monster lurking in the performer's unconscious. It is perhaps significant in this context that the natives of Vao, whose Guardian Ghost is sexless, are notably the mildest and most urbane of the Small Islanders.[1]

Le-hev-hev referred to as "It."

Since the Vao language gives us no clue as to the correct way to refer to this sexless Guardian Ghost, and since in English it is necessary to use a differentiated pronoun, the obvious way out of the difficulty, and one which to my mind accords most nearly with the native conception, is to use the pronoun "It" with a capital "I" to indicate personification.

Guardian Ghost as "Spider" in neighbouring islands.

The Vao definition of Le-hev-hev is, as we have seen, "That which draws us to It so that It may devour us." Godefroy, on one occasion, actually refers to It as a "beast." Speiser is still more explicit, referring to it as "a crab-like monster with two immense claws."[2] Before examining the Vao beliefs, it will therefore be worth while to make brief mention of the non-human aspect of the Guardian Ghost in neighbouring islands. This is most strikingly shown in the equation, at Lakona on Santa Maria (Banks Islands), of Supwe with Marawa, the Spider.[3] No explanation is given by Codrington for this at first sight curious identification, but, if we look at it in the light of the Vao definition of Le-hev-hev, it is clear that the spider sitting in its web is also symbolic of "that which draws us to It so that It may devour us." This is clearly the basic reason for the selection of the spider as symbolic of Supwe. There are, however, two interesting extensions of the idea. The first is in a Mota account of how Marawa, the Spider, "spun a line from earth to heaven" in order that a man might carry up his child to join its mother, who had ascended thither in the smoke of a fire.[4] Possibly connected with this story is the

[1] According to Harrisson and to Godefroy, this is no longer the case. The latter refers to the natives of Rano as "quarrelsome," of Wala as "pert," of Vao as "sour-faced," but of Atchin as "having soft and polished manners." Let it be noted, however, that conditions have changed. In the three first a new morality has been adopted. Atchin alone is without a Mission Station.

[2] Speiser, 1, p. 68. For details see below, p. 228, note 1.

[3] Codrington, 3, p. 157.

[4] Ibid., 3, p. 383.

name of Marawa ("spider") given to one of the early *Tamate* Societies which may be entered by a baby in arms.[1]

The other extension is more interesting, since it provides a connexion between the spider's web and the mortuary labyrinth mythology of Seniang, in South-West Bay. In the mythology of that area the Guardian Ghost sits by a cave on the sea-shore, having drawn beside her on the sand a labyrinth figure which the ghost of the dead man on his way to the Land of the Dead must know how to complete. If he cannot do this, she eats him. The drawing of labyrinth designs, based on the above myth but now largely secular in character, is a common pastime all over the Northern New Hebrides, where they are drawn with the finger in ashes or sand.[2] It is easy to understand how the spider's web spun by the Guardian Ghost in one area should become associated with the labyrinth design drawn by the Guardian Ghost in another. A tale combining both motives comes from South Raga, and relates how one day the deity, there called Barkulkul, when leaving his house, left his wife in it and "shut the door by making, with a liana, a design similar to a spider's web." When he came back, finding the design disturbed, he went to the men's house, where he said to the men, "Let us make drawings." They made drawings in the ashes, similar to spiders' webs, and when Barkulkul saw that his brother Marrelül made the same design as Barkulkul himself had made, he knew that it was he who had entered his house in his absence and seduced his wife. And so he killed him.[3] This story is, of course, a degraded one, but serves to show the widespread symbolism of the spider's web as a labyrinthine structure with a devouring monster in its midst.

Guardian Ghost as "Megapode."

Another interesting piece of symbolism in connexion with the Guardian Ghost is that found in North Raga, where Subwe is also called Malau,[4] which means bush-turkey, or megapode. This remarkable bird has huge claws, with which it digs long tunnels into the ground in which to lay its eggs.[5] The habits of the bird are largely nocturnal, and at night it emits wailing cries. These cries are associated with ghosts, and the tunnelling activity recalls the underground world where the Guardian Ghost lives, which, in the case of Vao, is, as we shall see, a cave. Yet further, the megapode favours volcanic soil on account of the extra warmth it supplies for hatching eggs,[6] and volcanoes are also, as we shall see, connected with

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 110. [2] See Chapter XXV. [3] Tattevin, 2, 1929, p. 988.
[4] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 189. Compare also Atimis Malau in South-West Bay.
[5] The New Hebridean megapode, *megapodius layardi*, does not build mounds like other members of the species (see p. 752). In Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula, the bird, there called *mola*, is semi-sacred. "If one village gives a scrub-turkey to another, that is a token of permanent peace." Such exchange is there even more sacred than the exchange of hawks (Harrisson, 2, p. 55).
[6] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 461.

the life of the dead. Marawa, the Spider, also lived with Qat, at a place "where the volcanic fires still smoulder" near Lakona, on Santa Maria.[1]

Guardian Ghost symbolised by the "Rat."

Another account, from Olal in Ambrim, tells how the Guardian Ghost, here called Bugliam, the god of night and darkness, has as its symbol the rat,[2] because it burrows underground.

Relations between Guardian Ghost and sky-deity become progressively dissociated as kinship systems become more patrilineal.

Before returning to the details of the Vao material, one further aspect of the Guardian Ghost remains to be discussed, namely, its relation to the sky-deity. We have already seen that the name Ta-ghar, allied to the Polynesian Tangaroa, appears to represent a comparatively late cultural drift. This does not necessarily mean, however, that his attributes are exclusively associated with his name. If we examine the mythology connected with neighbouring gods who do not bear this name, such as Tautai in the Tismulun of Santo, and Barkulkul in South Raga, we find, indeed, the interesting fact that, while in their terrestrial aspect (i.e. as men having once walked on earth) they differ greatly, in their spiritual aspect as beneficent creator-gods dwelling in the sky they are remarkably uniform. The two aspects may be classed respectively as cultural and psychological. That is to say, that when, as we shall shortly see in the Vao account, Ta-ghar and Le-hev-hev are said to have nothing whatever to do with one another, this fact may be true from the point of view of the names they bear, that is to say their cultural aspect, but it by no means alters the fact that they are psychologically complementary. One represents the conscious striving, the other the unconscious fears. It is well known that in the case of individuals the greater our state of dissociation the higher are our ideals and the more abysmal our fears. The same is true of cultures. We have already noted the unconscious factor working with regard to the sex of the Guardian Ghost, which is, in the areas under consideration, the reverse of that dominating the conscious social structure. A similar process may be seen at work in the relations between the creator-god and the corresponding Guardian Ghost. This may be briefly illustrated from mythology, from which it will be seen that the relations between the two become more and more strained the further they recede from the matrilineal area in the north, with a comparatively simple graded society, towards the predominately patrilineal area in the

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 157. Compare also the expression *Malau gan Qat*, "megapode the food of Qat," meaning sulphur such as is found in the solfataras in Vanua Lava, and at Lakona (Codrington, 2).

[2] Suas, 1911, pp. 906 ff.

south, with its tremendously complicated and expensive ritual exhibitionism.

Five areas will suffice to show the progressive state of dissociation. If we take first the Banks Islands, we find that Qat made everything himself, excepting Night, for the making of which he had to invite the aid of the deity called by that name.[1] There is no obvious conflict here at all.

In the western part of Oba, where Tagaro is the deity and does the creating, there is still no true Guardian Ghost, the less reputable aspects of society being represented (as they are also in the case of Qat) by aspects of Tagaro himself under the guise of brothers, chief of whom is Tagarolawua, the Big, who "was a boaster and incapable." [2]

In Eastern Oba we find the first obvious trace of dualism in the figure of Suqe. Tagaro made everything right, and Suqe made everything wrong, but still "Suqe shares the work of creation with Tagaro. They two made the land, and the things upon it." [3] There was as yet no definite separation between the two.

There is, however, an interesting Oba tale published by Codrington, according to which Tagaro the Little has a conch-shell trumpet in his hand, and when Mera-mbuto, who is another form of Suqe, asks what it is, he says, "The voice of you and me." Mera-mbuto says, "Wait a bit till I go back to my dwelling-place [which is a cave] . . . then you shall speak with the voice of us two that I may hear it for myself." Tagaro blew and Mera-mbuto's brothers fell everyone from the tree in which they were. Mera-mbuto himself was delighted and jumped high again and again in his cave, and his head struck against the rock and the rock stuck fast into his head, and there he died.[4] In this tale we see Tagaro tricking the Guardian Ghost for aspiring to equal him.

In North Raga the conflict takes on a more serious and definitely religious form. Here it is said of Suqe that "his head was forked, therefore he had two thoughts in it," and Tagaro sends him "to a place where there is a bottomless chasm . . . where he rules over the ghosts of the dead." [5] Still, Suqe, though banished, is not destroyed, and for the last stage of dissociation we have to go a little further south, to South Raga, where the good deity is Barkulkul, and the ghosts of the dead go to a place where is the Guardian Ghost called Marrelül, "killed by Barkulkul for having disobeyed his orders, together with the snake that had been burnt in the men's house." [6]

[1] Codrington, 3, pp. 156-7.

[2] Ibid., 3, p. 170.

[3] Ibid., 3, p. 171. Suas (1912, pp. 45-7) recounts also how the two boys Takaro and Mueragbuto (=Suqe), ancestors of the two matrilineal moieties, came from the same mother, Takaro feeding from her right breast and Mueragbuto from her left.

[4] Ibid. pp. 400-10.

[5] Ibid. p. 169.

[6] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 394. For the full story of the burning of the snake see Tattevin, 2, 1929, pp. 991-3. This is a common theme all over this area.

Le-hev-hev a bodiless spirit, like Ta-ghar; inspires fear. Connexion with Maki.

Let us now see how the Guardian Ghost is regarded in Vao.

"Le-hev-hev," as we have seen, means: "That which draws us to It so that It may devour us."

The next question was:

"You say It wants to eat you? How? With Its teeth?"

"No, not with Its teeth; It is like Ta-ghar, It has no body, It is like a ghost (*ta-mat*). It's terrible. . . . We are in great fear of It, and think only of It; whereas we think but rarely of Ta-ghar. There is no connexion between them. Ta-ghar is one thing and Le-hev-hev another.[1]

"It is to save ourselves from Le-hev-hev that we sacrifice our pigs, that we dance, and that we perform all our rites." [2]

This phrase refers not only to the Maki, but also to every sacrificial rite on the Small Islands, even those ostensibly to individual ancestors, since, as we shall see, one of the essential aspects of the Maki is the attainment of one-ness with this figure who is the embodiment of all ancestors, and the propitiating of it so that the sacrificer may obtain entry into the life after death.[3]

Having now indicated the deeply emotional character of the attitude towards Le-hev-hev, I will here give my own record of the dead man's dealings with Le-hev-hev and of his journey to the land where his deceased forefathers carry on their existence after death.

The Journey of the Dead (Author's Account) [4]

Summary of elements common to Vao, Atchin and Wala.

The author obtained three accounts of the Journey of the Dead of high rank, from the three islands of Vao, Atchin and Wala. All three accounts agree that the dead man first enters a cave, close to the long black-sand beach, in Vao called Ghoramp and in Atchin Orap, situated on the Malekulan mainland between the islands of Atchin and Wala. Having passed through this cave he then proceeds down the coast of Malekula to a promontory called Bong-na-un on the Malekulan mainland facing the

[1] Godefroy adds: "Ta-ghar has his own personal occupations, and Le-hev-hev has his which have nothing to do with Ta-ghar." This is, however, not entirely accurate, as will be seen below (see p. 227).

[2] Ibid., I, 1933, p. 229. [3] See p. 257.

[4] Here reproduced, with minor alterations, by kind permission of Professor C. G. Seligman and Messrs. Kegan Paul, from *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, London, 1934, pp. 119 ff. For best summaries of comparative material see Rivers, I, vol. II, pp. 261 ff. and Williamson, I, chapters on "The Soul after Death," and comparative tables at end of vol. II.

island of Ambrim. Here he lights a beacon, to attract the attention of a ghostly ferryman, and is then ferried over to Ambrim, where he mounts the volcano where the dead carry on their blissful existence, dancing all night and, according to the different accounts, either sleeping or becoming disintegrated during the day. Somewhere on the route (the versions differ as to where) the dead man encounters the Guardian Ghost, who tries to eat him, but is placated by the presentation of a pig, placed in the dead man's grave during his mortuary rites, on receipt of which the Guardian Ghost ceases to molest him, and he passes safely on his way.

Chief differences between Vao and other versions.

The three versions differ considerably in detail, notably—

(*a*) In the position of the Guardian Ghost, who in the Vao version is met with in the cave, but in the Wala (and by implication also in the Atchin) version stands in the form of a natural monolithic block on the reef at Bong-na-un.

(*b*) In knowledge of the dead man's doings on the journey, much of which is known on Atchin and Wala, but nothing at all on Vao.

(*c*) In the fact that in the Wala version the dead are said to dance as skeletons and their heads to fall off and their bodies fall asunder at dawn, when the bare bones remain lying on the ground till sundown, when they reassemble to resume their nightly dance. This belief is vehemently denied on Vao, where the natives conceive of their dead as carrying on life in the form of ordinary disembodied ghosts.

VAO VERSION

I will here give the Vao version only.

Burial at sundown. Pigs killed for presentation to Le-hev-hev.

Old men of grades *na-humbe* and *mer-sean* are buried in the squatting position.[1] Burial occurs at sundown, the moment when the nightly dance of the dead begins. The body is arrayed in all the finery and insignia due to the dead man for the rank which he has attained in the Maki rites. Immediately before inhumation, the first of a series of communion feasts is held,[2] in which a morsel of food is placed actually in the mouth of the dead man. The body is wrapped in fine mats, and a live pig thrown into the grave.[3] Though, according to one belief, the dead man immediately joins his ancestors, and is therefore buried at sundown in order that he may forthwith join in the nightly dance, according to another he takes

[1] See Mortuary Rites, p. 531.
[2] See p. 541.
[3] See p. 542.

five,[1] and according to yet another ten,[2] days to get there. At all events, ten pigs must be sacrificed for his use on the journey. These ten pigs are sacrificed the morning after burial, but, such is the confusion of belief and the necessity that at all hazards he should have at least one pig to give to the Guardian Ghost, lest he should "go away quickly," a further pig is sacrificed immediately after inhumation.[3]

Dead man enters "Cave of the Dead." Is opposed by Le-hev-hev, but Ta-ghar Lawo intercedes. Proceeds to Bong-na-un.

The dead man first makes his way to the long black-sand beach called Ghoramp, where he enters the cave called *barang na ta-mat*, "Cave of the Dead." As he goes in, his way is blocked by Le-hev-hev.

As the ghost of the dead man tries to enter the cave Le-hev-hev pulls him back. But Ta-ghar Lawo, who is also present, takes the side of the new-comer and says to Le-hev-hev, "Leave him alone. Let him come and join all his friends over there," indicating the inside of the cave. Le-hev-hev then leaves hold of the new ghost, who presents It with the ghost of the pig sacrificed at burial. If he had not such a pig, Le-hev-hev would devour him.[4] The new-comer also pays a pig to Ta-ghar Lawo [5] for having pleaded for him, and then goes inside into the cave, to "join his dead friends who are gathered there."

He does not stay, however, but continues on his lonely way for forty-odd miles down the coast until he comes at sundown to the promontory called Tsüngon Bong-na-un on the coast of Malekula facing the volcanic island of Ambrim.

Lights beacon. Is ferried to Ambrim and mounts volcano. Nightly dance of the dead.

Arrived at Bong-na-un, the dead man makes fire for a beacon to attract the attention of the ghostly ferryman on Ambrim, and also breaks off a piece of seaweed called *ro-go-rombol*, and beckons with it. At this, the ferryman, named Lingi, sets out from Ambrim in his ghost's canoe. Such ghostly craft are not canoes in anything but name, but simply any kind of flotsam borne by the sea. The name of this canoe was first given as *wuwun*, "banana-skin," but later it appeared that any piece of

[1] This number is also given by Speiser, who says that the soul of the dead man sets out on the fifth day after death (Speiser, 3, p. 322).

[2] In Lambumbu the dead depart by sea on the tenth day after death (Deacon, 4, p. 570).

[3] This is the "death pig" referred to by Godefroy, see p. 233.

[4] *Le-hev-hev e ghani.*

[5] In my account of the mortuary rites, no mention is made of the sacrifice of a second pig for Ta-ghar Lawo. Being of infinitely less importance than that paid to Le-hev-hev, my informant evidently forgot to mention it. This figure clearly corresponds with the Oba *Tagaro-lawua*, "Tagaro the Big" (see Codrington, 3, p. 170).

banyan bark or other minute object would serve the ghostly purpose just as well. Lingi, the name given to the ferryman, is a descriptive word used in ordinary conversation as a verb meaning "to lead" or "to conduct," particularly in a canoe. This ferryman now paddles over in his flotsam craft and takes the new-comer back with him to Ambrim, where he is escorted up to the big volcano called Bot-gharambi, "Source (base or origin) of the fire." [1]

The whole journey takes no time at all, for it is still dusk when he arrives, just as the nightly dance of all the dead begins. The new-comer is placed in their midst and all the others dance around him till a famous ghost named Mal-kalaut [2] calls out "*Laus——e*," the customary way in which the leader ends a dance in actual life. Then all the others answer "*Ia*," and the dance is over.

The dance is repeated throughout the night by the dead of all the villages of Vao in turn, in the rotation prescribed for ritual occasions during life, and, as in life, these are succeeded by those from the six Atchin villages, and, more vaguely, by those from the remoter islands of the group.[3]

Nothing more seems to be known on Vao about the life led by the dead, excepting that they dance all night and sleep all day. The Wala story, that the dead dance as skeletons and that their bones fall asunder and their heads fall off at dawn, is vehemently denied.

[1] Seen at night from Vao and the other Small Islands, the light of the volcano on Ambrim, when in eruption, is an impressive sight.

There is a central vent called Marum, but eruptions occur from time to time on other parts of the island, the most disastrous within living memory being that which took place on December 7th, 1913, the year before my arrival on the island, when the Presbyterian Mission Station was destroyed. The summit of the central volcano is about 3300 feet above sea-level. Godefroy describes an ascent he made of it, which contains, however, no details of anthropological interest. Speiser also gives a graphic account of climbing the volcano (Speiser, 2, pp. 217-23).

According to Speiser, who, however, gives no other details of the journey, it is on the way up to the volcano, in a steep narrow path, that the dead man encounters the Guardian Ghost in the form of a crab-like monster with two immense claws. If, on the fifth day after death, the dead man's relatives have sacrificed the correct number of pigs, the pigs' souls trot after him, and the Guardian Ghost eats them instead of him. If no such pigs have been sacrificed, It devours the dead man. It is for this reason also that men are apt to perform certain of their own mortuary rites before they die. (Speiser, 3, pp. 322-3; 1, pp. 68-9.) Compare also the mythological ogress called "The Crab Woman" (Nevin bumba-au) in South-West Bay (p. 730). A similar female crab-like monster appears also in the mythology of New Caledonia. In the island of Pott there is a sacred spot called Tsiabouat, where dwells a female deity called Kabo Mandalat, in the form of a huge hermit crab "the claws of which are as big as the trunk of a coconut palm." It is she who has power both to give and to relieve elephantiasis. She has her own devotees who, with the aid of certain rites, carry out both these functions. Pigs are not offered to her, since there are no pigs in New Caledonia, but other offerings are made. Lambert (pp. 19-23) gives a full-page picture of her.

[2] Mal-kalaut was a man of La-mbarang, one of the four Quarters of Pete-hul, and is famous as the inventor of the use of human bones as arrow-tips.

[3] See p. 299.

Account of how two Atchin women followed the ghost of a Vao man to Ambrim.

There is a tale told on Wala explaining how it is that the facts concerning the journey of the dead and the life of ghosts are known. This tale concerns a ghost from Vao, but the details belong to the Wala version of the story, and it is told chiefly with a view to pointing out the dire effects that occur from not quickly enough placating a ghost (*te-mets* in the Wala language) called *ni-wet or gnush*, "Nose-devouring Stone," which, in the form of a solitary rock,[1] stands alone in the sea at a place called Wetu, also meaning "Stone," at the southern end of the black-sand beach of Orap. If not duly placated with the gift of a fowl, this Stone rises up and hits the nose of the dead man with its finger, not in order to break it, but to make it flat.[2]

The story states that an old man of Vao died, was adorned as usual for burial with his arm badges, fowls' feathers and other insignia, and set out on his journey to Ambrim.

When he came to a place called Woremet, on the coast opposite Atchin, he was seen by two Atchin women, who were so taken by his finery that they wished to marry him. So they followed him to the "Cave of the Dead," where they saw him gnawing the trunk of a magic tree with red fruit which is a feature in the Wala version of the story. Then they followed him through the cave, and on to where he struck the waters of the river with his wand,[3] and passed through. But when they came to Wetu, the dead man delayed in presenting his fowl, so that the Stone rose up and with its finger struck the dead man's nose so as to make it flat. Then one of the women said to the other, "Now we see that this man is no good. He is no man, but a ghost." But they followed him to Pinalum, where the dead man took off the mats in which he was wrapped. Then they came to the place called Gunsin Te-mets,[4] and all three lit fires on the reef. Shules,[5] the ferryman, saw the fires and paddled

[1] In the Wala version, all ghosts met with, including the Guardian Ghost Le-saw-saw, are said to be petromorphic, and to be represented by natural upright coral blocks.

[2] The undesirability of the nose being flattened would appear to indicate the fact that prominent noses were characteristic of those responsible for the introduction of the myth. Compare the artificial elongation of the nose in Seniang (Layard, 2, pp. 218, 219); also the admiration expressed for the writer's prominent nose recorded on p. 744 of this volume.

[3] In the Wala version of the story, a cane, cut to the exact length of the dead man's body, is buried with him in the grave. This cane, clearly the dead man's "double," becomes a magic wand which the dead man takes with him and with which he parts the waters of rivers encountered on his way. The river here mentioned is the stream which crosses the black-sand beach. At burial a fowl is also killed, for payment to the "Nose-devouring Stone." When the dead man sets out on his journey he slings the wand over his shoulder with the ghost-fowl hanging from the hinder end. (For discussion of this and other features of the Wala and Atchin version see Layard, 4.)

[4] The name of a promontory, meaning "Nose (as promontory, cf. English 'ness') of the Ghosts."

[5] This is the name given to the ferryman on Wala.

over. And when he saw that it was a Vao man, he paddled back to Ambrim and told all the dead from Vao to come over and fetch the newcomer. This they did, and the two Atchin women went with him to Ambrim. When they arrived there, one of the women was frightened, and said to the other, "I've begged you all the time to go back but you would not, and now you really see that this is not a man, but a ghost; and here we are among nothing but the dead."

And they stayed there seven nights. And every evening, when the crickets [1] began to sing, they saw the bones of the dead join together and become alive, and they watched them dance till their heads fell off at the rising of the morning star. And at dawn after the seventh night the head of the man they had accompanied fell off also.[2]

But now the unusual happened. For the Atchin women must return home, but could not find their way alone. So this man became alive, and said, "I will take you back to Atchin." And he still had his wand. So, having ferried them over to Gunsin Te-mets, he walked northward with them along the coast, and whenever they came to a river he struck the waters with his wand, so that they parted and the three walked through on dry ground. And he went with them till they came to the "Cave of the Dead," where he left them, saying "*Ko reldrel e matur, ko reldrel e mairi*," [3] and himself returned to Ambrim.

The two women returned alone to Atchin, but straightway died. But the Atchin people brought them back to life by kneeling on their chests and suddenly releasing the pressure, so that the breath came back into their bodies.[4]

When they came back to life they related all that they had seen. And that is how it is known that the dead go to Ambrim and that after seven days their heads fall off, and why care is taken to kill a fowl at death and to place a wand with the body in the grave.

Brief analysis of the Vao version of the story into two layers in the earlier of which the dead have their home in the cave.

As I have shown, the Vao version of the story of the dead man's journey to the volcano on Ambrim is much shorter than those told on Atchin and on Wala, and differs from them in several material respects. In the article mentioned above [5] all three versions are told and the various

[1] Called in Wala *bong le muisi*.

[2] This refers to the Wala version mentioned above. The newly arrived ghost's bones do not fall asunder till the seventh night. Seven days represents the probationary period in the newer form of culture existing on Wala, as opposed to the five-day period belonging to the older culture represented on Vao.

[3] The translation of this is doubtful. The dialect is that of Wala. It probably means "he dances from the time of lying down to sleep to the time of rising."

[4] This method of artificial respiration is called, in the language of Wala, *mu wushi luha ni*, "he brings it back."

[5] Layard, 4.

elements analysed into successive layers of belief. This method of historical analysis will be extended later when the whole of my field-material is in print. For details the reader interested in such matters is referred to the article in question. It is enough here to point out that, of the three versions, that held on Vao is clearly the older, but that even this version is itself composed of two entirely distinct layers. The fact that, in the Vao version, in spite of living on the volcano, the dead are said also to be present in the cave, and that both Le-hev-hev and Ta-ghar Lawo are met with there, is a plain indication that at one time the cave, and not the volcano, must have been the dead man's goal. It is thus clear that the volcano story is later, and superimposed on a previous belief in a home of the dead within the cave. In the Atchin and Wala versions, the dead do in fact go through a cave, but do not meet their dead relatives there, nor yet Le-hev-hev, the position of the Guardian Ghost being in these versions transferred to the Malekulan promontory of Bong-na-un from which the dead are ferried over to Ambrim. This shows a more complete acceptance of the superimposed volcano myth than is held on Vao. The severance from the older story is made more obvious by the complete disappearance of Ta-ghar Lawo, who does not figure in the Wala and Atchin stories.

Godefroy's Account

Let us now turn to Godefroy's account, and find what additional information is to be gained from it.

In the first place, we find immediate confirmation of the analytical method in the study of mythology outlined above in that, according to him, the natives themselves recognise quite clearly a sharp distinction between the two concurrently held conceptions of a home of the dead, on the one hand in a cave and on the other in the volcano on Ambrim.

According to his account there are two separate beliefs, and these two beliefs concern two layers of society. Those who have not taken Maki rank eke out their life after death in caves, while the home of the dead in the volcano is reserved only for those who have attained high rank. According to him, those who go on to the volcano do not enter a cave at all. This seems to me unlikely, since in all the versions I collected the cave is at least passed through on the way. Whether this omission is due to a degradation of belief during the last twenty years, or whether it is real, the existence of the two beliefs side by side confirms even more completely than might have been expected the results of a purely analytical examination of the longer story, and affords conclusive proof that the belief in the home of the dead within the cave is in fact the older, since belief in the volcano myth is quite definitely associated with the later, monolithic, form of Maki.

VOLCANO

The "Path of Fire."

I propose now to deal with the additional information regarding the volcano myth.

Godefroy is still questioning Melteg-lil-nale, and says:[1]

"Last year, when the boy Motu died, the women put ten shillings[2] in each of his hands. It was a waste of money. Why did they do it?"

"Oh, no! The money was to buy the fire!"

"What fire?"

"The fire of Le-hev-hev."

"What does that mean: 'buying the fire of Le-hev-hev'?"

"That means that he paid Le-hev-hev not to eat him, but to leave him alone to follow the path of fire."

"Where, then, is Le-hev-hev when your ghost arrives before It, and how does It behave?"

"It is standing upright on the path of fire (the path which leads us to the fire).[3] It throws Itself forward, to devour us, but . . ."

"But what?"

"Why, then, we show It the shillings which we have in our hands and give It the pigs that we have caused to be sacrificed for It; It throws Itself on them and eats them instead of eating us."

"If I understand rightly, does all this mean that you prefer walking in the fire to being devoured by Le-hev-hev?"

"Indeed, yes."

By this, Melteg-lil-nale clearly meant that walking in fire, that is to say, being in the volcano, was the greatest possible bliss, since to the native fire means power and life, and the attainment of life after death in the volcano is the positive goal towards which every native strives. Elsewhere Melteg-lil-nale refers to it as "The great fire of Le-hev-hev, the

[1] Quotations from here to the end of the section on Le-hev-hev are taken from Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 228-42.

[2] From the introduction of shillings instead of pigs it will be seen that things are not quite what they were. It is, however, significant that the alteration in material currency has remarkably little effect on belief.

[3] Elsewhere, Melteg-lil-nale more clearly specifies the point at which the dead man meets the Guardian Ghost: "While following the path down the coast of Malekula, those of high rank meet a ghost (*ta-mat*) which bars their way on the long and dangerous promontory which the white men call Amélie. It is to this ghost that the dead men give the shillings placed in their hands: they pay the passage to Ambrim." This would appear to be the point the natives call Bong-na-un. It would appear probable from this that during the twenty years since I was in the Small Islands this part of the Atchin story has spread to Vao. It was certainly not indigenous when I was there. Such an adoption of Atchin belief would be in complete accord with the tendency to adopt Atchin forms which was a marked feature of Vao culture then, and of which many examples are seen in this book.

fire of chiefs. . . . It is there that (Le-hev-hev) sends the ghosts of chiefs,[1] of *na-humbe*."

Nor is there any fear, or even thought, of being burnt in it, as the following question and answer show:

"Do your ancestors tell you that this fire burns them?"

"No." [2]

Old men of Wala and Rano try to "bring back the fire" from Ambrim to Malekula.

Godefroy recounts how, "about the year 1903, some old men of Wala and Rano took it into their heads to go to Ambrim to buy the 'fire' and 'bring it back' to the mountain which dominates their two islets," which he refers to as "Lalemp,[3] on the mainland of Malekula. They had (in their opinion) every justification for saying 'bring back,' because, they said, there used to be a 'fire' on Lalemp, but the men of Ambrim had stolen it in order to augment the power of theirs. For this purpose they organised a convoy of sea-going canoes loaded with pigs with which to buy the fire and for their own food during the voyage. . . . Having sailed a mile and a half, till they were off the promontory of Pinalum, haunt of ghosts from all that part of Malekula, these latter raised such protestations and unleashed the winds and sea with such success that the flotilla put about and came home. . . . So the fire of Ambrim remained on Ambrim."

Life on the volcano.

Godefroy makes no mention of the all-night dancing on the volcano, his only reference to the life of the dead on Ambrim being to the "eternal palavers" which the ghosts are said to hold.

The "Death Pig"

I have already referred to the pig sacrificed at death "in case the dead should go away quickly." Godefroy adds some useful information about

[1] Cf. footnote on p. 220. Chiefs in the usually accepted sense of the word do not exist in the Small Islands, though it is a common habit with all white men to call all old men of influence by this name, which is, historically speaking, not far from the truth, since the Maki is clearly a chiefly hierarchy which in these islands has become plutocratic.

[2] Melteg-lil-nale perceives, however, that his interlocutor has an eye on extracting a parallel between the fire of the volcano and the fires of hell, and being, like all natives, a polite man, adds: "But they say that those who are in the fire are always angry, and that is why they are always wishing to harm us." This statement, however, is dragged out of its context and refers, not to those who have attained the glory of the volcano, but to those killed in battle and thus have no proper burial, and appear as will-o'-the-wisps to harm those left behind. See p. 235, footnote.

[3] This is not the native name of the mountain, but that of a village on its slopes, mistaken by the Admiralty surveyors for that of the mountain itself. For this and other mistakes in geographical nomenclature, and an explanation of how they occurred, see Layard, 5, p. 342, note.

this. He quotes a native saying, "After my death I must at all costs rejoin the souls of my ancestors. I can attain this only if Le-hev-hev lets me through, and It will let me through if I present my 'death pig.'" [1]

Therefore, "Every native, however poor, possesses a pig destined to be sacrificed and eaten on the day of his death. Children acquire theirs on the fortieth day after birth, at the time when their hair is cut. If they should happen to die before this, their relatives would sacrifice a small pig for them, just as for a grown man. The small pig given to a little child is destined to grow up with it. . . . I have several times seen certain very young pigs wandering around their houses, with the appearance of being completely domesticated. When I asked whom they belonged to, I would be told, for instance, that a given animal belonged to, say, L——. But this L—— was a baby only three months old. After several enquiries of this kind, I learned that every man on Vao, whether he be a new-born babe or an old man, has such a 'personal' pig. If the animal dies before its owner, it is replaced by another. It is his own inalienable property, and destined to be sacrificed at the death of its owner.

"It sometimes happens that a native changes his abode; sometimes his clan; much more rarely his tribe. He hesitates for a long time; but the day when, at last, he moves his 'death pig,' one may be sure that on that day he has definitely moved." [2]

Dependence on kinsfolk for sacrifice. No moral considerations.

"Everyone knows that after death he will have to do only [3] with Le-hev-hev; that is why this pig never leaves him: present or absent from his own country, his relatives will sacrifice it 'for his death.'"

Godefroy speaks of the sacrifice of this pig as "the necessary passport" if a dead man would set his feet on the road to the volcano. There is no moral test, nor is there, naturally, any question of what a man may or may not have done during his life. There is "only one great misfortune to fear: that of being devoured by Le-hev-hev. . . . To suffer this awful fate is not to be punished for crimes; it is simply to be the victim of a fatal negligence [i.e. in the unheard of case of a man's kinsfolk omitting to perform the sacrifice], the victim of a ferocious beast which seeks to devour us. But . . . from the moment that a man is in possession of a 'death pig' he seems without fear; in fact, each man has his pig ready to be sacrificed, in case of misfortune, on his tomb." "One thing is enough

[1] *nuku mbo na matean na nuk*, literally, "my pig for my death."

[2] "In the same way, when a native decides to leave his village to take up his abode with the Père at the Mission, one is never certain about his sincerity till the day when this man arrives at the enclosure preceded by his 'death pig.'"

[3] Godefroy is here emphasising the fact that Le-hev-hev has complete control over the dead, with whom Ta-ghar has nothing whatever to do. (Compare, however, his intercession with Le-hev-hev in the cave, which Godefroy does not record.)

to assure the peace of the dead man in the other life; that his pig should be sacrificed at his death."

Sacrifice for presentation to Le-hev-hev, as company for the dead man and for his food. Coconut trees cut down for his drink.

The "death pig" is not, however, the only one to be sacrificed during the early days of the mortuary rites. According to Melteg-lil-nale, the ghostly journey to Ambrim lasts ten days, "during which we sacrifice in the dancing-ground all the dead man's pigs, so that he shall not be devoured by Le-hev-hev, and so that he shall have company on the way."

"Thus, those which we kill on the day of his death are sacrificed so that Le-hev-hev may let him pass through and follow the 'path of fire.'"

On the other hand, "those which we kill during the following days are to supply the ghost of the dead man with food. For his drink we cut down ten coconut trees growing on his ground. We eat the flesh of the pigs which we have sacrificed; but we do not touch the coconuts; these we leave to serve as drink for the dead man."

Pigs for Le-hev-hev and all ghosts to eat, so that they shall not trouble the living. Vengeful activities of neglected ghosts.

We have seen how Melteg-lil-nale said, at the beginning of this account, "It is to save ourselves from Le-hev-hev that we sacrifice our pigs, that we dance, and that we perform all our rites." He also says, however, "We sacrifice them so that the ghosts shall not molest us; they make ceaseless demands for pigs to eat."

Note here the identification of all ghosts of those of high rank with Le-hev-hev referred to on p. 220.

This brave account of the number of pigs sacrificed, though true in respect of the enormous numbers of pigs sacrificed during the Maki rites, is not quite so true of those sacrificed on other occasions, when commercial greed vies jealously with ancestral duty. In this case "the ghosts often come back to torment us, their relatives on Vao, but do not molest strangers. They come to reproach our avarice in respect of sacrifices which, though bound to perform them, we do so but meanly. For example, when one of our kinsmen dies, it is our duty to sacrifice and eat all his pigs. But instead of sacrificing them all, we content ourselves with sacrificing perhaps only a third or quarter of them, dividing the rest among ourselves. Then the ghosts come in fury: some suddenly appear to us all red,[1] move before us for a moment and suddenly go, leaving us full of terror. Others often hide in the tops of trees, close to their graves, and,

[1] According to my notes, it is only the ghosts of those slain in battle, and who have thus no resting-place, that appear thus as will-o'-the-wisps. These ghosts are called *ta-mat oamp*, "fiery ghosts." See p. 631 and footnote p. 233.

at night, attack those of us who come within their reach with a shower of pebbles and of small unripe fruit; or else they set themselves to sighing and weeping in a manner so sad, so sad, that we take fright and flee. Others seize us violently by the arm or shoulder and shake us. During the month following a burial we tremble with fright!" Elsewhere, he says, "Sometimes they stand upright on a path, as if coming to meet us: the apparition whirls round like a tornado of fire: it is all red, but only lasts a moment."

Mortuary rites sometimes performed before death.

To such a pitch has the fear of revengeful ghosts, combined with the desire to witness oneself the magnificence of one's own mortuary rites, reached, that it is not unknown for a powerful man actually to perform his own mortuary rites before his death.[1] Thus Godefroy tells us: "Meltelum is the happiest man on earth, since, feeling himself ageing, he has already performed his own mortuary rites three years ago. Observing the infirmities of age creeping upon him, and having only limited confidence in his kinsfolk's piety, this cunning old man who had so often deceived his compatriots took it into his head one fine day to order the performance of his obsequies and to sacrifice all his 'death pigs.' He is now well assured that the blessing of the Ambrim fire is accorded to him in advance; he knows he will not be eaten by Le-hev-hev, but that he will have the good fortune and the honour of going to take part in the endless palavers of his ancestors. Now, he has nothing to do but wait; and," says the reverend father, not with *arrière-pensée*, "he thinks less than ever about Ta-ghar up in the moon, or about Le-hev-hev who has already eaten his pigs. So, every day now he is to be seen strolling down the path towards the sea, his face cheery and uppish in spite of his age. He has indeed attained the summit of joy in respect of duty done and pride well satisfied."

The rites referred to above are almost certainly the feast called *matean*, described on pp. 544 ff. Melteg-tò, of the village of Ruruar on Atchin, went so far as to build for himself a huge stone mausoleum in the shape of a shark, and to perform similar rites long before his death, the consequences of which will be described in a future volume.

The Cave

Each Small Island has its appropriate cave on the mainland for those of low rank; said to contain fire.

I have already mentioned that, according to Godefroy's account of beliefs now held on Vao, twenty years since I was there, the ghosts of

[1] See p. 545.

those of high rank who go to the volcano do not previously go through the cave, but meet Le-hev-hev "standing upright on the 'path of fire.'" The belief in the cave as the final habitation of the dead applies, on the other hand, only to those who have not taken Maki rank.

Thus, in the words of Melteg-lil-nale, "The ghosts of the common people, that is to say those who have not taken Maki rank, do not go to the volcano on Ambrim, they remain close to their own country, the Small Islands. Among the rocky indentations of the coast [of the big island of Malekula], at those spots which appear most wild, we find small caves, like houses: it is in these that Le-hev-hev, with the help of Its assistants, keeps our dead kinsfolk imprisoned.

"Those from Wala and Rano find their home [in caves] on the impressive promontory of Pinalum. . . .[1]

"Those from Atchin inhabit the caves situated to the right of the great black-sand beach [Orap]. . . .

"Those from Vao go to the coast facing the island, towards North Cape, into very small caves."

Just as there seems to be, however, considerable confusion as to who remains in these caves and who does not (for, as will be seen when we come to discuss the Maki, the distinction between ranks is now very slight), so also the idea of fire seems, by analogy, to have penetrated the notion of a home of the dead of "commoners" in caves. Thus, Melteg-lil-nale is reported as saying, "Our ancestors went there [into the caves] to see them, and told us that they saw them walking in the fire. This fire is not made of big flames like those of which the White Men speak, but is like a mass of sparks, or a small fire running among dry leaves which have fallen to the ground. It irritates continually; but it does not make them suffer like that of your Satan."[2]

[1] "The end of this promontory is made of great coral blocks which the waves caused by the trade winds have perforated in a remarkable way . . . [honeycombing them with caves] . . . When the sea here is rough it is because the ghosts are hungry for yams, bananas and taro. The moment the voyager throws them provisions, the sea becomes calm, or else the wind is immediately made to blow from the desired quarter. If, on the other hand, this satisfaction is refused them, or else the voyager finds himself genuinely without provisions, then they revenge themselves by barring the way or, in these latter days, capsizing the motor launches of the white infidels. . . . [A good maxim is] 'never sail past Pinalum without having a good store of yams aboard'" (Godefroy, 1, 1932, pp. 223-4).

[2] Throughout his dialogue, the reverend father is naturally on the look-out on the one hand for analogies and on the other for differences between Christian and native dogma. Le-hev-hev is thus considered as closely approximating to Satan, and the volcanic fires with those of hell. Godefroy, however, is quite clear on the fact that, though there exist certain similarities with the Christian dogma in the main characters of Ta-ghar and Le-hev-hev, and in the existence of fire as the main feature of the life after death which is connected exclusively with Le-hev-hev, the two systems of belief do not bear comparison in details. Most clearly is this shown in the complete failure to elicit, from however willing an informant, any admission that the fire is harmful.

(C) BEINGS CALLED HAMBALEV OR AMBALEV

(a) *In the caves, guarding the dead.*

In the last section were mentioned certain "assistants" employed by Le-hev-hev to keep the dead of "common people" in the caves to which they go after death. These so-called "assistants" are all aspects of a Being whose name as spelt by Godefroy is *Ambalev*, or *Hambalev*, but the name of whose order I recorded on Atchin as *Ghamba Lep*. Of those ghosts that live in caves, those from each of the Small Islands appear to be under the surveillance of a different aspect of this Being. Thus, according to Melteg-lil-nale,

Ghosts from Wala and Rano living in caves on the promontory of Pinalum are guarded by *Ambalev marelemrek*.

Ghosts from Atchin inhabiting the caves of Orap are detained by *Ambalev malavame*.

Ghosts from Vao inhabiting caves towards North Cape are looked after by *Ambalev martembur*.[1]

(b) *Prowling along the path to carry off the living to be eaten by Le-hev-hev.*

On the other hand, he says, "We have never seen either Ta-ghar or Le-hev-hev, but we have often seen this one's assistants." Elsewhere he speaks of "*Hambalev*, Le-hev-hev's assistant, who prowls along the paths: we hardly have time to see him before he is upon us: he makes us die of fright and takes us to his master, who immediately devours us." . . . He is the most terrible of ghosts.

"All the same," remarked Godefroy, "I have never yet heard speak of anyone falling victim to *Hambalev*."

"That's true," replied his tactful informant. "But we know that wherever the reverend Fathers live, *Hambalev* very rarely comes."

(D) GHAMBA LEP

These last quotations clearly envisage this Being as attacking not the dead, but the living. This is the character attributed in the Small Islands to a specialised type of flying trickster inhabiting certain villages on the mainland of Malekula between Norsup and the reefy bay south of Uri, whose activities I have described elsewhere.[2]

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 234. The names of these *Ambalev* appear to be topographical, since the name of the first, *Ambalev marelemrek*, is probably an amalgamation of the word *mara* meaning "man" and Limwerek, the name of the chief mainland village that the *Bwili* are said to inhabit. In the same way *malavame* probably means "man of Lavame," another mainland village of which a few survivors are now on Vao. The third name *martembur* probably means "man of Tembur," indicating some other village I do not know of.

[2] Layard, 3.

These tricksters, called *Bwili*, form a kind of brotherhood the name of which is *Ghamba Lep*, clearly the same word as Godefroy's *Hambalev* and probably meaning "Great Fire." Their sphere of influence does not reach to the Small Islands, but is confined to the mainland of Malekula, where they are much feared. Having gone through an initiation rite in which their bodies are said to be cut up and joined together again, they are said to acquire the power of flight in the form of fowls, and of transforming themselves into snakes and other objects for the sake of working harm on their victims, one of their main tricks being to assume the form of a husband or wife and seducing the unsuspecting spouse, thereby causing the victim's death.[1]

[1] For one tale told on Vao, see p. 81.

CHAPTER X

PIGS

SINCE it is impossible to describe any aspect of Small Island culture without reference to pigs, I propose now to devote a chapter to these animals.

It is frequently assumed by white men in the Pacific that the pig was introduced by Captain Cook. This is, of course, not the case. Pigs were observed in neighbouring islands in large quantities by Quiros in 1606, and the cult of the pig is in any case too deeply rooted in native culture for such recent introduction to have been possible. The Malekulan pig belongs to the breed known as *Sus papuensis*, found all over Melanesia, as well as in New Guinea.[1] Nowhere, however, is its culture developed to such a high degree as in the Northern New Hebrides, in which area two characteristics mark it out from all other branches of the species. Both these characteristics are due to the hand of man.

Intersex pigs.

The first is the rearing of intersex pigs. This practice is far from universal, even in this area, being confined to the most northerly islands of the group, namely, Maewo, Oba, Raga, Santo and Malo. It does not take place in Malekula, though the phenomenon is well known to Malekulans, and figures in Small Island mythology. It therefore does not immediately concern us here.[2]

Artificial elongation of tusks.

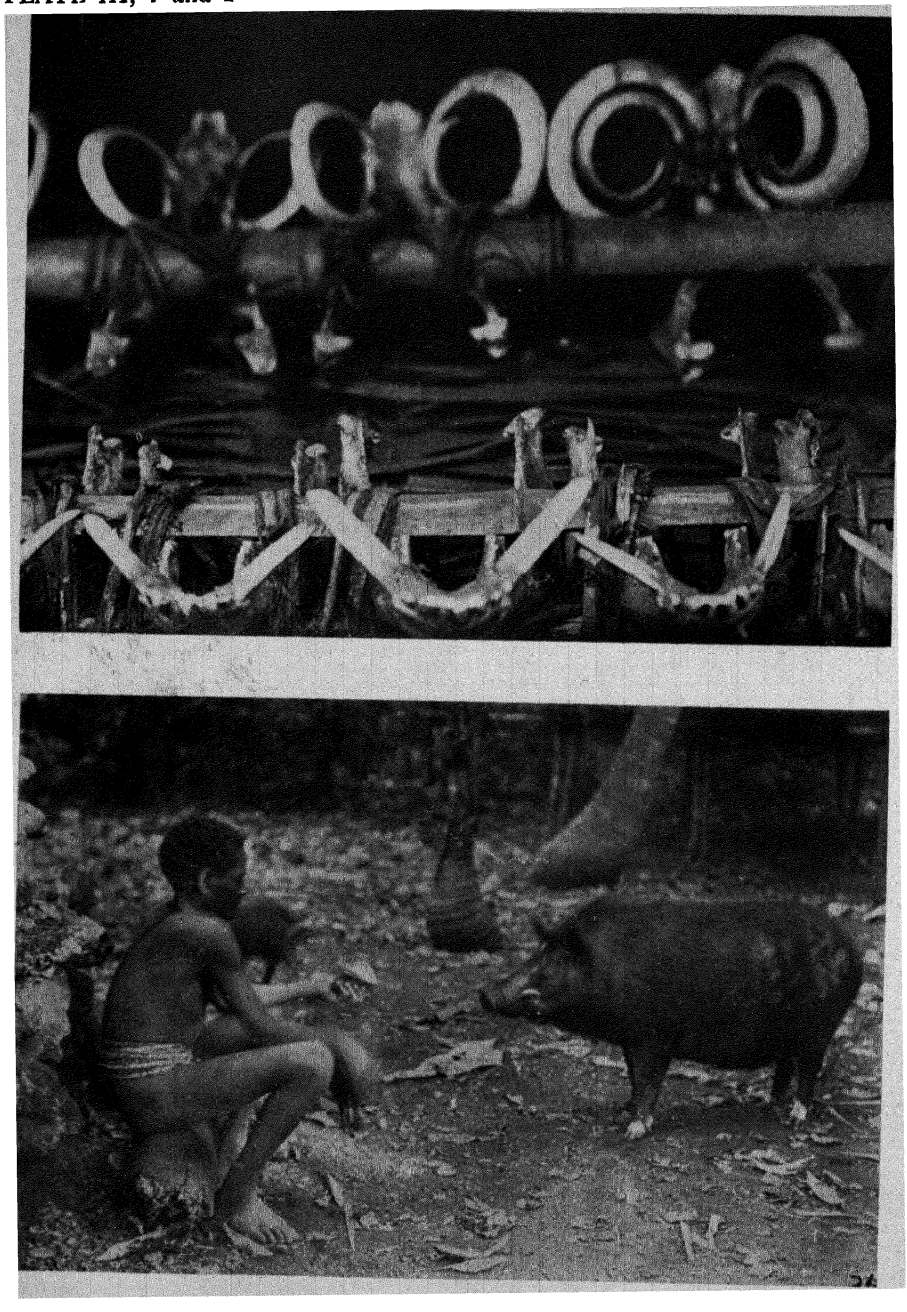
What does concern us is the more widespread practice of artificially inducing the growth of the tusks. This practice lies at the base of the natives' whole overt religious life, gives rise to the chief form of currency, and so largely regulates all their economic activities, and, as I have said, permeates every aspect of life.

The means by which the tusks are induced to grow is a very simple one, and consists in knocking out the upper canines, so that the tusks, having

[1] Godefroy (1, 1934, p. 50) says that they are now crossed with European pigs of various breeds. This is a very new development, which had not started at the time of my visit. It apparently does not hinder the growth of artificially elongated tusks described below.

[2] Intersex (hermaphrodite) pigs are mentioned by Codrington, 3, pp. 57 and 80, and by Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 38, 80, 98 and 107, and have been studied also from the biological point of view by Dr. John Baker (1, 2, 3 and 4 (Chapter V)).

PLATE IX, 1 and 2



1. Tusked jaws displayed on Atchin. Note the double-circle-tusker on the top row
2. Youth named Mal-sibini feeding a re-entrant-tusker he was about to sacrifice during the course of his Initiation rite on Atchin

nothing to bite against, continue their upward growth.[1] Following their natural curve, they then curl backwards, and then downwards, piercing the cheek and then the jaw. The jaw is no obstacle, for, growing now forwards again through the bone, they finally emerge once more, each having completed a whole circle, with the tip of the tusk just inside the spot at which it first appeared. When the tusk has pushed its way up for the second time so that its tip is visible outside the animal's lip, it is considered perfect from a ritual point of view. This is, however, by no means the highest possible stage of growth. Tusks so treated can, with luck and good management, be induced to describe two complete circles, and there are cases in which they have been known to describe three. During my stay on Vao there was one highly valued beast which had attained this triple distinction.[2]

Tusked boar the natives' sacrificial animal.

The motive behind the tremendous labour and endless care lavished to produce these results is a religious one, since the prime value of the pig with artificially elongated tusks lies in the fact that it is the sacrificial animal, through the slaying of which, with due ritual, a man attains life after death.[3]

The manner in which this is accomplished, and the endless ramifications, both ritual and commercial, resulting from this belief, will be dealt with in due place. It must suffice here to point out that the whole process involves the identification of the sacrificer with the victim, and that since, in this strongly patrilineal society, men only have souls and have the right to sacrifice, only male pigs are so treated.

Gelded pigs.

Male pigs are, however, of two kinds, gelded and not gelded. The practice of gelding pigs is probably due to a compromise between religious ideology and gastronomical considerations. For an essential aspect of sacrifice is that the victim should also be eaten. But the most valued tusked boars are always old; moreover, the pain attendant on the passage of their tusks through the jaw is not conducive to that state of contentment which would enable them to put on flesh. The result is that, apart from their tusks, they are, as a rule, nothing but skin and bones. Partly owing

[1] This operation will be fully described in a future volume on Atchin. A brief account by Père Godefroy is quoted on p. 259 of the present volume.

[2] See p. 247, footnote 1.

[3] Fowls also are sacrificed (see p. 390), but do not of themselves confer new life. Recent innovations also include the sacrifice of animals introduced by the white man, such as young bullocks obtained from planters—I saw, and will describe in a future volume, one such sacrifice on Atchin—though such innovations are not approved of by the old men. On Ambrim another introduced animal known to have been sacrificed is the dog.

to this, and partly so as to provide companionship for the boars, certain male pigs are gelded. Gelded pigs also have their upper canines extracted, and so develop elongated tusks, but are never, so far as I know, kept alive beyond the stage at which the tusks approach the jaw but have not yet entered it. They are reared for two purposes, firstly as companions to the tusked boars, and partly so as to provide the fleshy part of sacrifice. Thus pigs are often sacrificed in pairs, one tusked boar and one gelded tusker. The boar only is the official victim; the gelded tusker is sacrificed at the same time in order to provide the meat.

Sows not sacrificed or eaten.

Though women sometimes own pigs, sows are never sacrificed and therefore do not have their tusks artificially elongated; nor may they be eaten.[1] Men cannot eat sows because they are female, and women may not eat pig-flesh at all. For pig-flesh is only eaten as a result of sacrifice.

TERMINOLOGY; PIG GRADES; STAGES OF GROWTH

General Terms

The general word for "pig" is *bò*, or, when preceded by the indefinite article, *na-mbò*. The same word is used more specifically for "boar" as opposed to gelded pig or sow.

Gelded pigs are called *tamav*.

Sows are called *bò-rav*.

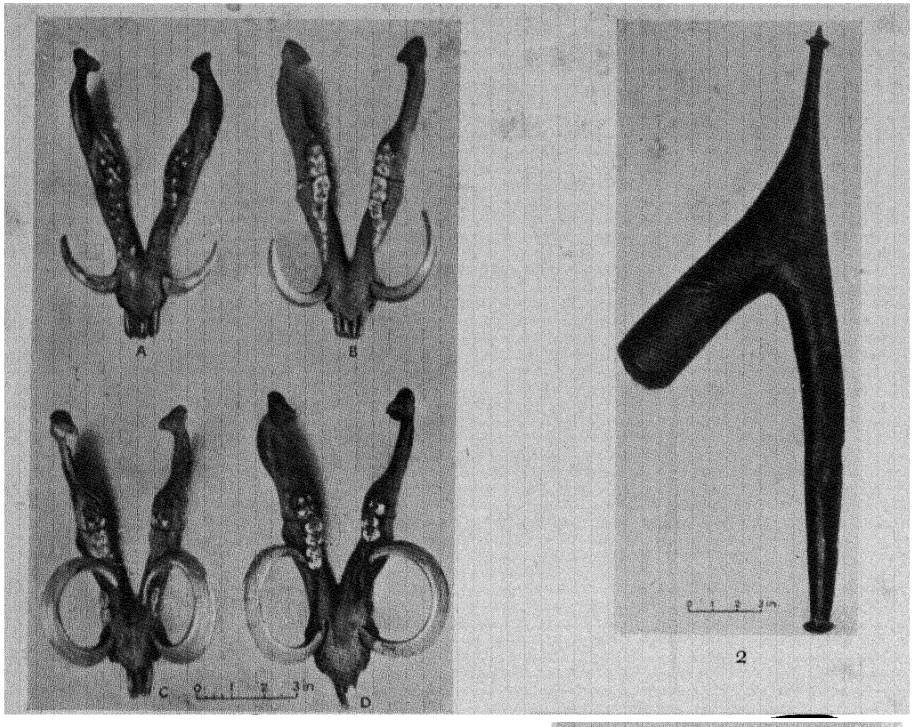
Pigs reared from a sow belonging to the owner and not acquired by trade are called *netin na-mborav*, and are particularly prized for sacrifice. Such pigs when grown to sacrificial size I will call "home-bred tuskers."

Intersex pigs, described in Vao as having vagina and testicles but no penis, are called *na-rav*. These are not intentionally reared on Vao, but sometimes occur in the course of ordinary breeding.

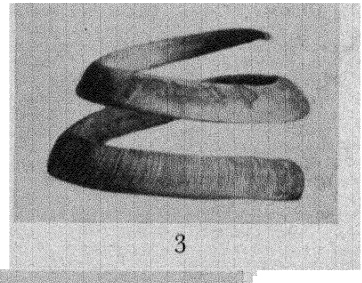
Four Main Grades depending on Curvature of Tusks

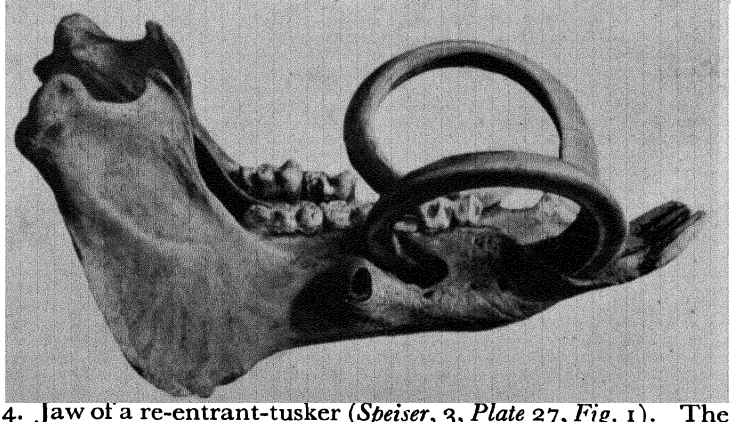
Tusked boars are, for ritual purposes, graded into four main categories, according to the length and curvature of their tusks. As these categories are the same, with dialectical variations, all over the Small Islands, and as it is necessary to be able to refer to them in English in such a manner as not to burden the reader with too many native terms, I propose here

[1] Compare Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 48: "The sow is despised to such an extent that it may not even be eaten; if it is necessary, for some reason or other, to get rid of a sow, it is thrown into the sea, unless the young men take it for bait to attract sharks, which they then kill."



1. Tusked jaws of sacrificial boars:—
A. Crescent-tusker; B. Curved tusker;
C. and D. Re-entrant-tuskers. (*Layard*, 2, *Plate XVIII*, *Fig.* 1)
2. Wooden pig-killer from Seniang. (*Layard*, 2, *Plate XIX*, *Fig.* 2)
3. Double-circle tusk removed from jaw. (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 27, *Fig.* 2)





4. Jaw of a re-entrant-tusker (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 27, *Fig.* 1). The protuberance on the jaw is probably the socket of a third tusk

to give the Vao terms, together with the English equivalents which I first published in 1928,[1] and which I shall continue to use in this and subsequent volumes. To illustrate the importance of these four grades, I will give also the Atchin terms for the same grades, which are almost the same as those used in Vao, although the terms used for the less important intermediate grades differ considerably. The four grades are:

(1) CRESCENT-TUSKER. Vao *pakeah*, Atchin *pekes*. The tusks are plainly visible outside the animal's lips. The word "crescent" is chosen owing to its technical connotation of "growing."

(2) CURVED-TUSKER. Vao *na-rugh*, Atchin *na-ru*. The portion of the tusk visible outside the animal's lip is now distinctly curved, the tip being directed backwards, but not yet having penetrated the cheek.

(3) RE-ENTRANT-TUSKER. Vao *bò-ware*,[2] Atchin *ni-wara*. The tusk has now pierced the cheek and re-entered the jaw.

(4) CIRCLE-TUSKER. Vao *merer-pakeah*, Atchin *merer-pekes*. The tusk has now passed through the jaw, curved up forwards inside the spot where it first appeared, and the tip is again visible outside the animal's lip. The word *merer* means "twice" or "double," and indicates that the tip of the tusk now occupies for a second time the position of crescent-tusker (*pakeah*, *pekes*).

NOTE ON THE TERMS USED FOR THE PIG IN GENERAL, AND FOR THE FOUR MAIN GRADES OF TUSKER

Bò (Atchin *buha*). This word, used for the pig in general, is allied to the Indonesian forms *babui*, *bawi* and *babi*,[3] variants of which are common throughout Melanesia.

Pakeah (Atchin *pekes*), here used for crescent-tusker, is an uncommon word, and appears in Melanesia, so far as is known, only in the New Hebrides, where it appears as a generic term for pig under the forms *bukahi* (in the Bieri district of South Epi), *pekasi* (in Erromanga), *pokasi* (in Tanna) and *pigadh* (in Aneityum).[3]

Na-rugh (Atchin *na-ru*), here used for curved-tusker, is by far the most

[1] Layard, 2, p. 190. It is to be hoped that other writers will adopt these terms, as the grades are important not only in present-day practice, but also in tracing the development of the cult of artificial tusks in this and neighbouring areas, and without agreed technical terms in English comparison would be difficult.

[2] The only pig name mentioned by Godefroy is *bouar*, which is evidently the same word, but which he on several occasions describes as indicating this stage of growth the second time round, i.e. after having already completed one circle.

[3] For information regarding these terms I am indebted to the Rev. A. Capell. Codrington, 1, gives a list of 40 languages in which forms of the Indonesian word for pig are used. Dr. Capell has a list of over 100.

common term used in the Northern New Hebrides for various grades of tusker, though the grades which it is used to indicate vary greatly. The word is clearly allied to the Mota words *ruqa*, "to bend at an angle without breaking," and *luk*, "to bend at an angle," together with *luqe*, "to fold or bend," [1] though none of these terms are here used to specify any grade of pig. In Malo, however, the word is found in the form of *undruk*, described as a boar with "a curved tusk so large that it has grown right round to reach the jaw," [2] that is to say, that it is there used for what, in my terminology, is a re-entrant-tusker. In Lambumbu it appears in the form of *naarugh*, meaning "a pig whose tusk has passed through the jaw-bone and entered the mouth," [3] i.e. a stage longer than in Malo. In South-East Oba (Lologaro) the term is not used alone, but reappears under the form *ruk-waru*, applied to boars of which the tusks have re-entered the jaw the second time round.[4] The word *waru* means "twice," and the complete term thus means "twice curved." This is the longest curvature of tusk I know of to receive a grade name which is not simply a repetition of the term used for the tusk on its first way round. The importance of this term is emphasised by its use as a title in the graded society under the form of *ruk-waru* in the Maki of Atchin and Wala, of *ruh-varu* in Unua,[5] *lok-paro* in Port Sandwich and *luk-paro* or *lugubaru* in the Mangge of Sulol and Lonwolwol on Ambrim.[6]

Bò-ware (Atchin *ni-wara*). This term, here used for re-entrant-tusker, is less widespread, and I do not know of its use as a grade term outside the Small Islands. It is allied to the Mota *war*, meaning "to twist, screw, curl over," and also "to have curled tusks," illustrated by the phrase *o qoe we war*.[7]

Merer-pakeah (Atchin *merer-pekes*), here used for circle-tusker, is a composite term, meaning "*pakeah* again," signifying the return of the tusk, on its second round, to the position of *pakeah*, or crescent-tusker. This is, so far as has been recorded, a universal way of describing circle-tuskers, namely, by the device of using the name of a previous grade with the addition of some word signifying "again." We have already seen this in the term *ruk-waru*, meaning "*ruk* twice," together with its South-East Malekulan and Ambrim equivalents *luk-paro*, etc. The same means is employed in Lambumbu, where the phrase *ni-mbuah rendam vaaru* is used for "a pig in which the tusk is beginning to project for the second time," and *lip mavüs vaaru*, "a pig in which the tusk is clearly seen projecting for the second time." [8] In Seniang the same device is employed

[1] Codrington, 2. The Indonesian root for this word is *dekung* (Capell).
[2] Rivers, 3. [3] Deacon, 4, p. 196. [4] Layard, 9.
[5] One of the four "Fires" into which the *ni-mangki* grades of Lambumbu were divided was also called by this name (Deacon, 4, p. 346).
[6] For references see table of graded society ranks, Table XI. The use of this term as a title presumably implies that the sacrificer must sacrifice a boar of this grade.
[7] Codrington, 2. [8] Deacon, 4, p. 196.

by means of the word *ndal*, meaning "again"; thus, *mbong mevüs* is roughly equivalent to crescent-tusker, and *mbong mevüs ndal* means "a pig whose tusk has attained to the *mbong mevüs* stage for the second time," that is to say, has become a circle-tusker, and for any stage above this the qualifying adverb *ndal* is added to the name for the corresponding stage the first time round.[1]

Philological evidence points to comparatively recent development of the art of rearing circle-tuskers.

The above brief philological survey is not without importance, since it shows that, of all the terms used to describe pigs, two only are widespread, namely *bò*, the generic word for pig all over Melanesia, with its close parallels in Indonesia, and the term *rugh*, together with its various equivalents, of which the root meaning is "curved." In connexion with this term *rugh* and its equivalents, the interesting fact further emerges that they are used in various districts for almost any grade of curved-tusker, from crescent-tusker to a stage almost equivalent to circle-tusker. There is, further, the noteworthy fact that there is nowhere an individual term for circle-tusker, this grade being everywhere expressed by repeating the term used for the first visible stage of the tusk on its first round, together with some word signifying "twice" or "again."

These facts appear to indicate: (*a*) that in the development of the New Hebridean practice of rearing pigs with artificially deformed tusks the important thing at first was the production of a curved tusk of any size, called by some form of the word *rugh*, and that this term became applied at one time in various districts to the greatest length of tusk then known; and (*b*) that the stage of circle-tusker, for which no individual term exists, is a comparatively late development due to improved technique. This supposition is borne out in the accounts given by the natives themselves of the grades of tusker sacrificed both formerly and now. In the history of the Maki on Atchin (to be published in a future volume) it will be shown that it is only in recent generations that circle-tuskers have been reared in sufficient numbers to become the prescribed form of sacrifice at certain rites, and that formerly, even on the most important occasions, the highest-grade sacrificial animals were re-entrant-tuskers.

Each of the four main grades has its own conch-shell trumpet signal.

However late the development of the art of producing circle-tuskers may be, the four main grades of tusker mentioned above are now firmly established in the Small Islands, and each has its own particular ritual significance. The great importance of this method of classification in the native mind is shown by the fact that each of the four main grades has its own special signal, blown for it on a conch-shell trumpet. These

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 195.

signals are blown whenever a tusked boar changes hands, approaches the island in a canoe or is sacrificed, and it is in connexion with tusked boars that these trumpets are chiefly used.[1]

Intermediate Stages of Growth

In addition to the four main grades cited above there are a number of intermediate grades the terms for which have no special ritual significance, but simply describe the stages of growth. Though I am unable in all cases to give literal translations as fully as I shall be able to do in a future volume with respect to those in use on Atchin, it will be seen that they are chiefly of a purely descriptive nature. They are:

Bò rombo. Sucking pig.

Na-mbò. Pig that has been weaned. (This is the general word for pig.)

Ghamb-ghamb-lehi. The lower canine (i.e. the tusk) is about to appear (through the gum). *Lehi* means "to see."

Bò-rūhūlē. The tusk has erupted.

Bò mpal-pal-re. The tusk meets the upper canine. The word *pal* means "to strike," also "to sacrifice." It is at this point that the upper canine is knocked out. I do not know whether the name refers to the striking of the tusk against the upper canine, or to the fact that, once the latter is extracted, the animal is destined for sacrifice.

Bò hŏlŏt. The upper canine (*patin(e)*) has been extracted.

Bò her-hari. Young tusker with tusks occasionally visible outside the lips. *Har* means "to shine," and refers presumably to the gleam of the tusk's tip when it first appears.[2]

Pakeah. Crescent-Tusker. The tusks are now plainly visible at all times outside the animal's lips.

Na-rugh. Curved-Tusker. The tusk curves backwards outside the cheek.

Tev-tev. The tip of the tusk, curving backwards and downwards, grazes the skin of the cheek, so that it bleeds. *Tev* is a widespread word meaning "to cut."

Tuh-nò-tev-siri. The tusk has pierced the cheek, but has not yet entered the jaw. It is still possible to put one's finger between the jaw and the tip of the tusk. *Tev* again means "to cut"; *siri* possibly means "entirely," indicating that the cheek is completely pierced.

Bò-ware. Re-Entrant-Tusker. The tip of the tusk, moving downwards and now forwards again, has now re-entered the jaw.

Bò e ves-vas. The tip of the tusk is now well inside the jaw.

[1] Compare also the term *ni-tavu* (=conch-shell trumpet) used for the first grade of tusker after removal of the upper canines in Seniang (Deacon, 4, p. 194). Trumpets are blown during the operation.

[2] Compare the corresponding grade in Seniang, called *mbong mevüs*, meaning "mouth white" (Deacon, 4, p. 194).

Na-timb. The tip of the tusk is about to erupt from the jaw for the second time.

Bò-rūhūlē. The tusk has erupted for the second time. This term duplicates that used for the first eruption. Its sense would always be apparent from the context in which it is used.

Bò mpal-pal-re. The tip of tusk is now well out of the jaw, but is not yet visible outside the lip. This term duplicates that used for a similar position the first time round.

Merer-hŏlŏt. The tip of the tusk is yet further out, but not yet fully visible. This term duplicates *bò hŏlŏt*, with the addition of *merer*, "double."

Merer-pakeah. CIRCLE-TUSKER. The tip of the tusk is now visible at all times outside the lip immediately behind the spot where it originally erupted, having described a complete circle.

Tal va gha rugh. This is a yet higher grade, an exact description of which I did not record. *Tal* is the word used for the rope by which pigs are tethered; *rugh* may duplicate *na-rugh*, in which case the term would appear to refer to a stage in which that of curved-tusker has been reached the second time round.

Yet further stages of growth are called by names which in the same way repeat those used for the tusk while describing its first circle. Super-high-grade boars of this kind will be referred to in the following pages as:

(*a*) CIRCLE-PLUS-CRESCENT-TUSKER.
(*b*) CIRCLE-PLUS-CURVED-TUSKER.
(*c*) CIRCLE-PLUS-RE-ENTRANT-TUSKER.
(*d*) DOUBLE-CIRCLE-TUSKER.
(*e*) DOUBLE-CIRCLE-PLUS-CRESCENT-TUSKER.
(*f*) TRIPLE-CIRCLE-TUSKER,[1]
and so on.

Freaks are sometimes accidentally produced, having four tusks, or three, two on one side and one on the other. The former are called *līv-văt-văt* (*līv* meaning "tusk" and *văt* "four") and the latter *līv-tīl-tīl* (*tīl* meaning "three").

Life-span of tusked boars.

I know of no exact data bearing on the life-span of tusked boars, and existing records are remarkably diverse. Thus Harrisson, referring presumably to Matanavat, says that in the growth of the tusks "each circuit takes about seven years," [2] while Mr. Bowie is quoted by Speiser as having found the time taken in Ambrim for the tusk to re-enter the jaw (i.e. in my terminology, to attain the grade of re-entrant-tusker) to be sixteen years.[3]

[1] One such three-circle-tusker existed on Atchin at the time of my visit, in the village of Emil Lep. Another is mentioned in an account of human sacrifice at Matanavat (see p. 621, note).

[2] Harrisson, 2, p. 25.

[3] Speiser, 3, p. 160.

SECULAR USE OF PIGS

It will be seen, from the large number of terms, that the rearing of tusked pigs plays a large part in native life. The extent to which this occupation does in fact engross the natives' time and thought, and the intense emotion accompanying it, are matters which it is difficult to convey to one who has not actually witnessed them.

Let us take first the outward manifestations in everyday life of the importance attached to these animals. In the first place, though there is a considerable amount of spare ground on the island on which cultivation could take place, this is not used, since sows with their young and as yet untusked progeny wander at will wherever they wish, scouring the ground for roots and other food.[1] For this reason, also, every man is obliged to surround his house-enclosure with a high wall, to keep them out.

If we enter the enclosure, a very different sight meets our eyes. Here a man keeps his own pigs, tied by one of their forelegs, in sties almost as well built as his own house, to protect them from the weather and from the heat of the sun, the direct rays of which they cannot endure, or, even, in the case of an old man with a high-grade tusker, in the rear portion of his dwelling. Here his own sows and small pigs are fed and tended by his wife, and the tusked boars with the leavings of his own meals, or with the very finest puddings specially cooked, often with magical ingredients to promote the growth of tusks over which spells have been uttered. Details of such tending will be given in a future volume on Atchin.

Tusked boars the chief native article of currency.

The next point to force its attention on even the most casual student of Small Island culture is the fact that pigs are money. Strings of shell-beads, such as are used further north, are here used only as ornaments, and feather money, such as is used in Santa Cruz, and to a lesser extent in the Banks Islands and in Malo,[2] is here unknown. In the Small

[1] A benefit incidental to their scavenging tendencies is humorously described by Godefroy, who says (1, 1934, p. 49):

"One must not complain too bitterly about these marauders, for they render a great service in the matter of public hygiene, since it is they who clear up all droppings, particularly those of man. Sometimes, in fact, the latter has the greatest difficulty in defending himself against these too zealous scavengers: before taking up his squatting position he will do well to arm himself with sundry missiles with which to keep off his more importunate visitors, unless he is willing to run the risk of being upturned by a too eager snout. The natives have found one solution to this very real difficulty when satisfying the demands of nature by squatting on low branches of trees. In this way, both parties are satisfied. . . ."

The difficulty for the native is not only one of hygiene, which in his eyes is of secondary importance, but of defence against sorcery. Since for a sorcerer what comes out of a man is the most valuable material on which to work his spells, the scavenger is here doubly useful.

[2] Speiser, 3, p. 273.

Islands of Malekula there are only two forms of currency, pigs and mats. The mats in question are a special kind called *mangau*[1] (see Plate VI), henceforth referred to as money-mats, made of long strips of plaited material 6 to 8 inches wide, dyed red on a yellow base, with very long fringes on either side. Each mat is rolled up tightly, tied round with a strip of coconut husk, and normally kept hanging in the owner's house, with the long fringes hanging loose. Once rolled, they are never undone, and pass as small currency and complimentary gifts from hand to hand till the long fringes gradually become worn away and the mat finally becomes worthless and must be replaced.[2] These form the small change of native currency. The capital currency is pigs.

Pig currency is based, not on the animal's size or the state of its flesh, but exclusively on the elongation of its tusks. For this reason, sows are not used as currency. Nor is the tusk of a dead boar of any commercial value.[3] For it must be remembered that the prime value of the boar is as a sacrificial animal, and its ultimate worth rests exclusively on this fact, and on the rise in rank that a man achieves through sacrifice. As will be seen later, this rise in rank is exactly correlated with the size of the tusks of the sacrificed boar, and it is on this fact that the graded system is built up. When sacrificed, the tusked jaws of the victims are displayed on booths and otherwise hung up for the admiration of all comers and for the greater honour of the sacrificer. At a yet later stage, when the booths have been dismantled, the sacrificer may extract one of the tusks and wear it on his wrist as a memorial of his exploit. Such display, however, is merely a matter of record and personal vanity, and has no other practical object, since the boar's value as such has ceased once its main object in the eyes of the natives has been achieved, namely its sacrifice and the resulting rise in rank bestowed on the sacrificer. The whole value of the pig lies in its function as a prospective victim. For this reason, a dead boar, or its tusks, are valueless as currency. It is the live pig only that is valued, in proportion to the length of its tusks.

The reason for this, and the means by which the tusked boar is itself

[1] Equivalent to the North Raga *bwana* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 385). In Vao they are used also for wrapping up the dead, whence Speiser accounts for their value (see p. 542, note). These mats are quite distinct from the ordinary sleeping-mats called *beturu* and the fine mats called *to-mbagha*. For the use of mats as currency elsewhere see Codrington, 3, p. 323, and Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 443.

[2] Specimens of similar money-mats from Atchin are to be seen in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Layard Collection, Nos. 179 and 181. In that island they are called *ni-mbwen*, the same word as is used for women's mourning-caps. The material from which they are made is strips of pandanus fibre, rather coarser than that used for wearing apparel, and, like the wearing apparel, they are dyed yellow and red with conventionalised designs. No. 181, when unrolled, proved to be 9 feet long. The fringes of a good new mat will hang as much as 3 feet down on either side.

[3] Pigs' jaw-bones are, however, used as currency in the Torres Islands (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 460).

invested with the sanctity which it will later, as victim, pass on to the sacrificer, will be gone into below.[1] What we are at present concerned with is the overt value of the future victim, while yet alive, as an article of currency.

Rates of exchange based on the elongation of tusks.

The system of exchange is based on the first three of the four main grades of pig already listed, namely crescent-tusker, curved-tusker and re-entrant-tusker. Circle-tuskers are not used as currency, since they are too sacred to exchange and hold in their own lives the possibility of conferring on their owners, with due ritual, the highest rank in the Maki rite, which no man would forgo. The rates of exchange are worked out in great detail, pigs rising rapidly in value with the increased size of their tusks and at the same time the increased risk of their going sick and dying. For, precisely as the exchange may be regulated, the pigs are, after all, alive, and life implies death. In our own system of metal currency there is always the possibility of base coins, so that, in certain circles, a wise man will ring his shilling on the desk to test its worth. In trading with pigs, such questions are ever present, as the pig must not only be valued according to the size of its tusks, but also according to its likelihood of life. This question is not quite so serious as might at first sight appear, since sacrifices of every kind are so frequent, and the number of victims so great, that a weakly pig may always be selected for sacrifice and a strong one kept back for a future occasion. But the question is nevertheless always present in every bargain, so that a man will increase his wealth not only by judicious rearing and lending, but also by his good judgment as to the health of the animals that pass through his hands.

Subject to such considerations, the rates of exchange are well known and generally accepted in any one district. As these were worked out by me on Atchin, where I also recorded numerous actual transactions, as well as the technical terms accompanying them, I shall reserve a detailed exposition of the system for a future volume on that island.[2]

Pigs as payment.

The uses of the pig as an object of currency are too numerous for it to be possible to give here anything like a complete account. The Index at the end of the book will give some idea of the manifold transactions that take place. Definite payments include the enormous sums in tusked pigs paid as bride-price and the lesser sums previously paid to the

[1] See p. 257.

[2] The reader interested in rates of exchange may be referred to the table given in Deacon, 4, p. 196. According to this it will be seen, among other things, that in Lambumbu a pig (No. 5 in his list) corresponding in my terminology to "crescent-tusker" possesses about one-seventh of the value of a circle-tusker. Harrisson (2, p. 25) records that in Matanavat 40 pigs with the "tusk just sprouting," i.e. corresponding roughly with the Vao *bo ruhule*, might be of the same value as 1 circle-tusker.

bride's people on the occasion of betrothal and by a man to his wife's people for each child of the marriage; to a man's "friends" in other villages in compensation for his death; by a dying man to his own sons for the due carrying out of certain crucial portions of his mortuary rites; to the chief mortuary official, and to the man who impersonated the dead man in the mortuary drama staged on his grave; to experts (craftsmen and magicians) for such skilled work as hollowing out slit gongs or attaching the outriggers to sea-going canoes; to makers of wind and rain; to sorcerers and to those who possess knowledge of how to make crops grow, to cure illness or to make love magic or magic for every kind of ritual or secular purpose. Besides these, there are the pigs paid by those performing the Maki rite to their fathers for erecting the stones and to their mothers' brothers for conferring on them their new names; or to take one such example among many, by those making a new sea-going canoe to the last owners of the canoe which the new one replaces. Pigs are also paid as compensation for adultery and other offences that might otherwise lead to bloodshed or even war. Over and above these are the definite payments made for the few articles of foreign trade, chief among which are the packets of turmeric leaves obtained from Malo and used as a base in the dyeing of all plaited articles of apparel such as men's penis-wrappers and women's skirts, of money-mats and sails.

Pigs as gifts.

Slightly differentiated from these definite payments, which are all the subject of previous bargaining, are the gifts of live pigs made to all workers in the numerous ritual and semi-ritual activities that make life hum in the Small Islands: for example, the gifts made to those who drag up from the reef the coral blocks destined to become the dolmens and monoliths in the Maki rites, or do the hard work of felling and transporting tree trunks for the construction of sea-going canoes or for the centre-posts of a *ghamal*; to workers and dancers who come from other villages; and to all those from other villages who render any practical or ritual service. The pigs given on these occasions, though regulated by custom, are definitely regarded as gifts for services rendered, and are not the subject of previous bargaining.

"Presentation pigs" due from a man to his wife's people.

The most spectacular of all pig transactions are, however, the ritual presentations that a man is bound to make to his wife's parents on each and every important ceremonial occasion. These presentations may be regarded as an extension of the original payment for his wife. They constitute, in fact, the lifelong debt which a man never ceases from paying, and which can never be finally discharged except by death. This obligation is a source of endless resigned and wistful complaint. It is the never-

ceasing toll levied by the group from which a man has taken his wife, and if he has more than one wife, there will be correspondingly as many groups, or, if a second wife is taken from the same group, the toll is doubled.

These presentations are officially regarded as gifts, but they are gifts from which there is no escape, and are the subject of endless bargaining, since they are regulated by a system of exchange gifts on the part of the wife's people to the son-in-law which take place publicly on certain ritual occasions. These, and the ritual accompanying the presentation, will be described later.[1] It is enough to mention here that the exchange presentation made by the wife's people to the son-in-law is never so large as that made by him to them, so that the balance is for ever in favour of them. As the wife's parents die, and as their place is taken by her brother and, later still, her brother's son, the value of the presentation due from her husband tends to decrease, owing to the relative ages and importance of the protagonists. Therefore, the older a man gets, the less he is liable to be forced to give away. Moreover, by this time he will have daughters of his own, from whose husbands he exacts the highest possible grades of tusked pig, and to whom he gives the minimum he can by way of exchange. In this way pigs tend to accumulate in the hands of the older men, and it is chiefly through this mechanism of official presentations from a man to his wife's people that the old men retain their preponderance of power.

Loans.

Of equal importance in the economic system as payments, gifts and presentations is the practice of letting pigs out on loan. We have already seen how, for example, on a man's marriage all his near patrilineal clansmen assist in providing the bride-price. The same system of inter-family loans obtains with respect to almost every enterprise a man sets his hand to. Under any of the circumstances listed above, or on any of the yet more numerous occasions not mentioned in which a man needs pigs, his kinsmen on both sides of his family including his mother's, and in particular his mother's brother, will, if needed and if they can afford it, assist with loans. In the case of pigs supplied by a man to his own son, particularly in such an essential matter as marriage, the loan need not be repaid. In the same way, a man will occasionally forgo repayment from a younger brother. In all other circumstances, however, a loan is strictly a loan, and must be repaid with interest. The interest in this case is calculated on the amount the loaned animal's tusks would have grown between the time of borrowing and of repayment. As repayment rarely follows quickly, by the time the debtor is called to book there is plenty of room for doubt as to the exact length of tusk to be made up.

[1] See pp. 303 ff.

Even when this is agreed, the debtor may not possess a pig of the exact required grade. This leads to fresh transactions with yet other relatives, in which the debtor seeks to exchange such smaller pigs as he possesses against the single larger one demanded of him. In this way the ball rolls on. One transaction leads to another. Every pig-owner, that is to say every male adult, has pigs out on loan and is himself also a debtor to others. No man ever sees all his own pigs around him till the day of his death, when the final effort is made to regulate his affairs. Then, debtors and creditors assemble at his house and, if the latter are lucky and the dying man solvent, a just settlement takes place. If not, the debts are handed on to his successors. No loan is ever forgotten, and, with the additional factor of the uncertain prospect of life of any given pig, the complications never end. Every native complains that he has been cheated of value by others, and disputes leading to the forcible detention, or even the theft, of pigs are not infrequent. Given such a system, and the retentive memories of the natives, it is a tribute to the general common sense of the community and to the solidarity of kinsfolk—for it is only among close kinsfolk that extensive borrowing takes place—that such scenes are not more common than they are.

Sea-voyages for trade in pigs.

This short review of the commercial value of pigs has so far been confined within the precincts of Vao and of the neighbouring Small Islands and villages of the adjacent Malekulan mainland, where, owing to intermarriage, a Vao man's maternal kinsfolk often dwell. Perhaps the most striking evidence of the great value attached to them, of the great labour willingly undertaken to preserve and increase the stock, and of the risks endured to prosecute this end, is that of the sea-voyages organised almost exclusively for the sake of obtaining fresh supplies, to make up for the loss caused by the sacrifice of immense numbers of tusked pigs during the course of innumerable rites. The construction and consecration of these sea-going canoes, by means of yet further sacrifice, will be described in a separate chapter.[1] Apart from the trade in turmeric leaves, obtained from the islands of Malo and Santo in return for pigs, and in a few other objects, such as special kinds of bark brought home from Ambrim for the construction of high-grade bark-board belts, also paid for with pigs, and in fine dancing-aprons used in a special kind of dance which are obtained from Oba, the sole commercial object of these voyages is the purchase of fresh stocks of pigs. Whatever the original use of these great canoes—and it is certain that they were, among other things, the vessels by means of which some portion at least of the ancestors of the existing population arrived on Vao—it is the trade in pigs that is now the prime object of their manufacture. For this purpose the immense labour of building them is

[1] Chapter XVII.

undertaken, large numbers of tusked pigs are sacrificed in order to consecrate them, and the effect of this consecration is to make them taboo to women. In them the natives sail to all the large islands of the Northern New Hebrides, to Ambrim, Raga, Oba, Maewo, Malo and Santo. The chief sources of pigs are Ambrim and South Raga. Oba is chiefly visited on account of its reputation as the Land of Ta-ghar and for the special initiation rite performed there, but the trade in pigs with this island is now slight owing to its recent depopulation. Maewo, also known as the home of Ta-ghar, is now rarely visited. The trade with Malo and Santo is with pigs and turmeric leaves.

Voyages to the southern and eastern islands are usually made by night, the canoes leaving Vao in the late afternoon, and arriving at their destination some time during the following morning. Here they may stay anything up to five days, and then wait for a fair wind to take them home. The days are spent in bargaining. Emotion runs high, and there are many records of fights arising out of disputes, in some of which the visitors manage to save themselves, but in others they are slain and in most cases eaten. Individual accounts of such voyages as undertaken from Atchin will be given in a later volume.

To such lengths will the natives go to keep up their supply of pigs.

Value of tusked boars in terms of English money.

Before seeking the underlying reason for this passionate search, one more fact may be mentioned to show the immense value attached to these animals. During the time of my visit there was but little European money in the Small Islands, acquired chiefly by means of the very low wages earned by the indentured labour undertaken by some of the younger men on white men's plantations, supplemented by the selling of a little copra to passing white men's trading-vessels. The amount of money thus made is not very great. What they do make is partly spent in buying white men's goods, such as an occasional singlet or piece of corrugated iron, partly saved up to buy whalers which now replace the sea-going canoes I have just mentioned, and partly used for trading among themselves, in which case it usually replaces their own money-mats. Pigs are not often sold for money, but when this does happen, the prices they fetch are such as to astound the white man, who fails to understand what it is all about. Thus, when I was on Atchin, prices averaged:

For a	crescent-tusker .	about £4 [1]
,,	curved-tusker .	,, £6
,,	re-entrant-tusker	,, £10, £12 or £15
,,	circle-tusker .	from £30 upwards.

[1] Deacon (4, p. 391), six years later, cites a crescent-tusker in Seniang, there called *mbong mevüs*, as being worth £5, with corresponding prices for pigs of lower grade.

Godefroy, a few years later, on Vao, described a circle-tusker as fetching £40, and a circle-plus-re-entrant-tusker (i.e. a boar with tusks describing a complete circle and a half) as commanding as much as £50 or £60.[1] When the paucity of money possessed by the natives is taken into account, these represent fabulous sums.

RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE TUSKED BOAR

Tusked boar the sacrificial animal. Identification of victim, sacrificer, and Being to whom sacrifice is made.

In the last paragraph I used the word "fabulous" not only metaphorically, but with intent. For the importance of the tusked boar in Small Island culture depends not on material but on spiritual values.

I have already said that its prime value rests on the fact that the tusked boar is the sacrificial animal. And sacrifice in these islands implies the identification of the victim, the sacrificer, and the mythical being to whom sacrifice is made.

Now there is ample proof that the sacrifice of tusked boars in Malekula and the Small Islands replaces the sacrifice of human beings. The evidence for this will be discussed in detail when we come to examine the religious institution of the Maki. It is here necessary briefly to anticipate this evidence in order to establish the motives underlying the reverence accorded to these animals and the zeal with which their cult is prosecuted. The evidence is a little complicated since, till the white man put a stop to cannibalism wherever his jurisdiction (i.e. his guns) could reach, the practice of human sacrifice did in fact exist, alongside the sacrifice of tusked boars. As the reader will have already gathered, however, Small Island culture is far from simple, and, as in all cultures, practices continue to exist which the official religion ignores. The official religion is the Maki, and it is in this that human sacrifice has been entirely replaced by the sacrifice of pigs. It is around this rite also, and its associated mythology, that the whole emotional attitude towards pigs centres.

Ta-ghar and Le-hev-hev.

We have already met with the two mythological figures of Ta-ghar and Le-hev-hev. These two form a mythological duality consisting of two opposites, namely, Ta-ghar, the male god of light who occupies the heavens, and Le-hev-hev, the being of uncertain sex who lives in a cave

[1] See p. 195. In the same passage dealing with bride-price he gives £20 as the value of a *bouar*, which he describes as a pig "of which the tusks have made one complete circle and a third of another." This term is, however, primarily applied to a simple re-entrant-tusker, and it is probably to such a tusker that Godefroy refers. If this is so, his price would agree tolerably well with mine, allowing for the evident rise in value since I was there.

which once was the abode of all the dead, and through which all dead men must pass. We have seen also that the word Le-hev-hev, shorn of its prefix Le-, is philologically equivalent to the Banks Islands Supwe, and that the Vao figures of Le-hev-hev and Ta-ghar thus correspond with the Banks Islands Supwe and Tagaro.

Now, I have already pointed out how, in Vao, Le-hev-hev represents the reverse side of the social structure. If we re-examine Codrington's account of how Tagaro sent Supwe, who was always a mis-fit, "to a place where there is a bottomless chasm, somewhere inland in Araga [Raga], where he rules over the ghosts of the dead," we see that the two beings are in fact inter-connected, and that Supwe thus represents the reverse side of Tagaro. The power of Ta-ghar over Le-hev-hev, even in the realm of the dead, is seen in the fact that Ta-ghar is found in the cave alongside Le-hev-hev, and that it is only through his intercession that Le-hev-hev is persuaded to refrain from devouring the dead man's soul, or "ghost," by accepting the dead man's offering of the soul of his "death pig" instead, which Le-hev-hev promptly eats.[1]

Thus in the natives' view Ta-ghar is always good, Le-hev-hev is wholly bad. Theoretically, in the natives' opinion, the social structure on Vao is good, yet beneath all lies the fear that, after all, at a man's death, failing the due sacrifice of his "death pig," Le-hev-hev may devour his soul. The immediate remedy is that the relatives of the dead man shall sacrifice this "death pig," and that the dead man shall present the soul of this pig to Le-hev-hev, who will then devour the pig's soul instead of his.

Ta-ghar and Le-hev-hev thus mirror, in a mythical setting, the duality which rules native life: on the one hand the aspiration typified in the male natives' desire to climb ever higher and higher, which we shall see later when we come to examine the Maki rite;[2] and on the other hand the fear which he has at the same time of being devoured by the primeval force from which he has with so much exertion extricated himself and into which he is therefore in constant danger of falling back. His defence against the resulting annihilation—for if Le-hev-hev eats him he has no after-life—lies not only in the offering of the "death pig," for the sacrifice of which during his mortuary rites he is entirely dependent on the good-will of his surviving relatives. The whole Maki rite is, from one point of view, a lifelong prophylactic against Le-hev-hev through the pre-sacrifice of innumerable tusked boars.

This brings us to the core of the whole matter, for the tusked boar is the animal of Le-hev-hev, given to man by Ta-ghar[3] that he may sacrifice it, both as a defence against and in honour of Le-hev-hev, who is at once his own and society's unconscious side.

[1] See p. 232. [2] See p. 732.

[3] Mythological accounts of how Ta-ghar introduced tusked pigs to men will be told in a future volume on Atchin.

Sacrificer identifies himself with Le-hev-hev.

Both objects are simultaneously achieved through a man's identification with Le-hev-hev through sacrifice. We have already seen how a man's ghost, or soul, is saved for the after-world by the fact that Le-hev-hev devours the ghost of the "death pig" instead of his. But this substitution of the ghost of a tusked pig for that of the dead man is possible only owing to the fact that the man has himself, during his lifetime, become identified with the pig.[1] Thus victim, sacrificer and the mythological being to whom sacrifice is made [2] are all one; that is to say, that though separate creatures, they possess, through ritual, something in common. This something, in the case both of the pig and of the man, is that intangible part which, according to the native, after death becomes a "ghost" (*ta-mat*), and which during his lifetime we may call "soul." [3] Now, women when they die do not become ghosts, because, with certain exceptions,[4] they may not sacrifice, and therefore have no souls. Nor do young boys who have not yet sacrificed, for the same reason. For it is only through sacrifice that a man acquires a soul, and is therefore capable of prolonging his existence in the next world. It is by means of this intangible soul, which at death becomes a ghost, that a man establishes connexion with Le-hev-hev. The importance of the tusked boar lies in its position as intermediary between the two.

In order to understand what the natives' idea of sacrifice is, and what the sacrificial animal actually represents, it is necessary briefly to outline the preferments in rank attendant on the performance of the Maki rite. The Maki is a graded institution by means of which, through sacrifice and the performance of due ritual, a man rises through a series of ranks which vary greatly in number in different districts. In some districts there are very many—in the Seniang district of South-West Bay there are over thirty.[5] In others, as in Atchin today, where the system has become more completely democratised than elsewhere, there are only two, though

[1] This fact is mirrored in the Mota story of how "Qat made men and pigs at first in the same form, but on his brothers [including Suqe] remonstrating with him on the sameness of his creatures, he beat down the pigs to go on all fours and made men walk upright" (Codrington, 3, p. 158). In a tale from Oba, Tagaro jokingly refers to a pig he has cooked as his "mother" (Ibid. p. 411).

[2] One might add also the sacrificial monument. Thus, referring to the sacrifice at the dolmen which represents the cave guarded by the Guardian Ghost, Godefroy says (1, 1933, p. 37), "We have here, as forming a single entity: the victim, the altar and the sacrificer."

[3] Thus, in Mota, *qomate* means a dead pig killed at a feast (Codrington, 2). Compare also the Oba tale of an "underworld of pigs" equated with the underground "village of the ghosts" (Codrington, 3, p. 286). Pigs are said to have souls (*tarunga*) in Florida (Ibid. p. 249). For the identification of the two concepts of "soul" and "ghost" in Oba, see Codrington, 3, p. 287. I did not record the Vao word for soul. In Atchin it is *mumun*, which also means "shadow." In South Raga the soul is *manuk* during life, *armat* or *tegar* after death (Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 394).

[4] Those, namely, who have taken part in the women's Maki (see p. 452).

[5] See Layard, 2, pp. 151-2, and Deacon, 4, pp. 274-5.

there were formerly more. In all the Small Islands, however, a man who has attained very high rank is addressed by a title of respect philologically equivalent to the word Supwe. The term in Atchin is *na-sup*, and in Vao *na-humbe*. In South-East Oba the same word under the form *sungwe* is used in precisely the same way.[1]

Now, I have already shown how *na-sup* and *na-humbe* (and the same is true of the Oba *sungwe*) are philologically equivalent to Le-hev-hev shorn of its prefix Le-, and that this fact alone shows the identification of men of high rank with the Guardian Ghost. The means by which this identification is attained is a matter which, in Atchin where my own main enquiries were conducted, and where the whole Maki rite has become much more complicated and removed from its simplicity through the addition of new and highly spectacular features from further south, I failed satisfactorily to elucidate. For the explanation given in the simpler culture of Vao I am indebted to Godefroy, who found that the title of *na-humbe*, and the titles of the two lower ranks which lead up to it, are bestowed in the first place, not on the sacrificer, but on the tusked boar itself, and that it is only through sacrifice that a man assumes the rank of the victim he sacrifices. The tusked boar is itself previously sanctified by sacrifice of yet other pigs. The boar thus acquires a soul,[2] and it is through the passage of the boar's soul into the sacrificer that the latter is himself sanctified and takes on his victim's rank.[3]

Consecration of Tusked Boars

Conferring on them the ranks subsequently to be assumed by the sacrificer

Godefroy gives a brief account of the stages in the consecration of a tusked boar, beginning with a short account of the extraction of the incisors, which he describes as the boar's "initiation." He says:[4]

"This is how they accomplish the initiation of a future *na-humbe*.

[1] Layard, 9.

[2] In the Seniang district of South-West Bay sacred trees and plants, connected with the public graded society, chief among which is the cycas, also have souls (Deacon, 4, p. 548). These also are presumably sanctified by the sacrifice of the tusked boars that are attached to them. An extension of the same motive is probably also to be seen in South Raga in the application of the word *temat* to all objects, such as the cycas and dracaena, which are connected with a man's rise in rank. Though the South Raga word for "ghost" is *armat*, there can be little doubt that the two are connected. The term is also used for the influence that a man of high rank has over those in his immediate neighbourhood, a kind of "coercive power" directed against all those things which, in the natives' eyes, appear dangerous (Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 568-9). In this sense the word has the same meaning as the Small Islands word *tamat*, meaning "peace," of which mention is made below.

[3] For the equation "Principle [sacrificer]=offering=god," compare A. M. Hocart, p. 67.

[4] Godefroy, 1, 1934, pp. 115-19.

They take hold of a young pig that has already got its permanent teeth. . . . Its owner sits on a tree trunk or other convenient seat, and holds its head fast between his hands; horizontally across its open mouth is placed a piece of wood to prevent it from biting; then the operator kneels in front of the patient. Armed with a kind of chisel cut from the branch of an orange tree, and with a hammer, or simply a stone, he taps repeatedly one side of the tooth [1] and then the other. In this way, it takes a whole morning to extract the first canine; at midday they rest, so does the animal; it takes the rest of the day to finish the operation. Before letting the animal go, they rub ashes into the still bleeding gums.[2]

"After a year, that is to say when the canines of the lower jaw have grown sufficiently to push up the cheeks,[3] they lead the animal on to the dancing-ground one day when some rite is in progress; [4] it then undergoes its first consecration, other pigs being sacrificed for it; then it is declared *ni-mal*.[5] Three years later, when the tusks have made a complete circle, it is consecrated for a second time; it then becomes *meltek*.[6] When the tusk has completed its second circle, the pig will be consecrated *na-humbe* [7] and, some time later, *na-humbe se*.[7]

"These three honours, these three ranks, will be transferred to its owner on the ritual occasion when the latter sacrifices it.

"Meanwhile, it is itself, from the moment of its first consecration, elevated to the dignity of man.[8] This consecration into the rank of *ni-mal* confers on it the initial stages of the soul of a chief[9]—which perfects itself when it attains the rank of *meltek* and attains the apotheosis of honour when it becomes *na-humbe se*.

"Here are the proofs. From the day when it becomes *ni-mal*, by taking this rank in the dancing-ground, the pig becomes, for its owner, the object of a semi-religious respect; at all events he treats it as his equal. He feeds it with the remains of his own meals and builds for it a small hut, not very imposing, it is true, but at least a shelter where he keeps it tied up night and day, for it may no more run about.

"When they are moved, these 'lord pigs' are treated with the greatest respect, never hit or insulted in any way. When they are at rest, their movements are followed, their looks observed . . . a meaning is found for their grunts and for their sighs. With what loving attention their well-being and comfort is cared for!"

[1] I.e. the upper canine (*batin(e)*); cf. Mota *batiu*, also applied to the eye-teeth in men.

[2] A full account of this operation as performed on Atchin will be given in a future volume. Ashes are frequently used as a disinfectant (see p. 511).

[3] I.e. the pig has become a crescent-tusker.

[4] He does not say what rite.

[5] This is a Maki title (see pp. 431, 433).

[6] This is another Maki title.

[7] These are not properly speaking titles, but terms of respect (see pp. 220, 432, 693).

[8] As we have seen above, it is actually the dignity of "ghost."

[9] As elsewhere, Godefroy uses the term "chief" to denote "man of high rank."

Respect Shown to Tusked Boars Illustrated by Scenes from Ambrim

In illustration of this, Godefroy recounts several episodes observed during his service as missionary at Olal, on Ambrim. Though these did not occur on Vao, they are worth recording as being typical of the natives' attitude towards high-grade tusked boars throughout the Northern New Hebrides. On one occasion, when preaching at the village of Fanlah, he sat on the ground with his back to a small hut in which there was a low door. He noticed that the natives' attention was riveted on what was in progress inside the hut.

"Leaning towards the small half-open door, I became aware of a man sitting on the earthen floor, lifting with great care the tail of an enormous *na-humbe*[1] comfortably lying in a depression in the ground. Piously and religiously with the other hand he was collecting in a large leaf, and rolling it up in it, the product of the heavings and sighs of the *na-humbe*. When he had in this way presented and subsequently rolled up three such leaves, he carefully placed them alongside a pile of leaves not yet used. I had not lost a detail of all this scene, but what astonished me most was that my audience had been equally absorbed in face of the pressing needs of the sacred pig. . . .

"Another time, also on Ambrim . . . close to the entrance to the small dancing-ground of Meluar, I was overtaken by a sudden rainstorm and only just had time to take refuge in the nearest hut. An unexpected sight awaited me. The hut was small, and was almost entirely occupied by an enormous boar whose tusks described a double circle: it was a *le-ban-ban*![2] a sacred boar. Lazily lying on the ground, it completely filled a large basin-shaped depression in the ground. Two men, of between thirty and forty years of age, were watching it. They seemed to understand perfectly the animal's grunts and sighs. One of them suddenly went outside and split open a coconut which he took from a pile of other green coconuts stored close by in the shade. The liquid from this he poured into a gourd, and, as an inferior to a superior, and with the same deference, with the help of his companion presented the cool beverage to the 'lord' *le-ban-ban*. All this took place in a religious silence, no word being spoken.

"Meanwhile, the rain had turned into a downpour, and, the shallow channel dug by the side of the hut not being deep enough to carry off all

[1] The use of the word *na-humbe* in this context is inaccurate, since it is not, so far as I know, used in Ambrim.

[2] Presumably the Meluar equivalent of the Vao *na-humbe*. Various forms of the word *ban* are used for Maki ranks in a number of districts. According to Tattevin (1, 1927, p. 85) Li-banban (from *ban*, meaning pig's tusk bracelet) is the ordinary word for tusked pig in the Pornowol district of South Raga.

the water, the interior of the hut began to be flooded over. A grunt and a slight movement of the boar's spine conveyed to the watchful guardians the information that the deluge had already reached the august animal. Then, for the first time, I realised that there was another compartment in the hut occupied by women, also charged with the duty of tending to the needs of the presiding deity of the house. They also understood their lord's complaint, and immediately began to turn the invading stream by digging a fresh channel, diverting the water into their own compartment; not only this, but they further made sure of the water-tightness of the bottom of the transverse partition by placing along it the earth they had obtained from digging the channel. They now sat in the mud, but the 'lord' *le-ban-ban* continued to rest in his dry trench.

"All this work had been accomplished in perfect silence, which continued after the storm was over. As I left, two young men came to relieve the others, and I heard the latter instructing them, ' He has just had a drink; you had better soon give him some dry coconuts to eat.'

"During the 1913 eruption on Ambrim, a man named *Nu-nur-mal*, chief of Likon, had been unable to tend his *le-ban-ban* for three days. On the fourth day he sent his daughter, saying, ' Wash him with water from the ravine, the spot which belongs to me; then make his bed. Then gather bread-fruit from the tree from which I myself eat, and roast one for him. While it is roasting, knock down a green coconut. Then you will find in my house a dry coconut. Split this, scrape out the kernel and give it immediately to my *le-ban-ban* to eat. After this, without hurrying, when the bread-fruit is properly cooked, peel it and cut it up, then place the pieces within easy reach of *le-ban-ban*. When he has eaten his fill, give him the green coconut to slake his thirst. Then clean out his hut, and when he has lain down in it again, don't forget to comb out the little tuft at the end of his tail which he waves so becomingly.' "

One boar on Atchin was of such high rank that no one could sacrifice it.

The above scenes, though witnessed on Ambrim, are typical of the attitude towards pigs throughout Malekula also. I have myself seen similar scenes on Atchin, where large fees, payable in money-mats, are demanded even for the honour of seeing a high-grade tusked boar. On that island, during the time I was there, there was one boar that was even too sacred to be sacrificed at all, the man for whose sake it had been raised to supernumerary rank having died before he could sacrifice it, and no one else on the island being of high enough rank to risk taking his place. There was therefore every likelihood that it would die, and that the years of rearing it would have been in vain, since its soul would then pass away without having conferred its rank upon any member of the community. This illustrates the negative aspect of identification, since, if a man were

to sacrifice a boar advanced to a grade too far beyond his own in the Maki hierarchy, the passage of the boar's soul into his would overwhelm him, and disaster would be sure to follow.[1]

Mass Sacrifice

Information regarding the details of sacrifice will be included in the chapters on the numerous sacrificial rites, and in particular that of the Maki. When it is realised that, on a single occasion at the culmination of the Maki rite, in addition to the circle-tuskers and tuskers of yet higher rank sacrificed by individual men, there is a mass sacrifice by the men of at least 100 tusked boars on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground as well as of 100 gelded tuskers on the Lower Side, the reader will be able in some measure to gauge the immense importance of these animals in native culture.

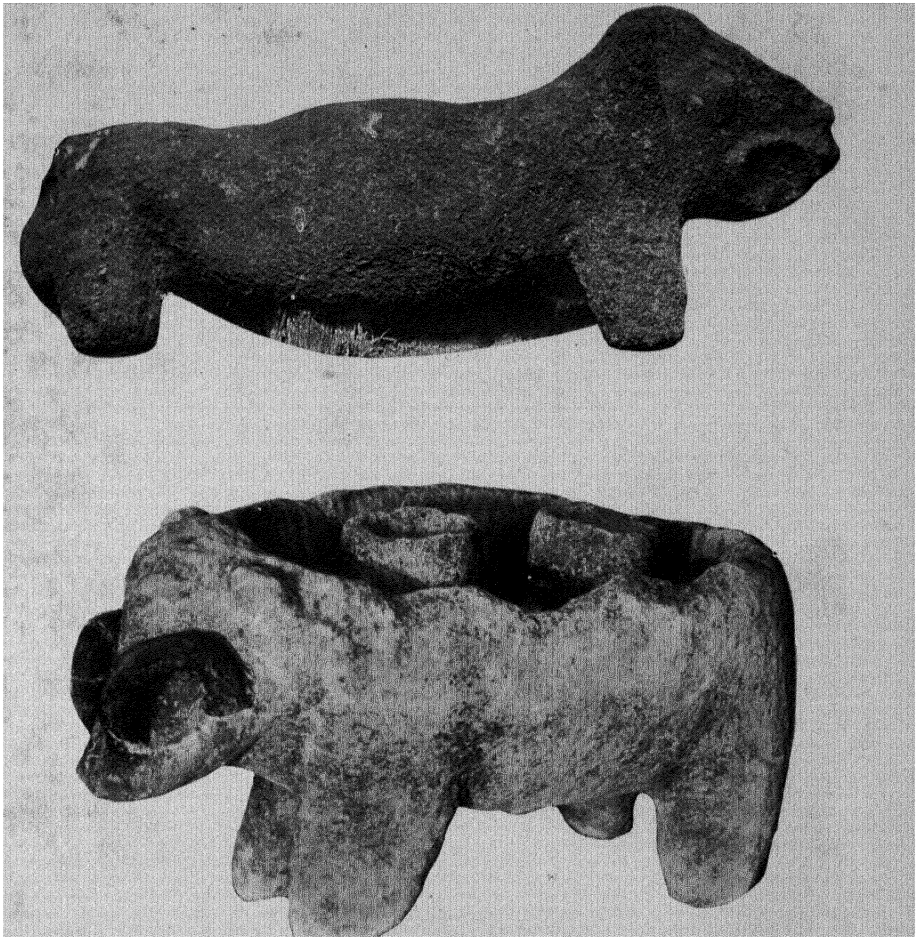
Stone Image of a Pig

Since I took no special photographs of live pigs on Vao, I here reproduce one of the stone image of a pig which I was shown resting on a dolmen erected in front of a Lodge in the now deserted mainland village of Tolamp, the final resting-place of the inhabitants of the submerged island from which this village took its name, before the last remnants of them took up their abode on Vao.[2] The Lodge has long since rotted away, and the dolmen now stands alone, half-covered with bush. The image is 19 inches long, and is called *wuli*, said to be equivalent to the pidgin-English "larrikin," or ruffian, a term recalling the character of the Guardian Ghost. In the short time at my disposal, I was unable to discover what purpose it served. The tusks are clearly indicated, and there are two shallow depressions on the back. I asked whether they might be for kava, which, though not drunk by the people of Vao, is so used by the Big Nambas of the North Malekulan plateau, but my informant was unable to say whether this was the case or not. There is a record of two "pigs carved of stone" kept in a taboo place belonging to one of the Lodges in Matanavat, on the north coast of Malekula, said to be used for magical purposes.[3] The only other example of a stone pig from the New Hebrides known to me, now in the Basel Museum für Völkerkunde, is said to come from Oba, and to have served as a kava bowl. Its back is hollowed out as though to receive

[1] Compare Deacon (4, p. 548), who says that in Seniang, the soul of a pig of well-developed tusk-curvature, such as a re-entrant-tusker (*imaap*) or higher grade, "is powerful, more powerful even than the spirit of some human beings. Thus if a small boy were to partake of the flesh of a pig of high grade, the *nivünvün* [soul] of the animal would be stronger than the *nimwinin* [soul] of the child and would devour it, so that the boy would die." (The souls of pigs and human beings are called by different names.)

[2] See p. 58.

[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 59. Their magical use is not described.



1. Stone image of a tusked boar from the mainland village of Tolamp
2. Stone image of a tusked boar said to have come from Oba and to have served as a kava bowl, now in the Basel Museum für Völkerkunde. (*Sarasin*, see List of Authors)

liquid, save in two places which are indented in the same way as the Tolamp image. Codrington also mentions a vision experienced by a native after the death of the last heathen chief of Walurigi, in North-East Oba. This man's son had become a Christian, so could not succeed to the chieftainship. When the chief died, "a certain man attempted to take his place; he went into the late chief's sacred haunt . . . in which he used to have his intercourse with the . . . spirits, and he declared that he heard someone whistle to him there. He told the people also that afterwards in the night he felt something come upon his breast, which he took in his hands, and found to be a stone in shape like the distinguishing part of a valued kind of pig," [1] in other words, as appears from a footnote, the sexual organs of an intersex pig.

The Pig as Symbol of Fertility

This raises the subject of pigs as fertility symbols. I shall have more to say about this in future volumes. A tale told on Vao, where intersex pigs are not bred, will suffice to illustrate this aspect of native thought with regard to ordinary sows.

Story of a Tolamp man who begot a child on the wife of a friend from Pweter-ges, at the latter's request, because he was impotent.

There was a man of Tolamp,[2] called Ter-ter, and another of Pweter-ges, near Lawor, whose name was Burial. And the two were friends. And Burial came to Ter-ter, and said, "You have plenty of pigs, and I have no children." Ter-ter said, "That is so." And Burial again said, "I have plenty of wives, but cannot get any children. I will buy yet another wife, a young one. Will you come and lie with her, and make a child for me?" So they appointed a day, and Burial said, "You come to Ghoramp (the beach on the mainland near Wala), and I will come too and bring my wife with me, and then you will be able to manage things."

So Ter-ter went to Ghoramp, and Burial brought his wife half-way, telling her to go on down to Ghoramp, where she would find a man, to whom she was to deliver herself. She went down, but could not see him, for he had concealed himself above the cave called *barang na ta-mat* (through which the dead must pass on their journey to the Land of the Dead).[3] She waited and waited, and at last turned to go away. But then he

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 57.

[2] The story refers to a period subsequent to the submergence of Tolamp, when its inhabitants had founded the last of the villages bearing this name on the mainland opposite Vao.

[3] See pp. 217, 227. He chose this spot, which lies half-way between the two villages, presumably so that the woman should think he was a ghost, in order to avoid complications with the husband.

threw a stone towards her (the usual way of a lover to make his presence known), and she turned back and saw him, and they went into the bush and lay together.

After this the woman bore a son. And Burial said, "Now I've got a son, I will buy a pig for him." So he bought a sow, which conceived, but instead of delivering at Pweter-ges, she ran away and littered at Tolamp (this must have been at the time when Tolamp was already on the mainland), where she gave birth to five male pigs. And Burial looked everywhere for the sow, but could not find her, till at last he lit upon her tracks (for it was the time of the rains), and followed them to Tolamp, where he found his sow and her five pigs and took them home. Next day he gave ten yams to his women [1] and told them to go to Tolamp and give them to Ter-ter as a return for "getting his wife with child and making his sow give birth to the five pigs." And having taken them they returned home.[2]

CONCH-SHELL TRUMPETS

(a) *Connected with the sacrifice of tusked boars.*

Before leaving the subject of pigs, one object especially connected with them deserves more than passing mention. This is the conch-shell trumpet, made by boring a hole in a large Triton shell.[3] When blown through this hole, the trumpet emits a loud, deep sound which carries a considerable distance. Of the two methods of boring it, at the end or at one side, it is the latter that is in use in the whole of the New Hebrides and in the Banks and Torres Islands, except in the island of Fate, where it is bored at the end. It is therefore only with trumpets with the hole bored at the side, which is also the commonest form in Polynesia, that we are concerned here. The trumpet is held in the left hand, with the hole pressed against the mouth, and variations in tone are produced by inserting the fingers of the right hand into the opening at the end of the shell. As the fingers are inserted further into the hole the tone rises, so that by this means a variety of tones is obtained. The variations in tone, combined with the number of times they are repeated, form the basis on which a number of established signals have been evolved, chief among which, in the Small Islands, are the four signals blown to herald the exchange or sacrifice of the four main categories of tusked boars.[4]

There is thus an intimate connexion between conch-shell trumpets

[1] Presumably his other wives.

[2] The sow littering at Tolamp is symbolical of the fact that the wife was fertilised by a Tolamp man. This part of the tale seems to imply that if Burial was not himself fertile, his boars could not be either.

[3] Inferior trumpets are made also of Kassis shell. These are particularly noticeable in Oba (Speiser, 3, p. 422).

[4] See p. 243.

and the sacrifice of tusked boars, and this holds true throughout the whole of the area under consideration. The close connexion with the public graded institution is seen also by the fact that in the Banks Islands, where entrance to the Sukwe is paid for with shell-money, conch-shell signals are blown for the shell-money as well as for pigs.[1] The blowing of conch-shell signals is important also in connexion with mortuary rites. In the North and North-Central New Hebrides, they are blown during the sacrifice of the tusked boars with which the dead man placates the Guardian Ghost. In other parts, such as in the Banks Islands, conch-shell trumpets are blown during mortuary rites on the fifth day after death "to drive away ghosts," [2] apparently without specific reference to pigs. In Matanavat, in North Malekula, they are blown after a man has struck the forehead of the hanging body of a man killed in warfare to "make this place clean again." [3] This is an instance of human sacrifice which has been replaced in everyday ritual by the sacrifice of pigs. Conch-shell trumpets are thus primarily connected with ideas connected with death and with sacrifice, primarily of human beings, and secondarily, though much more commonly, of pigs.

(b) *Connected with Tagaro and inimicable to the Guardian Ghost.*

Yet another aspect of the blowing of conch-shell trumpets is their connexion with sky-deities of the Kwat-Ambat-Tagaro cycle. This also is not unconnected with pigs, since it is this deity who, in several places, is accredited with having introduced tusked boars,[4] which then, in their capacity as sacrificial animals, become associated with the Guardian Ghost. This leads us back to questions of mythology. We have already seen how the blowing of conch-shell trumpets signalises the sacrifice of tusked boars, and we have seen also how in Vao these animals represent the Guardian Ghost. The conch-shell trumpet is thus the signal of victory over the Guardian Ghost. This means also that it is the signal of victory over death, whence their use in the Banks Islands to drive away the ghost of a dead man on the fifth day after death, that is to say, the day on which the dead man, through the sacrifice of tusked boars, becomes immortal.[5] This is why, also, in the Oba story quoted above,[6] the brothers of the Guardian Ghost, there called Mera-mbuto, are slain by the sound of the conch-shell trumpet blown by Tagaro, and Mera-mbuto himself is killed by jumping about in his cave and dashing his head accidentally against a rock, which pierces it, just as tusked boars are slain by being struck on the head. In this same tale, Tagaro tricked Mera-mbuto by telling him

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 67, 76. [2] Codrington, 3, pp. 266-7.
[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 54.
[4] For examples of legends told in Atchin how Ta-har gave tusked boars to man, see future volumes.
[5] See p. 544. [6] See p. 224.

that the trumpet was "the voice of you and me," but it turned out to be the voice of Tagaro alone, through which Mera-mbuto the earth-bound was destroyed.

(c) *The power of the voice.*

An extension of this power of the voice is seen in Codrington's account, from the Banks Islands, of how a great man about to make a feast would perform a charm over certain leaves; he would then "chew and puff all night to get *mana*; in the morning he would blow his shell trumpet to spread abroad the influence of his leaves, which would . . . draw a multitude to the feast." [1] For the same reason, coupled with their use in connexion with pigs, conch-shell trumpets are particularly associated with chiefs and men of high rank throughout the group. They are also associated with trading expeditions in long-distance canoes, the return of which is invariably heralded by the sound of conch-shell signals resounding over the water to announce the number and value of tusked boars that have been acquired. So also, before any rite at which tusked boars are to be presented, the approaching party from another village halts in the bush on the outskirts of the dancing-ground, and the sound of the trumpets moaning through the trees falls as sweet music on the ears of those awaiting them. In the Small Islands conch-shell trumpets are usually blown singly or in pairs. Deacon, however, records nine conch-shell trumpets blown together before a mass sacrifice of pigs at Lambumbu in North Malekula, where there appear to be hereditary chiefs.[2]

BRIEF COMPARATIVE SURVEY

Comparative studies outside the Northern New Hebrides are outside the scope of this book, but the artificial elongation of pigs' tusks in this area is one of such peculiar importance that I feel justified in summarising here briefly the results of Speiser's enquiry into its distribution and into some of the motives that underlie it.[3]

Speiser points out in the first place that, despite the universal distribution of the pig in all other parts of Melanesia, this animal was, before the coming of the white man, unknown in New Caledonia. This indicates that the pig was not brought by the earliest migrants from Indonesia.

Though pigs form an integral part of native culture throughout the rest of Melanesia, there is, however, only one area in which their tusks

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 111.

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 368. On this page also Deacon reproduces the chords played. My own detailed records of conch-shell signals blown on Atchin will appear in a future volume. Speiser (3, p. 422) says that at a death feast on Vao conch-shell trumpets are blown through a bamboo tube inserted into the hole. I am myself not aware of this practice.

[3] Speiser, 5, pp. 441-4; and 6, pp. 145 and 157-64.

are artificially elongated. This area is that of the Banks Islands and the Northern and Central New Hebrides, but does not include the Southern New Hebrides.[1] The distribution of this custom thus coincides almost exactly with that of the public graded society as outlined in Chapter XXVI.

We have already seen how the organisation of the graded society on Vao depends on the sacrifice of tusked boars, and how the ranks in the society correspond with the various stages in the elongation of the tusks. This close association of rank with length of tusk is not so precisely worked out in all islands, in many of which, as also in Vao, the number of tusked boars that are sacrificed plays a large part and in some cases is the most important factor. In the whole area over which the graded society is spread, however, the sacrifice of boars with artificially elongated tusks is an essential part of the rite.

Outside this area, according to Speiser,[2] the only two regions from which the artificial elongation of boars' tusks has been reported are:

(*a*) The district around Arue,[3] a small island off the south coast of New Britain in the Bismarck Archipelago; and
(*b*) Nias, the well-known megalithic centre lying off the south-west coast of Sumatra.

In both areas the tusked boar is an important sacrificial animal.

Associated with artificial elongation of the human head.

Speiser further points out that, so far as the New Hebrides is concerned, the area in which artificial elongation of pigs' tusks has reached its highest stage of development is Malekula, and is of the opinion that it is here closely associated with the South Malekulan practice of artificially elongating the human head.[4] This practice, in the particular form in which it is done in Malekula, is not found anywhere else in Melanesia, but is found also in Arue, where the inhabitants are, as a consequence, referred to by their neighbours as "long-heads."[5]

[1] Speiser, 6, p. 159; 3, pp. 450, 454.
[2] Speiser, 5, pp. 441 ff.; 6, pp. 158 ff.
[3] Also spelt Aruwe, Aruwi.
[4] Speiser, 6, p. 158. This practice has long been known, but was first fully described in Layard, 2, p. 220. It is closely associated with the light-skinned immigrant culture-heroes called Ambat referred to on p. 210.
[5] Dingwall, 3, p. 136. This monumental and erudite work is, and is likely to remain for a long time, the standard treatise on head deformation throughout the world. The practice is almost always associated with ruling classes and, in Oceania, with aristocratic immigrants. In some places, as in Malekula and Arue, it is carried out with great care by binding the heads of infants from a very early age. Various degraded forms of the practice are found in other parts of Melanesia. In none of these places, however, is it carried out to the full extent that it is in South Malekula, and Speiser is therefore quite justified in referring to this as the only area in Melanesia in which it can properly be said to exist.

Speiser therefore deduces a direct cultural connexion between Nias, Arue and Malekula, which appears to have been

(*a*) recent, owing to the comparatively recent development of the practice in Malekula, to which reference has already been made; and
(*b*) direct, since there is no evidence of it on intermediate islands.

In Arue the rearing of tusked boars is the prerogative of chiefs. Details of rite correspond with those of the Maki in Malekula.

We have already seen how, in the New Hebrides, the public graded society, depending as it does on the sacrifice of tusked boars, was originally an aristocratic institution, as it still is among the Big Nambas of North Malekula, where only hereditary chiefs take rank. In the same way, in Arue "only hereditary chiefs have the right to rear tusked boars, the rearing of these being forbidden to commoners, who are only allowed to possess ordinary pigs. The sacrifice of tusked boars was performed for a chief's son by his father." So also does the ritual of Arue agree in a number of details with that of Malekula. Among other things, the Vao custom of mass sacrifice by those of lower ranks while those of high degree take new rank by sacrificing special tuskers, is paralleled in Arue by the fact that, while the chiefs sacrificed their tusked boars, "the commoners brought their ordinary pigs, which are then sacrificed at the same time as the tuskers." In Arue too, as in Vao, parts of the sacrificed tusker are distributed to others to eat, and "those who had received the head must take off its jaw and return it to the sacrificer." Again, "after a man's death, the son would sacrifice tusked boars at his father's grave with the expressed intent that the boars' souls should provide food for his father in the after-world." [1] From this and other evidence, Speiser is justified in drawing the conclusion that the chiefly ritual in Arue represents at least one link in the chain by which the ritual of the Maki was formed, and particularly that part of it that is connected with the rearing of boars with artificially elongated tusks.

Connexion of boars' tusks with daemonic powers.

Speiser also makes some interesting observations on the connexion of pigs with a destructive daemonic power. At the Malekulan end of the scale he instances the well-known masks and images connected with secret societies in the southern and south-western parts of the island, which are also those in which the human head is artificially elongated. The masks represent human heads, and to the mouths of these, as well as of some of the images, boars' tusks are attached, giving them both the

[1] Speiser, 6, p. 162.

appearance of a being which is half man, half boar.[1] In some cases also such tusks are even attached to the remodelled elongated skulls of dead ancestors.[2] He then points out that, while in Malekula the tusks are attached only to images and masks, and to the skulls of the dead, in Arue they are actually worn by men, and that this practice is intimately connected with that of human sacrifice. I have already mentioned how, in Arue as in Malekula, the jaw of a sacrificed boar must be returned to the chief who sacrificed it. In Arue the tusks are then removed and bound together, after which "the chief gives them to one of his followers, who must then kill a man, and, in the act of killing him, must hold the tusks in his mouth." Only by this means do the tusks become sanctified, and fit to be worn by the chief as his badge of sacrifice. This practice was also extended to the use of boars' tusks as amulets in war, when "they were divided among the warriors, and during battle, as at the time of their consecration, each warrior took a pair of them in his mouth in such a way that the tusks appeared to grow out of the corners of his mouth" as out of a pig's jaw. In this way warriors acquired strength for the fight. In Nias, where metals are known, a later development of the same custom is seen in the "remarkable band" worn by warriors "over the mouth, from which issue metal objects in the form of tusks." [3]

We have seen how, in Malekula, tusks are attached to the remodelled skulls of the dead. Masks and images also invariably represent either ghosts or mythological figures (which are but the collective figures of ghosts), and, as we have already seen from the Vao evidence, there is no doubt about the connexion existing between tusked boars and the Guardian Ghost. It is therefore not surprising that Speiser should note the same phenomenon in Nias, by calling attention to the "countless representations," in Indonesia, "of daemons, nearly all of which are distinguished by the large tusks issuing from their jaws." As he points out, "by binding on the tusks the Nias warrior clearly makes himself into a daemon," and goes on to suggest that "the rearing of boars with artificially elongated tusks may be due to a desire to represent daemonic attributes." He adds: "tusked boars themselves may once have been regarded as daemonic." [4] The truth of this last supposition we have seen amply borne out in the evidence from Vao.

[1] Examples may be seen in the British Museum and in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology. See also Layard, 2, Plate XVII, No. 3; also numerous examples illustrated in Speiser, 3, Plate 92 onwards, and Deacon, 4, Figs. 23, 24, 26, and Plates XIV, XV, XVI.

[2] Speiser, 3, Plate 81, No. 11.

[3] Speiser, 6, pp. 159-60.

[4] Speiser, 6, p. 160.

CHAPTER XI

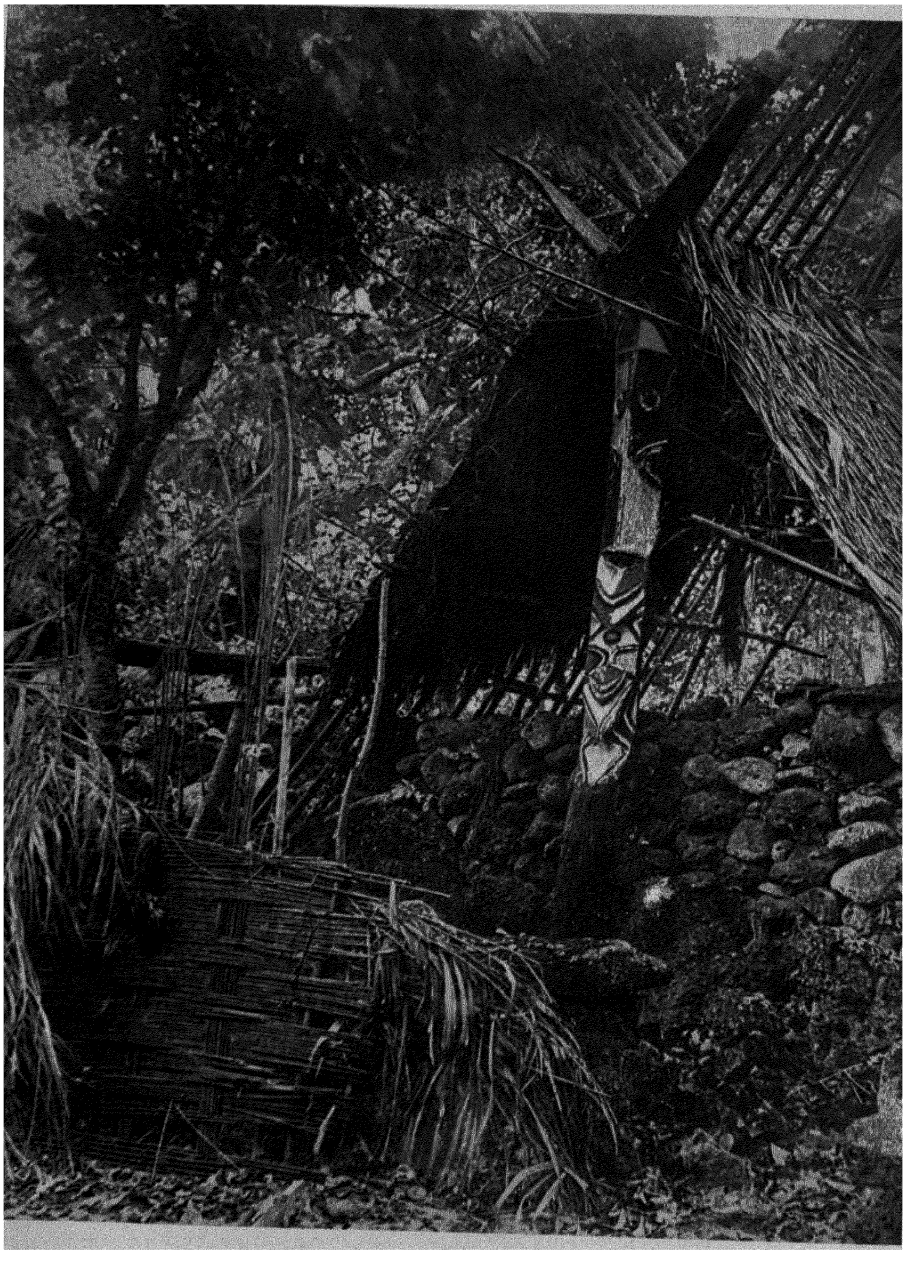
THE MAKI: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

SOME indication has already been gained from the preceding chapters regarding the nature of the Maki as a propitiatory rite in which, through the sacrifice of tusked boars, the sacrificer identifies himself with the Guardian Ghost and thereby ensures himself against annihilation after death. In so doing he at the same time honours the ancestral ghosts, and gains for himself a place by their side in the hereafter by gradually rising in rank through each successive sacrifice, each sacrifice representing a re-birth signified by the lighting of a new fire and the assumption of a new title and name. Each act of re-birth is followed by a period of seclusion in which on the physical plane he is treated as a little child unable to feed itself and being fed by others (on Vao by his wife), and on the spiritual plane he consolidates his gains, makes vows of abstinence, and plans the acquisition of yet higher ranks as soon as his material losses caused by the sacrifice of pigs and the immense outlay in food-stuffs for those assisting in and witnessing the rites have been made good.

In this way the Maki resembles other graded institutions of a public nature (for there is no secrecy about these rites) throughout Malekula, Ambrim and Epi, all known by variants of the same word, the best known so far being the *Mangki* of South-West and West Malekula recorded by Deacon.[1] Other institutions of a similar nature are the *Sukwe* of the Banks Islands and the Northern New Hebrides described by Codrington and Rivers, the *Sumbe* of Malo, and a number of like institutions known by a variety of names in other islands of the group, of which a brief survey will be found in Chapters XXVI to XXVIII.

While all these institutions follow the same main lines, there is, however, immense variation in detail not only in different districts, but even in neighbouring villages in the same district. In this way, while the Maki of the Small Islands and its variants in Malekula, Ambrim and Epi are all characterised by the erection of stone monuments of various kinds, such as monoliths, dolmens and stone-platforms, set up in special dancing-grounds, such monuments are entirely absent from the Banks Islands *Sukwe* in which the chief cult object of veneration is a cycas palm erected outside the men's house corresponding to the Vao *ghamal*.

[1] Deacon, 4, Chapters X, XI, XII. For Deacon's reference to this rite as *Nimangki* see footnote 2, p. 12.



Stone-platform at Norohure with ancestor-image surmounted by hawk-image forming the front of the ridge-pole supporting the roof

At the same time the cycas is by no means absent from Malekula, but whereas, for example, in the *Mangki* of South-West Bay it is used as a cult object for certain ranks surrounded by a small circle of stones, it has no place whatever except in certain subsidiary ways in the Vao Maki, in which the only tree that I know of as being ritually planted is the erythrina. Such details could be multiplied *ad infinitum*, and are comparatively insignificant when compared with the great variation in the ritual as practised even in two villages on the same Small Island. In this way the two Sides of Vao perform quite different forms of the rite involving the erection of different types of stone monument and a corresponding variation in the details of social organisation. So also the individual villages composing each Side vary even within these limits in the elaboration of ritual facilitated by the custom of buying and selling rites.

FEATURES PECULIAR TO THE SMALL ISLANDS

Each "line" alternately performs the rite.

These matters will all be dealt with in due course. One of the chief characteristics, however, that distinguishes the Maki in all the Small Islands from any other recorded variants of the rite is that, whereas in all other districts of which we have adequate record, advancement in the hierarchy of ranks is achieved by individuals sacrificing purely on their own account, here the whole male community in any given village takes part, each "line" or marriage section consisting of alternate generations in the male line of descent performing the rite in alternating succession.[1]

Called Maki. Rite lasts from fifteen to thirty years.

A second point of similarity shared by all the Small Islands is the common use of the word Maki as opposed to the numerous other variants of the name listed on p. 692 and set out in Map X.

A third point of similarity in which the Small Islands differ from all other districts known to me is the extreme length of the period over which the rites are spread out, which in Vao may cover a period of from fifteen to twenty years, and in Atchin as many as thirty, thus lasting roughly a generation.

Rite divided into two parts. Stone-platform and dolmen.

A fourth point of similarity in the rites shared by all the Small Islands is that the whole performance is divided into two parts, each part culminating with the same series of ceremonies, at the end of which all the sacrificers become ritually re-born and take new names. In this way the

[1] Mr. T. H. Harrisson tells me that this is also the case in parts of Santo. A detailed description of the working of this system on Vao is given on pp. 97, 294 ff., 414 ff.

members of the sacrificing "line" achieve re-birth twice during a single performance of this double rite. Then, after a period of recuperation, the members of the opposite "line" become the sacrificers and are themselves similarly twice re-born, after which the first "line" once more assumes the sacrificial rôle, and the two "lines" continue to alternate in this way, each being re-born twice during its period of office.

A fifth point of similarity is that, throughout the Small Islands, the monument on which the final sacrifice at the end of the second part of the rite is performed is a stone-platform.

The monuments at which sacrifice is made at the end of the first part of the rite, however, differ. In what I have referred to as the dolmen-Maki, as performed in the Superior double-village on Vao, this monument consists of a single large dolmen. In the new type of monolith-Maki which was introduced into the Small Islands from the mainland some eight generations ago, and which, with certain modifications, is now firmly established on Wala and Atchin, the single large dolmen has been replaced by ten shrines, each of which is a composite monument the stonework of which consists of a tall monolith coupled with a diminutive dolmen. In all cases the monument is combined with a wooden image representing the ghosts of the alternate officiating generations of the male ancestors of the officiating "line" of Maki-men, in other words, all those of the same kinship section who have previously performed the rite.

Stone monuments correspond to beliefs regarding the Journey of the Dead.

We have, in the chapter on mythology,[1] seen how these ancestral ghosts are constellated in the figure of the Guardian Ghost. This is in turn closely bound up with the symbolic connexion existing between the monuments just mentioned, together with the ritual associated with them, and the beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead. For, looked at from this point of view, the two parts of the Maki, as performed now on Vao and till recently on Wala and Atchin, in fact correspond with the two superimposed layers of belief concerning this journey as held in the various islands. Thus, just as all islands agree in the belief of an ultimate home of the dead high up on a volcano, so all islands agree in erecting a stone-platform and lighting a fire on it as the culminating act in the second part of the rite. The differences in belief, however, occur in the position accorded to the Guardian Ghost met with on the way. In the Vao version of the Journey of the Dead, the first half of which represents the older story, the Guardian Ghost is met with at the entrance to the Cave of the Dead. The monument erected for the first part of the rite on Vao is therefore a dolmen, which

[1] See p. 225.

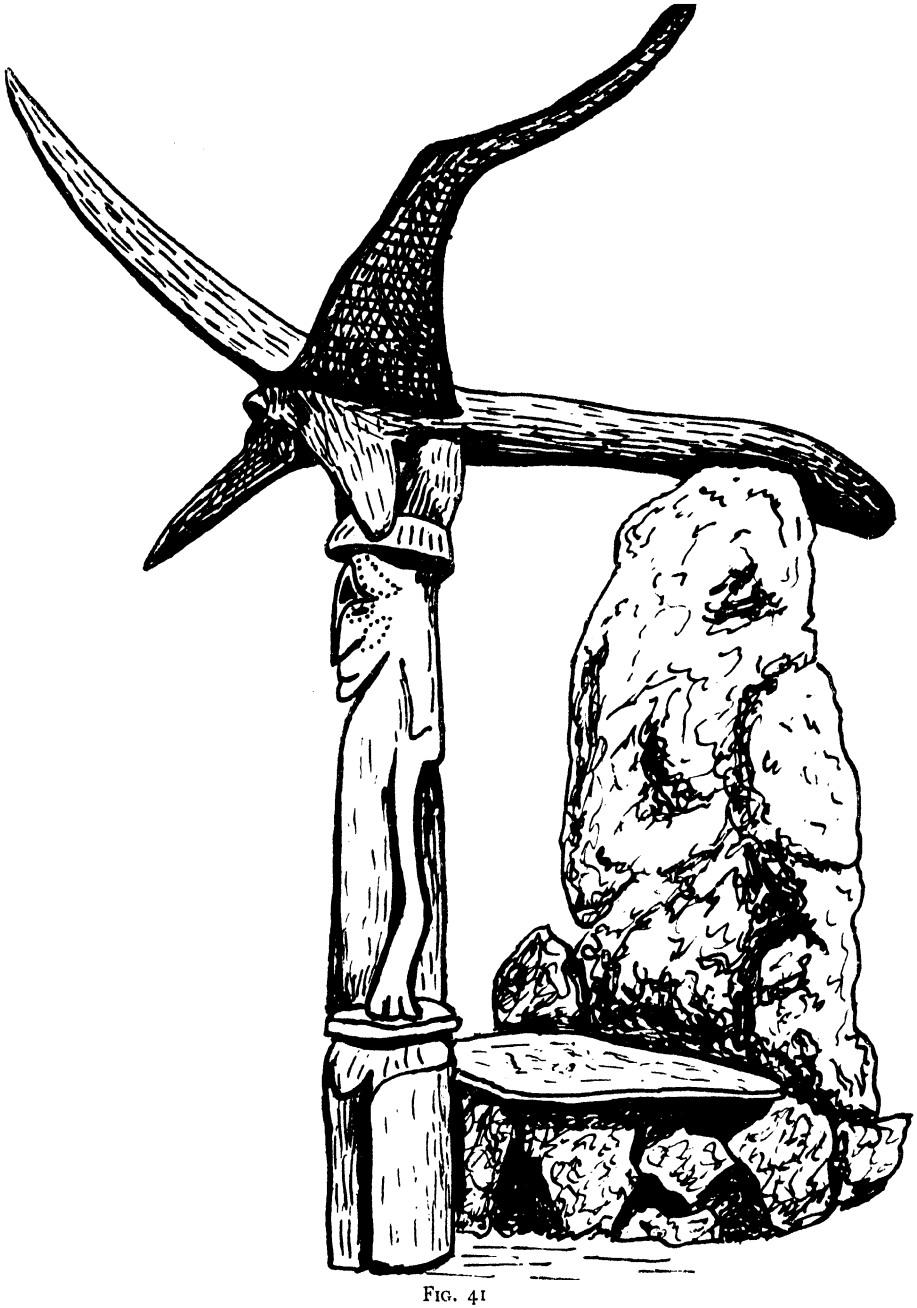


FIG. 41

Shrine erected for the monolith-Maki recently adopted from Atchin by the village of Norohure on the Inferior Side of Vao. Each shrine consists of wooden image, dolmen and monolith. Note the hawk-image (with four wings) resting on the forked hat surmounting the image, and forming the front part of the ridge-pole of which the rear end rests on the monolith. The thatched roof supported by the ridge-pole has rotted away.

corresponds to the cave. In the later versions of the story current on Atchin and Wala, however, the Guardian Ghost is said to be met with, not at the entrance to the cave, which in this version is empty, but on the reef at Bong-na-un,[1] and is at the same time said to be the grandmother of ten legendary brothers. In those islands, therefore, the monument erected for the first part of the rite has been altered so as to consist of ten shrines, in which the chief monument is a monolith combined with wooden image representing, from one point of view, the Guardian Ghost in its collective aspect, with the dolmen reduced to the smallest possible proportions and the ten sons represented by a division of the village into ten families, each of which is responsible for the erection of one shrine.

Of these two parts of the Maki, the first, characterised by the dolmen, is the older and, according to the natives' own records, was formerly practised also throughout the Small Islands at least as far south as Wala.[2]

Yet earlier type of rite in which the sole stone monument was a dolmen, similar to that now performed on Malo.

Thus, the natives affirm that at one time the dolmen was the only stone monument erected, and that in those days the rite was similar to that practised at the present time in the matrilineal island of Malo immediately to the north. In Vao this early type of rite is called *Ramben*,[3] a word probably connected with the Malo *rombu* used for the men's house which is intimately bound up with the rite as performed in that island and corresponds roughly to the Vao *ghamal*. All that is known, or that I have been able to record about the ritual at this early period, is that during the culminating rite ten re-entrant-tuskers were tied to the dolmen and there sacrificed just as, according to the Vao natives, is still the case on Malo. Owing to the sacrifice of these ten tuskers this ancient form of the rite is now referred to on Vao as Maki Hangawul.[4] *Hangawul* means "ten," referring to the ten re-entrant-tuskers (circle-tuskers are said to have been unknown at that time), and is thus purely descriptive. The word Maki, however, is in this case almost certainly an anachronism based on the modern use of this word to describe the whole rite, thereby supplanting the more ancient word *Sumbe* still used for the whole rite on Malo, but now restricted on Vao to describe the table-stone of the dolmen which is called *vet simbe-simbe*, *vet* meaning "stone" and *simbe* corresponding to the Malo *Sumbe*, both words, *simbe* and *Sumbe*, being variants of *Supwe* or *Sukwe*, of which, as mentioned elsewhere, the root is the Indonesian *sĕmba*, "to worship or honour." [5]

[1] See Layard, 4, pp. 122, 125. [2] My records do not extend further south.
[3] This word is still used for the first part of the double rite for which a large dolmen is set up.
[4] Compare the Warsangul in South Raga (see p. 695).
[5] See p. 693.

Three stages of development correspond with successive stages of belief concerning the Journey of the Dead.

We can thus trace, in the Small Islands, three main stages in the development of the rite as judged from the stone monuments used:

Name by which I refer to the whole Double Rite	Where now performed	Chief Stone Monument used in First Part	Chief Stone Monument used in Second Part
1. (Referred to on Vao as Maki Hangawul)	Formerly in all Small Islands, now on Malo	Single large dolmen	(No second part)
2. Dolmen-Maki	Superior Side of Vao	Single large dolmen	Stone-platform
3. Monolith-Maki	Wala, Atchin; now being adopted on Inferior Side of Vao	Ten shrines, each with large monolith and small dolmen	Stone-platform

Table IV

These three successive types correspond with the three stages in the development of beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead from the Small Islands that have been described elsewhere,[1] namely:

	Position of Guardian Ghost	Home of the Dead
(1)	At entrance to Cave.	(In Cave).
(2)	At entrance to Cave.	On Volcano.
(3)	Alone on reef, though the cave is retained as an unimportant element in the story.[2]	On Volcano.

Of these three stages of development, both of the Maki rite and of the Journey of the Dead, the first is associated, through Malo, with what I refer to below as the central group of islands, in which the dolmen is the central sacrificial monument and the belief in a home of the dead on a volcano is absent.[3] The type of public graded institution which this represents is now obsolete, so far as the Small Islands are concerned. The third stage is associated, on the contrary, with the mainland of Malekula, whence the whole of the monolith-Maki is said to have come,

[1] Layard, 4, p. 140.

[2] The ten shrines correspond with the ten sons the Guardian Ghost is said to have, according to this late version.

[3] See pp. 691 ff., 713, and Distribution Map X.

and where (at least in the north) the volcano is the goal to be sought by those of high rank after death. The second, or dolmen-Maki as performed on Vao, combines parts of both elements.

Doubling of the rite due also to beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead expressed elsewhere in a division into higher and lower ranks.

This existing division into two main layers of culture also almost certainly explains the doubling of the rite. Indications exist that a similar doubling takes place in the rite in certain other districts, both in the ritual of some of the higher ranks and in a division of the ranks themselves into groups.[1] In Seniang, as both Deacon and I have independently shown, the ranks are divided into an even greater number of groups. In this case the multiplication of groups is due to the convergence of a number of culture-complexes, each of which has its own version of the Journey of the Dead. In other districts where there are only two groups of ranks the problem is simpler. With regard to the doubling of the rite in the Small Islands, a comparison with two neighbouring cultures will help to show what it means. The first lies in a consideration of the names given to the two parts of the rite, particularly in Atchin. Thus, in all the Small Islands, while the word Maki in its extended sense covers both parts of the rite, in its more restricted sense it is applied only to the second, which is the most important part, and in which the only sacrificial objects are tusked boars. The first part, on the other hand, is known by a variety of names, of which that used in Vao is Ramben [2] and that used in Atchin is Na-tò. Now the word *Na-tò* means "fowl," and refers to the fact that in this part of the rite, both in Atchin and in Vao, while the chief officiants sacrifice tusked boars, the rank and file of Maki-men sacrifice fowls. If we now turn to an examination of the ranks in East Oba we find that there are here only four, of which the lowest is Toa, meaning "fowl." "A boy has a fowl, *toa*, given him to start in life, and a fowl buys him his first step, the *toa*." But this "lowest step does not confer a title" as the higher ranks do. As "his fowls multiply . . . he changes some of them for a sow; so his property increases, and as he grows richer he desires to take each further step." [3]

It would thus appear that the first part of the rite called Na-tò in Atchin (and so also the Ramben in Vao) represents what was to some extent a preliminary rite for those not yet admitted to the higher ranks. The significance of this will be appreciated when we remember that the monuments erected for the first part of the rite are in both cases those which are associated with the cave and with the Guardian Ghost, which have been shown to represent a stratum of culture earlier than that

[1] The division into groups of ranks, where recorded, is shown on the Table of Grade Names by a thick line dividing one group from another.

[2] Also used for the old type of rite mentioned on p. 274.

[3] Codrington, 3, p. 113.

associated with the home of the dead in a volcano and with the stone-platform and the second part of the rite. Layers of culture are at the same time represented in the existing stratification of society, which in the Small Islands is associated with rank in the graded society rather than with considerations of birth. As has already been pointed out, the belief in a home of the dead in a volcano is associated with ideas concerning a sky-world and is particularly associated with the higher ranks, and the belief in a home of the dead in a cave with the lower ranks and with those who have not taken any rank at all. This duality of belief, based also on the psychological grounds indicated in the section on "Height," [1] is common throughout the Pacific as between chiefs on the one hand and commoners on the other. It is therefore permissible, as throwing yet further light on the Small Island problem, to call attention once more to the state of affairs among the chiefly Big Nambas, who also have four ranks, of which the two lower are in a different class from the two higher, the two lower being easily purchasable, but the two higher being acquired only by chiefs or by permission of a chief.[2] In this case, also, one of the main distinctions between the two pairs of ranks lies in the nature of the monuments erected, the pigs sacrificed for the two lower ranks being tied to stakes of cycas wood and for the two higher ranks to stones.

Additions to public graded society ritual from other sources.

It must not be supposed, from the above account, that the three types of public graded institution are entities to the extent that either the whole or nothing of them can be performed. On the contrary, it will be seen from what has just been said that, even with respect to such important items as the types of monument erected, elements can be added or taken away. With regard to the ritual, which is extremely complicated, as may be judged by the length of time it takes for the whole cycle to be performed, the opportunities for change are boundless. I refer elsewhere [3] to the fact that, in Raga, what is in other districts the separate rite of Initiation into Manhood has there been incorporated into the graded society ritual. So also we find that the construction of a *ghamal*, or of a new set of slit gongs, with the protracted ritual associated with them, is in some places incorporated with it, in others not. When it comes to a question of the almost infinite number of lesser rites that form part of this fifteen to twenty years' cycle, we find that so great is the variation in them from place to place that not even two villages within the same district perform all details of the rite alike. The same is true even within the restricted area of any one of the Small Islands with their small populations of about 400 inhabitants, where no two single-villages, though they may be halves of one double-village and however reduced in numbers, will have exactly the same series of sub-rites.

[1] See p. 732. [2] See p. 741. [3] See p. 493.

Artistry and prestige.

Nor will any two successive performances in a given village be quite alike. For, with the keen dramatic and artistic sense of the natives, for whom, in the Small Islands, the Maki affords the opportunity for endless display of every kind in the introduction of new songs, new dances, new improvements to old rites, it is a matter of moment that not only for artistic reasons but also for prestige and the eclipsing of rival villages, at least something new should always be added. The chief method by which this is achieved is in the number of valuable tusked boars, often amounting to several hundred, that will be sacrificed at one time. Details of such mass sacrifices will be found in the accounts given below.

"Copyright," The Selling of Rites.

The numbers of boars killed depends upon the will only of those who sacrifice. With regard to ritual, however, the matter stands on a very different footing. For no rite or sub-rite, no song once performed, no dance once it has been invented, much less any important aspect of ritual, may be taken on by one village from another without heavy payment. There is a system of unwritten copyright for everything. Nothing is given away. Thus, in other aspects of culture also, the minutest alteration in the style of carving a canoe figure-head, in the number of decorative sticks projecting from a house-gable, or in the fashioning of a club, the smallest improvement in ritual—all these, once made, must be paid for by anyone wishing to repeat them.

INFLUENCE OF "COPYRIGHT" ON THE SLOW DIFFUSION OF CULTURE. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MAKI ON ATCHIN

This system of copyright is an important indication of the super-development of the commercial aspect of life in the whole group, not only with respect to material things, but also towards their ritual proceedings. It is also a fact of prime importance with regard to the diffusion of culture. My chief data regarding this were obtained on Atchin, and will be published in detail in a future volume. But I will anticipate this publication to emphasise a few points.

My evidence is based on extensive genealogies and on detailed accounts as to exactly what individuals were responsible for the introduction of the most important elements of the rite. These records go back for nineteen generations to the introduction of patrilineal descent into the island.[1] Before this time the chief monument to be erected was the single large dolmen, as in the earliest record on Vao; circle-tuskers were at that time unknown, and the highest grade of sacrificial pig was a re-entrant-tusker. At this time also the titles taken were LUWUSH, WEL-WEL and

[1] See pp. 17, 84.

MULON, the two highest of these being the same as those still in use among the Big Nambas. All the most important elements subsequently introduced into the public graded institution on Atchin came from the mainland of Malekula. Of these the first was the stone-platform, introduced eighteen [1] generations ago, changing the whole character of the rite. For the succeeding eleven generations I have no further information, during which period doubtless many new rites of a less notable nature were acquired. Full details begin seven generations ago, from which time I have record of every Maki performed in the village in which I lived. This is an important date in Atchin history. At this time there flourished on the mainland, opposite Wala, the two villages already mentioned called Lawor and Bot-walim. These two villages, now unfortunately extinct, constituted the chief centre from which the new type of monolith-Maki was diffused to the Small Islands. The process began to make itself seriously felt on Atchin at this date with the introduction of the ten shrines already described, though in a different form from that now used, since all were then sheltered by a single pent roof with screens dividing the shrines from one another, somewhat after the manner of those still set up on Rano, where this type of Maki is still performed. It was at this time also that, along with the new type of monument, the title MAL was introduced, LUWUSH and WEL-WEL being dropped, but MULON being retained in an inferior position to MAL. From then on, numerous other elements were introduced, all being heavily paid for with tusked boars. The next generation saw the introduction of circle-tuskers and of the supernumerary title MELTEG. At about this time also a new development took place, namely the erection of the stone-platform as well as the ten shrines at the outset of the double rite, the stone-platform serving for both parts. Both this and succeeding generations saw also the introduction of a whole mass of new rites, connected not only with the Maki, but with Mortuary Ritual, Gong-Raising, Lodge-Building and every aspect of ceremonial life.

Where these originated before coming to Lawor and Bot-walim I am unable to say. The fact remains that they all had to be paid for at great price, some of them direct, others from individuals or villages on Wala who had themselves previously acquired them from the mainland. After the destruction of the mainland villages, all that had not yet been bought direct from Lawor and Bot-walim had to be bought from Wala, many of such rites having already passed slowly and with endless haggling from one village on that island to another. Many have never yet been so bought, and Wala therefore enjoyed at the time of my visit the position of a Mecca for those seeking new rites. Nor does the selling of a rite in any way impoverish the seller, except by robbing him of the prestige of being its only performer. For on selling a rite the owner does not relin-

[1] One informant put it as high as nineteen.

quish the right to perform it himself, but can continue to sell it to all comers.

The significant fact with regard to the length of time required for diffusion to take place under these conditions is that, in spite of the enormous prestige enjoyed by the new rite, and the eagerness of the natives for every new thing, after seven generations many of its important features have not yet reached Atchin, only three miles away from Lawor. Yet more, though many others have been possessed by one Atchin village for generations, some of these have not yet reached certain other villages even on Atchin, and, though the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao have now begun to adopt as much of the new rite as they can, the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on the Superior Side has not bought any of it at all. Vao is three miles from Atchin and six miles from Lawor and Bot-walim, so that, on this computation, the speed of diffusion in this corner of the world under a system of ritual copyright is just under one mile per generation.

THE VAO MAKI

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Dolmen-Maki now performed only on Superior Side of the Island. Villages on Inferior Side have recently adopted the monolith-Maki from Atchin.

As I have already said, the type of public graded institution in which the only monument erected was a single large dolmen has for many generations been obsolete in the Small Islands.[1] So far as we know, and judging from the single monument erected, this rite was not a dual one as is the present-day Maki. The duality of the rite appears to have been introduced along with the stone-platform, which came from the mainland of Malekula along with a series of new beliefs concerning a home of the dead on a volcano. This happened, on Atchin, some eighteen generations ago, but we have no evidence when it was adopted on Vao, though presumably, as the whole movement of culture with which it is associated is here from south to north, this would have occurred several generations later than on Atchin. This dual rite, in which the chief monument erected for the first part is a dolmen and for the second is the stone-platform, is now only performed on Vao. Even so, however, such is the diversity of culture even on this minute island which is less than a mile wide, the whole population does not practise this rite, which is performed now only by the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, which together form the Superior and therefore the most conservative Side of the Island. The remaining two double-villages have in quite recent times adopted new fashions from Atchin which, though they by no means embrace all

[1] See p. 274.

the features which further south go to build up the newer type of monolith-Maki, nevertheless include its characteristic feature, namely the erection in the first part of the rite, in place of the single large dolmen, of ten shrines in each of which the dolmen survives only in diminutive form accompanied by a large monolith. This, following the general practice of calling a rite by the name, not of its place of origin, but of the place from which the right to perform it was bought, is now called on Vao the Atchin Maki. The first Vao village to purchase the main features of the monolith-Maki from Atchin was the village of Norohure, which, significantly enough, occupies the least distinguished position of all the Vao villages. I am not able to give the exact date of the transaction, which occurred some considerable time before my informant, a man of forty or fifty, was born. The Atchin Maki, that is to say the monolith-Maki, has been performed several times at this village, and several times at its parent village Singon, which was the next to acquire the right by the usual method of purchase. Peter-ihi, belonging to the other double-village on the Inferior Side of the Island, was the next to acquire it. This village has only performed it once, and at the time of my visit was just beginning it for the second time. Venu, its partner village, was the last to make the purchase, and at that time was in the middle of its first performance. As an instance of the slow rate of purchase of the various sub-rites, which must be bought one by one, none of these villages have yet acquired the right to perform the Atchin ceremony called *potali*,[1] and Peter-ihi alone has bought, direct from Atchin and not through the intermediary of any Vao village, the right to perform the ritual of erecting ceremonial yam-mounds called *tavi*.[1]

The junior, and probably refugee, communities of Lavame and Saraliwe died out (except for a few descendants not numerous enough to carry out any rite on their own) too soon for this new influence to have affected them, and never performed anything other than the dolmen-Maki.

Stone-platform introduced from mainland by way of Tolamp. "First men" of the Maki.

An interesting case is the position occupied by the other refugee community, that of Tolamp. This community, though numbering at most ten individuals, represents the total number of those now surviving from the once flourishing island situated between Atchin and Vao that was submerged, with the result that the inhabitants were forced to seek refuge elsewhere. A full history of their wanderings is given in another chapter.[2] It is enough here to say that, after occupying a number of sites on the mainland, at the last of which they erected the largest monolith known on

[1] These ceremonies will be described in a future volume on the Maki in Atchin.
[2] See Chapter XXII.

Malekula, their descendants eventually became so decimated that the last remnants of them sought refuge on Vao, where they now live on ground ceded to them from Togh-vanu. In the days of their prosperity, however, they were regarded as the most go-ahead and therefore most honoured community north of Atchin, and were the first to buy any new form of Maki that emanated from the Malekulan mainland. This was in the days after the introduction of the stone-platform, but before that of the ten shrines. The result of this is that, in spite of their present position as refugees, they are still looked up to on Vao as depositories of the highest traditions of the older form of the existing Maki, as performed in Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, are regarded here as the "first men" of the Maki, and take precedence in all its rites.

"First men" the vehicles of "apostolic succession," and announce date of culminating sacrifice.

The position of "first men" of the Maki is an important one, since it not only confers considerable prestige on those holding it, but also embodies the principle of continuity connecting the present performers of the rite with its remote founders and with all those in the long line of participants who have practised and preserved it throughout the ages down to the present day. For, from the point of view of any given village in the Small Islands or on the adjacent mainland, the "first men" are always those from whom they themselves have acquired the most important aspects of the rite. The chief honour and duty imposed on them is that their leader, that is to say the chief man of the village from which the rite has been derived, shall undertake the important function of announcing the date on which the culminating sacrifice is to be performed.[1] As he does so, he holds a kava root in his hand, and representatives of all those who have already been initiated into the rite (namely those of the "introducing line" as well as initiates from other villages) must touch this while the announcement is being made, so that, through physical connection with him by means of the kava root, they may achieve continuity with the past and themselves forge a new link in the chain which will itself hand the rite on to posterity. Thus, for the Vao village of Pete-hul the "first men" are the men of Tolamp, from whom they derived their form of the rite. In its offshoot village of Togh-vanu, however, which in its turn derived the rite from Pete-hul, it is a man of Pete-hul who announces the date and so forms the link with the past. In the same way, in the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao, which have acquired yet later forms of the rite from Atchin,[2] the announcement is made by an Atchin man, or, failing such, by a man of the Vao village of Norohure, which was the first on this island to acquire these new forms. So continuity is preserved in much the same way as in the Christian

[1] See p. 376. [2] See p. 281.

Church through the doctrine of apostolic succession and the laying on of hands, with the slight difference that the hands are not directly laid on but that the essential element of touch is achieved through the medium of the kava root, universally recognised in the Pacific as a channel for divine (ancestral) inspiration.

Tolamp Maki about to be revived.

The position of Tolamp also affords evidence of the importance of the whole Maki rite as a promoter of well-being and social prestige. It so happened that my chief informant on Vao was a Tolamp man who had at one time, when on another island, become nominally a Christian, and had at the same time amassed a certain amount of wealth in pigs. He had, however, renounced the first without renouncing the second, and had returned home to rehabilitate the fortunes of his clan, and his method of setting about this was, with immense energy, to clear a space for a new dancing-ground for the performance, for the first time on Vao, of a Maki in which the participants should be exclusively Tolamp men.[1]

MAKI INTRODUCED FROM MAINLAND VILLAGE OF N'AV-AV

The Story of To-wewe

The following story, told of the origin of the Maki on Vao,[2] makes no mention of a dolmen, but only of a stone-platform. This may be due either to a mistake on the part of my informant, or to the fact that he, a Tolamp man, was envisaging in his account the type of Maki that he himself was at that moment about to perform, a type more like the Atchin than the Vao Maki, in which a stone-platform is erected for both parts. However this may be, the important point to note is that the story refers to the introduction of this type of monument, which is that which, to the native, typifies the Maki as opposed to all older forms of the graded society rite.

The founder is said to have been a man named To-wewe, who lived at the village of N'av-av on the mainland of Malekula.[3] The type of

[1] For a brief history of this, and of the dispute to which his action gave rise, see pp. 435 ff.

[2] A strange lapse by an otherwise reliable author (or possibly his editor) is the extraordinary statement attributed to Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 40) that Maltaru, who, in his genealogy (see p. 94), he assumes to have been born in about 1770, "knew neither the White Man, nor iron, *nor the Maki*" [my italics], and that his son Melteklerang (born about 1800) was the first to witness all three. This is, of course, manifestly untrue of the Maki as a whole, and the statement, if made to him at all, must have referred only to the introduction of some of the very latest new forms of the rite from Atchin.

[3] I have not been able to place this village on the map. It is said to have been close to the recently extinct village of Na-tsing-ware, some three miles inland from Tsüngon Ta-har, and some four miles distant from Vao.
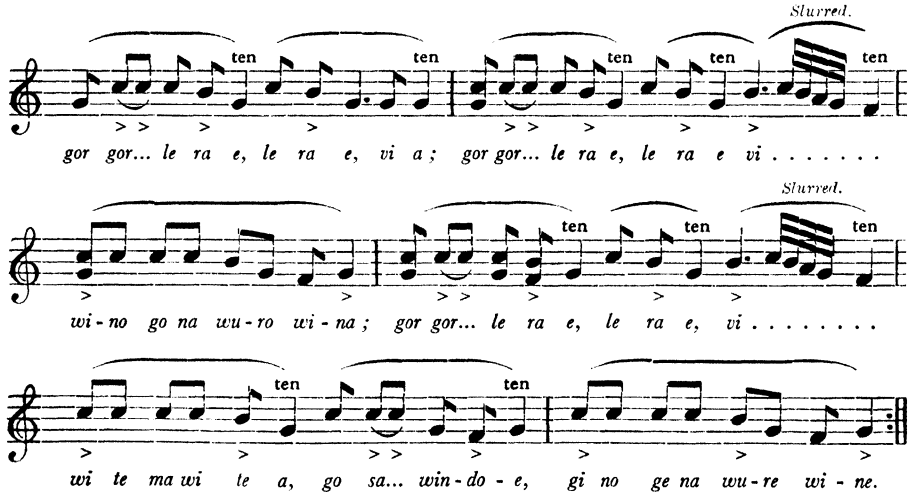
Maki he instituted was subsequently bought by Tolamp,[1] and from Tolamp transmitted by the usual method of ceremonial purchase to Vao. The story, which has many interesting features, runs as follows:

To-wewe was his father's eldest son and, like many culture-heroes here and elsewhere, had married his sister. This woman was a full sister, being born of the same father and mother as To-wewe, and her name was Lieli. The story relates how these two, having gathered a heap of nuts of the *tawò* tree, sat down together to break them open. Some of these fruits have one kernel, while others have two, divided by a thin skin. Whenever they found a nut with two kernels, they put it aside, till they had collected 100 of them. With these 100 twin-kernels the two intended to perform the Maki sacrifice. For this purpose they placed 100 half-kernels on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground and 100 on the Lower Side (corresponding to the 100 tusked boars now sacrificed on the Upper or men's Side and the 100 pigs of lesser value now sacrificed on the Lower or women's Side).[2] Having done this, they sang the following song, which is still sung on Vao on a number of important ritual occasions:

SONG 1

Sung by To-wewe

(For method of transcribing this and all subsequent songs see footnote.[3])



Falsetto cries: "*O! oi! oi!*"—"*We!*" (Repeated twice.)

[1] It was not stated by my informant whether this happened while the island of Tolamp still existed, or whether it occurred after the submergence of the island, when its inhabitants had established themselves on the mainland.

[2] For other cases of the alleged sacrifice of objects other than tusked boars see pp. 452, 579.

[3] **Note on transcription of songs.** Transcription of native songs into European notation is no easy task and can at best be an approximation. I wish here to tender my warmest thanks to Sir Hugh Allen and Dr H. K. Andrews of New College,

The words are, as those of most ritual songs, either in a special song language with archaic features or else in a foreign dialect, and are therefore obscure.[1] Their general sense, however, embodies the peaceful ideals of the Maki, and means, I was told, "The folk of some places are always fighting; I do not want to fight." The song is repeated twice over, each repetition being followed by loud cries from the dancers, the leader calling out "*O! oi! oi!*" in high falsetto, the last "*oi*" being slurred down the scale, and being replied to by a deep-sounding "*we*" from the others.

Having sung this song, To-wewe and his sister-wife were about to perform the "sacrifice" of the 200 half-kernels of *tawò*. But their father, whose name is unknown, and who was at the time sick in his house, heard them singing, and came out and stopped them, saying, "What are you doing?" And when he perceived what they were about to do, he said, "I see what you are doing. But wait a minute, don't sacrifice them (the *tawò* kernels) yet." Then he sounded the mother-gong,[2] and when all the men of the village had assembled, he said, "You see what these two are doing. They have placed 100 half-kernels at the Upper Side and 100

Oxford, who have kindly assisted me to achieve the nearest possible rendering of the various songs reproduced in this book, a list of which is found on p. xvi. As mentioned on p. 313, the main melody is frequently harmonised by the natives singing in more than one part. As most of my actual recording was, however, done from individual informants, it has not been possible to reproduce these parts except in a few outstanding instances; when, for example, the same native in repeating the same song would vary certain notes, or when two informants would each have their own variations. When plotted out together, however, all these variations were found to be in harmony with one another, and clearly represented what we should speak of as "parts," and are recorded as such in the transcriptions here given.

Since very few of these songs fit in with the regular time beats familiar in European music, no time signatures are attempted, and the very complicated rhythms are indicated as nearly as possible by means of (a) *slurs*, (b) *bars* not taken as time measures but as indicating the end of a phrase both in the music and in the words, (c) *apostrophes* indicating a definite break in the rhythm followed by a fresh "attack," and (d) *stresses* below the stave indicating accented notes. A special feature of these stresses is found in the following notation  , consisting of two stressed quavers indicating a sustained note with a subsidiary beat corresponding to that of the dancers' feet. This only occurs in those songs which are accompanied by more or less violent dancing, and replaces the simple crotchet used when the dancers are stationary or in slow-moving procession. In later chapters the *sforzando* marks (stresses) below the tied quavers will be omitted, it being by then understood that the tying of two quavers on a single syllable itself implies some measure of accentuation on the second as well as on the first.

[1] *Wi-no* (*wi-na*, *wi-ne*) appears to be equivalent to the modern *wan*, meaning "go." *Go* is the future first person singular pronoun, meaning "I shall," or "Shall I?" *Na wu-ro* is equivalent to the Atchin *na wahal* (Vao *vaghal*), meaning "the fight." *Wi-te ma wi-te* means "It is not I," and *go sa win-do-e*, "What shall I do?" The word *gor-gor*, with which the song begins, could be connected with so many words in current Vao speech, such as *ghore*, "to chase" or "to remove a taboo," or *goro*, "to raid," that I hesitate to give any explanation. In view of the Wala version given below, it may possibly refer to the chasing of the aboriginal man-eating tyrant Ias, whose death coincided with the introduction of the stone-platform on Atchin.

[2] See p. 346.

at the Lower Side, and want to sacrifice them." Then he brought a tusked boar and tied it to the stone-platform. And he told his son to sacrifice it, but told the woman that she must not sacrifice it. So To-wewe sacrificed the tusker at the stone-platform. This was the Ramben (first part) of the first Maki.

Now To-wewe was his father's *bete-ram*,[1] his eldest son. After this first sacrifice, nine more sons were born to him, so that now he had ten. And he wished to test all his sons, to see which of them was the "best." So he said to his wife, "I want you to play a trick on our sons. Go to the garden to dig out a yam, and as you bend down, let your mat-skirt (*nemb*) fall down to expose your private parts. Then whichever of the boys are 'good' he will go away so as not to see, but if any of them is ' bad,' he will come up to you and want to copulate. If any one of the boys does copulate with you, then break the yam and bring it to me, and I shall know that one of my sons has 'done wrong' [2] with you."

So the mother went, and the father sent his ten sons in turn to see her, beginning with the youngest. And the nine youngest, not wishing to see their mother with her parts exposed, came back. But To-wewe "did wrong" with her, and as he returned, his mother came with him carrying the broken yam, so that his father knew. And his father said, "These nine are my sons. But the eldest (*bete-ram*) has done wrong. Henceforth I will have no dealings with him."

The original sacrifice had been Ramben, the first part of the rite. Now he taught them the second part of the rite, called Maki Ru (High Maki). And the father played a trick on To-wewe,[3] sending him to his house, so that by the time he came back the other nine had already performed their sacrifice and the rite was over. To-wewe was furious, but his father soothed him, saying, "Never mind. Some time I will make a Maki for you all by yourself." But To-wewe was not to be pacified. He took with him the circle-tusker that he had intended to kill at the Maki, and put it into the hollow trunk of a tree of the kind called *nev*.[4] The trunk was hollow and open at the top. He climbed up, and, singing the same song that he and his sister-wife had sung while sorting out the *tawò* kernels, he lowered down the tusked boar, and then himself, into the trunk of the tree. And they remained in the trunk, and died there.

POINTS OF INTEREST IN THE TALE

This tale is of great interest. In the first place, it throws new light on the doubling of the rite, in that it shows a definite connexion between the introduction of the second part and a change in social organisation by which

[1] See pp. 180 ff.

[2] These are native expressions, and in no way due to the influence of Christianity.

[3] In the account as given to me To-wewe is henceforth referred to throughout as the *bete-ram* (eldest son).

[4] Atchin *rav*, often used for the manufacture of dug-out canoes.

women became excluded, and by which incest (represented by copulation with the mother) in some form was abandoned; though it will be noted that there seems to have been no objection to To-wewe marrying his sister.

In the second place, there is the obvious connexion with mortuary rites, since the hero dies a voluntary death, presumably with the intention of being re-born.

Thirdly, there is the very remarkable mode of sepulture, in an upright hollow tree, recalling the tree-trunk burial of Attis and Osiris, while at the same time the tree chosen for this is that commonly used for making sea-going canoes, recalling many instances of burial in canoes throughout the islands.

Fourthly, there is the identification between the man and his tusked boar, which we have already seen to play such an important part in bringing about the identification between a man and the Guardian Ghost. It will be noted that the boar in question was a circle-tusker, which indicates that the event was comparatively recent.

Fifthly, the rite is definitely connected with ideas concerning the importance of the eldest son.

In the sixth place, it again emphasises the connexion between the newer form of the rite and the decimal system, the ten sons corresponding to the ten shrines erected in the later forms of Maki now practised on Atchin, together with the division of each village on that island into ten families each of whom is responsible for one shrine, and in the corresponding mythology concerning the ten grandsons of Le-saw-saw the Guardian Ghost.

OCCASIONS ON WHICH TO-WEWE'S SONG IS SUNG

(*a*) Vao

The song sung by To-wewe and his sister-wife, both when about to sacrifice the 100 twin-kernels and again when he enters on his voluntary death, is sung today on Vao on the occasion of the following *rites de passage*:

(*a*) During the mock battle that accompanies the celebration of the birth of an eldest son.[1]

(*b*) On the eve of the rites called *matean*, observed for the death of an old man prior to a dramatic scene in which the dead man is impersonated by a kinsman entering the hut built over his tomb and holds converse with the living, telling them that the dead man has returned to his mother's village.[2]

(*b*) Wala
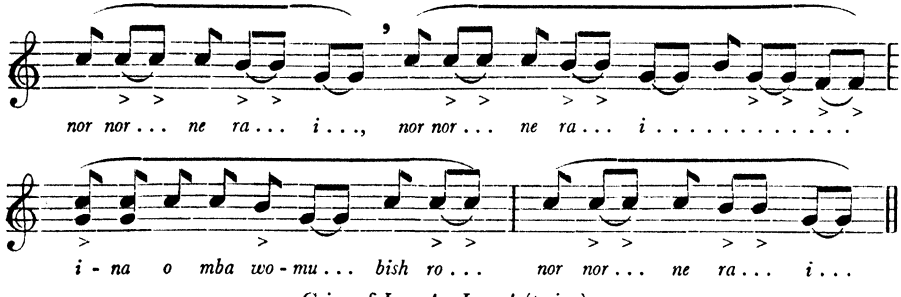
The song is known also in other parts of the Small Islands. In Wala it is sung on the supreme occasion when a super-circle-tusker is consecrated for sacrifice at the Maki, clearly connecting this rite with To-

[1] See p. 183. [2] See p. 546.

wewe's self-sacrifice along with his tusker in the tree. The version here sung is inferior to that sung on Vao, but is significantly connected with the mythological figure of Ias, who symbolises in his own person Small Island culture at the time when the only monument erected was the single large dolmen.[1]

SONG 2

Wala version of the song which in Vao is connected with To-wewe



Cries of *Ias o ! Ias o !* (twice).
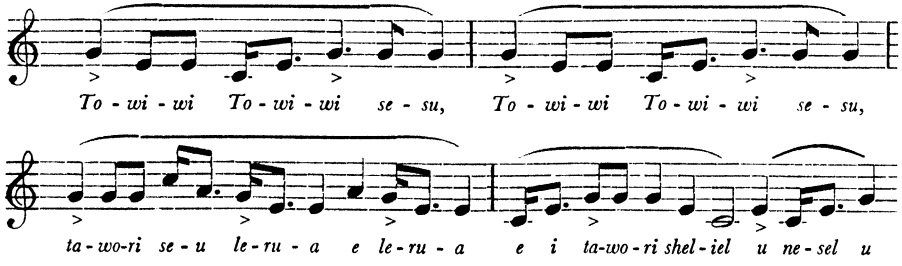
The opening words are similar to those of the Vao version, but the rest (which I am unable to translate) differ. The inference to Ias comes in the cries at the end.

(*c*) Atchin

Words in certain other respects similar to those of the Vao version, and including the name of To-wewe, are sung on Atchin in connexion with the annual feast celebrating the return of the palolo annelid which marks the beginning of the calendar in the October-November moon. This is also the period when the ghosts of the dead are believed to revisit their former homes.

SONG 3

Sung during the New Year (Palu-ulen) feast on Atchin



(The last note is slurred upwards into cries of joy.)

[1] The mythology of Ias is chiefly connected with Atchin, where he is said to have been a man-eating ogre at a time ante-dating the introduction of the stone-platform, along with patrilineal descent, some twenty generations ago. The story of his assassination at the hands of representatives of the new culture will be told in a future volume. The historical era he represents corresponds to that of Ghiagh on Vao, and the two names are philologically equivalent.

I noted this song before I was aware of the story of To-wewe. The only information I can give about it is that the last phrase means "They seek (*shel-iel*) *tawor* kernels on the path (*ne-selu*)."

Ranks: originally Four, now Two

Once the stone-platform had been introduced to Vao from N'av-av by way of Tolamp, all the sub-rites connected with it were transmitted one by one through the same channel by the method of ceremonial purchase.

(a) *Vel-vel (or Na-som) and Mulon.*

The dual form of Maki resulting from this process included at one time four ranks, divided into two groups of two ranks each. The lowest group consisted of *Vel-vel* and *Mulon*. These are the two highest ranks known among the Big Nambas according to Deacon's information, and the only two according to my own information derived from Atchin, where *Mulon* is said to be the Big Nambas title for a chief. An alternative title for *Vel-vel* was *Na-som*, the word ordinarily used for shell-bead necklaces that in Vao are used purely for ornament but in the Banks Islands are money. Godefroy refers to both these as "children's titles," and it is possible that they may still be taken by boys during the mass sacrifice on the Lower Side of the dancing-ground described on pp. 390, 429.

(b) *Mal and Melteg.*

The highest group consisted of *Mal*, universally considered as the highest in the whole of the Northern New Hebrides, and the supernumerary title of *Melteg*.[1] Of these, *Melteg* is itself but a modified form of *Mal*, being formed by the addition of the syllable *teg*, which causes the *a* of *Mal* to be transformed into an *e*, *teg* being but another form of the word *togh* meaning "to stay," and referring to the periods of voluntary retreat undertaken by those of high rank after the sacrifice.

Only Mal and Melteg remain.

The process of democratisation in the Small Islands, combined with the enormously increased wealth of these islanders in pigs, has on Vao, as on Atchin, had the result that in recent years all the lower ranks have disappeared. Thus, for example, the rank of *Mulon* applied to chiefs among the Big Nambas has sunk so low as to become obsolete. This has no immediate social consequences since the Big Nambas have at the present time little or no contact with Vao. What is, however, most galling to the men of high rank on the east coast of Malekula is the fact that *Mal*, which is now actually the lowest of the two ranks taken on Vao, is

[1] Godefroy sometimes spells this *Meltek*, and when followed by a personal name often omits the *g* or *k*, leaving only *Melte*.

there actually the highest, so that a great man arriving from East Malekula finds to his disgust that most young men, and even boys, are there invested with honours which it has taken him, in his own home, a lifetime to acquire.[1]

On Vao the older men are all *Melteg*, within which rank there are a number of yet higher supernumerary grades conferring yet higher distinction which will be referred to on p. 432.

Lavishness of the Rite

The comparative simplicity of the Small Island Maki with regard to the number of ranks is, on the other hand, balanced by an immense increase in the number of rites, and by the great length of time they take to perform. This increase is seen also both in the quality and the quantity of tusked boars that are sacrificed, a number which on occasion rises to several hundred at a time.

For, though only one "line," consisting of members of one matrilineal moiety within the patrilocal village, performs at one time, each member of this moiety is the son of a member of the other moiety, and family solidarity sees to it that both moieties combine to pool resources. In this way, the whole wealth of an entire village is contributed lavishly towards the performance of every detail of the rite. In spite of the number of years, roughly a generation, which it takes to perform the rite, each man whose life is not cut short has the opportunity of participating at least twice, or, if he is lucky, three or even four times. For it is a point of honour that the rite shall be carried through as speedily as possible, so that rise in rank may be swift and its performance by the opposing "line" composed of members of the other matrilineal moiety (which in this patrilocal community at the same time includes the next generation) shall not be unduly delayed.

EVE OF THE RITE
RECKONING BY "NIGHTS" INSTEAD OF "DAYS"

There is only one more subject to mention before proceeding to an account of the special rites connected with the Vao Maki. This is the period covered in the native mind by what we speak of as a "day." Modern Europe regards the twenty-four-hour period we call a "day" as extending from midnight to midnight. This is a purely artificial convention, since there is no obvious natural phenomenon occurring at these moments to show us that they have arrived. Moreover, we tend to regard the night as a period of recuperation after the day, and consequently in practice think of the twenty-four-hour period as starting either at dawn or

[1] A somewhat similar state of affairs is reported by Codrington from Gaua in Santa Maria, where "boys begin high up, so that a Gaua boy often ranks with a grey-haired Mota man" (Codrington, 3, p. 105).

at whatever time it is our habit to rise, and therefore refer to the whole period, including the night, as a "day." The native, having no clocks, perforce judges the passage of the diurnal period by means of striking natural phenomena. Unlike ourselves, however, he tends to regard the night as a preparation for the day. This is particularly evident on the major ritual occasions, which are always preceded by an all-night dance beginning at sunset. Moreover, he is not usually an early riser. He therefore chooses sunset as the beginning of things, and consequently calls the twenty-four-hour cycle embracing both night and day a "night." The Vao word for this is *bong*, which also means "darkness" and is used as an adjective meaning "black" and as a name for black paint.

Variants of the same word are used with the same meaning throughout Malekula, and are used also in a special sense to mean "*the* day (or night)" on which any particular rite is to take place or has taken place. The word thus covers a multitude of meanings. We have no such word, and can only translate this use of it by such expressions as "date," "feast-day," "day (or night) on which a given rite is performed." Any occasion of ritual importance is called a *bong*, but there is a yet more particular meaning which confines the use of the word as an official designation to those important dates which do not precede but follow the high spots of native ritual. Thus, in any of the ritual cycles the dates of important events leading up to the culminating rite depend largely on the state of preparedness of the interested parties, whether they have ready a sufficient number of pigs, yams, and so on, and, though they may be referred to in ordinary speech as *bong*, each has its own particular name. Once the culminating event is over, however, the dates for the subsequent rites are for the most part strictly and immutably fixed, and these dates are themselves the names by which the rites are officially known. Thus we get dates such as *bong e-lim*, "the Fifth Day" (after the culminating rite), *bong movul ghe-tol*, "the Thirtieth Day," etc.[1]

This method of reckoning by nights rather than days leads to certain difficulties in the recording of native rites. In the first place, it involves translating the word *bong*, properly used for "night," in this kind of context by the English word "day."

A second, more serious, source of possible error in transcribing the course of events which the recorder has not personally seen arises from the practice of preceding important rites by the performance of an all-night dance, a practice which itself may be partly responsible for the choice of the word "night" to designate the whole twenty-four-hour period. Thus, an informant, having given an account of daylight

[1] In the ritual accompanying childbirth they date from the moment of birth. In Initiation they date from the sacrifice of incision, and in the Maki and its cognate rites from the culminating sacrifice which is at the same time the moment of re-birth. In the case of mortuary rites they date from the day of burial.

proceedings, may add as an afterthought "at night they perform such and such a dance." The recorder not accustomed to the native method of reckoning might very well record this as taking place on the night after the main rite, whereas in fact it occurred the night before. To obviate this source of error, and at the same time to preserve the native method of reckoning, I have therefore adopted throughout this work the terminology used by our own forefathers at a time when we also counted the twenty-four-hour period as beginning at sunset, and which we still use in such expressions as New Year's Eve, and will refer to all such evening or all-night dances as taking place on the Eve of the rite in question.

THE DOLMEN-MAKI

The following description refers exclusively to the Maki as now performed in the double-village of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu which together form the Superior Side of the Island. This form of the rite is that which has been referred to above as the dolmen-Maki, a name derived from the use of a single large dolmen in the first part of the rite. Though the villages on the Inferior Side of the Island no longer perform it, having recently adopted new forms of Maki from Atchin, nevertheless until quite recently they did, and it is for this reason that I also refer to this rite as the Vao Maki.

It must not be supposed that what I am about to give is even approximately a complete account. Such an account dealing with so protracted a rite, bound up as it is with every aspect of native culture, could never be written. The songs themselves would fill a volume and the description of dances another, its economic aspect would fill a third, and its relations with the whole social structure a fourth, to say nothing of its underlying religious and psychological significance.

All I can attempt to do here is to give a brief outline of those aspects of the rite which I was able to record during a short spell of field-work, supplemented by such observations of a general nature as have already been made, and hope that this will serve to give some idea as to its structure and the sequence of events.[1]

[1] All the information regarding the ritual of the Maki on Vao is of my own recording, my chief informant being Ma-taru of Tolamp. Godefroy for some reason makes no mention whatever of the rite apart from the information already quoted regarding tusked boars and a few casual remarks which will be acknowledged where they occur. This does not mean, however, that he in any way minimised the importance of the rite, for it appears from information kindly supplied by his brother M. l'Abbé A. Godefroy, in a letter dated December 22nd, 1936, that he regarded it with reverence as a "mystère." M. l'Abbé writes: "Listening to his talk, one understood how much importance the natives of Vao attached to it. Sometimes he would begin to speak of it, but deeming us, I suppose, not sufficiently initiated, he withdrew into himself and withheld any detailed explanations." Godefroy himself at one time entertained serious thoughts of entering the Carmelite order and practised many of its injunctions without actually becoming a member. His opinion is therefore worth having, and it is to be regretted that he has left no record of the spiritual aspects of the rites that led him to hold them in such esteem.

USES OF THE WORD MAKI

The word Maki is used in a number of ways:

(*a*) In a general sense for the whole double graded society rite.

(*b*) More particularly, when followed by the word *Ru*, as *Maki Ru*, for the second part only.

(*c*) More particularly still for the actual day on which the culminating sacrifice is performed in both parts of the rite.

(*d*) For the rite of erecting a new *ghamal*, when it is called *Maki ne'im*, literally "Maki for a house," or for a new men's or women's Lodge.[1]

In this book, except where definitely stated, the word is used throughout exclusively in the first sense for the whole double graded society rite.

Used in this general sense, each rite that has been performed is collectively referred to by some specific name, usually referring to the number of tusked boars that were sacrificed at its culmination. Such names are *na va gharu*, "the two hundred," *na va lime*, "the five hundred," or *na va hangavül*, "the thousand." [2]

"Low Maki" and "High Maki."

The two parts of the rite are called, in the order in which they are performed:

(i) *Ramben*,[3] for which the only stone monument erected is a single large dolmen, set up on the Upper or men's Side of the dancing-ground.

(ii) *Maki*, or *Maki Ru*, for which the stone monuments erected consist of a stone-platform on the Upper Side, and 200 small uprights, 100 on the Upper Side and 100 on the Lower or women's Side.

It is doubtful what the word *Ru* actually means. According to one informant it meant "high." Whether this is the true meaning of the word I do not know, but as it certainly expresses one aspect of the natives' attitude towards the rite I propose to use it, and, extending the conception to both parts of the Maki, shall henceforth refer to the *Ramben* as "Low Maki" and to the *Maki Ru* as "High Maki."

[1] According to Godefroy (1, 1932, p. 232), the word is also used for a hawk-image, though I personally never heard it employed in this sense. Lamb (pp. 118-19) refers to the use of the word *maki* for images in South-West Ambrim. Godefroy had also been in Ambrim before coming to Vao, and it is possible that he may in this instance be referring to the practice on that island.

[2] This name was given as an example, but I never heard of a case in which more than 500 tuskers were sacrificed at a time.

[3] For the probable derivation of this word see p. 274.

Double-rite performed independently by each village.

The whole double-rite is performed by each village, independently of the others, on its own dancing-ground. Thus, in the case of the dolmen-Maki, now performed only on the Superior Side of the Island, each of the two villages composing it, namely, Pete-hul and Togh-vanu, carries out its own cycle of rites quite separately, while each of the remaining four villages on the Inferior Side carries out independently its own performance of the monolith-Maki newly acquired from Atchin.

THE KINSHIP ELEMENT

Alternate performances by each "line" or matrilineal moiety within the village.

Within each village, the whole double-rite is performed in alternating succession by alternate generations of males, that is to say, by all the men belonging to one "line" or kinship section.[1]

There are thus always, in any given village, two "lines," of which one is always the aspiring "line," composed of those who are performing the Maki and who will, at the culminating ceremony in each part of the rite, perform the chief sacrifice and take new names. These are called *mara maki*,[2] "men of the Maki," or "Maki-men" as I shall call them in the following pages. The other "line" is composed of the Maki-men's fathers and sons, and, in the Maki rites, it is by the descriptive term "fathers and sons" (*temer, natur*) that they are commonly known. It is the members of this "line," and particularly the "sons," assisted on all major occasions by members of other "lines" in the other Vao villages, who do all the hard work, such as hauling and erecting the stones, while the Maki-men provide food for the accompanying feasts, dance and sing ritual songs to lighten their labours, and generally show themselves off to the best possible advantage.

Maki-men are the candidates: "fathers and sons" are the introducers, henceforth known as the introducing "line."

Such are the outward manifestations of the two groups. When we come to examine the character of the rite, however, as one of initiation into the mysteries of symbolic death and re-birth, we find that it is the Maki-men who are the candidates, and the "fathers and sons" who are the introducers and whom I will therefore call henceforth the "introducing line." Thus, each "line" alternately introduces the other, and it is the introducing "line" formed of the "fathers and sons" who are said to be "making the Maki" (i.e. organising it) for *their* sons and fathers who are the Maki-men, and whom these Maki-men have to pay for the right of erecting the stones. This act is called "paying for the stones." [3]

[1] See p. 97. [2] In Atchin *mwere n'maki*. [3] See pp. 368, 416.

Mothers' brothers are initiators and give Maki-men their new names.

This "paying for the stones" is, however, not an act of initiation, but one of preparation. The true act of initiation lies in the sacrifice of tusked boars and in the taking of a new name, and here it is the mother's brother from another village who appears as the initiator. For it is to the mother's side of the family, coupled with the figure of the Guardian Ghost, that the sacrifice is made, and the mother's brother himself whom each individual Maki-man "pays for the name" and title that signify his re-birth on the assumption of each new rank.[1]

Patrilineal versus matrilineal system.

This sharp distinction drawn between the functions of the candidate's patrilineal relatives on the one hand and his matrilineal relatives on the other is a fundamental factor in the ritual of the public graded society all over the North and North Central New Hebrides and the Banks Islands, expressed clearly in Oba by the fact that the candidate's father used to indemnify the members of the candidate's matrilineal moiety by payment of a pig "as an acknowledgment that he was intruding on their province, that the patriarchal was intruding on the matriarchal system." [2]

In the same way, in South Raga it is said by Tattevin to be "*on account of the patrilineal organisation* that the sacrifices made to the ancestral ghosts are given to the mother's brother, and, in his name, to all the members of his family or clan." [3]

In Vao, where kinship is reckoned on a sectional basis, it is, as we have seen, not only the Maki-men's fathers but also their sons who assist them in every way and for this assistance are duly paid. In this case neither assistance nor payment is grudged, since the advancement of each section or "line" of the patrilineal clan redounds to the credit of the other, and the monuments erected by each, together with the jaws of the tusked boars which are sacrificed at them, remain in the common dancing-ground as witness to the combined achievement of the whole patrilocal community.

Very different, however, is the relation between the Maki-men and their mothers' brothers. For these literally do nothing but receive the payment already mentioned for allowing the Maki-men to proceed with the rite and thus to become ritually re-born. Even this act moreover is grudged, for, as will be seen later, at the moment when each of the chief Maki-men is about to sacrifice his tusked boar at the dolmen, he finds his way to the dolmen barred by all his mothers' brothers, who will not let him pass through till he has yet further propitiated them by the gift of a

[1] See p. 391. [2] Codrington, 3, p. 114.

[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 380 (my italics). For amplification of this statement, see present volume, pp. 721 ff.

small pig, in precisely the same way as the Guardian Ghost refuses access to the Land of the Dead till similarly indemnified.

In this way the kinship basis of the rite represents yet another aspect of the conflict between on the one hand the former system of overt matrilineal descent represented by the mothers' brothers who alone have power to confer re-birth, and on the other hand the existing system of overt patrilineal descent backed up by patrilocal residence which, having robbed the mothers' brothers of their temporal power, has now relegated them to a purely ritual position which they resent but from which they still derive no inconsiderable tribute in the form of the payment made to them by the Maki-men for their new titles and names.

The following diagram expresses this situation in terms of the four fundamental kinship sections:

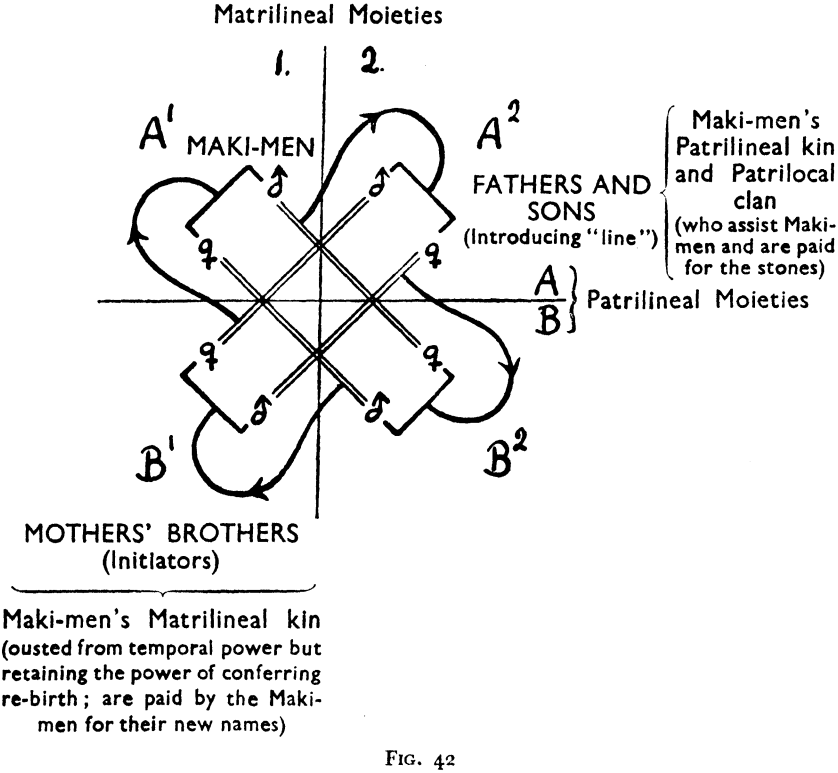


FIG. 42

The wife's father.

The above diagram represents the kinship basis of the whole graded society complex. There is, however, yet a third payment which the Maki-men have to make, which has also been interpolated into the ritual of the Maki. This is the presentation, described later as "Circling for Pigs," [1]

[1] See p. 303.

which each Maki-man makes before the culminating point of each subrite, to his wife's father.

To those who have followed the development of the patrilineal element in the kinship system from one containing two patrilineal moieties into one which, owing to the bisection of the inferior moiety, now contains three patrilineal trisections, the reason for the special position occupied by the wife's father will be clear. For while, in a 4-section system, in which a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, the wife's father is at the same time the mother's brother, when the inferior patrilineal moiety to which both these belong becomes split (causing a man to marry his mother's brother's daughter's daughter), the mother's brother remains in patrilineal trisection B but the wife's father belongs to the newly formed patrilineal trisection C. In this way the tribute originally due only to the mother's brother also becomes split, one portion now being due to the wife's father, and this, being the latest burden to be imposed and being bound up with the whole debt due from a man to his wife's people, is, as has already been pointed out, particularly irksome.

Owing to the patrilocal nature of Small Island society the rôle of the mother's brother may, if this man is dead or infirm, be taken by the mother's brother's son, and similarly that of the wife's father may be taken by the wife's brother. The resulting sociological pattern, on which the existing Maki is based, is thus the familiar one of a 6-section system, here represented in Fig. 43 to emphasise the chief male participators in the rite.

DOMINANT FAMILIES

Within this framework, in which all males in the community take part and theoretically each has an equal right to achieve the highest rank, in practice each village, in spite of its democratic organisation, contains as a rule one dominant family, namely, the senior branch. Owing to the fact that an "eldest son," once officially proclaimed, holds this position inalienably and cannot, if he die without issue, be succeeded in the title by a younger brother,[1] the succession in seniority is complicated. There is an attempt to keep the succession pure in that "eldest sons" may not be adopted; but younger brothers may be adopted, and they in turn may have official "eldest sons" who belong not to the family of their father's birth but to that into which their father has been adopted. There is thus considerable latitude in the interpretation of what seniority actually is, and little doubt that wealth in pigs plays a considerable part in deciding such knotty questions. Be this as it may, there is in practice, as a rule, one family in each village which holds a dominating position with regard to its various ritual performances, and in particular to the Maki. This family is at the same time usually the wealthiest in pigs, and in consequence its members have

[1] See p. 182.

been in a position to perform the best individual sacrifices (for, as we shall see, in spite of the mass sacrifices, the finest tuskers are sacrificed by individuals), and so to have attained the highest supernumerary ranks.[1]

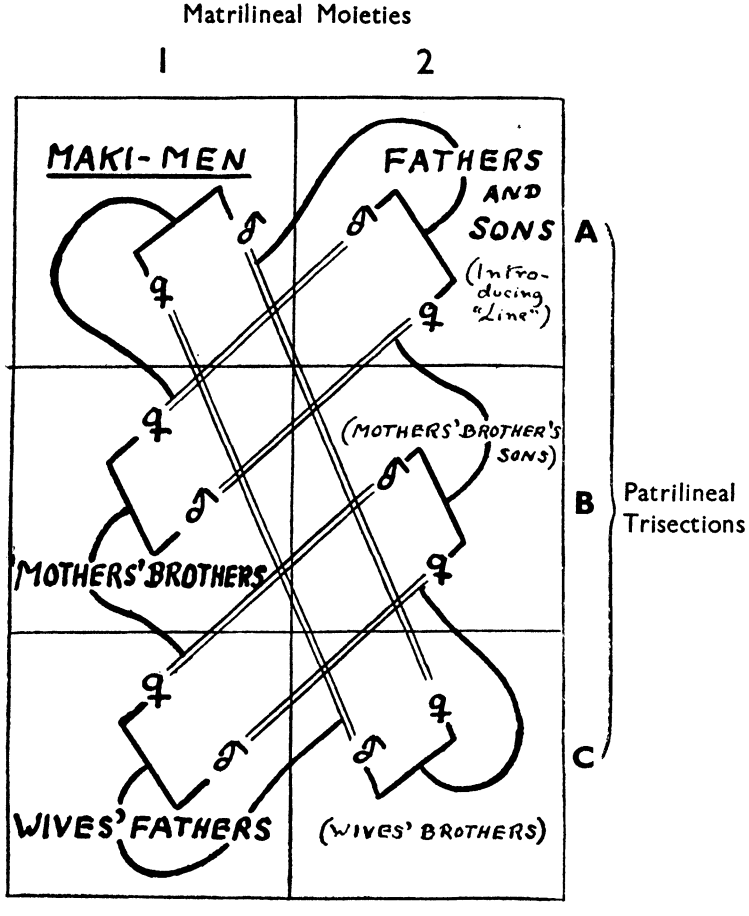


FIG. 43
6-section kinship diagram showing all the chief male participators in the Maki.

Rich man "makes a new Maki" for his son.

It is therefore the individual Maki-man who has attained the highest of these ranks, and at the same time belongs to the dominating family, who proceeds to "make a new Maki" for his son. In the next Maki performed this son is therefore the chief figure and will in turn probably sacrifice the best boar and take the highest supernumerary title, while his father, who is at the same time his introducer, occupies the

[1] See p. 431 ff.

position of chief instructor in the rites, not only for his son, but also for the whole "line" of new Maki-men to which his son belongs.

This man is "leading man" of the rite, called Singon a war-warean.

This man who is "making the Maki" thus occupies a very special position in the rites. He is what we should speak of as the master of ceremonies, and it is on him that the success of the rite largely depends. It is his function not only to instruct, but also to decide whether a sufficient number of pigs and yams are available for each new step in the rite to be taken, and in general to expedite the whole performance. He is the "leading man" of the rite, and, owing to yet another function he performs, namely that of speech-maker and announcer of the date on which each new step is to take place,[1] he is known by a special name, *singon a war-warean*, literally "speaking lip." This name is pregnant with meaning, since *singon* ("lip") also means promontory, alluding to his prominent position, and the root *war* is also used in a number of variants for "to pray." As no English equivalent can render these nuances, I shall refer to this individual, who is at the same time the chief introducer, as the "leading man" of the rite.

Dancing by Villages in Rotation

One of the chief functions of the leading man is, as we have seen, to announce the date for each sub-rite. Almost all such sub-rites are the occasion for dancing,[2] and on the most important of them the members of every Vao village, and even of villages on other islands, come to dance in established rotation on successive nights preceding the rite, ending up with a combined all-night dance on the Eve of the performance.

The receiving of villages in rotation in this way is called *ar tame vanu*, of which *ar* is the first person plural personal pronoun, *vanu* means "village," here referring to its members, and *tame* means to "salute" or "welcome." [3]

By extension, the word *tame* also means "to give in return for something else," and is used primarily with regard to food.[4] Thus members of other villages also come on certain occasions and in the same rotation to assist in work needing large numbers of helpers, such as the hauling

[1] With certain exceptions, such as the date of the culminating sacrifice, in which case his place is taken by a man from another village (see p. 282).

[2] See Chapter XII.

[3] Thus, to *tame* an approaching canoe means to wait for it on the beach and greet the members of the crew when they land.

[4] Compare South-West Ambrim *tam-tam* (Rivers, 3) meaning "distribution of food." The Vao word can, however, be used in other contexts. Thus, when I give my informant Ma-taru a present of tobacco in return for the time spent working for me, the current phrase would be *ne tame Ma-taru*, "I reward Ma-taru." The Atchin form of the word *tame* is *tamwe*. Compare Mota *tamwa*, meaning "as, like."

of great coral slabs from the beach. On such occasions they are rewarded with a feast for services rendered. The act of working or dancing in rotation and the accompanying feast are both called *tamean*,[1] the nominal form of *tame*. On other important ritual occasions, such as at the death of a great man, when his female relatives who have married into other villages return home bearing gifts for their brothers or fathers, the word is used in reduplicated form *tam-tamean*, meaning "gift of salutation." [2]

Order in which villages come to dance or work. Those nearest come first.

In the case of villages arriving in rotation for the purpose of dancing, the first dance is performed by the men of the introducing "line" in the home-village, that is to say the Maki-men's "fathers and sons." These are then followed on successive occasions by the members of each Vao village in order of topographical propinquity, those nearest coming first and those furthest last. Thus, if the rite is being performed in Pete-hul, the order of arrival on successive nights is as follows:

Pete-hul (introducing "line" only)
Togh-vanu
Peter-ihi.
Venu
Norohure
Singon.

After these, if there are enough of them, follow representatives of the refugee communities in the following order: [3]

Tolamp
Saraliwe
Lavame
Le-se-kere.

If the rite is being performed in Togh-vanu, then the men of the introducing "line" in Togh-vanu dance first, followed by the men of Pete-hul and the remaining villages in the same order as before.

If it is being performed by the refugee community of Tolamp, then all the refugee communities regard themselves as belonging to another island, and the theoretical order in this case will be:

Tolamp (introducing "line" only)
Saraliwe
Lavame
Le-se-kere;

[1] In contrast to *masean*, a feast for which no return is expected (see p. 348).

[2] See p. 540.

[3] This is the theoretical order, harking back to a time when these communities were numerically stronger than they are now. I did not enquire what actually happens now that they are so reduced in numbers.

followed then by

Togh-vanu (on whose land they live)
Pete-hul
Peter-ihi
Venu
Norohure
Singon.

On occasions of great importance, such as that of the culminating Maki rite, parties will also come from other islands such as Atchin, Wala and even Rano, and from certain villages on the Malekulan mainland, and these will dance last of all.

On every occasion, while the guests dance in one body, the Maki-men act as hosts, in a manner that will be described when we come to give an account of the dances themselves.[1]

The same order is observed when the men of other villages come to help in work requiring a communal effort, such as the transporting of tree trunks for canoe-building or gong-making, in which case the Maki-men, besides providing food for feasting, encourage them and express their own joy by singing songs belonging to the relevant song-and-dance cycles.

Ceremonial Presentation of Yams

Closely connected with these visits is the ceremonial presentation to the guests of yams and other food-stuffs. These include live and dead pigs, coconuts of all kinds, bread-fruit and other delicacies, but the chief and most important standard items are yams, which, for this purpose, are arranged and presented in three different ways, each with its own distinctive functional name.[2] These are:

(*a*) *Na-mbüt.* This is a single yam chosen for the smoothness of its skin, to the "head" of which is tied a bunch of croton leaves (*ro sas*). Whenever any announcement is made concerning the date of a forthcoming rite in which members of other villages may in any way be concerned, a message is sent, to be delivered in the dancing-ground of each village on the island, and the messenger at the same time takes with him, and deposits as a compliment to the village in question, one of these decorated yams. Similar yams are also presented to those who attend the rite, not as individuals but as representatives of their respective villages, one only being given to each village, or as the natives put it, "one to each dancing-ground." Information regarding the performance of lesser rites not needing the active co-operation of other villages is similarly

[1] See p. 325 and elsewhere in Chapter XI.

[2] These functional names are quite distinct from the names given to the different varieties of yam, of which there are at least sixty.

conveyed after they have been performed, and each village or island is thus continually kept informed of the progress of all public rites such as the Maki, Initiation, the erection of a new *ghamal*, and so on, in every other village. On account of their ambassadorial function I will therefore refer to these decorated yams as "Message-yams."

(*b*) *Rom betige.* *Rom* is the ordinary word for "yam," and *betige* means "single" or "alone." This is a single plain yam of any variety, and will be referred to, using a literal translation of the native term, as a "Lone-yam." Such lone-yams form part of the gift of food made to those who attend or assist in any rite.

(*c*) *Ghoal.* This consists of a single large yam or a bunch of yams attached to the end of a pole for carrying, and will therefore be referred to as an "Attached-yam." Such yams are placed in a line on the ground on the occasion of every major rite, one for each village represented among the guests. The number of yams on each pole will be in accordance with the importance of the rite and with the numerical strength of the visiting village.

Gifts never received direct.

It is important to note, with regard to the presentation of yams, coconuts, dead pigs and all other food-stuffs, and even such personal gifts as mats, that no gift ever passes direct from hand to hand. There is an unwritten law that, though all gifts are minutely recorded in the natives' minds, and though full return gifts must always sooner or later be made, with the exception of certain ritual presentations no gift may be directly made, or even so much as openly acknowledged at the time by the recipient, at least if such gift is made in public. A stranger not aware of this convention who presumes to offer such a gift into a native's hand in public will throw him into the utmost confusion. Nothing will persuade him to touch it, and he will leave it lying on the ground rather than acknowledge its existence. Later, he will, of course, return and pick it up with the knowledge that everyone knows it is his. But the stranger will have been guilty of a gross breach of etiquette. One of my own first experiences in this respect was when, during a lull in some rite, a young man of my acquaintance passed by me with an air of complete absorption in something else, and, without so much as looking at me, absent-mindedly let fall a money-mat at my feet. I thought he had dropped it by mistake, but it turned out to be a gift, and my own return gift was made subsequently in similar fashion.[1]

[1] Compare Bohun Lynch, p. 226: "Gifts should be presented in the most utterly careless manner and received with the most stately indifference. . . . The inner meaning of the manner is that friendship ought to be quite independent of gifts. And gifts must be returned strictly *ad valorem*."

YAMS LAID OUT IN HEAPS FOR EACH VISITING VILLAGE

Names of the villages are called out in reverse order to that in which they come to dance or work.

In the same way yams, which are the staple food and form the basis of all feasts, are never given direct, but on all ordinary ritual occasions are placed on the dancing-ground in heaps, usually in a straight line, and then not for individuals, but for groups of individuals as represented by the villages to which they belong. This arrangement is called *ra re ghini vanu*, "We set them out for (each) place." When the rite is restricted to members of the home-village, the yams are placed in four heaps, one for each Quarter-Lodge, each heap being yet further divided into two for the two "Sides of the Lodge." On special occasions they may be arranged in more spectacular fashion, with the poles of the attached-yams leant up against trees or specially constructed frames, or even planted upright in the ground. In all cases, when the rite is over, the names of the villages to which each heap belongs are announced in set formula by the leading man of the home-village. They will, however, not be touched till the last moment, when the recipients will gather them up and take them home.

The names of the visiting villages are called out in the reverse order to that in which they arrive either to dance or work, namely the furthest off first, and the nearest last, so that those living furthest away shall have more time in which to get home. The set form of words with which they are distributed is given on p. 371.

Presentation of Tusked Boars to Wife's Father: "Circling for Pigs"

The presentation of yams and other food-stuffs which I have just described is in the main collective, being directed towards groups of individuals according to the villages to which they belong. On a very different footing from this is the presentation of tusked boars by a man to his wife's father or brother already referred to on page 296. This presentation takes place not only in connexion with the Maki, but also on all major occasions involving the public sacrifice of high-grade tuskers. In theory it forms part of an exchange of gifts, since the wife's father also makes a counter-presentation to his son-in-law. In practice, however, as every young married man will bitterly explain, it is one of the chief mechanisms by which the wife's parents bleed their daughter's husband of his wealth.

The transaction is a complicated one, but the act of presentation is in the highest degree spectacular and is charged with an emotion yielding

in intensity only to the actual moment of sacrifice in the major rite which it immediately precedes.

The chief occasions on which, according to my record, these presentations take place are at the culminating point before the chief sacrifice at Gong-Raising and in both parts of the Maki.[1]

Transaction involves the conveyance of three pigs.

The transaction involves the conveyance of three pigs, two of which are tuskers and one not. The three pigs are:

(*a*) The "presentation-pig," of a grade not less than that of curved-tusker, which forms the main item in the transaction, being that which a man presents to his wife's father, or, failing him, her brother or some other male agnatic relative. This pig is not known by any generic name.

(*b*) What I propose to refer to as the "consideration-pig." This pig, a tusker of lesser grade, is presented by the wife's father (or other representative of the wife's family) to his son-in-law on some *previous* occasion, either privately or publicly at some rite which the latter is himself performing, in consideration for the presentation-pig, the value of which has already been agreed. The pig thus given is referred to by the natives as *ne-mbal*. I am unable to give the derivation of this word, and have therefore adopted the term "consideration-pig" as most suited to describe its function in the transaction.

(*c*) A "complimentary-pig" given by the wife's father to his son-in-law after the main presentation. This is a low-grade pig without tusks, given without ceremony at some subsequent date, and is supposed to make up the balance between the value of the presentation-pig and the consideration-pig, but in fact does not do so. This complimentary-pig is called *tor-torean*, from the verb *tore*, to "lead by the hand." [2]

It is customary that the consideration-pig shall be one main grade lower than the presentation-pig; thus a curved-tusker might be given as consideration for the presentation of a re-entrant-tusker. The complimentary-pig will probably have no tusks at all. The whole transaction is thus seen to be very much in favour of the wife's father, and it is he who therefore opens negotiations as soon as the preliminary cycle of rites leading up to the sacrifice in question have been set on foot. It will be remembered that, in the case of the Maki, many years elapse between the initial stages of the ritual cycle and its ultimate consummation, so that

[1] See pp. 358, 386, 425.

[2] Sometimes called also *ghu-ghulat*, related to the Atchin *kalatsi*, "to give in exchange."

there is always plenty of time for endless bargaining and haggling. Proceedings with regard to the presentation are opened well in advance, when the father-in-law goes to his daughter's husband and says, "You know that I am about to perform a certain cycle of rites; I expect you at the culminating ceremony to present me with a tusker of such or such grade." The son-in-law may argue that through poverty or through the demands on his resources made by rites he is himself performing, or for some other reason, he can only afford to present a tusker of some lesser grade. If the wife's father sticks to his point (and it will be realised that in this case the wife's influence is on the side of the father, and the prestige acquired through generous giving also throws its weight into the same scale), there is little that the son-in-law can do to mitigate the extent of his obligation.

In any case, negotiations are opened. The two pigs of which the grade is definitely agreed are the presentation-pig and the consideration-pig. The size of the complimentary-pig is left to the generosity of the father-in-law.

The giving in advance of the consideration-pig, whether privately or in public, is unaccompanied by any ritual proceeding other than the blowing of the conch-signal appropriate to its size.

PRESENTATION RITE: "CIRCLING FOR PIGS"

The rite accompanying the presentation of the main subject of the transaction, namely the presentation-pig, is, however, the spectacular one which I have termed "Circling for Pigs." This rite occurs with variations throughout the whole graded society area in various forms.[1] It is the same in essentials throughout the Small Islands, and since, though I saw one performance on Vao, I did not record it in detail, I here give a brief description of the rite as performed on Atchin, having been assured that the Vao version was in all essentials the same.

Torches symbolise tuskers.

In the Small Islands, as on the mainland of Malekula, the symbols used in this dance are torches. These torches consist of bundles of green reeds five or six feet long, firmly bound together with sinnet at intervals up their length. In ordinary speech they are called in Vao *rehēre* and in Atchin *rosher*.[2] When used to symbolise tusked boars they are, however,

[1] Deacon gives eye-witness accounts from Lambumbu in 4, pp. 364 ff. and 369 ff. See also 4, p. 289. Compare also, for South Raga, Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 88 and 423; and for the Banks Islands, Codrington, 3, p. 109, and Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 74.

[2] This word is also applied to the commoner form of torch made out of coconut leaves, and to the midrib of the coconut under all circumstances. This latter is probably its original meaning.

in both islands called *ne-shül*,[1] and may be treated in three ways, each used as a symbol for one of the three higher grades of tusked boar.[2] Thus:

(*a*) for a curved-tusker the symbol is a new torch made of fresh reeds and unlighted;

(*b*) for a re-entrant-tusker the torch used must be an old one blackened with smoke from having been stored in the roof of the owner's dwelling-house or Lodge, but unlighted;[3]

(*c*) for a circle-tusker it is both blackened and lighted.

Each man about to hand over a presentation-tusker carries one such torch, treated in the manner appropriate to the grade of tusker he is about to present, held horizontally in his outstretched right hand.

Receiver and donor.

In the following brief description I will refer to the wife's father or brother, at the culminating point of whose major rite the presentation takes place, as the receiver, and to the son-in-law (or sister's husband) as the donor.[4]

The Rite.

The receiver stands in the middle of the dancing-ground. As the members of the visiting village approach, the donor dragging his tusker in their midst, either he or one more skilled in blowing the conch-shell trumpet halts from time to time to blow the trumpet signal appropriate to its grade. These sounds are at first heard afar off, growing louder as the party comes nearer. Arrived at the entrance to the dancing-

[1] Cf. Seniang *nu-hul* (Deacon, 4, pp. 413, 741, etc.).

[2] Crescent-tuskers are not used for presentation.

[3] The same symbolism exists in Lambumbu, where Deacon records that unlighted torches danced with in a similar way represent the grade of pig there called *naarugh*, which is equivalent to re-entrant-tusker.

[4] This description is based on my own observation of the transaction as carried out on the occasion of the Gong-Raising rite at the Atchin village of Emil Marur in 1914. The maker of the rite and owner of the gongs, and therefore the receiver, was an Emil Marur man named Mari. The donor was a man of the Atchin village of Ruruar, named Melteg-tilini, whose mother's mother belonged to Mari's village and who was presenting Mari with a curved-tusker. Melteg-tilini having, however, injured his foot and being unable to dance, his classificatory son, Melteg-weraim, "circled" for him.

Mari had previously given Melteg-tilini a crescent-tusker as consideration-pig, on the occasion of the consecration of a new large men's sleeping-house (*ne-im won mwi lep*) erected by Melteg-tilini's Lodge-brother Melteg-tali-waru.

This was only one of the occasions on which I witnessed the rite. I also saw it performed at the consecration of a new sea-going canoe in the Atchin village of Emil Parav, and at High Maki on Rano. These performances will be described in detail in future volumes.

ground, the party advances slowly towards the receiver and the trumpet signal is once more sounded, those in the party cheering as the blower draws breath for each new stave.



FIG. 44

" Circling " with blackened and lighted torch for a circle-tusker. The Maki-man carries his torch in his right hand, raising the dust with his swift-moving feet as he circles round towards his wife's father who awaits him outside the picture to the left. The drawing is made from a photograph taken during Low Maki at Peter-ihi, facing the Lower Side of the dancing-ground where women and children watch from behind a light fence made of decorated bamboos.

Within ten or twelve yards from the receiver, the party halts. Then a group of the receiver's relatives stationed at the gongs strikes up a special gong-rhythm, one of the swiftest and most exciting in their whole repertory. At the sound of this rhythm the donor, having handed the pig-rope to one of his compatriots, issues alone from their midst and, holding his torch horizontally in his outstretched right hand, makes a sweeping circle, passing close by the receiver. With quick shuffling step that beats up the dust and reflects the excitement of the gongs, with knees bent, every muscle tense, and body and torch quivering with the motion, he circles round. This circling is in Vao called *ra val-valau ne-shül*, "we run round (with) torches." His circles completed, he returns to the group of kinsmen from which he had come.

The gongs continue to beat out their rhythm, and the receiver now, empty-handed but with arm outstretched as if holding a torch, circles round towards the donor with the same quick, tense, shuffling step, and so back to the point from which he had started.

The donor then repeats his circle, and the receiver again follows suit.

This circling is repeated three times in the case of a curved-tusker, four times for a re-entrant-tusker, and five for a circle-tusker.

When the circling has been repeated the correct number of times the gongs cease, and the donor walks up to the receiver and hands him the torch. The receiver gives the donor a small pig in exchange for the torch.

The donor then walks back to the group of his kinsmen, takes the rope to which the tusked boar is attached from the companion in whose charge he has left it, and, dragging it forward, gives the rope into the hands of the receiver.

The receiver then hands the torch back to the donor. The gongs are then sounded again with the same rhythm, and the donor, holding his torch as before, once more circles round.

Lastly, the receiver, having handed the pig-rope to a companion, himself once more circles empty-handed around.

The presentation being now over, the donor's kinsmen advance and present mats and small pigs to their own relatives-in-law among the hosts. The pigs thus given are called *ling-lingean* and the act of giving them *ling-ling*, from the verb *lingi*, "to accompany," referring to the fact that these small pigs "accompany" the big presentation-tuskers.

The major rite in which the receiver is engaged now takes its further course, and it is not till his own sacrifice has been performed and the guests are about to depart that he quite informally hands over to the donor his complimentary-pig.

Variation in ritual.

The above account gives the simplest essentials only. There are many minor variations, and in the more important rites such as the Maki the spectacular nature of the "circling" is enhanced by the number of presentations, in which case the circling rite may either be repeated separately for each tusker, or each pair of donors and receivers may perform it simultaneously. On important occasions the wife herself accompanies her husband and holds the pig-rope during the presentation.

CHAPTER XII

THE MAKI: GONGS, SONGS, DANCES

SLIT GONGS

Two kinds: horizontal and upright.

INTIMATELY connected with the whole Maki rite are the upright slit gongs.

There are two types of slit gong in the New Hebrides:

(*a*) A length of bamboo or wood hollowed out by means of a longitudinal slit, which is laid horizontally on the ground and sounded by being beaten with a stick on one edge of the slit. This type is found widely distributed in Polynesia and Southern Melanesia, and in the matrilineal region of the Solomons.[1] So far as the New Hebrides are concerned, this is the only type of slit gong found throughout the group except in the cultural area centering round Malekula, where the upright slit gong predominates. Even in these islands, however, small horizontal slit gongs are combined in orchestras with the upright gongs. These horizontal slit gongs are usually plain, though in South Malekula they may occasionally be found carved with a face at one end, apparently in imitation of the upright gongs.

(*b*) Upright slit gongs made out of the trunks of forest trees, in which a vertical slit is made, through which the trunk is hollowed out by means of shell adzes, leaving a thickness of two or three inches of wood all round. The cylinder so formed is left closed at both ends, the lower end being buried in the ground and the upper end carved to represent a human face. The gong is thus at the same time a statue, and the sound produced by striking one edge of the slit is said in some districts (though I was not told this on Vao) to represent the voice of the ancestral ghosts. These magnificent instruments, sometimes as much as ten feet high, have, compared with the horizontal slit gongs, a very restricted area of distribution. They are found only in Malekula, Ambrim, Epi and Fate. Thus, if we except Fate (about which we have no information as to the presence or absence of a graded society), their distribution is seen to coincide exactly with that of the Maki and of the monolith as the most characteristic monument erected for the higher ranks.[2]

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 459-60. Rivers points out that they are absent from the Western Solomons, where the influence of the betel people have ousted many features of the culture of the kava people to whom he attributes the introduction of these instruments

[2] See Chapter XXVI, pp. 697, 712, 717.



1. **Main** portion of the gong-orchestra at Pete-hul including mother-**gong.** Behind, a large monolith and part of the stone-platform. (*See Frontispiece and Plate* II, 2)

2. **Continuation** of the above to the right. Old gongs, **dolmens**

Gong-orchestras composed of both types.

In the Small Islands both types of gong are combined to form an orchestral unit consisting of a "mother-gong," which is the largest and is planted upright in the centre, round which are grouped a number of smaller upright slit gongs, all of which are sounded by means of a single stick beaten upon one edge of the slit, and of an indefinite number of small portable horizontal gonglets beaten at a great rate by means of two sticks held one in either hand.[1]

A large orchestra may require the co-operation of as many as fifteen players. There is no caste of professional players, each male member of the community being able to take his part, provided he has not been absent from the island too long during his youth and has so missed the opportunity of learning.

General description of Gong-Rhythms.

The effect produced by the gongs is exciting to a degree which anyone who has not heard them cannot easily grasp. For the gongs are not tuned, and though the tone of the large uprights is naturally deeper than that of the smaller uprights, and that of the small portable gonglets is much higher still, there is nothing in the orchestration which could by any stretch of the imagination be called melody. The whole art, on the contrary, is based on what might be called, for want of a better term, a contrapuntal effect in pure rhythm. Thus, one rhythm is sounded by a man whom we may call the conductor, who on important occasions is the leading man of the rite, on the mother-gong. He is the only man who sits, usually on a stone seat, before his gong, which he beats with a single soft-wood stick held in both hands. The rhythm he beats out is comparatively slow, and the large size of the gong causes the sound he produces to be carried far and wide over a great distance. Simultaneously with this, a second rhythm is sounded on one or two of the next size of upright gong, which the player, who stands, beats with a single stick held in his right hand while with his left he supports his weight by leaning it against the gong. A third rhythm, differing from either of these but fitting in with them both, is at the same time sounded in a similar manner on yet smaller uprights, and a fourth, again differing from but fitting in with the rest, is sounded on the small portable horizontal gonglets beaten like kettle-drums with two sticks and producing a shrill striking of the air, very loud when heard close by but not carrying far. All four rhythms run counter to one another, sometimes producing an effect of indescribable excitement like waves in a choppy sea, at others combining like a deep-sea swell, uplifting for a moment, then perhaps ending in a sudden squall followed by breathless silence.

[1] For details of construction and arrangement see pp. 346 ff.

Every performance on the gongs is further divided into a number of "movements," the whole four-part rhythm suddenly changing from one "movement" to another. Even the simplest of these rhythms are so complicated that no European has been known to master one. I myself, though moderately musical and able to join in their songs, completely failed after repeated attempts. Moreover, natives who have left the island as boys to work on a white man's plantation have been known, when they came back, to be equally unable to pick them up.

Special rhythms (gong-signals) for different occasions.

There is a great number of such combined rhythms, which vary greatly also in the emotions they arouse and in their sociological significance. I had no time on Vao to make any but the most superficial study of them, and know only a few even of their names. Of these, however, three occur so constantly as to force themselves on the attention. These are:

(*a*) The "summoning signal," sounded by the members of the introducing "line" in the Maki and allied rites or by the dead man's kin in mortuary ritual to call either the members of the opposite "line" in their own village or members of other villages to come to any given rite, dance or food-distribution, or to set about some prearranged ritual task. This signal is called *ragh-raghe ne-luw*. I do not know the literal meaning of *ne-luw*, but *ragh-raghe* is the reduplicated equivalent of the Atchin *rahe*, which in turn is probably connected with *ne-rahin*, meaning "footstep" or "track." On certain occasions the object for which the summons is sent out is specifically stated in the name used for the gong-signal. Thus when the object is a distribution of yams and other food-stuffs the signal will be called *na-mbe ragh-raghe ne-luw na-ram*, "summoning gong (*na-mbe*)-signal for the (?) distribution of yams (*na-ram*)."

(*b*) The "approach signal," sounded by those so summoned on leaving their respective dancing-grounds as a sign to those waiting for them that they have now set out. This signal is called *ne-òs-òs*, and is sounded also during the rites of Initiation into Manhood when all the materials for building the special Lodge have been collected and when the novices enter the dancing-ground on their way into the Lodge.[1] This special connexion with initiation is of interest in that on Atchin the chief form of this rite is called *baho n'òs-òs*.[2] I am unable to translate this word, and can only point out that the nearest approach to it I know of is found in the phrase *naai nöh* (probably *na-ai n'öh*) used for sacred objects in the Ni-mangki Tlel secret society of Lambumbu which Deacon considers to be connected with the Banks Islands *Tamate* societies, these having many features in common with initiation in the Small Islands.[3]

[1] See pp. 505, 510. [2] See p. 499. [3] See Deacon, 4, pp. 438 ff.

(*c*) The "sacrificial signal," sounded whenever a tusked boar is ritually sacrificed.[1] The sounding of this signal is called *asar*. The use of this word differs from that of the other two gong-signals already mentioned, in that the names for these two are used adjectivally and are always preceded by the word *na-mbe*, meaning "gong" or "gong-signal," whereas *asar* is a verb of which the nominal form, *asaren*, is rarely used.

In addition to these oft-repeated signals, each song-and-dance cycle mentioned below has its own particular rhythms, known by the same name as the dance prefixed by the word *na-mbe*.

When to the already complicated rhythms of the gongs are added the further counter-rhythms of the dance-steps and of the accompanying songs, the effect is one of indescribable excitement, stirring emotions that the concerts of Europe never touch but that the natives can call forth at will through their unrivalled sense of rhythm.

Certain recurring dance-movements also have their own special rhythms, such as the serpentine running movement in single file referred to below on p. 323, for which the rhythm is called *ril-dralen*, philologically connected with the processional dance called *na-rel*.[2]

There are also special signals such as that called *tav-tav ghore* used on great sacrificial occasions when a special screen hiding the tusked boars is torn down prior to the sacrificial act.[3]

In addition to these there are special rhythms for announcing a death, together with the rank of the dead man, or the birth of an eldest son, or for summoning the people in case of war. There is also a special gong-signal sounded to announce the arrival of a stranger. According to Godefroy,[4] if such a one arrives on the shore and asks to speak to someone on the island, he is straightway conducted to the dancing-ground of the clan to whom the man he is seeking belongs. If this man is away, the one who accompanied the stranger will sound this special signal on the gongs, together with other signals specifying the man he seeks.[5]

SONGS

Of the songs themselves, only the faintest indication is afforded in the few examples which I give in this book. For one reason, they are almost invariably sung in more than one part. These parts are, so far as I know, not definitely recognised as such, at least so far as the men's voices are concerned, notes being altered at will by individual singers while fitting in with the harmonic scheme and melody of the song. When sung in chorus during dancing, which is the most spectacular form of the art and

[1] But not when it is killed only for food, as is the case with gelded tuskers.
[2] See p. 318. [3] See pp. 389, 420, 429. [4] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 59.
[5] For accounts of gong-rhythms in Seniang, including examples in notation, see Deacon, 4, Chapter XVII.

that which arouses the more active emotions, the men all sing in a kind of high-pitched voice that, though not actually falsetto, almost has the effect of being so, and that, heard individually, would sound strained. It is, however, not so in fact, since the natives are able to keep it up all night. However it is produced—and I entirely failed to imitate it myself —it has the effect that the singing rings out through the forest surrounding the dancing-ground in a way that ordinary deep-voiced singing (of which the natives are also capable) does not, a fact apparently due to the increase in the number of harmonics that this method of voice-production brings forth.

This alone makes it impossible to reproduce these songs in anything like their original vigour. Another fact is that, on certain occasions, the women join in a kind of high descant, their incredibly high-pitched voices stabbing the air with harmonies that leap up and down the upper octaves in a bewildering manner, producing an effect that I can only describe metaphorically as resembling tongues of brightly coloured light, or, if we retain the sea-metaphor used for the gong-rhythms which accompany the singing, clear fountains of spray.

It is with the greatest regret that I am unable to reproduce any of this music at all adequately. Though I was not able to take any of the solo parts, owing to the high pitch of the voice that I could not achieve with sufficient force for more than a few notes at a time without becoming hoarse, I nevertheless frequently danced and sang in chorus, and it was from doing this, and from the habit I made of gathering young men in my hut to sing at night, when I could check over mistakes, that I was able to note down a number of songs. This was, indeed, my most enjoyable method of relaxation after the day's work. The songs thus noted were again gone over with a specially musical informant, and, though fragmentary and allowing for the impossibility of exact reproduction in ordinary musical notation, I can guarantee them accurate so far as they go. These evening concerts were held on Atchin, and it is from that island that most of the songs I noted come. These will appear in later volumes. With the practice I there had, however, I was able to note songs from informants elsewhere, and the Vao examples given in this book are one of the results. At the same time, I took a number of phonograph records, both of the songs and of the gong-rhythms, some of which have now been transferred on to gramophone plates, which await detailed study by experts.[1]

Every native can sing, and most natives have from time to time composed their own songs. There are, nevertheless, certain individuals

[1] If any reader skilled in comparative music and the scientific working out of such material would care to undertake this work I should be glad to hear from him.

For transcriptions of songs noted down in the field, see Index under "Songs," and particularly the technical footnote to Song 1, p. 284.

who excel in this, and who compose songs that sometimes come to them in dreams or else consciously during the day. This gift, like everything else in the Small Islands, is commercialised. Songs are composed on request and duly charged for, and, if of a ritual nature, will thenceforth enjoy the same "copyright" protection as is afforded to all tangible and intangible elements of native culture. For ritual songs once sung become the property of those who first sing them, and may not be repeated by others without due payment.

Structure of songs.

The songs thus sung are all based on the pentatonic scale, but are by no means restricted to it, there being considerable modal variation and a very wide range, both in the character of the songs and in their compass, which sometimes extends (quite apart from the descant frequently sung by the women) to over an octave. Details of their very elaborate structure, together with the native terminology regarding it, will be given in a later volume dealing with music on Atchin, in the language of which island the terms were recorded. As a general description it is enough to say here that each song as a rule begins with a refrain consisting in the Small Islands of the tune sung with a series of nasalised vowels,[1] which is called the "leaf." This is then followed by a verse, sung to the same tune, which is called the "fruit." Verse and refrain then repeat and alternate with one another in patterns differing for the different types of song.[2] Sometimes the leader sings alone, and sometimes the chorus. It is characteristic of all native songs that they always end on a weak note. Accordingly, no song ever ends at the end of a verse, the end coming at the beginning of a repetition of the refrain, which is then cut short by cries of specified types in which leader and chorus usually alternate with one another, and, if the song is accompanied by gongs, by a heightened speed in the rhythm followed by a sudden and dramatic stop.

Great number of songs, and occasions on which sung.

There is an immense number of such songs. There are, to begin with, the ritual cycles connected with all-night dances, during which the same song must not be repeated twice.[3] As each song, together with repeats and intervals, takes on an average not more than ten minutes, this means that at least 70 songs must be sung in a single night. There are several of

[1] In other parts of Malekula, such as South-West Bay, the refrain consists of vowels preceded by the consonants *w* and *l*.

[2] Since I did not make a special study of songs on Vao, those recorded in this volume contain only the verse. Examples from other islands, including the refrain, will be given in later volumes.

[3] Cf. Deacon, 4, p. 363, reporting from Lambumbu that "if possible, a song is not sung twice on the same night."

such song-and-dance cycles performed during the Maki and other rites, so that the number of these ritual songs alone mounts up to several hundred. In addition to these, there are special mortuary songs, songs connected with initiation, with gong-raising, lodge-building and all the numerous other major rites, as well as sea-songs and songs sung during the consecration of sea-going canoes. Then there are yet other songs sung by individuals, such as love-songs, incantations connected with magic and with the rearing of pigs, songs sung when manufacturing fish-traps, children's songs, and all the numerous ditties sung in connexion with tales of legendary heroes and fairy-tales dealing with the doings of birds, rats, eels, flying foxes and an endless number of other animate and inanimate objects. I calculated at one time that even the least musical of natives knew at least 1000 songs, or parts of them, and experts a great many more.

DANCES

We are here, however, concerned primarily with the Maki, and this leads us on to the last general feature to be gone into before entering on a detailed description of this rite, namely the dances.

I have already described the "circling" performed by the Maki-men and their sons-in-law and brothers-in-law during the presentation of tusked boars. This is one of the few dances performed by individuals. It is also one of the few dances (possibly the only one) unaccompanied by singing.

The majority of ritual dances are, on the contrary, performed by bodies of men, who at the same time sing and are usually, though not always, accompanied by gongs. With regard to these, as to the "circling," my most detailed notes were taken on Atchin, where I joined in the dances myself and made a close study of the various movements of which some of them are composed, together with the technical terms applied to them. These will be given in another volume. I did not make the same detailed investigation on Vao, and my account of the Vao dances will therefore be restricted to a few of their most salient features.

Terminology of villages dancing in rotation.

The ordinary Vao verb for "to dance" is *vel*, of which the nominal form is *veluan*, "dancing." As already stated, the performance of each major rite is heralded for weeks ahead by the men of each Vao village in turn coming in prescribed order to the home-village to dance at intervals of two or more days between each. Each party that comes is welcomed by the Maki-men, and the whole process is therefore called *ar tame vanu*, "they welcome [1] the villages," to which is added the name of the dance they are about to perform. Thus, where the dance about to be performed is that called *Velal* (see below), the phrase used is *ar tame*

[1] See p. 299.

vanu velal, "they welcome the villages (that come to dance) *Velal*." The first party to dance, namely the introducing "line" of the home-village, is said to *vel dromghe*, "dance first." The process of dancing in rotation is called *havean*, and the last and final performance, when the introducing "line" again dance and are joined this time by parties from all villages at once in what is usually an all-night dance, is called *havean e him*, "the turn of the home-village (*him*)."

Dances fall into three groups.

The dances themselves may be divided for purposes of description into three groups:

(1) Processional dances, danced from one end of the dancing-ground to the other, or, on occasion, along the roads leading to the dancing-ground, or even, in matters connected with the sea, on the beach.

(2) Circular dances, danced radially round a central post. These are performed only on the dancing-ground.

(3) Figure-dances called *na-leng*.

Processional and circular dances associated with two types of dancing-ground.

The figure-dances fall into a distinct category by themselves, and I will deal with them later. The other two groups, the processional and the circular, are probably to a large extent conditioned by the types of dancing-ground on which they were originally danced. This fact will probably assist us to some extent in disentangling the various elements that go to build up the ritual of the Maki, by showing their connexion with different areas in which the graded society is found. For there are, in fact, two types of dancing-ground in Malekula. These are:

(*a*) A long narrow type, such as is found in Vao, Atchin and Wala. There is some reason for supposing that this type of dancing-ground was simply developed out of the widening of the men's path as it leads through the village. In this type the gongs are placed at one side, namely the Upper or men's Side, where they occupy somewhat incongruously a middle position among the stones and images set up for the Maki.

(*b*) A circular type, with the gongs in the centre. This type of dancing-ground is that found all over the south and centre of Malekula as far north as Lagalag (we have no information regarding the Big Nambas) and in the Small Islands as far north as Uripiv.

Upright slit gongs originally associated with circular dancing-grounds.

Taking into consideration the fact that the upright slit gongs are much more realistically carved in the south, where the gong-rhythms are also more highly developed, and their position of honour in the centre

of the dancing-ground, it is probable that it is with this type of circular dancing-ground that they were originally associated. Thus the Small Islands appear to have derived the upright slit gong from Malekula, but this influence was not strong enough to alter the whole shape of the dancing-ground, which retains the long narrow form presumably associated with the pre-Maki form of public graded society in which the large dolmen was the only monument erected.

Thus the gongs come to occupy the somewhat anomalous position they now hold in the middle of the Upper Side. This leaves the floor of the dancing-ground without a central point round which the introduced circular dances can be performed. This lack is made good in Atchin by the provision of sacrificial posts erected permanently in the middle of the ground and serving, in the rites leading up to the main Maki sacrifice, to support huge banners representing hawks. In Vao such posts, used for the same purpose, are also erected at the same period in the ritual cycle, but are not left permanently there. When erected, they serve as a focus for the circular dances, and on certain other occasions an erythrina tree (*na-rar*) planted in the centre of the dancing-ground fulfils the same function.[1]

PROCESSIONAL DANCES

The distinction drawn above between processional and circular dances and their primary association with different types of dancing-ground applies chiefly to those connected with the Maki. These are all danced out of doors, in the dancing-ground or along the paths leading to it, or on the beach. There is, however, another type of more intimate processional dance performed within a more confined space, as, for instance, those danced during the mortuary rites backwards and forwards in front of the Lodge, or, in the case of initiation, within the Initiation House itself. Some of these, again, may be performed sometimes in the dancing-ground and sometimes indoors. It is thus not easy to draw a clear line of demarcation between the two. The essence of them all, however, is that they progress from one spot to another, even though the same ground may be covered over and over again, and for this reason I propose to class them all under the heading of Processional (as opposed to Circular) Dances.

Na-rel

The most important, and at the same time the simplest, processional dance is that called *Na-rel*, derived from a root meaning "to walk," variations of which, such as *rel*, *ral*, *rali*, mean "walk about," "run," "run about," etc. In this case it is used to indicate a heavy thudding step, each foot lifted from the ground before the other is brought down

[1] See p. 420.

with the whole weight of the body on heel and sole, which is the characteristic movement of the dance. The combined thud of perhaps thirty feet together makes an impressive sound, mingled with the songs, the deep booming of the upright gongs and the quick rattle of the horizontal gonglets. Even on occasions when the gongs are absent, as when the dance takes place on the shore, it is a noble sight to see the body of dancers thus slowly advancing to the sound of their own singing.

The chief occasion on which *Na-rel* is danced is at the height of the culminating rites of the Maki, in broad daylight, when the guests arrive in this manner accompanying those about to "circle" for their presentation-pigs,[1] or when, at High Maki, the men of the introducing "line" bring up the tusked boars which are to be sacrificed at the stone-platform.[2] Songs belonging to this cycle are sung also by those paddling the great tree trunks which are to be made into gongs over the channel from the mainland, where they have been felled, to the Small Island; also while similarly transporting tree trunks that are to be manufactured into sea-going canoes.[3] The same dance takes place and the same songs are sung during Initiation into Manhood, while bringing the logs from which the Initiation House is to be built, and during its construction, after the operation of incision, and while accompanying the novices back from the shore where their wounds have been dressed.[4]

Le-tean

Not unlike the *Na-rel* in its simplicity is another song-and-dance cycle called *Le-tean*. The chief occasion on which this is performed is on the Thirtieth Day after the Maki sacrifice (for both High and Low Maki), and the songs are in honour of the individual Maki-men who have by now assumed their new titles and names.[5] It is performed also on the occasion of the premature death of a circle-tusker intended for sacrifice, when, rather than lose all the trouble and expense spent in rearing it, the animal is ritually "sacrificed" by being tapped on the head, and this premature "sacrifice" is admitted as valid on the day of the rite itself, the head having been preserved and being now placed on the stone-platform, when the would-be sacrificer re-enacts his part as though it were still alive.[6] The same song-and-dance is performed at the consecration of the sail of a new sea-going canoe,[7] and also during the building of the Initiation House, as well as inside it during the subsequent initiation rites.[8]

This song-and-dance cycle was said by one informant to correspond to the *Kulen* cycle on Atchin, songs of which will appear in a future volume.

[1] See p. 387. [2] See p. 427. [3] See p. 465.
[4] See pp. 505 ff. [5] See Song 6, p. 404. [6] See p. 435.
[7] See p. 468. [8] See Song 7, p. 506.

Tughunuan

Danced and sung also in the Initiation House is another cycle called *Tughunuan*, of which the songs approximate more closely to children's songs, being for the most part about birds or fruit. The singers are the novices' tutors and other initiates, who, while singing them, dance up and down the centre of the house. They are also sung in the intervals of the hoaxes practised upon the candidates, and the only example I recorded was one sung to lull the boys' suspicions and give them a false sense of security during the preparation of one of these gruesome ordeals.[1]

Tunen

Closely connected with *Le-tean* is another song-and-dance cycle called *Tunen*. This is performed at the consecration of the sail of a new sea-going canoe, when the dancers take up a somewhat precarious position on the canoe itself, immediately after it has been launched, and steady themselves by holding on to the newly erected rigging.[2] It also figures among the dances that may be performed during the fourteen days that elapse between the death of an old man and the launching, on the Fourteenth Day, of a canoe containing his effects, which is subsequently ritually captured by the men of his mother's village, who take it home and place it on a stone-platform built on their own beach.[3]

Nu-mbo Ta-ba (Songs of the Men of Oba)

Also connected with the sea are the songs primarily sung on the return voyage from Oba, after the rite of Initiation into Sex which young men undergo on the occasion of their first landing on this island when they accompany their elders who go there to trade in pigs. Oba is, as we have already seen, called, together with Maewo, the "Land of Ta-ghar," owing to the fact that this deity is said to have lived there. I have called this expedition the Pilgrimage to Oba,[4] and on its return are sung the special sea-songs called *Nu-mbo Ta-ba*,[5] which means "Songs of the men of Oba."

While singing these songs, the singers dance on the canoe-platforms, supporting themselves, as during the singing of *Tunen*, by holding on to the rigging. The dance is thus essentially a processional one, though the movement from one place to another is accomplished by the wind, and not by the unaided feet of the dancers.

As the route lies over the sea, and as the object of these expeditions

[1] See Song 8, p. 512. [2] See p. 468. [3] See p. 548. [4] See Chapter XX.
[5] This is the Atchin version of the name. I did not record the Vao variant.

is the trade in pigs, it is not surprising to find that these songs are sung during the Maki rite at the moment when the tusked boars, over 200 in number, are brought out for review in order to make sure that they are all there, and are tied at Low Maki to stakes and at High Maki to the upright stones that, ranged on either side of the dancing-ground, are said to resemble the hull and outrigger float of a canoe, the whole approaching Maki being at that moment likened to a sea-going canoe arriving on the shore laden with boars.[1] They are repeated again, with the same symbolism, on the Thirtieth Day after the main sacrifice, when the chief Maki-men challenge the members of other villages to perform a Maki as magnificent as theirs.[2]

They are sung, also, in a context which is not quite so obvious, in connexion with the *Le-tean* song-and-dance cycle on the Fourth Day after the main sacrifice both of Low and High Maki when the new titles and names assumed by the Maki-men are being publicly memorised.[3]

The connexion with the sea is again clear when they are sung on the Fourteenth Day of the mortuary rites for the death of a man of high rank during the launching of the canoe which is to carry his effects back to his mother's village.[4]

Ro-mbulat (Banana-Leaves)

The processional dance with the most elaborate structure is that called *Ro-mbulat*. This word means "dry banana leaves," [5] referring to the fact that formerly the dancers clothed themselves in such leaves, which rustle when moved, to represent ghosts. Now, however, for some reason that I do not know, they no longer do so, but instead often carry leafy branches in their hands, holding them over their heads so that the body of dancers resembles a moving forest.[6] This dance, often performed on Atchin, seems to be rarer on Vao. In contrast to the *Na-rel*, it is danced chiefly at night, and in the dancing-ground, though it is sometimes performed during the day. Unlike most of the other ritual dances, the songs connected with it are of a comparatively secular nature, those which I heard on Atchin dealing with topical subjects such as accounts of recent fighting, or of sailing expeditions, or of any notable or amusing occurrence that had lately taken place. The dancers all gather at one end of the dancing-ground, facing inwards, when one man steps into the centre and begins singing the refrain of a song. As he does so, he marks time,

[1] See Song 4, p. 381. The word is here used in its restricted sense, referring to the actual day of main sacrifice, when the Maki-men take their new names.

[2] See p. 405. [3] See pp. 428, 430. [4] See p. 552.

[5] Compare Mota *no-qalata*, "dry leaf of a banana" (Codrington, 2).

[6] Deacon, 4, p. 364, describes a similar dance at Lambumbu, but does not say what it is called.

swinging his legs and arms violently forward. The rest immediately join him, with the same bodily movement. After a few seconds of this, the dancers, still singing, beat the ground violently with one foot. Then someone cries out. The rest all reply with shouts and hoots—they call it "shouting for joy." Then they all turn facing the length of the dancing-ground, and, resuming the refrain, dance to the other end with the same thudding step that is used in the *Na-rel*. Meanwhile, the unmarried girls, ranged in a row along the Lower Side of the ground, facing the gongs and hand-in-hand, dive forwards and backwards with a curiously undulating step called "catching crabs," and at odd intervals pierce the air with their high stabbing descant. The refrain is brought to a close by yet further shouts, and the dancers return to the end of the ground at which they had begun, and then repeat the whole dance again, still singing the refrain. Not till they have done this three times does the man who first started up the refrain strike up the first verse. This is immediately taken up by all the dancers, who remain facing him, all marking time and swinging their arms as during the first repetition of the refrain. Then they all stamp their feet on the ground, the refrain is again resumed, and, singing this, they all set off once more down the ground.

There are many small variations of this procedure, which will be given, with their technical terms, in a future volume on Atchin. What I have given here, however, will give some impression of the general form of the dance.

On Vao it is danced during the initiation rites. The only occasion on which I have recorded its performance on this island (though there are doubtless more) is when it is danced by the members of the introducing "line," apparently for their own amusement, during the nights intervening between the official dancing of a more serious circular dance called *Velal* (see below) which leads up to the erection of the upright slit gongs.[1]

Kò-kòke Ru-mbulatean

There is a variant of the above dance called *Kò-kòke ru-mbulatean*, which may be danced as an alternative to other dances during the period leading up to the rites celebrated on the Fourteenth Day after the death of an old man.[2] *Kò-kòke* is a reduplication of the verb *kòke*, "to carry in a bundle," referring to the fact that in this dance a green banana leaf (*rogho na-vete*; Atchin *roha na-wits*) is borne high above the head in the left hand, while in the right hand a bunch of dry banana leaves is carried and beaten in time with the dance against the thigh. This may possibly be connected with the alleged planting by a dead man of a banana tree in the land of the dead.

I have unfortunately no record of any actual performance.

[1] See p. 357. [2] See p. 548.

Pilagh

Another dance performed during this period is one called *Pilagh*. This is the chief dance performed during the mortuary rites, which preserve the matrilineal elements of the older stratum of Vao culture more completely than any of the other ritual observances. It is in accordance with this that women figure prominently in the dancing, and in particular those called *vene na woroan*,[1] and even have the right on certain occasions to dance inside the Lodge. The same dance is performed also in the dead man's mother's village when, on the Eve of the Fourteenth Day after death, his pillow and other effects are returned to it and a rude hut called after the dead man's name is erected there. It is never, so far as I know, danced on occasions other than those connected with mortuary rites, and a full list of these is given in the Index.

I do not, unfortunately, know anything about the form of the dance except what is suggested by its name, which means "banded rail,"[2] a long-legged wading bird that is one of the totems of a particular family on Atchin. The Atchin form of the word, used both for the rail and for the corresponding dance, is *pila*. Deacon mentions a dance called *bölög*, which appears to be the same word, as belonging exclusively to the chiefly rank of Miliun among the Big Nambas.[3]

Dances in Serpentine Course: *Bot-mau*

Lastly, there are a number of occasions on which the dancers pursue a serpentine course from one side of the dancing-ground to the other. This movement, called *tel-telean*, or at other times *gha vire-vire*,[4] enters into a number of processional dances, but I have not sufficient information to say just what it means, or what factor decides when it shall be performed. Its most spectacular performance is in the dance called *Bot-mau*. This is danced during the night preceding the culminating Maki rite, both for Low and High Maki. This night's proceedings are possibly the most wildly exciting in the whole series of rites. Everything is ready for the great sacrifice which is to be performed the next day. Giant hawk-banners (see Fig. 49) have been set up on the sacrificial posts in the middle of the dancing-ground, and all night long the circular dance called *Taur Na-mbak*, to be described below, continues to be danced by members of all villages, who on previous nights have danced separately in rotation, and are now led by the introducing "line" with the Maki-men dancing round

[1] See p. 133.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. T. H. Harrisson for this identification.

[3] Deacon, 4, p. 372. Compare also the Mota *pilage* which means a rail, and metaphorically, a swift runner (Codrington, 2).

[4] Corresponding to the Atchin *bure-bureni*. See pp. 384, 510.

them with torches. From time to time the dance is, however, interrupted by the procession called *Bot-mau*, in honour of the home-bred circle-tuskers that are about to be sacrificed. This dance is performed chiefly by women, the Maki-men's patrilineal kinsfolk, who, in double file and each holding in her left hand a branch of the *tawò* tree and in her right hand a torch of which the lighted end is dragged along the ground behind her (both symbols of a circle-tusker), dance in serpentine course from one end of the ground to the other. The torch is dragged because they are women, but the procession is headed by two men and the rear brought up by two more, members of the introducing "line," who carry the same symbols high up above the shoulder. Each Quarter-Lodge of the home-village is represented by one such procession, and each repeats the dance as many times as there are home-bred circle-tuskers to be sacrificed by its male members. After the members of each Quarter-Lodge have performed their part the correct number of times the circular dance is resumed until the next arrives. When all have finished, *Taur Na-mbak* is then danced on till dawn, when the hawk-banners are hurled to the ground.[1]

CIRCULAR DANCES

General.

The reference to *Taur Na-mbak* that has just been made has given some faint indication of the atmosphere of intense excitement surrounding dances of the circular type. To the European eye and ear the processional dances and the songs that issue from the combined throats of the dancers are thrilling and unaccustomed enough, but the effect of the circular dances, which take place always at night and frequently all night long, is beyond any adequate description.

Unlike the processional dances, the circular dances are associated exclusively with the two main ritual cycles, namely Gong-Raising and the Maki, and I have already shown that they probably originated in circular dancing-grounds in which the gongs occupied a central position, such as are found on the mainland of Malekula and as far south as Fate.

There are, in Vao, four such dances, the most important of which, and that which leads up to the culminating scene of the Maki when the main sacrifice takes place, touches depths of native culture which I do not profess to be able fully to disentangle. The other three fulfil comparatively simple functions.

These four circular dances are called:

Turei Na-mbe (*Gong-Raising*), danced only for the erection of a new set of gongs.

Velal, performed mainly as a preliminary dance both at the erection of a new set of gongs and at Low and High Maki.

[1] For full description see pp. 331, 384.

Hek-hekelean (*Settling-Down*), performed only at Low Maki, and leading up to

Taure, *Taur Na-mbak* or *Veluan Na-mbak*, all variants of the most important circular dance leading up to the main sacrifice, performed respectively at High and Low Maki and at the special Maki performed for the erection of a *ghamal*.

I did not witness any of these dances on Vao, but saw and took part in several of the corresponding dances on Atchin. In their main lines, that is to say in the general structure of the dance and in the positions occupied by the dancers, they are all alike. The differences occur in the different rhythms played on the gongs, which at the same time govern the difference in step and in the type of song sung. As an example of the general structure I will, under the heading of Gong-Raising, give a brief general account of this dance as it is performed on Atchin, after which I will limit myself to a discussion of the circular dances performed on Vao, stating the occasions on which each is danced and, so far as I know it, its cultural significance.

Turei Na-mbe (Gong-Raising)

INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF THIS DANCE AS PERFORMED ON ATCHIN

The name of this dance speaks for itself, being derived from *tur*, to "stand, or set up," and *na-mbe*, a "gong." The same name is given to the whole series of rites leading up to the erection of the gongs, and, to avoid confusion of too many native terms, I will refer to both as "Gong-Raising," which is a literal translation of the native term, referring to the dance itself when necessary as the "*Gong-Raising* dance." This dance is performed only when new gongs are being set up.[1]

The following account is a brief record in general terms based on my own observation of the all-night *Gong-Raising* dance as performed on the Eve of the Raising of the Gongs at the Atchin village of Emil Marur on October 15th, 1914.[2] The dance may not be precisely the same as that performed on Vao, but it resembles it closely enough to serve as an illustration of what such dances are like.

The position of the dancers is given in Fig. 45. The guests, that is to say the male members of other villages or else the introducing "line" of the home-village (or all of these, as in the culminating dance from which this account is taken), cluster round the posts erected in the middle of the dancing-ground, with their leaders standing in the centre, each leader holding a bamboo stave on which he beats time when the gongs are not being sounded. Round them the hosts, the Maki-men, dance with lighted

[1] See pp. 350-8.

[2] A full account, together with technical terms in the Atchin language, will be given in a later volume.

torches, and round these again stand the women,[1] who do not move round but dance where they are, often holding hands and performing swift undulating movements towards the centre and then back again. Each group forming one of the three concentric circles acts independently

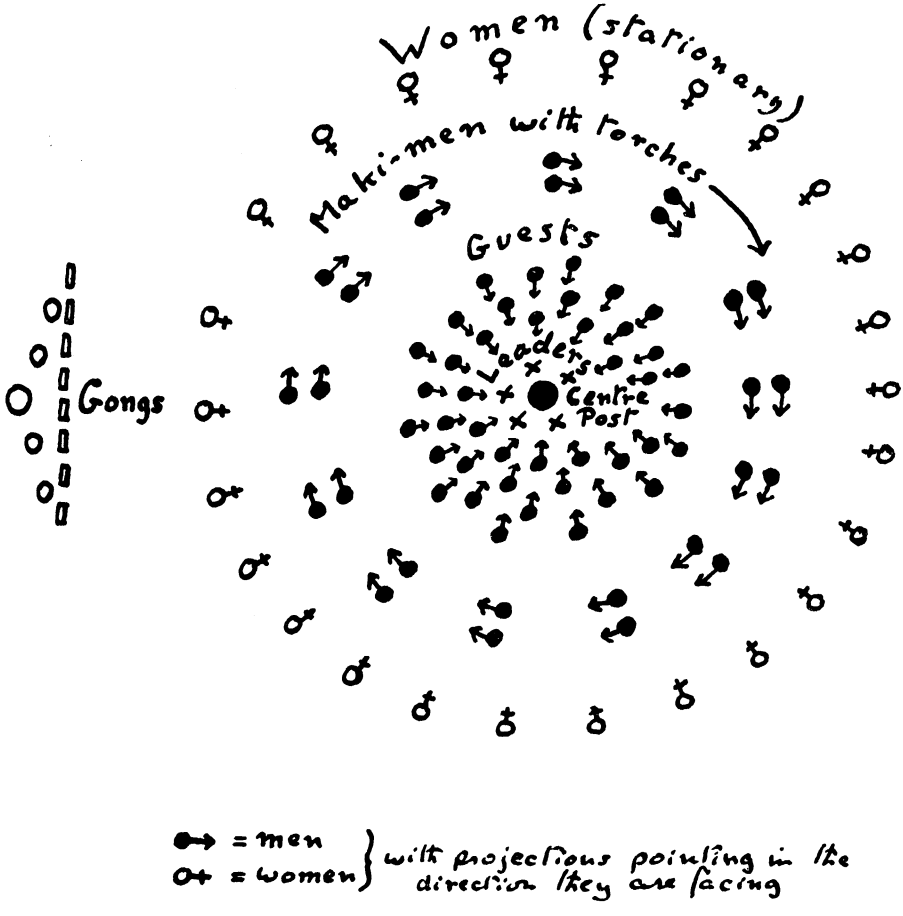


FIG. 45

Diagram to illustrate the dance of *Gong-Raising* as performed on Atchin.

of the others, though in concert with them. The dance begins with a prelude by the gongs, manned by members of the introducing "line," which beat out the "leaf" or refrain of the rhythm proper to the dance. While this is being sounded the dancers stand still. This done, the guests set up a high falsetto shout or "cheer," and the gongs then burst forth anew, this time with the rhythm proper to the "fruit" or verse. During

[1] Through an oversight, I omitted to note who these women are.

this time the dancers have all been standing still. They now stamp with bent knees, the gongs cease, and one of the leaders, followed by all the guests, starts singing unaccompanied the song-refrain, the singers swinging their arms and legs backwards and forwards as in the dance called *Banana-Leaves*. Only the guests sing, with the women in the outer ring chanting their high descant. The Maki-men dance round with upraised torches, but silent.

The gongs then once more strike up the refrain, and the guests cease singing and begin the movement peculiar to the dance. This may consist in complicated steps performed facing the gongs, as is the case in the *Gong-Raising* dance, or, particularly in those called *Hek-hekelean* and *Taur Na-mbak*, which are the chief Maki dances, in running round in an anti-clockwise direction with special steps, while the Maki-men dance round clockwise with dignified gait contrasting strongly with the quick and sometimes extraordinary movements of the guests.

Suddenly, the gong-rhythms cease, the guests all cheer with high falsetto cries, and with a stab the gongs strike in again with the "fruit" or verse-rhythm. With hardly a pause, the same mad dance begins again with all its movements as before, till stopped again by the falsetto cheering of the guests. There is a moment of apparent unutterable confusion while the dancers change their step into the quieter swinging motion. The gongs cease again, and the refrain is again sung, the guests marking time while they sing, the silent Maki-men still dancing round with raised torches, and the women holding hands, swaying and piercing the air with their high notes.

All this has been preparatory to the singing of the verse. Now the excitement suddenly ceases. The gongs remain silent, and a calm dignified movement sets in while the guests, with slow swinging step, sing the first verse, during which the Maki-men cease dancing and face inwards with torches lowered to the ground, and the women stand motionless and silent beyond, for, while they may join in with the refrain, the words of the song are for the men alone.

The moment the verse is over, there is another cheer, the gongs once more strike up the refrain, the guests repeat the special step belonging to the dance, the Maki-men dance round with raised torches, and the women in the outer ring resume their undulating step. Then the gongs cease again, and the refrain is once more sung.

When, as is usual, the song has several verses, the second verse is now begun, followed again by the same sequence of movements always ending with the refrain, and so on, till the whole song has been sung.

Then there is a short pause, and a new song is started, and the entire gamut of refrain and verse, gong-rhythms, dance-steps and intermittent cheering is gone through for every song.

This is kept up all night without a pause, dancers and gong-beaters

relieving one another at will without break in the continuous uproar. Sometimes the pace and volume of the sound will slacken, then again swell forth as some new party joins or a better-known song is begun.

Each song has its own tune, composed to the rhythm of the dance. On any given night the most important songs belonging to the cycle will be sung first, but, after these, fresh songs may be struck up by any individual singer starting the refrain. Some will be taken up, while others, not so popular or started by some unimportant or unpopular guests, will be drowned out by rival singers. There will be a moment or two of indescribable confusion while two rival parties are struggling for the acceptance of a given song, but soon one will prevail, and when it does the victorious party will cheer, the gongs will strike in, the special step be resumed, and the song then proceeds to its allotted end. Sometimes a verse may be forgotten or imperfectly remembered; then the song will peter out, with cries and jeers from all the dancers, or may be retrieved by someone with a better memory singing out the words. The leaders of the guests maintain the rhythm all the time by beating on their bamboo staves.

Dancers from time to time drop out, and sit round fires lit about the dancing-ground, talking and eating puddings and bananas. Other fires are maintained for the special use of the Maki-men who dance with torches round the guests, fresh torches being stacked around them to replace those which burn out. One solitary torch of huge dimensions burns all night, standing erect at one end of the dancing-ground.

As I have said, this dance, witnessed on Atchin, may not agree in all particulars with its counterpart as danced on Vao, but it will give at least some idea of what such dances are like. I will now proceed to give an account of the occasions on which the three remaining circular dances are performed and, so far as I am able, their cultural significance.

Velal

This is probably the simplest and least significant of the circular dances. The name is derived from *vel*, the ordinary word for "to dance," but I am unable to explain the final syllable. This seems to be a kind of preparatory dance. It is performed during the early stages of each main division in the long cycle of rites, and before all these opening occasions the songs are publicly rehearsed and practised in the dancing-ground, the dancers sitting down in the positions to be occupied later in the dance. At each culminating point, however, it is replaced by one of the more important circular dances. It is thus the first dance in the series of rites leading up to the erection of the gongs,[1] but is replaced at the culmination

[1] See p. 356.

of the rite by the dance of *Gong-Raising* itself. It is also the first dance to be performed at the opening of the rites for Low Maki, when the chief business in hand is the search for and transport to the dancing-ground of the large table-stones for the dolmen, and again, several years later, when enough pigs and yams have been collected for the new series of rites leading up to its erection.[1] At the culmination of the rite, however, it is again replaced, this time first by the dance called *Settling-Down*, and then by *Taur Na-mbak*. For High Maki it is in the same way danced first in the opening stages of the rite when the stones for the stone-platform are being sought out and the stone-platform itself built, and again when the monoliths are being collected and set up, but is replaced by *Taur Na-mbak* at the culminating series of rites leading up to the main sacrifice.[2]

Just as, in these cases, it has occupied a preparatory position always leading up to something better, so, two years or more after the culminating points of both Low and High Maki, it is again danced during the final rites winding up all the protracted proceedings, when the restrictions placed on the female relatives of the Maki-men are finally removed.[3]

Velal thus not only leads up to, but also down from, the central points of ritual experience, just as in the Christian Mass the preparatory rites which lead up to the central act are balanced after it is over by lesser rites leading the emotion gently down into more mundane channels.

Hek-hekelean (Settling-Down)

This word, which in Atchin is *sek-sekeleen*, is the reduplicated nominal form of a word common in the Small Islands, of which the Vao form is *hag* and the Atchin forms are *sek*, "to rest upon," and *sakel*, "to sit." In both islands the word is used also in a figurative way for "settling down" to a job of work.[4] It is in this latter figurative sense that the word is here used, for the dance called by this name is performed at a point in the ritual cycle of Low Maki at which the culminating act is approaching, when all the tusked boars are ready for the chief sacrifice, and when, therefore, no more delays are allowed to occur and the performers from now on "settle down" without reserve to intensive prosecution of the culminating rites. For this reason, I will refer to it in the following pages by the literal translation of the word, namely *Settling-Down*.

Settling-Down is far from being the most important dance-cycle of the Maki, but is in the nature of a preparatory dance preceding *Taur Na-mbak*, which it closely resembles, and is the culminating Low Maki circular

[1] See pp. 363, 366, 396. [2] See pp. 412, 419. [3] See p. 406.

[4] Godefroy (1, 1934, p. 210) mentions the Vao expression *ve ha-hag* as being used for what he refers to as "forced" (i.e. community) labour. Compare also Mota *sage*, "to settle down, sink downwards"; same word as Motlav *hag*, "to sit" (Codrington, 2).

dance. In High Maki both *Settling-Down* and *Taur Na-mbak* are replaced by the most important circular dance of all, called *Taure.*

Songs belonging to the *Settling-Down* cycle are first sung, after the dancing of *Velal* is finished, when the table-stone for the dolmen is being hauled up from the beach during the preparatory rites of Low Maki,[1] but are changed on nearing the dancing-ground to those of *Taur Na-mbak.* It is not danced, however, till after the dolmen has been erected and, as I have said, the main sacrificial rite is approaching. Then it is danced in rotation by all villages till the actual date of the chief sacrifice is announced, when it is replaced by the dancing, in the same rotation, of *Taur Na-mbak.*[2]

The important position of the dance is shown by the fact that, alone of all dances so far as I know, the right to perform it has to be bought by the Maki-men from members of their own introducing "line," and also from members of all the other villages on the island. This act is symbolised by the handing over of the stick (*ne-mbal*) with which time is beaten by the leader of the dance. Its preparatory nature, however, is shown by the fact that, once the right to dance *Settling-Down* has been bought, this act is not repeated either for *Taur Na-mbak* or for *Taure*, since the purchase of the one at the same time confers the right of dancing the others.[3]

Several days after the last visiting village has come to dance, and before the final combined performance, a dance called *Vin-buel* takes place. The name signifies "Dance of no consequence." I am unable to say what form it takes. The same dance is repeated at the same period before the dancing of *Taure* for High Maki.[4]

Taure, Taur Na-mbak, Veluan Na-mbak

Taure is the most important all-night dance of High Maki. It differs from the *Gong-Raising* dance (as also does *Settling-Down*) in that the guests, instead of facing the centre, in this case marked by a young erythrina tree, dance anti-clockwise round it, in a direction opposite to that taken by the Maki-men, their leaders beating time on the bamboo stick called *ne-mbal.* In Low Maki its place is taken by a variant of the same dance called *Taur Na-mbak*, and in the special Maki performed for the erection of a *ghamal* by yet another variant called *Veluan Na-mbak.*

When danced.

Songs from the *Taur Na-mbak* cycle are sung during the preparatory rites for Low Maki while dragging the table-stone for the dolmen into the dancing-ground, and during High Maki songs of the *Taure* cycle are similarly sung while hauling up the large monolith. At High Maki *Taure* is the only circular dance performed during the rites occupying the year

[1] See pp. 365 ff. [2] See pp. 370 ff. [3] See pp. 369, 421. [4] See pp. 372, 422.

of the culminating sacrifice. At Low Maki *Taur Na-mbak* is preceded by *Settling-Down* and is not itself formally danced till the day on which the giant hawk-banners are erected in the centre of the dancing-ground and the date of the main sacrifice is announced. This date must by precedent always be fixed for the 17th, the 27th or the 37th day after that on which the announcement is made, and it is during the intervening period that

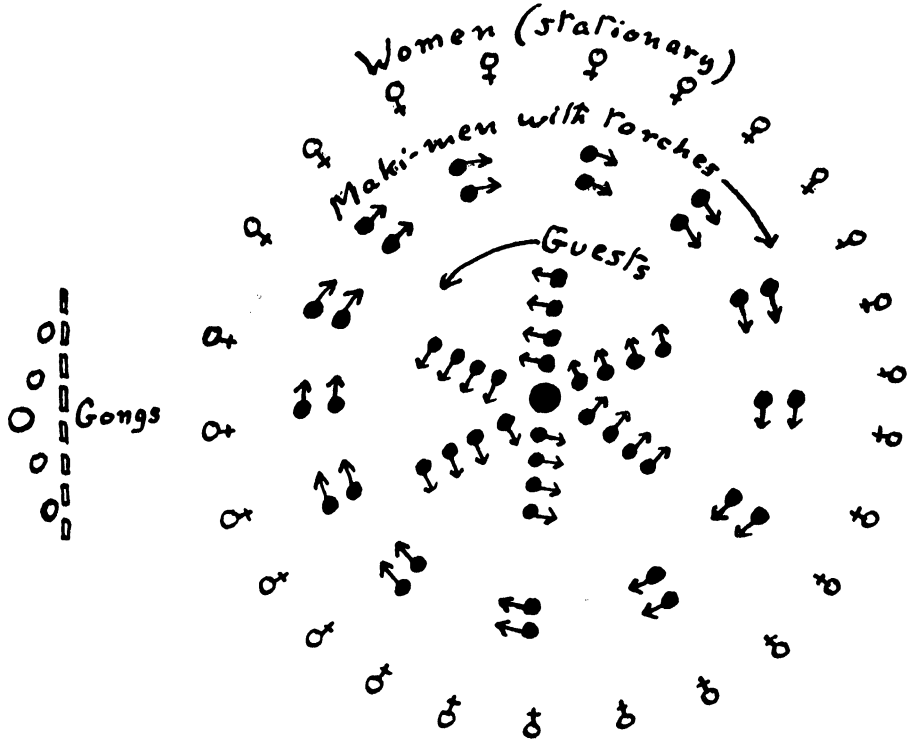


FIG. 46

Diagram to illustrate the dance of *Taure* and of *Taur Na-mbak*.

When there is only one party of guests they swing in a single line round the erythrina tree, ending each dance with a shout facing the gongs. This figure illustrates the final all-night performance when the six parties representing the six villages form themselves into six radial lines. (For diagrams illustrating similar dances see Deacon, 4, Fig. 34 (from the district of Lagalag in North-West Malekula), and Baker, 3, p. 3 (from South-East Santo).)

Taur Na-mbak is danced every night by the introducing "line" of Maki-men, joined at stated intervals, in due order, by members of the other Vao villages and by parties from the mainland villages and from the other Small Islands. This occurs both for Low and High Maki, and lasts all night long. Only on the penultimate night does the dancing cease at midnight, to allow the dancers to gather strength for the ensuing culminating rites. On the Eve of the Maki itself (using this word in its

restricted sense for the day on which the main sacrifice takes place) it is again and for the last time danced all night long, being interrupted from time to time by the dancing of *Bot-mau* that has already been described, and the culminating act takes place at dawn, when the hawk-banners are torn down from their posts and trampled underfoot. This is followed, during the cool hours of the morning, by the performances of the formal figure-dances and comedies called *na-leng*, and during the day by an endless series of rites leading up to the mass sacrifice of boars in the afternoon and to the most solemn occasion of all when, at dusk, the chief sacrificial tuskers are ritually killed on the stone-platform and the chief Maki-men take the highest supernumerary ranks.

Associated with ancient form of the rite.

It is difficult to assess accurately the significance of these three dances. Some understanding of it may, however, be achieved by a comparative study of the names by which they are known, and of their ritual significance in other respects.

If we consider first the word *Taure* or *Taur* alone, we find that a dance called by variants of this name holds an equally important place in the public graded society not only of Vao but also of all those parts of Malekula of which we have adequate record.[1] Two facts, moreover, point to the fact that it is extremely ancient, and certainly pre-dating the Maki in its present form. These are, in the first place, that in the district of Mewun on the west coast of Malekula, which till recently had no graded society comparable to the Mangki of the surrounding districts, and had only two fires, one for men and one for women, nevertheless a man could acquire prestige by erecting a club-house, the privilege of doing this being purchased from a man who had already constructed one, and the transaction involved the payment of pigs and the performance of a dance called *teur*. No images were set up for this comparable in any way to those set up for the Mangki.[2] The evidence from Mewun suggests, therefore, that this dance originally formed part of a pre-Maki form of rite in which there were no graded ranks or titles, but only a single fire for such males as were admitted to it.

If we now turn to the only other place from which, so far as I know, this dance has been reported, we find ourselves again forced to a similar conclusion. This is South Raga, where a dance of the same name, here pronounced *tairan* (of which the verbal form is *tair*), is the last and most important of three public dances in which songs are sung in honour of sacrificial boars, the sacrificer recounting in them the hardships and

[1] The recorded forms of the word are:—Vao *taure* or *taur* (nominal form *taurean*); Atchin *tour* (*touren*) (Layard, 9); Wala *taur* (*tauren*) (Layard, 9); Big Nambas *taur* (Deacon, 4, p. 372); Lambumbu *teur* (Deacon, 4, pp. 356, 362); Seniang *teur* (Deacon, 4, Chapters X to XIV).

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 340. The full name given for this dance is *niteur hut naai* or *touga*.

adventures he has gone through in acquiring them, and the number and grades of the pigs he has given in exchange.[1] The important thing to note is that this dance, though now performed as part of the graded society ritual, did not originally belong to it, but forms part of an older form of rite called *Lo-sal*[2] on to which the introduced public graded society has been grafted.

It is thus clear that we have to do here with a very fundamental aspect of the rite, apparently ante-dating the introduction of ranks. Since this aspect of the rite, represented by the South Raga *Lo-sal*, is that primarily concerned with sacrifice to the maternal ghosts, it is not surprising that the songs should be about the boars which, as we have seen in the chapter on pigs, are in Vao (and almost certainly elsewhere) identified with the Guardian Ghost and, through her, with the male ancestors in the matrilineal line.

Taur means "to mourn."

This, then, gives us a glimpse as to what the meaning of the dance actually is, namely an act in honour of the male members of the matrilineal ancestral line through their representatives, the tusked boars, by whose sacrifice the Maki-men are themselves about to participate in the same mystic union. Sacrifice, however, involves death, and this brings us to a second point, namely that the word *taur*, in its various forms in Vao and the remaining Small Islands, is a mortuary term combining the meanings of "to mourn," "to blacken the face in mourning," "to enter into a period of seclusion" (after the Maki, as after the death of a man of high rank), and "to fast."[3]

The word *Taur* or *Taure* thus combines in itself the acts of honouring the dead and of mourning the new death that the Maki-men are about to inflict upon the boars and, through them, symbolically upon the ancestors and on themselves, always remembering that mourning in this sense is for the native no act of despair but one of anticipating a new and yet more fulfilled life.

Na-mbak probably indicates sexual licence.

As we have seen, the word *Taur*, when applied to the variant of the dance performed at Low Maki, is combined with the word *Na-mbak*. The corresponding word in Atchin is *Ni-mbek*, which, in the history of the Maki which I obtained on that island, is applied to the earliest form of monolith-Maki introduced some seven generations ago. The whole Maki rite as performed at that time is still known on Atchin as *Maki Ni-mbek*. Though the Atchin word *tour* (corresponding to the Vao *taur*) is still used for some portion of this dance, the name of the whole dance on Atchin which corresponds to the Vao *Taur Na-mbak* is *Welen Ni-mbek*,

[1] Tattevin, I, 1927, p. 88. [2] See pp. 341, 721. [3] See p. 536.

corresponding to the *Veluan Na-mbak* performed for the erection of a *ghamal* on Vao. *Welen* and *Veluan* are both variants in their respective islands of the ordinary word used for "to dance." As the proper name for a particular dance, however, the word is chiefly associated, in the form of *Welu*, with the district of Tasmant in South-West Santo, where a dance of this name (which unfortunately has nowhere been described) holds the same prominent position in the graded society ritual as *Taur* and its variants do in Malekula.[1] This is but one of the many instances of how in the Small Islands traits from a number of cultural districts overlap.

Returning to the Vao word *Na-mbak* and Atchin *Ni-mbek*, the only suggestion that I can make is that they are related to the Vao word *bak-bakean*, *mbagh-mbagh* [2] or *mbek-mbek*, used for a propitiatory gift made either to ancestors or to the living in order to obtain favour or to ward off revenge.[3] The corresponding word *pakapaka* is used in Mota for the gift made by a lover to his girl, and is therefore now used there as a synonym for extra-marital sexual intercourse. This gives, I think, the clue to the word as used for the dance, since one of the salient features accompanying the Atchin dance called *Welen Ni-mbek* is that of sexual licence in which the ordinary laws of exogamy are disregarded, and there is a very general promiscuity throughout the night while the dancing is taking place. It is probably for this reason that the corresponding dance in Wala is called *Melingen Ni-mbek*, the word *Melingen* meaning "a bed."

Significance of composite name.

The motives that appear from this comparative study to lie behind the Vao dance of *Taure* thus seem to be: honouring the dead, mourning (in the native sense) the death of the tusked boars that are about to be sacrificed, boasting of the virtues both of the boars and of the Maki-men who reared or traded for them, and (when combined in Low Maki with the word *Na-mbak*) sexual licence. The dance belongs, as we have seen, to the pre-Maki stratum of ritual more particularly connected with ghosts of the male members of the matrilineal line. Honouring the dead and the sacrifice of boars both form part of the re-birth ritual which is the essence of the Maki. The sexual licence involves a complex mixture of emotions. In the first place, it expresses the fertility aspect of the rite, closely connected with re-birth. In the second place, the fact that all the rules of exogamy are here broken is closely connected with legends

[1] Deacon, 3, pp. 477, 491. It is interesting to note that this word *Welu* turns up again far to the south, in Nguna, where a rite (probably a dance) of this name is performed in connexion with "the making of a sacred man." This rite includes the making of a new house, and, it is interesting to note, is connected with a belief in a "god of the land" called Sugbwe (Capell, 1, pp. 71-2), this being a form of the word Sukwe (see p. 219).

[2] See p. 437.

[3] The Atchin word *Ni-mbek* is not to be confused with its homonym *ni-mbek* meaning "banyan tree," which is *na-mbangge* in Vao.

concerning the incest of most culture-heroes in the Small Islands, and in particular of To-wewe, the founder of the present Vao Maki,[1] and expresses the supernatural power of the Maki-men to override earthly restrictions.[2] And in the third place, it must not be forgotten that these same Maki-men are about to enter into a period of seclusion and abstinence that for the least of them will last thirty days, and may last for as many as two or more years, so that the orgiastic outlet of the preceding weeks may be regarded as a necessary outlet, giving strength to bear the ensuing period of restraint.

I said at the outset that this dance represents many aspects that are obscure. The above description is the most accurate that I have been able to arrive at regarding the general ideology surrounding the dance, and represents a kind of composite picture drawn from various sources all over the group. My time in Vao was not long enough to allow me to verify how far each detail is applicable to this island, and it was not my good fortune in any of the islands to witness the dance myself.

Form of the dance. Descriptions by other writers from all parts of Malekula.

Regarding the form of the dance, all I can say is that it conforms to the general pattern of circular dances as already given in my brief description of the *Gong-Raising* dance, except that, like *Settling-Down*, it is more spectacular in that the guests do not remain stationary round the posts, but dance in an anti-clockwise direction round them while the Maki-men dance clockwise with torches between them and the outer circle of women.

Since this is the most spectacular of all the all-night dances, several writers have recorded their impressions of it as seen in different parts of Malekula. None of these accounts give the structure of the dance in any detail, but all agree in being overwhelmed by its wild beauty, and anyone interested in the study of dramatic effect for its own sake will be repaid for reading them. The first was written as long ago as the year 1895 by the late Admiral Boyle Somerville, who, when a lieutenant in H.M.S. *Dart*, engaged in survey work, happened to land on the island of Uripiv when the culminating act of a Maki was in progress. There was a terrific rain-storm, which in no way deterred either the natives from carrying out the rite or the young lieutenant from attempting to see it. He arrived just as the all-night dance was beginning, and gives an impressive, if at times facetious, account of the beginning of it, though the natives insisted on his leaving when the women began to appear, hinting at the sexual licence already mentioned.[3]

[1] See p. 283. [2] See p. 433.

[3] Somerville, pp. 198-200. Next day he was more successful, and his description of the rites leading up to the main sacrifice make interesting reading when compared with my own account from Vao. The date, 1895, which is not stated in the book, was kindly communicated to me by the admiral's brother, Colonel Cameron F. Somerville of Drishane House, Skibbereen, County Cork.

Deacon gives a fuller account of a performance of *teur* that he witnessed at Lambumbu,[1] which contains many of the same elements as the Small Islands version. He also describes the performance of a dance called by this name during the rites for the erection of a new gong-orchestra in Lagalag,[2] by which it would appear that in this neighbourhood all circular dances, whatever their probable variation in detail, are known by this name.

Another short but vivid impression, this time from Matanavat on the north coast, evidently referring to the same dance, has been recorded by Harrisson, whom it equally impressed.[3]

NA-LENG: FIGURE-DANCES AND MUMMING PLAYS

On an entirely different plane from any of the processional or circular dances described above are the figure-dances called *na-leng*.

While the former stir the deepest emotions, and for this very reason the average European, though vaguely aware of the tremendous forces that are at work in them, and moved beyond words by the intense, almost ecstatic feelings they arouse, cannot hope ever really to understand them, the figure-dances express a much more conscious side of the natives' creative power, and are thus more easy for the white man to appreciate in their full formal beauty. They are, in fact, the supreme expression of the natives' conscious artistic sense, which is of a very high order.

They represent in miniature all those things which the Greeks classed under the heading of Drama. For the word *na-leng* includes:

(*a*) Mumming Plays of two kinds, namely
  (i) Tragedies dealing with mythological subjects;
  (ii) Comedies which are skits on everyday life.

(*b*) Formal Figure-Dances, consisting of a chorus acting in conjunction with players of individual rôles.

The main difference between these and the classical drama lies in the fact that, apart from the intermittent accompaniment of the gongs, the dramatic performances are carried through in dumb show, the imitative powers of the natives, in which they are past masters, taking the place of words.

Mumming plays and the figure-dances are both called *na-leng*, and both are distinguished from all other features of native culture by the fact that the actors and dancers wear ankle-rattles made of the seed-cases

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 363.

[2] Ibid., 4, pp. 513 ff., including a plan of the dancing-ground and the position of the dancers on p. 515.

[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 31.

of the *pangium edule* strung together on bands of soft plaited string. The note of these is softer than that of the Morris bells of England, since the comparative shrillness of the metal is absent, and when, as sometimes happens, as many as a hundred feet strike the ground together, the sound is at once voluminous and sweet.

The performances usually occur at dawn on the day of an important rite after the close of the preceding all-night dance. The occasions of which I have record on Vao are the morning of the day on which a new set of gongs is put up, and the morning of the Thirtieth Day after the main sacrifice both of Low and High Maki.[1]

They are probably performed on other occasions as well, for each *na-leng* has a special name, and a women's dance called *rokaik*,[2] connected with the killing of home-bred circle-tuskers and performed on the day of the chief sacrifice at High Maki, was said to be the same as the Atchin *na-leng wishewin*, or women's "*na-leng*."

Godefroy also records that "during the interminable Maki rites they perform a dance which takes them to *bakeran*," which means the sky, or "heaven" as he terms it.[3] This may be another *na-leng*, or may refer to one of the major Maki dances such as *Taure*.

On each occasion proceedings open with the performance of a series of mumming plays. These are performed in rotation by the members of the visiting villages, both from Vao and from the mainland and other Small Islands, who have already been taking part in the all-night dance. These may be either tragedies, that is to say plays based on mythological subjects though treated as a rule in a burlesque way, or else pantomimes representing everyday matters such as fishing or feeding fowls, or skits on recent events. The mythological origin of these mumming plays is shown by the fact that, in addition to the wearing of ankle-rattles, each actor either wears a mask (sure sign that he is a ghost), or else has his face covered by a veil consisting of strips of the white inner bark of certain trees tied on to a bamboo frame that rests on the head, on to the top of which is fastened a modelled or carved image of the man, fish, bird, or even inanimate object such as a boat, that he may for the time being represent. Thus clothed and disguised, the actors play their parts, always observing one rule, that they never remain still, but when supposed to be standing they must nevertheless dance, and when moving from one place to another must never walk or run, but must proceed with swift shuffling steps that cause their ankle-rattles to maintain a ceaseless musical clatter.

After the mumming plays are over, it is the turn of the home-people to perform a figure-dance. In this the main body of dancers is formed by the Maki-men themselves. They form, however, only the chorus. The parts of the individual star-dancers are taken by men of the introducing "line," the Maki-men's "fathers" or "sons."

[1] See p. 402. [2] See Song 5, p. 385. [3] See p. 214.

Series of dances on Atchin represents gradual initiation of Maki-men into the mysteries.

I did not myself see any of these performances on Vao, nor get any detailed accounts of them there, though I obtained some wooden images of fowls that had been worn on the head over their veils by the actors in one of the burlesque secular comedies that had been recently performed at the time of my visit.[1] I did, however, see some of the figure-dances on Atchin, and obtained also a general account of them as they occur in the Maki on that island, from which it appeared that, being performed at intervals of several years throughout the rite, they form a sequence illustrating the gradual initiation of the Maki-men into the mysteries of the rite.[2]

One of the characteristics of all these dances is that the Maki-men who constitute the main body of dancers and also the chorus are invariably formed into a square, ideally consisting of 100 men ranged in 10 lines of 10 men each. If, as often happens, there are not enough men the number may be reduced, as in cases I myself witnessed, in which the square consisted on one occasion of 49 men, formed of 7 lines of 7 men each, and on another of 5 lines of 5 men each, making a total of 25. The leader beats time on a portable bamboo slit gong. In the first figure-dance of the sequence the Maki-men go through a series of evolutions in which they represent small birds, symbolic of their as yet unfledged condition. There is a preparatory encircling movement, in which the whole body of dancers, one line following the other, break their square formation and form themselves into a spiral, finally re-forming into a square again at the other end of the ground. This is followed by a second preparatory movement, in which they again break their square and dance in single file in serpentine course from side to side of the ground with gestures representing swimming, as if they were crossing a sea-channel. After this they again form into a square, and the most spectacular phase of the dance begins. This again consists of two movements, in the first of which two men of the introducing "line" appear from outside the dancing-ground equipped with bows and arrows. These are called "bowmen," and they enact a complicated series of movements round and about the square representing a mock battle. Finally comes the most impressive scene of all. The bowmen retire, and in place of them comes a single dancer, also belonging to the introducing "line," with his body painted to represent the hawk. With arms outstretched as wings he dances in and around the square, threading his way backwards and forwards between the serried ranks of the Maki-men who form it. He then retires, making way for a yet more resplendent dancer, also be-

[1] See Layard, 1, Nos. 210, 211.

[2] The mumming plays show a similar tendency, but as the mythology referred to is peculiar to Atchin I will reserve publication of it for a future volume on that island.

longing to the introducing "line," and likewise painted to represent a hawk, and called "the hawk pouncing on its prey." This "hawk" again dances round and in and out among ranks of Maki-men, at first in a peaceful way as did the first. At a given moment, however, he adopts a threatening attitude. His body sways from side to side, his "wings" raised first one side and then the other, till, finally, he dances a short distance away from the square, and then, turning round, swoops down upon the mass of Maki-men representing small birds who cower and shuffle, breaking formation to gather in a frightened formless mass around the feet of the "hawk" who, with outstretched arms, stands in their midst surveying the carnage.

So ends the first dance of the series. This is followed after an interval of years by another, in which women take part but of which I did not obtain details. This is again followed, when the stone-platform is being roofed in preparation for High Maki, by another in which boys dress up as women and the whole dance symbolises sexual connexion. There is another on the actual day of sacrifice, in which women again take part, which is said to correspond to the Vao *rokaik*. On the Thirtieth Day after the sacrifice the first dance described is repeated, and on the Hundredth Day there is yet another in which the sacrificers' wives' brothers take part.

The first dance described is also repeated on the Thirtieth Day after initiation, when the candidates issue from their seclusion. I myself witnessed it on one such occasion, and a detailed account of this performance, with photographs and technical terms, will be given in a later volume on Initiation in Atchin.

Meaning of the Dances.

Similar dances are performed in all the other Small Islands, and there is no doubt that those performed on Vao follow approximately the same lines. There is no space in this volume to go fully into the question of what these dances mean. Some indication, however, can be gathered from a comparative study of other forms of the same dance as it is performed in other parts of Malekula. The most illuminating of these is the account given by Deacon of the performance in the Seniang district of South-West Bay, where what in the Small Islands is spread out in a series of dances with intervals of years between them is there confined within the scope of a single dramatic performance. Though Deacon was himself unable to suggest what this dance meant, a detailed examination in the light of the Small Islands performances and of other aspects of Malekulan culture makes it clear that this dance represents at one and the same time (*a*) a sacred marriage, (*b*) an initiation rite, and (*c*) the Journey of the Dead. Students of comparative religion will not be surprised at this combination, which is a common one found throughout the religions of the Ancient East. The most important element in it is the Journey of

the Dead, of which one feature has already been met with in my brief summary of the Atchin *na-leng*, namely the swimming movement representing the crossing of the channel into the land of the dead.

Sand-tracings and the Journey of the Dead.

The other, and much more important element from the point of view of comparative culture, is to be found in the pattern of the final movement of the dance, in which the Maki-men form a solid body arranged in rows and members of the introducing "line" thread their way through them. Members of the introducing "line" occupy in the Maki the position of those already fully initiated, and comparison with the version of the Journey of the Dead as recorded by Deacon from Seniang shows that this progression of initiates between the ranks formed by the Maki-men corresponds with the path followed by the dead man through a maze-like design drawn in the sand by the Guardian Ghost, a figure that the dead man must know how to complete before entering into the land of the dead through the cave by which she sits. If he does not know how to do this, the Guardian Ghost devours him. I have shown elsewhere how this maze-design represents the labyrinthine entrance to the tomb in the civilisations of the Ancient East, of which the existing Malekulan belief is a faint echo. Sand-tracings and figure-dances of *na-leng* type are thus both seen to be derived from labyrinths constructed to trap the ignorant and to prevent access to the land of the dead to all except those who, through the performance of due ritual and the resulting acquirement of the necessary knowledge, have earned the right to enter.[1] There is no space here to go into the details of this matter. A short summary, together with some of the sand-tracings, is given in Chapter XXV, and those interested in following it up further can refer to my article on *Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula.*[2]

This article points out the connexion of labyrinths with initiation in many parts of the world that have been influenced by the same megalithic civilisations that have given rise to the Maki in Malekula. One of the chief conclusions drawn in it is the dual nature of the megalithic stream that touched these shores, representing in all probability two separate migrations, having their origins in the ancient centres of civilisation. Of these the first was predominately matrilineal, bringing with it the belief in the home of the dead in a cave, together with the dolmen as chief sacrificial monument. The later was, on the other hand, predominately patrilineal and brought with it the belief in the home of the dead in a volcano, together with the stone-platform and the monolith. These two layers of culture have already been met with frequently throughout these

[1] Compare Mota *lenga*, used as a noun for "a woman's dance" and as a verb "to be indistinct, bewildering" (Codrington, 2).

[2] Layard, 6.

pages. The fresh information derived from a brief comparative study of the *na-leng* in the Northern New Hebrides is that it is to the earlier of these, namely that primarily connected with the cave and the dolmen, that this type of dance and the accompanying mumming plays belong. It is thus not surprising to find that in the Small Islands these dances are especially associated with the matrilineal island of Oba, in which the later form of graded society represented by the Malekulan Maki is absent. What is more significant still is the situation in South Raga. Here there is a class system of kinship based on matrilineal moieties on to which patrilineal descent groups have later been imposed. While in the regulation of kinship both lines of descent are given equal weight, in overt social organisation patrilineal descent predominates to the extent that residence is patrilocal, as it is in Vao. In the same way, there are in South Raga two elements in the public graded society, firstly the more overtly prominent and newer form of rite embodied in the Warsangul society, which corresponds to the Maki in Malekula, and secondly the less overt but more fundamentally important rite of Lo-sal, which will be referred to later [1] and which is based on the fulfilment of obligations due to the maternal ancestors. What is important to note here is that, of these two elements in South Raga, the figure-dance called *leng* (said to be danced in honour of tusked boars and which corresponds to the Small Islands *na-leng*) belongs, like *tairen* (Vao *taur*), to the older matrilineal rite in which the main sacrificial monument is the dolmen.

Examples from neighbouring districts. Prominence of the sex element.

Beyond mentioning their existence, Père Tattevin does not give any description of these dances in South Raga, and, apart from my own, the only descriptions I know are those given by Deacon from Seniang [2] and by Harrisson from Matanavat [3] on the north coast of Malekula and from the Big Nambas.[4] All these emphasise the sex element. It is said, both in Seniang and in Matanavat, that the beauty of the dances is so great and the grace of the dancers so alluring that women are tempted to leave their husbands for love of the youths who take part. This same element is also seen in the fact that the only such dance recorded from among the Big Nambas is one danced in honour of a chief's daughter at her marriage.

[1] See p. 721.

[2] Deacon, 4, pp. 469 ff. He mentions also (pp. 410-14) a Nalawan grade and dance called *Lelengva'al*, but the dance in this case appears to be a circular one round the gongs.

[3] Harrisson, 2, pp. 35-7. Of the dances in this district he says: "The chorus have thirty days' rigorous training. They are not allowed out of a small enclosure in which there is a special house; they are not allowed to see the sea or women; they may only eat certain oven-cooked foods." The connexion between the sea and women is interesting on account of a similar association in the dreams of modern Europeans and in legendary figures such as mermaids.

[4] Harrisson, 2, pp. 411, 413-14; also 1, pp. 113, 118-19.

Connexion between na-leng and artificial elongation of the head.

One further matter of comparative interest is worth mentioning also, namely that the type of beauty chiefly associated with those dances in Seniang is intimately connected with the practice of artificially elongating the head. This type of head-deformation, or head-beautifying as the natives see it, is restricted to the south and south-west of Malekula, and in Seniang only such youths as have finely elongated heads are allowed to take part.

Na-leng performances very flexible, both in form and in manner in which they are used.

I began this section on the *na-leng* by pointing out that the dances and plays called by this name represent what is perhaps the most conscious element in the whole complex of Malekulan culture. As such, they are also the most flexible, and in the case of burlesques of the secular variety new ones are constantly being invented. Indeed, it is of the essence of the secular plays that they *should* be new, or if, as often happens, a successful play is repeated, that new features should be added. The dances, being much more highly organised and involving a greater number of participants, have not yet emancipated themselves from the traditional initiation pattern to the same extent, but even they possess a much greater elasticity of form than the processional or circular dances, which change much more slowly. For the same reason, they are more movable also in a topographical sense, parties of performers vying with one another in showing off their new conceits, and so seizing every opportunity that offers to perform in other villages. Thus, while the organisation of the *na-leng* is still on a kinship basis, the ritual occasions on which they are performed are apt to be taken in a particularly light-hearted way. On the other hand, when the community is depressed they are often the first ritual element to be dropped out, the excuse of being "too lazy" to perform being one which is admitted in the case of a *na-leng*, but unthinkable in the case of the more fundamental aspects of the rite.

Dances of na-leng type from New Ireland.

It is therefore interesting to note that, in the only other part of the Western Pacific from which dances of *na-leng* type have been recorded, namely the Tanga group of islands off the east coast of New Ireland, these dances form part of a secret society initiation rite that has recently been introduced from the neighbouring mainland.[1] It is also perhaps not without significance that New Ireland, whence this society came, is not far from Arawi (Arue) on the coast of New Britain, which is the nearest point to Malekula where artificial elongation of the head is practised,

[1] Bell, pp. 311 ff.

and whence also Speiser derives the New Hebridean practice of artificially elongating the tusks of boars.[1]

Sociologically it is interesting to note that in Tanga, while residence is patrilocal, descent and inheritance are matrilineal, which supports the conclusion already arrived at, that dances of *na-leng* type belong to a matrilineal culture ante-dating, in Malekula, the introduction of patrilocal descent and residence and the existing form of Maki.

Canoe na-leng from Matanavat resembles similar dance recorded by Captain Cook from Tonga in 1776.

In concluding this section, I cannot refrain from comparing a brief account of a *na-leng* recently danced in Matanavat with one seen by Captain Cook in Tonga in the year 1776. Of Matanavat Harrisson writes:

"A beautiful dance symbolises the coming of a first canoe, the chorus moving forward with feathered and painted paddles to the nut-rattled rhythm from the bangles tied on their ankles, all the upper body moving in muscle as their feet strike forward like waves over the earth, while at the back the two steersmen work their big paddles as if in a storm." [2]

Captain Cook's account from Tonga runs:

"The chief entertained us, in his turn, with an exhibition, which, as was acknowledged by us all, was performed with a dexterity and exactness far surpassing the specimen we had given of our military manœuvres. It was a kind of dance, so entirely different from anything I had ever seen, that I fear I can give no description that will convey any tolerable idea of it to my readers. It was performed by men; and one hundred and five persons bore their parts in it. Each of them had in his hand an instrument neatly made, shaped somewhat like a paddle, of two feet and a half in length, with a small handle and a thin blade, so that they were very light. With these instruments they made many and various flourishes, each of which was accompanied with a different movement. At first the performers ranged themselves in three lines, and, by various evolutions, each man changed his station in such a manner that those who had been in the rear came into the front. Nor did they remain long in the same position. At one time they extended themselves in one line, they then formed into a semicircle, and lastly into two square columns. While this last movement was executing, one of them advanced and performed an antic dance before me, with which the whole ended.

"The musical instruments consisted of two drums, or rather two

[1] See p. 267.

[2] Harrisson, 2, p. 35. In this *na-leng* the dancers have apparently combined the mythological motive of crossing the water, seen in the Atchin dance, with a historical drama.

hollow logs of wood, from which some varied notes were produced by beating on them with two sticks. It did not, however, appear to me that the dancers were much assisted by these sounds, but by a chorus of vocal music, in which all the performers joined at the same time. Their song was not destitute of pleasing melody, and all their corresponding motions were executed with so much skill, that the numerous body of dancers seemed to act as if they were one great machine. It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance would have met with universal applause on an European theatre, and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them, that they seemed to pique themselves on the superiority they had over us." [1]

Tongan and Malekulan settings compared.

This account is interesting for its close similarity with the Malekulan performances. The hundred and five performers undoubtedly represent a chorus of one hundred, which, it will be remembered, is the ideal number in the Small Islands, with five other dancers taking individual rôles. The chorus forms into squares, and the same instrument accompanies the dance as that used in the Small Islands *na-leng*, namely the small horizontal slit gong. The manner in which the Tongan dance was performed, as a theatrical performance pure and simple, also agrees with the flexible nature of the *na-leng* on Malekula.

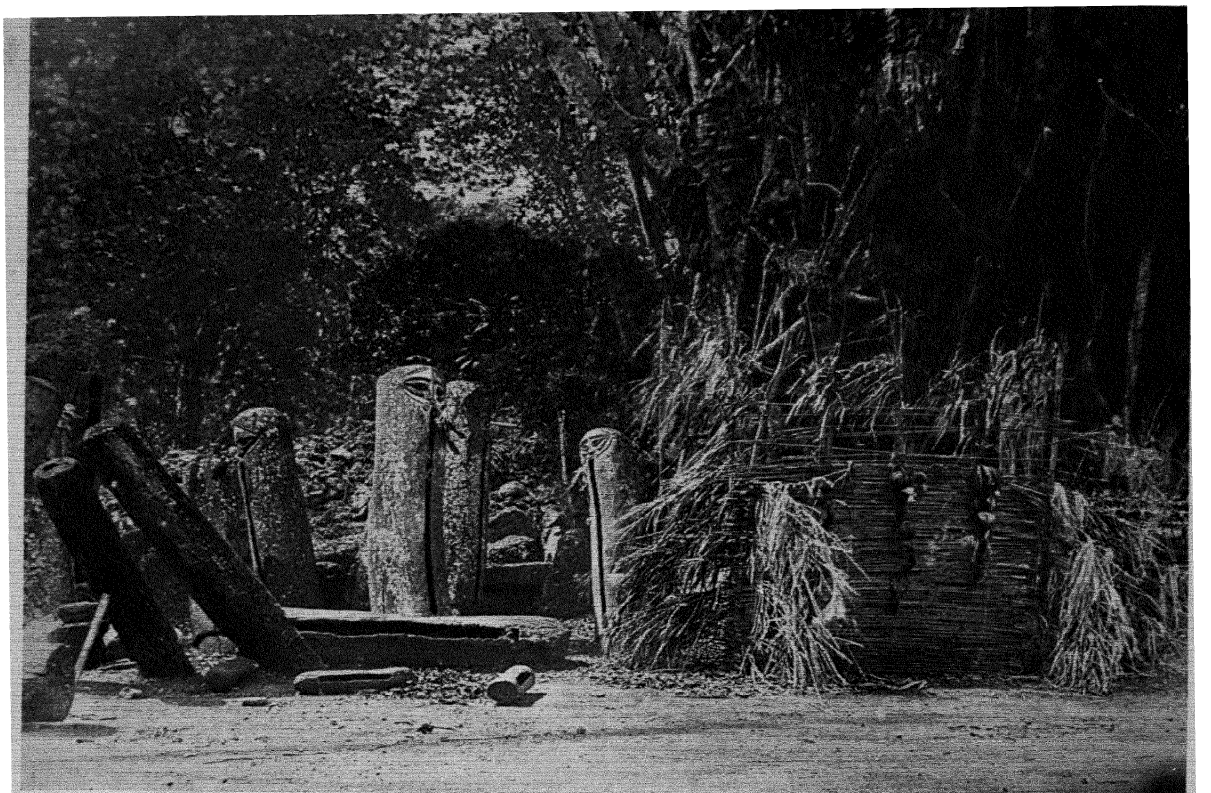
Polynesian elements in the New Hebrides probably due to passage of Polynesians on their migration eastward.

The comparison just drawn raises anew the question of the nature of Polynesian influence in the New Hebrides. It is sometimes thought that such traces as are found are due to chance voyages back westward from Polynesia in comparatively recent times. Such movements have undoubtedly taken place, though whether by design or owing to contrary winds is not known. Both may have contributed. But the fundamental connexion of the *na-leng*, not with the newer, but with the older forms of public graded society ritual in Malekula, point rather to the fact that some elements of Polynesian culture at least reached Polynesia by way of the New Hebrides.

If this is the case, it reinforces the impression gained from the evidence of the extensive stone constructions in such places as Gaua [2] and Malo that there existed in these islands at one time a culture considerably more highly developed than any of those found there now, and that this had much in common with certain aspects of Polynesian culture as it existed when the white men first found it.

[1] Cook, pp. 265-6.

[2] See Codrington, 3, Frontispiece, and Harrisson, 2, Plate facing p. 322, which figures the only stone statue carved in the round that has been recorded in the islands.



Gong-orchestra at Togh-vanu. Note the old prostrate gong on which the leader of the orchestra sits while playing the mother-gong. In front lie two portable gonglets. The screen on the right encloses the most recently erected dolmen

CHAPTER XIII

GONG-RAISING

ERECTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE GONGS

THE last few chapters have dealt in broad lines with the general principles and recurrent features of the Maki, so that in the description which now follows of this fifteen to twenty years' rite these can be referred to quite briefly and will not unnecessarily obscure with too much detail the chronological sequence of events.

Gong-Raising an essential part of the Maki on Vao.

As has already been pointed out, the erection of a new set of gongs is in many parts of Malekula carried out at any time, and is not necessarily connected with the performances of the public graded society. In the Small Islands, however, where the Maki is organised on communal lines, the two rites are very closely connected, and on Vao the connexion is so intimate that Gong-Raising has become an integral part of the Maki. Thus, when beginning his account of Maki ritual, my informant started without further comment to give a description of the Gong-Raising rites. Further enquiry confirmed the correctness of the assumption underlying this attitude, for it appeared that in this island Gong-Raising cannot take place apart from the Maki, that it is an essential preliminary to each new performance of it, and that once a new set of gongs has been set up and the Gong-Raising rites have been performed, it is necessary that no further delay should arise in the prosecution of Low Maki.

Once thus set up and followed by Low Maki, the same set of gongs should by rights last throughout High Maki as well, but if so long an interval has elapsed between the end of Low Maki and the collecting of sufficient pigs and yams to start High Maki that the gongs show danger of rotting away before the complete double rite has been completed, then a new set may be made for High Maki, in which case the whole of the ritual accompanying the erection and consecration of the first set must be gone through again.

Gongs "owned" by chief Maki-men. New gongs therefore essential for each new performance.

The same set may never, however, be used for two performances of the double rite, for the gongs so erected are the property of that "line" of

Maki-men that is performing the rite, and more particularly of the chief sacrificers of this "line" whose boars will be slain on the stone-platform. In accordance with the general principles governing the Maki, the members of this "line" will not themselves do any of the work connected with the making, transport or erection of the gongs. This work will be accomplished by the members of the introducing "line" in the home-villages, assisted at times by members of the other Vao villages, the part played by the Maki-men being confined to providing all the pigs and other food for the accompanying feasts, and dancing and singing songs from the appropriate song-and-dance cycles for the encouragement and pleasure of the workers, and for their own honour and glory.

Composition of gong-orchestra on Vao. Names of the gongs.

Before giving an account of the rites it is necessary to add to the general description given on pp. 311-12 a more detailed description of them as they are arranged and constructed on Vao. The general word for gong on this island is *na-mbe*, and the gong-orchestra consists of—

(*a*) *Upright gongs*, with human face carved above the slit and beaten with a single stick:
- (i) The mother-gong, called *tinan*, meaning simply "mother." This is the largest.
- (ii) A slightly smaller upright gong, called *tarine*.
- (iii) Another slightly smaller one called *gheluvghe*.
- (iv) If a sufficient number of men are available to work and pigs to be killed, a fourth kind of upright gong is set up, called *pětŭr*. It is considered to be of the same calibre as the *tarine*. [This may be an innovation from Atchin, as one of the Atchin upright gongs is called *pwetur*.]

(*b*) *Horizontal gongs*, uncarved, and beaten with two sticks:
- (i) A large horizontal gong called *ru-rurghen*.
- (ii) A number of small portable horizontal gonglets called *sarune*.

In all cases, the sticks for beating the gongs are called *masan*.

Construction of upright slit gong.

Each upright gong is made out of the trunk of a large forest tree, usually of the kind called *mes-mes*.[1] Each of the larger gongs has on its upper end a pierced projection, called *pilön*, meaning "bald," through which a rope is passed when it is dragged to the shore of the mainland, where it has been felled, and later from the Vao beach to the dancing-ground where it is to be set up. On the lower end is an undercut projection, called *laghen*, which, when the gong is set up, is inserted into the ground. The gong is hollowed out by experts (see p. 355), by means of

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 38, says that gongs may also be made of trees which he calls "tamanou," "faux teck" (false teak) and "cohu," called by the natives *na-tor*(*a*).

shell adzes [1] through a narrow slit called *piriov* [2] running longitudinally down the face of the gong and equal in length to the circumference of the gong. Either right or left lip of this slit is thick, and the other thin, and it is on the thin edge that the gong is struck. Hence the thick edge is called *vivi mbut*, the "dumb" lip, and the thin one is called *vivi tang*, the "crying" lip. The solid part between the top of the slit and the top of the gong is called *pet vatu*, "head of the stone," and it is on this that the human face (*n'aghon*) representing the ancestors is carved.

I will make no attempt to describe the carving of the face, which can

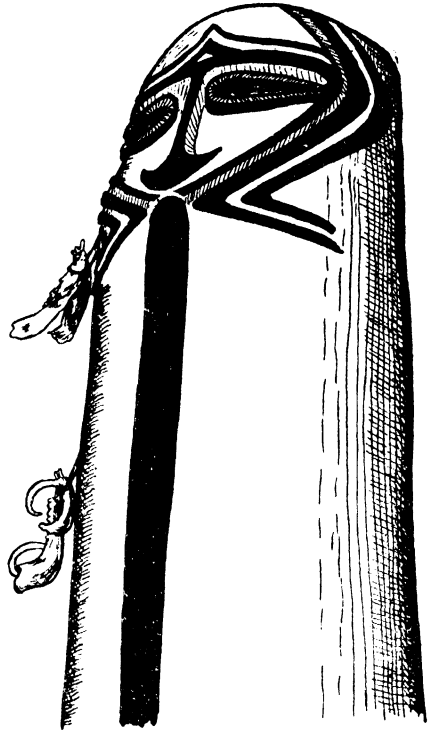


FIG. 47

Upper part of a gong in the dancing-ground of Venu on the Inferior Side of Vao. Note the very different style of carving from that of the mother-gong at Pete-hul. Jaws of two tusked boars sacrificed at its consecration are attached to the gong by strings.

be examined in the accompanying illustration. The nose is in all cases long and narrow, and the cheek-bones clearly defined. It is worth noticing the eyes, which have a curiously Mongolian or Micronesian look, except in one case, that of the mother-gong at Pete-hul, where, as in the case of

[1] Nowadays iron tools are used.

[2] This word is primarily applied to the creeper by means of which the expert magician measures its length before it is cut (see p. 354).

the wooden images, they are round. In all cases the place of the mouth is occupied by the top of the slit, since it is by means of this slit that the sound representing the voice of the ancestors is made. The nostrils and eyes are pierced, and it is to the holes so made, as well as to the pierced projection usually left on the top of the gong, that the jaws of the boars sacrificed in honour of the gongs are hung.

THE RITES

Rites connected with the Felling and Transportation of the Log

Since no trees of sufficient size grow on the island, these must be sought on the mainland, and the future owners' first act is to select the trees and to agree on a suitable price with the owners of the land.

Once this has been done, proceedings are in the hands only of the Maki-men and of their introducing "line."

Weeding the dancing-ground.

The first thing to be done, as for all major rites, is the weeding and general tidying up of the dancing-ground. This, like all such work, is done by the members of the introducing "line." Unless the dancing-ground has got badly out of hand the work is not heavy, and is done largely by the older men, not excluding the "maker of the Maki" himself, whose particular pride it is that this half-sacred ground, where he himself spends so much of his time sitting about, should be in good order. The fact that this initial work is about to take place is announced to all the villages on the island by messengers, who take with them gifts of what I have called "message-yams," single yams of fine quality to each of which a croton leaf has been tied as indication of their ambassadorial nature.[1] These are duly delivered in the dancing-ground of each village in the prescribed order, beginning with that furthest away from the home-village.

In addition to this, the members of each village are presented with a pig, and also a fowl which is a sign of peace. These are to be killed and eaten, and the resulting feast is of the kind called *masean*, which (in contrast to *tamean*, which is a feast given in return for work done) is a pure gift, demanding no labour and no return.[2]

[1] For a general account of this and of all ritual distributions of yams see pp. 301 ff.

[2] This *masean* feast is in the nature of an opening ceremony, the purpose of which is to usher in the whole series of rites. Most other feasts are of the type called *tamean*. Just as the word *masean* is used for a feast for which no return is expected, so the word *ma-masean* (Atchin *matsing*) is used for work which a man does for his own sake, such as gardening and so on, as opposed to what Godefroy refers to as "forced labour" done for others (Godefroy, 1934, p. 210; see p. 535). Compare also Mota *mategae*, "a gift" (Codrington, 2, and Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 66).

Burning the trees which are to be made into the gongs.

In giving this account, my informant had in mind a Gong-Raising rite of the finest order, in which four different kinds of upright slit gong are erected. The four trees of the kind called *mes-mes* suitable for gongs having been selected, the next stage in the proceedings is for the Maki-men and members of the introducing "line" to go over to the mainland and to kill them by setting them alight.[1] For this purpose, the men of the introducing "line" pile faggots round their bases, but do not set fire to them. For this important act it is necessary to procure the services of an expert magician called *mara man* [2] (who may, so far as I know, belong to any "line") who, while setting them alight, sings to himself a secret song to chase away ghosts. On returning to the Small Island, a pig is sacrificed and the sacrificial signal (*asaren*, from the verb *asar*) is sounded on the old gongs. Magicians never work for nothing, and this one is undoubtedly paid, but I have no record in this case as to what number or grade of pig he receives. The day's proceedings end with a feast of the kind called *tamean*, provided for the men of the introducing "line" in reward for their labours and held in the *ghamal*, shared also by the Maki-men who are their hosts and whose wives have spent the day preparing it.

Year's interval, while trees dry.

The burning of the trees is followed by a year's interval, to let the sap that can no longer rise die down and the still standing trunks dry off.

Felling the trees.

When the year has elapsed, the first really hard work takes place, when all the men of the home-village go over to the mainland, and those belonging to the introducing "line" cut down the trees. This will probably be done on different days for each tree, and it will be remembered that before the arrival of the white man the work had to be done with stone tools. The scene is, however, very far from being one of pure drudgery, for while the members of the introducing "line" work, the Maki-men sing and dance round them the circular *Gong-Raising* dance, making the forest ring with their harmonious high-pitched voices interspersed with shouts.[3]

As this is but the beginning of the work of preparing the logs, no pig

[1] The proceedings for the manufacture of gongs is very similar to that for the manufacture of canoes, both being made from the trunks of forest trees, but in this respect they differ, since trees for canoes are not burnt.

[2] *Mara* = man, and *man* = magic.

[3] It will be noted, by referring to the account of the *Gong-Raising* dance given on p. 326, that the relative positions of workers and Maki-men are the same as those of the introducers and Maki-men during the all-night dance. The tree trunk, though still standing, is thus regarded as though it were a gong, and is in fact already referred to at this stage as *na-mbe*, "gong."

is sacrificed on this day, nor is there any distribution of message-yams, but on their return home the workers are rewarded with a *tamean* feast held in the *ghamal*, in which, as always, the Maki-men also take part.

Trimming the felled tree trunks.

The next operation is the removal of the branches and trimming the outside of the felled trunks. This work is undertaken on successive days by men of each of the Vao villages in the prescribed order. While they are working, the men of the home-village, both Maki-men and members of the introducing "line," dance and sing *Gong-Raising* around them. Each day, when the work is over, while still on the mainland, the Maki-men lay out for the workers yams, coconuts and ripe bananas in a manner called *ra tu-tahu na-ram*, "we reward (them with) yams," and in addition kill a number of pigs for them, the number depending on how many workers there have been.

All this food is then brought back to the Small Island and taken by the workers to their own village, where it is eaten in a feast of the *tamean* variety. If the number of pigs is too great to be consumed by the workers, the superfluous flesh is sent as a present to other villages.

The pigs that were killed on the mainland were for food only, and therefore there is no sacrificial signal sounded for them. On returning to the Small Island, however, the Maki-men give the workers another pig, which they take to their own dancing-ground and there sacrifice, and for this sacrifice the workers sound the sacrificial signal ten times on their own gongs.[1]

Shaping the ends (ra lĭghor).

The next stage in the work is shaping the ends of the trunks, which by the trimming have now become transformed into thick logs. This work consists in carving, on what is to be the upper end of the gong, the pierced projection called *pilön* by means of which it is later to be dragged down to the shore, and undercutting what is to be its base for insertion into the ground. This work, not needing so many hands and being of a more skilled nature than the general trimming, does not call for the co-operation of other villages, and is carried out by members of the introducing "line" only, that is to say, the Maki-men's "fathers and sons." The day on which this work is done is called *ra lĭghor*, of which the verb *lĭghor* is usually used for "making fast a canoe," and presumably refers to the pierced projection by means of which the logs are later to be hauled. While the men of the introducing "line" do the work, the Maki-men dance *Gong-Raising* round them, and on returning home a *tamean* feast is provided in which workers and Maki-men both take part.

[1] The use of the number ten here is obscure, unless it refers to the Atchin type of Maki, in which the workers are divided into ten groups.

Attaching the rope for hauling.

When the logs have all thus been properly shaped on the outside, a day is appointed, without dance or feast, when a strong creeper of a kind called *pembe* is cut and attached to the pierced projection on the head of each log, to act as a rope. Creepers of this kind grow to a great length, frequently stretching from the tops of high trees right down into the ravine below. They are very strong, and have red sap.

Logs hauled down to coast.

A day is now appointed for the heavy work of removing the logs from the mainland where they have been felled to the Small Island. For this, parties of men from all the Vao villages, and even from other islands, assemble at the spot and assist in dragging them down to the sea. Here, on the mainland beach facing Vao, attached-yams (*ghoal*) together with bananas and all kinds of food have been collected by the men of the home-village and arranged in heaps for the workers. Each party of workers from a given village or section of a village has one such heap, the size of which depends partly on that particular group's numerical strength, but also on the amount of energy its members have put into the work and also on their own reputation as active promoters of social festivities. Thus, any village whose members have recently performed a number of Maki rites in quick succession and are constantly making feasts of all kinds and have thus earned the admiration and gratitude, as well as envy, of the community will receive large presents of yams and other produce; on the other hand, indolent groups who do not add to the interest of life by the performance of any but the barest minimum of rites will be given only a modicum of yams. Numerous pigs are killed and added to the heaps to swell the feast. These are called *ghen-ghenian*, which is the nominal form of the verb *ghani*, "to eat," indicating that these animals are for consumption only, without previous sacrifice. In addition to these, a special live pig is presented to the members of the introducing "line." This pig is called *ghirire*, a word of which I do not know the meaning, though it would appear probable that the act is a kind of complimentary payment to the members of this "line" for the right of transporting the logs. The pig thus given may be either kept alive or sacrificed. If the latter, then the sacrificial signal must be sounded for it on the gongs.

Logs ferried over to Vao.

Their part in the day's work being done, the workers and guests from other villages and islands depart with their spoils.

The less arduous and more intimate work of ferrying the logs over to the Small Island is reserved for the members of the introducing "line"

of the home-village only. As soon as the guests have departed, the members of this "line" make the logs fast between two canoes and, when the tide sets fair, paddle them over to the Small Island. As has already been pointed out, each village has its own beach. When the Gong-Raising rite is being performed at Pete-hul it is therefore to the long beach called Kowu facing the mainland that the paddlers steer their way. The Maki-men have already crossed over by themselves, and, as the logs approach the shore, they welcome their arrival by dancing and singing songs of the *Gong-Raising* and *Na-rel* cycles on the beach. As the logs, which are already referred to as "gongs," touch the shore, the chief owner of each one sacrifices a pig. This act of sacrifice is called *ra sale ghini ghowov te*, "we remove the salt-water from it (them)," and is intended, as the name implies, to purify the gongs from their contact with the sea.[1] Such, at least, was my informant's explanation, but it would appear that it is possibly the owner himself who is thus purified, for it was further stated that while if all four gongs are owned by different men four pigs are sacrificed, if they all belong to one man only a single pig will be killed. Another curious thing about this sacrifice is that, for some reason unknown to me, no sacrificial signal is sounded for it.

The logs are now left for a considerable time to dry, high up on the beach out of reach of the tide.

Yam-table erected in dancing-ground. "Counters" for yams.

The next item of the procedure is the erection of a yam-table (called *kal-kal*) in the dancing-ground. This, being a small affair, is done by the men of the introducing "line" only, without help from outside. The bamboos for its construction have to be cut on the mainland, and on the day that these are transported to the Small Island and brought up to the dancing-ground the workers are rewarded with a feast of the *tamean* variety, in which the Maki-men, as usual, join.

On the day on which the yam-table is erected there is a special *tamean* feast. Early in the morning, before it is put up, special puddings (*na-longk*) are made and placed in earth-ovens in the Maki-men's own dwelling-houses. In the evening, after the yam-table has been erected, these puddings are taken out of the ovens, and one pudding is sent to each Quarter-Lodge in the double-village, since the two villages in this case act in concert. These are eaten by the members of each Lodge in their own Lodge-building, and after the eating is over, all the men of both villages gather together in the *ghamal* of the village in which the gongs are to be set up to discuss the provision of yams for the big feast connected with the setting-up of the gongs. To ensure the success of all such feasts it is necessary for each man to make himself responsible for

[1] A similar rite is performed when the dug-out hull for a sea-going canoe, felled on the mainland, first touches the shore of Vao (see p. 465).

the provision of a certain number of yams, and for this purpose "counters" are made by tearing up leaves of the *ro-sigh* (dracaena) into little strips called *na-mbet*. The two types of yam for which counters are thus distributed are "lone-yams" and "attached-yams." The first distribution that is made concerns the provision of "lone-yams," each man receiving one counter for each hundred yams that he agrees to provide. When promises have thus been given for the requisite number, which may be as many as one, two, or even five thousand, of lone-yams, fresh counters are distributed for attached-yams. For these, being larger, one counter is given for the promise of every ten, and these are distributed and argued over till the required number is guaranteed. The main burden of providing these yams falls naturally on the men of the home-village, whose interest is primarily at stake; on the men of the other twin-village only such as have special wealth or for some special reason are particularly interested will incur the responsibility.

The yams thus promised are collected during the ensuing days. The lone-yams are placed on the yam-table, each man putting his in one line, and the poles to which the attached-yams are tied are leant up against specially erected structures called *ghe-val-val*, composed of a pole laid horizontally on two upright forked stakes.

Logs brought to dancing-ground.

When all the arrangements have been completed, a day is appointed for hauling the logs from the beach up to the dancing-ground. Parties from all the Vao villages and from the neighbouring islands assist in the work. When the logs have been hauled up, attached-yams, lone-yams, bananas, coconuts, puddings and other food-stuffs are placed in heaps in the dancing-ground, and pigs to be eaten by the workers are killed in numbers according with the numerical strength and activity of the various groups. With these, the guests depart, no sacrificial signal being sounded on the gongs for the pigs that had been killed, since these were only for food in the ensuing *tamean* feast.

After the departure of the visitors a single pig is sacrificed by the Maki-men and given to the members of the introducing "line." This pig is called *ghirire*, and corresponds to that given to the members of this "line" after the logs had been dragged down to the mainland shore, and so probably represents a kind of payment for the right of having dragged them to the dancing-ground. For it, the sacrificial signal is sounded on the gongs.

Logs hauled into ghamal.

Just as, during the transport of the logs from the mainland, members of other villages assist in the main work of dragging them down to the mainland beach but the members of the home-village alone ferry them

over to the Small Island, so now, after being assisted by them in hauling the logs up to the dancing-ground, the men of the home-village alone (presumably those of the introducing "line") drag them up, towards the end of the day, into the *ghamal* where the work of hollowing them out takes place.

Rites accompanying the Construction of the Gongs

Behak. Expert marks position for the slit.

Once safely lodged in the *ghamal*, a day is appointed, five or six days ahead, for a rite called *behak*, when an expert magician [1] marks out on each log the exact length and position of the slit through which it is to be hollowed out, and which, when finished, will form the two "lips" of the gong.

On this day the owners of the future gongs cut down branches of the nettle-plant called *ro-kalat* and place them under both ends of each log. This is to facilitate the hollowing out of the gongs, as, the wood of the nettle being very soft, it will sympathetically affect the wood of the gongs; if the logs were to rest on hardwood props they would be correspondingly hard to cut.

This having been done, the expert comes to mark on them the position of the slit. For this purpose he brings with him a pliable creeper of a kind called *piriov*, from which the slit takes its name, and with it measures the circumference of the trunk. Having cut down the creeper so that the two ends meet exactly round the log, he then takes it away and places it alongside a stick of native sugar-cane (*na-töv*), which he also cuts so as to be equal in length to the creeper. Then he places both creeper and sugar-cane longitudinally along the surface of the log, and at either end of them lays transversely a twig of scented herb (*hokuri*) of a special kind called *tena ker-keriel*. Then he takes a shell adze of the kind called *tele*,[2] and with it delivers a succession of blows on the whole length of the sugar-cane, the expelled juice of which leaves a mark on the surface of the log. Finally, removing the sugar-cane and creeper, he chips along this mark with his adze just sufficiently to indicate the position of the slit to those who are going to hollow out the trunk.

While performing these acts, the magician sings special incantations in a low voice so that those watching him may not hear.

I was told that the creeper has no magical properties, being used only for convenience, but that both sugar-cane and herb are invested with magical import (*ne-man*). One special property of the native sugar-cane is its red colour.

[1] Called *mara man* (see p. 349).

[2] Connected with the Atchin *tel-teli*, meaning "hard." Atchin has *tala* and *til-til* for the two chief kinds of shell adze (see Layard, 1, Nos. 94-96, 103, 105, 276).

The practical result of the performance, probably based on an acoustic principle that is beyond the range of my own knowledge, is that the length of the slit is made equal to the exterior circumference of the gong.

A fowl is killed and given, together with a live pig, as payment to the magician, and tidings are sent round to all the Vao villages announcing what has been done, the messengers taking with them to each village a message-yam decorated with croton leaves together with a single killed pig for which, being for food only, no sacrificial signal is sounded. This pig is called *masoamp*, a word of which I did not enquire the exact meaning, but is probably compounded from *mas*, meaning "provisions," and *oamp*, which, when applied in the form of *tamat-oamp* to the ghosts of men slain in battle, indicates absence of mortuary rites, in this case represented by the absence of the sacrificial signal. This pig is probably made the occasion of a *masean* feast, being one for which the recipients have not previously worked.

Skilled gong-makers hollow out the gongs, which are surrounded by a screen.

Skilled workers are now called for to assist in hollowing out the gongs. I will call them the gong-makers. These may be taken from any village and from either "line." Usually those who have previously worked at successful gongs are chosen.

A screen, called *na-lit*, is built inside the *ghamal*, and no one may enter it except those who are working on the gongs. Once the work has been started it must not be discontinued from sunrise to sundown, and to maintain this standard the workers are organised into shifts. When any one shift gets tired the workers composing it come out from behind the screen into the *ghamal* while the next shift takes up the uninterrupted work. While resting, the gong-makers are supplied with magnificent puddings. Not until nightfall may the work cease, and it must be resumed again before sunrise on the following morning. From the time the work is begun until the gongs are finished none of the workers may leave the *ghamal*, except only to relieve nature.

Restrictions imposed during hollowing out.

During this time no person of the home-village, man or woman, may have any sexual connexion, nor may they step over the buttress root of a *gha-tambol* tree, nor drink water, nor may they eat fish, nor the fruit of the *tawò* tree, nor anything that is roasted on stones. If yams are to be roasted the greatest care must be taken that there are no stones in the place where the fire is made. At the beginning of this period the list of these restrictions is publicly announced by the magician. All those subject to them are said to be *vel-val*, a word meaning "sacred" or "taboo." [1]

[1] See p. 400.

These restrictions apply primarily to the Maki-men and their wives, on whom they are absolutely binding. Their application to other members of the village is not quite so stringent; if one of these, however, were to break, say, the rule against sexual intercourse, he would be careful not to handle any of the food that is to be taken to the workers. The restrictions do not apply to the married daughters of the Maki-men, living as they do in another village, but if one of these has sexual intercourse with her husband at this time she may not come into the home-village.

The gong-makers themselves are not subject to any of the restrictions on food, though the restrictions on walking and on sexual intercourse are implied in their confinement within the precincts of the *ghamal.*

Expert "puts the voice into the gongs"; expert and gong-makers sound them, and others inspect.

From time to time the expert pays a visit to the *ghamal* to see how the gongs are progressing and to instruct the workers.

When he sees that the work is finished,[1] he appoints a day, about three days ahead, when he will come and "put the voice [2] into the gongs." The restrictions on the villagers continue to be imposed until this is performed. The gong-makers also remain in the *ghamal* till, on the day before the ceremony, they make ready for it by going down to the sea to seek a hole [3] in the reef on to which the waves break with a resonating sound. As the water splashes up from this hole they catch the spray in bamboos and conch shells, saying that they are catching the voice of the hole, and carry it back to the *ghamal.*

Next day the expert comes and goes alone behind the screen and, singing softly over the spray, pours it, and with it the voice of the resounding waves, into the gongs. Then he sounds the gongs in turn, giving four [4] strong strokes to each, so that everyone hears the sound and knows that the new gongs are finished.

Then all the gong-makers enter the screen, pay the expert with money-mats, penis-sheaths and other articles, and then sound the gongs again. Finally, the general public is admitted to inspect the gongs, though they are not permitted to sound them.

Velal danced in rotation.

The gongs being now ready, the festivities leading up to their erection and subsequent consecration begin by the members of the introducing "line," followed by those of all the Vao villages, coming in prescribed rotation at intervals of several days to perform the preliminary circular

[1] I have no record of who carves the faces on the gongs. This work is presumably done by the expert himself.

[2] *halaghan.* [3] *herum.*

[4] Four is the number most frequently used in magic; see p. 644.

dance called *Velal*. This is in preparation for the *Gong-Raising* dance to be performed later.

The first night is regarded as a night of practice, all the performers sitting down, the male members of the introducing "line" in the middle, the Maki-men in a circle outside them, and the women in a ring outside these. Sitting thus, they practise the songs proper to the *Velal* song-and-dance cycle. On later occasions, when the guests come from other villages, it appears that the members of the visiting party, both men and women, still sit, but that the Maki-men dance round with torches. Whether this is confined to the early stages, or whether it is continued throughout, I do not know. It is probable that it is, and that in the later stages all present dance. Whether danced or not, however, these performances do not last all night, but, beginning at sundown, continue for a few hours, after which the visiting party retires with presents of lone-yams, attached-yams and a single live pig.

On intervening nights home-people dance Banana-Leaves.

On the intervening nights, when *Velal* is not danced, the members of the home-village alone perform the processional dance called *Banana-Leaves* that has been described above.

Date of erection announced.

On the last night of the performance of *Velal*, when the visiting party is that belonging to the most distant village (which, when Pete-hul is performing the rite, is Singon), the leading man announces that the erection of the new set of gongs will take place on the tenth day ahead. During the intervening nine days there is no official dancing, but everyone is very happy, and while bringing extra food-stuffs for distribution and making all the necessary arrangements for the occasion the young men are continually singing.

The Gongs are Set Up

On the day appointed for their erection men from all the Vao villages and from the neighbouring islands assemble, and the first act is for them all to assist in dragging the gongs out from the *ghamal* where they have been hollowed out into the dancing-ground where they are to be set up. The first to be hauled out is the mother-gong, the others following in order of size, the smallest coming out last. There is an opening in the stone wall between the *ghamal* and the dancing-ground which is called *mata hal*, "road's eye,"[1]

[1] This is a common expression for "entrance" in Malekula. In Atchin the same expression, dialectically pronounced *meten sel*, is used to describe the break in the wall leading from the village street into a man's private dwelling-enclosure. In Seniang *meten* (or *matan*) *hal* is used for the spot where the main path through the bush enters the village (Layard, 2, p. 207, and Deacon, 4, p. 25). Compare also Mota *matesala*, "road, path" (Codrington, 2).

and as each gong passes through this a pig is sacrificed, this pig being called *laghau*, meaning "to cross over."

The gong is then dragged straight to its allotted place in the middle of the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, where its base is laid close to the hole prepared for it. Here a kind of preliminary consecration rite takes place in that a live pig is thrown into the hole, whereon the gong is immediately raised and set up, crushing the pig to death beneath its weight.

Gongs sounded by experts, followed by owners and representatives of each village.

When all the gongs have thus been set up, the expert sounds the mother-gong and then hands over the beating-stick to its owner, who pays for the stick with a small pig and himself sounds the gong with it. Having done this, the owner then hands on the stick to a representative of the first visiting village, who in turn pays him a small pig and then sounds the gong. This man in turn hands on the stick till a member of each visiting village has sounded the gong, each one paying a small pig to the last beater for the use of the stick.

Message-yams are then laid out, one for each party of guests, and for each of these also a pig is killed which they will take home and eat. The guests then retire.

Presentation-pigs "circled" for.

The events described above all take place in the morning. During the afternoon the gong-owners' relatives-by-marriage bring presentation-pigs, for which consideration-pigs have already been given, and "circle" for them in the manner already described.

All-night Gong-Raising dance followed at dawn by Na-leng mumming plays and figure-dances.

By the time all these presentations have been effected the day is beginning to draw in, and now at last the new gong-orchestra is given its first try-out when, at nightfall, the whole adult population of Vao, as well as parties from other islands, reassemble for the all-night performance of the *Gong-Raising* dance in preparation for the consecration rite which takes place on the following day. During the early hours of the dance those who have received pigs during the afternoon's proceedings walk about presenting bananas, money-mats and other gifts to the donors. The dance continues all night, and at dawn picked members of each village in turn perform mumming plays called *na-leng*, and the Maki-men follow by performing a *na-leng* figure-dance.

By the time the *na-leng* are all over it is broad daylight. Then the lone-yams, which were laid in hundreds on the yam-table, are taken down and placed, together with attached-yams and other food-stuffs, in large

heaps on the ground, one heap for each visiting village. Pigs are then killed, one for each village, and placed on the heaps, but, being for food only, receive no sacrificial signal on the gongs.

Consecration of the Gongs through Sacrifice of Tusked Boars

All is now ready for the final act of consecrating the gongs. Before the assembled multitude the tusked boars that are to be sacrificed are tied by their owners to long ropes, one end of which is passed through the holes in the eyes of the human faces carved on each gong. I have no record of the number of these tuskers, but Godefroy mentions fifty pigs and as many cocks.[1] These are then sacrificed and placed beside the yam-heaps made ready for the visitors.

The expert is then rewarded with the gift of a live re-entrant-tusker, and the gong-makers receive each a live pig up to the value of a curved-tusker. The guests who have been up dancing all night retire with their dead pigs and yams.

After they have gone the completed sacrifice is announced by the sounding of the sacrificial signal on the gongs. Each sacrificed animal must be separately signalled, and my informant told me that the number of these is sometimes so great that the sounding of them lasts most of the day.

Now that the gongs have been erected and duly consecrated, it is open to any man who likes to come and test their quality, and during the next few days the men of the home-village as well as those from other villages take full advantage of this right.

The jaw-bones of the sacrificed tuskers are subsequently returned by those who took them away, and are displayed publicly by being hung on to the gongs by means of ropes tied either to the pierced projection on the top of the gong or, in the case of the smaller gongs, to the hole pierced through the nostril of the face carved on it or through that joining the eyes.[2]

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 58. He also says "hens," but this is unlikely.

[2] On Atchin the return of the jaw-bones always takes place on the fifth day after the sacrifice, but on Vao, according to my informant, there is no fixed date.

SUMMARY OF GONG

	Page	Time interval from previous rite	Ritual Act	Workers and Dancers
Construction	348		Trees selected	
	348	Weeks	Weeding dancing-ground	Int. " line "[1]
	349	Weeks	Burning trees	Int. " line "
	349	1 Year	Interval while trees die	
	349		Felling the trees	All villages
	350	Weeks	Trimming the logs	All villages
	350	Weeks	Shaping the ends	Int. " line "
	351	Days	Attaching the rope for hauling	
	351	Days	Logs hauled down to mainland shore	All villages
	351	Same day	Logs ferried over to Vao	Int. " line "
	352	Weeks	Yam-table erected in dancing-ground. " Counters " distributed for provision of yams	Int. " line "
	353	Weeks	Logs hauled up to dancing-ground	All villages
	353	Same day	Logs hauled into *ghamal*	Int. " line "
	354	Days	*Behak*. Expert marks position of slit	
	355	Days	Skilled gong-makers hollow out gongs	
	355		Restrictions imposed during hollowing out	
	356	Days	Expert " puts voice into the gongs "	
Dancing in rotation	356	Lasts 2 to 3 weeks	*Velal* danced by villages in rotation	All villages
	357		*Banana-Leaves* danced on intervening nights	Int. " line "
	357		Date of erection announced 10 days ahead	
Erection and Consecration	357	10 days	**Gongs set up**	
	358	Same day	Gongs sounded by expert, owners and others	
	358	Same day	Presentation-pigs " circled " for	
	358	That night	All-night *Gong-Raising* dance, followed at dawn by *na-leng* mumming plays and figure-dances	All villages
	359	Next day	**Consecration of Gongs**	
	359	Same day	Expert and gong-makers rewarded with live tuskers	
	359	Same day	Sacrificial signals sounded on gongs last all day	
	359	Days	Gongs sounded by any who will	
	359	Days	Jaw-bones of sacrificed tuskers returned and hung on gongs	

[1] Int. " line " means Introducing " line."

RAISING RITES

EXPERT	FEAST	SONG-AND-DANCE	CHIEF PIGS SACRIFICED
	Masean for all villages		
Lights fire	*Tamean*		1 pig
	Tamean	*Gong-Raising* (during felling)	
	Tamean		10 pigs to workers (sacrificed by them)
	Tamean	*Gong-Raising* (during shaping)	
	Tamean		1 *ghirire* to Int. "line" (sacrificed by them)
		Gong-Raising and *narel* as logs touch shore	
	Tamean for each Quarter-Lodge		
	Tamean		1 *ghirire* to Int. "line" (sacrificed by them)
Marks slit (paid with fowl and live pig)	*Masean* (probably)		
Puts voice into gongs (workers pay him with mats)			
	Tamean	*Velal* at intervals	
		Banana-Leaves on intervening nights	
			1 pig for each gong as it crosses "road's eye" 1 pig thrown into hole for each gong and crushed to death by it
Publicly sounds gongs and is paid with live pig for stick	(Not recorded)		
		All-night *Gong-Raising* dance. *Na-leng* at dawn	
			50 or more tusked boars (also cocks)
Rewarded with re-entrant-tusker (skilled workers receive curved-tuskers)	(Not recorded)		
			(Jaw-bones returned and hung on gongs)

CHAPTER XIV

LOW MAKI (*RAMBEN*)

Interval of a year or more to recuperate from the expense of Gong-Raising rite.

ONCE the new gong-orchestra has been set up and consecrated, the way is now clear for the prosecution of the new Maki. The description of the Gong-Raising rite that I have just given is but the briefest summary of a performance that is in fact extremely costly owing to the large number of tusked boars that have been sacrificed, the payments to the expert and gong-makers, the innumerable small pigs killed for food for the workers and guests, and the immense quantity of yams and other food-stuffs provided, besides a host of other outgoings that have not been recorded. All these expenses have for the time being exhausted the resources of the Maki-men and of their fathers and sons who form the introducing "line." Therefore there is now an interval of a year or more while the whole village recuperates, a new generation of pigs grows up, other pigs are acquired through trade, and fresh stocks of yams and other food-stuffs are accumulated. If the village is poor or has had ill luck in other respects two or even three years may elapse, but a go-ahead successful village will make every effort to make the interval as short as possible, and so add to the richness of its own social life by the increase of rites, to its chances in the life after death by the number of sacrifices performed, and at the same time to its reputation among other villages as a frequent promoter of feasts with all the honour which that entails.

BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE RITE

The shortest time in which it is possible to perform all the rites connected with Low Maki is five or six years, of which four are occupied with the preparation for and final performance of the great sacrifice, followed by a period of one or two more years during which the chief sacrificers remain in a state of sanctified retreat.

The yearly periods are divided in the following way:

First Year: Selecting the coral block which is to serve for the table-stone of the dolmen, detaching it from the reef and bringing it beyond reach of the tide to dry.

Second Year: Bringing the table-stone to the dancing-ground.

Third Year: Erecting the dolmen.



Part of **Togh-vanu dancing-ground** before weeding. **On the extreme left is one of the gongs seen in Plate XIV**

Fourth Year: A year of intense ritual activity, ending with the mass sacrifice of 100 tusked boars and 100 fowls tied to stakes in the dancing-ground and of special high-grade tuskers at the dolmen itself. The Maki-men have now ritually died and are re-born, but in different degrees according to the grade of tusked boar they have sacrificed and to the importance of the titles they have thereby assumed. Every Maki-man now enters into a period of retreat in or about the *ghamal.* For the lowest grades this period of retreat lasts thirty days, at the end of which they are released.

Fifth and Sixth Years: The chief Maki-men continue their retreat for self-imposed periods which vary greatly in time depending on their piety, their self-restraint and their social and spiritual aspirations. During these various periods their wives, and to a lesser extent their daughters and mothers, all of whom have received complimentary titles, have both mourned for their ritual death and fed them back to life. The final act is the discarding of the wives' "widows' weeds."

The whole rite is thus seen to follow the pattern of all great dramatic performances, which begin gently and gather force and intensity as they approach the climax, and are then followed by a period of in-gathering contemplation during which the expended energies are now turned inward in the consolidation of the experience achieved.

FIRST YEAR

Selecting the Table-Stone for the Dolmen

The first step in the ritual of Low Maki is the search for suitable stones for the single large dolmen which is the only stone monument erected during this first part of the rite.

Velal danced in rotation by all villages. Weeding the dancing-ground. Valuable tuskers presented to all villages.

When the older members of the village have decided that the time has arrived to begin the rite with good prospect of being able to carry it through without undue delay, they wait till the yam-vines have withered and a good harvest is reasonably assured, and proceedings are then opened by the dancing of *Velal* first by the members of the introducing "line" and then by all the Vao villages in rotation in the home dancing-ground.

This is done while the dancing-ground is still unweeded, and when the last and most distant village performs the dance it is announced that the weeding will take place two days ahead. This is called *ne-sar noar.* It will be remembered that before the Gong-Raising rite only the members

of the introducing "line" took part in this. On this more important occasion, however, members of all the Vao villages assist in the work, after which lone-yams and attached-yams are placed in heaps for each village. Many pigs, ranging in value up to a re-entrant-tusker, are killed and given to them also, thus marking the very great importance of the ritual cycle that has now been begun.

Coral block sought for to serve as table-stone. Communion feast held at the Lodge of the owners of the land on which it is found.

Search is now made by the Maki-men for a suitable block to serve as a table-stone for the dolmen. Like all the stones used during the rites, it is sought for among the coral blocks that form the reef bounding the shore. When this has been selected their first act is to make a feast of communion (*ghete-ghati*) [1] with the ancestors of the owners of the land on which the stone is found, to compensate them for its removal. This feast is held in their descendants' own Lodge.[2]

Once selected, this stone is called *vĕt vokălăgh*, meaning, in secular language, the "stone we sit down on," and it continues to bear this name until, a year later, it has been consecrated in the dancing-ground, when this name is changed for a ritual one, namely *vet simbe-simbe*, which means precisely the same thing, but coupled this time with a religious connotation.[3] All the men of the introducing "line" join in levering this stone with its yet secular name off the reef and in bringing it on to the shore, where it is left beyond reach of the tide to dry. On returning to the village, a pig is killed "for the food of" the workers, and a *tamean* feast is held which, if the men of the introducing "line" so wish, may be shared also by the Maki-men.

SECOND YEAR

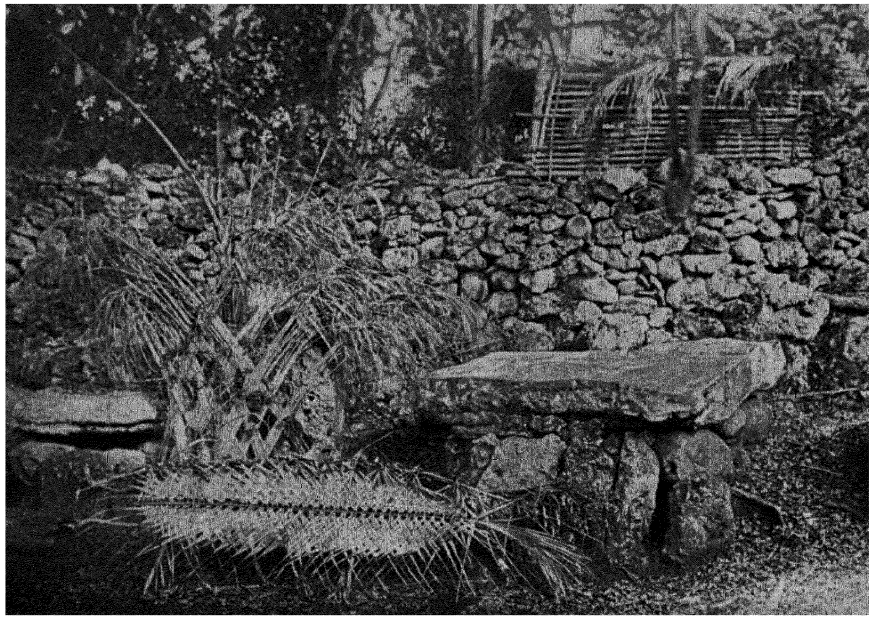
Bringing the Table-Stone to the Dancing-Ground

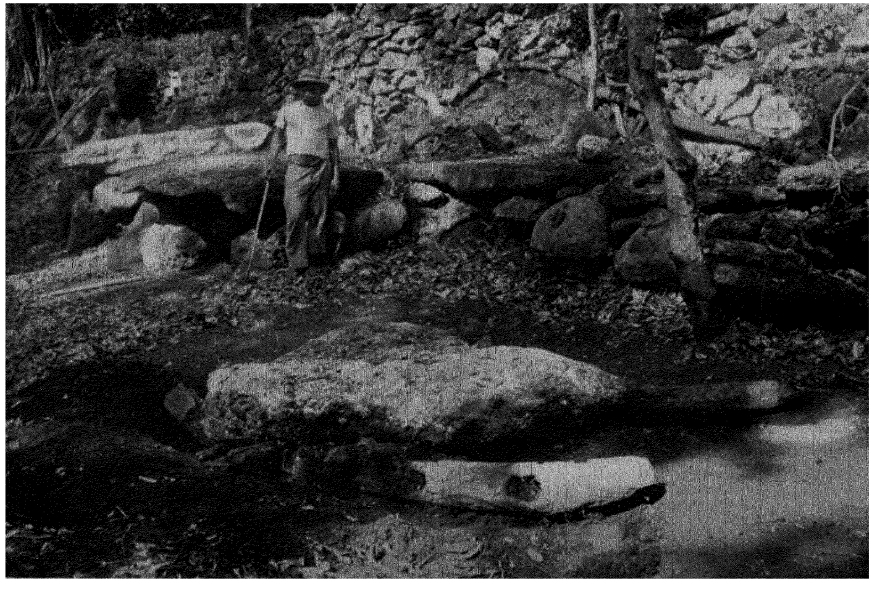
A further interval of a year now elapses to give the stone time to dry out. At the end of this period, when the next year's yams are ready, a day is fixed for dragging it up to the village. As this involves the provision of large numbers of yams for the workers, it is necessary to have a good yam-table; so, if the old one erected for the Gong-Raising rite before transporting the logs to the dancing-ground has rotted, a new one is made with the same ritual as was gone through for that. Whether a new yam-

[1] See p. 541. For an account of the penalty for neglecting this rite see p. 451.

[2] It is probable that the descendants are also paid, but I did not record this.

[3] See pp. 274, 702. In point of fact the dolmen erected for Low Maki is not, so far as I know, ever used as a seat and is in effect built too high to serve such a purpose. Those set up before and behind the *ghamal* (see p. 449), however, are definitely so used during debates.





1. Large dolmen at Pete-hui. Behind is part of the stone-platform, and to the left a leaf screen and circular fence erected during the mortuary rites for an old man

2. Table-stone for a dolmen resting on the wooden sledge on which it has been hauled up from the reef. (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 63, *Fig.* 4)

table is made or not, "counters" are distributed as was the case in the Gong-Raising rite for the provision of yams, each member of the home-village and certain men belonging to its twin-village making themselves responsible for an agreed number of lone- and attached-yams.

Table-stone hauled up to dancing-ground on sledge (simbe) by parties from all villages.

On the day appointed for hauling the table-stone up to the dancing-ground, representatives from all the Vao villages and from the neighbouring mainland and Small Islands assemble on the shore. Message-yams are laid out for the different villages so represented, and the members of each Lodge[1] in the home-village select a body of men to work for them, signifying their choice by handing a message-yam to the representative of each group so selected. These representatives then return home with the yams and with the news of which Quarter-Lodge they have been chosen to work for. Later in the day they all come back, each leading a party from his own village. These, working in relays, now drag the stone up to the dancing-ground, having previously placed it on a sledge formed of two wooden balks with cross-pieces which they haul by means of stout ropes, probably of the same kind as is used for hauling the gongs. This sledge (see Plate XVI, 2) is called *simbe*, meaning "seat," and so also "that on which the stone sits," and is ultimately connected with the Indonesian word *sĕmba*, and through that with *sukwe*, *na-humbe* and the whole complex of words related to these which has already been discussed.[2]

While hauling, the Workers sing and Maki-men dance Settling-Down and Taur Na-mbak.

As they haul the stone from the beach up to the dancing-ground the workers sing songs belonging to various song-and-dance cycles roughly in the order in which they are more formally performed during the final stages of the Maki leading up to the main sacrifice, while the Maki-men dance to welcome them. Thus, as the stone is being dragged along the beach they sing songs of the *Settling-Down* cycle. On the path leading from the beach to the village they break into songs of any cycle they like. Then, as they approach the dancing-ground, the gongs strike up the rhythms proper to the culminating cycle of *Taur Na-mbak*. As they do so, the workers burst into songs of this cycle, and three or four of the most important Maki-men dance *Taur Na-mbak* in front of them, progressing in serpentine course from one side of the stone to the other.

[1] I did not record whether this selection was made by the Quarter-Lodge or by the Side of the Lodge. Comparing this with the rites accompanying the selection of the small uprights described on p. 419, it is probably the Quarter-Lodge that is meant.

[2] See pp. 274, 693.

Table-stone consecrated by sacrifice of tusked boar dashed on it, and from now on called vet simbe-simbe.

With immense uproar the stone is dragged into the dancing-ground. As it reaches the middle of the ground the foremost dancer, who has been carrying a live pig on his shoulder, sacrifices it by seizing it by the hind legs and, while he still dances, bashing its head upon the stone.

Through this act, the stone is consecrated as a sacrificial monument, and henceforth is no longer known by the secular name of *vet vokalagh*, but takes on the same name, reduplicated, as that of the sledge, namely *vet simbe-simbe* with the accent shifted on to the penultimate *e*, a word combining the meanings of "to sit" and "to honour."

The stone is now left in the dancing-ground. The workers retire to their homes to rest and eat puddings which have been given to them. While they are gone, the Maki-men lay out lone-yams and attached-yams in heaps for them on the ground. When these are ready, the gongs are sounded with the signal called *ragh-raghe ne-luw na-ram*, meaning "to summon the people for their yams." The workers, hearing this, return to the home-village, numerous pigs are killed and placed with the yams. The leading-man makes a speech extolling the day's exploit, and all depart with their spoils.

THIRD YEAR

Dolmen Erected

After this there is another interval of a year while the village makes good its loss in pigs and awaits a new harvest of yams for the celebrations accompanying the next phase of the rite, which consists in erecting the dolmen.

Unless any unforeseen delay has occurred necessitating a yet longer interval, the yam-table erected on the previous occasion will still be in good order, and there will be no need to erect a new one. Proceedings therefore open with the usual distribution of "counters" among the members of the village, each of whom thereby undertakes to supply a given quantity of yams.

Velal danced by all villages. Supporting-stones collected. "Circling" for presentation-pigs.

This having been done, and the yams having been garnered, the new step in the rite is ushered in by the dancing of *Velal* in rotation by all the Vao villages in the home dancing-ground, just as was done before Gong-Raising and before hauling up the table-stone.

When the last village has finished dancing, a day is appointed for

building the dolmen. I have no record of the ritual accompanying the gathering of the supporting-stones. It is probable, therefore, that the work connected with this is done by the members of the introducing "line" only, and that there is no particular ritual connected with it apart from the provision of the usual *tamean* feasts.

On the day appointed for setting up the dolmen, members of all the Vao villages and of those on the neighbouring mainland and Small Islands assemble in the home dancing-ground. When the table-stone was hauled up there was no "circling" for pigs. On this more important occasion, however, tusked boars are presented to the Maki-men by their relatives-in-law and duly "circled" for.[1]

Dolmen erected.

Then all present assist in building the dolmen by raising the table-stone on to a number of smaller upright stones which keep it in place. I have unfortunately no record of how the table-stone is lifted, nor of the number of supporting-stones. Godefroy, however, though he makes no mention of the Maki, says, when describing the dancing-ground, that there are six such supporting-stones, arranged in two rows.[2] Since my photographs (see Plates III, XVI) give only a side-view, it is not possible to verify this. If it is true, however, the number is of interest as representing almost certainly the six patrilineal clans forming the six villages on Vao, and it is probable that the members of each village will assist in erecting one. Godefroy voices the obvious truth that this monument is "a true altar." He adds, moreover, another fact that I did not record about these stones, namely that the supporting-stones are called *pal-palon* and the table-stone *na-mpal*. Both words are derived, of course, from the verb *pal*, "to sacrifice," and therefore mean simply "object at or on which sacrifice is made." As we shall see, the sacrificial monoliths and small stones erected later on either side of the dancing-ground are similarly called *pal-pal na-mbò*. His record of the term *na-mpal* used for the table-stone would appear at first sight to conflict with the fact that this stone is also called *vet simbe-simbe*, meaning in ritual language "the stone we sit on," or "the stone of honour." There is, however, no real contradiction, since this stone serves more than one function, being in the first place that at which sacrifice is made, and in the second place having a holiness of its own both before and after the chief sacrifice takes place. The whole monument, including both table-stone and supports, is called *na-vot*, a word which, as shown later,[3] is probably derived from the Indonesian *batu* meaning "to come out from," or "to be born," in this case with the connotation of re-birth.[4]

[1] See p. 303. [2] Godefroy, I, 1932, p. 37. [3] See p. 705.
[4] Compare Mota *wot*, "to emerge." See pp. 717, 733.

Probable consecration of the dolmen by sacrifice of tusked boars previously "circled" for.

I have no record of the manner in which the completed dolmen is consecrated. It is probable, however, that at least some of the tusked boars "circled" for and so presented to the Maki-men by their relatives-in-law are, as is usual on such occasions, subsequently sacrificed, and that this sacrifice is one of consecration for the monument that has just been erected. After the building of the dolmen and its probable consecration, puddings, attached-yams, bananas and other food-stuffs in large quantities are arranged in heaps for the workers, and yet further pigs are killed for their food and placed by each heap.

Dolmen paid for by tusked boars called "Ta-ghar's eyes" presented to members of the introducing "line" and of the two "lines" in each Vao village.

Now that the new dolmen has been erected there takes place the important rite of paying for the right to use it. Since the dolmen is the sole sacrificial monument erected for Low Maki and is the central point of all the ritual connected with it, this includes at the same time payment for the right to perform the whole of this first part of the Maki, just as, in High Maki, payment for the stone-platform includes payment for the right to perform the whole of the second part. The recipients, who in Rivers's terminology would be called the "sellers," are in the first place all the members of the introducing "line," who, as will be remembered, are the Maki-men's fathers and sons. These are the chief recipients, each of whom receives his due in the shape of a large tusker, presented in a manner shortly to be described. They are not, however, the only ones to be so paid, for a similar tusker is in the same way presented to a representative of each of the two "lines" in each of the remaining Vao villages. Thus, if my interpretation of the kinship system is correct, each marriage section is in this way paid by the Maki-men for permission to perform the rite. The tusked boars so given are called *meten ta-ghar*, meaning "Ta-ghar's eyes," and it will be remembered that Ta-ghar is the sky-deity who, by shining upon the moon, gets her with children who reach earth through the wombs of women, just as in the culminating Low Maki rite the Maki-men will themselves be re-born through sacrifice at the dolmen, which is at the same time a womb. Now, with their backs to the dolmen, the chief Maki-men one after the other hoist these tusked boars on to their shoulders and in this manner present one such tusker to each group of "sellers." Other small pigs, likewise carried on the shoulder, are then given by the Maki-men as complimentary-pigs to those who have made presentations to them earlier during the day.

Right of dancing. Settling-Down also paid for to member of introducing "line" and other villages.

The dolmen having been paid for, it is now necessary to pay for the right of performing the circular dance called *Settling-Down.* In this dance the performers hold bamboo poles on which they beat time with the stick called *ne-mbal.* It is this stick, now used as a symbol for the whole dance, that is paid for, though at a very much lower rate than the dolmen, payment being in the form of money-mats instead of valuable tuskers. All the men of the home-village stand in front of the dolmen singing songs of the *Settling-Down* cycle, the members of the introducing "line" holding bamboo poles and sticks, and the Maki-men the money-mats with which these are to be bought. At the end of the first song each Maki-man gives a mat to a member of the introducing "line," and this man in return hands him his stick. Meanwhile, the members of the other Vao villages have ranged themselves in groups ready to receive payment in their turn. A second song is now sung, at the end of which the Maki-men throw further mats towards the place where the men of Tolamp, "first-men" of the Maki, are standing, calling to them to gather them up and take them home. The same singing and gift of money-mat is repeated for each of the Vao villages, each of whom is thus paid for the right of dancing *Settling-Down.*

As I have already said, the word "*Settling-Down*" used for this dance implies that the culminating point of this part of the Maki is now in sight, and that from henceforth the Maki-men "settle-down" in real earnest to its prosecution.

Nevertheless, so great has been the expenditure of pigs and food-stuffs lavished on the rites connected with the erection of the dolmen that there is now an interval of yet another year while stocks are replenished and preparations are made for the supreme effort to be put forward on the occasion of the great sacrifice of Low Maki.

FOURTH YEAR

YEAR OF THE CULMINATING SACRIFICE

Feast called Vin-vi-ghih.

When the next yam-harvest approaches, the proceedings of the year in which the culminating sacrifice is to occur open with a special *tamean* feast. This feast has a special name, *Vin-vi-ghih,* meaning "to go forward with a thing," [1] a phrase which expresses the same determination as the word "*Settling-Down*" to prosecute the rites leading up to the main sacrifice

[1] *Vi* means "go," *ghih,* "out"; literally, "go all out." Compare rite called *Bò-vi-ghih,* p. 380.

without further delay. At it "counters" are distributed for the provision of yams as already described.

Settling-Down danced in broad daylight by all villages in rotation.

Later in the day, representatives from all the Vao villages assemble, and are presented with message-yams and killed pigs. The message-yams are to announce that the dance of *Settling-Down* is now to be performed, first by the men of the introducing "line" and then by all the Vao villages in rotation until, after the last village has danced, the date of the culminating sacrifice is to be announced.

The first performance takes place that afternoon, beginning at about noon. Up to this time, though songs of the *Settling-Down* cycle have been practised, and even sung on ritual occasions, the singers have only stood or sat on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, close to the dolmen or gongs. Now, and on all following occasions, however, it is properly performed in the middle of the dancing-ground, the male guests dancing in the middle, the Maki-men dancing round them in a clockwise direction, and the women in a stationary circle outside.

As each party arrives, shortly before noon, each member of it presents a pig to his nearest relative-by-marriage among the Maki-men, a process called *ra tu-tahu.*

While dancing Settling-Down Maki-men present spears to future donors of presentation-pigs.

The fact that this dance is, contrary to the usual practice, performed in broad daylight has one notable result, namely that the Maki-men dance without the usual torches, and so are empty-handed. This lack is, however, made good in this case by the fact that any Maki-man who sees among the dancers one from whom he expects a presentation-pig to be "circled" for on the occasion of the approaching main sacrifice will provide himself with a spear, and with this spear held below the shoulder in his outstretched right hand in the same manner that torches are held during the "circling," he dances with his fellow Maki-men round the guests. Moreover, just as the torches used in "circling" are of different kinds depending on the grade of tusked boar in honour of whom they are used, so here different grades of tusker demand different kinds of spear. Thus, if the pig the Maki-man is expecting to be presented to him is a circle-tusker he will dance with a spear tipped with human bone of a kind called *here ta-mat*, "ghost's (i.e. dead body's) spear," but if for a tusker of lesser grade he will bring only an ordinary wooden spear of a kind called *na-hare.* Having with his fellow Maki-men danced round the guests a few times with this spear, he goes in among them and hands the spear to the future presenter of the tusker, who takes it from him and, holding the spear in the same way, himself dances for a few turns with the Maki-men

round his fellow-guests. While the future donor is so dancing, the Maki-man in question leaves the dance to fetch a money-mat, which, when he returns, he then gives to the donor. The donor then hands him back his spear, and, laying aside the mat to be picked up when the dance is over, returns to his fellow-guests who have not ceased dancing all the while. The Maki-man also lays aside his spear and returns to dance round empty-handed with his fellow Maki-men.

This occasion may also be taken, if so desired, for the giving of consideration-pigs in earnest of the above-mentioned presentations.

Dance continues till late afternoon. Account of set formulae by which it is brought to an end.

In spite of these incidental matters the dance continues without interruption throughout the heat of the day till about four o'clock, when it is time to prepare the cooking of the evening meal. As the last song is being sung the dancers approach the gongs. The leader of the dance calls out in a shrill voice "*hi-i-i-i*," answered by all with an abrupt answering cry "*hi*," and the dance is over. Puddings and yams and a single live pig called *ne-ul* [1] are then placed in a heap for the dancers, and message-yams laid out to be delivered to the absent villages to announce the occasion. A single pig is then sacrificed, the sacrificial signal for which is sounded after the departure of the guests.

The Speaker then announces the distribution of message-yams, using the time-worn formula: "*Ar ghe-te van Tolamp, ar ghe-te van Lavame*," etc., meaning "Let one go to Tolamp, one to Lavame," and so on, mentioning each village community on the island, ending with Singon. Having enumerated these, he calls out "*Ghe tur a-ul*," "Stand up." All those present, who have been sitting on the ground during this announcement, stand up, whereon the Speaker brings his speech to an end by crying "*Ia*," whereon the rest reply "*Laus-e*." [2] Then the Speaker appoints the day on which the next village is to come and dance, saying "*Tolamp gha me aghav hangawul barigh*," meaning "Tolamp (or whichever village is to come next) will come on the appointed day, ten days from today."

[1] I do not know the meaning of this: *ul* means "paint," but it also means "return of the dead."

[2] I do not know the literal meaning of these two ritual words. *Ia* in Atchin means "Indeed," indicating interest, but is also an exclamation of negation, equivalent to our "No!", as well as being used in the same ritual way as in Vao. The corresponding word to *laus-e* is in Atchin *laus-o*. It occurs in Lambumbu as *laus*. Here, after the buyer of a *ni-mangki* has sacrificed a pig by hitting it on the head with a stone, "the seller takes the stone, pats it, calls out "*laus*," and lets it fall to the ground, where it is lying. *Laus* is a sacred word and can only be used in such a context" (Deacon, 4, p. 353). In Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula the word occurs under the form of *Low-ūs-ār*, and is here, apparently, called out by the announcer in the person of a "club chief" (Harrisson, 2, p. 29). Here also the word is of "unknown meaning." Père R. Jamond, Roman Catholic priest on Vao, expressed to me the opinion that *laus-e* was a Malo word.

I have given these formulae here, at the point where my informant gave them to me, to illustrate in some measure the dramatic quality of all these proceedings. They apply, however, to all food-distributions and to all dances in rotation, and represent only the barest minimum of what may be said by the Speaker on such occasions, the announcement containing, as a rule, much else of a laudatory and informative nature delivered in loud staccato phrases which, from the Speaker's movements, appear to be pushed out from his belly rather than from his throat.

Then all the dancers take off the scented herbs (*hokuri*) which they have been wearing tucked into the back of their bark-board belts, and place them, together with their dancing-sticks, into the hands of the leader of the dance, adding a single black fowl's feather to the bunch. Herbs, sticks and black fowl's feather are then given to a representative of the village next called upon to dance, who takes them home as a sign to the members of his own village that it is their turn to dance next. The dancers now take the food and pigs that have been laid out for them and depart, after which the home-people sound the sacrificial signal for the pig sacrificed at the end of the dance.

Dancing may be resumed at nightfall if so desired. Each village thus dances at intervals of from five to ten days.

If they so wish, the members of the village whose day it is may come back and dance again at nightfall, but this is not obligatory.

In this way parties from all the Vao villages in prescribed rotation, beginning (when the Maki is at Pete-hul) with Tolamp and ending with Singon, come to dance at intervals of from five to ten days, depending on how soon the home-people wish to bring on the date of the main sacrifice.

"Dance of no consequence" by introducing "line" only. Speaker announces that "in ten days' time the date of the great sacrifice will be made known."

Two or three days after the last village has danced, there is a special small dance which only the home-people attend. This dance is called *Vin-buel*, a phrase meaning "dance of no consequence" and used, apparently, because it is extraneous to the ordinary sequence of dances by all the Vao villages. On the occasion of this dance, the customary twigs of sweet-smelling herb (*hokuri*) and a black fowl's feather are given to a member of the introducing "line" (one of the Maki-men's "fathers" or "sons"), and the tenth day ahead is appointed as the date for the final dancing of *Settling-Down* by the members of this "line." At the same time the Speaker gives out the important news that on that day the date for the culminating sacrifice will be announced, saying "*Hangawul barigh ra war-war ghini maki*," "Ten days hence we will announce the date of the

Maki," this last word, it will be noted, being used in its restricted sense applying to the day of sacrifice only.

Day on which the Date of the Great Sacrifice is announced

On the morning of the tenth day, when the date of the great Maki sacrifice is to be announced, yams, cooking-leaves and leaves for seasoning having been previously brought from the mainland, every Maki-man now prepares with them a pudding in which he cooks the flesh of a fowl, and places it in his earth-oven for the consumption of one of his "fathers" or "sons," members of the introducing "line," after the day's proceedings are over.

Giant hawk-banners in the shape of kites set up on bamboos in centre of dancing-ground. Taur Na-mbak songs sung.

Then all those Maki-men who are going to sacrifice a circle-tusker erect giant hawk-banners (*na-mbal*),[1] some of which are made fast to

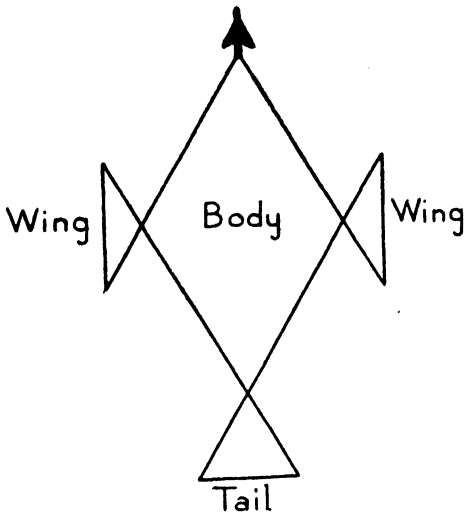


Fig. 48

Plan of one of the giant hawk-banners (*na-mbal*) in the shape of a kite erected during the final stages of the Maki and torn down on the Eve of the great sacrifice.

[1] So run my notes. Almost certainly, however, the actual work entailed will be done by members of the introducing "line."

bamboo poles[1] specially erected in the middle of the dancing-ground and round which *Taur Na-mbak* will later be danced, while other smaller ones are simply made fast to the branches of trees overhanging the ground. These hawk-banners are remarkable and very impressive objects manufactured in the shape of flat kites anything up to twelve or fifteen feet long. Made out of plaited coconut leaves on a light bamboo framework, the main body of the kite is lozenge-shaped, with projections on either side to represent wings and another at the rear to represent a tail, while to the head is fixed a conventionally carved and painted figure of the head and wings of a bird such as is normally used as the prow-head (*na-ho*) of a canoe. The whole effect is enhanced by long fringes hanging from each edge.

Kites figure in several semi-historical or mythological tales in the Small Islands (examples of which will be given in a forthcoming volume on Atchin), but are no longer, so far as I know, actually flown.[2] The huge objects now erected are certainly not meant to be flown, and, apart from their being referred to in this context as "hawks" and the general association of hawks with the Maki, I am unable to give any explanation of why they are erected now. It would be easy to imagine, in accordance with the belief in a sky-world connected with the higher Maki ranks, that they symbolise a flight into the sky, and even that in some way they were meant to transport the Maki-men thither, but the fact of the matter is that they are erected only to be torn down on the Eve of the great sacrifice, as will shortly be seen.[3]

Whatever their real significance, the importance of these symbols is shown by the fact that while they are being erected all present sing songs of the *Taur Na-mbak* song-and-dance cycle.

Parties from all villages arrive. Members of introducing "line" dance Settling-Down.

Parties from all the Vao villages and from the mainland and the neighbouring Small Islands now assemble to hear the ceremonial an-

[1] These poles are called *na-mbu*, meaning simply "bamboo," and the act of setting them up is called *ra gheli na-mbu*, "we plant the bamboos." On Atchin wooden sacrificial poles called *pal-pal* stand permanently in the middle of the dancing-ground, and it is to these that the hawk-banners are made fast.

[2] They are, however, still flown, or were so till recently, on the neighbouring island of Oba. See Speiser, 3, Pl. 29, Figs. 6 and 7. Deacon also mentions kite-flying as a game in South-West Bay (Deacon, 4, p. 44). Codrington, 3, p. 318, describes a method of fishing by means of kites practised in the Solomon Islands. "The kite is flown from a canoe, and from it hangs a line with a tangle of spider's web or of fibre, which it drags along the water, and in which a fish with a projecting under jaw entangles its teeth." In the Banks Islands and the Northern New Hebrides they are now used only as toys. In the Banks Islands they are called *rea* and in Oba *mala*, "an eagle" (p. 342), which is the same word as the Vao *na-mbal*.

[3] See p. 384. Hawk-banners are similarly erected at Matanavat. See Harrisson, 2, p. 31.

nouncement of the date of the great sacrifice. During the heat of the day the members of the introducing "line" dance *Settling-Down*, the Maki-men dancing round them with spears in their hands in the manner already described and presenting them to those among the dancers from



FIG. 49

Giant hawk-banners (*na-mbal*) in the form of kites hanging on sacrificial posts at Senhar on Atchin, ready to be danced round all night and then dashed to the ground and trodden on at dawn on the morning of the Sacrificial Day of both High and Low Maki. The lower hawk-banner is end-on so that its shape cannot be distinguished. The other is seen to be composed of a central diamond-shaped portion representing the body, furnished with two wings and a tail. The head is formed of a canoe prow (*solüb* on Atchin, *na-ho* on Vao). From each edge of the kite hangs a decorative fringe.

To the left are two of the ten Maki-shrines erected for the monolith-Maki as practised on Atchin and on the Inferior Side of Vao. In front of them are some of the 100 small dolmens lining the Upper Side of the dancing-ground at every alternate performance of the rite on Atchin, and behind are bamboo rafters forming the roof over a stone-platform.

whom they expect to receive valuable tusked boars during the "circling" rite that immediately precedes the sacrifice.[1]

Date of the great sacrifice announced 17, 27 or 37 days ahead.

When the dance is over, the Speaker, in this case usually a representative from the village from whom the main features of the Maki rite were first purchased, who represents the founder and all those who have previously participated in the rite and thus in himself embodies the "apostolic succession" already mentioned,[2] steps forth, takes some red paint called *na-ul na maki*, literally "Maki paint," and with it paints a circle round the nipples first of a member of the introducing "line" and then of one member of each village represented among the assembled crowd.[3] Then he sits down in the middle of the dancing-ground, holding in his hand a root of a species of kava called *ne-ghe*, called on this occasion *ne-ghe na maki*, "Maki kava root," about a foot and a half long, while all those whose nipples he has painted sit down round him and also hold it.[4] The number of representatives is said to be often so great that some have to stretch exceedingly so that their hands may touch the root. When all are ready, and there is not one who is not touching, they all utter a nasal

[1] It will be noticed that, according to my record, the members of this "line" dance *Settling-Down* alone twice, once at the beginning of the rotation of villages (at the *Vin vi ghih*) and again now at the end. As the presentation of tusked boars by "circling" is, so far as I know, never done by the "fathers" and "sons" who compose the introducing "line," but only by relatives-in-law, it is probable that I have here in some way misunderstood my informant. I leave my note, however, as it stands, but make the suggestion that in all probability all the guests from other villages dance as well as the members of the introducing "line," and that the use of spears by the Maki-men represents a kind of grand finale in which they repeat the symbolic presentations made during the dancing of parties from individual villages.

[2] See p. 282.

[3] I did not enquire into the meaning of this, but it would appear that this act is symbolic of the fact that the Maki-men are about to be "re-born," and that all those previously re-born, though men and not necessarily in the direct female line, are in some way regarded as their mothers.

[4] Kava is not drunk in the Small Islands, nor, so far as I know, in any part of Malekula except by the chiefs of the Big Nambas, the nearest approach to this custom in Vao being the special communion rite held on the anniversary of the death of a man of high rank mentioned on page 558, when a piece of the root is placed in the tube leading to the dead man's mouth. The root is, however, frequently used in the Small Islands for magical purposes. Its use in the way about to be described during the rite of announcing an important date is, so far as I know, confined to Vao and to the north coast of Malekula (Harrisson, 2, p. 29, hints at a similar rite in Matanavat). In the corresponding rite in Atchin it is replaced by a fowl. This variation in ritual corresponds also with a difference in the variety of kava used and in the name by which it is known. Thus, in Vao, two varieties are recognised, a large and a small. It is the large variety which is used in this rite, and the name *ne-ghe* used for it is the same as the Banks Islands *gea* (Codrington, 2). The smaller variety in Vao is called *maloghe* (see p. 437), which corresponds to the Atchin word *melo*, used for the only variety I recorded on that island, there employed in wind and love magic and for weakening the will-power of an opponent when bargaining for pigs. The word used for this variety is the same as the general word for kava in Maewo, where it is *malowo* (Codrington, 3, pp. 351-2), and in North Raga, where it is *malohu* (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 211).

sound "*m . . m . . m . . m*" and slightly raise the root. This sound is again repeated, and the root raised a trifle higher. Then this is done again, and yet again, till they have raised it eight times, rising to their feet as they raise it higher and higher until, on raising it and saying "*m . . m. . m . . m*" for the eighth time the kava root is raised as high as possible above their heads. Four is the number used in every magic rite.[1] Eight, therefore, is doubly magical.

Now is the moment when the date of the great sacrifice is announced, and, while all are holding the kava root as high as they can, the Speaker calls out, "*Hangawul raman ghe-mbut barigh Maki,*" "Seventeen days from today Maki." The announcement must always be in these terms, and on Vao, as also on Atchin, the date must always be either the 17th, 27th or 37th day ahead, it being essential that the number of days elapsing shall be 7 plus as low a decimal figure as possible. The reason for this appears to be a compromise between the use of 7 as a resurrection or re-birth number, appearing as such in numerous initiation and secret society rites in the Small Islands and Malekula, and the decimal system which plays so prominent a part in all the later forms of Maki ritual.[2] Of the alternative combinations given, the most welcomed, and that which most enhances the prestige of the Maki-men, is 17, since this means the most speedy consummation of the rite. When the announcement has been made, the Speaker brings his oration to a close by saying "*Ia,*" and the assembled multitude replies "*Laus-e.*"

The date of the great Maki sacrifice having been thus publicly announced, message-yams are laid out on the dancing-ground for the representatives of the various villages to take home with them in token of this fact. No pigs are killed, but after the departure of the guests the men of the introducing "line" are given the puddings prepared for them by the Maki-men during the morning, and eat them in the dancing-ground.

Taur Na-mbak danced by introducing "line" all night and every night till the great sacrifice.

With this day's proceedings the dancing of *Settling-Down* during the heat of the day in the home-village by parties from all the Vao villages in rotation ceases. That night sees the first all-night dance of *Taur Na-mbak.* This is danced by the members of the introducing "line" only, who dance radially and anti-clockwise around the posts supporting the hawk-banners while the Maki-men dance clockwise around them with lighted torches and the women in a stationary circle beyond.[3] Henceforth, till the day

[1] See p. 643.

[2] Compare the 7 days that elapse between the announcement of the operation of incision and its performance. Also the importance of the 107th day after the operation (see pp. 519, 521). According to Harrisson (2, p. 29), the choice of date for gong-raising lies in Matanavat between the 5th, 7th or 10th day from the day of announcement.

[3] See Fig. 46, p. 331.

of the great sacrifice, *Taur Na-mbak* is danced by the members of this "line" every night and all night long, with the exception of the penultimate night, when it ceases at midnight in order to afford some rest for the participants in view of the twenty-four hours' ceaseless rites beginning with *Taur Na-mbak* at dusk on the Eve of the great sacrifice until the final consummation at sundown the following day. Parties from all the other Vao villages and from the mainland and the neighbouring Small Islands come also to dance with them in due order on certain nights, but this is not like the usual dancing in rotation, since, as will be seen, it is combined with the delivery of presentation-pigs at the home-village, and these parties dance only for a short time, leaving it to the men of the introducing "line" to carry on the dance till dawn.

Ancestral image surmounted by hawk-image erected in front of dolmen and the whole shrine so formed is roofed.

Some time during this period, about ten days before the Sacrificial Day, a wooden ancestor-image is erected in front of the dolmen, and, resting on it, a ridge-pole formed of the trunk of a small tree whose buttress roots are carved to represent the head and wings of a hawk. This ridge-pole supports a roof which covers the dolmen, transforming the whole monument into a shrine. I have unfortunately no record of the rites accompanying its erection.

Measures taken to ensure the Presence of the Correct Number and Grade of Tusked Boars for the Mass Sacrifice

This period is also one of intense activity directed towards ensuring the proper supply of sacrificial animals. The very finest tuskers of all, those which are to confer the highest ranks, such as Melteg-amu and Melteg-aul, on those chief Maki-men who sacrifice them at the dolmen itself, are bred at home, preferably from sows owned by the sacrificer himself. Since no man, however, actually possesses at any one moment a great number of tuskers, and the economic scheme is based largely on presentations and the most complicated system of credits and debts, many, if not the greater number, of the 100 tusked boars to be sacrificed at the stakes do not enter the sacrificer's possession till they are presented to him on the actual day of sacrifice. Chief among these are those valuable tuskers which are due for presentation to him by his relatives-by-marriage, most notably by his daughters' husbands and his brothers-in-law, during the rite of "circling" that immediately precedes the sacrifice. These have, it will be remembered, previously been bargained for at great length, the exact curvature of tusk being specified and often the actual animal agreed on; and the intending sacrificer has, moreover, already done, or should have done, his part by giving the prospective

donor a consideration-pig at some previous rite. Nevertheless, there is many a slip 'twixt cup and lip. The animal agreed on may have died, or have become sick, the donor may himself have failed to bring one of his own creditors to book, he or a member of his Lodge may have had a quarrel with the prospective sacrificer or with one of his kin, the Maki-man may have himself neglected to give his consideration-pig—in fact, a hundred and one accidents might have occurred to jeopardise the due delivery of the pig, and in that case not only the Maki-man himself would suffer, but the whole Maki would be held up, since an agreed number of sacrificial animals is essential, and until these are all in place no single one can be despatched.

Each Maki-man travels to visit relatives-by-marriage who have promised presentation-pigs, aided by the magic of an expert called na-wogh.

To ensure their due delivery, therefore, each Maki-man now travels to visit every relative who has promised a pig, not only on Vao but also on the mainland and in the neighbouring Small Islands. But no man's unaided efforts would be sufficient to guarantee success, and so an expert magician, called *na-wogh*, is called in to charm each Maki-man and provide him with magical means to soften the hearts of obdurate refusers. The means by which this effect is achieved I recorded at some length on Atchin, but I did not repeat my enquiries in this direction on Vao, so the reader interested in this aspect of magic will have to refer for a description of it to a future volume on the Maki on Atchin. This practice spreads beyond the Small Islands, and has been briefly recorded also from Lambumbu.[1] The existing situation on Vao, however, throws some light on the belief in magic as a severely practical measure, for, while this form of magic, among many others, is still practised with great vigour on Atchin, and also on the Inferior Side of the Island in Vao, the two villages forming the Superior Side of Vao, which were the earliest to come in contact with the white man, have for the last four Maki performances, according to my informant, dispensed with it altogether; the reason being, in his words, that "since the white man has brought peace, and money and tobacco with which to trade, and knives and hatchets to ease the labour of garden-work and so to increase the supply of food, the getting and rearing of pigs has become much easier than it used to be, and there is no longer any need for a magician, whose only value was that he ensured the supply of pigs for the Maki." [2]

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 368.

[2] This affords, by the way, an interesting comment on the difference between magic and religion, for while the magic tends to be dropped as a result of easier economic conditions, there is no sign whatsoever among the non-Christian peoples of Malekula of any diminution in the fervour with which they practise the Maki. If it is possible, this fervour seems to be on the increase, as is shown by my two friends, Ma-taru on Vao and Mari on Atchin, both being engaged while I was there with prosecuting a Maki almost single-handed in order to resuscitate the fortunes of villages decimated by war and other troubles.

Donors from Vao deliver presentation-pigs in advance, and join the men of the introducing "line" in dancing Taur Na-mbak.

In order to make quite sure that the correct number and grades of tusked boar shall be present for sacrifice, it is the custom for the members of each Vao village to deliver their presentation-pigs at the home-village well before the Sacrificial Day, to be kept there in trust for them till the actual rite of presentation by "circling," which occurs on the great day itself. Each such tusker is handed over into the custody of the actual Maki-man to whom it is to be presented, and an exact tally is thus made of all that have been received. The delivery takes place in the late afternoon, and before leaving their own village the delivering party announces its approach by sounding on its own gongs the gong-signal called *na-mbe ne-ôs-ôs*. After the tuskers have been duly handed over, the party then joins the members of the introducing "line" for the first few hours of their all-night dancing of *Taur Na-mbak*. They do not themselves, however, dance all night, but after a time cease, and are regaled by the particular Maki-men to whom the tuskers have been delivered with puddings containing the flesh of pigs and fowls, after which they depart home to sleep. In Atchin the rule that all presentation-pigs should be delivered beforehand is so strictly applied that it extends also to those expected from mainland villages and from the other Small Islands. In Vao this is not so, and those from over the water who deliver their pigs prematurely do so only if it is convenient to themselves. In this case they come in the usual rotation after the Vao villages, generally staying overnight. Otherwise, they have to be trusted to bring them on the day of sacrifice itself, thereby causing no little anxiety to the Maki-men to whom they are to be presented.

"Exhibition of Pigs" (Bò-vi-ghih) held on penultimate day. Boars tied to stakes in dancing-ground for review.

While each Maki-man keeps good account of the boars of higher grade, such as re-entrant and circle-tuskers which are sacrificed individually and confer the higher ranks, it is still necessary to assure the presence of the correct number of smaller tuskers intended for mass sacrifice by the rank and file. Two days, therefore, before the date announced for the sacrifice, this necessity finds expression in a rite called *Bò-vi-ghih*,[1] or "Exhibition of Pigs," when all these lesser sacrificial animals are formally reviewed. Stakes are set up in a row along the middle of the dancing-ground, and the pigs in question are brought out and tied to them.

The whole Maki is now envisaged as a canoe approaching from Oba laden with tusked boars. Maki-men dance round the boars singing Oba men's songs.

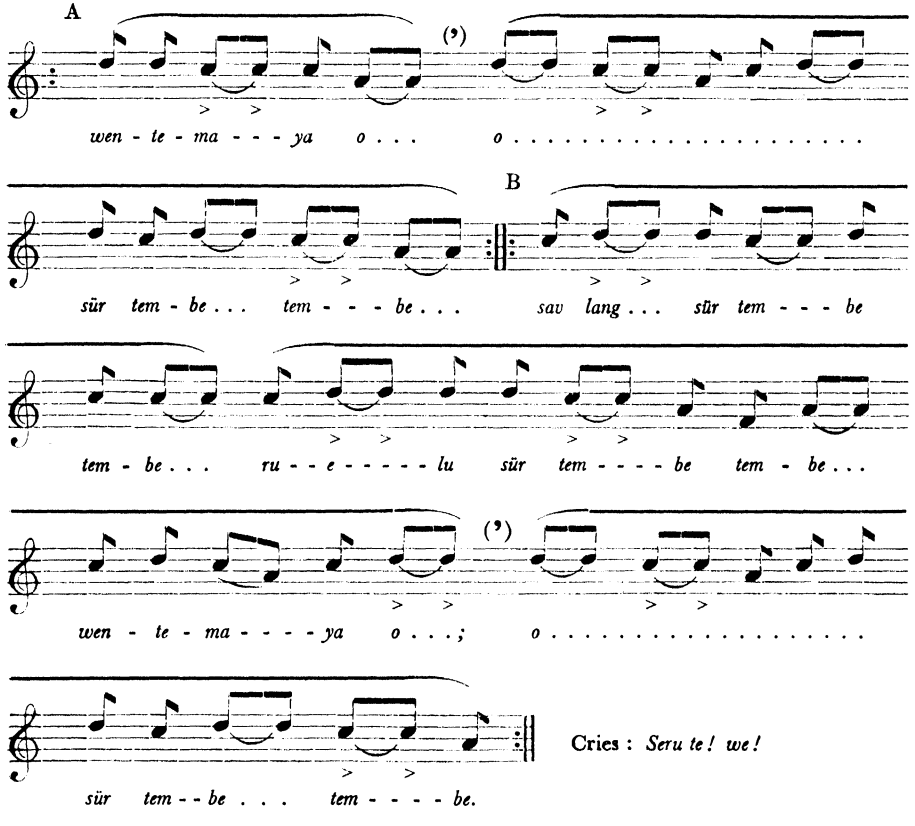
In the ensuing rite the whole Maki, in the restricted sense of the word as referring to the actual day of sacrifice, is envisaged as a sea-going canoe

[1] *Bò* means "pig," *vi*, "go," and *ghih*, "out." Compare *Vin-vi-ghih*, p. 369.

approaching from Oba, the home of the sky-deity Ta-ghar, laden with tusked boars. With this symbolism in view, all the men of the home-village dance up and down the ground on either side of the pigs, clapping their hands in Oba fashion and singing one of the Oba men's songs such as are sung when returning from that island, and especially on the homeward journey of the novices who have been there for the first time and have undergone there a special rite of initiation into the mysteries of sex.[1] These songs are concerned chiefly with seafaring, and the one sung on this occasion has, like most of this cycle, a magnificently rolling rhythm: [2]

SONG 4. OBA MEN'S SONG

Sung during the Exhibition of Pigs



I am not able to give an exact translation of the song, except to say that the phrase *wentemaya* represents the sound of the wind howling in the

[1] See Oba Pilgrimage, p. 526.

[2] This is the only such song here recorded. There are, however, many other songs belonging to this cycle.

rigging, that *sür tembe-tembe* refers to a canoe running before the wind, that *sav lang* means "What wind?" and that the answer to this is *Ruelu*, the name of the north-east wind that blows the canoes home from Oba. Rhetorical question and answer of this kind is a frequent feature of New Hebridean songs. Both parts of the song, marked A and B, are repeated, and at the end the leader cries out "*Seru te!*" and the rest answer "*We!*"

Two men climb a high tree and perform a dialogue symbolising the approach of the canoe from Oba.

Then they all stop dancing, and gaze up at two men who have climbed a high tree on the edge of the dancing-ground, one having climbed as near as he can to the top, but the other only half-way up. These two now call out "*u . . .*" four times in a high voice. Then the man half-way up shouts out "What do you see?" and the man at the top shouts back "I see canoes coming."—"Where are the canoes coming from?"—"Several canoes sailing and coming from afar off but now close here." The man below now shouts out "How many?", and the reply will depend on how many performances of the Maki rite are at that moment in progress on Vao. If there are three, and two are only just beginning whereas the performance in the home-village on the Superior Side of the Island is, as we know, just about to be completed, the man at the top will call out "Three; three canoes; two are as yet afar off, but one is sailing up close and is just going to land at Kowu," this being the name of the appropriate beach. The man below again shouts up "What do you see in it?", and the man on top cries out "Men in it, and men in it, and men in it, oh, oh, oh, so many that it is nearly sinking. Its gunwales are just flush with the sea!" [1] And then he goes on to tell in detail all the pigs that are in the canoe, describing in reality all the pigs that are about to be sacrificed at the Maki, for the canoe's progress from afar represents the approaching sacrifice that has taken so many years to prepare, the pigs the sacrificial animals now safely assured, and the men who are so numerous that they nearly sink it represents the multitude of men who are to be present at the rite.

Message-yams sent to all villages to announce the performance of the rite.

Message-yams are now laid out to be taken to each Vao village by representatives who have witnessed the rite with news that the Exhibition of Pigs has duly taken place, and the pigs that have now been satisfactorily reviewed are taken back to their sties.

[1] The above is a free translation of the text given by my informant, which runs: "*Gho lehi na-ha?*"—"*No lehi nu-wak.*"—"*Gho lehi nu-wak ne-mbe?*"—"*Nu-wak hombon mu walau mwe me ne lau ghune.*"—"*Ghe-vine?*"—"*Ghe-tol; nu-wak ghe-tol; ghe-ru ro ma ne la; ghe-te mu wala mo me agho no kowu.*"—"*Gho lehi re-ngen ve hi ghe?*"—"*Mwere re-ngen, mwere re-ngen, mwere-re-ngen, a . . . a . . . a . . . e ro gha ron. Na-ha le tehe pu ro.*"

All villages join introducing "line" in dancing Taur Na-mbak till midnight.

That night, guests from all the Vao villages join the members of the introducing "line" in dancing *Taur Na-mbak*. Every night from the day on which the date of the great sacrifice was announced *Taur Na-mbak* has been danced by the home-people only from dusk till dawn. This night, however, which is the last before the actual "day" of the sacrifice (which, as all twenty-four-hour "days," begins at dusk), the dance is stopped at midnight so that all concerned may take at least some rest in view of the strenuous time that is to follow. During the ensuing period of daylight that forms the last half of this twenty-four-hour period there is no official rite, those who have nothing else to do continuing to rest or to saunter about while the Maki-men and those chiefly responsible for the effective conduct of the ensuing rites put final touches to their preparations.

Day of Sacrifice

(*a*) the night

At sundown following this day of rest and final preparation the Maki in its restricted sense referring to the twenty-hour period of sacrifice begins. The culminating sacrifice does not take place till the late hours of the day, but the whole period begins at dusk.

Taur Na-mbak danced all night by all villages.

This night, the Eve of the great sacrifice, *Taur Na-mbak* is danced from sundown till dawn by the members of the introducing "line" and full-dress parties from all the Vao villages and from the mainland and the neighbouring Small Islands. All night long the main body of dancers swing anti-clockwise round the bamboos erected in the middle of the dancing-ground and beneath the huge hawk-like banners attached to them, while the Maki-men dance clockwise round them with blazing torches held over their shoulders, and the women dip and recoil in a circle outside. Intermittently the gongs boom and clatter out their unbelievably exciting rhythms, and, when these are silent, the male guests sing full-throated, high-pitched songs in several parted harmony and the women touch the highest gamuts of the scale with their sharp, fiery descant.

Bot-mau. Torch-light processions by women and men of each Lodge in the home-village in honour of home-bred circle-tuskers about to be sacrificed.

During the early hours of the night this dance is constantly interrupted by the appearance of torch-light processions. These, and the performance they go through, are called *Bot-mau*, and the whole night's performance is also called by this name. It is an essential part of the Maki, occurring in Atchin and Wala also, where it is known as *Bot-möw* or *Bot-mew*. The meaning of the term is obscure. *Bot* means "foundation" or "origin" or "chief person," and it is probably this last meaning that is envisaged,

and I was told in Atchin that *mau* meant "earth" or "dust," referring to the masses of dust raised by the dancers. I am not satisfied with this explanation, however, and the whole term and the rite to which it is applied need further investigation.

Each such procession consists of the members of one Lodge in the home-village, though whether the Lodges referred to are Quarter-Lodges or "Sides of the Lodge" I do not know, and the majority of the dancers are women, that is to say, all the women of the patrilineal joint-family to which the Lodge belongs, whether unmarried and still living in the village or married and living elsewhere. These dance in double file, each woman carries in her left hand and high above her shoulder the branch of a *tawò* tree, emblematic of a circle-tusker, and in her right hand a torch, the lighted end of which is dragged along the ground behind her, this lighted torch also symbolising a circle-tusker. Front and rear files are occupied by four men, belonging to the introducing "line," that is to say "fathers" and "sons" of the Maki-men, each carrying a branch of the *tawò* tree in his left hand and held above his shoulder, and in his right hand a lighted torch, not dragged as by the women, but held also above the shoulder.

Formed thus in double file, they dance right across the ground, the dragged torches of the women making a cloud of combined smoke and dust, and, having got to the end, turn round and retrace their steps in a serpentine course (*tel-telean*) from one side of the dancing-ground to the other. This dance is repeated as many times as there are home-bred circle-tuskers about to be sacrificed by the male members of the joint-family in question. By home-bred tusker, called *netin na-mborav*, "sow's young," is meant one that has been bred at home from a sow belonging to the sacrificer. Such tuskers are more valuable and confer greater honour than those acquired, even when young, by trade, and may be partly because the labour of feeding them falls almost entirely on the women that they are now honoured and rewarded by this special dance in which they play the chief part.[1]

When the dance has been repeated the appropriate number of times, the procession withdraws, and the main body of dancers resume their interrupted dancing of *Taur Na-mbak*. *Bot-mau* is thus danced at intervals by the women of each joint-family in the village, and when all have been thus honoured, *Taur Na-mbak* is continued uninterruptedly by the whole mass of dancers till dawn.

At daybreak the hawk-banners are thrown down and trodden on.

As day breaks, which it does quickly in the tropics, the all-night performance is brought to a close with a dramatic scene when the bamboo

[1] It is possible, on the other hand, that women may own sows or perhaps even pigs as they do in South Raga and some parts of Malekula. I did not enquire into this point.

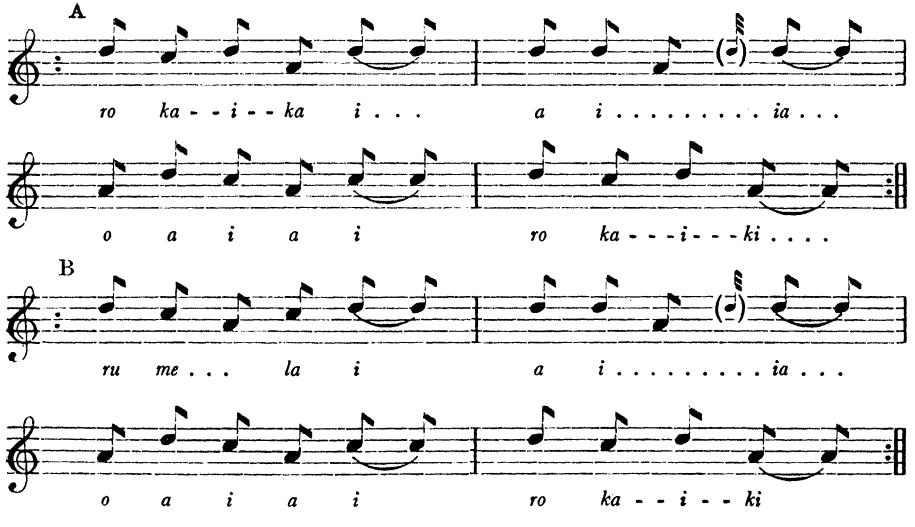
posts supporting the hawk-banners are shaken and crash to the ground, and the hawk-banners themselves are broken up, trodden on, and their shattered remains thrown away. What this rite means I am unable to say, save that it corresponds with the shooting and destruction of masks and other objects on the Thirtieth Day after most of the major rites in Atchin and Wala.[1]

Abridged performance of women's na-leng called Rokaik.

Most all-night dances are followed at dawn by the performance of *na-leng* mumming-plays and figure-dances. In this case I have no record of such a dance, but its place appears to be taken by a rite anticipating the performance of the "Women's *na-leng*" called *Rokaik* that occurs at dawn on the occasion of the main sacrifice at High Maki. The only detail of this that I have recorded here is that certain Maki-men dance down the dancing-ground and back again waving branches of a kind called *ro-mavi* round and round in front of them,[2] singing the following song which, like most *na-leng* songs, is in much simpler and more straightforward time than those belonging to the other song-and-dance cycles.

SONG 5. ROKAIK

Sung by Maki-men at Dawn after All-Night Dance on Eve of Maki



After this, a single pig is killed (probably sacrificed) to mark the end of the all-night proceedings.

[1] Cf. the shooting of masks representing the Guardian Ghost to be described in a future volume.

[2] In High Maki the women are ritually "beaten" off the dancing-ground with branches of which these are an anticipatory symbol. See p. 424.

(*b*) THE DAY

It is now the morning of the day of supreme sacrifice. Those who have been dancing all night retire for a brief space to their homes in order to prepare for the heavy business of the day, taking such guests from the mainland and other Small Islands as have arrived overnight with them.

"Circling" for Presentation-pigs

Parties arrive from all villages and other islands to "circle" for presentation-pigs.

When the sun is well up, round about nine o'clock in the morning, the daylight proceedings open with the arrival of parties from all the Vao villages and from the mainland and neighbouring Small Islands, adorned with fowls' feathers in their hair and scented herbs in their belts, for the rite of "circling" for presentation-pigs. Each Maki-man, it will be remembered, has the right to expect one or more such tusked boars from his sons-in-law and brothers-in-law, and these are the gifts which, in return for consideration-pigs already given at some previous rite, he has during the past few days been at such pains to secure and have delivered into his safe custody so that he may be quite sure that they will now be duly presented with all the pomp and ceremony of the "circling" rite.

The first parties to arrive are those from the mainland and other islands, some of whom have spent the previous night on Vao, while others have set out from their homes in canoes at dawn. The members of the Vao villages, who have been dancing all night and have, moreover, many other matters to arrange, follow after in their due order. So many are the parties, so numerous the tusked boars, and so elaborate the "circling" rite accompanying the handing over of each boar, that the presentations last well into the afternoon.

Members of Vao villages announce their approach by sounding na-mbe ne-òs-òs signal on their own gongs.

As each Vao party leaves its own dancing-ground, it announces the fact by sounding on its own gongs the gong-signal called *na-mbe ne-òs-òs.*

Meanwhile, all the presentation-pigs previously delivered into the safe keeping of the Maki-men for whom they are intended have been gathered into a specially constructed pen roofed with a single span and built at the far end of the dancing-ground. Hearing the gong-signal, the particular Maki-men to whom the members of the party in question are to make presentation hasten to the pen to bring out the appropriate tuskers that they are thus holding in trust, and drag them on to the dancing-ground, where they hold them in readiness for the donors. Visiting parties from the mainland or other islands dance up from the

beach where they have landed, and in this case it is the sound of their singing that warns the Maki-men of their approach.

Donors arrive dancing and singing na-rel.

All the way from the beach, or, if from Vao, from their own dancing-ground to that of the Maki-men, the members of the approaching party sing and dance the processional song-and-dance called *na-rel*,[1] and at the same time herald their approach at intervals with conch-shell trumpet signals blown with the correct blasts to announce the number and grades of the tusked boars that are about to be presented. As they approach, those awaiting them on the home dancing-ground, hearing the singing, say "*Na-rel to-San mwi me*," "The *na-rel* of the men of Atchin (or Wala, or Tolamp, or any of the Vao villages) is coming." As the party emerges on to the dancing-ground they say "*Na-rel mwi me ne le-sar*," "The *na-rel* has arrived on the dancing-ground."

Maki-men await them in dancing-ground, singing but not dancing na-rel. Donors dance to where their own presentation-pigs await them.

The main body of Maki-men awaits them in a group close to the gongs, dancing in a stationary position the thudding *na-rel* step but without singing, though from time to time they may utter cries of joy. Those to whom presentation is to be made, however, are otherwise occupied beyond the far end of the ground, holding in readiness the tusked boars, that they may deliver them in person to the donors. Having emerged on to the ground, the visiting party now dances right across it to where these Maki-men are waiting for them. These then unostentatiously hand over the pig-ropes to them, and then join their fellows close to the gongs.

Donors and Maki-men "circle" for presentation-pigs. Donors' wives assist in the presentation.

All is now ready for the presentation. The donors, now holding the pig-ropes, resume the *na-rel* song-and-dance, and, to the combined sound of their own singing and the squealing of the pigs, who have no desire to be thus roughly dragged, return to the dancing-ground. Here they advance slowly towards the Maki-men, sounding once more the conch-shell trumpet signals appropriate to the tuskers about to be presented, till at last they come to a standstill a short distance from where the Maki-men stand to receive them. Then the gongs strike up the rhythm for "circling," and the donor of the first tusker, having handed his pig-rope to one of his companions, issues alone, torch in hand, to "circle" for his pig. I will not here repeat the details of this "circling," and of the counter-circling by the receiver, which have already been given on p. 303, except to add that on this occasion, when the actual presentation is made,

[1] See p. 318.

the donor is joined by his wife, who is the Maki-man's daughter or sister, and who, together with him, gives the pig-rope into the receiver's hand.

The rite of "circling" is repeated separately by each donor of a boar of the grade curved-tusker and over, after which those bringing smaller pigs hand them over without ceremony to their hosts.

Parties from each village make their presentations in the prescribed order.

The donors now retire or join the spectators. Meanwhile the members of the next village due to arrive have been listening to the gong-rhythms played on the home dancing-ground to accompany the "circling," and, as soon as they hear that it is finished, they in their turn sound the gong-signal called *na-mbe ne-òs-òs* on their own gongs and set forth, singing and dancing *na-rel* on the way. Thus, all morning and well into the afternoon, the different parties arrive one after the other to present their pigs, and the whole island resounds with the sound of singing, of conch-shell trumpet signals, and of the gong-signals which carry the news of the rite far out beyond the confines of Vao, so that the inhabitants of the neighbouring mainland and, if the wind is right, of Atchin are kept fully informed of the precise course of events even down to the number and grades of the tuskers that are being presented, and by which villages the different presentations are being made.

Setting the Stage for the Great Sacrifice

100 *tusked boars attached to stakes on Upper Side and* 100 *fowls on Lower Side of dancing-ground.*

When all the presentations are over and the guests have again retired, the boars thus given are attached to the stakes at which they are to be sacrificed. In Low Maki as at present performed on the Superior Side of Vao, 100 such stakes are erected along the Upper or men's Side of the dancing-ground in front of both dolmen and gongs, and 100 along the Lower or women's Side. The boars are all tied to the stakes on the Upper Side, but their size and quality depend on the scale on which the whole Maki is being performed and what grade of pigs the Maki-men have been able to extract out of their relatives-in-law. At the last Low Maki at Pete-hul a curved-tusker or a crescent-tusker was tied at either extremity and to every 10th stake, while to each of the 89 remaining stakes was attached a tusked boar of one of the lesser grades. There were thus, on the Upper or men's Side, 100 tuskers of various grades prepared for the mass sacrifice to be described later, and excluding the special tuskers of much higher grade that are to be sacrificed separately on the dolmen.

The erection of stakes instead of stones and the comparatively inferior grade of these boars are among the features that distinguish Low Maki from High Maki.

In the same way, to the 100 stakes erected for Low Maki on the Lower or women's Side, the sacrificial objects that are attached are fowls, a fact giving rise to the Atchin name for Low Maki, which is *Na-tò*, meaning "fowl," whereas for High Maki the stakes even on the women's Side are replaced by stones and the sacrificial objects are gelded pigs. For this reason, when likening the Maki to a canoe laden with pigs, they joke, saying that the canoe for Low Maki will capsize, since, the victims at the Lower Side which represents the outrigger-boom being only fowls, there will not be sufficient weight to keep the canoe steady.

Special high-grade tuskers attached to single large stake close to the dolmen. Surrounded by screen called the "birth enclosure."

These pigs and fowls are destined for mass sacrifice by all the Maki-men, who will thereby each acquire a new title and name. The chief sacrificial animals, by sacrificing which the chief Maki-men will each take a second title, are the high-grade boars which in Low Maki range from that of curved-tusker to circle-tusker, and are attached to a single large stake set up in immediate proximity to the dolmen.

These are the only animals the sacrifice of which confers the full benefits of re-birth, and this, as well as the female nature of the dolmen, is signified by the fact that round both dolmen and these sacrificial animals there is put up the most important temporary erection of all, namely a reed fence (*na-lit*) acting as a screen, called *hu ni-ar*, which, as has already been seen,[1] means "birth enclosure" and is the same phrase as is used to designate the women's special maternity or lying-in Lodges, where they give birth to actual children.[2]

The Sacrificial Acts

(i) Mass Sacrifice by all Maki-men

The screen is torn down. Men of the introducing "line" sing special song.

By the time all this has been done, it is now well on in the afternoon. The guests all return, a special gong-signal called *tav-tav ghore* is sounded, and the men of the introducing "line," the Maki-men's fathers and sons, shake down the screen, exposing the dolmen and the tusked boars attached to it to the gaze of the assembled multitude. Those who shook it down are rewarded by the Maki-men with gifts of small pigs.

The men of the introducing "line" now gather in a group in the middle of the dancing-ground and sing a magnificent chant common, with dialectical differences, to all the Small Islands, in which the Maki

[1] See p. 73.

[2] It is interesting to note that on Atchin, where the single large dolmen has been superseded by other forms of stonework, the fence erected before these is no longer called by this name, but by another, *ni-er merer*, which has nothing to do with birth.

is represented as a canoe from afar that has now landed on the shore and has disgorged its cargo of men and tusked boars.[1] This means, of course, that the day of sacrifice has at last arrived.

Mass sacrifice by all Maki-men of 100 *tusked boars on Upper Side and* 100 *fowls on Lower Side.*

While the men of the introducing "line" are intoning this chant, the Maki-men one after the other ritually "sacrifice" first the 100 fowls on the Lower Side of the dancing-ground and then the 100 boars on the Upper Side, the former being "sacrificed" by the as yet unsanctified boys and the latter by the men.[2] I have written the word "sacrifice" in inverted commas since, though each Maki-man has to perform it on each of the 200 victims, the act consists simply in hitting them more or less sharply on the head with a stick, so that while some die of the effects others do not. It is true that they must ultimately be despatched, but no one seems to mind whether they die quickly or not. Indeed, their squeals add to the general mirth and excitement of the occasion.

Each sacrificer takes new low-rank title and name.

In this mass sacrifice, while each Maki-man derives sanctity through all the victims he has partially killed, it is only through the chief tusker that he has himself provided, and which he probably kills outright so that its soul may pass into him, that he gains his new title and rank. As the tuskers sacrificed on this occasion are of lower grade than those sacrificed later on in the proceedings at the dolmen, the ranks thus taken are comparatively low.[3] I have, unfortunately, no record of just how and when these new ranks and titles are announced in Vao. In Atchin each Maki-man invents his own name, preceded by the title Mal.[4] There is

[1] I regret that I cannot reproduce this chant in this volume, since my record of it is in the language of Atchin and I recorded only its opening words in Vao, which are "*Ne mangki e o so Peter-asol*, "The Maki has landed at Pete-hul." The last words, of course, would be altered to suit any particular village in which the Maki was being performed. The words are in archaic song language which renders *Maki* as *mangki* and Pete-hul as *Peter-asol*. The Atchin version, with its tune, will be given in another volume.

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 357, speaks of large numbers of pigs "slaughtered in groups of twenty" in the rites accompanying the attainment of the highest rank in Lambumbu. The account most nearly resembling the mass sacrifice in Vao and the remaining Small Islands comes, however, from Tasmant, in South-West Santo, where, for the rank Wotere, "a row of 100 sticks is . . . set up in the dancing-ground and cycas leaves are bound round each. One hundred pigs are then brought, with their hind legs tied together, and one is fastened to every stick. Then, to the accompaniment of the blowing of conches, the candidate moves along the row killing the pigs. One pig is then presented to each village which has been invited" (Deacon, 3, p. 477). In both these cases, however, it is one man only who performs the sacrifice, and not a whole "line" of Maki-men as in the Small Islands.

[3] See p. 431.

[4] Details of such names, with their meanings, will be given in a future volume on Atchin. See also present volume, p. 433.

on this occasion no ritual announcing, each man telling his new name privately to his friends, the public announcement of these not being made till the fourth day after the great sacrifice, when a special rite called *Tòghòghon* is held for this purpose.

Complimentary-pigs and belated consideration-pigs given to donors of presentation-pigs.

When the mass sacrifice is over, the pigs and fowls thus ritually despatched are distributed, along with the usual heaps of food set out in the prescribed order of villages, among the guests. At this point in the rite also complimentary-pigs are given by the Maki-men to those who "circled" for presentation-pigs earlier in the day. I was told also, rather humorously, that even belated consideration-pigs, that should by rights have been given to the prospective receivers of presentation-pigs in earnest for these long before the actual presentation, may now also be given, quite possibly some of the smaller presentation-pigs not used for sacrifice being used for this purpose.

Maki-men pay mother's brothers for their new names.

Now also occurs the important rite in which each Maki-man pays his mother's brother for his new name. I have unfortunately no detailed account of how this is done on Vao. On Atchin the transaction involves the conveyance of two boars, the Maki-man first going to his mother's brother, demanding from him a comparatively low-grade tusker, which the mother's brother hands over to him on one of the many formal occasions on which presentations are made prior to the sacrificial day. This presentation constitutes the mother's brother's contribution in what is regarded formally as an "exchange" of compliments between the two. The main presentation is, however, that now made in return by the Maki-man to him, which consists of a tusked boar of considerably higher grade, and it is this boar which is called "paying for the name." [1]

[1] In the language of Atchin this is called *e wuli ne-sen*, "he (it) pays for his name." I did not record the manner in which this presentation is made on Vao, or whether the boar is "circled" for or not. In its commercial aspect, however, there is a remarkable similarity between the transaction just described and the exchange of consideration- and presentation-pigs between each important Maki-man and his daughter's husband, in which the Maki-man gives his son-in-law a consideration-pig, in return for which the son-in-law gives the Maki-man, his wife's father, a presentation-pig. Reference to Fig. 20 representing the four-section element in the kinship system, on which this essential part of Maki ritual appears to be founded, will show that within the limits of this element the wife's father belongs to the same marriage section as the mother's brother, and in this way the two are sociologically equivalent. Whereas *before* the mass sacrifice, however, while the Maki-men are still candidates, it is the Maki-man who, in the rôle of wife's father, receives the presentation-pig, *after* the mass-sacrifice when the rôles are reversed and the Maki-man has now attained his new dignity, it is in the rôle of sister's son that he now makes presentation to his mother's brother in payment for his new name, and the balance is thus restored.

Guests depart. Maki-men retire to invest womenfolk with complimentary titles.

Laden with yams, complimentary-pigs, belated consideration-pigs, and with the fowls and smaller sacrificial pigs that have fallen to their lot, the guests now retire to their homes. The larger tuskers that have been distributed among them are left till the next day, when they are fetched home, still alive though ritually already "sacrificed," slung on to poles made of *tawò* [1] or *rav* wood, and there finally despatched at their recipients' convenience during the days' feasting that ensue.

Each married Maki-man then retires to his dwelling-enclosure for the important rite of investing his mother and daughters with their complimentary titles, a discussion of which would impede the narrative too much here, but which is dealt with fully below on pp. 394 ff.

(ii) Chief Maki-men sacrifice special tuskers at dolmen

Takes place at sundown, when nightly dance of the ghosts begins. Way barred by mothers' brothers representing the Guardian Ghost.

At the mass sacrifice which has just been described every Maki-man takes a new rank, title and name. But the highest sacrifice yet remains to be accomplished. For this the sacrificial animals are the high-grade tuskers attached close to the dolmen, and the sacrificers are the chief Maki-men to whom these belong. This sacrifice takes place at sundown, at which moment the nightly dance of the ghosts begins, and the chief actors, apart from the Maki-men themselves, are their mothers' brothers, who, in their capacity as "male mothers," represent the female line of descent symbolised by the figure of the Guardian Ghost.

This is the most solemn moment of the whole Maki. For the dolmen symbolises at one and the same time the tomb, the Cave of the Dead, through which men pass in order to gain new life on the volcano, and the mother's womb out of which they are to be re-born.

It will be remembered how, when a man dies, his ghost or "soul" when it approaches the cave is met by the Guardian Ghost who threatens to devour him if not placated by the present of a ghost-pig. In the same way, now, at the moment of sacrifice, as each of the chief Maki-men approaches the dolmen to sacrifice his boar, his way is barred by a group consisting of all his mother's brothers. But, like the dead man, he has not forgotten to provide himself with a small pig, which he presents to them in order to be allowed through. Receiving this, his mother's brothers make way for him and he approaches the dolmen to perform his sacrificial act.

[1] It will be remembered that branches of the *tawò* tree are symbolic of (? home-bred) circle-tuskers (see p. 384).

Sacrificers approach dolmen adorned with insignia of rank and carrying a club and wooden pig-killer.

For this purpose he has donned all the insignia proper to his previously acquired rank. In his hair he wears hawks' or cocks' feathers, black or white according to rank, together with red hibiscus flowers and leaves of golden fern. His biceps are adorned with shell-bead armlets worked in geometric designs representing a hawk's face and other symbols, and on his wrists he wears as bracelets the tusks of boars sacrificed on former occasions. His face is painted black. In his left hand he carries a club, and in his right hand a wooden pig-killer (see Plate X, 2) carved out of a forked branch of which the longer arm is the handle and the shorter the striking part which ends bluntly so as to crack the victim's skull or at least stun it so that it can be despatched later. The handle, roughly one foot three inches long, is incised with geometric patterns, and the fork often carved to represent a man's head, of which the prolonged chin stretches towards the striking end. The whole pig-killer is painted red, yellow and blue, and the magnificence of the carving varies with the sacrificer's rank.

Tusked boar sacrificed on dolmen. Its soul enters the sacrificer, whereon he assumes his new title and rank.

I did not myself record the actual position of the boar at the moment of sacrifice. Godefroy, however, describes how it is lifted on to the dolmen, where it is made to stand on its hind-feet, while its fore-feet—its arms as the natives say—rest on the fore-arm of the man about to sacrifice it.[1]

It is at this moment of striking, whether the victim is actually killed on the spot or merely stunned to be despatched later, that the title already bestowed on the tusked boar devolves, with the supposed passage of its soul, upon the sacrificer himself.[2]

Thus, though the sacrificer has already acquired one new title and name by means of the mass sacrifice in the afternoon, he now, by this yet more holy act, acquires a second, this time of high rank, and, as he sacrifices, he calls out, in a loud voice so that all can hear, his new title together with his new name, saying "*Ne-haku* M . . .," "My name is M . . ."[3]

The victim is not eaten by the sacrificer but by a member of another village, most probably, as will be seen later, by the mother's brother.[4]

[1] Godefroy, I, 1933, p. 37. [2] See p. 258.
[3] For new titles and names so taken, see pp. 431 ff.
[4] See p. 725. The only record I have is of boars sacrificed at Pete-hul being taken to Peter-ihi.

Each Maki-man sacrifices alone.

As each of the chief Maki-men in turn approaches the dolmen to sacrifice his tusked boar his way is similarly barred by a group of mother's brothers, and in each case the same performance is gone through. Each thus acquires two new titles and names: the first, of low rank, acquired during the mass sacrifice, and the second, of high rank, acquired now. Of the two names thus taken, it is the second and highest by which he is subsequently known, until such time as the men of his "line" perform a new Maki, when he will assume a yet higher supernumerary title and take to himself a yet more pious or more ambitious name.

Maki-men retire into semi-seclusion.

All the sacrifices being now over, the Maki-men retire to their own dwelling-houses or into the *ghamal* to undergo various periods of semi-seclusion accompanied by restrictions symbolising a spiritual death and re-birth.

Women's Complimentary Titles

Before detailing the above restrictions, however, there remains to be described one more rite that takes place on this day which I have omitted till now only in order to preserve a clear picture of the sequence of sacrifice. This is the important rite of conferring complimentary titles on the Maki-men's wives, daughters and mothers.[1] These terms are used here not in a classificatory sense, but in a biological one, so that if a man is unmarried and his own mother is dead there will be no women to share his rise in rank. I know, unfortunately, very little about the part played by women in the Maki, and my interest in kinship was at the time of recording not sufficiently aroused to prompt me to investigate this problem in the way that I should if I were in the field again. My record of this rite is therefore fragmentary and, while there is much that is of obvious significance, there is much also that is obscure.

The rite itself, which is performed by each Maki-man separately in the privacy of his own house-enclosure, is a comparatively simple one, and consists, besides giving the title, in covering up the women's heads as a symbol of mourning. Whether this act of mourning is on account of the Maki-man's own ritual death or on account of the real death of the sacrificial boars I am unable to say.

Differences in treatment between (i) daughters and mothers; (ii) wives.

While they have this in common there are, however, marked differences between the treatment of (i) the daughters and mothers, and (ii) the wives. These are:

[1] This is not to be confused with the women's own Maki, in which they themselves sacrifice pigs and take titles in their own right (see p. 452).

(a) *When titles are given.*

The titles given to the daughters and mothers (I name the daughters first because, for reasons shown below, this is the native practice) are bestowed immediately after the mass sacrifice, while those given to the wives are bestowed on some subsequent occasion, though I unfortunately omitted to record exactly when.

(b) *The titles and their meaning.*

While there is only one title to be given to the daughters, namely *Le-tang*, and one to the mothers, namely *Le-ghter*, the wives receive one title, *Le-lek*, on the first occasion on which their husbands perform Low Maki, and another, *Le-at*, at High Maki and on all subsequent occasions on which their husbands perform the rite. With regard to these titles, it will be remembered that every woman's name begins with the prefix *Le-*, so that the special meaning of each title is to be sought in its second syllable. Thus:

Le-tang, given to the daughter, means "she who weeps" (*tang*), referring to the fact of mourning.

Le-ghter, given to the mother, is a respectful title probably meaning "she who is old." (Atchin *tara*, though I am unable to account in this case for the prefix *gh.*)[1]

Le-lek, given to the wife at her husband's first performance of Low Maki, means "she who stays at home." *Lek* is the ordinary word for "to stay" or "to remain," and refers in this case to the wife's staying at home to look after her husband during his seclusion.[2]

Le-at, given to the wife at High Maki and at all subsequent performances and the most honourable title to which a woman can attain, means also "she who stays at home," *at* being a more serious and ceremonial word for ritual quietness.[3]

(c) *By whom the titles are bestowed and whose names are taken with them.*

While the titles given to the daughters and mothers are bestowed by the Maki-men themselves, and the women in question at the same time adopt the Maki-man's name,[4] those given to the wives are subsequently bestowed not by the Maki-men, but by the Maki-men's own mothers

[1] The Atchin form of the word is *Le-ter*. It is interesting to note that one of the women's titles in Seniang is *Ne-vin Tari* (Deacon, 4, p. 482), which in turn may be connected with the male title *Tari* found in South-West Santo, Oba and North Raga.

[2] Compare the woman's title of *Likan* in Seniang (Deacon, 4, p. 482).

[3] This word may possibly also be connected with *hat*, meaning "bad" in the sense of "powerful" or "feared."

[4] Thus, if the Maki-man's name is Melteg-rori, his daughter will become Le-tang-melteg-rori, "she who weeps for Melteg-rori" (or for his sacrificial boar), and his mother will become Le-ghter-melteg-rori, "the old lady of Melteg-rori."

(who are now *Le-ghter*), and the names they adopt are not those of the Maki-men but are those of their own brothers.[1]

(d) *Type of mourning-cap with which they are invested.*

While the daughters and mothers are invested only with an inferior or "preparatory" type of mourning head-dress in the form of a strip of umbrella-palm leaf (*ro-mbun*) [2] given by the Maki-men at the moment when they are given their new names, the wives are invested with full mourning in the shape of a widow's cap made of plaited matting dyed red in a variety of patterns and called *mbagh-mbagh*.[3]

(e) *Length of period of mourning.*

While the daughters and mothers are released from their period of mourning on the Thirtieth Day after the Maki, the wives continue to wear their mourning-caps for a period of one or two years, when, after the renewed dancing of *Velal* by all villages in rotation, the removal of these caps is the final act that brings the protracted Maki proceedings to an end.

These facts may be tabulated as follows:

Degree of relationship Maki-man	*When invested*	*Title*	*Meaning of Title*	*Man's name taken*	*Bestowed by*	*Mourning symbol worn on the head*	*Period during which mourning symbol is worn*
Daughter .	After mass sacrifice	*Le-tang*	"weep"	Maki-man (=Father)	Maki-man	Umbrella-palm leaf (*ro-mbun*) regarded as substitute for widow's cap	30 days
Mother .	After mass sacrifice	*Le-ghter*	"old"	Maki-man (=Son)			
Wife .	At some later date	*Le-lek* [4] / *Le-at* [5]	"remain" / "remain" or "holy"	Own Brother	Maki-man's mother (=mother-in-law) [6]	Widow's cap (*mbak-mbak*)	1 or 2 years

TABLE VI

[1] Nowadays they sometimes take the name of their husband the Maki-man, but this almost certainly represents a modern degradation.

[2] Compare the Mota *roqo*, "an old leaf-mat," used also as a verb "to cover with old leaf-mats" and "to have a rough head of hair like an old leaf-mat" (Codrington, 2).

[3] From a root (Atchin *pek*) meaning "to carry on the head," probably related also to the Vao *mbek-mbek* (Atchin *pek-pek*), signifying "a fine" (see pp. 334, 437). Compare the Vao word *bak-bakean*, used as a noun for sacrifices made to the ancestors to expiate an offence against some important custom. Godefroy (1, 1934, p. 54) calls this a "sacrifice of atonement" and instances the case of young men returning home at the end of a period of indentured labour on a white man's plantation, when they have to make amends to the ancestors in this way for having eaten at a white man's fire and swallowed forbidden food—as, for example, the flesh of sows.

[4] At husband's first performance of Low Maki.

[5] At High Maki and all subsequent performances.

[6] On Atchin and Wala the bestower is the wife's own brother.

Kinship basis of the rite.

From these differences it will be seen that the most important mourner is the wife, who also, as described below, cooks for her husband and shares some of his abstinences during his subsequent period of retreat.

From the kinship point of view these investitures are of interest since in the first place each of the women so invested belongs to one of the three patrilineal trisections A, B and C, thus:

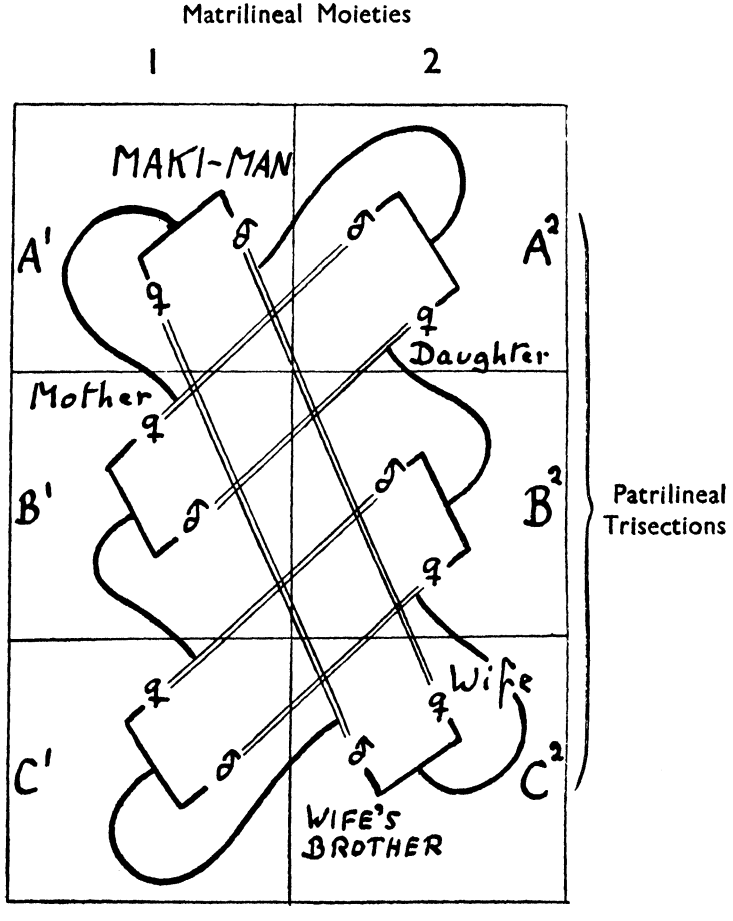


FIG. 50

The Maki-man's three female relatives receiving complimentary titles each belong to one patrilineal trisection.

This immediately explains why, despite the greater ritual importance of the wife, the three relatives are always referred to in a specific order,

namely (i) the daughters and mothers, (ii) the wives, corresponding to the actual order of these patrilineal trisections in terms of consanguinity to the Maki-man in the female line of descent, his daughter belonging to his own trisection A, his mother to B and his wife to his mother's mother's trisection C.

It does not, however, explain the fact that while he himself confers his own name on his daughter and mother, his wife takes not his name but her brother's, and that the accompanying title is bestowed on her not by the Maki-man but by his mother.

To understand this we have only to look once more at Fig. 50 to realise that, out of the 6 kinship sections, B^2 and C^1 are not represented in this drama at all, and that these were precisely the two sections that were added when, as described on pp. 119 and 297, the inferior moiety B of the original 4-section system split up and transformed this system into one containing 6 sections instead of 4. It is thus evident that this portion of Maki ritual is founded not on the existing system based on patrilineal trisections, but on the yet more fundamental 4-section pattern, in which each actor represents one of the 4 sections. This fact is clearly seen in Fig. 51, which also explains the different treatment accorded on the one hand to the daughter and mother and on the other hand to the wife.

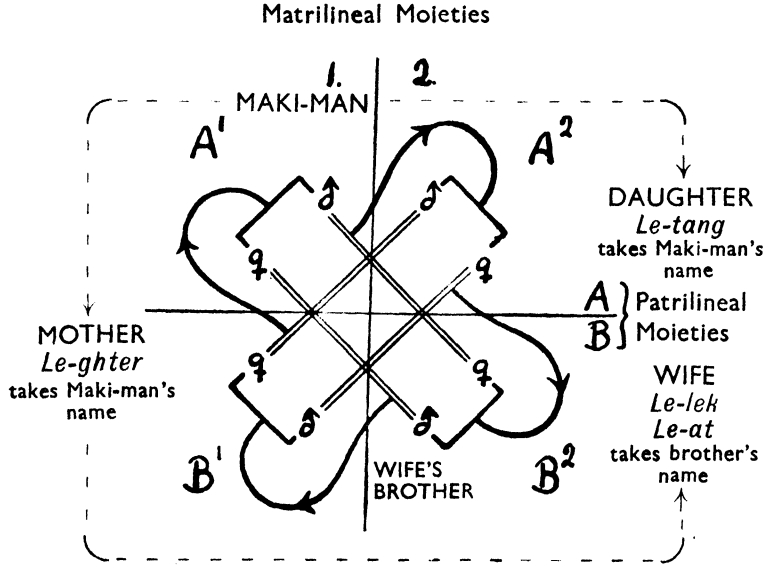


FIG. 51

ILLUSTRATING THE 4-SECTION BASIS OF THE RITE.

Broken lines indicate by whom each of the three women's complimentary titles is bestowed.

For while the Maki-man's daughter belongs to his own patrilineal moiety and his mother to his own matrilineal moiety, and on this account both these relatives may be invested by him and may adopt his own name, the wife belongs to neither. The wife therefore can neither be invested by him direct, nor yet take his name, but must be invested indirectly by his mother (whom he has himself previously invested and who at the same time belongs to the same patrilineal moiety as the wife), and takes the name of her own brother who is the male representative of her own kinship section.

It is worth noting that, while this Vao form of the rite is thus clearly seen to be founded on a 4-section system, in the later forms of monolith-Maki now practised on Atchin and Wala this pattern has succumbed to the predominating influence of patrilineal descent to the extent that the wife there has the choice of taking the name of either her father, her brother or her brother's son.

Post-sacrificial Period

Maki-men undertake various periods of retreat, and eat in ghamal.

As I have already said, after the great sacrifice all the Maki-men go into retreat for a period of thirty days. It will be remembered that a similar period of seclusion is undergone by women and their children after childbirth,[1] and there is little doubt that this period of retreat for the Maki-men represents a similar period of inward recuperation after the efforts and satisfactions of their own re-birth. The focal point for this retreat is the *ghamal*, where all meals must be eaten. The younger men also sleep in the *ghamal*, but those older men who possess specially sanctified dwelling-houses may, if they so wish, sleep in these, going to the *ghamal* to eat. At the end of this thirty-day period a special rite takes place.[2] This period must be observed by all, down to the youngest Maki-man, those who are released at the end of this time being probably those who took part only in the mass sacrifice. Those who sacrificed at the dolmen, however, may extend this period, voluntarily and in accordance with their own powers of piety and endurance, to fifty or one hundred days or even, in cases of men of very high supernumerary rank, two or three years, though in the case of these extended periods the rule about eating in the *ghamal* is relaxed. Others, particularly pious and ambitious, will, on the Thirtieth Day, impose upon themselves yet further voluntary restrictions until they have succeeded in making a new Maki either for themselves or for their sons.[3]

[1] See p. 179. [2] See pp. 402, 430. [3] See p. 405.

Restrictions on sexual intercourse. Wives cook for their husbands and must themselves be cooked for by others. Neither may leave village nor behold the sea.

During the period of thirty days immediately following the Maki a man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife nor any other woman. At the same time his ritual helplessness (for he is now ritually a new-born infant) is symbolised by the fact that he may not on any account cook for himself, but if he is married his wife must cook for him in his own dwelling-house and either send his meals to him in the *ghamal* or he must come and fetch them himself.[1] Thus, during this period of retreat, his wife virtually becomes his mother, who feeds him but with whom he has no sexual connexion. This does not mean, however, that she shares his sanctity. For, while normally a man may not eat women's food, this separation is now increased to the extent that even his food may not be defiled by coming in contact with any woman's food. Therefore, his wife, who cooks for him, may not cook for herself, but another woman must cook for her, and the wife must convey this food to her mouth by means of a leaf, taking care not to touch it with her hands. Even so, in case of some accidental touching, she must wash her own hands after she has finished eating.

During this same period, and, in the case of those undertaking yet longer retreats, during the whole period they cover, neither the Maki-men nor their wives may go down to the beach nor even to any other village on the island. Far less may they leave the island. If a man breaks this rule before his time is up he must expiate each such offence by sacrificing a pig.

Restrictions and those undertaking them called vel-val.

All such restrictions involving abstinence of any kind, whether from food or from going down to the sea, but especially from sexual intercourse, are called *vel-val*. This word is used also for those undertaking such acts of abstinence, whence it comes to mean also what we should translate as "sacred" or "taboo," and it is in this sense that it may have been used as a title for one of the now obsolete Maki ranks.[2]

Many other restrictions are also observed, of which I made no detailed record on Vao, though I did so on Atchin, and an account of these will be given in a later volume. The word regularly used for these restrictions among the converts of the French Roman Catholic Mission on Vao is "pénitence."

[1] I omitted to enquire who would cook for an unmarried Maki-man. This rôle would presumably be taken by his mother or mother's sister.

[2] See pp. 563, 609. The "high" personal name Val-vale is probably derived from this (see p. 434). Compare also Mota *val*, "to refrain from certain food as an act of mourning," with its derivatives *valea* and *val-val* (Codrington, 2).

Women may not eat yam called ro-toro.

One special restriction which I recorded is that, from the day when the Maki-men's wives, daughters and mothers take their complimentary titles and assume their mourning-caps till the day when these latter are put off, neither the Maki-men nor any of these women may eat a special kind of yam called *ro-toro*. Why this should be I do not know. This restriction and those observing it are also called *vel-val*, a term which is thus seen to be also applicable to women.

No restrictions whatever are observed either by the Maki-men's sisters or by any members of the introducing "line."

FOURTH DAY AFTER THE MAKI

Rite called *Tòghòghon* for Memorising Maki-men's new Titles and Names

I have already pointed out that during the mass sacrifice, and in the noise and confusion occasioned by it, there was no general announcement of the Maki-men's new titles and names, only those taken at sundown by those sacrificing at the dolmen being publicly uttered. For this reason, on the Fourth Day after the Maki there takes place a rite called *Tòghòghon*, the purpose of which is to fix in people's minds the new titles and names that have been taken.

Introducing "line" and all villages assemble. Maki-men issue from ghamal singing Oba men's song. Their names are called out and they are presented with yams.

For this purpose, men and women of the introducing "line" and parties from all the other villages on Vao assemble in the dancing-ground holding in their hands yams wrapped up magnificently in leaves of the dracaena (*ro-sigh*) and thatch-palm (*ni-at*), those held by the men being further decorated with hibiscus flowers (*hakaul*) or, failing these, crotons. When all are assembled, the Maki-men, who have been decorating themselves in the *ghamal*, issue from it and dance towards them, singing the same Oba men's sea-song that was sung by them during the Exhibition of Pigs.[1] Thus singing and dancing, they approach first the men and women of the introducing "line," consisting of their own fathers, sons and daughters. As they come near, one of the men of this "line" sacrifices a pig, and at the same time another man of the same "line," who has already been told, calls out the new title and name of the foremost Maki-man, crying out "*M* . . . (title and name) *O!*" The Maki-man

[1] See p. 381.

makes no reply. Then another man of the introducing "line" calls out to him "*Na-rom som neia,*" "Here is your yam." This is repeated for every Maki-man, down to the youngest boy, till all the new titles and names have been announced. Then all the Maki-men stand in a line, and each is presented with his yam and also a money-mat.

When all the men and women of the introducing "line" have thus been made acquainted with the Maki-men's new titles and names, the same ritual is then gone through one by one with all the assembled parties from the other Vao villages in due order, beginning with Tolamp and ending with Singon, till finally every inhabitant of the island has had a public opportunity to learn them.

JAW-BONES OF SACRIFICIAL TUSKERS RETURNED AND DISPLAYED ON A RACK

On Atchin a special day is appointed when the jaw-bones of all the tusked boars that have been sacrificed are returned, with the tusks still in them, by the mothers' brothers and all those by whom the pigs have been eaten. On Vao no special day is allotted for this, but all must be returned well before the Thirtieth Day. When all the tusked jaw-bones have thus been brought back, a special bamboo rack, called *mbale ni-ah*, "stand for pigs' jaws," is erected in the dancing-ground for their display (see Plates IX, 1; XIII, 2; XVII, XX).

Apart from these happenings, the thirty-day period after the great sacrifice is one of repose, not only on the part of the Maki-men in their retreat, but also on that of the members of the introducing "line" who now have the leisure to recuperate from the labours that they also have undertaken.

THIRTIETH DAY

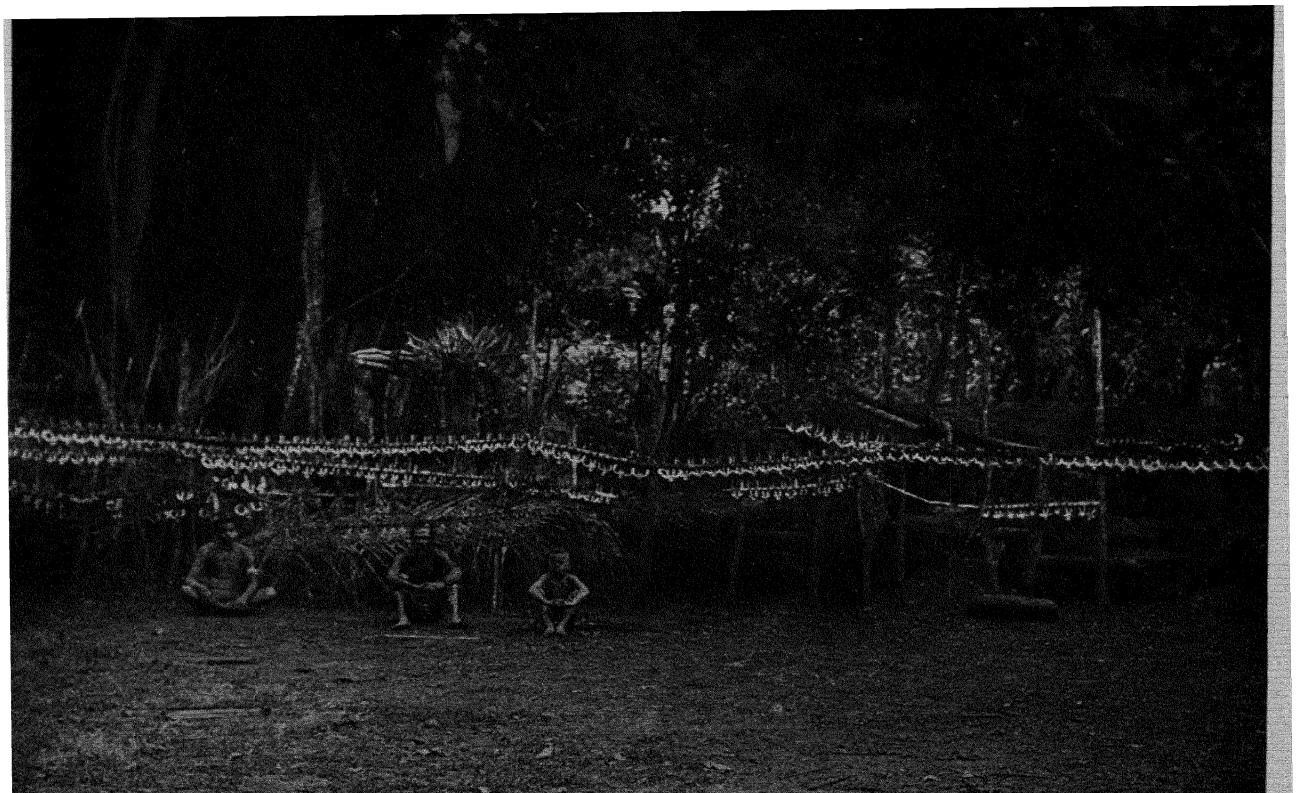
Main Body of Maki-men Released from Retreat

The Thirtieth Day (a literal translation of the native term *bong movul ghe tol*) is that on which the main body of Maki-men are released from their retreat. This corresponds to the thirtieth day after physical birth, when the mother for the first time takes her child out.

In the same way the Maki-men are now ready to face the world after their spiritual re-birth. The occasion is marked by a number of spectacular rites.

Na-leng mumming-plays and figure-dances performed.

First among these is the performance of mumming-plays (*na-leng*) by parties from each Vao village in turn and in the usual order, and also, if they so wish, from the mainland and other islands, followed by a *na-leng*



Racks displaying the tusked jaws of boars sacrificed during a recent Maki at Togh-vanu

PLATE XVII

maze dance performed by the Maki-men themselves together with the members of the introducing "line."

Mothers and daughters surrender substitute mourning-caps.

These *na-leng* take place during the morning. After they are over, all the Maki-men stand in a line, and the mother and daughters of each Maki-man possessing such relatives, who, it will be remembered, were each given a new title together with the Maki-man's own name on the Sacrificial Day, and at the same time were each invested with a mourning-cap in the form of an umbrella-palm leaf, now present him, as a sign that their mourning period is over, with a whole umbrella-palm leaf, together with a yam and a pig or a fowl. These then retire, and the umbrella-palm leaves are taken into the *ghamal*, where they remain till they wither away.

Maki-men pay members of introducing "line" for supplying them with yams during their retreat.
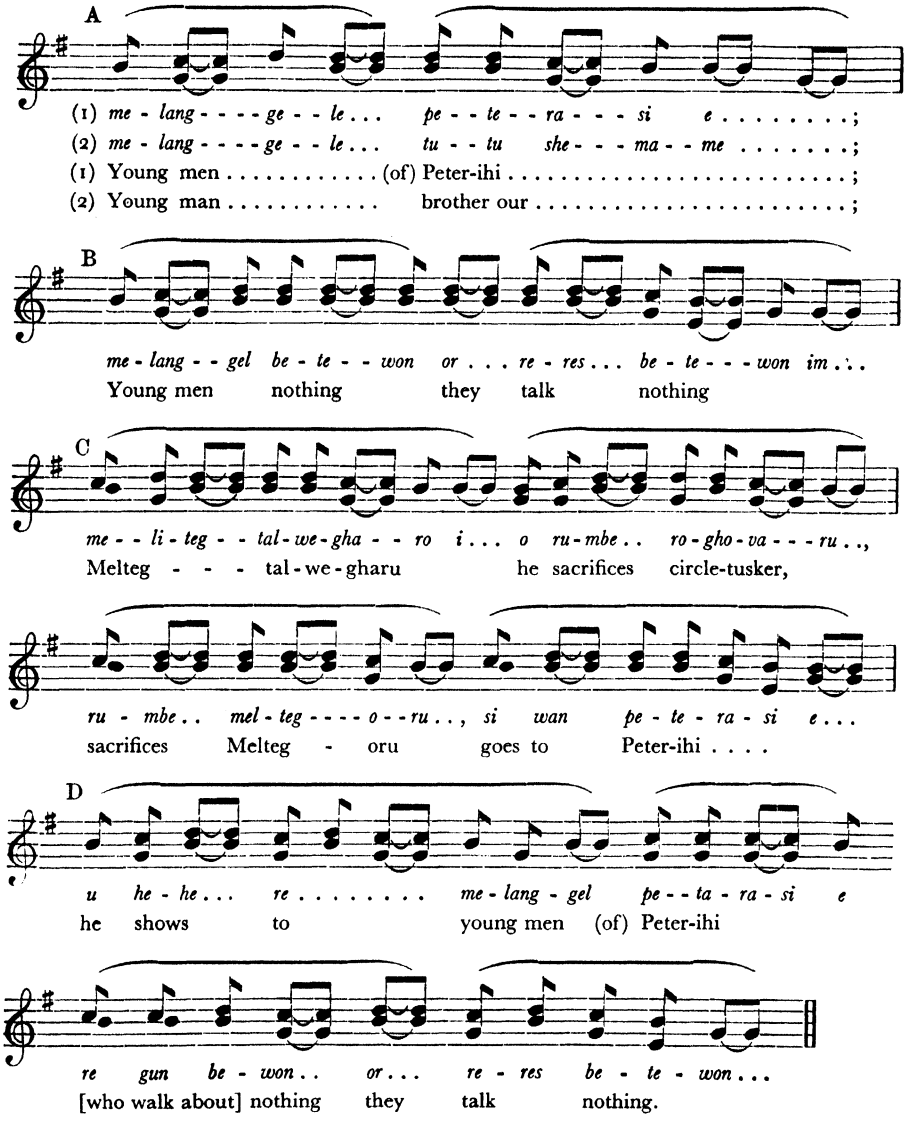
The next thing to be done is for the Maki-men to pay those members of the introducing "line" who have gone to the trouble of fetching yams for them from their gardens on the mainland during the period of their retreat. Count of these yams has been kept by the Maki-men by plucking off a corresponding number of fronds on a cycas leaf. These are now paid for with money-mats.

Le-tean danced and personal songs sung in praise of each Maki-man.

That night, *Le-tean* is danced by the members of the home-village round a log placed horizontally in the middle of the dancing-ground and beaten with the butt-ends of sticks or bamboos held in the hand. *Le-tean* is the dance cycle of which the songs deal with the exploits of individual Maki-men, and on this occasion songs newly made up in honour of each Maki-man are sung in turn by the whole village, the subject of each song himself joining in.

The following is a typical verse of such a song, sung in honour of a man belonging to one of the villages on the Superior Side of the Island, boasting of his exploits at the expense of the men of the village of Peter-ihi (pronounced *Peter-asi* in the song) on the Inferior Side. This man had sacrificed a circle-tusker at the stone-platform and so had acquired two names, Melteg-oru at the mass sacrifice, and Melteg-wa-ru (*Meliteg-we-gharo* in the song) meaning "twice Melteg" through individual sacrifice at the stone-platform. The young men of Peter-ihi are represented as being dumbfounded at the size of the circle-tusker and unable to acquire one like it. The circle-tusker is itself, according to song-practice, referred to by its Oba name *rugh-va-ru* (*rogho-va-ru* in the song), meaning "twice-curved," instead of by the usual Vao term.

SONG 6. LE-TEAN



Order in which phrases are sung: A (1) B; A (1) B; A (2) C; DD.

The words are in the usual archaic-poetic style: [1]

[1] Spoken Atchin equivalents:—*melanggele=Malakel; bete-won=na-won; re-res=rets; shemame=semam; rumbe=rewtsi; rogho-va-ru=ruk-wa-ru.*

Translated freely, the words mean:

"The young men of Peter-ihi,
The young men have nothing,[1] they talk [2] in vain;
The young men of Peter-ihi,
The young men have nothing, they talk in vain;
Our young brother,[3] Melteg-tal-we-gharu,
He sacrifices a circle-tusker, he sacrifices (it).
Melteg-oru goes to Peter-ihi
And shows it to the young men of Peter-ihi
Who walk about, and talk in vain."

Vows taken by certain Maki-men to abstain each from some desired object of food till he has made a new Maki for himself or for his son.

When these personal songs are over, and each individual Maki-man has been thus lauded, the dancers all throw away their sticks and, clapping their hands, start singing the Oba Men's Song sung during the Exhibition of Pigs and again later before the announcing of the Maki-men's new names on the Fourth Day after the Maki. While they are doing this, one of the Maki-men who sacrificed at the dolmen issues from the crowd and dances round them, hissing fiercely and holding out his right hand as if grasping a spear. This is a sign that he wishes to make an important announcement. When the song is over, one of the dancers therefore calls out to him, "You speak. We want to hear what you have to say." The Maki-man then answers, "You ask me to speak. What shall I say?" Then, walking round them and gesticulating fiercely to show the fixity of his purpose, he makes a vow, swearing that he will abstain from some desired object till he has made another Maki, or made a new Maki for his son. He may swear that he will not eat a certain kind of yam, or banana, or some other article of food; but that he will "go home and pick out one of his pigs, and will feed it and feed it and feed it until it has grown into a circle-tusker, so that at last he will 'kill Maki' [4] with it, and then, and not till then, will he eat that yam." Some men who are unusually "strong," that is to say determined or pious, will even abstain from eating in the *ghamal* or leaving the island until they have again made Maki either for themselves or for their sons.

Having made his vow, the Maki-man resumes his place among the crowd of dancers, and the same song or another belonging to the same

[1] I.e. no pigs. [2] I.e. boast.

[3] The word *melanggele*, meaning "young man" or "youth," is a complimentary one, all Maki-men being theoretically held to be in the prime of young manhood. This is at the same time followed by the word *tu tu*, a term of respect used in ordinary parlance for "elder brother."

[4] This is a literal English translation of the native phrase, which in Atchin is *e pale maki*, meaning "to make the Maki sacrifice"; used intransitively the phrase was *Maki e pal*, "Maki is sacrificed."

cycle is repeated while another Maki-man in his turn issues and dances round them and then makes his vow. Not every man makes such a vow; only those who are "strong," and of these the least important comes first, so that of the successive vow-makers each vies with the last in undertaking more and more stringent restrictions.

PERIODS OF EXTENDED VOLUNTARY RETREAT

This ends the proceedings of the Thirtieth Day. The younger and less important Maki-men are now released from their retreat. Those Maki-men who sacrificed at the dolmen and who imposed longer periods upon themselves must continue their retreat until such period be over. Only the regulation about eating in the *ghamal* is relaxed, but they must still observe the prime regulation about not leaving the village and not going down to, or even seeing, the sea, and this stringent restriction is shared by their wives, who all the time feed them.

PERIODS OF VOLUNTARY RESTRICTION BROUGHT TO AN END

Wives bathe, and a taboo placed against fishing in their bathing-place.

The next item in the post-sacrificial rites is the removal of these restrictions, both for the Maki-men and for their wives. As there are certain customary periods of time, such as fifty or one hundred days, for which special vows are taken, it usually happens that several Maki-men are freed from their obligations on the same day. On this day all the wives of these men gather together and go to bathe at a certain place on the shore. When they have bathed, a cycas leaf is planted at either end of this place, indicating that no fish may be taken from it till the removal, a year or two later, of the women's mourning-caps, when fish from this place are ritually eaten.[1] Though the fish are thus tabooed, the place may still be used by either men or women for bathing. Returning home after this first purifying bathe, each woman sacrifices a pig,[2] and is henceforth free to go where she will, though she still wears her mourning-cap.

FIFTH OR SIXTH YEAR

MAKI-MEN'S WIVES CEASE MOURNING

Velal danced by all villages in rotation.

The last scene of all does not take place till, after an interval of one or two years, the wives' mourning-caps are finally removed. The importance of this last rite is marked by the previous dancing of *Velal* first by

[1] For a similar taboo after the Banks Islands rite of *Kolekole* see Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 136.

[2] My only other record of women sacrificing pigs is in the Women's Maki (see p. 452).

the members of the introducing "line" and then, at intervals of several days, by parties from all the Vao villages in the prescribed order. On each occasion a live pig is given to the dancers and message-yams are distributed to all the villages with news of the date on which the next village is to come. The rite itself is fixed for about the third day after the last village comes to dance.

Fish from wives' bathing-place sent to all villages. Wives remove mourning-caps and step over aligned yam poles.

Early in the morning of the appointed day, fish from the place where the women had bathed after being released from their restrictions, and which had since then been tabooed, are shot or speared and sent, with message-yams, as a present to every Vao village, where they are straightway cooked in puddings and eaten.

Later, at about mid-day, attached-yams and lone-yams are set out in the usual alignment in the dancing-ground, one heap for each village. Then, in the presence of men and women from all over the island, the Maki-men's wives [1] perform a rite called *ghor-ghor*, from *ghore* meaning to "open" and so to "remove a restriction." [2] Having removed their mourning-caps for the first time in public since they were imposed at least one and perhaps two years ago, and in their place smeared their heads with black ashes, they enter the dancing-ground, each carrying in her hand her cap neatly wrapped up in umbrella-palm and other leaves. Then, advancing in single file, they perform precisely the same rite as is done by the chief mortuary official when issuing from his own period of seclusion after the death of an old man of high rank.[3] One after the other, they walk over the ends of the bamboos to which the attached-yams are tied, and, as they step over, touch each bamboo with their hand. This act is ritually equivalent to touching the yams themselves, and by so doing they show that they are no longer taboo as mourners, and that the food which is about to be distributed all over the island is no longer defiled by contact with them.

Wives' brothers paid with high-grade tuskers for the burden imposed on the wives.

Having touched all the bamboos, each woman approaches her husband, who pays a tusker to his wife's brother for the burden that has been imposed on the wife by the wearing of the mourning-cap and by the

[1] In speaking of this rite my informant mentioned only those wives who have been given the title of *Le-at*, i.e. those whose husbands have performed High Maki at least once. Whether it includes those also who are as yet only *Le-lek* I do not know.

[2] Compare the gong-signal called *tav-tav-ghore* (p. 313). It is possible that there may also be an allusion to the ritual rounding up of fish, also called *ghor-ghor*, of which more will be said in a later volume on Atchin, where it is called *hor hor*.

[3] See p. 556.

taboo imposed on her at the same time against eating the *ro-toro* yam. As he does so, if the pig is of the grade curved-tusker or over, the appropriate conch-shell trumpet signal is blown. At the same time, the wife hands over the parcel containing her mourning-cap to her brother, who then retires with this and with the tusked boar which she has earned for him.

Daughters and mothers paid for their mourning.

After this, each Maki-man also pays a small pig to his daughter and another to his mother in payment for their own burden in wearing the substitute mourning-cap made out of an umbrella-palm leaf, and also for the taboo imposed on them against eating the *ro-toro* yam.

Wives bathe. Wives' brothers throw their sisters' mourning-caps into the sea.

The wives of the Maki-men now go to bathe, and to wash the black ashes out of their hair.

A pig is killed for each village and placed on its heap of lone- and attached-yams. The Speaker, for the last time in this long series of rites, announces the distribution of pigs and yams, and commands the assembled people to stand up. Then he calls out as usual "*Ia*," and they, for the last time, answer "*Laus-e!*" The guests all depart with their yams and pigs, and the Maki-men's wives' brothers take their sisters' mourning-caps and throw them into the sea.

This is the end of Low Maki. The same rite will also end High Maki, which, as we shall see, follows a very similar course but on a yet more magnificent scale.

TABLE VII: SHOWING MAIN RITUAL ACTS IN LOW MAKI

Yearly Period*	Page	Ritual Acts	Workers and Dancers †	Song-and-Dance	Chief Sacrifices ‡	Chief Payments §
	362	Interval of a year or more after Gong-Raising				
1st Year Table-stone for Dolmen selected	363	*Velal* danced in rotation	All villages	*Velal*		
	363	Weeding dancing-ground (*ne-sar noar*)	All villages			
	364	Table-stone for dolmen selected; left on beach to dry Called *vet-vokalagh*	Int. "line"[1]			
2nd Year Table-stone hauled up to dancing-ground	364	New yam-table erected, if necessary "Counters" distributed for the provision of yams	Int. "line"			
	365	Table-stone hauled to dancing-ground. Now called *vet simbe-simbe*	All villages	*Settling-Down* and *Taur Na-mbak* sung	Table-stone consecrated by dashing a tusked boar against it	
3rd Year Dolmen erected	366	New yam-table erected, if necessary "Counters" distributed for the provision of yams	Int. "line"			
	366	*Velal* danced in rotation	All villages			Page 368. Right to sacrifice on dolmen bought from Int. "line" and all villages, with tusked boars called "Ta-ghar's eyes" carried on shoulder
	366	Supporting-stones collected	Int. "line"			
	366	"Circling" for presentation-pigs	All villages			
	367	Dolmen built	Int. "line"	*Settling-Down* sung	(Consecration not recorded)	Page 369. Right to dance *Settling-Down* similarly bought
4th Year Year of the Great Sacrifice	369	Feast called *Vin-vi-ghih* (="to go forward") "Counters" distributed for provision of yams	Int. "line"			
	370	*Settling-Down* danced in rotation Spears handed to prospective presenters of tusked boars (Description of ceremonial conduct of the dance)	All villages	*Settling-Down*		
	372	*Vin-huel* "dance of no consequence" Day for announcing date of great sacrifice fixed for 10 days ahead	Int. "line"			
	373	Hawk-banners erected	Int. "line"	*Taur Na-mbak* sung		
	374	*Settling-Down* danced	Int. "line"	*Settling-Down*		
	376	Speaker paints nipples of representatives of each "line" red, raises kava root, and announces date of great sacrifice 17, 27 or 37 days ahead				
	377	*Taur Na-mbak* danced every night and all night till great sacrifice by Int. "line"	Int. "line"	*Taur Na-mbak*		
	378	Dolmen transformed into shrine by addition of ancestor-image, hawk-image and roof (about 10 days before sacrifice)	Int. "line"			
	379	Maki-men travel to secure promised presentation-pigs, assisted by pig-magician called *na-wogh*. Those delivering them dance *Taur Na-mbak*	All villages	*Taur Na-mbak*		
	380	Exhibition of pigs destined for sacrifice Arrangement of pigs likened to sea-going canoe laden with tusked boars		Oba men's songs		
	383	**Sacrificial Day** (24-hour period beginning at sundown)				
	383	Night: *Taur Na-mbak* danced all night	All villages	*Taur Na-mbak*		
		Bot-mau torch-light processions in honour of home-bred circle-tuskers	Women of each Quarter-Lodge	*Bot-mau*		
	384	Dawn: Hawk-banners thrown down				
	385	*Rokaik* (women's *na-leng*) (parts of)		*Rokaik* (women's *na-leng*)		
	386	Day: "Circling" for presentation-pigs	All villages			
	388	100 tusked boars attached to stakes on Upper Side				
		100 fowls attached to stakes on Lower Side				
	389	Special high-grade tuskers attached to stake close to dolmen				
		"Birth enclosure" screen set up round dolmen				
	389	*Mass sacrifice by all Maki-men:* Screen torn down				
		Maki song sung	Int. "line"	Maki-song		
	390	Boys sacrifice 100 fowls at Lower Side and take new titles and names			100 fowls at Lower Side	Page 391. Mothers' brothers paid with live tuskers for new titles and names
		Men sacrifice 100 tusked boars at Upper Side and take new titles and names			100 tusked boars at Upper Side	
	392	Wives, mothers and daughters receive				
	394	complimentary titles, and cover their heads in token of mourning				
	392	Sundown: *Individual sacrifice by chief Maki-men at dolmen:*			Individual high-grade tuskers at dolmen	
		Take supernumerary titles and names				
	394	Maki-men retire into seclusion and eat in *ghamal*, are fed by wives and observe many taboos				
Post-sacrificial Period	401	**4th Day after Sacrifice:** *Toghòghon* rite for memorising new titles and names	All villages	Oba men's songs	Pig sacrificed for each Maki-man	
	402	Jaw-bones of tusked boars returned and displayed on rack (before 30th Day)				
	402	**30th Day after Sacrifice:** Period of compulsory retreat for all Maki-men ends				Page 403. Members of Int. "line" paid for supplying yams during period of compulsory retreat
	402	Mumming-play and figure-dances (*na-leng*)		*na-leng*		
	403	Mothers and daughters surrender substitute mourning-caps				
	403	*Le-tean* danced and personal songs sung in honour of individual Maki-men	Int. "line"	*Le-tean*		
	405	Vows taken by individual Maki-men to observe further voluntary periods of retreat or other forms of taboo		Oba men's songs		
	406	**50th or 100th Day (or more) after Sacrifice:** Periods of voluntary restriction brought to an end. Wives bathe, and their bathing-places are made taboo against fishing				
5th or 6th Year End of voluntary periods of retreat	406	*Velal* danced in rotation	All villages	*Velal*		
	407	Taboo against fishing in wives' bathing-places removed				Page 407. Wives' brothers paid for the wives' period of mourning
	407	Wives cease ritual mourning. They bathe, and their brothers throw their mourning-caps into the sea				Mothers and daughters paid for their periods of mourning

[1] Int. "line" = Introducing "line"

* These are the *minimum* yearly periods. Several years often elapse between one yearly period and another. (See p. 362.)

† Feasts given to the workers are omitted, being all of the kind called *tamean*.

‡ There is, of course, an endless number of lesser sacrifices, some of which are noted in the text.

§ The numerous payments made to the workers and dancers in the form of pigs, food-stuffs and money-mats are omitted.

CHAPTER XV

HIGH MAKI (*MAKI RU*)

AFTER the final scene of removing the wives' mourning-caps at the end of Low Maki there is an interval of a year or two before High Maki is begun.

This rite is similar in its main lines to Low Maki, though done on a much more magnificent scale and in certain phases with much fuller ritual, several ritual elements which in Low Maki were performed only in outline being in High Maki carried out in their complete form.

While the performance of High Maki is thus grander, and is, as a rule, spread over an even greater period of time than Low Maki, it would take up too much space to repeat every detail. For this reason, the actual account of High Maki here given will be shorter, since, where any given sub-rite is simply a repetition on a larger scale of one already performed in Low Maki, it will be only briefly mentioned, and the reader desirous of fuller information will be able to turn back to the previous account. Where, on the other hand, High Maki practice definitely differs from that carried out for Low Maki, this will be given, so far as my notes allow, in full. This method of recording has from the dramatic point of view one serious disadvantage, namely that the final and most spectacular scenes, which are almost identical in both cases, will, in my account of High Maki, have to be considerably compressed. This disadvantage will, I think, be amply compensated for, without loss of accuracy, by the greater ease of reading and saving of print.

MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW MAKI

Dolmen representing the cave in the Journey of the Dead replaced by stone-platform representing the volcano.

The main difference between High and Low Maki lies, as I have already pointed out, in the type of stone monument erected.

In order to understand the reason for this, it is necessary to call to mind once more the stages in the Journey of the Dead.

This journey, it will be remembered, is divided into two parts: an earlier part in which the dead of all ranks enter a cave, and a later, superimposed part in which those of high rank, having passed through the cave, proceed further to a more elevated home of the dead on a volcano. As

has already been seen, the final home of all the dead was at one time the cave, and it was this early stage of belief only that was symbolised in the pre-Maki form of graded institution, in which the large dolmen representing the cave was the only sacrificial monument erected. It is this pre-Maki form of the rite that is now incorporated in the ritual of Low Maki. For High Maki, on the other hand, the dolmen is replaced by the stone-platform which represents the volcano, and it is on this that, according to one account, the sacred fire is lit from which those of high rank take brands to light their cooking ovens.

The two chief monuments erected for Low Maki and for High Maki respectively are thus seen to symbolise the two stages in the Journey of the Dead, and the symbolism is carried out topographically in that the stone-platform is erected on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground *behind* the dolmen, placing it in a yet more holy position and yet further away from women and the common rut of men.

Some dancing-grounds, such as that of Pete-hul on Vao (see Frontispiece) and Pweter-tsüts on Atchin, have been made with a view to yet further heightening this symbolism by the choice of a site bordered by a slight rise in the ground on one side. This rise in the ground is invariably made into the Upper or men's Side, and it is on this ridge that the stone-platform is built, giving it an appearance of height even greater than that of the actual stonework of which it is made.

Sacrificial stakes replaced by monoliths. High grade of sacrificial boars.

A second difference in the types of monument erected for the two parts of the completed Maki is that the 100 stakes erected on either side of the dancing-ground for the mass sacrifice at Low Maki are replaced at High Maki by a single large monolith and 199 small upright stones. These differ from the 200 monoliths erected for the more recently introduced monolith-Maki on Atchin [1] in that, with the exception of the single large monolith, they are very small, being often no more than a foot high, and are intended chiefly to enhance the importance of the rite through the added sanctity that all forms of stonework possess.

Tusked boars sacrificed at High Maki of higher grade than those for Low Maki.

Coupled with these differences in the type of monument erected is also a marked difference in the grades of the boars sacrificed by them. Thus, only tuskers of the very highest grades are sacrificed at the stone-platform, while the 100 boars sacrificed on the stones on the Upper Side at High Maki are finer than those sacrificed for Low Maki and the place of the 100 fowls sacrificed on the Lower Side is taken in High Maki by gelded pigs.[2]

[1] And from there now taken on by the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao (see p. 280).
[2] See p. 429.

BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE RITES

EXTENDING OVER A PERIOD OF FROM SEVEN TO TWELVE YEARS

Just as the preliminary rites for Low Maki were connected with the erection of the dolmen, so for High Maki they consist in erecting the stone-platform and the sacrificial 100 stones which are to line each side of the dancing-ground.

We have seen that for Low Maki the minimum period of time which it takes to perform the whole rite up to and including the date of the chief sacrifice is four years, followed by a post-sacrificial period of seclusion and mourning lasting for men of high rank for one or two years. For High Maki, owing to the far greater number of stones to be erected and the longer time necessary for the growth of the highest-grade tuskers, the barest minimum for the preparatory period leading up to the great sacrifice is five years. This minimum period is, however, rarely achieved. I was in fact told that the five preparatory years may be extended to as many as ten, which, with a two-years' post-sacrificial period, would bring the total length of time up to twelve years, the greatest delays taking place in this case during the early stages of the rite. In the following account I will, however, in numbering the years, adhere to the minimum period, since this represents the ideal towards which the natives strive and at the same time shows how in their minds the chief items in the ritual are divided up. These are:

First Year (which may extend over as many as four years): Selecting the stones for, and building, the stone-platform.

Second Year (or more): Selecting the large monolith.

Third Year: Hauling the large monolith to the dancing-ground.

Fourth Year (or more): Collecting the remaining 199 small upright stones and erecting them all.

Fifth Year: Period of intense ritual activity, leading up to the mass sacrifice of 100 tusked boars and 100 gelded pigs tied to the upright stones and special high-grade tuskers at the stone-platform, followed by a thirty-day period of retreat for all Maki-men.

Sixth and Seventh Years: Post-sacrificial period as for Low Maki.

FIRST YEAR

Stone-Platform Erected

Members of introducing "line" and all villages search for coral blocks and transport them to dancing-ground, the whole party making the journey ten times. Yams laid out for each Quarter-Lodge.

The first year's proceedings are connected exclusively with the erection of the stone-platform and the rites attendant on this. Members of the introducing "line" and of all the other villages in Vao in their usual order share in the work of finding the necessary coral blocks on the

beach and carrying them up to the dancing-ground. This work is done by hand without the use of a sledge. Like all work of a ritual nature that the natives undertake, it is enlivened by being moulded into a dramatic pattern. This pattern is based on the ritual use of the number ten.[1] The whole party goes down to the beach, and each man selects a coral block as heavy as he can conveniently lift, and carries it up to the dancing-ground. Then the summoning signal called *na-mbe ragh-raghe ne-luw* is sounded on the gongs, and the workers return to the beach for another load. This is repeated ten times, the same gong-signal being repeated each time. When they return for the tenth time, attached- and lone-yams are laid out, one for each Quarter-Lodge, and the Maki-men kill pigs for their food and place them on the heaps.

At intervals of weeks, months or even in some cases years, according to the number of yams and pigs available for their entertainment, parties from each Vao village in turn come to collect their share of the stones. The stones collected by the members of each village are placed in a heap by themselves, and thereby an element of competition is also introduced.

These stones are all left in their heaps until enough have been collected. As was the case with the table-stones for the dolmen, these stones are known by one name before they are built and by another once the stone-platform has been erected. The first name, used for them while they are lying in heaps in the dancing-ground, is *vet vi-vi ragh*, which phrase is also applied to the act of collecting them, but the stone-platform once it has been erected is called *vet nis-nas*.[2]

If the Maki is particularly well organised the whole process of collecting the stones may last only a year, but more usually it lasts three or four.

Velal danced at intervals by all villages.

When all the stones have been collected, a new yam-table is erected, with rites similar to those for Low Maki,[3] and "counters" are distributed for the provision of the yams required for the ensuing rites.

Velal is then danced by the members of the introducing "line" and all Vao villages in the prescribed order, and on the occasion of the last dance a day is appointed for building the stone-platform.

Stone-platform built by members of introducing "line." Each new platform built touching the last.

On the morning of the day on which the stone-platform is to be set up

[1] Doubtless connected with the division of the 100 upright stones on the Upper Side into groups of ten for sacrificial purposes (see pp. 421, 425).

[2] In both these phrases the word *vet* means "stone." *Vi* means "go." *Ragh* is almost certainly the same word as *ragh-raghe* seen in the name for the gong-signal (see p. 312), and is equivalent to the Atchin *rahe*, which in turn is probably connected with *ne-rahin*, meaning "footsteps" or "track," so that the phrase *vet vi-vi ragh* probably simply means "the stones which have been fetched." I am unable to translate the word *nis-nas*.

[3] See p. 364.

the members of the introducing "line" assemble in the dancing-ground, where they are regaled with puddings containing fowls made by the Maki-men and placed in their earth-ovens overnight. They then proceed to build the stone-platform, which from now on is called *vet nis-nas*. The platform is constructed of the dry coral blocks brought from the beach, without binding material of any kind but so skilfully placed that the front elevation facing the dancing-ground is almost vertical. When constructed on flat ground the rear elevation is sloped so as to allow the sacrificer to mount it. At Pete-hul, on the other hand, where a natural rise in the ground behind the Upper Side is utilised to give a heightened effect, while the platform as seen from in front is as much as twelve or fourteen feet high, its top is little if any higher than the level of the ground behind it. All this ground, however, is sacred in the sense that, being at the same time within the precincts of the *ghamal* which is situated immediately behind the Upper Side, it is taboo to women. Apart from this, however, as with all sacred monuments in the Small Islands, once it has been used and sacrificed at, it loses its sanctity to the extent that, though it may never be removed, there is no taboo against any man touching or treading on it.

The taboo against removal has one interesting result, of a kind that would puzzle a future archaeologist attempting to interpret the lay-out of the monument without direct knowledge from the natives of how it was constructed. For, though we know that more than one Maki has been performed at Pete-hul, if we look at the Frontispiece we shall see that there is, as a matter of fact, only a single, apparently continuous platform stretching from one end of the Upper Side to the other. Examination of the actual structure shows, however, that the front elevation is not quite straight, and in some places bulges slightly forwards. The reason for this is that, for the purpose of sharing in the sanctity of past performances, and possibly also for considerations of space, each new stone-platform is built touching the last, so that at any one moment all the stone-platforms that have been built for successive performances of the Maki look like a single one, and the length of the dancing-ground (which is but a widening-out of the sacred way) is in fact determined by the length of the composite platform so formed.[1]

[1] The same continuity achieved by adding new monuments on to old is found also in South Raga, where the sacrificial stone for each new performance of the Lo-sal rite (corresponding to the sacrifice of High Maki in the Small Islands) is "added to those previously composing the altar" (Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 90; see also present volume, p. 722), and also in the case of the *vota* of Malo referred to on p. 704. In the same way, during successive performances of the monolith-Maki in Atchin and Wala a fresh row of 100 monoliths is erected immediately in front of a similar number erected for the previous performance, thus producing, for the puzzlement of future archaeologists, a series of miniature stone avenues similar to, though smaller than, those found at Carnac and elsewhere. These will be illustrated in a future volume. A yet further archaeological puzzle relating to the orientation of graves is referred to on p. 534.

Even so, however, the ground may become too long, and then new platforms are added, no longer end to end with the previous ones, but in front of them, thus forming the slight forward-bulging bays to the composite structure that we have already noticed. In this way, and on account of the congestion of monuments, the ideal position for the stone-platform immediately behind the dolmen erected for Low Maki is not always practicable.

Brief history of the more recent monuments erected at Pete-hul.

This is well illustrated by the relative position of stone-platform and dolmen during the most recent performances of the rite as marked on the sketch shown in the Frontispiece. What looks like a single long wall in this sketch is in fact formed of a great number of platforms, of which the first is the low one on the extreme left. This platform, now partially engulfed in the aerial roots of a huge tree which have been hollowed out to form a kind of cave, was, till the white man put a stop to it, the place where enemies wounded in battle were ritually "sacrificed" and the bodies of those slain outright were cut up. This practice, as I have pointed out, harks back to the time before tusked boars were substituted for human victims, and the killing of men, though not part of the Maki ritual, is regarded still as the highest form of sacrifice, and the killer assumes a high title in the graded society. I have no record of when this platform was built, but it was probably built about the time of Na-va-gharu-kalat, founder of the present village of Pete-hul.

To this many platforms have been added, which, if they could be individually traced, would give the whole history of the Maki on Vao. I have recorded only the last five, remembered by my informant, Ma-taru of the refugee community of Tolamp, who, since the complete Maki rite is performed alternately by the two "lines" formed by the two matrilineal moieties within the village community, spoke of them as having been erected alternately by his and by his father's "lines." The stone-platforms thus referred to, together with the dolmens erected during the corresponding performances of Low Maki, are still clearly distinguishable, and are marked on the sketch-plan with the letters *A* to *F*.

The two "lines" responsible for erecting them are referred to as "line" **1** (Ma-taru's own "line") and "line" **2,** that of Ma-taru's father.

A. This Maki was performed by Ma-taru's own "line" **1,** a long time before Ma-taru himself was born. The remains of the dolmen can still be seen, though now somewhat crowded out by later erections, and the stone-platform is, as it should be, immediately behind, having been added on in front of an existing platform.

B. Performed by Ma-taru's father's "line" **2,** still before Ma-taru himself was born. Previously erected dolmens having meanwhile fallen down, the large dolmen for Low Maki in this performance was put further back towards the left, and the stone-platform for High Maki was added still further to the left some little distance from the dolmen in a position behind the existing set of gongs.

C. Performed by Ma-taru's own "line" **1** when he was a young boy. Dolmen and stone-platform are in this case further to the right, but again some distance one from the other.

D. Performed by Ma-taru's father's "line" **2** while this man was still alive. Dolmen and stone-platform for this performance are now further to the right and close together.

[*E.* At this point in the recent history of Pete-hul, the previous *ghamal* having rotted, a new one was erected. The rites connected with the erection of a *ghamal* constitute a special type of Maki described in Chapter XVI, which takes several years to carry out and is of such importance that its performance by any one "line" is counted as being equivalent in value to the Maki proper. The new *ghamal* erected on this occasion was the existing one called *Ber hangawul,* which, like all *ghamals,* was built immediately behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground close behind the stone-platform, and is only hidden from view in the illustration by the trees. The previous complete Maki having been performed by Ma-taru's father's "line" **2,** this *ghamal* was built, and the rites connected with it were performed, by Ma-taru's own "line" **1.** Since the dolmen erected for the *ghamal* is inside the *ghamal* enclosure and there is no stone-platform (the only other stonework being the stone wall surrounding the *ghamal*) no monuments connected with it are to be seen in this sketch.]

F. Ma-taru's own "line" **1** having been responsible for erecting the *ghamal,* the next and most recent Maki was performed by Ma-taru's father's "line" **2.** The dolmen for this still retains the ancestor-image set up before it and the remains of the hawk-image and fallen-in roof. For some reason unknown to me, possibly connected in some way with the quarrel related below on pages 435-8, this performance stopped short at Low Maki, and never proceeded to High Maki.[1]

The sequence of performances outlined above may for clarity, and

[1] Ma-taru and his ancestors belonging to the refugee community of Tolamp only took part in these performances by courtesy of the men of Pete-hul, and he is now, in order to resuscitate the fortunes of himself and his kinsmen, about to start a fresh Maki performance independently of Pete-hul.

for the sake of illustrating at a glance the system of alternating "lines," briefly be summarised thus:

A.	Maki	performed by	Ma-taru's [1]	"line"	1
B.	Maki	,,	Ma-taru's father's	,,	2
C.	Maki	,,	Ma-taru's	,,	1
D.	Maki	,,	Ma-taru's father's	,,	2
E.	Special Maki for *ghamal*	,,	Ma-taru's	,,	1
F.	Maki (Low Maki only)	,,	Ma-taru's father's	,,	2

"Circling" for presentation-tuskers.

I have unfortunately no details of how the building of the stone-platform is carried out, or of what sacrifices are made.

When the work of building is over, however, the summoning signal called *na-mbe ragh-raghe ne-luw* is sounded on the gongs, and parties from all Vao villages, hearing it, come to the home-village in the same way as they did at the erection of the dolmen, to "circle" for presentation-tuskers.

Stone-platform bought from members of introducing "line" and other villages.

Just as the right to use the dolmen, and with it to perform the whole of Low Maki, had to be bought from the members of the introducing "line" and from representatives of all the other Vao villages, so now the stone-platform, and with it the right to perform the whole of High Maki, must be similarly paid for. The rite accompanying this payment is the same as that gone through for the dolmen,[2] the tusked boars used for this purpose being called *meten ta-ghar* and being hoisted on the shoulder before being presented, one by one, to a representative of each group of "sellers."

This is followed by the return of complimentary-pigs, also carried on the shoulder, by the Maki-men to those who made presentations to them earlier in the day.

It is probable that some at least of the tusked boars previously "circled" for are sacrificed, and the stone-platform thus consecrated. My informant, however, did not actually state this, but contented himself with saying that, large numbers of pigs having been killed and placed with the yams laid out for the guests, these now depart with their spoils.

[1] According to the principle of alternating generations in the male line, Ma-taru's "line" or marriage section embraces his father's father and his son's son, or such of these as may be living at any given moment, and his father's "line" similarly embraces also his son (see pp. 294 ff.).

[2] See p. 368.

SECOND YEAR

Stone for Large Monolith Selected

The events connected with the erection of the stone-platform may, it will be remembered, under ideal circumstances, have been accomplished in a single year, but more often last over a period of two, three or even four years. Under ideal circumstances, again, only a year should elapse before the next act, though it may well be that the exhaustion of the supply of pigs and provender has been so great that yet another year goes by before the village has recuperated sufficiently to face the new drain on its resources.

The next act, which constitutes the second period of the rite, here referred to as the Second Year, is the selection of a coral block that is to serve for the single large monolith. This, like all stones, has a secular and a ritual name. Its secular name, as that of all monoliths, is *vet parav*, which simply means "long stone." Its ritual name, as recorded by Godefroy, is *pal-palon*,[1] the same name as he gives for the stones supporting the table-stone of the dolmen, and meaning "that at which sacrifice is made." As given a trifle more exactly by my informant, it is *pal-pal na-mbò*, meaning "the sacrificial (stone) for pigs." I have unfortunately no information regarding its other functions except that, judging from Atchin and Wala parallels, it almost certainly represents male ancestors, in contrast to the female principle represented by the dolmen.

Originally probably the only monolith to be erected. Now accompanied by 199 *small stones in imitation of Atchin monolith-Maki.*

It is probable, from the evidence of my photographs, that in the unadulterated form of the Vao Maki as performed at Pete-hul only a single large monolith was erected, but in the account given to me by my Tolamp informant this monolith is only the largest of 100 to be erected on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, balanced by 100 further minute sacrificial stones placed on the Lower Side. This deviation from the true Vao Maki is probably due to the fact that my informant had in mind a form of the rite more nearly resembling the monolith-Maki as performed on Atchin and Wala, which is now so fashionable that it has already been adopted by the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao, and was performed recently in modified form at Togh-vanu, twin-village to Pete-hul.[2] Since this is the only account from Vao that I possess, it must, however, be given here in full, with the reminder that the addition of the

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1932, p. 232.

[2] My informant, Ma-taru, was himself at this time contemplating the performance of a similar form of the rite (see p. 435), and this fact also is probably responsible for the deviation of his own account from that of the true Vao Maki.

199 small monoliths is probably a recent innovation, which has not yet reached Pete-hul.

However this may be, this year's proceedings are concerned only with the selection of the coral block which is to serve as the single large monolith.

Stone levered from reef by members of the introducing "line" and left on beach to dry.

As with all stones erected, this is first sought for on the surrounding reef and then levered off,[1] a process called *vet ur-ur*, from *vet* meaning "stone" and *uri* "to lever." This is done by the men of the introducing "line" who, when setting about their work, say "*Ra uri pal-pal na-mbò*," "Let us lever up the pig's sacrificial stone." When this has been done, the workers return to the dancing-ground, where a crescent-tusker is sacrificed, and for it the sacrificial signal is sounded on the gongs. The workers are then provided by the Maki-men with a *tamean* feast. The stone for the monolith is then left on the beach for a whole year to dry.

THIRD YEAR

Large Monolith Hauled up to Dancing-Ground

Rites similar to those for transporting the table-stone for the dolmen in Low Maki.

After a further interval of a year or more a new yam-table is made with the customary ritual and feasting,[2] followed by the distribution of "counters" for the provision of yams necessary for the food-presentations accompanying the hauling-up of the large monolith to the dancing-ground.

The rites performed in connexion with hauling up the large monolith are almost precisely the same as those already described in connexion with the transportation of the table-stone for the dolmen in preparation for Low Maki.[3] Parties from all villages assist in the work, singing songs from all Maki song-and-dance cycles, culminating with those of *Taure*, which in High Maki takes the place of the Low Maki *Taur Na-mbak*. As they approach the dancing-ground the more important Maki-men dance *Taure* before and around the stone, and finally the foremost dancer consecrates it by dashing a tusked boar head first upon it. The workers retire to feast, and are recalled by the sound of the summoning gong-signal called *ragh-raghe ne-luw na-ram*, when they are presented with yams and dead pigs and finally dismissed by the Speaker.

[1] It is probable that a communion feast is held in the Lodge of the owners of the land on which it is found, as for the dolmen in Low Maki (see p. 364), but I did not actually record this.

[2] See p. 352.

[3] See p. 364.

FOURTH YEAR

199 Small Upright Stones Collected, and these and the Large Monolith are set up

Now follows an interval of yet another year or more during which, while the large monolith is left lying in the dancing-ground, the remaining 199 small uprights are collected, 99 of which are to be erected in a row beside the large monolith along the Upper Side of the dancing-ground and 100 diminutive ones, no more than a foot high, along the Lower Side bordering the unsanctified women's path.

Each of the four Quarters provides its 25 uprights for the Upper Side.

I have no record of the rites accompanying the collection of these upright stones, except that 25 of the 100 uprights (including the large monolith) erected on the Upper Side, together with the boars subsequently sacrificed at them, are provided by each of the four Quarters of the village.

When all are gathered, a new yam-table is made to replace the last, which has already begun to rot, and the usual "counters" are distributed for the provision of yams.

Velal danced by all villages.

When all this has been done, parties from all the Vao villages come in prescribed order to dance *Velal*, after which a day is appointed when all the upright stones, including the large monolith, are to be set up.

Stones erected by members of the introducing "line," each Quarter-Lodge erecting its own, each roofed to form diminutive shrine.

On the morning of the appointed day the Maki-men make special puddings, which they give to the members of the introducing "line" to eat. These, having eaten their puddings, now dig holes for the stones, including the large monolith, and erect them, the members of each Quarter-Lodge erecting the 25 stones that they have collected for the Upper Side in the following order: from left to right facing the Upper Side, *La-mbot na-ninge*, *Nalu*, *La-mbet-ra*, *La-mbarang*. I have no record of how those on the Lower Side are erected.

Each stone thus erected on the Upper Side then has a single cane planted on either side of it, the two meeting over the top to represent the rafters (*na-ras*) supporting a non-existent roof in anticipation of the actual roof set over it in a later stage of the rites. Each monument thus formed takes on the name already given to the large monolith, namely *pal-pal na-mbò*, "(monument) for the sacrifice of pigs."

Consecration of the 200 stones. Anticipation of the mass sacrifice of High Maki.

When the 200 stones have thus been erected and "roofed," they are all consecrated by the performance of a sacrifice anticipating in miniature the mass sacrifice of High Maki, substituting fowls for pigs. The sacrifice is made ready by the attachment to the intersection of each pair of canes over each stone of a fowl whose legs and wings are previously broken so as to ensure that, after having been duly "sacrificed" by being struck with a stick, they shall be truly eaten and not taken by their recipients for breeding purposes. When all is ready for the sacrifice, and attached-yams have been placed in heaps for the guests, the summoning signal called *ragh-raghe ne-luw na-ram* is sounded on the gongs, and parties from all the Vao villages assemble "to view the stones."

When all the guests have arrived, those at the gongs sound the special gong-signal called *tav-tav ghore*, otherwise sounded only before the screen hiding the stone monuments at the culminating point of Low and High Maki is torn down.[1] Then, as on both these occasions, all the Maki-men sacrifice the victims at all the 200 stones, the small boys who have not yet been sanctified first sacrificing those at the 100 stones on the Lower Side, after which the men sacrifice those at the 100 stones on the Upper Side. The anticipatory nature of this "sacrifice" is shown by the fact that the special Maki song intoned by the men of the introducing "line" during the mass sacrifice at the culmination of Low and High Maki is not sung. In other respects, however, the act is the same, the Maki-men walking in two rows along the line of victims, striking each victim as he passes with a stick. The fowls, in most cases not fully dead, but with their legs and wings previously broken, are then distributed among the guests. The Speaker makes his usual announcement, and all disperse.

FIFTH YEAR

YEAR OF THE GREAT SACRIFICE

All the stone monuments having now been duly erected and consecrated, there is a yet further interval of a year or more before settling down to the rites leading up without further pause to the great sacrifice of High Maki.

Erythrina tree (na-rar) planted in dancing-ground. Connexion with calendrical calculations.

This culminating year's proceedings open with the appointment of a day on which a young erythrina tree (*na-rar*) [2] is planted at midday in the middle of the dancing-ground. This tree is intimately connected with the calendar, as will be shown in a future volume on Atchin, though

[1] See pp. 389, 429.

[2] Mota *rara*; Atchin *ni-rere* or *n(d)rere*; Wala *rer*.

in what way this affects the Maki I am at present unable to say.[1] It is now planted in the middle of the dancing-ground to serve as the central point around which the chief High Maki dance called *Taure* is later to be performed, and is therefore known as *rar na taure* in indication of its connexion with this dance and with the symbolic "mourning" (*taure*) which is so prominent a feature of the rite.[2]

Vin-vi-ghih feast. Men of introducing "line" embellish every 10th stone. Taure danced at intervals by all villages.

The planting of the erythrina tree is followed immediately by the feast called *Vin-vi-ghih*, with which the proceedings of the corresponding Sacrificial Year for Low Maki also begin, indicating that there will be no further delay till the great sacrifice is accomplished.[3] Those who have acquired the right to add certain embellishments to every 10th stone (or some of them) erected on the Upper Side mentioned below on p. 425, do so on this day, the work connected with this being executed by members of the introducing "line."

At Low Maki the *Vin-vi-ghih* is followed by the dancing of *Settling-Down* by all villages until the date of the great sacrifice is announced, when *Taur Na-mbak* is then danced all night and every night till the Sacrificial Day arrives.[4] At High Maki, however, *Settling-Down*, which is a kind of anticipatory dance not having quite the same importance as the Low Maki *Taur Na-mbak*, is dispensed with. Instead, the chief dance of all, namely *Taure*, which is danced only at High Maki and to which *Taur Na-mbak* itself was but an anticipatory variant, is now danced round the erythrina tree, first by the members of the introducing "line" on the night of the *Vin-vi-ghih*, and subsequently, at intervals of from five to ten days, by parties from all the other Vao villages in the usual rotation.

The right to dance *Taure* does not have to be bought, since this, like the dancing of *Taur Na-mbak*, was paid for once for all with the payment for *Settling-Down* described on p. 330. In all other respects the rites attending the dancing of *Taure* are similar to those accompanying the dancing of *Settling-Down* at Low Maki, namely the presenting of spears to future donors of presentation-pigs, the giving of consideration-pigs, the formulae for bringing the dance to an end, and the giving of scented herbs and a black fowl's feather to the leader of the next village due to dance.[5]

[1] In a country where the dense bush is permanently in leaf and deciduous trees are rare, the exceptional behaviour of the erythrina is very noticeable, still more so as its red flowers blossom after the tree has shed its leaves. This takes place during the July-August moon, to which the tree gives its name, and the event, coupled with astronomical considerations, heralds in the intensive calculations leading up to the important decision as to which of the two moons in October and November is the one in which the dead are expected to make their annual return into the land of the living. Somerville (pp. 193-4) mentions what he speaks of as a "Kanaka apple" tree in full flower with deep pink blossom at the time of the great Maki sacrifice he witnessed on Uripiv.

[2] See p. 333. [3] See p. 369. [4] See p. 377. [5] See pp. 370 ff.

About five days after the last village has danced, members of the home-village only perform the dance called *Vin-buel*, "dance of no consequence," when, as at Low Maki, a day is appointed ten days ahead for the announcement of the date of the great sacrifice.[1]

Day on which the Date of the Great Sacrifice is announced

Hawk-banners erected. Taure danced and date of great sacrifice announced 17, 27 or 37 days ahead. Members of introducing "line" dance Taure all night and every night till Sacrificial Day.

On the morning of the appointed day hawk-banners in the form of kites are erected in the manner already described, on bamboos planted round the erythrina tree in the middle of the dancing-ground and on neighbouring trees.[2] After this, members of all the Vao villages assemble and the same ritual is gone through as for Low Maki, with the exception that the Maki-men and members of the introducing "line" dance *Taure* in place of *Settling-Down*.[3] Then, as for Low Maki, the Speaker paints with red paint the nipples of a representative of the introducing "line" and of each Vao village, and they all raise the kava root eight times, at the end of which the Speaker announces the date of the great sacrifice 17, 27 or 37 days ahead.[4]

Taure (in place of the Low Maki *Taur Na-mbak*) is then danced all night and every night by the members of the introducing "line," while the Maki-men, assisted by the magic of the pig-expert, go on their expeditions to ensure the due delivery of the promised tusked boars to be slain at the mass sacrifice.[5]

Ten Days before Sacrificial Day the stone-platform is converted into a shrine and consecrated.

Just as, for Low Maki, the dolmen was furnished with an ancestral-image and roofed over, so for High Maki, about ten days before the Sacrificial Day, a similar wooden image carved to represent a human face (called *ghe meme*)[6] is set up before the stone-platform and surmounted by a hawk-image which forms the front end of the ridge-pole supporting a roof, thus converting the whole monument into a shrine. As for the dolmen, this roof is properly made with rafters (*na-ras*) and thatched. The shrine thus formed is called *n'ime na maki*, "house of the Maki," or, alternatively, *n'ime na venean*, meaning, apparently, "the house that is

[1] See p. 372. [2] See p. 373. [3] See p. 374.
[4] See p. 376. [5] See pp. 378 ff.
[6] *Ghe* means "a tree," and so "a post"; *meme* means "tongue," presumably in reference to the protruding tongue frequently carved on such images.

shot at." [1] The work of erecting this shrine is done by the members of the introducing "line," and after it is over, both they and such Maki-men as are not absent in the search for pigs dance *Taure* for a short time. The shrine is then consecrated by the sacrifice of a tusked boar, for which the sacrificial signal is then sounded on the gongs, and message-yams are despatched to all villages on the island, with news of what has been done.

Screen called "birth enclosure" erected along whole length of Upper Side.

Shortly after this, a reed screen of a similar nature to that erected before the dolmen at Low Maki, composed of reeds crossed in the special manner called *hu ni-ar*, meaning "birth enclosure," is set up the whole length of the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, thus hiding the stone-platform, large monolith and the 99 other small upright stones from view. This work is done also by the members of the introducing "line," after which they and the Maki-men dance *Taure*, and the screen in its turn is consecrated by the sacrifice of a boar, for which the sacrificial signal is sounded, followed by the despatch of message-yams to all villages announcing the event.

Five or six days before the great sacrifice the special tusked boars to be sacrificed at the stone-platform are dragged up to it, and a kind of rehearsal of the sacrifice takes place.

Penultimate Day. Exhibition of Pigs as for Low Maki. All villages dance Taure till midnight.

On the penultimate day takes place the last preparatory rite of all, namely the Exhibition of Pigs (*Bò-vi-ghih*) intended for the mass sacrifice, in the same manner as for Low Maki,[2] with the exception that in place of the stakes to which they were then tied there are now the 200 sacrificial stones, each victim being tied to the stone at which two days later he will meet his death. As for Low Maki, the whole scene is envisaged as a canoe arriving from Oba laden with pigs, the Maki-men dancing around their boars singing Oba men's songs, and two men then climbing a tree and conducting the formal dialogue already described in which they announce the near approach of this vessel.[3] That evening, parties from all Vao villages join the members of the introducing "line" in dancing *Taure*, which this night, alone of all the nights since the announcement of the date of the great sacrifice, ceases at midnight so as to allow the dancers to gather strength for the strenuous events of the twenty-four-hour period leading up to and including the Sacrificial Day.

[1] This phrase would appear to indicate that the house and image are shot at, presumably after the great sacrifice. I did not record any such shooting, but the shooting of sacred objects is quite in accordance with native practice. Compare Layard, 6, p. 167.

[2] See p. 380.

[3] See p. 382.

Day of Sacrifice

(*a*) the night

Taure danced by all villages. Bot-mau torch-light processions. Hawk-banners cast down.

On the Eve of the great sacrifice, in place of the Low Maki *Taur Nambak*, *Taure* is danced by all villages during the entire night, interrupted at intervals, as at Low Maki, by the torch-light processions called *Bot-mau* in honour of the home-bred circle-tuskers about to be sacrificed at the stone-platform, and at dawn the hawk-banners are cast down and trampled on.[1]

Rokaik (women's na-leng) danced.

After the hawk-banners have been thrown down, and when it is now quite light, there follows the rite called *Rokaik*, of which only a brief part was gone through for Low Maki[2] but which is now performed in full. This appears to be a kind of women's *na-leng* figure-dance in which the chief actors are the Maki-men's wives. These now assemble in the dancing-ground, wearing on their backs and reaching far above their heads a large ornament called *hokuri*.[3] This term is usually applied to the bunches of sweet-smelling herbs that men wear on certain ritual occasions tucked into the back of the belt. On this occasion, however, it is worn by the women and is made out of a large thatch-palm leaf of which the lower dart of the midrib is tied to the woman's back, and which is decorated with a number of herbs symbolising the grade of tusked boar that the husband is about to sacrifice. Chief among these symbols are the leaves of the *tawò* tree, which may be worn only if the woman's husband is going to sacrifice a circle-tusker. These women, with their husbands, together perform the *rokaik* dance from which the rite takes its name, beating the ground with the butt-ends of bamboos and singing the song already given on p. 385.

When the dance is over, the wives of the Maki-men, now stationed at one end of the dancing-ground, drop their bamboos and run across the dancing-ground, and in so doing are pursued by one, or sometimes two, Maki-men waving leafy branches of a kind called *ro-mbung-bung*.[4] Those in the middle of the dancing-ground fall back on either side to make way for the fleeing women, who run down to the shore. The waving of the branches by the pursuing Maki-men is called "beating the women," though in fact no beating occurs, and possibly represents a formal cleansing of the dancing-ground from the contact of women. The position of women is, however, still recognised enough for them to demand compensation for the indignity thus inflicted, and the Maki-man (or Maki-

[1] See pp. 324, 332, 384. [2] See p. 385. [3] Atchin *segur*.

[4] The branches called *ro-mavi* waved at Low Maki (p. 385) were an anticipatory symbol for these.

men) who thus ritually "beat" them must expiate his offence by sacrificing a crescent-tusker, an act spoken of as *e ghore ghini ro-mbung-bung*, "he removes from himself (or from them) (the effect of) the *ro-mbung-bung* leaves."

(*b*) THE DAY

Representative of each Quarter-Lodge ties boar to one stone on Upper Side. "Circling" for presentation-pigs.

After the "beating" of the women, what is referred to as the Maki in its restricted sense, meaning the sacrificial act, is officially "begun" by Maki-men representing each of the four Quarter-Lodges tying a single tusked boar to one of the stones on the Upper Side.

Soon after this the parties from all the Vao villages and from the mainland and other Small Islands, beginning with those furthest off, arrive dancing *na-rel* and blowing conch-shell trumpet signals for the rite of "circling" for presentation-pigs which is performed precisely as for Low Maki and lasts all morning and well into the afternoon. It will be remembered that at Low Maki the boars thus presented were not tied to their stakes till all the presentations had been made. At High Maki, when the tusked boars thus presented are of much higher quality, there is a slight difference in procedure, those "circled" for by each village group being tied to their allotted stones as soon as the presentation is over.

Setting the Stage for the Great Sacrifice

Grades of Tusked Boar tied to the 200 Stones

The grades of pig thus prepared for mass sacrifice at the upright stones, and excluding the special highest-grade tuskers sacrificed at the stone-platform, are, in the present state of the rite:

(i) Upper Side

None lower than crescent-tusker. Re-entrant-tuskers at the "fore-stones" and every 10th stone.

To the stones on the Upper Side are tied 100 tuskers of all sizes, none of which is of grade lower than a crescent-tusker, while to each end stone, called *na-ghon* meaning "face," which I shall refer to as fore-stone, is tied a large boar of the grade known as *na-timb*, of which the tusks are about to issue from the jaw for the second time. In recent performances of the rite boars of this grade have been placed also at every 10th stone in the row, this being a new elaboration along the lines of the Atchin monolith-Maki, where each 10th stone is a large monolith accompanied by a diminutive dolmen, the whole monument so formed being transformed into a shrine by the addition of an ancestor-image, hawk-image and roof.[1]

[1] It is not clear how this division of the 100 stones into tens is reconciled with the division into twenty-fives (twenty-five for each Quarter-Lodge) recorded above. This is a transitional phenomenon that needs further investigation.

The right to place special tuskers in this way at every 10th stone has only recently been bought by certain Vao villages from the men of Tolamp, "first men" of the Maki on this island, through whom most modern innovations have been acquired. This right does not, however, of itself permit the purchaser to erect a whole shrine, each element of which must be separately bought at great price. Thus, one family may have acquired the right to add a small dolmen in front of or behind the monolith, another to erect a roof without ancestor- or hawk-image, another to set up an ancestor-image without hawk-image, while yet another may have risen to the expense of acquiring the right to erect a complete shrine. Such additions will have been erected well beforehand, usually on the day of the *Vin-vi-ghih* dance with which the year's proceedings open.[1]

(ii) Lower Side

100 gelded tuskers regarded as the "companions" of tusked boars on Upper Side.

These large tusked boars sacrificed at the 100 stones on the Upper Side, which are selected exclusively with regard to the curvature of their tusks, are balanced at the small stones on the Lower Side by 100 gelded tuskers chosen chiefly for the quality of their flesh and not exceeding the grade of crescent-tusker. It is these gelded tuskers, which are regarded

[1] Godefroy (1, 1934, pp. 59-60) refers to ancestral images called *tamaluk* as being erected on Vao. I do not know this word, nor does his description of them given below correspond with anything I saw on Vao. I suggest, therefore, under correction, that this part of his description refers probably to Ambrim, where such images exist and where he was previously stationed. His remarks are nevertheless worth quoting, since, whether they refer to Vao or not, they touch on an important aspect of the native attitude towards such images which I did not myself record on this island. He says:

"The *tamaluk* are statues of men, carved in very hard and imperishable woods and larger than life-size. Those which are reputed to be the most ancient are remarkable for their emaciated and almost skeletal appearance. It would, indeed, almost seem as though the sculptors had meant to reproduce the image of their ancestors such as they conceived it to have been in a posthumous existence. The male organs are in exaggerated relief; and the position of the hands which clasp them, together with the presence of one or two children carved on their thighs, seem, to the uninformed eyes of the average European, to be the acme of lewdness. But this is not so from the native's point of view. These statues are for them as though an open book explaining the mystery of the propagation of the human race; they are erected in honour of recently deceased ancestors who have known how to hand down their lives, beliefs and civilisation to their descendants; and these descendants assemble on stated occasions before these statues to chant and celebrate their joy and gratitude. . . . These *tamaluk* are thus in the nature of votive offerings which the existing generations offer to their deceased ancestors; their erection is certainly an act of devotion, of a filial devotion which is at the same time profoundly grateful.

"Since these statues are made of almost imperishable wood, they withstand the ravages for a considerable time, and are therefore but seldom renewed. Their consecration is a solemn act worthy of their importance; the rite is the same as the consecration of a gong; the ceremonies last a month and are accompanied by dances and the sacrifice of tusked boars, as well as of offerings of cocks and yams."

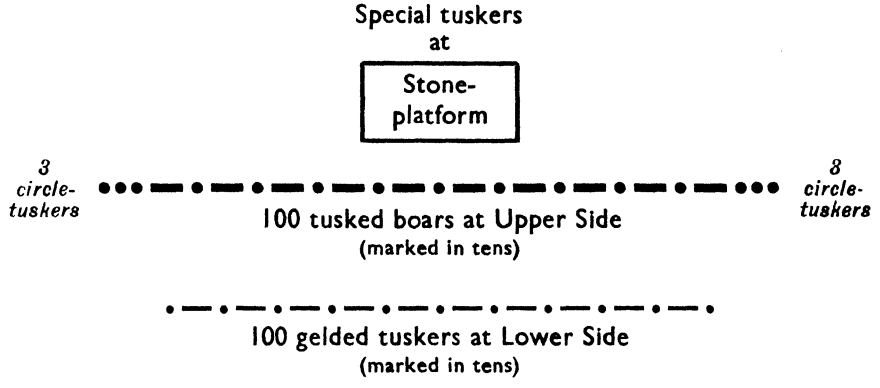
Elsewhere (1, 1933, p. 39) he says that the statues are painted with red and blue ochre.

as the "companions" of the boars, that provide most of the flesh for the subsequent feasts held by those who receive the bodies of the victims after the sacrifice.[1]

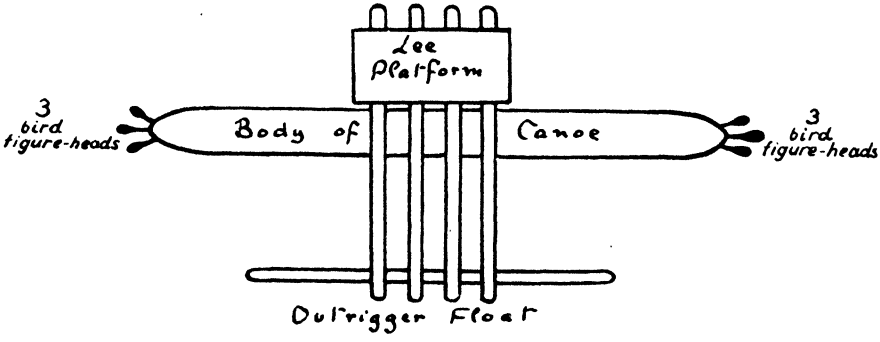
(iii) Stone Platform

Men of introducing "line" dance na-rel ne-im and bring special tuskers for sacrifice at the stone-platform.

When all these victims destined for the mass sacrifice have been duly tied to the 100 stones on either side of the dancing-ground, the men of



(*a*) Position of sacrificial boars at High Maki.



(*b*) Rough plan of sea-going canoe.

FIG. 52

Diagram illustrating the comparison drawn by the natives between the arrangement of sacrificial pigs at High Maki and a sea-going canoe.

the introducing "line," that is to say the Maki-men's own "fathers" and "sons," finally come, dancing *na-rel ne-im*, the "*na-rel* of the home-village,"[2] bringing the special high-grade home-bred tuskers which are to be

[1] At the most recent performance of the rite at Togh-vanu a further 100 gelded tuskers were added to the 100 boars on the Upper Side, thus making 300 tuskers in all.

[2] *Ne-im* means "house" or "village."

sacrificed by individual Maki-men of high rank at the stone-platform. Just as for Low Maki these are tied to a large stake close to the dolmen, so at High Maki they are attached to stakes immediately below the stone-platform.

Arrangement of stone monuments and tuskers likened to construction of sea-going canoe. Circle-tuskers sometimes added to represent bird figure-heads at either end of hull.

The comparison between the Maki and a sea-going canoe laden with tusked boars is now further elaborated in that the long line of tusked boars tied to their stones on the Upper Side is likened to the body of the canoe, while the gelded tuskers on the Lower Side are said to represent the outrigger float, and the special high-grade tusked boars at the stone-platform are likened to the pile of yams, bananas and other provender placed on the lee platform of the canoe on the side opposite to the outrigger float.[1] In yet further elaboration of this symbolism, circle-tuskers are sometimes [2] attached to the three last stones at either end of the Upper Side, thus representing the three bird figure-heads that are attached fore and aft of the double-ended canoe, a large one in the centre of each bow, flanked by two smaller ones on either side.[3]

At Low Maki, when fowls only are sacrificed at the Lower Side, they joke saying that since the outrigger float is so lightly laden the canoe will capsize, but at High Maki there is no such fear since it is now laden with pigs.

Challenging Rite. Maki-men offer half coconut to those willing to make a Maki as good as that now being celebrated.

Now occurs also another scene not enacted at Low Maki, at which all those present are challenged to perform a Maki as magnificent both in execution and in the number and quality of sacrificial boars as that which is now about to be successfully consummated after so many years of arduous labour. All the men of the home-village, both Maki-men and men of the introducing "line," dance round the boars in double file singing Oba men's songs, as they did on the day when the boars were finally reviewed. On this occasion, however, the leader of each line holds half a coconut in his outstretched hand, whereon the representative of any village prepared to accept the challenge will signify this by seizing one of the halves.[4]

[1] See p. 460. The use of the English word "platform" for the stone-platform and the lee platform of a canoe is accidental, and is not paralleled in native terminology.

[2] As at the most recent Maki performed in the village of Togh-vanu.

[3] See p. 460.

[4] This challenging rite appears sometimes to be postponed until the Thirtieth Day after the sacrifice, when it can only be done in modified form as there would no longer be any boars to dance round.

Mass Sacrifice by all Maki-men

Screen shaken down by members of introducing "line"; Maki-men reward them and pay their wives' brothers for the hokuri ornament the wives wear.

Everything being now ready, the guests, some of whom had retired after presenting their pigs, now all return to view the mass sacrifice. As for Low Maki, the gong-signal called *tav-tav ghore* is sounded. Then the screen, which for High Maki stretches from one end of the Upper Side to the other, is shaken down by the members of the introducing "line," and the long line of stones and the stone-platform, together with the shrines of those who can afford them, and above all the sacred victims with their gleaming tusks, are thus exposed to the admiring gaze of the assembled multitude.

Those who shook down the screen are then rewarded by the Maki-men with small pigs, and at the same time the Maki-men give special pigs to their wives' brothers in payment for the *hokuri* ornament which these women donned earlier in the day for the *Rokaik* rite, and which they continue to wear throughout the whole day's proceedings.

Special song sung by members of introducing "line" while Maki-men sacrifice; boys at the Lower Side and men at the Upper Side. Maki-men pay mothers' brothers for their names.

Then, as for Low Maki, the men of the introducing "line" intone the special Maki song already referred to, in which the Maki now about to be consummated is likened to a canoe from afar that has at last come to land,[1] and to the accompaniment of this magnificent music those Maki-men who have already taken rank ritually sacrifice all the tusked boars tied to the 100 stones on the Upper Side, while those who have not previously taken rank and who at Low Maki killed the fowls on the Lower Side, now sacrifice the 100 gelded tuskers. As at Low Maki, the Maki-men pay their mothers' brothers for the new titles and names thus acquired,[2] but these are not publicly announced until the memorising *Tòghòghon* rite held four days later.

Maki-men retire to invest womenfolk with complimentary titles.

After this mass sacrifice there is a pause in the proceedings while the guests take away the smaller victims allotted to them, leaving the larger boars to be collected the next day. The Maki-men then retire to their own house-enclosures to invest their daughters, mothers and wives with their complimentary titles and names.[3] All this occurs in the same manner as for Low Maki.

[1] See p. 390. [2] See p. 391. [3] See pp. 392, 394.

Chief Maki-men Sacrifice Special Tuskers at Stone-platform

Then, at sundown, occurs the most solemn sacrifice of all, that by the individual Maki-men of their own special high-grade home-bred tusked boars at the stone-platform. It is unfortunate that, in the press of recording other details, I omitted to enquire whether the Maki-men's mothers' brothers again bar their way as they approach the platform in the same way as they bar the approach to the dolmen in Low Maki. It is almost certain, however, that they do so, and are in like manner indemnified with the gift of a small pig.

Maki-men mount platform, sacrifice, take supernumerary titles, and light new fire.

On the stone-platform each Maki-man sacrifices his own boar in the same way as each boar is separately sacrificed on the dolmen at Low Maki, though in this case he actually mounts the platform to do so. Here each man so sacrificing takes a second, supernumerary title and publicly announces it in the manner already described.[1] Here also, according to one account, he lights the new fire, with brands taken from which the oven on which his meals are henceforth to be cooked must be kindled.[2]

Post-Sacrificial Period as for Low Maki

From now on, with the exception of the challenging rite [3] sometimes performed on the Thirtieth Day, the rites following the great sacrifice of High Maki follow precisely the same course as did those for Low Maki, save that they all tend to be done on a more magnificent scale and the periods of retreat and abstinence tend to be longer and the voluntary restrictions more arduous. On the Fourth Day takes place the memorising rite called *Tòghòghon*,[4] and apart from this, little occurs to mar the atmosphere of exalted quiet lasting until the Thirtieth Day other than the return of the jaw-bones of the sacrificed tuskers and the erection of the rack on which they are displayed.

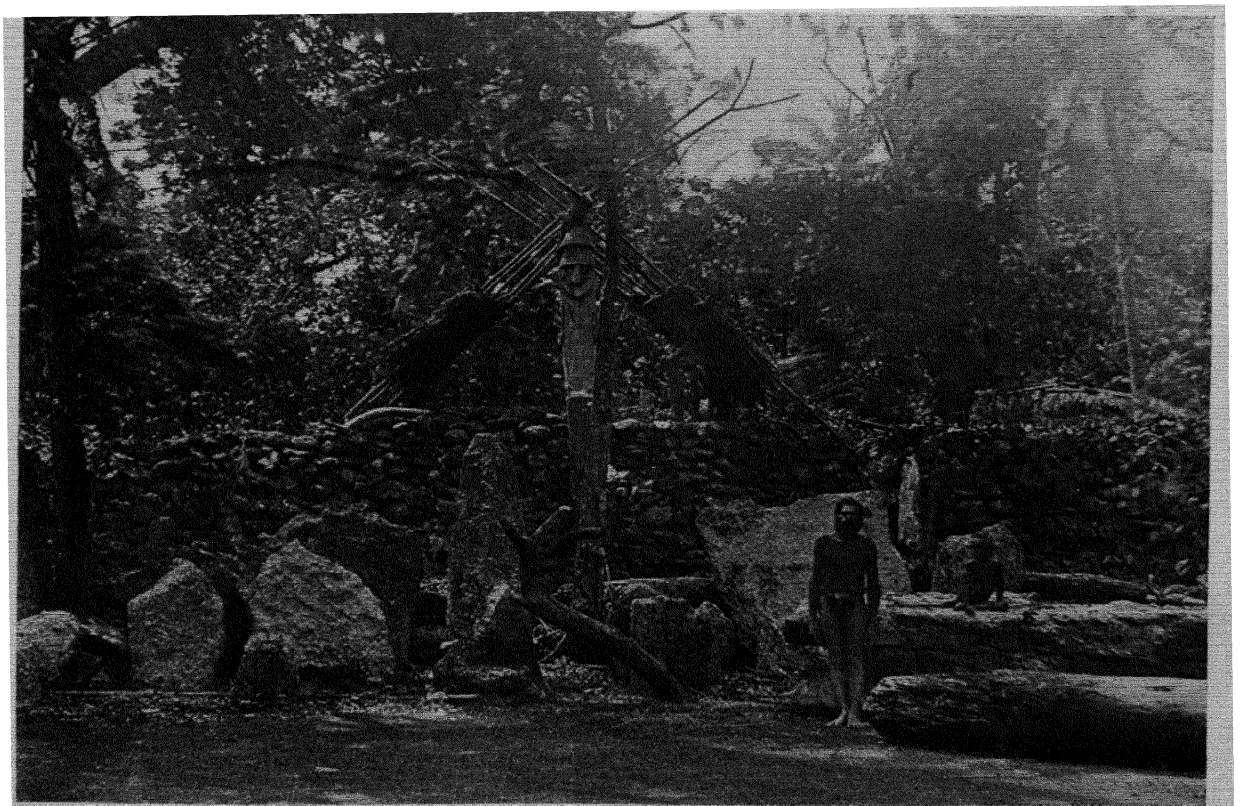
On the Thirtieth Day the main body of Maki-men issue from their retreat, and their mothers and daughters surrender their mourning-caps with the same ritual as for Low Maki,[5] and at night *Le-tean* is danced and the customary vows made.[6] The Maki-men's wives also perform the same duties towards their husbands as have already been mentioned,[7] and the more notable Maki-men continue their voluntary periods of retreat.[8]

[1] See pp. 393, 431.

[2] Somerville, p. 208, mentions a fire lighted in front of each image (presumably each of the 10 images at each 10th stone on the Upper Side) at the Maki he witnessed at Uripiv. I have no record of such fires on Vao, and it is possible that they are a development of fire-lighting ritual connected exclusively with the monolith-Maki.

[3] See p. 428. [4] See p. 401. [5] See p. 403.

[6] See pp. 403, 405. [7] See p. 400. [8] See pp. 405 ff.



Stone monuments at Togh-vanu, including stone-platform (the partial thatching of which is a special "copyright" feature), and monoliths. The dolmen, against which leans Ma-taru, is partly obscured by a fallen gong

SIXTH OR SEVENTH YEAR

The final act, when the Maki-men's wives cease their ritual mourning, takes place also precisely as for Low Maki.[1] With this the whole double rite comes to an end, and there is then a pause of a year or two till the entire gamut of rites is recommenced by the opposite "line" or matrilineal moiety within the patrilineal village, those who in the previous Maki were the men of the introducing "line" now themselves becoming the Maki-men, and the recent Maki-men now taking on the rôle of introducers.

END OF THE MAKI

TITLES AND NAMES ASSUMED BY THE MAKI-MEN AT THE MOMENT OF SACRIFICE

Relation between title and grade of tusked boar sacrificed.

One matter which I did not go into as fully as I should like to have done is that of the new titles and names assumed after the sacrificial act and their relation to the two forms of sacrifice that takes place at the culminating points of both High and Low Maki, namely the mass sacrifice described on pages 390 and 429 in which all Maki-men take part, and the sacrifice of special high-grade tuskers by a restricted number of individuals at sundown on the dolmen or stone-platform (pp. 393, 430), whereby each such sacrificer acquires a second, supernumerary title.

Since titles are derived from those previously bestowed on the sacrificial animals themselves, this question is clearly linked up with that of the actual grade of tusked boar sacrificed on these various occasions, on which my information is somewhat meagre.

Vel-vel (or Na-som) and Mulon.

One thing at least seems fairly certain, namely that the now almost obsolete titles of *Vel-vel* (or *Na-som*) and *Mulon* which Godefroy refers to as "children's titles," however important they undoubtedly were in the past, are now acquired solely by those boys who while taking part in the mass sacrifice do so only on the Lower or "women's" Side of the dancing-ground, the victims in this case being fowls at Low Maki and gelded tuskers at High Maki.

Mal.

As has been seen on p. 259, crescent-tuskers are ranked as *ni-Mal*, so that it appears equally probable that those taking part in the mass sacrifice at High Maki on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground where the tuskers are all of the grade crescent-tusker or over take the title of *Mal*.

[1] See p. 407.

Melteg.

On the other hand, those individuals who sacrifice special high-grade tuskers on the dolmen at Low Maki and on the stone-platform at High Maki almost certainly take the title *Melteg*.

There may be, and probably are, variations on this general theme corresponding to the grades of tusker available for sacrifice at any given performance of the rite. Thus Godefroy says: "Every material object and every person consecrated by the sacrifice of a pig takes the grade and rank of the pig itself. On Vao, and in the surrounding districts, the boar possesses three principal titles of nobility, and the things and individuals consecrated by the sacrifice of these thereby adopt and are invested with the corresponding rank." [1] According to him, the three principal titles thus acquired are *Mal*, *Melteg* and *na-humbe*. As we have seen already, however, *na-humbe* is not a title, but an honourable term of address and reference used for all men of high rank.[2]

With this exception, Godefroy's account of the ranks agrees with mine. During the interval of almost twenty years elapsing between my investigations and his, however, two new supernumerary titles seem to have appeared, corresponding doubtless to the increased skill in rearing tusked boars. Thus, though *Melteg* is itself philologically a supernumerary title, it appears to be now so established as to be reckoned as a title in itself to which, for the sake of attaining yet further supernumerary rank, still further syllables are added. These are, according to Godefroy, *-amu*, of which I do not know the meaning, and *-aul* meaning "high up."

Comparing his account and mine (translating his literal descriptions into my terminology), the curvature of tusk necessary for conferring the titles first on the boars and later on those who sacrifice them are:

Title	Grade of Tusker Sacrificed		Grade of Tusker itself given title
	My account (1915)	*Godefroy's account* (1934)	(*Godefroy*, 1934) [3]
Mal	Curved-tusker or Re-entrant-tusker	Crescent-tusker	Crescent-tusker
Melteg	Circle-tusker	Re-entrant-tusker	Re-entrant-tusker
na-humbe [4]		Circle-tusker	Double-circle-tusker
na-humbe se [4]		Circle-plus-curved-tusker	
Melteg-amu		Circle-plus-re-entrant-tusker	
Melteg-aul		Double-circle-tusker	

[1] Godefroy, I, 1934, pp. 54, 55. [2] See pp. 259, 693. [3] See p. 258.
[4] These are not, properly speaking, titles (see above).

Melteg-aul is above all customary law.

Describing the final honour attained through sacrifice of a double-circle-tusker, Godefroy says: "When a man is *Melteg-aul* he basks, it would appear, in an atmosphere of the most perfect felicity; for this name means that he is "high up," and that he dominates and surpasses all greatness and every rank." Again: "Men of high rank such as those who have attained the rank of *Melteg-aul* disregard at will even the most absolutely accepted customs; whenever it suits their private interest they flout the most time-honoured traditions, in utter contempt of justice, nor do they hesitate even to steal, and this in full sight and knowledge of the whole tribe, once they consider they have a grudge to pay, or a pride-point to satisfy. The *Melteg-aul* of Norohure wanted his war against Togh-vanu . . . During the course of this long-drawn-out affair no one on the island dared pass judgment on him nor treat him as the thief he was, out of respect for his rank of *Melteg-aul.* In the public eye he is, on account of his rank, a just, pious and respectable man. . . . In spite of all, he remains supreme pontiff in their solemn rites, and it is he who arranges all sacrifices. . . . As his name indicates, he is already high up alongside of Ta-ghar; and his title *Melteg-aul* means 'the first in everything and everywhere.'" [1]

Names added to titles.

It is not clear from the above whether the suffixes *-amu* and *-aul* have become inseparable adjuncts to the already supernumerary title *Melteg.* It is more probable that they are, on the other hand, names which have become more or less customary. For it is of the essence of each title that, while it may be used alone as a title of address, each individual acquiring it takes at the same time a new name of his own choosing [2] which is then never used without the title. Thus, while a man may be addressed as *Mal* or *Melteg*, each of which titles when used alone in reference is preceded by the indefinite article *ni-*,[3] his full name consists of title plus personal name. A few examples will illustrate this. Thus (if we translate *Mal* by "Sir" and *Melteg* by "Lord"):

Mal-wa-ru	means	Twice Sir (indicating that the rank of Mal has been taken twice over).
Mal-togh	,,	The Sir who stays at home (referring to the periods of voluntary retreat following the great sacrifice).
Mal-sale	,,	The Sir who dances like the hawk.
Melteg-vanu	,,	Lord of the place.
Melteg-tamat	,,	Lord Ghost.

[1] Godefroy, I, 1933, pp. 242-3.

[2] Often that of a dead ancestor.

[3] A man will thus be referred to as *ni-Mal* or *ni-Melteg.*

Sometimes the title is doubled, as in:

Melteg-mal meaning Lord Sir,

or the title follows the name, as in:

Ter-ter-mal meaning Strong Sir (i.e. strong in fixity of purpose).

"High" names transcending titles.

There are also "high"[1] names, taken by those who have reached such high rank as to be above titles altogether. Of this nature are the names of most well-known historical figures and culture-heroes. Such are, for instance, the names of the four founders of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu mentioned on pp. 85 ff. Such also, taken at random from the genealogy of their descendants given on p. 93, are:

Kalo-won meaning Holy Penis (indicating that its owner was too holy to be incised).
Na-mbal ,, The Hawk.
Kur-kur probably connected with the *na-kor* or *na-kur* cult object mentioned on p. 471.
Val-vale meaning One who undertakes acts of abstinence (compare obsolete title *Vel-vel*).

Note on the "Pre-Sacrifice" of a Sick Circle-Tusker

One of the possible tragedies attending the Maki is the premature death through sickness of a circle-tusker intended for sacrifice. If it was a home-bred tusker reared for sacrifice at the stone-platform, and the Maki was already far advanced, it would be impossible to make good the loss, and its owner would be debarred from the attainment of supernumerary rank. If, on the other hand, it was an ordinary circle-tusker earmarked for mass sacrifice, it might conceivably be possible to acquire another, but only at very great trouble and expense. Such is the ingenuity of the natives, however, that they have invented a convenient device by which both these tragic eventualities may be overcome.

This device takes the form of "pre-sacrificing" the boar while yet alive and preserving the head for re-sacrifice at the Maki itself. In order to accomplish this, when it is seen that there is no longer any chance of preserving life and that the boar is on the point of death, its owner carries it to the dancing-ground and there ritually "pre-sacrifices" it by tapping it on the head in the prescribed manner. The victim is then carried away by the recipient to his own village in the manner described on p. 392, and this man later returns the head, which is preserved and at the

[1] For "high" names see also p. 733, and for names now taken in imitation of European sea-captains and government officials see footnotes on pp. 93, 570.

ensuing Maki is dragged as though still alive to its allotted position, takes its honoured place among the intended victims, and is there duly re-"sacrificed" by being tapped on the forehead. The recipient then takes the head, and later returns the tusked jaw to be displayed on the rack with all the other tusked jaws in precisely the same way as if it had been sacrificed in a normal manner.

If the victim is one of the home-bred tuskers to be sacrificed at the stone-platform, the "pre-sacrifice" is performed by the owner alone. If, on the other hand, it is one of those earmarked for mass sacrifice, then the owner is accompanied by all his fellow Maki-men as he carries the sick tusker to the dancing-ground. Here he lifts it up in front of him, and the Maki-men all take hands and stand in a long line, while one of them taps it on the head. This single act symbolises, by the holding of hands, its "pre-sacrifice" by all the Maki-men. Then they all sing personal songs of the *Le-tean* cycle dealing with the exploits of past Maki-men such as are sung on the Thirtieth Day after the Maki, and songs of the same cycle are sung as the recipients carry the boar home.

Dispute concerning Precedence and Position of the Refugee Community of Tolamp as "First Men" of the Maki

The following brief account of a dispute still in progress at the time of my departure from the islands illustrates very succinctly a number of already mentioned points, namely:

(*a*) The importance of the Maki rite in the natives' minds;
(*b*) The question of precedence; and
(*c*) The anomalous position of the refugee community of Tolamp.

I have already called attention to the unique position held by the small handful of men surviving from the once flourishing island of Tolamp and now refugees on Vao. These, at the time of my visit, numbered no more than three men and four boys and about an equal number of women. Owing to circumstances already mentioned,[1] these were, in spite of their small numbers, still regarded on the Superior Side of the Island as the "first men" of the Maki, and took precedence in all matters connected with it.

In spite of this, however, they had till recently, on account of their numerical inferiority, no dancing-ground of their own, and had functioned, so far as the actual performance of the Maki was concerned, as dependants of Pete-hul, joining ranks with the members of this village and performing with them on their dancing-ground as already described on pp. 414-16.

Shortly before my arrival, however, my Tolamp informant Ma-taru,

[1] See pp. 281-3.

who had for a time become nominally a Christian, had subsequently changed his mind and, like many others in a similar position, having amassed a little money by trading, had determined with this to return home and build up the fortunes of his kinsfolk by initiating and carrying through a complete Maki of his own in which they only should join.

Considering at first that he had not man-power or wealth enough to construct an entirely new dancing-ground, it was decided, to begin with, that he should revert to ancient practice [1] and perform his own separate Maki at one end of the dancing-ground at Pete-hul and at the same time as the men of Pete-hul performed theirs.

To this project the men of Pete-hul agreed, and both groups together undertook the feast called *masean* which, held at the beginning of Gong-Raising, ushers in the whole Maki rite. The peaceful atmosphere with which the proceedings began, however, did not last long. The precedence accorded to Tolamp was, it will be remembered, based on the fact that before their own island had been submerged and during their subsequent sojourn on the mainland they had been the first to acquire each new development of the Maki rite, which they had in turn "sold" to the Vao villages through the usual channel of ceremonial purchase. Each new form of rite was thus in the days of its prosperity performed first by Tolamp and only later on Vao. When the survivors of Tolamp had taken refuge on Vao and no longer performed the Maki rite on their own account but simply joined in the performances initiated by Pete-hul, all question of this kind of precedence fell into abeyance, and their superiority continued to be recognised merely in "honorary" ways such as being accorded the right to announce the date of the great sacrifice and having their name called first among the refugee communities during the distribution of yams.[2]

Now that they were again attempting to establish themselves as an independent community by performing a Maki of their own, although still on a portion of Pete-hul dancing-ground, their leader Ma-taru felt that the old precedence should be reasserted in full vigour. No mention of this was apparently made during the preliminary operations of burning and felling the logs intended for the two new sets of gongs, one set for the village of Pete-hul and one set for Tolamp, both of which it was intended should be erected on Pete-hul dancing-ground. Nor was anything said about it while the logs were being ferried over to Vao from the mainland where they had been felled. The dispute did not actually break out until the logs had been hauled up on the Pete-hul beach called Kowu to dry.

The Pete-hul men then suggested to Ma-taru that their Gong-Raising rite should be performed first, and that the Tolamp Gong-Raising should take place several days later. Ma-taru was outraged, saying

[1] See p. 61.

[2] See p. 300.

that it would be beneath his dignity as "first man" of the Maki to come last. When they insisted, he said "No! I can't do it. Rather than do this, I will make a new dancing-ground of my own and perform my own Maki independently of yours."

So, since his wife Le-si belonged to the *La-mbet-ra* Quarter of Pete-hul and since her father was dead, Ma-taru went to one of her classificatory fathers named Melteg-lili, and to Pelur, who also had affinities with *La-mbet-ra* and was in addition related to him through his mother, and from both of these, for the low price of a single small tusker paid to each, bought a piece of ground contiguous to the dancing-ground of Togh-vanu, which he cleared for a dancing-ground for himself.[1]

The men of Pete-hul did not at first believe he would do this, and when they saw him with his meagre company of kinsfolk actually engaged in the work they regretted their action, saying among one another "Who drove him away? What sense is there in his making a whole new dancing-ground for himself?" So they sent him a crescent-tusker as compensation (*mbagh-mbagh*),[2] and a piece of kava root of the variety called *maloghe*[3] in order to soften his heart, begging him to come back again and saying that they would in that case both perform their Gong-Raising rites on the same day.

But Ma-taru foresaw further difficulties and replied, saying, "I have made up my mind. I have gone away from you, and cannot come back. I am a man of Tolamp, and Tolamp belongs to the mainland and is a 'higher' place than any village on Vao. The whole Maki rite, Tolamp saw it first, before ever it came to Vao. Tolamp was the first to see a circle-tusker, before ever you knew such a thing existed. Now you want me to take second place. No. Finish. It is better that I should make my own dancing-ground and perform alone the rites that belong to me."

So he continued to work at his dancing-ground, and, when it was ready, hauled up his gongs to it, saying, "You want me to come second. You watch; I shall be first." So he hurried up, and performed his Gong-Raising rite first, before the men of Pete-hul had performed theirs.

The men of Pete-hul were so humiliated by this that they then determined to beat Ma-taru at all costs in the performance of Low Maki. So, omitting all the preparatory rites, they quickly erected a dolmen much smaller than they would normally have done, and performed the main sacrifice actually on the same day that it was set up.

[1] See Table X. Melteg-lili was first cousin in the male line to Singon-tal, Le-si's father. Pelur was Ma-taru's mother's mother's sister's husband, and, though a Togh-vanu man, traced affinity with the *La-mbet-ra* Quarter of Pete-hul through his ancestor Tulul. The low price Ma-taru paid for the land was due to his wife being herself a *La-mbet-ra* woman. Had the kinship ties been more remote, the price would have been higher.

[2] The same word as is used for the widows' caps worn by the Maki-men's wives during the post-sacrificial period (p. 396).

[3] See p. 376, note 4.

This had occurred shortly before my visit. Ma-taru, beaten on time, was determined to beat them in quite a different way by abandoning altogether the performance of Low Maki in the old Tolamp and Vao tradition and adopting the newer Atchin and Wala form of the rite, replacing the single dolmen by ten shrines as described on pp. 272, 584.

He still hoped, despite this extra labour, to pull off the subsequent performance of High Maki before the men of Pete-hul had done theirs.

He affirmed, however, that he would not have to purchase the right to perform the new form of Low Maki from Atchin, as the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao have had to do, since, being himself through descent a mainlander, all new forms of the Maki were his by right, and he need buy them from no man.

I do not know how the dispute ended, as the matter was still unsettled when I left the island.

TABLE VIII: SHOWING MAIN RITUAL ACTS IN HIGH MAKI

Yearly Period	Page	Ritual Acts	Workers and Dancers	Song-and-Dance	Chief Sacrifices	Chief Payments
	409	Interval of a year or more after Low Maki				
1st Year * Stone-platform erected	411	Coral blocks for stone-platform selected on beach and carried to dancing-ground at intervals by Int. "line" and all villages. Workers on each occasion journey 10 times	All villages			
	412	Stones before building called *vet vi-vi ragh*				
	412	New yam-table erected "Counters" distributed for provision of yams	Int. "line"			
	412	*Velal* danced in rotation	All villages	*Velal*		
	412 414	Stone-platform built, contiguous to previous stone-platforms. Now called *vet nis-nas* (Historical survey of stone-platforms recently erected) "Circling" for presentation-pigs	Int. "line"		(Consecration not recorded)	Page 416. Right to sacrifice on stone-platform bought from Int. "line" and all villages, with tusked boars called "Ta-ghar's eyes" carried on shoulder
2nd Year Stone for large monolith selected	417	Large monolith selected from reef, and left on beach to dry Called *vet parav*, "long stone"	Int. "line"		Crescent-tusker sacrificed for large monolith	
3rd Year Large monolith hauled up to dancing-ground	418	New yam-table erected "Counters" distributed for provision of yams	Int. "line"			
	418	Monolith hauled up to dancing-ground	All villages	Songs from all Maki cycles, including *Taure*	Monolith consecrated by dashing tusked boar against it	
4th Year Large monolith and 199 small upright stones set up	419	199 small upright stones selected on reef	Int. "line" (Quarter-Lodges)			
	419	New yam-table erected "Counters" distributed for provision of yams	Int. "line"			
	419	*Velal* danced in rotation	All villages	*Velal*		
	419	Monolith and 199 small upright stones erected	Int. "line" (Quarter-Lodges)			
	419 420	Diminutive shrines built over them Mass sacrifice anticipated by sacrifice of 200 fowls			200 fowls for large monolith and 199 small uprights	
5th Year Year of the Great Sacrifice	420	Erythrina tree (*na-rar*) planted in dancing-ground	Int. "line"			
	421	*Vin-vi-ghih* feast ("to go forward") Shrines may be added to each 10th stone on Upper Side	Int. "line"			
	421	*Taure* danced in rotation	All villages	*Taure*		(Payment for *Taure* included in Low Maki payment for *Settling-Down*)
	422	*Vin-buel* "dance of no consequence" Day for announcing date of great sacrifice fixed for 10 days ahead	Int. "line"			
	422	Hawk-banners erected *Taure* danced by Int. "line" Speaker paints nipples of representatives of each "line" red, raises kava root, and announces date of great sacrifice 17, 27 or 37 days ahead	Int. "line" Int. "line"	*Taure*		
	422	*Taure* danced every night and all night till great sacrifice by Int. "line"	Int. "line"	*Taure*		
	422	Stone-platform transformed into shrine by addition of ancestor-image, hawk-image and roof (about 10 days before sacrifice)	Int. "line"			
	422	Maki-men travel to secure promised presentation-pigs, assisted by pig-magician. Those delivering them dance *Taure*	All villages	*Taure*		
	423	"Birth enclosure" screen set up hiding whole length of Upper Side	Int. "line"			
	423	Review of special tuskers to be sacrificed at stone-platform				
	423	Exhibition of pigs destined for mass sacrifice Arrangement of monoliths with pigs tied to them likened to sea-going canoe laden with tusked boars		Oba men's songs		
	424 ff. 430	**Sacrificial Day** (24-hour period beginning at sundown) *As for Low Maki*, but on grander scale, with higher grade tuskers at stone-platform and monolith and 199 upright stones on Upper Side, and on the Lower Side with gelded tuskers instead of fowls, and with the women's *Rokaik* dance performed in full At sundown the individual Maki-men sacrificing at the stone-platform mount on it to perform their sacrifice and to light their new fire		*Taure* *Bot-mau* *Rokaik* Maki song	100 tusked boars on Upper Side, with re-entrant-tuskers at fore-stones and every 10th stone (sometimes 3 circle-tuskers at either end) 100 gelded tuskers on Lower Side Individual high-grade tuskers at stone-platform	Mothers' brothers paid for new titles and names
Post-sacrificial Period	430	*Post-sacrificial period as for Low Maki*				
6th and 7th Years	431	*As 5th and 6th years for Low Maki*				

* May last 2, 3 or 4 years. The whole performance of High Maki may take as many as 12 years.

CHAPTER XVI

MAKI FOR THE ERECTION OF A GHAMAL OR LODGE; WOMEN'S MAKI

MAKI FOR THE ERECTION OF A GHAMAL

INTRODUCTION

IT may have struck the student of graded society ritual in the New Hebrides that practically no mention has so far been made regarding the construction of a club-house or Lodge such as is customary for the higher ranks in many neighbouring districts. The only reference made to it so far has been that dealing with the construction of the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul on p. 415, where it was seen that the rites connected with it are themselves regarded as a special kind of Maki, that they were performed, like the Maki, by only one of the two "lines" or marriage classes within the village, and that they took several years to perform.

Further enquiry elicited the information that a Maki for a *ghamal* was even more important, and took longer to perform than even the combined rites of High and Low Maki that have just been described; and this statement was borne out by the fact that, though the Maki for the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul was started by Ma-taru's "line" while he was quite a small boy, by the time it was completed all those who had originally set it in motion, namely his classificatory fathers' fathers, had died and he himself was a grown man already wearing a bark-board belt. On this evidence, the complete rite must have taken at least fifteen years to perform.

The great importance of the rite is shown also by the fact that the only case of purely ritual human sacrifice unconnected with warfare that I recorded on Vao took place in connexion with the consecration of a *ghamal*, probably that which preceded the existing structure.[1]

As will be seen from Plate VII, a *ghamal* is a very large and durable building, with its main timbers made from the trunks of the hardest available forest trees. No wooden structure can last indefinitely in the tropical climate of Malekula, and it is necessary from time to time to construct a new one. Such reconstruction need not, however, be the occasion for making a Maki, for, when a *ghamal* rots, it may be rebuilt on the same site without being reconsecrated, and therefore without necessitating a Maki. From

[1] See p. 451.

time to time, however, when the village is prosperous or, as the natives say, "strong," and rich in tusked boars, they say, "Let us make a Maki for a new *ghamal*." Once this has been decided on, they choose a new site, close to the old one behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, and during the ensuing Maki each and every part of the structure, as it is set up, must be paid for to the members of the introducing "line," accompanied by sacrifice of innumerable tusked boars, and in the end the whole building is consecrated by the yet further sacrifice of tusked boars of very high grade. Finally, two dolmens are set up, one at either end of the structure, and during the consecration of these the "line" of Maki-men responsible for the erection of the *ghamal* and dolmens are themselves consecrated through sacrifice, take new titles and names, and light new fires as at High Maki.

Before giving what details I have concerning the rites, it is necessary to give an account of the actual construction, each part of which is consecrated and paid for as it is set up.

CONSTRUCTION OF A GHAMAL[1]

Each village has but a single *ghamal*, which is by far the most solidly erected building in it. The recently erected *ghamal* in Pete-hul, called *Ber hangawul* in honour of its ten great centre-posts,[2] is 94 feet long and some 15 feet high.

The *ghamal* is built close behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, and in the village of Pete-hul holds a commanding position on the rising ground behind the stone-platforms. There is no rule regarding orientation, as may be seen from Sketch-map IV, which gives the position of the new *ghamal* and of the old one which it replaced, both of which face in different directions.

The main timbers are the centre-posts, called *na-mber(u)* meaning "posts," or more specifically *ber tur*, "standing posts," made of the trunks of hardwood trees, of which, in the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul, there are as many as ten. These are all cut so as to leave a fork at the apex, on which rests the ridge-pole, called *wombat*. On this in turn, at each gable-end, rests an immense image of a hawk with outstretched wings, made from the buttress roots of a large tree. At the rear end, called *bughute*,[3] both ridge-pole and hawk-image are supported by the rear centre-post, but at the front end, called *no-ghon ne-him*, "face of the house," the ridge-pole projects beyond the front centre-post, and ridge-pole and hawk-

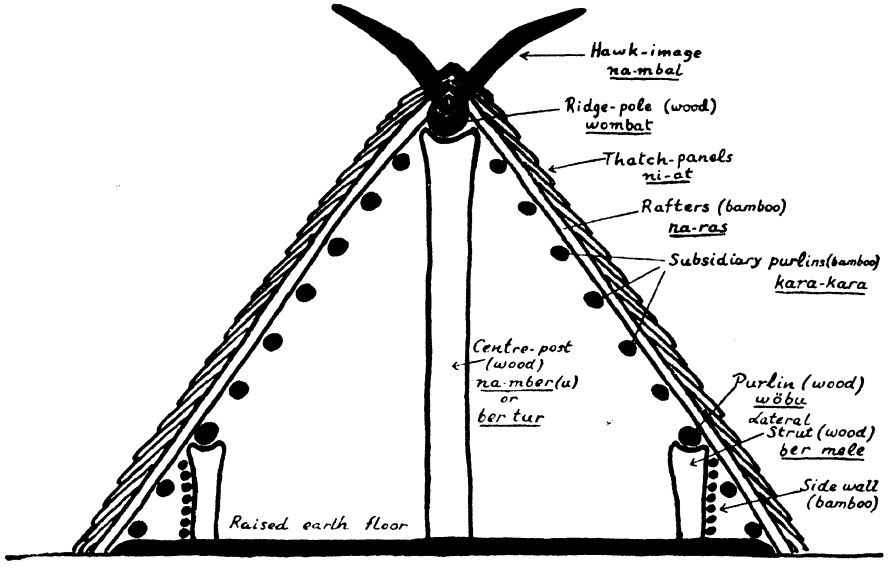
[1] For comparison, see Deacon's account of house and Lodge building in Seniang (Deacon, 4, pp. 31-4).

[2] *Ber* means "post" (see below), and *hangawul* means "ten."

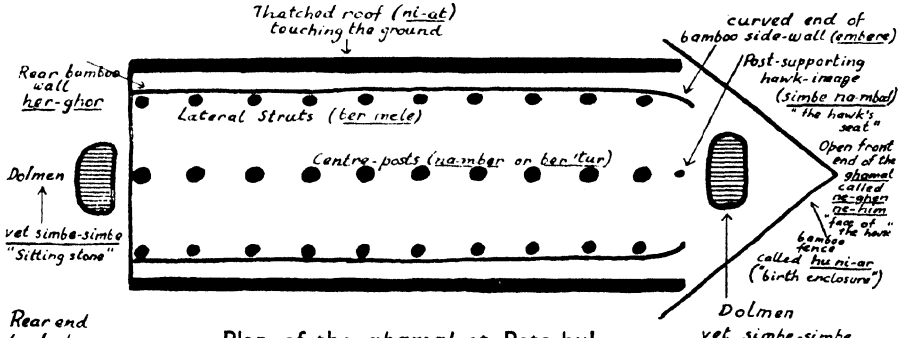
[3] Or *bughto ne-him*.

image are both supported by a supplementary post called *simbe na-mbal*, meaning "seat of the hawk."

Parallel with the centre-posts and on either side of them are an equal number of lateral struts (*ber mele*),[1] made also of hardwood. These



Section of *ghamal*
(the hawk-image would not appear in section, but only at either end)



Plan of the *ghamal* at Pete-hul,
called *Ber hangawul* meaning "Ten Centre-posts"
(the roofed portion is 94 feet long; the apex
of the roof is about 15 feet high)

FIG. 53

[1] *Ber*, as we have seen, means "post." I am not sure of the meaning of *mele*, which may be connected either with the word *melele*, sleeping-place or any horizontal object (the wooden purlins they support are in Atchin called *melolop*), or with *mel* meaning "cycas" and referring to the cycas leaves with which these purlins are wrapped round.

lateral struts in turn support horizontal wooden purlins called *wŏbu* (apparently a modified form of the word *wombat*, used for ridge-pole), which are wrapped round with cycas leaves (*ro mel*) [1] kept in place and hidden from view by a serving of plaited coconut sinnet (*na-wŭn*) [2] wound round each purlin for the whole of its length.[3] The process of serving the purlins is called *ra to-to ghore wŏbu*.

Reaching from the ridge-pole to the ground, and supported a third of the way up by the wooden purlins, are the numerous bamboo rafters (*na-ras*), to the interior aspect of which subsidiary bamboo purlins (*kara-kara*) are lashed to keep them more securely in place. The rafters in turn support the thatch, previously prepared by the women in panels about four feet long and three feet deep made by bending quantities of thatch-palm leaves (*ni-at*) over canes of a kind called *ne-limbe rārăh* and pinning them together by means of short lengths of split bamboo called *ne-wĭròh*. These canes supporting the thatch-panels are lashed to the rafters in tiers, at intervals of a few inches, so that the leaves of each panel overlap many others, thus forming a thick layer of thatch (*ni-at*) which effectively keeps out the most torrential rains. The front and rear ends of the thatch are neatly rendered by means of further split bamboos pinning the overlapping panels together, a process called *ra wiròh tāre*, "we pin them strongly." At the apex of the roof, where the two sets of panels join, is placed a coping made out of pieces of old canoes, turned upside down to keep out the rain. This coping is called *tambu röini*.

At ground-level the rain is further kept out by raising the earthen floor of the *ghamal* about six inches or a foot above the level of the ground outside, done after the erection of the centre-posts and struts, but before the placing of the rafters.

When the roof is in place, a low interior side-wall, not more than two feet high, is constructed of horizontal bamboos along each side of the *ghamal* to cut off the angle formed by the roof where it touches the ground to keep out the draught and to provide a finish to the space within. An optionable feature of these side-walls (the right to include which must be paid for to some previous "owner") is that they may, as in the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul, be made to curve inward at both ends in the manner called *e mbere*, meaning "it curves." A yet further embellishment (the right to use which must also be bought) consists in covering the ends of the purlins, where the side-walls curve round, with split bamboos inserted under the lashing of coconut sinnet and projecting slightly, thus giving a delicately shining appearance to the ends.

The main features of this building are similar, though on a much

[1] *ro*=leaf; *mel*=cycas.

[2] All major lashings in house construction are made of coconut sinnet.

[3] I do not know whether the cycas wrapping is to make them sacred, or immune from the effects of the damp atmosphere, or both.

grander scale and with the exception of the hawk-images, struts, purlins and side-walls, to those used in the construction of all types of house on Vao, and the terms used for them are also the same. Whereas all private dwelling-houses are closed in at both ends, however, those of the *ghamal*, which is a place of public assembly, rarely slept in except on ritual occasions, are left open, and the *ghamal* has only a low wall of horizontal bamboos from two to three feet high running across the rear end, while at the front end a similar low bamboo wall projects at an angle from either side beyond the space covered by the roof, forming a triangular forecourt. Of these, the rear wall is called *her ghor*, the usual word for closing the end of a house, but the fence forming the triangular forecourt in front is called *hu ni-ar*, which is the same as that used for the fence surrounding the "birth enclosure" containing the women's maternity Lodges, and also for the screen hiding the sacred monuments both in High and Low Maki up to the moment of the great sacrifice. In the case of the *ghamal* I was told that this fence was constructed solely to keep out the pigs. This is, however, doubtful, for, as we shall see during the account of the consecration rites, two immense sacrificial dolmens are set up, one in front of the *ghamal* and one at the rear (see Plate VII). Of these two, that at the rear is not protected at all, being outside the rear fence. The fence called the "birth enclosure," which, on the other hand, forms the forecourt in front of the *ghamal*, is so constructed for the sole purpose of containing the front dolmen, and hides it from view in precisely the same manner as it conceals the sacred stone in the dancing-ground during the Maki rite, and there is little doubt that it is for this reason that it bears this name.

THE RITES

DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS

A Maki performed for the construction of a *ghamal* is called *maki ne-him*, "Maki for a house" (possibly in its extended sense meaning "village"). My account of the accompanying rites is much briefer than that of those connected with the more usual type of Maki already described, and is therefore much less complete. Like those for the more usual Maki performance, however, they appear to be divided into two parts:

(*a*) the construction and consecration of the actual building,
(*b*) the erection and consecration of the two dolmens placed at either end.

These two parts do not appear to correspond to the division of the other rite into High and Low Maki, but rather more to the two types of sacrifice performed at the culminating point of Low Maki, namely the mass sacrifice of boars tied to stakes (corresponding to the posts of the

ghamal) and the sacrifice of individual tuskers at the dolmen. This suggested parallel was not to my knowledge made by the natives, but results from an examination of the material after I had left the island, and the matter is one for future investigation. In any case, there is one considerable discrepancy, namely that while at Low Maki both types of sacrifice are performed on one day, in the Maki for a *ghamal* they form two distinct parts of the ritual separated from one another by an interval of several years.[1]

Part I. Erection and Consecration of the Ghamal

(*a*) Felling and transporting the centre-posts

Velal danced.

As for the big Maki rite, proceedings open with the dancing of *Velal* by all villages in rotation. Then follows the weeding of the dancing-ground, accompanied by the distribution of food for which no return is expected and the resulting feast of the type called *masean*, while at the same time message-yams are sent round to all the villages on the island with the announcement that the Maki for a *ghamal* has now begun.

As in the big Maki rite the next act takes place on the mainland, where trees are sought for the construction of gongs, so in the Maki for a *ghamal* it is on the mainland that the hardwood trees grow that are required for the construction of the great centre-posts supporting the roof. In the case of the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul the trees used for this purpose were of the kind called *na-tor*.

Trees felled without burning by men of introducing "line." Special sacrifice and feast for first tree so felled.

The trees are not burnt as they are for the gongs, but are felled while still green. The work is done by the men of the introducing "line." Separate days are allotted for the felling of each tree, and, after felling the first, workers and Maki-men all return to the old *ghamal*, where 100 attached-yams and lone-yams as well as numerous coconuts and other food-stuffs are laid out for the workers, and a crescent-tusker is sacrificed. These, including the sacrificed tusker, are all given to the members of the introducing "line," namely the Maki-men's "fathers" and "sons." These then return to the Maki-men a certain proportion of the yams, and both Maki-men and their "fathers" and "sons" cook and feast together in the *ghamal*, only the latter, however, eating the pig.

[1] Another possible discrepancy is that, though the Maki-men are themselves sanctified and take new titles and names on sacrificing at the dolmens, I do not know whether they are so sanctified also when the actual building is set up.

For the remaining trees intended for use as centre-posts (that is to say, in the case of the Pete-hul *ghamal*, the remaining nine trees) the same procedure is followed, except that no pig is sacrificed, and instead of feasting in the old *ghamal* the members of each Quarter retire to eat either in their own Quarter or "Side of the Lodge" buildings or else in their own men's dwelling-houses.

The same procedure is repeated when felling the trees for each of the 20 lateral struts.

Trimming and transportation to Small Island.

I have no record of the rites accompanying the trimming of the logs or of their transportation from the mainland, but these probably follow much the same lines as those performed during the corresponding portions of the Gong-Raising rite.[1]

When all the logs have been safely transported to the Small Island and have been allowed sufficient time to dry out, preparations are made for the great day on which they are to be dragged up to the village. The leading man of the rite then announces that he has a tusked boar of specified high grade ready for sacrifice, and invites all the men of the village to a feast in the old *ghamal*. Here "counters" are distributed for the provision of yams. A new yam-table is then erected in the dancing-ground, and each man who has promised to provide a given quantity of yams sets about the work of fulfilling this arduous and expensive obligation. When the agreed number of yams has been duly collected and all other necessary preparations have been made, a day is appointed for hauling all the posts up to the site on which the new *ghamal* is to be built.

Each centre-post has an "owner."

Each centre-post has what I have termed an "owner," that is to say a man who, with his family, makes himself responsible for it, and for the sacrifices and food-distributions accompanying its erection. Each "owner" of a post now invites the men of a given Vao village or section of a village to assist him in the work, the whole adult male population of the island being thus portioned out for work connected with one or other of the posts, and for all these a food-distribution, said to be of the *masean* variety, is made on the beach.

Posts hauled to dancing-ground. Rites similar to those for dolmen and large monolith in High and Low Maki.

The ritual accompanying the hauling of the posts up to the dancing-ground is almost precisely the same, with minor exceptions, as that

[1] See pp. 350-2.

accompanying the dragging up of the table-stone for the dolmen in Low Maki and of the large monolith in High Maki. That is to say that, as each post is being dragged up, the workers sing songs of the *Settling-Down* cycle. As they approach the dancing-ground the gongs strike up the rhythms proper to the chief song-and-dance cycle performed during the Maki for a *ghamal*, namely *Veluan Na-mbak*.[1] The workers then burst into songs of this cycle, while the most important Maki-men (probably the "owners" of the posts) dance in a serpentine course from one side of them to the other, wearing for the occasion in the back of their belts croton leaves of a kind called *ro sas na-mbal*, "croton leaves (dedicated to) the hawk." As each post arrives in the dancing-ground it is consecrated by the sacrifice of a boar, but whether this is done by dashing the boar's head against the post as in the case of the table-stone for the dolmen in Low Maki and for the large monolith in High Maki was not stated. The workers then retire home to their own village, taking with them numerous yams and other food-stuffs previously laid out for them in the dancing-ground, and also the sacrificed boar, which they subsequently eat.

Preliminary consecration of all posts in dancing-ground.

When all the posts have been thus dragged up, a process probably lasting for weeks or even months, a day is appointed for their yet further consecration *en masse*. Yams are laid out in the dancing-ground in heaps for each village on the island, and the gongs are then sounded with the summoning signal called *ragh-raghe ne-luw*. Parties from all the villages then assemble in the dancing-ground. The members of the home-village then drag in numerous tusked boars, which are then sacrificed, and placed with the heaps already laid out. Each worker then receives one or more money-mats as payment. The Speaker then makes a speech lauding their work and the glory of the construction in which they are taking part, and then dismisses them with the usual formulae,[2] ending with the command to stand up, whereon they arise and he pronounces the final word "*Ia*," to which they reply "*Laus-e*," and depart, taking with them the sacrificed animals. When they have gone, the sacrificial signal called *na-mbe asar* is sounded on the gongs.

Next morning the members of the introducing "line" drag the posts up from the dancing-ground to the site chosen for the new *ghamal* behind the Upper Side. Here they remain lying for a period lasting perhaps several years, till a sufficient number of fresh boars have been reared or traded for to provide sacrifices and food for the workers during the actual construction of the building.

[1] Taking the place of *Taur Na-mbak* in Low Maki and of *Taure* in High Maki, see pp. 330, 334.

[2] See p. 371.

(*b*) ERECTION AND CONSECRATION

After this interval of one, two or even more years, during which time the posts will have time to become well seasoned and new stocks of pigs and other provender have had time to accumulate, if the old yam-table has rotted a new one is made, and, whether this is done or not, "counters" are distributed for the provision of the yams needed for the ensuing feasts.

Front centre-post erected and consecrated by burying a high-grade tusker beneath it. Whole ghamal consecrated in this way.

When all is ready, a day is appointed for the erection of the front post, and for its consecration, which at the same time constitutes the consecration of the whole building, only eclipsed by the final great sacrifice made when the two dolmens are erected at either end in the second part of the rite. The act of setting up the post is called *ra ghel ne-him*, "We (begin to) build the house." Members of all the Vao villages assist in the work.

For a brief account of the consecration rite, which I did not myself record, I will quote Godefroy, who says: "Its consecration consists in this:—Beneath one of the two great posts which form the façade of the structure [1] they used to bury a sacred boar, and danced all night in honour of the *ghamal*. For this *ghamal* had been ennobled by the sacrifice, and had taken on the rank of the sacrificial boar." [2]

Further, "the boar which is sacrificed for a *ghamal* is usually a *Meltek* [i.e. of the rank I spell *Melteg*]; sometimes, however, if a clan numbers among its members one or two [men of the grade] *na-humbe se*, they will sacrifice a boar of this rank, and, by virtue of this act, the *ghamal* itself takes the same rank.

"The first result produced by this acquisition of rank is that the *ghamal* is rendered taboo, that is to say that no woman may henceforth enter inside, nor yet touch it, nor even pass immediately in front of it or in fact go anywhere near. She must henceforth give it a wide berth, as she would when meeting certain relatives on a path.[3]

"The second result is this: when a *ghamal* ages, when time crumbles its ageing roof, and when it has finally been abandoned, it must be left to fall and rot, in other words to die undisturbed. Therefore, not even men may remove the least piece of wood, the smallest twig from its carcass, its gaunt wooden skeleton. It has been consecrated and remains so; it is taboo even unto its ruin, unto its dust, and the place where it was remains always sacred and taboo, because of the boar which had previously been consecrated and which continues to lie buried beneath the spot where the principal post was put up." [4]

[1] By this he means apparently the front and rear posts.
[2] Godefroy, I, 1934, p. 54. [3] See p. 135. [4] Godefroy, I, 1934, p. 55.

Remaining centre-posts set up. Introducing "line" and all villages paid with tusked boars. Workers paid with money-mats.

On subsequent occasions the remaining posts are set up. Members of all the Vao villages assist in the work, each party erecting the post that it had previously dragged up from the beach. The workers then retire to their respective villages. Meanwhile, the members of each Quarter-Lodge in the home-village have prepared 100 small puddings. These they now portion out between the heaps of yams set out for the workers in the dancing-ground. The gongs are then sounded with the summoning signal called *na-mbe ragh-raghe ne-luw*. Hearing this, the workers, having washed off the signs of their labour and oiled and decorated their bodies, return. 100 pigs are killed and placed beside the yam heaps and puddings. The workers are then paid with money-mats. The men of the introducing "line" are then paid by the Maki-men for the right of erecting the posts, this payment being in the form of live pigs which they keep. Each village, in the person of its leading-man, is similarly paid with a single live pig. The Speaker then makes his usual speech, and, when he has formally dismissed them, the workers return to their own villages with their mats, puddings,[1] yams and pigs. When they have gone, the sacrificial signal is sounded on the gongs for the pigs which have been killed.

On a subsequent day, or days, the lateral struts are similarly erected.

Raising the earth floor.

The next important operation is the raising of the ground-level of the whole *ghamal* about six inches to a foot above the surrounding earth. For this again parties from all villages assemble, and assist in scraping up the surrounding earth with digging-sticks and transporting it to the floor of the *ghamal*. This process is called *ra ker no-woi ne-him*.[2] When this has been done the same payment in live pigs is made to the individual members of the introducing "line" and to the leading man of each village for the right of making the floor as was previously made for the right of erecting the posts. In the same way also the workers are paid with money-mats, the members of each Quarter-Lodge of the home-village make 100 puddings which are placed on heaps of yams and ripe bananas. 100 pigs are killed and placed on the heaps, the workers depart, and the sacrificial signal is sounded on the gongs.

[1] It is possible, though I am not certain of this, that the puddings are consumed on the spot before they go.

[2] I did not obtain a literal translation of this phrase, but *ker* may be the same word as is used in the expression *kere-ram* used for the base of a yam (see p. 181); *no-woi* may be connected with *wohoi*, to plug up a hole (see p. 467).

Completing the structure.

All parts of the *ghamal*, as they are put up, are made the occasion of similar feasting and distributions of food, and each part is separately paid for with pigs to the members of the introducing "line" and to the leading men of each village.

When the main timbers are in place, the men bring thatch-palm leaves which the women make into the thatch-panels described on p. 442. The day on which these are put up is a strenuous one, as it is a matter of pride that the whole roof shall be completed in one day. Parties from all villages come to assist, and work in relays, each party as it takes a brief rest being regaled with puddings which they eat on the spot. The right to erect the roof is then paid for with numerous live pigs, and the food-distribution is on an even larger scale than before. I have no record of special rites connected with the setting-up of the hawk-image at either end, though such doubtless occur.

Interval of three or four years.

The actual building of the *ghamal*, composing the first part of the rite, is now complete. Its full sanctity, however, is not achieved till the completion of the second part of the rite, when the great dolmens are built at either end and are themselves consecrated with rites even more striking than those celebrated for the *ghamal* itself. There is now, therefore, an interval of three or four years while yet further high-grade tuskers are reared and for the cultivation of fresh stocks of yams.

Part II. Erection and Consecration of the two Dolmens at either End

Description of the dolmens, used as seats during debates.

After an interval of two or three years, the second part of the rite begins. This part is concerned with the setting up of the two great dolmens, one at either end of the *ghamal*. The shape of these dolmens is similar to that of the great dolmen set up for Low Maki with regard to the size of the table-stones, but differs from it in that the supporting stones are not so high, so that these dolmens may be sat on in a way that the dolmen for Low Maki, so far as I know, never is. Thus while, as for the Low Maki dolmen, the whole structure of each dolmen is called *na-vot*, the term used for the table-stone itself, namely *vet simbe-simbe* meaning "sitting-stone," is in the case of the dolmens set up for a *ghamal* more literally true than it is for that set up for Low Maki, which, as I have said, so far as I know, is never sat on at all. Placed as they are at either end of the *ghamal*, these two dolmens are, in fact, used as seats during debates by men of sufficiently high rank to permit themselves that honour.

Rites similar to Low Maki. Chief dance is Veluan Na-mbak.

The rites accompanying their erection follow almost precisely the same lines as those for Low Maki, differing from these mainly in the facts that

(*a*) there are now two dolmens to be set up instead of one;
(*b*) the whole gamut of operations is on a much more magnificent scale, surpassing even High Maki in the number and quality of boars sacrificed (never, on any important occasion, less than 100 at a time) and in the amount of food-stuffs distributed;
(*c*) the chief dance, taking the place of *Taur Na-mbak* in Low Maki and *Taure* in High Maki, is that called *Veluan Na-mbak*; and that
(*d*) if possible, a human being is secured for sacrifice.

The chief rites are, as for Low Maki:

(i) selecting of the table-stones on the reef, levering them up and dragging them out of reach of the tide;
(ii) dragging the table-stones up to the dancing-ground;
(iii) erecting the dolmens;
(iv) sacrifice at the dolmens, at which Maki-men take new titles and names and light new fires.

DOLMENS, LIKE ALL THINGS, HAVE PERSONAL NAMES

Names learnt in dreams. Those at Pete-hul called Wughi meaning "penis" and Lase meaning "testicle."

Each dolmen is invested with a personal name. Such names are said not to be invented by men, but to be inherent in the stones themselves. Thus, everything in the world, every stone, every tree and every animate or inanimate thing, is said to possess a personal name—"only," as my informant put it, "we do not always know what it is." Thus, no one suspected that the two table-stones used for the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul had names, until one night an old man of the *La-mbet-ra* Quarter of Pete-hul named Melteg-singo-tutun ("Lord Hot-Lip"), who is now dead, had a dream, and in his dream a ghost came to him and told him their names. These names, by which the two dolmens are now known, are *Wughi*, the name for the dolmen in front of the *ghamal*, and *Lase*, for the dolmen at the rear. It is difficult for us to believe that these names were inherent in the stones before their use was decided on, since they so exactly carry out the conception of the *ghamal* as a sanctified male human being, for *Wughi* means "penis" [1] and *Lase* is the word used for "testicle." [2]

[1] Cf. *wohin*, "glans penis," p. 508, note 2.

[2] An interesting case of what were originally, and still are, essentially female symbols being converted to represent the male generative organs, corresponding with the change from matrilineal to overt patrilineal descent.

Penalty for neglecting communion rite with ancestors of owners of the land on which they are found.

At the outset of the rite, when the two table-stones were being levered off from the surrounding reef, some difficulty was experienced in getting *Wughi* free. The reason was that *Wughi* was found on land belonging to the now almost extinct community of Lavame, of which at that time only a single survivor remained. As we have already seen,[1] the proper course when taking such a stone is to perform first a communion feast (*ghete-ghati*) at the Lodge-building of the owners of the land on which it is found. But there were no longer any survivors of this Lodge. So those who had selected the stone said "Oh! They are all dead. They can't do us any harm," and neglected this duty. Then all the ghosts of Lavame were angry, and caught hold of the stone so that they could not pull it up. Seeing this, those who had been trying in vain to lever it up gave a large untusked pig and a piece of kava root (*malogh*) as compensation (*mbake*) to the only survivor of Lavame, an old man named Melteg-sarane, and thenceforth the ghosts were appeased and no longer hindered them in levering up the stone.

Human Sacrifice

Human victim obtained for sacrifice at former ghamal.

The following account of human sacrifice at one of the dolmens at the consecration of a former *ghamal* at Pete-hul was given to me by my informant Ma-taru. This *ghamal* was built by the men of Ma-taru's father's "line." These men had brought from what is spoken of as "higher up" the Malekulan coast, that is to say from the neighbourhood of Unua or Sanbaghe, a young man, for whom they had paid a good price in pigs, with the intention of sacrificing him on one of the dolmens during the consecration rites. Like all victims intended for sacrifice, this young man was referred to as a *ta-mat*, or ghost, even before the sacrifice had taken place.

Two Pete-hul Quarters deceive two others into not participating in sacrifice. Members of deceived Quarters depart and found mainland village of Le-se-kere.

In the absence of a human victim the sacrifice at each dolmen usually consists of large numbers of tusked boars, and both dolmens are thus consecrated on one day. On this occasion the men of the two southern Quarters called *La-mbarang* (A^1) and *Nalu* (B^2) deceived those of the two northern Quarters, saying, "You go and sacrifice your boars at the rear dolmen," and while these men were thus occupied, they themselves sacrificed the human victim on the front dolmen. This enraged the men of the two northern Quarters, *La-mbet-ra* (B^1) and *La-mbot-na-ninge* (A^2), so much

[1] See p. 364.

that as a result of the ensuing quarrel the men of one of the *La-mbet-ra* "Sides of the Lodge" called *Na-tavu*, together with those of one of the *La-mbot-na-ninge* "Sides of the Lodge" formerly called *La-mbet-pung*,[1] left Vao altogether and went to the mainland of Malekula. There they are said to have snared 100 flying foxes with a net and to have founded a new village by "making Maki" with these, that is to say by performing the Maki rite and killing the 100 flying foxes instead of boars,[2] and to have called the name of this place Le-se-kere, which means "At the dancing-ground of the flying foxes." That is why the two Pete-hul Quarters in question had after this only one burying-place for greybeards (*mer-sean*), since each had only one "Side of the Lodge" left. Each Quarter, however, later restored its own balance by again splitting into two.

MAKI FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A QUARTER-LODGE OR "SIDE OF THE LODGE"

In addition to a Maki performed for a new *ghamal*, it is possible also to make a Maki for the construction of a new Quarter-Lodge or "Side of the Lodge," at the consecration of which, as for a *ghamal*, those building it also become sanctified and take new titles and names. The name used for the Lodge by my informant on this occasion was *n'ime na vevean*. The phrase is a suggestive one, since *n'ime* means "house" and *veve*, of which *vevean* would be the natural nominal form, in Mota means "matrilineal moiety." I have unfortunately no information regarding the rites performed at such a Maki, apart from the fact that it is performed by the members of one *woroan* at a time, thus strongly suggesting that the word *woroan* as so used is equivalent to marriage section or "line."

WOMEN'S MAKI

MAKI FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WOMEN'S LODGE

Women sacrifice and take new titles and names in their own right.

Yet another type of Maki is that performed for the erection of the Women's Lodges referred to on p. 47, in which women themselves sacrifice pigs and thereby are sanctified and take new titles and names. This is the only direct evidence I have as to the existence of a Women's Maki on Vao. I do not know whether this is the only type of Maki

[1] See p. 69, Map IV. The *La-mbet-pung* here referred to is not the existing Lodge of that name belonging to *Nalu*, but a Lodge of the same name formerly belonging to *La-mbot-na-ninge*.

[2] Sacrificing other animals or insects instead of boars is a common feature in semi-mythical accounts See pp. 284, 579.

they perform. It is quite possible that there are others. All I can say is that this is the only one that I recorded, and even about this my information is unfortunately meagre.

We have already seen how, during the men's rites, immediately after the mass sacrifice in both High and Low Maki, the Maki-men retire to invest their wives, mothers and daughters with complimentary titles.[1] Of these complimentary titles the most important are those bestowed on the wives. The most important duties devolve also on the wives, and in the only case I have so far recorded in which women sacrifice pigs, namely at the end of the men's voluntary periods of restriction on the 50th or the 100th day after the Maki, it is again the wives of the Maki-men who, after a purifying bathe, perform this sacrifice.[2] These facts demonstrate the great importance of the wife in the men's Maki ritual. It is important to note, however, that the titles conferred on them during these rites are complimentary, and are not taken in their own right.

In the Maki performed for the construction of a Women's Lodge in which women sacrifice and take new titles and names in their own right, it is significant that the women on whom this honour devolves are again the Maki-men's wives. I am unfortunately quite ignorant of what connexion, if any, there is between these two sets of facts, and can only record the bare information I received.

This is, that some time after the men's Maki, the Maki-men build a new Lodge for their wives, which the men subsequently are not allowed to enter, and during the consecration of which the wives sacrifice their own pigs[3] and thereby, in their own right, take their new titles and names. The title thus taken by each woman is *Le-tete*, and the Lodge is itself therefore called *n'ime na tetean*, meaning "house of the *tete*." This title is quite different from any other woman's title recorded elsewhere in the New Hebrides, and is interesting in that the word *tete* is that used in Vao according to my information for the father, but according to Godefroy for the mother's brother.[4] Whether there is a direct connexion between Godefroy's account of the use of this word and the title *Le-tete* I do not know, but it is significant that the name which each woman takes along with her title is that of her own brother. It will be remembered that, of the three female relatives receiving complimentary titles in the men's Maki, while a Maki-man's daughters and mother all take the Maki-man's own name, the wife takes, not his, but her brother's. Whether there is any connexion between the title *Le-tete* and the dance called *Le-tean* during which personal songs in honour of individual Maki-men are sung, I do not know.

[1] See p. 394. [2] See p. 406.

[3] Whether the pigs thus sacrificed by women are boars or sows, tusked or untusked, gelded or ungelded, I am unable to say.

[4] See p. 127.

The whole question of women's rites needs much fuller investigation. I have unfortunately no more information about them, except to call the reader's attention to the women's dolmens mentioned on p. 731.

One word only remains to be said regarding the sociological function of these Lodges. It was expressly stated by my informant that, while other women might enter the Lodge, only those of one *woroan* may sacrifice at its consecration. Since the Maki-men themselves all belong to one "line" or marriage section, it follows that their wives all belong to another, so that, as with the use of the word *woroan* in connexion with the construction of a Quarter-Lodge cited above, it would appear that the word as used here means marriage section, applied here to the female members of that section from which the Maki-men take their wives.

CHAPTER XVII

CANOES

TWO MAIN TYPES OF CANOE: (*a*) COASTAL, (*b*) SEA-GOING

THE natives of all the Small Islands formerly possessed two main types of single-outrigger canoe:

(*a*) Small coastal canoes, called in Vao *nu-wak*,[1] used daily for traffic between the Small Islands and the mainland on which the natives of each island have their gardens. These coastal canoes are used also for short voyages from one Small Island to another, within the comparatively safe waters fringing the Malekulan coast. Plate I shows a number of such canoes belonging to the Vao village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu drawn up on the beach Kowu facing the Malekulan mainland. Apart from their small size, their distinguishing feature lies in the arrangement of outrigger booms, of which there are three, one forward and two close together aft.[2] Women and children use these canoes as well as men, and they are not consecrated. The larger ones are capable of carrying eight men.

(*b*) Large sea-going canoes called *nu-wak wala*. The word *wala* is connected with the Vao *walau*, meaning technically to "run before the wind," but more loosely used as a generic word for "to sail." It is connected with the Tanga word *walau*, meaning voyage, and with the Polynesian *folau*, meaning "to go on an ocean voyage."[3] It is of interest also to note that Wala is the name for the Small Island immediately to the south of Atchin, and is the chief navigational centre for the district. This type of canoe was formerly manufactured by all coastal peoples of North and East Malekula as far south as Port Sandwich, where it was called *nuangk wala*. There it gave place to a different type used on the south and south-west coasts, described by Deacon under its Seniang name, *nimbwembew*.[4]

The sea-going canoes made in the Small Islands, capable of holding thirty or even forty men, were used formerly for voyages across open sea to the remaining large islands of the Northern New Hebrides, namely Ambrim, Raga, Oba, Maewo, Malo and Santo. The main purpose of these voyages was the trade in pigs, and from the frequent fights attendant

[1] Spelt *nuak* in my original notes supplied to Dr. Haddon and quoted in Haddon, 3, vol. II, p. 27. The Atchin form is *na-ak*, Mota *aka*, Port Sandwich *nu-angk*.

[2] It is to this type only that the descriptions in Speiser, 3, pp. 250-1, and Haddon, 3, vol. II, pp. 26-7, apply.

[3] Information from Dr. A. Capell.

[4] See Deacon, 4, pp. 204-11 and Fig. 10.

on these trips they have come to be known also as war canoes. One of their chief other uses was to barter for the turmeric essential as a basic dye for all coloured articles of clothing, obtained exclusively from Malo and South Santo.

These canoes had four (sometimes apparently five, but never six) booms, the distinctive arrangement of which was that they were all placed close to one another amidships. This arrangement was due to the fact that, unlike the small coastal canoes which have only one bow and are paddled always in the same direction, the sea-going canoes were constructed so as to be able to sail in both directions, having a bow at both ends, so that the booms had to be placed symmetrically to allow the vessel to be reversed at will. Owing to the sacred nature of the pig trade for which they were chiefly used,[1] the sea-going canoes were consecrated by the sacrifice of tusked boars with all its attendant dances and rites, and from the moment of consecration women might neither touch nor enter them. This consecration was similar in its main aspects to the Maki rite, and conferred upon the vessel itself the grade of the chief boar sacrificed, in just the same way as the sacrificer in the Maki rite adopts the grade of the victim he slays.[2]

Substitution of European "whalers" for sea-going canoes.

Of late years (and this was already the case at the date of my visit in 1914) the natives have preferred to save themselves the trouble of building sea-going canoes, and have taken to buying white man's "whalers" instead. The same consecration rites and the same taboos are, however, performed for the new "whalers" as for the old sea-going canoes. It was my good fortune to witness, and take photographs of, one such consecration of a "whaler" on Atchin, a detailed description of which will be reserved for a future volume. Godefroy, however, also witnessed similar scenes on Vao, which he briefly describes, and which are given below.

Two types of sea-going canoe. Probable former existence of double canoes.

It is said that there were formerly two types of sea-going canoe in use on Vao:

(1) *Nu-wak ghe-ru.* I was told of this only the last day I was on Vao, and was therefore unable to follow the statement up, as I had intended. It is interesting to note, however, that the word *ghe-ru* means "two."

[1] The cultural connexion between pigs and sea-going canoes will be discussed in a future volume on Atchin. Meanwhile, it is worth while noting Deacon's description of a rite connected with the graded society on Oba in which a canoe furnished with a mat sail is placed on a stone "tower" to commemorate the coming of the first pigs from Malo to Oba (Deacon, 3, pp. 497-8).

[2] See p. 258.

The phrase *nu-wak ghe-ru* is thus seen to mean "two canoes," and would appear to indicate the former existence on Vao of double canoes. Though double canoes are not now found anywhere in the New Hebrides, a sand-tracing of a double canoe called *rue-rue* has been recorded by Dr. Firth from Raga. Commenting on this, Dr. Haddon writes: "There can be no doubt that the memory of double canoes persists at Raga. It is not yet possible to say whether they were used there at no very distant date or whether the drawing [sand-tracing] is a traditional one handed down from a long time back when the ancestors of the present population (or at all events one element of them) sailed in such vessels. In the not very far distant Santa Cruz group, Quiros saw double canoes in 1606, and round about 1600 A.D. there appear to have been double canoes in the southern 'Polynesian' (or more correctly, perhaps, Micronesian) Islands of the Solomons, which were used by people who were said to have usually a white skin and 'red' hair. At that time there was a great deal of voyaging by the natives." [1] As we have already seen (p. 170), it was also about this date that the existing civilisation on Vao came about through the arrival of new immigrants. It would appear, therefore, not unlikely that these people had double canoes.

(2) *Nu-wak na mangean* or *nu-wak na vel-veluan.* The word *mang* (*ne-mang* in Atchin[2]) is used for the served pieces of split bamboo which are laced over the seams between the planks of large canoes to keep them water-tight (see Fig. 54). The phrase *nu-wak na mangean* thus means "plank-built canoe." The word *veluan* means "dance," possibly referring to the dancing which occurs during the inaugural rites connected with the canoe consecration, a consecration which does not occur in the case of coastal canoes.

The double canoe, if it existed, must have disappeared some time ago. The following descriptions all refer to the single outrigger canoes of which the small coastal type is still in use, and the large sea-going type continued to be manufactured and sailed till about 1900, when it was replaced by the modern European whaler.

CONSTRUCTION (BRIEF SUMMARY)

Detailed descriptions of construction, with plans and terminology, together with accounts of sailing technique and of individual voyages, will be given in a later volume on Atchin, where they were obtained. I will here confine myself to the briefest description of canoes on Vao, in order to make the main outlines of construction clear.

[1] A. C. Haddon, in Deacon, 5, p. 145. The sand-tracing in question was recorded both by Dr. Raymond Firth and by Miss M. Hardacre. For general account of sand-tracings, see present volume, Chapter XXV.

[2] See Layard, 1, p. 38.

Small coastal canoes.

The hull is in all cases made of a single hollowed log, the dug-out. In the smallest coastal canoes there are no thwarts, the chief paddler sitting on the flattened stern and the rest on the three outrigger booms (*ne-wu*) where these cross the body of the dug-out.[1] There is a rail lashed along each gunwale, and it is to these two rails that the outrigger booms are themselves lashed. The booms are attached to the outrigger float (*na-sam*) by means of sticks driven diagonally into holes in the float in such a way that the sticks cross one another, and it is to these sticks that the booms are made fast by means of further lashings. All lashing is done with lengths of plaited coconut sinnet (*na-wun*). Made fast to the bow of every canoe is a prow-head carved to represent the highly stylised wings and beak of a bird. These prow-head figures are called *na-ho*, and their main peculiarity is that the cleft representing the space between the mandibles is continued down the gullet. Peculiarities in the carving of these figure-heads indicative of the wealth and importance of their owners are jealously guarded, and may only be copied on payment of a high fee in pigs.[2]

A good-sized specimen of such a canoe capable of carrying eight men and illustrated in Plate XIX was found by Speiser to be 9 metres long and ½ metre broad. The float was 5 metres long and 5 metres distant from the hull.[3]

Large coastal canoes.

The larger coastal canoes (such as that illustrated in Fig. 54) have their sides heightened by means of planks, or wash-strakes (*ne-rev*),[4] lashed on to each side of the hull through holes (*mete-mbò*) bored along the side of each plank, the holes then being plugged with coconut sheathing and the seam yet further protected by means of split bamboos, served with soft string, round which the lashing is made fast. The rear end of the planking is made flush with the stern, but in front a special bow-piece (*soron*) is added, in the form of a short piece of hollowed log, the after-end of which is cut flush with the foremost plank. In such a case, it is to this bow-piece that the bird figure-head is attached. Thwarts (*gheatat*) may be added at will, and along the whole forepart of the canoe

[1] I know of no seat consisting of "small boards almost on the bottom of the hull" such as is referred to by Speiser, 3, p. 251, quoted by Haddon, 3, vol. II, p. 26.

[2] Two examples are illustrated by Speiser, 3, Plate 64, Figs. 1 and 2. For actual specimens from the neighbouring island of Atchin see Layard, 1, Nos. 136 c and 137. Mr. Tom Harrisson tells me that these figure-heads represent either the frigate-bird or the shearwater (see Appendix II).

[3] For further measurements see Speiser, 3, pp. 250-1.

[4] Compare Mota *irav*, "board, slab of wood, in canoe, and house" (Codrington, 2).

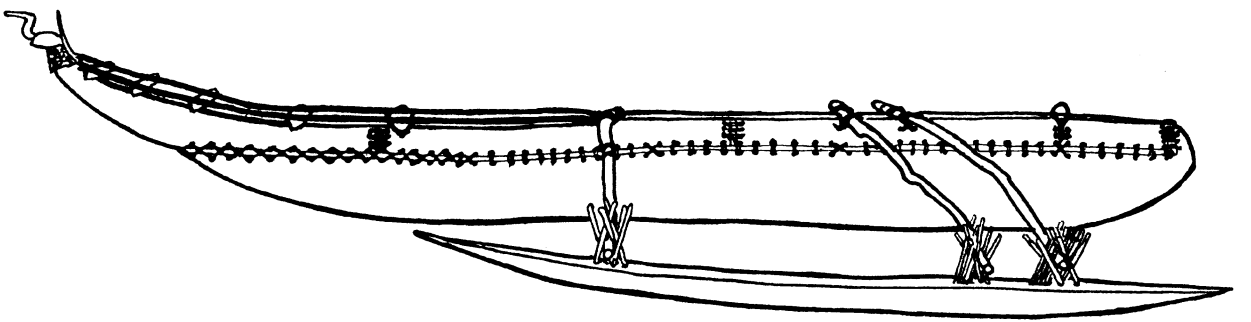


FIG. 54

Large coastal canoe composed of dug-out hull heightened by means of planks (*ne-rev*) lashed together as described on page 458, and bow-piece (*soron*) to which the bird figure-head (*na-ha*) is attached. Note the small thwarts in the bow, though this specimen is not very large and the thwarts amidships and on the stern are lacking and the paddlers sit on the outrigger booms where these cross the hull and on the rear end of the hull which is flush with the planks. Note also the characteristic arrangement of one outrigger boom slightly forward and two close together aft.

a kind of bow platform is constructed of flat boards set at intervals and held on by means of a rail.[1]

Sea-going canoes.

In the sea-going canoes all these features are retained and there may be a second row of planks, or upper wash-strakes, called *romb-romb.* Structural forms by which sea-going canoes differ entirely from all types of coastal canoes, however large, are:

(*a*) The fact that sea-going canoes are symmetrically constructed with a bow-piece and figure-head at each end.
(*b*) The addition, at each end, of two subsidiary figure-heads (*mbambar*), one on each side of the main figure-head.
(*c*) The corresponding symmetry of the outrigger booms, all of which are placed close to one another amidships to allow of tacking in either direction.
(*d*) The fact that the free ends of the outrigger booms extend some distance beyond the hull on the side opposite to that of the float.
(*e*) The construction of wooden platforms (*hal avol*) on the outrigger booms on both sides of the hull.

Sails.

Coastal canoes (except the very smallest) and sea-going canoes were formerly all provided with sails, called *gha-mban* or *na-gha-mban*,[2] of which the literal meaning is "wing." In the case of the smaller coastal canoes the sail was made of leaf sheaths of coconut palm, sewn together with bast fibre. A photograph of such a sail taken by Speiser [3] is reproduced in Plate XIX. In the case of large sea-going canoes, however, for which a stronger material is needed, the sail was made formerly by sewing together long strips of plaited pandanus leaves dyed red with the same technique as is still used for the making of women's mat-skirts and men's girdles and penis-wrappers. The plaiting was done by the women, and the sail-strips were then sewn together by the men.[4] The sail, described by Dr. Haddon as a simple kind of oceanic spritsail (of which the typical form was that formerly used in New Zealand),[5] was triangular with a

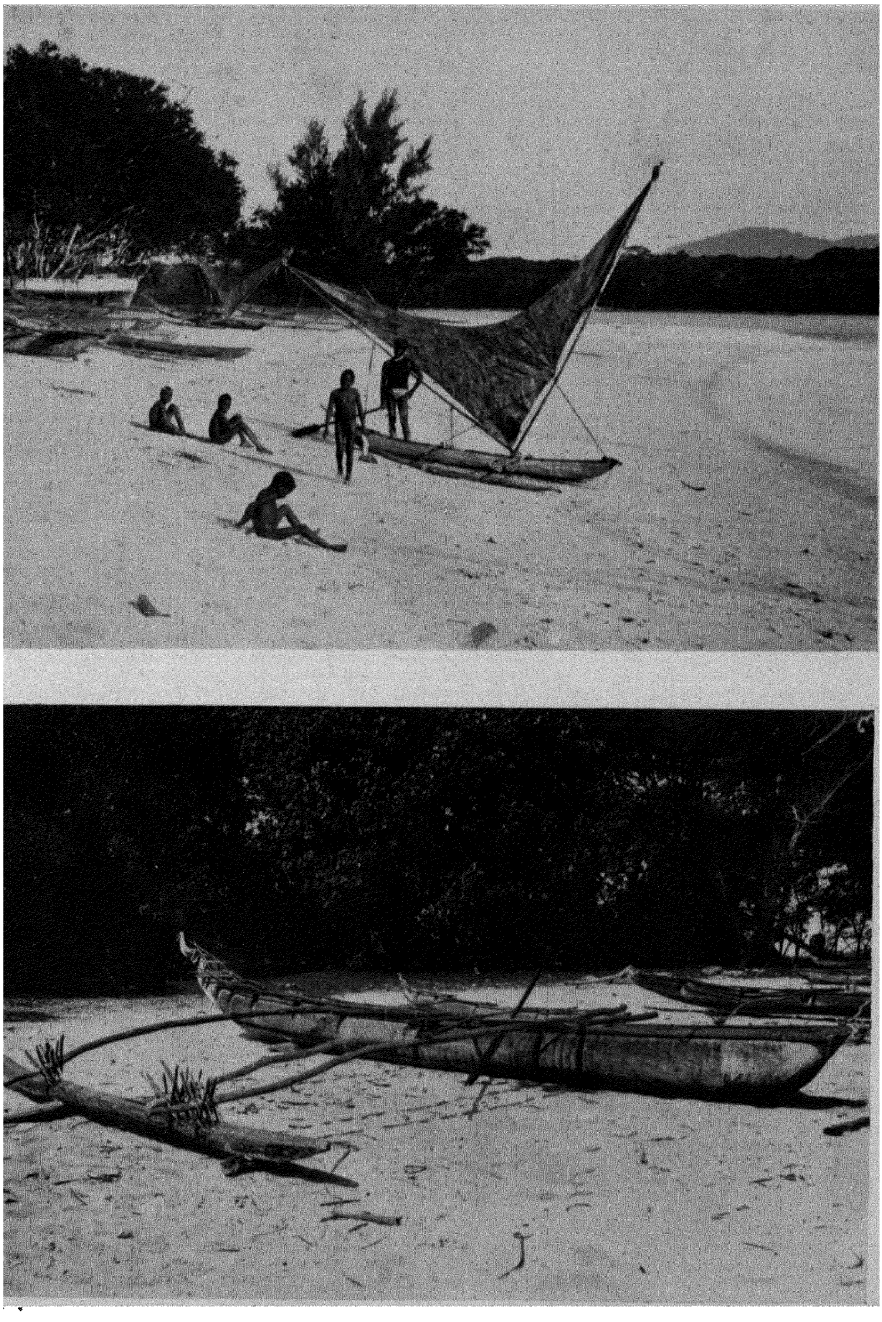
[1] These are the "small transverse boards like small seats" referred to by Speiser (3, p. 252, quoted by Haddon, 3, vol. II, p. 26) "which have no significance for navigation, but are merely the expression of the *suqe* [misnomer for Maki] rank of the owner—the higher the rank the more the boards." They are, however, of practical use in that they may be used to support parcels of food or other paraphernalia of a voyage.

[2] Transcribed as *nagamban* in my original notes quoted by Haddon, 3, vol. II, p. 27. Compare Mota *gapan.*

[3] See also Speiser, 3, p. 251. These sails are no longer made. That seen in Plate I is a ready-made European one bought from a white trader.

[4] Codrington, 3, p. 292, describes a similar method of construction in Mota.

[5] Haddon, 3, vol. III, p. 11.



1. Small coastal canoe with mat-sail. (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 62, *Fig.* 7)
2. Large coastal canoe. (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 31, *Fig.* 4)

free concave upper border, the other two sides being each lashed to a bamboo spar. There being no mast, the sail was held in place by means of a forked piece of wood inserted into the lower end of each spar in such a way that the fork attached to one spar rested on a specially constructed thwart amidships,[1] while that attached to the second spar rested on the stem of the first. Joined thus together at their base, the two spars projected upwards and outwards to support the free upper side of the sail, each upper angle so formed being referred to as the "tip of the wing."

Rigging.

The rigging consisted of six ropes plaited from the inner bark of a tree which in Atchin is called *wulu*, such ropes being more pliable and less liable to fray than the stronger coconut sinnet used for lashing the parts of the canoe. Of these six ropes, three were made fast about half-way up each spar. Functionally, these ropes may be divided into two classes. Two serve as stays, that attached to the windward spar being made fast to the outer longitudinal pole connecting the booms at the point of their attachment to the float, while that supporting the lee spar is made fast to notches on the ends of the booms projecting from beneath the lee platform. The remaining two ropes attached to each spar, making four in all, are made fast respectively to the fore and after thwarts.

Sailing.

The normal sailing direction of the canoe is with the outrigger on the starboard side, and in certain cases when there is only one figure-head, as in the coastal canoes, it is always placed on this side. Normally it is always necessary to keep the outrigger to windward, as otherwise the outrigger would become submerged and sailing would be impossible. In the case of a sea-going canoe, however, which has a prow at both ends, when sailing into the wind, instead of putting about, as is the case with any European craft, the direction of the canoe is reversed at the end of each tack, the sheets being loosened and the sail turned to the required position. This brings the outrigger on to the port side, and for the reason above mentioned, this tack being dangerous, it is never kept up for long, the canoe being brought back as soon as possible on to the starboard tack. For the same reason, this manœuvre is performed only in comparatively calm weather. In rough weather the outrigger is always kept to windward, part of the crew sitting or standing on the weather (outrigger side) platform or even further out along the booms in order to prevent it from being dragged out of the water owing to the pressure of the wind on the sail. In very high winds the sail can be reefed by rolling part of the sail on to the lee spar and making it fast there by loops let into the sail. The

[1] Haddon (ibid. p. 26), describing a specimen in the Basel Museum, says "on the edge of the canoe."

craft is steered by means of a long paddle (Fig. 55) held by the steersman on the port side to counteract the dragging effect of the outrigger float.



FIG. 55
Steering-paddle of a sea-going canoe (*nu-wak wala*).

Navigation by night.

Sea-going canoes furnished with sails were capable of long voyages by night as well as by day, navigation by night being assisted by considerable knowledge of the apparent movement of the stars. An account of a night voyage undertaken by the author with the natives of Atchin, together with some of the natives' astronomical observations, will be given in a later volume.

Canoes named after trees used in their construction.

Sea-going canoes may be made from the trunks of various trees, those I recorded being *tawò*, *nev*, *bagure* and *na-tor*.

Each individual canoe is named. The following list of canoe names in the order in which they were constructed shows that it is to the trees from which they were made that the name chiefly refers. These names are:

Vile	*Tawò borav(u)*
Tawò iwagh	*Tawò veturah*
Na-tor	*Vile*
Vile	*Na-tor*
Tawò mel	

Vile is presumably another tree from which canoes are made.[1]

Ownership.

If, when a sea-going canoe is to be made, a Maki is in progress, the canoe then belongs exclusively to the officiating "line" of Maki-men, that is to say, to the officiating matrilineal moiety within the double-village.[2] In this case, it will be the members of the introducing "line"

[1] Compare p. 79 for two Raga canoes made respectively from trees called *pego* (bread-fruit tree) and *nev*. A similar practice of naming canoes after the trees used in their construction is recorded also by Rivers (1, vol. I, p. 171) from Mota and Merlav. One of the trees so used is *tora*, corresponding to the Vao *na-tor*.

On the adoption of whalers in place of sea-going canoes this type of naming after trees could not be continued. Names given by the natives to their whalers, as recorded by Godefroy, are "New Year" (pronounced *niowyet*), the boat having been bought close to New Year's Day, "Comet," after Halley's comet which was clearly visible in the islands, "Queen," and "Saint-Michel."

[2] Compare Rivers's statement (1, vol. I, 209) that in North Raga "canoes are in no case individual property even now, but belong always to the *verana* as a whole," the *verana* being described as 'the subdivision of the [matrilineal] moiety the exact nature of which is uncertain,' but here appears to correspond with the Vao 'line.' In the same way, in Mota and Merlav the members of a crew are confined to a single matrilineal moiety (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 172).

that do the work. If, on the other hand, there is no Maki in progress, then both "lines" own it and do the work.

Though the canoe belongs to the whole "line," or, if both "lines" combine, to the whole village, one man is spoken of as the "owner." It is he who performs the main sacrifices and directs operations, and it is with his personality that, after the consecration rite, the canoe itself becomes identified. This man, when the canoe is owned by one "line," is probably the leader of the Maki.

BELIEFS AND RITUAL CONNECTED WITH THE MANUFACTURE AND CONSECRATION OF SEA-GOING CANOES

First made by Ta-ghar on Oba.

Sea-going canoes are said to have been first made by Ta-ghar on Oba, whence the Small Islanders derived the art of making them. The following song refers to what is said to have been the first of such canoes. I did not record the tune. The words, as usual in songs, are archaic. The free rendering was given by a native.

Wolo ro angk-e,
Om sin togo le leure.
Osongani nu-wak e walau;
Agos bane savega?
Go wolo-wolo angk.
Anggambasi wolo nggere-nggeres; [1]
Vavine geru rom turu.
Wolo ro angk,
Om sin togo le leure.

"Run, run, canoe (before the wind),
Let it not hug the shore.
Keep it up towards the south;
At what place shall we land
The canoe is running.
He pretends to launch the canoe
Two women are waiting (at the landing-place)
Run, run, canoe,
Let it not hug the shore."

The sea-going nature of the canoe is here well emphasised, and reference to a southward course is interesting, though whether this is to the course from Oba or from still further north I cannot say. Some story lies behind the song, for which I have no key.

[1] Modern Atchin *kar-karas, karasi,* "to trick."

RITES ACCOMPANYING THE STAGES OF CONSTRUCTION

The following account is of the rites according to the usage of the village Pete-hul.

The first words of my informant on beginning his account was that the rites for a canoe were "just like those for Gong-Raising."

Trees of a size from which to make the dug-out hull are sometimes, though rarely, found upon the island. As a rule, these must be sought for on the mainland.

The standing tree is not burnt, as is the case with gongs, firstly because there is not the same necessity for drying out the sap, and secondly because this would entail a year's delay before the wood was fit to cut.

Proceedings open with a feast called *masean*, held in the dancing-ground. A fowl (called *masean*, and so presumably cooked in a pudding for this feast) is killed at the foot of the tree that is to be felled.

I have no record of a special communion rite on this occasion.

The stages of manufacture which I have recorded are as follows:

1. Preliminary removal of the bark. This is done in every case excepting when the tree is that called *nev*. The object possibly may be to kill the tree, thus taking the place of burning in the case of gongs.

2. The felling.
   Work done by men of the home-village (non-owning "line"?) only.

3. *Ra golehi*. Stripping the bark after felling (if the tree is that called *nev*), and preliminary smoothing of the outside of the log.
   Work done by villages in rotation (*ar tame vanu*).
   Pigs are killed on the site of operations, and these, with yams placed in a single heap, are given to the workers in reward (*tamean*).

4. *Ro rau nu-wak*. Hollowing out the log.
   Work done by men of the home-village. Individuals from other villages may assist if they so wish, but there is no regular rotation.
   The women of the home-village have meanwhile been making puddings (*na-longk*). In the evening, when the workers have returned, these puddings are brought into the *ghamal*. The puddings are brought in and here divided into portions, one for each Quarter of the village, the members of each Quarter eating separately within the *ghamal*, while further portions are sent to those of other villages who assisted in the work.
   No pigs are killed.

5 and 6. *Per-perean.*[1] The hollowed log is turned over and the ends, both fore and aft, are undercut.

Proceedings as for hollowing out the log.

No pigs are killed.

7. *Rev-revean.* Transporting the dug-out to the island.

Two days before the transportation the chief owner indemnifies the man on whose land the tree was felled by payment of a series of pigs of grades ranging up to that of a curved or even a re-entrant-tusker.

Men of all villages assist in dragging the dug-out to the shore.

Numerous pigs, but no tuskers, are killed; and these are placed on heaps of yams upon the shore, one heap for each village dancing-ground.

As in the making of gongs, the visitors now all depart, the actual ferrying-over to the island being the concern of the home-village only. This is no easy task, since the log as yet is only roughly hollowed out. If bow and stern are not too high it can, with skill, be paddled without outrigger; if, on the other hand, they are too high, a temporary outrigger is attached. Two men do the paddling, seated at either end. The rest escort them in canoes, and fill the air with songs of *na-rel* and the *Gong-Raising* song-and-dance cycle.

As the dug-out grounds upon the island shore, a small pig is sacrificed. This is called *ra sale ghowov te*, corresponding to the same rite performed for gongs to "purify them from contact with the sea." [2]

8. The dug-out is now left to dry.

9. *Kos-kosean.* The inside of the log, till now but roughly hollowed, now receives more careful trimming.

This work is done by men of the home-village at their leisure, taking many days.

No pigs are killed, nor special pudding eaten.

10. *Soron.* Meanwhile, others have been searching for a tree (or trees) for making the bow and stern pieces (*soron*), which, when made, are laid aside until the inside hollowing of the log is finished. These are then carefully fitted to the dug-out, but not yet made fast.

This preliminary fitting is the occasion of the only communion feast (*ghete-ghati*) recorded in connexion with the entire manufacture. Fowls killed in the morning are cooked in the puddings (*na-longk*) which in the evening form the medium for the rite.

[1] Compare Mota *pari*, "to cut with straight strokes in shaping the inside of a canoe" (Codrington, 2).

[2] See p. 352.

11. *Ar wiriri sor-sor.* Attachment of bow and stern pieces. Holes are made, both in these pieces and in the dug-out, through which is passed the coconut sinnet (*na-wun*) by which they are attached.

For each stage in this and all the subsequent attachments two men are responsible for the provision both of the necessary sinnet and of the food with which the workers are rewarded. Each provides for one side of the canoe only, successive couples being made responsible for each stage in the work.

12. Attachment of lower wash-strakes. Bow and stern pieces being already in place, all is ready for the lower wash-strakes. Each of these wash-strakes is composed of four separate boards. These are:

Two *ne-rev homb-homb*, fore and aft, contiguous to the bow and stern pieces respectively.

Ne-rev tuluhak, contiguous to the after *ne-rev homb-homb*; it is to these that the outrigger booms will be attached, and

Ne-rev parav, contiguous to the forward *ne-rev homb-homb*.

13. *Wiwihean* (or *wiwihian*). Attaching the outrigger booms (*ne-wu*) and float (*na-sam*).

Preparations have been made the previous day by sinking the half-built-up dug-out in the sand. This is called *ro tuwuni*, "we bury it." A trench is dug for it and sand piled up along the sides till the tops of the lower wash-strakes alone are visible. Without such extra support, the wash-strakes, made fast only on their under-edges, might get slightly out of line. It is interesting to note that the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao, having no good sand in which to bury the canoe, achieve the necessary rigidity by constructing instead a wooden scaffolding of piles (*rampiri*).

The exact placing of the booms is of the utmost moment, and in order that this shall be correctly done the services of an expert are required. This expert specialises in a kind of magic called *na-kur*,[1] and is himself called *mara kur*. In the evening, after the burying of the canoe, the booms are brought by men of the home-village and placed in rough position across the strakes called *tuluhak*. These men now retire, and the expert is left alone, for none may see him at his work. With special songs he puts the booms exactly where they should be tied. He alone knows the precise spacing necessary between each boom, and no one, as my informant wistfully remarked, "knows how he knows it."

Next day is that called *wiwiwihian*, when the booms are made fast and the float attached.

The work is done solely by the men of the home-village.

A pig is given by the chief owner to the expert.

[1] This is evidently the same word as *na-kor*, recorded by Godefroy for the name of a cult object placed in the model canoe used during the "mortuary rites" held for the "death" of a sea-going canoe that had been wrecked (see p. 471).

In the evening puddings with fowls cooked in them are divided in the dancing-ground between the four Quarters of the village, and a feast is held.

After this important day there is an interval while the remaining parts of the canoe are being manufactured. These are then assembled on two separate days, the work being done by men of the home-village only, without further ceremony or special feasts.

14. Those parts assembled on the first of these two days are the thwarts (*gheatat*), the upper wash-strakes (*romb-romb*) and the outrigger-platforms (*hal avol*).

15. Those assembled on the second day are the main figure-heads (*na-ho*) and the subsidiary figure-heads (*mbambar*).[1]

16. The canoe is lifted from the trench in which it had been sunk and now receives a final trimming, all remaining splinters being removed.

17. *Ra wohoi mete-mbò.* Plugging the holes (*mete-mbò*) with coconut sheathing.

Save for the sail, the canoe is now complete. Since trade in pigs is the chief object of these craft, the expert (*mara kur*) is once more summoned to ensure success. This time his function is performed in public, though doubtless there will be some secret song and prayer. In full view of all he brings a sow and places it inside the forward end of the canoe, then throws at it a small young coconut (*veragat*), so that the frightened animal runs aft. A second coconut is thrown, so that the sow again runs forward through the length of the canoe. This symbolises fertility in pigs and is an augury for success in trading.

18. *Ra hele ghamban nen.* Sewing up the strips of sail. Throughout the period of manufacture, the women have been busy in their houses plaiting the strips from which the sail is made. These strips are now sewn together by the men, adorned with love-herbs (*masing*) and their various insignia. When the work is finished, puddings (*na-longk*) are divided among the four Quarters of the village, and the men then hold a feast.

INAUGURATION DANCE

On the night following the assembly of the sail, parties from all the villages of Vao, as well as guests from Atchin and other islands and the mainland, assemble in the dancing-ground for an all-night dance (*veluan na ghamban*, "dance of the sail").[2]

[1] No mention is made here of fore and after platforms, though these exist.

[2] I have no record of the previous dancing of Vao villages in rotation, such as occurs on Atchin. This does not mean that this does not take place.

Proceedings begin with the dance called *Le-tean*, and when this is over, payment of pigs is made to all those living who have previously made the sail of a sea-going canoe.[1] These pigs are presented by the chief owner placing them one by one upon his shoulder and calling on the receiver to come and take it. *Tunen* is then danced till dawn, when pigs are killed and placed on heaps of yams for each village represented. There is no *na-leng*.

The sail is then taken to the beach and placed on the canoe. This is then launched and the sail hoisted, and as they sail away the crew stand on the outrigger-platforms dancing and singing songs of the *Tunen* song-and-dance cycle.

CONSECRATION RITE (GODEFROY'S ACCOUNT)

The Inauguration dance, of which the above is a brief and incomplete account, is probably connected with the Consecration rite which Godefroy records:

"This rite has for its object the putting of a taboo on the canoe or whaler, that is to say, making them taboo to women. Once such a vessel is consecrated, no woman may touch it, far less embark on it. . . .

"In 1926, the four smaller clans of Vao—always associated together against the two larger—combined to buy a whaler 30 feet long; it cost them £200. As they received delivery of it about New Year's Day, they called it 'New-year,' which they pronounce *niouyet*.[2] For three months it lay at anchor off the beach belonging to Norohure, save for a few short journeys to the neighbouring islets and to the Canal du Segond.

"On account of the ravages of the sea-worms which live in those warm waters and bore through the keels of wooden boats, they hastened to construct a shelter for their beautiful whaler. They immediately made this shelter taboo, by sacrificing a pig in the dancing-ground. This shelter is one of the four existing on the shores of the island; I say 'exist,' for in fact there was only one left standing at the time the shelter in question was erected, the others had fallen in and rotted where they were, but the natives referred to them as if they still existed, on account of the sacrifices that had been made for them.

"As for the whaler, she received a grand consecration, similar to that of one of the great chiefs.[3] In her honour were sacrificed a dozen great tusked boars and a hundred cocks and hens, and two tons of yams were offered and placed, all decorated, on the great *kal-kal*.[4] . . . Then the natives danced all night till dawn, as is done in the great [Maki] rites.

[1] I.e. when the canoe is made and owned by the active "line" of Maki-men, to the members of the introducing "line."

[2] A typical example of French transliteration. The *t* is of course silent.

[3] The word "chief" is used throughout this account to mean "man of high Maki rank."

[4] Yam-table.

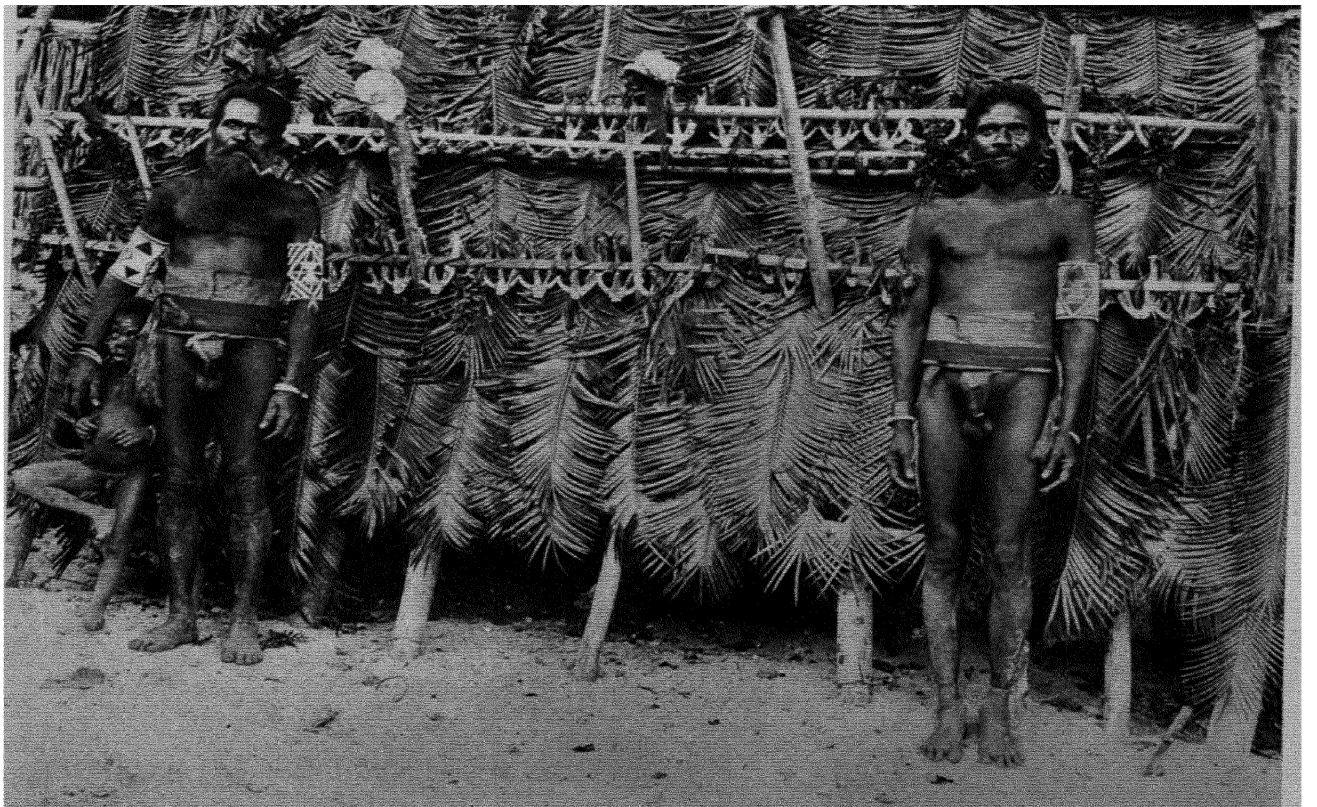


PLATE XX

Racks displaying the tusked jaws of boars sacrificed at the consecration of a whaler at the village of Emil Parav on Atchin. The two men are joint "owners" of the "canoe." Two of their arm badges bear the design called *wena*, seen also in Fig. 84

"This rite had the effect of conferring a high rank—that of *na-humbe*, on the whaler. Henceforth, the natives will speak of her as of a person. When her owners desire to make a voyage in her, they say, '*N.* [the whaler] *e rong a vala—Niouyet e rong a vi Bu*,' '*N.* wishes to sail—N. wants to go to Ambrym," etc. And if, one day, a mishap should occur on some reef, they will perform mortuary rites as for a chief.[1] . . .

"This initial consecration affects only the whaler's hull. There will soon be another to 'bless' the sail, and its mast; then, lastly, for the rudder.

"These three rites have consecrated the whole whaler and her rigging: N. [the whaler] has become a chief, and she lives in a house, also 'blessed.' As I have already said, no woman may either touch her, or go aboard. If, one day, a neighbouring white man takes it into his head to approach the native owners with a view to borrowing their whaler, the elders whom he has approached will stipulate as part of the contract that the white man shall undertake, under pain of paying a high fine, to respect the taboo against women." [2]

The consecrated canoe acquires the "soul" and rank of (a) *the sacrificed tusker, and* (b) *its owner, the sacrificer.*

Another result of its consecration is to confer on the canoe, or whaler, a "soul" through identification with the chief sacrificial tusker whose title it assumes. Since the owner, i.e. the sacrificer, himself takes the same title, it is clear that this rite is in fact another form of Maki, in which not only the man, but also the canoe, takes on the rank of the sacrificed boar, and the two are, in this respect, identical.

Godefroy describes in moving terms the fate of a boat whose owner had died. The whaler was found "apparently abandoned under an old shelter. [The vessel had been bought in Noumea, and they had paid 2000 francs for it.[3]] It is no longer in use . . . simply because the chief shareholder (two clans shared in the purchase) has died, and, since then, none of his relatives have dared to revivify the 'soul' [4] of this whaler. . . .

[1] See below, p. 536.

[2] Godefroy, I, 1934, pp. 56-7. On one occasion, the young men of Pete-hul lent their "Comet" (see p. 470) to a young planter from a neighbouring isle, for a considerable sum. Several months later, the elders of Pete-hul, having found out that the young planter had allowed his wife aboard, went into a great rage, and forced their young clansmen who had arranged the affair to pay over to them the whole of the money they had received as rent.

[3] At pre-war rate of exchange. The incident took place about 1915.

[4] Godefroy does not record the native word which he translates "soul." The endowing of a canoe with individuality which this rite implies recalls Rivers's description, I, vol. I, pp. 170-1, of a rite performed at the launching of a canoe in Mota and Merlav which is similar to that carried out at the birth of a child.

"When Masing [1] and his relatives bought this whaler, the elders of their clan consecrated it by sacrificing a valuable tusked boar, by which act the whaler assumed the rank of the sacrificed tusker. Now, the boar in question was a *na-humbe*, and the vessel had thus been promoted to the rank of chief. Several months later, they consecrated, by means of sacrifices and other rites, its sail, its masts, its rudder, and finally its hold. In this way, the 'Queen'—that was the boat's name—had acquired the rank of high chief, and thenceforth no woman might go aboard, or even touch her. Masing and his whaler had now become one and the same person, and, when Masing died, the 'soul' of his whaler followed its master, in other words disappeared. It will not return to inhabit its timbers again till that day on which a fresh sacrifice is made similar to the first. Meanwhile, the vessel is dead, but, for all that, has not lost her consecrated character. And if, either through meanness, or fearing the considerable outlay necessary for repairs, no one decides to become Masing's successor, the 'Queen' will rot to pieces where she is, and her shelter will also collapse and die." [2]

"MORTUARY" RITES FOR A WRECKED SEA-GOING CANOE

So strong is the belief in the personal existence of a canoe that has thus been raised to high rank through sacrifice, that such craft are considered not only to live like human beings of high rank, but also, literally, to "die," and at their "death" they are accorded corresponding funerary rites.

Godefroy recounts how, during a storm, a whaler, named "Comet," after Halley's comet, which was brilliantly visible in the New Hebrides, was wrecked while an all-night dance was in progress in honour of the boat-shed they were erecting for it (they were all drunk). The "Comet" was driven on to the reef on the opposing mainland shore, and disappeared.

"On about the fifth day, when the sea had again become calm, the elders of the clan despatched several reliable men to conduct a search on the reef in order to establish the fact of the 'Comet's' 'death.' The seekers returned with the remains of the keel which they had found wedged between two coral rocks. The elders then held a debate, during the course of which they decided to begin forthwith the ceremonies proper to the death of a chief: the sounding of gongs and all-night dances lasting ten days; they began that very night.

"Nor was that all. On the thirtieth day of this mourning, men of

[1] Masing is not a title of high rank. Names are so frequently changed during the successive Maki rites that white men, not bothering themselves with native rites, frequently continue to call a man by the name he bore when they first knew him. This may be a case in point.

[2] Godefroy, 1, 1932, p. 226.

high [Maki] degree came carrying on their shoulders, from the dancing-ground of Pete-hul to the shore . . . a model canoe [1] . . . then in all the freshness of its funerary toilet. The whole thing, including the outrigger, was garlanded in perfect taste: truly, pious hands must have done this work.

"In the canoe's dug-out they had placed, on a bed of *roses de Chine* [2] and red and yellow crotons, a very curious object. It was a packet, something like one of the spindles used by our grandmothers when they pulled it clear of a full skein, swollen with linen or wool threads. I failed to discover what this packet was made of. All they would tell me was that it was 'like iron,' and that it was called *na-kor*.[3] Anything that the *na-kor* touches becomes taboo to women. They told me that this object came to them from Raga, where it is in common use. In their language, *na-kor* means 'ancient custom.'

"As they placed this model canoe on the ground, I saw that they were leading, dragged by their feet, two large tusked boars, '*bouar*,' [4] worth at least twelve English pounds apiece. At that moment, they launched the mortuary canoe, and at the same time loaded the two boars on a large canoe with three Pete-hul men aboard. They had calculated the right moment, when the tide flowing towards the opposite shore was at its strongest. The three men paddled their own canoe, but one of them from time to time gave a little shove to the model canoe in such a way that, together with its burden, it appeared to float of its own accord to the place of sacrifice. The reef on which the wreck occurred was a good 800 yards away; the voyage passed without incident.

"It was truly touching to see these aged men, this attentive audience, executing with obviously deep faith a rite which, in our eyes, has no real object, for it was a matter of no less weight, for them, than going to do honour, by means of extremely expensive sacrifices, to the chief's soul which the whale-boat had possessed during its lifetime!—a rite which had been handed down to them by means of tradition centuries old.

"Arrived at the spot where the 'Comet' had foundered, they sacrificed the two tuskers; then, after forming into a kind of procession in single file,[5] they paddled back. The two boars were carried up to Pete-hul dancing-ground, where they were cut up and their flesh divided among those chiefs who possessed the same rank as the 'dead' whale-boat."

[1] Such as is used in mortuary rites.

[2] I do not know to what kind of flower this refers.

[3] This is evidently the same word as that which I record as *na-kur*, used for the type of magic employed in connexion with the correct placing of the outrigger booms. The expert who practises it is called *mara kur*. See p. 466; cf. also the word *kur-kur-vat*, used for the stones placed over an old man's grave.

[4] I.e. of grade *bo-ware* (re-entrant-tusker). See p. 243.

[5] This evidently refers to other canoes which had paddled out to witness the "obsequies."

The model canoe, "admirably constructed down to the smallest detail," was subsequently deposited and left to rot beneath a shelter on the shore at the spot where the path belonging to the Pete-hul clan comes down to the sea.[1]

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1932, pp. 227-8. It would appear that such rites are only observed in cases of sudden death, i.e. wreck. He also says: "I have seen with my own eyes the end of 'Queen' and of 'Saint-Michel,' I have seen them die a quiet death. The first thing that happens is that their tabooed shelter collapses over them. During the time it takes for one to rot, her consecration is respected until the end. The idea would never enter anyone's mind that he should carry off any part of her for, let us say, firewood. . . . It was heartrending, when, towards the end, 'Saint-Michel' had been the victim of an accidental fire, to watch her rails and half-burnt timbers sink in their last agony to the ground, and then swiftly become covered with plants and creepers. To-day, nothing but the site remains." (Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 58.)

CHAPTER XVIII

INITIATION : GENERAL

INTRODUCTION

Two kinds of initiation on Vao : (a) *Initiation into Manhood, performed at home ;* (b) *Initiation into Sex, performed on Oba.*

THE cultural history of Initiation in the Small Islands is an extremely complicated one. There are at present in these islands two main kinds of initiation, both of which it is necessary for all boys to undergo. These are:

(1) Initiation into Manhood, performed at home. The outstanding elements of this are: (i) the operation of incision, in which the foreskin is slit but left hanging behind the glans, and (ii) a series of elaborate hoaxes.

(2) Initiation into Sex, for which it is necessary to journey overseas to some distant island in the matrilineal dual organisation area, chiefly to Oba, regarded by the Small Islanders as the land of the creator-deity Ta-ghar, whither the novices accompany their elders when these go in their sea-going canoes to trade in pigs. Similar, though lesser, rites are gone through when a boy voyages for the first time to Malo, Raga or even Ambrim, in which latter place the dual organisation persists in the form of the two matrilineal moieties forming the basis of the 6-class kinship system. This form of initiation is thus primarily connected with the matrilineal dual organisation, the creator-deity Ta-ghar, and sea-going canoes.

This curious situation, involving two independent initiation rites, of which Initiation into Manhood consists also of two originally independent elements, and Initiation into Sex has to be accomplished on foreign soil, cannot be explained by an examination of the Vao rites alone, and becomes to some extent intelligible only when we survey the corresponding rites practised by neighbouring people.

Analysis of initiation rites in the Northern New Hebrides into three main types.

From this survey of the initiation rites recorded by myself and others in neighbouring districts it would appear that there are in the surrounding islands three main types of rite that have become combined in the initiation ritual of the Small Islands.

These are:

(*a*) A simple initiation rite accompanied by ordeals lasting ten days such as is performed in East Santo, including Initiation into Sex.[1] From the available evidence this would appear to have been the earliest, as it is indeed the simplest, form of the rite.

(*b*) The operation of incision, or in some cases of a peculiar type of circumcision, to be referred to below, both of which automatically preclude any immediate sexual experience,[2] though in certain districts this is counter-balanced by homosexual practices, either real in which the novice becomes the boy-lover of his already initiated tutor, or mythical when it is said that the active part in this relationship is taken by ghosts. The practice of incision is found in the North Central and Southern New Hebrides and in New Caledonia, in all which places it is found in association with the wearing of a special type of penis-wrapper to which special reference will be made below. Incision is also a widespread practice in many parts of Polynesia. Codrington considers that it was introduced from Polynesia into the Southern New Hebrides and thence travelled northwards.[3] Speiser, on the other hand, believes that it was introduced direct from Arue on the south coast of New Britain.[4] It is not my intention to discuss these wider issues, but to confine my brief survey to the North Central New Hebrides, where it occurs in the overtly patrilineal islands of Malekula, the Small Islands, Ambrim and South Raga. So far as this area is concerned, its movement is certainly in a northward direction, as shown by its spread northward from Ambrim to Raga and thence very recently to Maewo.[5] Deacon also records its introduction into West Malekula from Pangkumu [6] on the east coast. In these islands it has almost precisely the same distribution as the forms of public graded society known by variants of the word Maki, and is said in Vao to have been founded by To-wewe after he had introduced the Maki, and not to have been practised in the preceding phases of culture when the graded society was not of the Maki type but belonged to that intermediate between it and the *Sukwe*.[7] The ritual accompanying the operation is found in its simplest form in South-West Malekula [8] and the Sulol district of Ambrim,[9] where it is carried out in the ordinary men's

[1] Speiser, 3, pp. 287-8.

[2] Speiser (3, p. 289) cites a form of initiation on Ambrim lasting one hundred days, in which from the tenth day after the operation the boys have sexual intercourse with a widow. As, however, the boys are said to be only between 7 and 10 years old the statement needs verification, and it may well be that there are two types of initiation as on Vao.

[3] Codrington, 3, p. 234.

[4] Speiser, 6, pp. 128-40, 154-6, 165-8. Here incision (or circum-incision, see p. 476) appears to have been of comparatively late introduction and to have caused a doubling of the initiation rite.

[5] Codrington, 3, p. 234.

[6] Deacon, 4, p. 244.

[7] See pp. 497, 499.

[8] Deacon, 4, p. 245.

[9] Rivers, 3.

Lodge and lasts only ten days. The operation itself would therefore appear to have been imposed on the earlier short form of initiation listed under (*a*), which it resembles also in the comparative simplicity of the ordeals that the novices are made to undergo, compared with their far greater elaboration in North Malekula.

(*c*) A series of hoaxes in which the initiates performing them represent ghosts and often imitate birds, and produce special noises which the novices are then made to learn. Closely associated with these hoaxes, and in contrast to the other two types of initiation, a special Lodge is built of very tall dimensions, higher than any other building, in or around which the hoaxes take place. Further, in contrast to the short ten-day period observed in the two other forms of the rite, the period of seclusion in these tall specially constructed Lodges lasts for thirty days and includes certain sub-periods lasting seven days. Many of these elements of initiation are, as will be shown below, related to the performances of the *Kwat* society recorded by Codrington from the island of Oba, Maewo and North Raga.[1]

These three main types are combined in the Small Islands' Initiation into Manhood, excepting Initiation into Sex which has been re-introduced.

In the Small Islands all three types of initiation have been combined into the imposing rite of Initiation into Manhood, with the exception of the heterosexual element in the earliest form of the rite, rendered impossible by the operation of incision.

This missing element has been re-introduced in the quite separate rite of Initiation into Sex, which, as we have seen, is not, properly speaking, a Malekulan rite, but one for which the Small Islanders have to journey overseas to Oba or some other island in the matrilineal dual organisation area to the north or east. This re-introduction is, moreover, closely connected with the introduction of the mat-skirt for women into the coastal districts of Malekula, since in the stories concerning the origin of this rite, to be related in a later volume, the introducer was a man who, turning himself into a shark, swam under water to Oba and thence stole one of the mat-skirts that the Oba women were washing and had laid out on the beach to dry, and brought it back for his wife. It is doubtless owing to this re-introduction that this rite, though invested with all the glamour attending a boy's first overseas expedition and of a mysterious quest in unknown lands, is in fact sociologically of comparatively little importance when compared with the more basic Initiation into Manhood. Thus, in the first place, Initiation into Manhood always precedes Initiation into Sex, no youth being allowed to undertake the journey to distant lands in search of sexual knowledge until he has already been

[1] See p. 492. The above three types of initiation appear respectively to correspond roughly with the three culture complexes referred to by Deacon (4, pp. 705-6) as the Dual Organisation, Fringe-skirt and Mat-skirt cultures.

initiated into manhood at home. Secondly, while, as we shall see, Initiation into Manhood is, like the Maki, a communal rite intimately bound up with the whole social organisation and is obligatory on all youths and boys of a given social group once the preparations for it have been made, Initiation into Sex is undertaken only by individuals according to their own desire and at a time that suits their own individual taste.

Having now given some indication of the complex origin of the various elements out of which Initiation in the Small Islands is built up, I will make a brief survey of the North Malekulan rites of Initiation into Manhood, before giving the details of this rite as it is performed on Vao. The separate rite of Initiation into Sex will be described in another chapter entitled "The Pilgrimage to Oba." [1]

INITIATION INTO MANHOOD: GENERAL

(1) INCISION AND CIRCUM-INCISION

I shall begin with the phenomenon of incision and its relation to the more complicated operation hitherto known as "circumcision," but which, for reasons given below, I propose to refer to as "circum-incision" practised in two restricted areas in the group.

Operations described.

The operation of incision consists briefly in inserting a hardwood stick between the foreskin and the upper or dorsal side of the glans penis, and making a longitudinal slit in the foreskin by cutting on to this with a bamboo knife. The foreskin is not removed, but remains attached to the corona, and, as the wound heals, hangs down exposing the glans.

This is the most usual form of the operation as performed in the Small Islands of Malekula. There are, however, a number of variations. Thus in North Raga two slits are made, one dorsal and one ventral.[2] In another variant reported from Tanna the foreskin, after having been incised in the manner described above, is "cut down on either side of the penis so as to leave a wing of skin on each side. This appears to be gathered under the penis, where after it is healed it forms a lump nearly as large as the glans. The larger the operation, the more of a man does it make the boy." [3]

There are, however, two areas where the operation is carried a stage further, in which the foreskin, after having been longitudinally slit, is then cut round laterally on either side in such a manner that the whole foreskin is removed and thrown away into the water. This is the operation to which Rivers, possibly not knowing how it was performed, applies the

[1] Chapter XX. [2] Speiser, 3, p. 204. [3] Speiser, 3, p. 204, quoting W. Gray.

term "true circumcision." It will be seen from the description, however, that it is very different from the operation of circumcision as practised by the Jews and so introduced into Europe, and for this reason it is necessary to find for it a distinctive term. Owing to its close connexion with the simpler operation of incision, I therefore propose to coin a new term and refer to this operation in future as "circum-incision."

The main district in which this is carried out is that of the Big Nambas inhabiting the North Malekulan plateau.[1] A similar operation has been described by Tattevin as being performed by the Pornowol in South Raga, among whom, as among the Big Nambas, "the piece of skin that has been removed, as well as the stick and the bamboo knife used during the operation, are thrown into the water." [2]

Penis-wrapper concealing glans and penis only.

Throughout all those parts of the New Hebrides where either incision or circum-incision is performed there is found also a characteristic male dress, namely, the plaited penis-wrapper so distinctive of Malekula, Ambrim and South Raga in the Northern New Hebrides, and the island of Tanna in the south, and entirely absent from the remaining islands, where no such operation takes place. This remarkable garment—which, but for a string or bark-board belt, is the sole article of male clothing—consists of pandanus leaves stripped and plaited by the women so as to form a band which in the Small Islands may be some sixteen inches long by two or three inches wide, dyed red and furnished with tassels at either end. This is wound tightly round the base of the penis, and round and round again, the free end being then tucked under the string belt worn round the body immediately above the hips, the penis being thus held upwards in line with the belly. No effort whatever is made to clothe either the testicles or the root of the penis. The sole purpose of this method of dress is thus seen to be the concealment of one portion of the body only, namely, the mutilated foreskin and the glans penis which would otherwise be exposed.

Such scrupulous care is taken to conceal the exposed glans that not only will a man turn aside when micturating but he will even wear his penis-wrapper while bathing, removing it for his ablutions only when it is under water.

Penis-wrapper not due to fear of sorcery.

Among a people who have few other signs of sexual shame it is clearly important to discover if possible what motives should lead to this apparently excessively prudish behaviour. As part of his attempt to analyse Melanesian culture on lines of simple culture-contact, Rivers advanced

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 263. [2] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 402, and Deacon, *loc. cit.*

the theory that of the two operations of incision and what he calls "circumcision," but I refer to as circum-incision, the latter was the earlier but became "modified" into incision by the intrusion of the "kava people," who did not themselves practise either operation but, owing to their lack of womenkind and the preference of the indigenous women for circumcised men, were forced to meet them half-way and so compromised by submitting to a half-measure in the form of incision.[1] He further supposed that the adoption of the penis-wrapper in the New Hebrides and of other methods of hiding the exposed glans in Polynesia was due to an indigenous dread of magic of the type known as *narak* in certain parts of Malekula. Quite apart from the manifest superficiality of so purely mechanistic a theory, this supposition immediately falls to the ground when it is realised that (*a*) the Big Nambas, who are the chief tribe practising circum-incision in the Northern New Hebrides, are also the only tribe practising either form of operation who drink kava, (*b*) that they are the only tribe practising either form of operation who have chiefs, and (*c*) that "although the Big Nambas are aware that among their neighbours there exist forms of death magic which are worked over such things as nail and hair parings, they themselves do not practise any such magic, and for this reason have no fear that the piece of foreskin thus thrown away may be used for malevolent purposes by a sorcerer." [2] It is for this reason that no care is taken to hide away the foreskin, which is simply thrown into the water, whence it might so easily be retrieved if any such magic existed, and that in the same way, among the Pornowol, who also practise circum-incision, the sole reason given even for bothering to throw it into the water is "to prevent the pigs from eating it." [3]

Incision a sacrifice performed on the body conferring spiritual power located in the mutilated part.

If we now turn to what the natives of the Small Islands themselves say when asked why such care is taken to conceal the mutilated part, their characteristic answer, far from being one indicating fear, is one of pride, namely, that they do not wish to expose that for which they have paid such a high price, meaning the price paid in pigs and other valuables for the operation and for the accompanying initiatory rites.[4] Now, the chief pigs referred to are those which have been either paid by way of fee to the mother's brother, or else sacrificed to the ancestral ghosts. This

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 432-6.
[2] Deacon, 4, p. 263, footnote.
[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 402.
[4] Compare Rivers's own statement in an unpublished MS. on incision in the Sulol district of Ambrim, embodying information collected after the publication of his *History of Melanesian Society*. He says: "There is an objection in Ambrim to the glans penis being seen, but . . . this is not due to fear of magic or fear of any other kind, but is because they have paid for the exposure of the glans in the Pakvi [Initiation] ceremony. They object to any one who has not so paid seeing what they have paid for."

is, however, only part of the sacrifice, and indeed is paid as a rule not by the novice himself, who is but young and has as yet little or no property to dispose of, but by his kinsmen on his behalf. Pigs sacrificed can be replaced by others, but there is one sacrifice that cannot be retrieved, and that is the sacrifice performed on the novice's own body, namely, the incision or circum-incision itself. It is not easy to understand how Codrington, whose judgments are usually so accurate, could say that "circumcision" (which he uses indifferently to include incision) "is not a mark of initiation and has no religious or superstitious character," [1] unless it was that most of his time was spent on islands where these rites are not practised or have been only recently introduced and so are valued chiefly for the prestige they confer. This statement is quite certainly not true of the main areas where the practice is carried out.[2] No native gives anything away for nothing, even to kinsmen, and in his dealings with ghostly powers the same principle holds no less good, though in this case the gain looked for is a spiritual one. On general grounds, therefore, I suggest, though I cannot prove, that the fundamental reason why the mutilated portion of the body should be so carefully concealed is due to the psychic power gained in return for the material sacrifice, a power centered in the mutilated part and so to be jealously guarded from view.

Penis-wrapper a sign of sacrifice and protection of the power located in the glans penis.

Thus in South Raga the "uncircumcised" are called *wah mal-mal*, "those who go naked."[3] This phrase may refer overtly to the fact that uncircum-incised boys, like male adults in the matrilineal dual organisation area further north, wear no clothes. But when we remember that the chief purpose of clothing among those who incise is to cover the glans penis exposed by the operation, we see that the expression "clothed" really implies the substitution of an artificial protection for the glans instead of a natural one, and that the penis-wrapper worn throughout Malekula is thus the sign of bodily sacrifice, and is itself designed to protect those wearing it from the loss of power so painfully

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 234. There are of course cases in the New Hebrides, as in Maewo, where the operation is not a tribal one but is undergone as a mark of social prestige. This is, however, only part of the New Hebridean fashion for "collecting" rites. In Vao and in the neighbouring Small Islands no man can marry unless he is incised, the reason given being that women do not enjoy intercourse with an unincised man, lacking as it is in the extra pleasure afforded by the free-hanging foreskin. In Tanna (Gray, quoted by Speiser, 3, p. 204) the operation is considered to make a man fruitful, a clear rationalisation from the spiritual to the physical sphere.

[2] Another misconception is to be found in Speiser's suggestion (3, p. 204) that incision is a prophylactic measure against phimosis. This is a twentieth-century rationalisation of a kind that Crawley calls "the fallacy of sanitary intention" (Crawley, vol. I, p. 170).

[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 402.

acquired by those who are "clothed" but lacking in those who are unclothed.[1]

In this case, the concept of being "naked" is seen to be a spiritual one similar to the "nakedness" of Adam and Eve before they had eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, by which they emerged from a state of undifferentiated nature and acquired the status of rational beings.

Unincised are "like women," i.e. undifferentiated.

So also, for instance, in the Small Islands the unincised youth is said to be "only a woman," by which is simply meant "undifferentiated," and only becomes a "man" when he is incised and made to suffer every kind of humiliation and is at the same time taught those esoteric secrets which, though in many cases apparently futile in themselves, bring him into direct contact with the ancestral ghosts and, by creating in him a new spiritual life unshared by women, make him into a full member of the tribe.[2]

In this way the act of incision, together with the accompanying initiation rites, achieves a triple result. In the first place, the undifferentiated youth becomes differentiated from nature by means of the sacrifice performed on his own body. This sacrifice in turn creates in him a new spiritual power having its seat in the glans penis. Thirdly, the glans penis, having through the operation lost its natural protection, must be provided with a new one. This artificial protection is the plaited penis-wrapper, which in the case of incision serves to cover up the exposed glans, while in the case of circum-incision it also actually replaces the lost foreskin, and it is possibly partly on account of this latter fact that the wrapper in use among the circum-incised Big Nambas is so much larger than that used by the coastal tribes, who are only incised.

Thus, while the wearing of a penis-wrapper is in one aspect a symbol of shame in so far as the mutilation or removal of the foreskin represents

[1] As evidence from further afield of the power thought to reside in the glans and the consequent necessity to conceal it, though in this case by somewhat different means, it is worth quoting a passage pointed out by Rivers himself to the author of *Male Infibulation* and included in that work, namely, that "Japanese wrestlers . . . are often accustomed to pull the prepuce as far over the glans as possible, then twisting the end they cover the whole with the scrotum, which is presumably tied up in some way in order to serve the purpose. This is done because a superstition is current amongst them that if the glans is uncovered bodily strength evaporates through that organ."—(E. J. Dingwall, 1, p. 92, quoting from B. Adachi, *Ueber den Penis der Japaner.*) It is interesting also to note that "amongst the native workers in the South African mines, Joest had noticed that during the examination held on the gold-fields, the circumcised natives took care to hide the glans, whereas the uncircumcised were not so particular." (Ibid. p. 98.)

[2] Compare the Kikuyu of East Africa, where an uncircumcised child is "not yet . . . considered a human being," and the Damaras, who "reckon a man's age from his circumcision, not counting the previous years at all" (Crawley, vol. II, p. 3.)

a departure from nature and is thus liable to call down the wrath of nature on the mutilated person who presumes to trick her by means of an artificial substitute, in its cultural aspect it is a sign of manhood and of man's ability, through sacrifice, to conquer nature, expressed in the phrase that till a youth is incised he is "only a woman."

In a sense, therefore, the penis-wrapper may be regarded as a container in which the seat of power is enclosed. Thus, in the Small Islands, so long as the newly incised novice is still secluded during his thirty days' confinement within the Initiation Lodge, though his wound is often healed within ten days, there is still no need for him to wear a penis-wrapper since the Lodge itself is consecrated and itself wraps him round. But once the period of seclusion is over he must adopt it before re-entering the world so that on no account shall the power leave him.

Penis-wrapper the distinctive dress of all who incise or circum-incise. Term "Big Nambas" means "Big penis-wrapper."

In this way the penis-wrapper has come to be the distinctive dress of all those New Hebrides tribes who practise either incision or circum-incision. As I have said, the largest examples of this type of dress are the truly enormous ones worn by the Big Nambas who practise circum-incision and inhabit the North Malekulan plateau. Among them the tassels project sometimes as much as eight inches in front of the body and hang down considerably more. The word Nambas is simply a Europeanised form of the term used for penis-wrapper in some of the neighbouring Small Islands, as, for example, in Atchin where it is called *na-mbwes*.[1] The term Big Nambas now used by white men to designate these folk thus means "Big Penis-wrapper," and the term Nambas Culture is now used by some for the whole culture-complex of which the wearing of this type of garment is the most striking external sign.[2]

[1] *Na* is the indefinite article. The noun is *bwes*. Compare Wala *bwes-bwes*. The corresponding Vao word *nu-mba-nu-mbe*, however, refers only to an inferior type of penis-wrapper made out of a split banana leaf worn by boys before initiation and retained later as an under-garment beneath the plaited wrapper. The same word for banana-leaf wrapper is found in South Raga under the form *pih-pis* (see Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 403). Dr. Ivens points out the connexion of these words with the Solomon Islands *vusi*, *pusi*, "to cut," i.e. "circumcise." The Vao word for the plaited penis-wrapper is different (see p. 483).

[2] The scattered literature regarding mutilations of the genital organs has been summed up in the article on "Circumcision" in *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. There also the "fallacy of sanitary intention" mentioned in the footnote to p. 479 of this volume is summarily disposed of, and the conclusion is drawn that among all peoples of the world, embracing about a seventh of the whole population, who practise such mutilations they in all cases have a sacrificial origin. The practice of circumcision is of course best known to us through its performance by the Jews, among whom it became adopted as a tribal mark when it came to be regarded as a token of the covenant between the people and Jahweh (Gen. xvii. 10). This was, however, a

(2) NAMES BY WHICH THE RITE IS KNOWN IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS

The terms used in Malekula both for the operation itself, whether this be incision or circum-incision, and at the same time for the whole initiation rite of which the operation forms but a part, fall into two groups.

South Malekulan Area

Whole rite called by variants of the term hab or av used for penis-wrapper. Short form of the rite with ten-day period of seclusion.

The first, which I propose to refer to as the South Malekulan group, is based on the syllable *hab* or *av*. Used for the whole rite, including the

secondary development of an earlier sacrificial conception emphasised metaphorically in many biblical passages such as that in which the Children of Israel are urged to "circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiffnecked," and further "the Lord will circumcise thine heart and the heart of thy seed . . . that thou mayest live" (Deut. x, 16; xxx. 6; see also Jeremiah iv. 4; vi. 10; ix. 26). St. Paul also recalls the sacrificial nature of the act when he refers to "putting off the body of the flesh in the circumcision of Christ" (Col. ii. 11 ff.; see also Rom. ii. 25 ff.; Phil. iii. 3 ff.; Gal. ii. 7-9). It appears, moreover, that in early Hebrew times the full operation of circumcision as practised in the historical era was unknown and that it was at one time "sufficient to cut off the end of the foreskin" (Barton, p. 679); in other words, as in Central America, to sacrifice a part, however small, for the sanctification of the whole.

Authorities agree that the Hebrews derived the rite from Egypt, where it was practised chiefly by the priestly and also probably the royal castes and was "a mark of submission to a god, or alliance with a god, a sign of initiation into a god." It is said also that Ra mutilated himself and that circumcision was in imitation of this (Foucart, p. 676).

Here those offering to the gods had to be without physical blemish, and, as among the Hebrews, uncircumcision was a blemish, which it was the object of circumcision to remove.

Among more primitive peoples the same motive is found. Thus the Yoruba call circumcision "the cutting that saves" (Ellis, p. 66), and among the Mahummedan Malays the rite is called *buang malu*, "casting away of shame." Among others, as we have seen with regard to the New Hebrides, the sacrificial nature of such operations is no less evident. Many reasons are given, such as it being a necessary preliminary to marriage or a prophylactic against the dangers of first sexual intercourse, not of course on medical grounds, but as a sanctification of the generative powers. In all cases, however, the basic motive is that of sacrifice, and L. H. Gray (p. 665) comes to the conclusion that it is a preparation for sexual life only "in so far as it is a preparation for the duties and privileges of manhood." It is this latter view that undoubtedly prevails in the North Central New Hebrides and particularly in the Small Islands where, as we have seen, initiation accompanied by incision does not include Initiation into Sex, for which a separate rite is needed.

For a further illuminating discussion of the meaning of bodily mutilations see Crawley, Chapter VI. For circumcision among the Jews see also the article on this subject in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia.*

operation, it has been recorded only from South and South-West Malekula in the forms:

na-hab-habien in Seniang;[1] and
na-av-avien in the shorter of two forms of the rite in Lambumbu.[2]

This word appears to be primarily connected with the short form of incision rite listed on pp. 474-5 under (*b*), for which no special Lodge is built and which lacks the elaborate hoaxes listed under (*c*). It is, moreover, clearly connected with the Seniang *ava'ap*, meaning "penis-wrapper," which, interestingly enough, survives also in Vao under the form *na-avu*, though in this island the name used for the whole rite belongs to the North Malekulan group. Yet another survival is found in the name of the village from which the whole rite in the Small Islands is said to have been derived, namely, *N'av-av*,[3] a village I have never been able to locate and which quite possibly may not exist.

North Malekulan Area

Rite called by variants of a term probably meaning "shark."

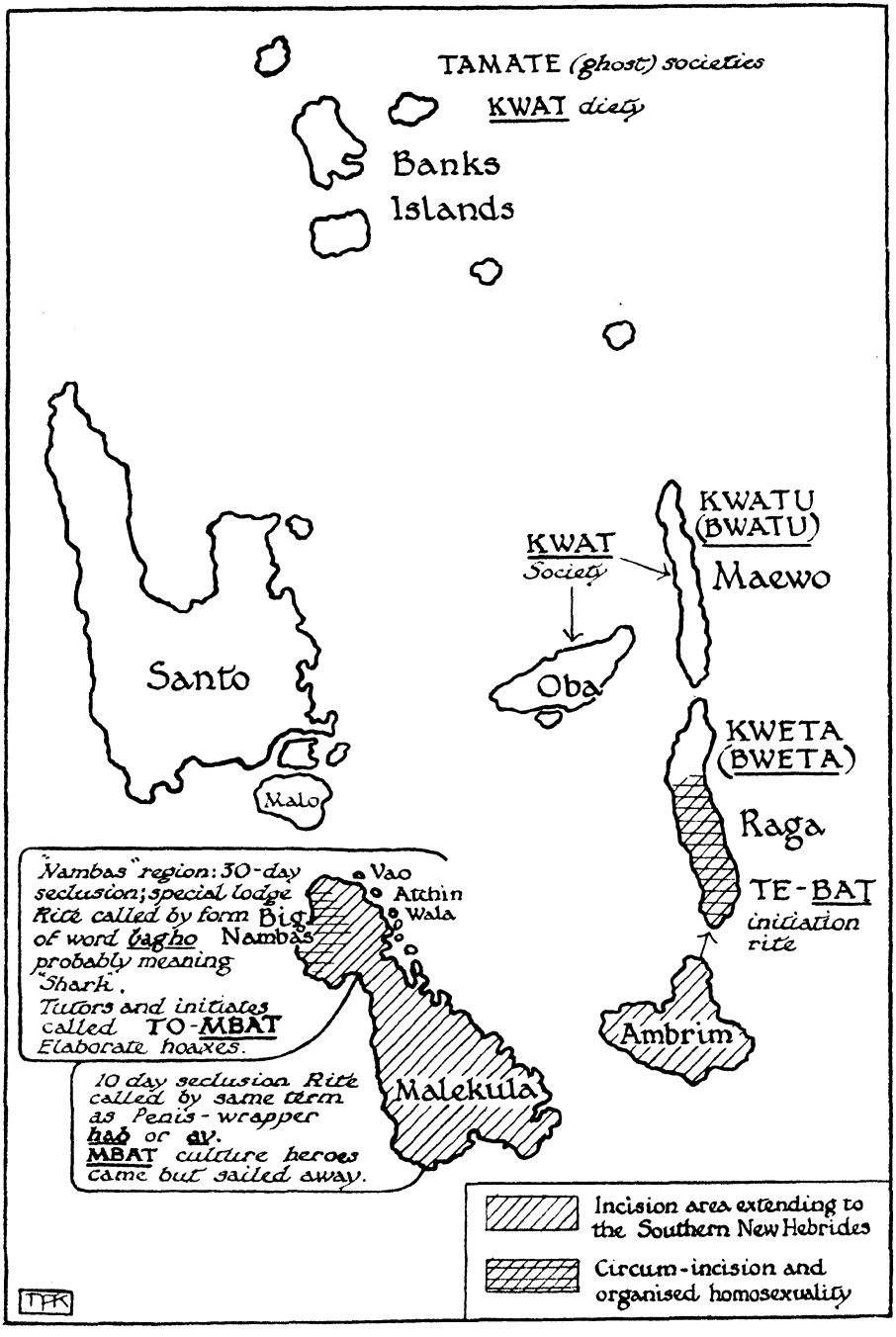
The second or North Malekulan group includes the whole of Central and North Malekula and all the Small Islands, and also extends to the Sulol district of Ambrim, where the words used for the rite and for the operation itself are:

Vao	*bagho* (with article *na-mbagho*)
Atchin	*baho*
Wala	*mbahi*
Big Nambas	*bagho*[4]
Laravat	*na-wen bwögh*[5]
Lambumbu (long form of the rite)	*no-wei na-mbög*[6]
Ambrim (Sulol) . . .	*pakvi*[7]

These terms are everywhere, except in Ambrim, associated with the longer form of the rite listed on p. 475 under (*c*) involving a period of seclusion lasting thirty days including subsidiary seven-day periods, and for which a special Lodge of large dimensions is erected in which elaborate hoaxes are carried out.

That this North Malekulan form of the rite is definitely later than that found in the south, which involves a period of seclusion lasting only ten days and has been imposed upon it, is shown in many ways. A good illustration of this is the situation in Lambumbu, where, as already

[1] Layard, 2, p. 221, but Deacon refers to it as *ne-tambw*.
[2] Deacon, 4, p. 249.
[3] See pp. 283, 496.
[4] Deacon, 4, p. 260.
[5] Ibid. p. 256.
[6] Ibid. p. 249.
[7] Rivers, 3, and 2, p. 231.



MAP VII

Sketch-map to illustrate Initiation.

mentioned, there are two forms of the rite: (*a*) a shorter form still practised in the southern half of this small territory; this shorter form is called by a name belonging to the southern group, namely, *na-av-avien*, of which the essential syllable is *av*, associated with the word used for "penis-wrapper"; and (*b*) a longer form recently introduced from the more northerly district of Laravat, called *no-wei na-mbög*, of which the significant syllable is *mbög*, belonging to the northern group of names of which the Vao form is *bagho*. The duality of this longer form of the rite in Lambumbu is seen in the fact that, though the period of seclusion lasts thirty days, the actual operation is not performed till the tenth. In Atchin this dual origin is even more apparent, for there the operation is performed on the day before that on which the thirty-day period of seclusion in the special Lodge begins, the intervening night being spent by the incised youths in the ordinary village Lodges.[1]

The centre of distribution of these later additions to the rite in North Malekula, of which the chief feature is the elaborate hoaxes, appears to have been in the twin villages of Lawor and Bot-walim on the east coast opposite Wala, whence they spread inland to the Big Nambas and Lambumbu and up the coast to the Small Islands of Wala and Atchin, whence it is only now beginning to penetrate Vao.

So struck was Deacon with the hoaxes that, speaking of the Big Nambas, he says, "The importance of *bagho* lies, not in the circumcision itself, but in the series of performances or 'hoaxes' which take place during the thirty days' seclusion." [2] He later elaborates this theme by drawing a striking parallel between the whole initiation rite as now performed in North Malekula and the "devouring monster" type of ceremonies found in such districts as the Finsch Harbour area of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.[3] There can be little doubt that this parallel is essentially correct.

Further evidence for this is the way in which the operation itself is likened to the biting of a shark, the chief devouring monster in this part of the Pacific, associated in the Small Islands of Atchin and Wala with the Guardian Ghost. Thus in Atchin the operation is called *bahi e hatsi*, "the shark bites," [4] and the hardwood stick inserted between the foreskin and the glans penis is called *memen bahi*, "the shark's tongue." It is indeed probable that the name given to the whole rite originally meant "shark," as seen in the very close similarity between the words used for it in North Malekula cited above and those used for "shark." Thus, the Wala word used for the rite, namely, *mbahi*, is philologically identical

[1] See also p. 510. [2] Deacon, 4, p. 264. [3] Ibid. p. 268.

[4] Compare the gong-signal called "the ghost bites," sounded at the moment of re-birth, indicated by the taking of new names in the Ni-mangki and Nelemew rites of the village of Vevenah in North-West Malekula (Deacon, 4, p. 370).

with the Atchin word for shark, *bahi*, one of a long series of Melanesian words meaning "shark," including

Atchin	*bahi*
Mota	*pagoa*
Gilbert Islands	*bakoa*
Marshalls	*bako*
Ponape	*poko*
New Guinea [1]	*paowa*

all derived from the Indonesian *pa-iwak* meaning "giant fish." What is apparently a dual use of the word is seen in the phrase used on the morning of the operation in the Sulol district of Ambrim, namely, "*pakvi* is going to fight today," [2] in which *pakvi* is the name of the rite though the phrase can only mean that it at the same time represents a devouring monster.

Circum-incision called *Kol-kol*

The only term that I recorded as being applied specifically to circum-incision is that given to me by the natives of Atchin, who themselves only incise, for the operation of circum-incision performed among the neighbouring Big Nambas. This word is *kol-kol*, which I think can hardly be related to the *kolekole* rites in the Banks Islands, but is more likely to be connected with the same two syllables appearing in the name given to the creator-deity *Bar-kol-kol* or *Bar-kul-kul* in South Raga and in the neighbouring district of Olal on Ambrim, in which latter place, according to Suas,[3] he is believed to have introduced circum-incision. What further significance is attached to the word I cannot say, though Tattevin [4] suggests that the syllable *kol* in *Bar-kol-kol* means "strong." Possibly relevant to this is the fact that both among the Big Nambas and in South Raga circum-incision is associated with the organised homosexuality between novices and their tutors referred to below, and that among the Big Nambas it is said that the purpose of this is to make the passive boy-lover's male organ "grow strong." [5]

(3) HOMOSEXUALITY

Organised homosexuality a feature of circum-incision areas.

I have already called attention to the organised practice of homosexuality existing in the two areas where circum-incision replaces the more usual incision, namely, among the Big Nambas and in South (and apparently also in North) Raga. The explanation usually advanced with regard to the Big Nambas is that the chiefs have so many wives [6] that the commoners have to content themselves with substitutes in the form of

[1] Taken from Codrington, 2. He does not state what part of New Guinea.

[2] Rivers, 3. The corresponding phrase in Atchin is *baho pu pal*, meaning "*baho* will sacrifice."

[3] Suas, 1911, p. 906. [4] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 389-90. [5] See p. 488. [6] See p. 740.

boys. This explanation is, to say the least of it, unlikely, and is quite certainly not applicable to South Raga where there are no chiefs.

Homosexuality among the Big Nambas.

If we examine the facts it is found, on the contrary, that homosexuality is in this area intimately bound up with circum-incision. In Deacon's words, "When it has been decided to hold the circumcision rites, the father of each candidate seeks out someone who will act as guardian to his boy during the period of seclusion. . . . Such a guardian is called *dubut*; the novice or candidate is usually called *mugh vel.* The relation between these two is, henceforth, of a very special nature, to understand which it is necessary to know something of the organisation of male homosexuality in this district.

"Among the Big Nambas, as in North Raga, homosexual practices between men are very highly developed. Every chief has a number of boy-lovers, and it is said that some men are so completely homosexual in their affections, that they seldom have intercourse with their wives, preferring to go with their boys. Up to the time that a boy assumes the bark-belt, the badge of the adult male,[1] he should not take a boy-lover, but himself plays this rôle to some older man. It is only after he has donned the bark-belt that he enjoys this privilege. It is clear, then, that for some time before a boy is circumcised he belongs to one of the older men. A boy-lover, like a circumcision candidate, is termed *mugh vel*, and he refers to his 'husband' as *nilagh sen.*[2] . . . The association between a *nilagh*

[1] The bark-belt has nothing to do with initiation, and is assumed apparently without ritual some time later.

[2] *Nilagh* probably consists of the indefinite article *ni-* and *lagh*, the equivalent of the Vao *laghe*, "to marry." *Sen* is clearly the third person singular possessive pronoun meaning "his," so that *ni-lagh sen* means "his *ni-lagh*," and Deacon's subsequent phrases "a *nilagh sen*" and "the *nilagh sen*" are anomalous.

Deacon points out that this term is that usually used for the "sister's husband," adding, however, that when employed by a tutor for his boy-lover "it is used in jest, for the rules regulating the behaviour of relations by marriage make it impossible for a man to have homosexual connection with his wife's brother," this individual being equivalent to the sister's husband through the operation of sister-exchange marriage. Whether Deacon was right or not in saying that this kinship term is used in these circumstances only in jest (and he never himself penetrated the Big Nambas country), it is not without interest to note that, according to Professor Radcliffe-Brown quoting from Klaatsch, in the southern part of the Kimberley district of Western Australia, where there is a 4-section system of kinship, the rules governing homosexual intercourse are in fact similar to those governing marriage. That is to say that it is there the custom for a man before marriage to take as a boy-lover a member of the prescribed kinship section from which he must later obtain his wife, and who is therefore sociologically equivalent to the wife's brother and sister's husband, such intercourse being forbidden with a boy of any other kinship section as strongly as if the relation were a heterosexual one. The custom differs from that among the Big Nambas in that, in Western Australia, homosexual intercourse is not usual after marriage, but the kinship regulation is so similar to that indicated by the Big Nambas terminology that it may be questioned whether this is in fact used only "in jest," and strongly suggests a similar regulation among these North Malekulan people.

sen and his *mugh vel* is a very close one; indeed, the former has complete sexual rights over his boy. . . . The boy accompanies his 'husband' everywhere; works in his garden (it is for this reason that a chief has many boy-lovers), and if one or other of the two should die, the survivor will mourn him deeply. . . .

"Whether it is the *nilagh sen* who is asked to play the part of *dubut* [guardian] during the circumcision rites is not certain, but after the arrangements for circumcising the lad have been made, the *dubut* has exclusive sexual rights over him. He is now the boy's 'husband' and is extremely jealous of any other man, not excepting the guardians of other boys, securing his *mugh vel* and having intercourse with him. So much is this the case that he will not allow him out of his sight. The *dubut* himself, however, cannot have sexual access to the boy throughout all the thirty days' seclusion which accompanies the circumcision rites. From the time of the operation until the wound is healed, intercourse is forbidden, and the *dubut* only plays the part of a guardian who cares for the novice's physical needs. But when the wound is healed he resumes his 'marital' rights and continues to have relations with the boy until some time later the latter purchases his bark-belt. The reason, or rather the rationalisation, which the natives put forward for their homosexual practices is that the boy-lover's male organ is caused to grow strong and large by the homosexual acts of his 'husband.' This growth of the penis is supposed to be complete by the time that the bark-belt is assumed." [1]

On the thirtieth day the novices issue from their seclusion, and each purchases his newly won penis-wrapper from his maternal uncle. "He does not acquire the bark-belt on this occasion, but at some later date (the length of interval was not stated and probably varies) the erstwhile novice pays his *dubut* a few coconuts or some tobacco for it. Until this payment is made the *dubut* continues to have homosexual relations with the lad, but when once the latter has assumed his bark-belt this bond is severed and he, being now a 'man,' can take a boy-lover himself." [2]

Homosexuality symbolises a spiritual connexion between the living and the dead in the male line of descent.

It is, I think, quite clear from this, and from the facts that organised homosexuality is associated with circum-incision also in Raga and that neither are found elsewhere in the group, that, whatever may be the various causes of homosexuality in other parts of the world, it is here definitely connected with circum-incision. In seeking a reason for this we must, I think, be careful not to dismiss as pure rationalisation the natives' statement recorded by Deacon that the reason for homosexual acts is to make the boy-lover's organ grow strong.[3] Such fantasies are

[1] Deacon, 4, pp. 260-2. [2] Ibid., 4, p. 267.

[3] Compare also the Tanna belief that the operation itself makes a man fruitful (see footnote p. 479).

common with homosexuals among ourselves, and in the special case now being considered we have to remember two facts. First of these is the high esteem in which the penis is held, as seen in the extreme reverence for the glans due to the operation which is itself a sacrifice. In the second place, the Big Nambas represent an extreme form of patrilineal culture which they have carried to a pitch exceeding all other New Hebrides tribes in the very low status which they accord to women. It would appear, therefore, that both circum-incision and organised homosexuality are an expression of the extreme holiness of men over against women and of the triumph of patrilineal descent over the former matrilineal system. In this way, just as in the Maki on Vao the continuity of divine inspiration is transmitted to each generation by means of physical contact with the kava root held by the Speaker who himself represents all those ancestors who have previously performed the rite,[1] so I suggest that among the Big Nambas the act of homosexuality may well represent to the natives a similar transmission of male power by physical means. That this power comes, moreover, from the ancestors in direct succession and not merely from the active partner in the union, and is therefore a spiritual conception, is shown, I think, by one of the "hoaxes" recorded from Lambumbu. In these hoaxes the actors, who themselves have, of course, already been initiated, represent ghosts, and on one occasion a number of them "lie down on their backs, in such a way that the feet of one man rest by the head of the next. In this way a file of prostrate bodies is made to reach from the door of the seclusion hut as far as the gongs. *Nevar* [2] leaves (such as are used for cooking puddings) are then rolled up, strapped around with others and fastened to the men so that they reach, like gigantic penises, from one man's middle, across his belly, chest, and head, almost to the next man's testicles. These men now lie with their eyes shut and sing in a faint mysterious manner. It is dark. The candidates are led out and made to go up and pull the huge penises, which wobble in a terrifying manner." [3] We have already seen that the upright slit gongs represent ancestors, so that, despite the farcical nature of the hoax, which is in keeping with all such performances in North Malekula and the Small Islands, there can be little doubt that the intention is to symbolise continuity with the ancestral ghosts in the male line by means of the homosexual act. So, just as in some matrilineal communities the female line of descent is conceived of as an umbilical cord joining all generations to the first ancestress, so here the continuous penis unites all those belonging to the male line of descent.

Once the practice of homosexuality became established, though primarily on spiritual grounds, it is easy to see how by a process of secular-

[1] See pp. 282, 376.

[2] Atchin *ro-war*.

[3] Deacon, 4, pp. 253-4. For other hoaxes see ibid. pp. 253-5, 263-6; also Harrisson, 2, pp. 47-8. Yet others will be given in my forthcoming work on Atchin.

isation it could be adopted as an everyday practice in the manner described by Deacon, and has led also to the adoption of the very large penis-wrappers worn by these men.

Active homosexuality in circum-incision areas replaced in the Small Islands by threats of homosexual action on the part of ghosts.

So much for the Big Nambas. From Raga, the only other area from which organised homosexuality has been reported, we have no details by which to test the validity or otherwise of what has just been suggested.

When we turn to those tribes in this area which practise only the simpler operation of incision, we find that, though homosexuality exists among them, it is unorganised and not carried to anything like the same extent as among the Big Nambas.[1] Thus in the Small Islands though novices address their tutors (or guardians), as among the Big Nambas, as "husband" and in some cases the tutor reciprocates by calling his novice his "wife," they do not necessarily have homosexual relations and the terminology does not extend into secular life, but, on the contrary, the novices throughout the rites are constantly threatened with homosexual action on the part of ghosts.

Relation between incision and circum-incision.

Such threats without action suggest the possibility that the whole motive of ghostly homosexuality has been derived from the circum-incision area, and in this case Rivers may be right in regarding incision as being a degraded form of circum-incision, though not on the grounds he states. On the other hand, the Small Islands attitude towards ritual homosexuality as a spiritual phenomenon connected almost exclusively with ghosts and with initiation may indicate a more archetypal view. In this case circum-incision as an exaggerated form of incision would fall into line with other exaggerated forms of culture indulged in by the Big Nambas such as their extreme cannibalism and the incessant wars they wage among themselves.

I do not propose to attempt to solve this problem, but will content myself with pointing out the fact that, while the operation of incision is spread over almost the whole of the Southern and Central New Hebrides, circum-incision as practised among the Big Nambas and in South Raga occurs only in the extreme north of this area. Here also the moot point is raised as to whether it is the starting-point from which the degraded practice of incision spread south or whether, since according to Codrington incision came from the south, it is an ultimate development and is itself an exaggerated form of incision. In this respect it must be remembered that Codrington's evidence rests on the very slender foundation of a purely local movement from Ambrim to Raga and very recently northwards to Maewo. But since any coastal movement spreading from Malekula to

[1] See p. 487.

Ambrim in the way that the Maki has spread might then automatically move northwards along the eastern chain of islands, this is in fact no evidence at all regarding the larger movements of culture.

Homosexuality in Egypt and Fiji.

Two facts of comparative ethnology should be mentioned before leaving this subject. We have seen how in the district of Lambumbu the homosexual relationship takes on a fearful form when connected with ghosts. The same is true also of the Small Islands, where it is always connected with threats. It is therefore of interest that in ancient Egypt ritual homosexuality appears to have been connected with punishment or revenge. This is summed up in an article by Mr. G. D. Hornblower [1] in which he says, "the notion of unnatural vice seems to have been connected in the ancient Egyptian mind with enemies," and cites the case of Set threatening to treat his dire enemy Horus as a woman, adding: "It may be that the word *hmti*, meaning 'woman-like,' which is an insulting term applied to enemies, refers, at least inferentially, to the indignity in question." He then mentions how, at an annual festival held in Cairo on the birthday of a Sheikh, "a public representation was given on a cart of the act of paederasty," which appears to have been regarded as a religious act and was suppressed some forty years ago.

Replying to this article the late Professor A. M. Hocart wrote a letter to *Man* which, however, was never published, but from which Mr. Hornblower kindly allows me to quote. He says: "His [Mr. Hornblower's] facts tempt me to bring forward a suggestion which I have for years had in mind, but been unable to confirm so far. It is that sodomy was once recognised between cross-cousins." He adds: "This rests on the flimsiest of foundations," but I include it here because his evidence is taken from the hill tribes of Fiji who, as stated by Dr. Haddon, in certain physical respects resemble the Big Nambas,[2] and some of whom also practise circumcision.[3] The facts cited by Hocart are as follows:

"(1) In the hill tribes of Fiji male cross-cousins address one another as *veidhakavi*, which means 'to do to one another,' a euphemism for copulation. It may, however, be that the term has been improperly transferred from cross-cousins of opposite sexes.

"(2) There is in various parts of the Pacific a very close bond of friendship which I take to be a survival of cross-cousinship among people who have lost the relationship. In Hawaii it is called *lai kane*, 'eating man,' a term which is also a euphemism for sodomy.

"(3) Cross-cousins continually fight and cheat one another in sport. This sporting, and sometimes rough, feud has in many cases degenerated into earnest."

[1] G. D. Hornblower, *Man*, August 1927, No. 97.
[2] A. C. Haddon, 1, p. xxii.
[3] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 436, quoting Fison.

Hocart further points out that the custom of cross-cousin marriage was at one time much more widespread than it is today, suggesting that it may formerly have occurred also in Egypt. However this may be, it is interesting to note that in a 4-section system the male cross-cousin is the brother of the prescribed bride, so that, if we may take the evidence that in the hill tribes of Fiji men marry their mothers' brothers' daughters as indicating the former existence of a 4-section system in that island, this evidence falls into line with the fact pointed out above that in Western Australia and possibly also among the Big Nambas a man took as his boy-lover a member of his wife's marriage section, and that it was only later that this love-relationship turned into one of joking and mutual violence.

(4) THE *KWAT* ELEMENT

The last subject to be dealt with in this survey of Initiation in North Malekula and the Small Islands is the third element listed on p. 475 under (*c*), of which the chief features are the hoaxes and the thirty-day period of seclusion. Closely bound up with this is a special term applied in this region to the guardians or tutors [1] who among the Big Nambas are also the novices' chief partners in the homosexual relationship. This term, applied irrespective of whether the operation itself is that of incision or circum-incision, has approximately the same geographical distribution as the term *bagho* and its dialectical variants, all probably meaning "shark," used to designate the newer form of the rite. The corresponding term for novice has the same distribution. Recorded examples are:

	Guardian or Tutor	Novice
Vao	*to-mbat*	*mov ghal*
Atchin	*to-bat*	*moh wal*
Matanavat . . .	*tu-mbat* [2]	—
Big Nambas . . .	*du-but* [3]	*mugh vel*
Laravat	*n-to'mbat* [4]	*murh vel*
Lambumbu (*no-wei na-mbög* form of the rite)	*tö-mbat* [5]	*nö-vali*

To-mbat etc. equivalent to Kwat, A-mbat, etc.

I am unable to translate the term used for the novice. What is of interest is that used for the guardian or tutor, which is a combination of the personal prefix *to*,[6] *tö* or *du*, with the word *bat*, *mbat* or *but*. This word

[1] Deacon uses both terms "guardian" and "tutor." In my own account of initiation I use "tutor."

[2] Harrisson, 2, p. 46.

[3] Deacon, 4, p. 260. The same terminology is used in the rites of the *Ni-mangki Tlel* society which Deacon likens to the Banks Islands *Tamate* societies, with which are associated the *Kwat* societies mentioned below (Deacon, 4, pp. 236 ff.).

[4] Ibid. p. 256. [5] Ibid. p. 250. [6] See p. 208, note 1.

is identical with the name given to the light-skinned immigrants into South-West and West Malekula who have become the culture-heroes in this district, namely:

Seniang	*A-mbat*
Mewun	*Ka-bat*
Lambumbu . . .	*Ha-mbat*
Laravat	*Ha-mbut*

These are, as has been shown,[1] in turn equivalent to the Banks Islands creator-deity *Kwat*, who is associated with what Deacon refers to as the mat-skirt culture, representing a comparatively late migration into these islands, and now chiefly flourishing in the more northerly islands of Oba, Raga and Maewo.

As already stated, owing to the sound laws governing pronunciation in this part of Melanesia *Kw* is equivalent to *Mb*, the combined sound in the Banks Islands being *Kmbw*, so that the words *Kwat* and *Mbat*, *Bat*, *Pat*, etc. are philologically the same.

Many culture-heroes in the Small Islands are known by names prefixed by the same title *Bat* or *Mbat*, most of whom are said to have been at one time or other turned into stone, indicating their connexion with megalithic culture. One such culture-hero is *Bat-pila*, who was also a stone and whose son sailed from Oba and Raga to the Small Islands bearing hermaphrodite pigs, which they did not, however, leave there but took on to Malo.

The same culture-complex is clearly responsible for the word *Te-bat* or *R-bat* used during a special initiation into the graded society in South Raga for a rite during the course of which a conical mask is made, of which the upper portion represents a hat, and homosexual practices take place.[2] In North Raga the same word *Bweta* (in Rivers's spelling, in Codrington's *Qeta*) is applied to the whole rite of Initiation, which in Oba and Maewo is similarly called *Bwatu* (*Qatu*), and in the Banks Islands *Kwat* (*Qat*).[3] All these forms of initiation are closely related, and taken together (except in South Raga) include all the elements of North Malekulan initiation excluding the rite of circum-incision itself and the accompanying penis-wrapper and homosexuality. Thus, in the Banks Islands, the enclosure in which the rites are carried out is made with the two ends overlapping to represent a "shark's mouth" and for this reason is called *vale pagoa*.[4] In Oba also those taking part

[1] See p. 209.

[2] Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 421. *Te-bat*, like the Tamate *Liwoa* in the Banks Islands, is one of a series of initiation ceremonies acting as a kind of introduction to the public graded society, and is carried out independently of the ritual of circum-incision.

[3] Codrington, 3, pp. 84-94; Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 227.

[4] A similar "shark's mouth" entrance is to be found in the stone-wall enclosure of Lodges on Atchin.

make "hats" in the form of sharks.[1] Both these recall the shark-symbolism in the North Malekulan rites. In Oba a special *ghamal* is made corresponding to the North Malekulan Initiation Lodge, and in both areas the period of seclusion lasts thirty days, during a large part of which the novices remain unwashed and undergo humiliating ordeals, being covered with dung, ashes and other foul stuff. In both areas special noises are made which the novices at first take to be those made by ghosts, but which they subsequently learn to make themselves. These secret noises, apart from the bull-roarer which in Atchin is said to represent the grunting of ghostly pigs,[2] are for the most part connected with hoaxes in which those already initiated, while acting the part of ghosts, at the same time pose as birds softly whistling and flapping their wings. A yet further feature of initiation in North Malekula is that, as will be seen below, in the medicinal treatment of the wound which the *to-mbat* apply the remedies are all called by the name of a bird but the leaves used for making the infusions are called by names indicating various species of fish.[3]

Bird and fish symbolism is of course a well-known feature of the Banks Islands *Tamate* (ghost) societies, with which the *Kwat* society has so much in common that it has in those islands become actually amalgamated with them. Rivers suggests that this type of symbolism as found in these societies has a totemic origin. He points out further that of all the elements now incorporated in the *Tamate* complex the most marked in this respect is the *Kwat*, of which the subsidiary societies are with one exception all called after fish (one of which is the shark (*pagoa*)), turtles or sea-snakes, whence he deduces that this particular society had its origin in a social body containing a number of totemic clans whose totems were marine animals.[4]

This *Kwat* society appears to have been a very mobile affair having, according to Rivers, been introduced comparatively recently into the Banks Islands, and the evidence cited above points fairly conclusively to its being also responsible for the introduction of the later forms of initiation into North Malekula.

With this introduction, I will now turn to a description of Initiation into Manhood on Vao.

[1] In the Banks Islands a shark may be a *tangaroa* (Codrington, 3, p. 187), this word being equivalent to Tangaro applied to the brother of Kwat.

[2] In Seniang and Lambumbu it is called the "ear slitter" (Deacon, 4, p. 252).

[3] See p. 513.

[4] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 113; vol. II, pp. 220, 340.

CHAPTER XIX

INITIATION INTO MANHOOD ON VAO

AS has already been said, Initiation into Manhood in the Small Islands is, like the Maki rite, intimately bound up with the whole social organisation, being undertaken not by individuals, but by groups corresponding to the "lines" or marriage sections formed of the males belonging to one matrilineal moiety within the framework of the patrilineal village. Thus the social organisation of initiation resembles that of the Maki with the exception that it is not the adults but the younger members of the community who take part.

Six to nine years' interval between rites. Novices' ages vary between 4 and 22.

Owing probably to this and to the passion for display and the enormous expense which the rite entails in the number of pigs sacrificed and feasts given, as well as the necessity to erect a special Initiation House for the novices during their seclusion, it is usual for a period of six to nine years to elapse in any given village between one performance of the rite and the next. This of itself creates a considerable disparity in the ages of the novices initiated at any one time. This disparity is yet further increased by the fact mentioned above that youths of one "line" only are initiated at once, by which reason the actual time elapsing between the rites for which any given novice is eligible is twice that mentioned, namely anything between twelve and eighteen years. Thus, at the initiation rite in which I myself took part on Atchin the youngest novice was about 4 years old and the eldest about 22 ! [1]

This sacrifice of physiological considerations in favour of a communal social organisation and pride of display contributes towards a humorously cynical attitude on the part of the natives towards initiation which tends to place considerably more emphasis on the enjoyment of the initiators at the expense of the novices than might otherwise be the case. Examples

[1] This long interval between initiation rites and the consequent disparity in the ages of the novices is a feature of the introduced *Kwat* society complex and does not occur outside its sphere of influence. Thus in the *Qeta* (*Bweta*) society of North Raga initiation takes place at intervals of six to ten years (Codrington, 3, p. 92). In Ambrim and the greater part of Malekula, however, it takes place about every three years, the age of the novices varying between 8 and 12 (Speiser, 3, p. 203) or 7 and 10 (ibid. p. 288). In South Raga it takes place when the boys are 5 or 6 years old (Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 401).

I witnessed on Atchin may have been an extreme case, but the principle applies throughout the Small Islands and must be borne in mind in the ensuing description of the rites.

TALE OF ORIGIN IN MAINLAND VILLAGE OF N'AV-AV (VERSION GENERALLY CURRENT IN SMALL ISLANDS)

It will be remembered that in the analysis given in the last chapter of the two main forms of initiation rite in Malekula the use of the word *na-avu* for penis-wrapper on Vao appeared to indicate a certain connexion with the earlier form of the rite now practised chiefly in the South, and that in the Small Islands generally, at any rate in Atchin and Vao, the whole rite is said to have originated in a village on the Malekulan mainland bearing the same name N'av-av.[1] The story current on Atchin is as follows:

In the mainland village of N'av-av there were two brothers, of whom the elder was married but the younger not. One day, when the younger brother was in the bush cutting bamboos with which to make a fence, a sharp piece of bamboo sprang back and cut open his foreskin. The cut was so bad that he was unable to bring the two sides together, so that they remained gaping apart. But he managed to stanch the flow of blood, and forthwith applied to his wound all the curative medicines now in use after the operation of incision, and when it had healed he donned for the first time a penis-wrapper, though where this came from is not stated.

One day this youth met his elder brother's wife in the bush and had connexion with her. Never before had she found intercourse so pleasant, so much so that when she next slept with her husband his ministrations no longer pleased her as they used to, and all the time she was with him she could not keep her thoughts off his younger brother "on account of what she had felt." This feeling increased as time went on, till finally she told her husband that since she had known his younger brother his own intercourse had lacked savour. So the husband told one of his friends of this, and begged him to watch the youth and find out what it was that had made his body so pleasant. So the friend concealed himself in the bush and watched while the younger brother took off his wrapper to relieve himself. Then he returned to the husband and told him how his younger brother's foreskin was slit.

The elder then asked the younger how he had done this, and his brother replied by telling how the bamboo had cut him. As a result of this, and of the news of the younger brother's success with women, all the men of the village clamoured for the same thing to be done to them. So a day was appointed for incising all the men of the village, and they

[1] See p. 483.

made a garden [1] and sacrificed pigs for their mothers' brothers and performed all the rites now associated with initiation.

Then, when all was over, the elder brother went back and resumed intercourse with his wife, after which she said, "Now I feel that your mode of intercourse is good like your brother's," and thenceforth stayed with him.[2]

To-wewe.

In the Vao version of this story it is said that To-wewe, founder of the existing Vao Maki, was the younger brother, and therefore also the introducer of the operation of incision. It is further said that in the days of the old type of pre-Maki rite centering round a single large dolmen practised before the advent of To-wewe,[3] there was no incision. This would appear to indicate a close connexion between incision and the Maki. My informant Pelur, however, explained that, whereas To-wewe had founded the existing Vao Maki of N'av-av while yet a child, it was only later, when he grew up, that he had the accident with the bamboo which gave rise to the operation of incision, the introduction of which thus appears to have been later than that of the Maki.

"First Men" of Initiation

In spite of this local story of origin, however, so many new rites have been purchased from Atchin that the inhabitants of that island are now looked on as the originators of the whole rite, and are called *bot na-mbagho*, "founders (or, as it is expressed in pidgin-English, "first men") of initiation," and it is for this reason that, in whatever Vao village the rite of initiation is performed, the speech announcing the date of the operation must be made by a leading member either of Singon or of Lavame, the two villages which first bought the rite from Atchin.

It is an interesting sidelight on stories of origin and the general question of the diffusion of culture that, though from the point of view of the natives of Vao the "first men" of initiation are the inhabitants of Atchin, for these latter the "first men" are those of Wala, and for the natives of Wala this position was formerly held by the men of the double mainland village of Lawor and Bot-walim, from whom they themselves derived the rite. Thus, each latest village to acquire the rite refers to the last link in the chain before it as the first, though in fact they know that

[1] Initiation proceedings on Atchin open with the planting of a special yam-garden.

[2] It is in complete accordance with native thought, based on a conception of moieties of which one is superior and conservative and the other inferior but progressive, that the younger of two brothers should be the first to introduce any new idea or adopt any new custom.

[3] See p. 283.

this link in turn is derived from others that have gone before. There is no doubt that Lawor and Bot-walim in turn derived the rite from elsewhere, but the people of the Small Islands do not know from where.

Two Ways of Performing the Rite "The Branching of Initiation"

A further sidelight on the processes of diffusion is the fact that there are on Vao two ways of performing one and the same rite.

These are called respectively:

(*a*) *Bagho homb-homb*, implying the performance on Vao of the complete initiation rite, including all those later additions to the rite which have been bought from Atchin; and

(*b*) *Rang-rang na-mbagho*, "the branching of initiation." [1] This means that whenever the rite of initiation is performed on Atchin it is possible to repeat the essentials on Vao, without going to the great labour and expense involved in the erection of a special Initiation House and the special feasts, dances and elaborate hoaxes which such an erection implies. These having been performed by the so-called "first men" of the rite on Atchin, may thus be "taken as read" on Vao, Atchin being in this sense regarded as a tree whose branches (*rangon*, hence the term *rang-rang*) spread over to Vao, carrying with them the sap and virtue of the Atchin performance.

This is the poor family group's way out, when the burden is too great and the initiation of its members has been too long delayed, and is, in hard times, the more usual procedure, in which all but the most essential features of the rite automatically disappear. Thus, at the time of my visit to Vao, when the men of the Atchin village of Emil-Marur, headed by a man named Mari, had just completed a performance, it had been arranged that a group of Vao men, headed by Mari's mother's brother, named Melteg-sing-gari, should follow on, or, in native terminology, "branch out," with a performance of their own of the type called *rang-rang na-mbagho*. This man, however, had died before the arrangement had been carried through, so the men of his group had decided to wait another year to collect the necessary yams and pigs which would enable them to perform the complete rite called *bagho homb-homb*.

Had Melteg-sing-gari not died, only the simpler form of the rite would have been performed. There would have been no special Lodge, no elaborate hoaxes, no public dancing in the dancing-ground, no great display of food and pigs, nor any beating of the mothers' brothers, such

[1] Compare Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 87, where, speaking of one group of *Tamate* ("ghost") societies in the Banks Islands, he says, "The chief of these societies is the *Tamate liwoa* of which a man must be a member before he can be initiated into the others, called collectively the *wangarai* (or branching) *Tamate*."

as will be described below. But now that a complete performance of *bagho homb-homb* had been decided on, preparations were in full swing for the prosecution of all these things.

Such is the superior reputation of Atchin and Wala, however, that they are reported on Vao never to follow on in this way, each group on these islands being committed to the performance of the more elaborate form of the rite. This is, nevertheless, an exaggeration, since even in these islands initiation sometimes "branches," and once a given group on the Superior Side of the Island has performed the complete rite there is a spate of performances following quickly one after the other on the Inferior Side.

Nor is the habit of "branching" confined to the Small Islands, since each of the half-extinct semi-coastal villages of the Malekulan mainland whose culture is allied to that of the Small Islands regularly "branches out" from initiation rites performed either on Wala or Atchin.

This is of course due to the fact that the later forms of the rite have been taken over from Atchin, where the system of hoaxes diffused by way of the Malekulan coastal villages of Lawor and Bot-walim has attained a development far in excess of that practised on Vao, but where the actual operation and the simpler kinds of ordeal are essentially the same. It has been pointed out already that Vao shares with South-West Malekula the earlier form of word for penis-wrapper, namely *na-avu*, which is again associated with the term applied to the early, simpler form of the rite.[1] It would appear probable from this that the Kwat people, landing at Lawor and Bot-walim, as it were drove a wedge of new influence into North Malekula, leaving Vao on one side to carry on with the older form of the rite and to acquire the new forms only by the usual slow methods of ritual purchase through Wala and Atchin. It is therefore of interest to find that the old form of the rite still bears the name *homb-homb*, which would appear to be connected with the word *na-humbe* used for "old man," which in turn is a variant of *Sumbe* and *Supwe*,[2] and so represents a survival from the period before the Maki had supplanted the *Sukwe* in these islands.

Situation on Atchin. Baho tureput and baho n'òs-òs.

On Atchin the situation is quite clear, though the old name has disappeared. There each Side of the Island performs a different rite, the older rite, called *baho tureput*, being performed on the Inferior Side, that facing Vao, and the newer, called *baho n'òs-òs*, on the Superior Side nearest Wala, whence all new rites on Atchin are derived. Of these, *baho tureput* most nearly resembles the form of rite now practised on Vao, but has, at the same time, already acquired many of the minor rites of *baho n'òs-òs*. For in these islands, where through the custom of purchasable copyright rites are commercial assets, no use ever remains pure, but its adherents are

[1] See p. 483. [2] See pp. 220, 693.

constantly both buying new rites and reselling them to their neighbours, and the process of diffusion is one of continual percolation of marketable rites from one island or village to another. The same process has occurred over the three-mile stretch of water separating Atchin from Vao, so that the acquired rites on Vao, that is to say those which are omitted when "branching out," represent the small ripples lapping a distant shore sent out by a more violent diffusional movement first appearing with great *éclat* some eight generations ago on the Malekulan shore at the two coastal villages of Lawor and Bot-walim, passing first to the now extinct coastal villages, then to the island of Wala, thence to the south-east villages on Atchin, from them still moving to the north-western villages on Atchin, and thence trickling over to Vao, where the new rites are of such recent introduction that there is but little differentiation between the use in the different villages, and the rite may be taken as being approximately uniform throughout the island.

Beating the Mothers' Brothers

One further fact needs mention before we come to the details of initiation on Vao. This is the remarkable custom of beating the novices' mothers' brothers when they come to inspect the boys immediately after the operation.[1] This custom is carried out with extraordinary severity on Atchin, where I have myself witnessed it and where the mothers' brothers are often really severely hurt. It is not done so severely on Vao, which is one of the reasons given for the fact that the initiation rite on Vao is also called "good initiation" (Vao *bagho ru*; Atchin *baho res*), another reason being the absence of other violent features of initiation performed on Atchin such as the seven-day period of stealing to be described in a future volume.

Nevertheless, even on Vao where the mother's brother is held in high respect the custom is observed in a modified form. On enquiring into the reason for this it is necessary to make a brief survey of the position of the mother's brother in the initiation rites of neighbouring peoples. This shows that, though in the New Hebrides generally the geographical distribution of incision coincides with the area of overt patrilineal descent, the right to have the operation performed is everywhere bought from the mother's brother. Moreover, in most parts of the group except in the Small Islands, North Malekula and South Raga, the mother's brother plays an important and often pre-eminent part in the rite. Thus, while in most places the actual operation is performed, as in the Small Islands, by any sufficiently skilled person, in Seniang, according to Deacon, this rôle is taken by the mother's brother.[2] This recalls the practice in the not very distant Polynesian island of Tikopia where in cases of illegitimacy

[1] See p. 508.

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 246.

the operation performed by the mother's brother appears to be regarded as "a kind of legitimation." [1] In Fiji also the mother's brother takes a leading part in the rite,[2] and, returning to the North Central New Hebrides, in the Sulol district of Ambrim the mother's brother holds the novice during the operation, applies the first dressing, and carries the boy from the reef where the operation is performed to the Lodge where he undergoes his period of seclusion.[3]

Even so far north as Lambumbu in West Malekula the father, though making all arrangements for the operation, and choosing the novice's tutor, is not supposed to have anything to do with his son during the preparatory period, and during the ten-day period of seclusion before the operation itself "the only man that a lad may see besides his guardian is his mother's brother; his father would not think of visiting him, nor even of going near the place of seclusion." [4] In this case, though the mother's brother does not perform the operation, he still acts as a kind of godfather to the boy. It is to be noted that this preparatory period represents that part of the dual rite mentioned on p. 485 which belongs to the older and simpler incision rite before the introduction of the hoaxes and the thirty-day period of seclusion, and the Initiation Lodge is still called by the old term *na-amel na-av-avien*. In South Raga, on the other hand, it is the father who holds the novice during the operation and who subsequently tends his wound.[5]

The conflict between the mother's brother and the father is already well advanced, even in South-West and West Malekula. Thus in Seniang, immediately after the operation and before the payment to the mother's brother, a mock fight takes place between this relative and the father. "Each man gathers his friends about him and they range on opposite sides of the dancing-ground, facing each other. The father and the mother's brother now step forward, each armed with a stick. . . . With these the two men belabour each other, so severely that often blood flows." One of the reasons put forward by the natives for this is that "the uncle is angry with the father for making his nephew's penis sore." Deacon's posthumous editor is unable to explain this, as according to his account it is the mother's brother himself who in this district performs the operation. Internal evidence shows, however, that his notes regarding the initiation rites of various neighbouring tribes have become slightly confused.[6] As a problem concerning the whole district, however, the meaning of the phrase is clear, namely that, owing to the

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 311.
[2] Ibid., 1, vol. I, p. 292.
[3] Ibid., 2, p. 231, and Rivers, 3.
[4] Deacon, 4, p. 251.
[5] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 401.
[6] For instance, my account (Layard, 2) of initiation in Seniang, the notes of which were among those given to him to copy out before he went to Malekula, have been incorporated in his posthumous book (Deacon, 4) as part of the rites performed in Lambumbu.

prevailing patrilineal influence, the father has here usurped the mother's brother's function with regard to the operation. A similar case reported by myself from Seniang but included in Deacon's book under the rites carried out in Lambumbu shows the increasingly inferior position in which the mother's brother finds himself. This is a scene in which, during the payment by all novices to their mothers' brothers after the operation, one particular mother's brother chosen for his qualities as a great fighter, on receiving his pig, stalks fiercely towards the boy and, seizing the spear which the boy holds as symbol of the pig, digs it into the ground so that it bends and breaks. Then he turns to all those assembled and addresses them furiously: "You see how I take this spear, and break it. This shows you my power, that I break this spear and you dare not touch me. Just so, if presently this boy dies through your fault, will I come and kill that man who let him die." [1] This speech incorporated into the ritual of initiation shows clearly the thwarted position in which the mothers' brothers find themselves owing to the control of initiation having passed out of their hands into those of the novices' paternal kin.

It would appear from this that, far from incision being originally a patrilineal institution, as would at first sight seem to be from its geographical distribution,[2] it is in fact a matrilineal trait [3] in which the function of the mother's brother has, in North Malekula and South Raga, been taken over by the boy's patrilineal kin, though the mother's brother continues to exact payment as in all childhood *rites de passage*. In the Small Islands, though excluded from all active share in the boy's initiation, the mother's brother still preserves the right of inspection after the operation, but the fury of the boy's patrilineal kinsmen at the tribute they are still through age-long tradition powerless to withhold vents itself in the severe beating he receives when he does so. This beating is of a type quite different from that meted out to the novices and their tutors, but, like them and unlike the mothers' brothers in Lambumbu, his inferior position is here so completely accepted that he puts up no defence.

The fact that the beating of the boys' mothers' brothers is so much more severe on Atchin than it is on Vao is clearly due to the much greater hold that patrilineal institutions have gained there than on this island. In both islands, however, as in all initiation rites throughout the group, once the whole initiation rite is over, his fundamental connexion with the rite is recognised in the form of shooting expeditions which the novices undertake to their respective mothers' brothers' villages.

Yet another indication of the originally matrilineal character of incision is the tale of origin told at Matanavat on the extreme north coast

[1] See last footnote.

[2] Deacon, 4, pp. 703-6, indeed places it among the patrilineal features.

[3] Since writing this I have found that Rivers also had come to a similar conclusion. See Rivers, 2.

of Malekula, which retains many early matrilineal features. For, whereas in the Small Islands it is the younger of two brothers who is said to have discovered the operation by accidentally cutting himself with a bamboo,[1] in Matanavat the two persons concerned were a man and his sister who, climbing a bread-fruit tree to cut down the ripe fruit, let fall her bamboo knife so that it accidentally cut the man's foreskin.[2]

With these preliminary explanations, it is now possible to proceed with a description of the rites as they are practised on Vao.

Relation between Novices and their Tutors. Threats of Homosexual Action on the Part of Ghosts

I have already referred to the terminology in use throughout North Malekula and the Small Islands between novices and their tutors. In Vao novices and all those not previously initiated are called *mov ghal*. In contrast to these, all initiated persons are called *to-mbat*, a term which has been fully discussed on pp. 492 ff. Each novice has a special *to-mbat* detailed to look after him, to tell him what he must do, to tend his wound and share his beatings. This man, usually a lodge-brother, I propose to refer to as the novice's tutor. Between these two a special relationship exists, which at first sight would appear to indicate the same homosexual relationship as obtains between novice and tutor among the Big Nambas. Thus, in the ritual terminology of Vao the tutor is said to be "married" (*e lagi ni*) to the novice, who refers to him sometimes as *teme natuk*, one of the terms used by a wife for her husband. Older initiates not acting as tutors are referred to as "unmarried" *to-mbat*.

It was, however, repeatedly denied by the Small Islanders that this terminology implied actual homosexual connexion between tutor and novice, and, being usually lodge-brothers, there is here no possibility of the two belonging to intermarrying kinship sections such as would appear to be indicated by the more specialised terminology in use between men and their boy-lovers among the Big Nambas. Indeed, so far as I could learn, though homosexuality is not unknown in the Small Islands, it is rare, and such relationships as exist almost always consist in a Small Island boy being the passive partner in a temporary union with an adult native from the Malekulan mainland, for which he is rewarded by the present of a money-mat in the same way as men throughout the group make such gifts to their girl-lovers. The Small Islanders' attitude towards such relationships are a comic look and the remark, "What a waste of time when there are so many women." On Atchin, more closely connected with the customs of the Malekulan mainland, the tutor actually addresses his novice as "my wife." Even there, however,

[1] See p. 496. [2] Harrisson, 2, pp. 48-9.

where I myself had the good fortune to witness most of the rites, I was assured that this terminology did not indicate actual homosexual union, and the same is true of Vao where, though the novice does indeed sometimes speak of his tutor as his "husband," the more usual term used is *to-mbat na-nuk*, "my *to-mbat*," to which the tutor reciprocates by calling the novice *mov ghal na-nuk*, "my novice."

On the other hand, as will be seen below, the novices are being constantly threatened with homosexual attacks by ghosts, and in so far as during the hoaxes the tutors and other initiates often take the part of ghosts they may be said to have at least a spiritual connexion of this nature.

THE RITES

1. PREPARATORY PERIOD: ERECTION OF INITIATION HOUSE

Owing to the large number of pigs, yams, bananas and other produce required for the rite, and to allow time for the building of a special initiation house, it is customary to announce the coming performance a year before the actual operation is expected to take place.

This house, built just behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground,[1] is called *n'ime na-mbagho*, "Initiation House," in modest contrast to the grander style of "Initiation Lodge" employed on Atchin and in North Malekula,[2] thus marking its closer connexion with the older and simpler form of the rite. Here, after the operation, the novices will sleep for thirty days, have their wounds tended by their tutors, and undergo ordeals and hoaxes. Here also, after the thirty days are over, they will continue to sleep till opportunity arises for them to undertake the overseas voyage for the purpose of Initiation into Sex.

Novices and Tutors are beaten.

The whole preliminary period is occupied with the assembly of materials for, and the construction of, the initiation house. This provides opportunity for numerous pleasantly exciting journeys to the mainland, whence most of the materials are fetched.

Now also occurs the first foretaste of the trials of initiation in that on every such occasion, both when the materials are landed on the beach and when later they are transported to the dancing-ground, not only the novices but also their tutors are beaten with sticks by the older initiates. These beatings henceforth become a feature of each and every act connected with initiation during the preparatory period before the actual operation. Whether this be the landing on the beach of bamboo rafters

[1] See Map IV.

[2] In these places the words for Initiation Lodge are:
Atchin *lol-hamal*.
Big Nambas *na-ghamal bagho*.
Lambumbu *na-amel na-av-avien* or *na-mur-mur*.
All these contain variants of the word *ghamal* as opposed to the Vao *n'ime*, "house."

brought from the mainland, or the cutting and transporting of logs for centre-posts and ridge-pole, or the bringing of palm leaves for thatching, on all these and hundreds of other occasions both novices and tutors are beaten.

As each major object for the construction of the initiation house is landed or brought up from the beach to be deposited in the dancing-ground, the novices with their tutors dance and sing songs belonging to the processional song-and-dance cycle called *Na-rel*, and when the elder "unmarried" initiates hear the procession approaching they flock down to the beach and line the road, to beat them. The attitude of the tutors is a mixture of severity, insisting on the due performance of the rite, and of kindly humour towards the novices who are at the same time in most cases their own classificatory younger brothers. Though it is true that the tutors are beaten too, their beating is as a rule not so severe as that of the novices, and, in any case, they are older and better able to bear it. This mixture of intimacy and hoaxing is well seen in the constant appeals made by the novices, who beg "Don't let's make so much noise. If only we didn't sing all the time they wouldn't know, and wouldn't come to beat us." But the tutors, remembering their own past sufferings and being in no mind to spare the younger generation, sing on, and attract the blows not only on the novices, but also on themselves.

Once this indignity is over, however, and the materials duly deposited in the dancing-ground, the occasion assumes the aspect of any ordinary rite. A pig is killed, message-yams are sent to all the other dancing-grounds on Vao with the announcement that this part of the rite has been duly performed, and the gong-signal most closely associated with initiation, called *na-mbe ne-òs-òs*,[1] is sounded.
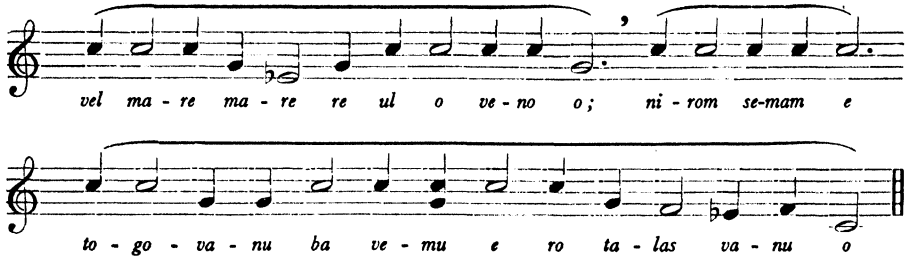
When all the materials have been collected the initiation house is finally erected. This takes several days, with long intervals between them. The same beatings and ritual are performed, but on a grander scale, and on each occasion when the work is finished the novices and their tutors feast off puddings made by the novices' mothers.[2]

[1] Compare this with the name given to the whole rite on the Superior Side of Atchin, namely *baho n'òs-òs* (p. 499), and see possible explanation of the word given on p. 312.

[2] On Atchin, at every stage in the erection of the Initiation Lodge, a temporary hut is made to represent the Lodge, in which the leading initiate sits. Each novice, accompanied by his tutor, is then made to approach down a specially constructed leafy way to the door of the hut, at the entrance to which they are both beaten by "unmarried" initiates standing on either side. Inside, the leading man addresses the candidate, telling him that he has hitherto been only a woman, but will now soon become a man, and purposely confuses him by presenting him with a mock imitation of the centre-post or ridge-pole, or whatever object is about to be erected, which the novice has to attempt to manipulate while at the same time being prevented from so doing by some trick—a foretaste of the more serious hoaxes after the operation. No mention was made of this in the account of the Vao rite, and it may be one of the many additional refinements that have not yet reached this island.

Now also, in addition to songs of the *Na-rel* song-and-dance cycle, yet others are sung belonging to the cycle called *Le-tean*, of which the following, sung very slowly, is a good example:

SONG 7. LE-TEAN (bought from Atchin)



This is an Atchin song, bought from that island, and the words are neither in the Atchin nor in the Vao language, but are a mixture of the poetic diction ordinarily used in songs, and Atchin words mispronounced in the usual Vao manner. They appear to mean "Dance upward, upward, let us go to a high place; Our yams at Togh-vanu, the first place, we distribute to all places." The words of the corresponding Atchin song belonging to the *Kulen* cycle on that island, sung on a similar occasion, run: "*Leng mare maro re ulol weno e; ni-rom semam e Me-le Mparav ba womu o re te les wenu o.*" Allowing for changes in pronunciation, the words are the same except for the fact that the Atchin word *leng*, recalling the *na-leng* maze-dances, has been replaced by the Vao word *vel*, the ordinary word for "dance," and the name of the Vao village of Togh-vanu (note the poetic *To-go-va-nu* to fit in with the rhythm) replaces that of the Atchin village of Emil Parav (note again the poetic *Me-le Mparav*). The name of the village alters, of course, with each village in which the song is sung, and it is an interesting example of the boasting ethos of Malekula that in each case the village in which the song is sung is designated "the first place"! The tune has also lost distinction in transit, being distinctly less impressive than the Atchin version.[1]

The songs belonging to this cycle differ in character from those of most Small Island song-cycles in that they are sung very slowly and with much conscious dignity, within the house-enclosure (later inside the house itself), and to a slow measured walking tread. This one is also remarkable in that it is one of the few Small Island songs which fit into common (4) time.

Villages in succession dance Banana-Leaves. Operation announced to take place on seventh day after the last dance.

When the construction of the initiation house is finished, members of all the Vao villages arrive in turn, at intervals of a few days, to perform the *Banana-Leaves* dance.

[1] See future volume.

The dance, which begins at sundown, usually lasts well into the night, and is illuminated with the light of torches (*rehere*) borne by the novices, who dance with them in two ranks, one before and one behind the main body of dancers, the tutors dancing empty-handed with the guests.

Each village comes to dance in its prescribed turn. When the rite is being held in Togh-vanu (the village which my informant had in mind when giving this account), the last village to dance is Singon, and it is on this occasion that the leading member of Singon, or, alternatively, of Lavame, exercises his privilege of announcing the date of the operation, these villages having been the first to purchase the new form of the rite from Atchin.

There is, however, no choice of date, which must, by tradition, be fixed for the seventh day after the last dance by the last visiting village.

The intervening seven days are spent busily by the novices collecting yams, bananas and other vegetables with which to make puddings for their tutors, and in bargaining for fowls and snaring flying foxes to cook in them.

The puddings thus made are large ones, taking the whole night to cook. They are placed in the ovens on the Eve of the day fixed for the operation.

2. DAY OF THE OPERATION

In the morning the puddings prepared by the novices are taken out of the ovens and given to the tutors to eat, in return for which the tutors present the novices with money-mats (*mangau*) or pigs.

Novices pay their mothers' brothers with pigs provided by the novices' fathers. Tutors and novices race down to the beach.

The pigs to be paid by the novices to their mothers' brothers are then tied to stakes planted in the dancing-ground by the novices' fathers, who also supply the pigs. When these are ready, the gong-signal called *na-mbe ril-dralen* is sounded, to the accompaniment of which the novices and their tutors dance in a serpentine course round and in and out among the pigs.

With the now imminent approach of the operation, the excitement is intense. At the arrival at last of the great moment, pride and the joy of the dance mingle to create an atmosphere of exaltation which does much to allay the apprehension of physical pain. All are now filled with one idea, the speedy consummation of the rite. As the dance comes to an end, in great haste and apparent confusion each novice unties his pig and presents it to his mother's brother in payment for the rite. Then each tutor takes his novice by the hand, and together they all race down to the beach at Kowu, where the operation is to be performed.

Operation performed on the shore. Preliminary hoax. Novices' wounds washed by their fathers in the sea.

Any skilled man may perform the operation, an act called *e lohure*. If on any specified occasion there are many such experts, the novices belonging to each Lodge go to their own special places on the beach. If, on the other hand, there are only one or two, all go to the same place. Here each novice in turn is made to stand up against a tree, to which his tutor clasps him while at the same time blindfolding him by means of a money-mat (the same as will later be presented to the operator as his fee) held over his eyes. Then tutor and operator both address him, telling him not to shake or flinch, but to bear the operation bravely.

The operation, called *bagho*, and for which the verb is *baghoi*, is performed by inserting a hardwood stick between the foreskin [1] and the upper side of the glans penis,[2] and cutting on to this with a bamboo knife, the result being that the foreskin, while still attached to the corona, hangs down exposing the glans. The operation is similar to that performed on Atchin and in all the neighbouring islands, and a more detailed description of it, together with the personal reactions of the novices, will appear in my forthcoming work on that island, where I was fortunate enough to witness it. On Vao the bamboo knife is called *tele*, and the hardwood stick inserted into the foreskin *memen ne tele*, "the knife's tongue," a term which, in the opinion of the Atchin folk, is insipid and uninspiring in comparison with their own term "shark's tongue," referring to the swallowing monster.[3]

As soon as the operation is over, the tutor removes the money-mat from the novice's eyes, and drops it on the ground as payment for the operator. As soon as it has been removed and the novice has sufficiently recovered his wits to see, the tutor addresses him, using the kind of symbolical language associated with initiation, and saying "Look down. See, your *ghavigo* ('malay apple') is red."

The novice looks down, and is then made, apparently unaided, to walk down to the sea, where his father now takes charge of him, and, making him sit down at the water's edge, washes his wound in the salt water,[4] his tutor being now free to walk about and watch the operations on the other novices.

Mothers' brothers arrive dancing Na-rel, inspect the novices and are beaten.

When all the operations are finished, and the novices are ranged in a row at the waterside having their wounds washed, the noise of singing

[1] Called *temben* (or *wul na kalon*, literally "skin of the penis").
[2] Called *wòhin*. Compare *wohoi*, "to plug up a hole" (see p. 467).
[3] See pp. 485-6.
[4] All wounds, of whatever nature, are washed whenever possible in salt water, which is known to have healing properties.

is heard, and on to the scene bursts a procession consisting of all the mothers' brothers of the novices, together with other male relatives on the mother's side, dancing and singing songs belonging to the *Na-rel* cycle. Arrived at the spot where the novices are sitting, each mother's brother bends down to splash some water over his sister's son's wound, and, as he does so, is beaten by the boy's patrilineal kinsmen. This is the only occasion on which, to my knowledge, mothers' brothers are beaten during the initiation rite on Vao, a great contrast to Atchin procedure, and one giving rise to the term "good initiation" already mentioned [1] by which the Vao rite is known.

Novices eat red yam, symbolic of blood, and are then hoaxed into believing that a triangular piece of foreskin has been removed.

While still having their wounds washed, the novices are given to eat a species of red yam, here called by the special term *ŭhŭngerĕ*, symbolic of blood. This being only a symbolic act, and the taste of this yam being far from good, each novice takes only a bite of it, and then throws the rest into the sea. This being done, he is then given as much good roast white yam as he cares to eat, but it is not till the fifth day that he is allowed the pleasure of eating puddings.

At the same time, in consonance with the dual attitude on the part of the elders of mental bullying alternating with care, the ground is laid for a hoax practised seven days later, by persuading the novice that the gap in his foreskin caused by the incision has been made by the actual removal of a triangular piece of skin, an imitation of which he will then, to his horror, be expected to eat.[2]

First medicinal treatment.

When the blood from the wound of each individual novice has ceased flowing, he is conducted a little way up the beach to a spot where his tutor administers the first of a series of medicinal treatments. In this treatment the curative element is the juice obtained by heating a species of seaweed called *mĕlavŭ* over a fire.[3] In the application of this each tutor is assisted by another,[4] who places his hand over the glans penis to protect it, while the boy's tutor squeezes the juice over the wound. After this, the wound is gently stroked with leaves of a kind called *na-mbor* similarly heated over a fire and then folded, so as to clean the wound and remove

[1] See p. 500. [2] See p. 518.

[3] It is to be noted that most seaweeds contain iodine and other mineral salts which are both antiseptic and astringent.

[4] In Atchin each tutor, who is addressed by the novice as "husband," has one or more assistants called "lovers," and it is one of these who assists on such occasions, and performs all the more menial duties allocated to the "husband." I do not know whether the same holds of Vao, or whether the assistant in this case is simply another patrilineal relative or the tutor of another novice.

any clots of blood that may remain.[1] The penis is then wrapped in a dressing of soft leaves of a kind called *ro vile-vile*, over which is then wound the usual boy's penis-wrapper made of the split half of a banana leaf, called *nu-mba-nu-mbe*.[2]

Novices enter initiation house.

After this application, each novice lies down on the beach to await the ceremonial procession into the initiation house.

When all are ready, and have rested a little, all the men of the village join in a procession from the beach inland to the dancing-ground, dancing and singing songs of the *Na-rel* cycle. The tutors dance among the rest, each with his novice beside him. The novices, however, hardly feel like dancing, and walk as best they can, each carrying a club of a kind called *wura*[3] over his left shoulder, while in his right hand he holds a twig cut from the hardwood tree called *tor-tore*, which he moves up and down as if it were an adze. This twig is called by the same name *tele*[4] as the knife with which he was incised, symbolical of the operation he has just suffered.

So the procession, some singing and dancing, while the novices bemusedly wave their mock adzes, makes its way up the path into the dancing-ground. As they enter the ground a single pig is sacrificed and the gongs strike up the rhythm called *na-mbe ne-òs-òs*, to the accompaniment of which they process to the further end. Then the singing ceases, and, to the accompaniment of a fresh rhythm, called *na-mbe ril-dralen*, the procession turns, and moves silently in the serpentine course called *gha vire-vire* back over the ground till, finally, they leave it and enter into the special house built for the novices on the high ground behind the Upper Side.

3. THIRTY DAYS' SECLUSION

Must not be seen too close by women.

Here, and in the surrounding enclosure, they remain for thirty days, accomplishing their *rite de passage* into manhood, corresponding to the similar thirty-day period elapsing between physical birth and the child's first presentation to the world.[5] On Atchin, during the corresponding thirty-day period, the novices may not on any account be seen by women.

[1] This treatment also indicates considerable medical knowledge, whether conscious or no, it being generally accepted in European surgery that the presence of a blood clot predisposes both to infection and to the formation of redundant scar tissue.

[2] Informal penis-wrappers made in this way are adopted without ceremony by boys who are about to attain puberty but have not yet been initiated. The word *nu-mba-nu-mbe* is a reduplication of a form of the word *na-mbwes* used on Atchin for the plaited penis-wrapper worn by adults, for which the Vao term is *na-avu*.

[3] Possibly the same as the Atchin *n'ei e res*.

[4] More usually used for a shell adze.

[5] See p. 179, also the thirty-day period of retreat after the Maki (pp. 394, 402).

On Vao, however, this form of restriction is laxer, since women may see them, but only at a distance, and may not speak to them. Here also, however, as at Atchin, this prohibition does not take effect from the time of the operation, since women line the route by which they process from beach to dancing-ground, but comes into force only after their entrance into the initiation house, an interesting indication of the convergence of two originally separate rites, already referred to.[1]

The first hoax. Tutors say they are going to fetch fine mats, but in fact strew white ashes on floor.

But even now the novices are allowed no rest. The moment they are in the house, the hoaxes begin. The novices are at first led to believe that they are to be treated magnificently and made comfortable beyond their dreams, and when their tutors say "Now we'll go and get new *tapa* mats (*ta-mbagha mbar*) for you," they feel their dreams are about to come true. But the tutors return with nothing better than baskets full of white ashes, which they spread on the floor for the novices to sleep on, without mat or pillow of any kind. As in all things connected with initiation, these ashes serve a dual purpose, on the one hand acting as a disinfectant,[2] continually finding their way, despite the penis-wrappers and the soft dressing of *ro vile-vile* leaves beneath, to sting and cauterise the wound, and on the other providing the means towards a practical joke on the poor novices.

Initiates dance and sing all night in initiation house.

Even could they sleep under these conditions, they may not for the noise. For all night long, for the first five nights of their sojourn, the tutors and other initiates dance up and down the centre of the house singing songs of the *Tughunuan* and *Le-tean* cycles, kicking up dust mixed with white ashes over the prostrate novices.

This all-night dancing continues, depriving the novices of sleep, for the five days that constitute the intensive period of the rite.

Le-tean song (corresponding to Atchin Kulen).

Of these songs, those belonging to the *Le-tean* cycle, corresponding to the Atchin *Kulen*, are panegyrics about those who have performed the Maki rite and taken Maki titles.

Tughunuan song.

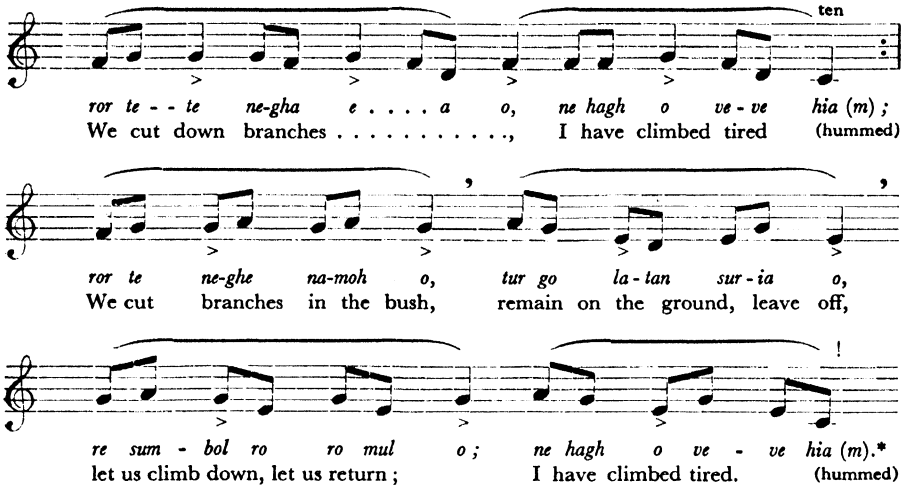
Songs belonging to the *Tughunuan* cycle are of a very different character, approximating more closely to children's songs, being for the most part about birds or fruit, and to each of these some sort of hoax is attached.

[1] See p. 485.

[2] Against organisms, such as tetanus, already present in the earth. See also p. 259.

One of these is of a man clearing a place in which to make a garden, and runs:

SONG 8. TUGHUNUAN



"We cut down branches from the trees,
I have climbed up (so many times that) I am tired;
We cut down branches in the bush,
Let us stay on the ground, and leave off work,
Let us climb down, and go home;
I have climbed up (so many times that) I am tired."

I did not record the hoax accompanying this song.

Hoaxes. Threats of homosexual activities of ghosts.

During the first five days of the novices' confinement in the initiation house, no moment is free from the fear that some hoax or other may be played on them. While the hoaxes practised on Vao cannot compare, in number and severity, with those practised on Atchin which continue throughout the whole thirty days and a full account of which will be given in a subsequent volume, their general tone is not dissimilar, being based on terrorising the novices and, in particular, frightening them with the alleged homosexual appetites of ghosts.

Novices attacked by initiates disguised as ghosts.

A recurring theme is for the initiates to divide themselves into two parties, one outside the house and one within. Those inside, including the tutors, dance and sing songs of the *Tughunuan* cycle, lulling the suspicions of the weary novices by every means within their power, when,

*Atchin spoken equivalents: *te-te=tei; ne-gha=ne-hi; hagh=sa; na-moh=la-mösh; sumbol=tsupul.*

suddenly, in burst the others, disguised with paint to represent the ghosts of old men (*ta-mat möt*). Those within, feigning terror as great as that with which they wish to inspire the novices, emit frightened cries, shuffle and cower like birds, and, finally, simulating regained courage, line up in front of their now startled and trembling wards, holding long bamboos horizontally before them as a kind of protecting fence, against which the alleged ghosts hurl themselves in their effort to get at the boys. It has already been seen to by the tutors that the novices are well aware of the awful fact that any one of them whom one of the ghosts succeeds in striking will some day be killed in battle. They are, however, powerless to move, being hemmed in between the sloping roof and the line of protecting tutors. Sometimes matters are so arranged that the tutors win, and the ghosts retire in discomfort. Sometimes, however, one of the ghosts will break through and strike a novice, to his dismay. Then the ghostly party utters ghoulish cries: "*Hui! . . . hui! . . . hui! . . . ê.*" [1]

Medicinal Treatment by Means of Infusions and Steaming

Administered by the tutors; assisted on the first three days successively by initiates from all villages on the island.

During the ensuing five days the novices' wounds are treated by means of infusions and steaming, the administration of which is a semi-public act affording an opportunity for initiates from all villages on the island to view the progress of the novices. Thus, when the rite of initiation is being performed in Pete-hul, boys' tutors are assisted in the application of the remedies by initiates from this village and from Tolamp; on the second day by initiates from Pete-hul's twin-village, Togh-vanu; and on the third day by initiates from villages on the other Side of the Island in the usual order.[2] On the fourth and fifth days the treatment is continued by the novices' own tutors only.

Mock names for remedies.

In accordance with the mock language used in initiation, these remedies are all called by the name of a bird, *na-wagh*, but the leaves from which they are made are called by the names of fish, thus:

	Name of the Leaf used to make the Infusion	Name of the Fish by which the Leaf and Remedy are called
1st remedy . .	*römbi*	*mov-ghat*
2nd remedy . .	*rombon na-nah*	*hulup*
3rd remedy . .	*bor-mbaru*	*dirav*

[1] This form of cry is called *ra hūrēi tōgh-wōwū*. Though no overt mention of homosexual acts was made in this account, the connexion of such with sudden death in battle is clearly seen in the final hoax perpetrated on the 107th Day (see p. 519).

[2] See p. 300.

Mode of application.

In all cases the method of administration is the same. The leaves, all of which must be of one of the three kinds mentioned, are broken up and placed in a basin made out of a number of umbrella-palm leaves, into which water is also poured and a red-hot stone put in to heat it. The leafy basin is then folded up for a short time, during which the water draws out the juices from the leaves. In folding up the basin the leaves forming it are so manipulated that a kind of spout is left, by means of which the infusion is then poured over the wound, after which the packet is opened and placed beneath the wound so that the steam rising from it shall continue to play around and soothe it.[1] As each packet is opened, the tutor addresses the novice and, pointing at the leaf from which the infusion has been made, says, "You see this leaf. You used to call it (e.g.) *römbi*. Well, its real name is *mov-ghat* (the name of a fish). Now you know." The novice dutifully repeats the mock name, and duly pays for the esoteric knowledge with the customary fee of a plaited belt or other small object.

For three days the novices may not drink, nor for four days may they eat puddings.

For the first three days after the operation the novices may not drink water, since the passing of water is both painful and necessitates the too frequent removal of the dressings; nor may they for four days eat puddings, which are considered too rich, but are fed chiefly on roast white yams.[2]

The prohibition against drinking water may also have a ritual significance. It is specifically mentioned in connexion with initiation in all districts, and a similar prohibition is a feature of ritual abstinence on many other occasions, as in gong-making.[3]

To what extent the restrictions on food also, eminently sound as they appear from our point of view, can be said to be based on medical grounds is doubtful, since their application is in all cases ritualised, and as such is regarded by the natives as part of the system of ordeals that the novices have to endure. Thus ritual demands that the restrictions begin and end for all novices at once, irrespective of their individual physical condition.

The raising of the restrictions follows the usual initiatory pattern in that (*a*) a farcical homily is addressed to the novice and (*b*) the novice must pay.

Third Day

Removal of restriction on drinking water. Mock name for water.

The ban on the drinking of water is brought to a close on the evening of the third day, when one of the initiates brings a bambooful of water

[1] Equivalent to a hot fomentation, producing hyperaemia.

[2] The word for roasting is *tun-tun* (Atchin *tu-tun*).

[3] See p. 355.

and props it up close to the door of the special house. Each novice, with his tutor, is then called out in turn by the leading man, who addresses the novice, saying, "You see this. Up till today you have always called this *nu-we* (the ordinary word for fresh water). This isn't its real name. Its real name is *ne-lum*." This word *lum* is really an adjective meaning "cool," here elevated to the status of a mock secret word. The novice, having learnt that it is better to accept the insult than to risk the displeasure of the initiates, dutifully repeats the word *ne-lum*, pays his fee to the leading man, both for the esoteric knowledge and for the water, and forthwith drinks. The fee consists of some small object such as a plaited belt, or, latterly, a stick of tobacco. The verb describing this and other payments made on similar occasions is *gu-ghugh*.

Fifth Day

Novices run the gauntlet called "Catching rails."

The ban on eating pudding is similarly lifted on the fifth day, but before this a special hoax is performed called *ghore pilagh*, "catching rails." Rails are the long-legged wading birds after which the dance called *Pilagh* is named, a dance performed chiefly by women in connexion with mortuary rites.[1] "Catching rails" is a ritual sport corresponding to that which in Atchin is called *hor-hor mara*, "catching eels," which in that island occurs frequently in mythological tales and is actually performed during initiation, when certain of those previously initiated divide into two parties and ritually "catch eels" all round the island till they converge at the spot on the beach where the novices are awaiting inspection by their mothers' brothers on the day after the operation. The "eels" are represented by long rolls of leaves plucked just before unfolding and dangled from strings attached to bamboo poles which those taking part in the performance from time to time close in on and spear.

Just how "catching rails" is done on Vao I do not know, though the main features of it appear to be the same. The hoax consists in a combination of this motive with what we should regard as the antiseptic measure of sterilising the wound with white ashes, all carried out in the humorously bullying atmosphere that obtains throughout the initiation rites. The initiates form up in two lines in the enclosure outside the house, and the novices, having been told they are going to chase rails, are brought out of the house and made, without penis-wrappers, to run the gauntlet between the two lines of initiates, who, as they run, throw white ashes on to their wounds. The stronger and braver novices run

[1] See p. 323.

quickly through, and, of course, suffer the least; the weaker collapse with the pain and, forgetting to advance, remain weeping till forced on. Though I did not witness any hoaxes on Vao, it is necessary to correct the first impression of sheer gruesomeness in this hoax by referring to a similar performance I witnessed on Atchin, one of many to be described in my forthcoming work on that island. It is impossible to understand the atmosphere of these hoaxes without reference to the psychology of the initiates, in whom a strong dose of pity was mixed even with the atmosphere of bullying excitement and intrigue preceding the hoax, resulting in the fact that the moment the hoax was over all bullying immediately ceased, and the initiates were full of sympathy and comfort for the very boys that they were gruelling a minute before. The novices, of course, know that this will be the case, and it is this ambivalent attitude on the part of the initiates which changes what to us would appear unmitigated bullying into a ritual act appreciated by the novices in retrospect, almost as much as it undoubtedly is by the initiates themselves.

Removal of restriction on eating pudding. Mock name for pudding. Novices are allowed to wash for the first time.

Nevertheless, the novices can hardly be said to enjoy it at the time, and it is accordingly this moment that is chosen for the first real sign of return to normal creature comforts by the lifting of the ban against eating pudding. Even now, however, the atmosphere of mock-esoteric learning combined with the ever-present motive of humiliating the novices is carried on in that, before eating, the wretched boys are made to say that the real name of the pudding is in fact *romber-romber*, the name of a particularly unpleasant kind of grass. Not till each novice has been told this and has duly repeated it is he allowed to eat. Even now, since the puddings are considered too rich, and partly in order to bait him, he is only allowed a tiny scrap, though on all subsequent evenings he is allowed to eat as much as he likes, and is, in fact, fed with the best of everything that can be obtained.

Now also, for the first time, he is allowed to wash, in water brought by his father.

End of all-night dancing inside the house. Novices made comfortable with mats.

That night, for the first time since the operation, there is no dancing in the house, and the novices are really brought the fine *ta-mbagha* mats to lie on that they had been promised the first night, but for which white ashes had been substituted, and they are installed in comfort. Though the hoaxing atmosphere continues throughout their thirty days' seclusion, the painful aspect of them ceases, and the rest of their time spent there is on the whole a pleasant one.

Sixth Day

Novices bathe for first time in sea, after being hoaxed with the threat of a second operation.

The hoax called "Catching rails," the first eating of pudding, the first washing and the cessation of all-night dancing on the fifth night mark the end, not only of the period of the novice's most intensive trials, but also of the more rigorous aspects of his seclusion. For on the sixth day the novices are taken out of the house and led by their tutors down to the sea to bathe. This act is called *sumbulan va ru*, "going down for the second time," this too being made the occasion for a minor hoax, the wretched novices being led to believe that they are about to undergo a second operation. For at a certain spot on the road down to the shore a single initiate is stationed, bearing in his hand a bamboo knife smeared with the juice of a red fruit called *rori*, representing blood. As the first novice, accompanied by his tutor, comes up to him, this man catches hold of him, saying, "Come on. I'm going to slit the other side of your foreskin now." The poor novice is dismayed and with piteous protests tries to escape. But his fear does not last long, for, after enjoying his fright for a little while, the tutor laughs and says, "It's all right, he's not going to do anything. He's only making fun of you." But the first novice is now used as fresh witness to the truth of the threat, for he is then made to shout out to the next novice behind him telling him that they are all going to have the other side of their foreskins cut. Each novice in turn is thus momentarily terrorised. But it is soon over, and they are all then led down to the sea to bathe.

A new remedy administered, first by the tutors and on subsequent occasions by the novices themselves.

This bathing, besides being a ritual act as well as a pleasant release for the novices, is also made use of for the application of a new remedy, the tutors rubbing the young shoots of plants called *vünu* and *ro-rori* (the same as that the red juice of which the initiate has just been using to represent blood) between their hands and dipping them in the sea-water until they are soft, and then smearing the juice extracted from them on the novices' wounds. These leaves, and the cure they represent, are called by the mock-esoteric name *nu mbar* "ripe (i.e. dry) coconut," which the novice must learn before paying his fee. This is the last cure to be administered by the tutors. From now on the novices are allowed to bathe whenever they like, and each henceforth, when bathing, administers the same cure upon himself till the wound is quite healed.

Seventh Day

Novices are hoaxed by being made to eat puddings in which the alleged triangular piece cut out of their foreskin is said to be cooked.

On the seventh day the evening meal is itself made the subject of a hoax. It will be remembered how, at the time of the operation, the novices were given to understand that the gap formed by the slit in the foreskin was caused by the removal of a triangular piece of skin. The seeds of fear thus sown are now made to bear fruit, the novices being told that this evening they are to eat a pudding called *na-longk ong tehi kalor*, "pudding with foreskins in it." And, in fact, when the puddings are cut, lo and behold they are seen to contain dull reddish triangular objects looking for all the world like bruised skin, made by the initiates out of red *hakaul* flowers. The novices are duly horrified. Those who are brave enough, or intelligent enough, to suspect that this is but another hoax, make up their minds to eat the pudding. But the first rigorous days being now over, even those who are deceived and squeamish suffer no worse fate than their own continued fearfulness, and are allowed to give their pudding to be eaten by one of those who do not mind, on payment of a money-mat to the eater.

Novices remain in mild seclusion for remainder of the thirty days.

From now on, the lot of the novices is an almost wholly pleasant one, well substantiating the Atchin designation of this type of initiation as "good." They may bathe when they like, being only restricted by the necessity of avoiding women, and even in this respect the onus of avoidance lies largely with the latter. They are well fed, and such hoaxes as are still practised on them are, unlike the Atchin hoaxes, comparatively mild and amusing. At the same time, they are taught how to make certain esoteric noises such as those which will be described in my account of initiation on Atchin, but of which I did not collect the details on Vao.

4. THIRTIETH DAY AND AFTER

Exit from initiation house. Tutors rewarded. Novices don new penis-wrappers and practise shooting with bows and arrows at home and in their mothers' villages.

So occupied, they continue their seclusion for thirty days. On the thirtieth day they make their formal exit from the initiation house, and, in view of guests assembled in the dancing-ground from all the villages on the island, publicly reward their tutors with tusked boars provided by their fathers, and are provided with new penis-wrappers plaited by their mothers.[1] Judging by procedure on Atchin, there is probably dancing, but I did not record of what type. Then the novices proceed to practise

[1] This, for some, is a purely ritual act, since, owing to the disparity in the ages of the novices, many have worn them, unofficially, before initiation.

shooting with bows and arrows, first at the trees surrounding the dancing-ground, and then all over the territory of their home-village.

During the next few days all the new initiates together proceed on shooting expeditions to each village in which the mother of any one of them was born. A whole day is thus given up to each village in turn, till all have been visited, the boys roaming at will around the village territory, shooting at trees, and the whole band being entertained with food by the mother's brother of the boy whose maternal village they are honouring.

Avoidance of women gradually relaxed. Novices sleep in initiation house till opportunity arises for Initiation into Sex.

While being thus free, however, the aura of seclusion still hangs around them, and for a short indeterminate period they may not speak to women unless first spoken to, this period being characterised by an avoidance of all female companionship, particularly that of a boy's own mothers and sisters,[1] whom he is not permitted to address till he has himself been first spoken to by an old woman of another village.

Initiation, while thus weaning a boy from the influence of his female relatives and introducing him into manhood, symbolised by the prominent part played by shooting with bows and arrows, and though sexual in that it includes incision and the constant threat of homosexual action on the part of ghosts, does not, however, constitute an introduction to hetero-sexual life. This is reserved for a later occasion, namely the special rite of sex initiation which is performed not on the island of Vao, nor on the mainland of Malekula, but which forms part of a youth's first overseas expedition to Oba or some other island in the matrilineal area described in the next chapter. No uninitiated boy can take part in any such expedition, nor, once initiated, may he cease sleeping in the initiation house till the opportunity arises for him to join one. Only after such a sex-initiatory expedition has taken place may he return to sleep in his paternal compound.

Hundred-and-Seventh Day

Hoax regarding homosexual intercourse with ghosts of the slain.

I did not record any rite held on the hundredth day, such as occurs elsewhere. This may be a case of omission. However this may be, the non-heterosexual character of manhood-initiation receives its final expression in the last rite connected with it, which takes place on the hundred-and-seventh night (*na-mbong mow hangawul raman ghe-mbüt*) after the operation, when an "unmarried" initiate climbs up inside the house to the apex of the roof, calling out to all those who have died a violent death (*ta-mat-oamp*) to come and have homosexual intercourse with the new initiates.

[1] These words being used, of course, in a classificatory sense.

DATE	EVENT	HOAXES	SONG-AND-DANCE (GONG-RHYTHM)	FUNCTIONS OF RELATIVES
Preparatory period	Construction of initiation house		*Na-rel* (*ne-òs-òs*) *Le-tean*	
	Dancing by Vao villages in rotation		*Ro-mbulat* (Banana-Leaves)	
Date of initiation fixed for 7 days ahead				
Day of operation	Novices pay pigs to MB Operation performed on shore Wound dressed Entrance into initiation house	Incised penis likened to malay apple Novices given red yam to eat Novices made to lie on white ashes instead of fine mats	*Na-rel* (*ne-òs-òs*) *vire-vire* (*ril-dralen*)	MB receives payment pigs supplied by F MB beaten F washes wound
First 5 days after operation	Wound treated by means of infusions Prohibition against drinking water and eating puddings	Mock names given to infusions (bird and fish symbolism) Initiates play part of ghosts attempting homosexual intercourse with novices	*Tughunuan* *Le-tean*	
3rd day	Prohibition against drinking water removed			
5th day	Prohibition against eating puddings removed Novices wash for first time, and are given fine mats to lie on	"Catching rails" Novices run gauntlet White ashes thrown on wound		M makes puddings F brings water for washing
6th day	Novices bathe in sea New treatment for wound	Novices tricked into believing they are about to undergo a second operation		
7th day		Novices offered pudding containing objects said to be apparently missing part of their own foreskins		
8th to 30th days	Novices live easy lives, are well fed and may bathe if not seen by women Novices learn secret noises	No more serious hoaxes		
30th day	End of seclusion Novices pay tutors, don penis-wrappers and practise shooting with bows and arrows		?	F provides boars for payment of tutors M makes penis-wrapper
After 30th day	Novices visit their mothers' brothers' villages and practise shooting there They continue to sleep in initiation house till Pilgrimage to Oba for special initiation into sex They may be seen by, but must avoid, women			MB receives novice who comes to practise shooting in his village
107th day		Final hoax, initiates call on "ghosts of the slain" to have homosexual intercourse with novices		

TABLE IX

Showing Main Features of Initiation into Manhood on Vao.

RITUAL DEATH AND RE-BIRTH

Five-day period belongs to older layer of culture. Seven- and thirty-day interval belong to the newer culture connected with the Kwat (Mbat) immigrants and hoaxes.

In this account of the Vao rites much of the evidence regarding the death and re-birth symbolism that will be given in my more detailed account of initiation on Atchin is lacking. Significant in this respect, however, are the time-periods into which the rite is divided. Thus, the period of 30 Days during which the novices are secluded in the Initiation House, besides representing the menstrual cycle, also corresponds to the 30-Day period of confinement observed by mothers giving birth to children. It will be remembered that the same period of 30 Days' ritual seclusion also follows after the great Maki sacrifice.

After the 30th Day the most important is the 5th, when the prohibition against eating pudding is removed and the novice is allowed for the first time to wash. While this washing is partly hygienic, it is also symbolic of re-birth, and it will be remembered that, in Raga, Suqe would have men die only for five days, and that on Vao it is on the 5th Day after death that, in the older form of belief concerning the Journey of the Dead, the dead man attains full status, and that on this account on that day the mortuary officials and others blacken themselves.[1] The ritual bathing of the novices on the 6th Day is but an extension of the same motive. This is clearly a survival from the older layer of culture.

In the newer form of culture, however, it is the 7th Day that is the day of resurrection on which the dead attain full status. It is significant, therefore, to note that it is on the 7th Day after the operation that the serious hoaxes cease. This is important since it enables us definitely to connect the hoaxes with the 7-Day period of probation as well as with the 30 Days' seclusion, both these periods thus being shown to belong to the same cultural layer, namely that connected with the *Kwat* immigrants. The 7-Day period occurs on two other occasions in the Vao initiation rites. The first is the 7-Day interval elapsing between the announcement of the date of the operation and its performance, recalling the 17, 27 or 37 Days' interval between the announcement and performance of the great Maki sacrifice.[2] The second is the final hoax performed on the 107th Day, and the special insistence on homosexual action on the part of ghosts connected with this hoax is further evidence of the connexion of the *Kwat* (*to-mbat*) people with this practice.[3]

[1] See p. 544. [2] See p. 376.

[3] Note that the Jews circumcise on the 8th day after birth, which the Muslims call the 7th, the day of birth not being included. Mahummed followed the Jews in selecting this (the 7th) day for the circumcision of his grandsons. Failing this day certain Mahummedans favour the 40th day, or, failing this, the 7th year. The south-western Arabs circumcise on the 7th day or any multiple of 7, namely the 14th, 21st or 28th after birth. In Dahomey the operation is normally performed on the 7th day. The Iraki prefer the 5th or 7th year. (Margoliouth, p. 678: also *The Jewish Encyclopaedia.*)

MAN TOO HOLY TO BE INCISED

One single instance has come to my notice of a man who was too holy to be incised. This man was Kalo-won, meaning "holy penis," whose position in the Vao genealogy on p. 93 is somewhat obscure. He was not incised because when still young his father had assisted him to such high rank in the Maki that he was referred to as Ta-malo-hat (*hat* being another word for sacred or taboo) and there was no one found bold enough to operate on him.

His position would thus appear to be not unlike that of the Tuitonga or sacred chief of Tonga, who was neither tattooed nor incised.

CHAPTER XX

THE PILGRIMAGE TO OBA

(INITIATION INTO SEX)

AS has already been pointed out,[1] Initiation into Sex follows after Initiation into Manhood, and is a separate rite re-introduced into the Small Islands in comparatively recent times and carried out, not on the Small Islands themselves, but on one of the matrilineal islands of Oba, Maewo or North Raga in the Northern New Hebrides, of which the chief is Oba.

These islands are collectively regarded as the "Land of Ta-ghar." It is as such the natives regard them when making this journey, and for this reason that I propose to call this rite the Pilgrimage to Oba.[2]

This island lies some sixty miles away over the open sea, and is the chief among those visited by the sea-going canoes of the Small Islands in the trade for pigs. At the outset of all such voyages outside the waters immediately surrounding the Small Islands a special communion rite is held, prayers being offered to the ancestors for its success.[3] Moreover, however hard-headed the bargains in pigs made on these distant islands, the journey to Oba is fraught with mystery, and led by a ghostly shark with which travellers in canoes from Atchin make contact off the island of Wala whence the first such expedition was made. The tale told on Atchin is that a Wala man named Ni-mbel turned himself into a shark and, swimming under water, snatched a fine mat-skirt that had been put out on the beach to dry and, bringing it back, gave it to his wife, whereon all the girls on the Small Islands wanted similar ones. After this each youth wanted a like gift for his girl, and so the rite started, the shark Ni-mbel to this day still leading the canoe and the newly initiated youths returning with fine Oba mats.[4]

The rite is a 10-day one with a re-birth ceremony on the 5th day,[5]

[1] See pp. 473, 475.

[2] According to Suas, 1912, p. 61, the inhabitants of the Lolopwepwe district of Oba actually call their own land *vanua i Takaro*, "land of Takaro (Ta-ghar)," or *vanua kokona*, "holy land."

[3] Examples of such prayers will be given in a future volume.

[4] This story, as told on Atchin, will appear in full in a future volume. For another version see Harrisson, 2, p. 106, who states that the supposed occurrence took place some eighteen generations ago.

[5] Speiser, 3, p. 288, states that the whole rite lasts only five days (see also p. 525).

thus showing its connexion with the older form of initiation ritual preceding the introduction of 30- and 7-day periods found in the later forms of Initiation into Manhood.

As already stated,[1] Initiation into Sex as carried out from the Small Islands differs from Initiation into Manhood also in that, while Initiation into Manhood is a communal rite organised for all boys and youths of a given section of society, Initiation into Sex is a much more individual affair, only those boys who, having already undergone one series of compulsory ordeals, feel themselves strong and desirous enough voluntarily to undertake fresh trials offering to go.

Till then they must sleep along with those newly initiated into manhood in the initiation house. But they are nevertheless free to roam about with due circumspection providing they observe the initial restrictions about meeting women. Sooner or later they will learn that their elders are planning a trading expedition to Oba. No youth who has not yet been initiated into manhood may go on these expeditions. But now, if any youth has made up his mind to go, he will, secretly and without saying a word to any one, turn up at the launching of the canoe. Here he will meet others who have similarly but in all secrecy made up their minds, and their ordeals immediately begin.

Such is the case on Atchin, where I myself accompanied one of these expeditions, of which a detailed account will be given in another volume. This is one of the rites of which I did not obtain an account on Vao, so that I am unable to give details of the pilgrimage as undertaken from this island. Godefroy, however, gives a very incomplete account which I will quote here as giving some idea of the essential structure of the rite.

GODEFROY'S BRIEF ACCOUNT

According to Godefroy's account,[2] taken from the lips of Melteg-lil-nale, the elders undertake a special voyage for this purpose. Pigs, fowls and yams are offered to the ancestors, to whom supplications are made to look favourably on the novices, to change the direction of contrary winds and to minimise the force of currents and tidal waves.

On the eve of departure a tall bamboo is set up on the shore facing the beach from which they leave, and on this are hung dry coconuts, conch shells and consecrated herbs. On the day of departure itself the canoe [3] is loaded with provisions, fresh coconuts for drink, and lastly the pigs. According to Godefroy, the novices adorn themselves for the journey,

[1] See p. 476.

[2] Godefroy, I, 1933, pp. 231-2.

[3] In Godefroy's account it is a modern whaler. On Atchin these voyages always start in the afternoon, so that when night comes there will be stars to guide them, whereas by day there would be nothing but the wind, which often changes. By dawn they reckon to be within sight of Oba.

their arms decorated with finely plaited arm-badges and their hair with pink and golden ferns. If the rites on Vao are, however, anything like those on Atchin, this statement is far from true. There, the attitude on leaving is, as I have said, one of extreme effacement. Nor would there be any use in so adorning themselves, since the moment they enter the canoe they are made to lie on the floor, covered with mats, stones, paddles, food baskets, coconuts, whole bunches of bananas and all the odds and ends that are carried in the canoe. It is not till they return that they adorn themselves in all the finery of conquering youth.

Once arrived on Oba, the adult members of the expedition go to the inland villages to trade in pigs, leaving the novices and their tutors to carry out the necessary rites, of which the most important are these: [1]

"As they leave the canoe they must ritually bathe, that is to say they must not plunge into the water, but, standing in it only up to their knees, they must, with solemn motions, sprinkle [2] the sea-water copiously over their shoulders, chest, head and arms. Then they unload the provisions which they have brought: wild yams, bananas and coconuts. While bathing and unloading they must remain silent, not uttering a word. Complete silence is obligatory not only now, but during the whole of their sojourn in Oba, as well as during the voyage, both outward and homeward.[3]

"During the whole of the time they maintain a severe fast. It is indeed a hard fast to be restricted to two or three bananas and poor-quality yams a day.

"On the three last days there is a curious rite. For each novice they dig a shallow pit in which they lie on their backs and are covered with plaited coconut leaves. On the fourth day [4] the buried youths rise from the dead, still silent.

"Then, all now being on their feet, they load the canoes with the pigs bought by their elders.

"If the wind is in the proper quarter for sailing home (and they say that at this moment it always is), they pull up the anchor at about four o'clock in the afternoon and next dawn arrive triumphantly at Vao." [5]

Speiser adds (what also occurs on Atchin) that while the novices are away some of their coconut trees and part of their yam-gardens are destroyed.[6]

[1] In the case of the pilgrimage as carried out from Atchin, the Atchinese have a special Lodge built by the shore, which they occupy and in which they enjoy a kind of diplomatic immunity from attack.

[2] Godefroy uses the religious term "asperge."

[3] This is probably a mistake. As the pilgrimage is performed from Atchin, the ban is lifted on the return voyage.

[4] This almost certainly means the fifth day. Confusion as to dates often arises owing to the twenty-four-hour period beginning at sundown.

[5] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 132-3. Here is another confusion. Twice elsewhere he states that the rite lasts ten days.

[6] Speiser, 3, p. 288.

Special song.

"There is a special song belonging to this pilgrimage and to the voyage there and back; but it is kept secret, on pain of death." Godefroy relates that one day, when the young men of Wala had just come back from their initiation on Oba, one of their elders, while resting one afternoon in his house, was surprised by his wife in the act of singing over to himself the sacred Oba song, with the result that she immediately began to embrace him, begging him to sing over to her this chant unknown to the uninitiated and above all to women. "He was unable to resist, and was seduced into betraying the famous Oba song. While he was singing it, however, two youths who happened to be sleeping beneath the gable of a near-by house woke up, and naturally overheard the stanzas of the forbidden song. Horrified, they rose up and fled as fast as their legs would carry them to the *ghamal*, where they told of the wretched man's crime. That night, there was a debate followed by judgment. The culprit saved himself by fleeing, with his wife, in a canoe and lived for many years in exile. Eventually he managed to come back, but not without sacrifice of several large tuskers, which was an expensive business." [1]

I do not know what this special song is. The youths from Atchin learn many songs when on Oba. Those are of two kinds: (*a*) these called "Oba Men's Songs" which are sung also during the Maki and mortuary rites, usually in connexion with canoes and tusked boars, and (*b*) special love-songs called in Atchin *nu-mbo tamar*, examples of which will be given in a future volume.

Appeal to ancestors for fair weather for a safe return.

Godefroy gives a dramatic instance of the special care the ancestors are held to exercise over this expedition. Note that in this instance it is the ancestors who are appealed to direct, through song and sacrifice, in marked contrast to the ordinary weather magic done privately by individual practitioners.

"About four years ago [i.e. about 1928] the young men of the villages of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu undertook their pilgrimage to Oba. On the Seventh Day after their departure the trade wind was blowing with such violence that there appeared to be no hope of them returning on the appointed day, the date of a great feast to be held in honour of their pilgrimage. That evening, at their daily debate, the elders reminded the young men who had stayed at home that in their young days several sea-going canoes had foundered with their crews in a similar high wind on account of the tidal wave produced by a change in the direction of the current. The old men then ordered the immediate sacrifice of several pigs and the formation of a procession to that spot on the beach from which

[1] Godefroy, I, 1933, pp. 233-4.

the pilgrims had left. The sacrifice and the accompanying ritual dance took place on the eve[ning?] of this Seventh Day. Next morning some thirty men and children, massed in regular lines of four, five or six,[1] singing at the top of their voices, danced up and down the beach at the water's edge. Hearing them sing, I went down to the beach to watch the procession. I approached and asked the oldest among them what was the purpose of this rite. He answered (I quote his reply word for word): 'We are performing a religious act handed down from our ancestors. By this rite we extend succour to our kinsfolk who have bad weather for their homeward voyage.' Then straightway he left me to rejoin his line.

"On the Tenth Day, in the morning, the pilgrims returned, thanks to the favourable wind which had followed the storm. No one on the island doubted for a moment but that their safe return was the reward for the sacrifices they had made." [2]

SUMMARY

Death and re-birth.

This account, though very abbreviated, affords nevertheless a fair general view of the outline of the rite, which is clearly one of ritual death and re-birth. Ritual bathing is an integral element in all such rites, and the silence and fasting represent a state of death. As will be seen when we come to examine the more detailed account of the Atchin rite, in which the novices are hand-fed and may not move even for excretory purposes, the rite is also one of re-birth in the sense that the novice is ritually regarded as a new-born child.

Resurrection and sex.

A point of great interest is the final half-burial and resurrection of the novice. This feature is found both in the *Kwatu* society of Maewo [3] and in East Santo.[4] It is, however, absent from my Atchin account, but its place is there taken by a hut built on the shore, inside which is the model of a woman shaped in sand, with which the novice, after suffering every kind of sexual indignity, is supposed to go through the motions of copulation. If these are indeed one and the same rite, of which my account omits the first part and Godefroy's the second, it would appear to represent a dramatised apotheosis of the novices' period of trial in a sudden transformation from a state of supposed death to one of mock sexual experience.

[1] From the formation of this dance in regular lines it seems likely that it was a type of maze-dance or *na-leng* (see p. 338).

[2] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 232.

[3] See Codrington, 3, p. 90.

[4] See Speiser, 3, p. 287.

Lesser acts of initiation performed on first visit to any other distant land.

Godefroy's account, as indeed mine also, lays great stress on the fact that the island to which this pilgrimage is made is the traditional home of Ta-ghar. It is, however, interesting to note that, as already stated, the first expedition to *any* distant island, or even to the more distant parts of Malekula south of Unua, are accompanied by similar, though far less elaborate, rites. These will be recorded in my forthcoming volume on Atchin initiation rites. Boys also from Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula have to make a "formal first journey to Maḷo" where they go through a form of initiation.[1] It would appear thus that in this special expedition undertaken in the Small Islands two elements have become joined: in the first place, a kind of initiation that takes place on the first visit to any distant land; and in the second, the initiation into sex definitely associated with Ta-ghar.

[1] Harrisson, 2, pp. 49, 50.

CHAPTER XXI

MORTUARY RITES

AGE-GRADES

THE duration and elaboration of mortuary rites depend partly on the deceased individual's age and sex, and partly, if a man, on the rank which he has attained in the Maki.

With regard to age, there are in common use certain terms applied to the main periods of a man's life, which may be termed age-grades. So far as I know, there are no definite limits fixed between these grades, nor any rites marking the transition from one to the other. The character of the mortuary rites varies with the grade, becoming more protracted and complicated with the advance in years. Moreover, the age-grades continue after death in such a manner that when a man dies his ghost continues to belong to the age-grade which he had attained during his lifetime, and is known, with two exceptions, by the same name, thus:

	Name when Alive	Name when Dead
Male child	*Na-sörik*	*Ta-mat na-sörik*
Young man (Youth)	*Malakel*	*Ta-mat malakel*
Middle-aged man	*Seagh*	*Ta-mat seagh* or *Ta-mat malat* [1]
Old man (grey-headed)	*Na-humbe*	*Ta-mat möt* [2]
Very old man (white-headed)	*Mer-sean*	*Ta-mat mer-sean*

Seagh and Mer-sean.

If, leaving out the term used for a male child, we analyse the four remaining terms used during a man's lifetime, we find that there are in fact only two main terms, namely *malakel* meaning "youth" and *na-humbe* meaning "old (grey-headed) man" (already met with as an honourable term of address and variant of the widespread word *supwe* [3]), each of which is followed by an intermediate term containing the syllable *se*, which is in essence no more than a superlative particle. Thus the grade *malakel* is followed by the grade *seagh* composed of the superlative *se* and the

[1] *Malat* means "quickly" or "too soon," i.e. "he dies before his time." Compare the phrase *e wor malat*, "born too soon."

[2] *Möt* means "grey." Compare Atchin *meut*. But Seniang *möt-möt* means "black."

[3] See pp. 258, 499, 693.

adjectival termination *agh*, and so meaning "a superlative *malakel*." In the same way the grade *na-humbe* is followed by that of *mer-sean* (sometimes pronounced *mwer-sean*), formed of *mer* (or *mwer*) meaning "man," the superlative *se* and the nominal termination *an*, so that the whole term means "a superlative *na-humbe*."

Malakel and na-humbe.

Of the five age-grade terms these two, *malakel* and *na-humbe*, are in fact by far the most frequently met with in everyday conversation. They represent respectively the joy and beauty of youth and the power of old age. That they are culturally also the main categories of age is seen from the fact that on the day after the birth of a boy petitions are offered to the ancestors to look after him and let him grow to be "first a *malakel* and then a *na-humbe*," the remaining grades being definitely not mentioned.[1] The same two main age-categories are observed on Atchin, where the same word *malakel* is used for "young man" and the word *na-sup* (pronounced by the old men *na-sumb* and equivalent to the Vao *na-humbe*) is the honourable term for "old man." There is, however, an important sociological and religious distinction between the word used for "youth" and that used for "old man," for whereas *malakel* used for "a youth" refers to purely biological factors, being composed of *ma*, meaning "to become," and *lakel*, meaning "fecund," *na-humbe* is on the other hand primarily a religious term having to do with re-birth and thus meaning fecund in a spiritual rather than a biological sense.

BURIAL

Position, Place and Time

In Vao there is no burial on platforms or in canoes such as are found in other parts of the Northern New Hebrides, nor is there any making of artificial bodies and their subsequent preservation in the men's house such as is found in South and South-West Malekula.

Here all bodies are interred. There are, however, two chief methods of interment, namely in the extended or in the squatting position, corresponding with the two main age-grades just cited.

(*a*) Boys (*na-sörik*), youths (*malakel*) and middle-aged men (*seagh*) are buried within the dwelling-house [2] in the extended position, the verb used for this being *tovūni*. Since individuals of these age-grades are supposed to have not yet achieved the right to proceed after death to the land of the dead on the volcano, but to remain within the Cave of the Dead, there is

[1] See p. 177.

[2] Youths (*malakel*) are buried on the Lower Side of the house. Whether this applies also to middle-aged men (*seagh*) I do not know.

no prescribed time for burial, which may take place at any time during the day.

(*b*) Old men (*na-humbe*) and very old men (*mer-sean*) are buried in the cemetery outside the Upper Side of their respective Lodges, usually in the squatting position, the phrase used for this being *gho vulu kū ni*. In order that their ghosts may arrive in time for the nightly dance of the dead on the volcano on Ambrim, burial takes place shortly before sundown, when the dance begins.[1]

Old men (*na-humbe*) are buried in the cemeteries belonging to their respective "Sides of the Lodge," the right of burial in the cemeteries belonging to the Quarter-Lodges being reserved for very old men (*mer-sean*).[2] These cemeteries are called *na-tamp*, from which the Lodges themselves take their names, or *tambu na ta-mat*, "the sacred place of ghosts." In the case of a *na-humbe* adopted at birth into the opposite "Side of the Lodge" in his own Quarter, he is sometimes (though not always) buried in the cemetery of the Lodge of his birth rather than that of his adoption (see p. 189).

A very old man (*mer-sean*) may on occasion be buried, at his own request, in some specially secluded spot in order to prevent the pollution of his grave by the too near proximity of women. A *ta-mat möt* (the ghost of a *na-humbe*) may also be buried at his own request in his own dwelling-house, which is then given the name of *na-tamp* or *tambu na ta-mat*; or, if there are women living too close, he may be carried a little way towards the Lodge, and buried there, a small house being erected over the grave. Special places are reserved for this (see Map IV).[2]

If he is sick, or has sores, at the time of death, his body will be buried in some spot remote from any houses or roads, for fear that his spirit might otherwise transmit his disease to neighbours or passers-by.

Squatting position described.

Bodies buried in the squatting position have the heels drawn in close to the buttocks, the head straight up (not resting on the knees), and the arms folded round the knees, each hand lying along the elbow of the opposite arm.

Movement against burial in squatting position.

Lately there has been a movement against burial in this position, as it is feared that when the body decomposes the head may fall down on the knees or between the legs, and remain facing downwards, which is held to be undesirable. This movement has lately received impetus

[1] If an old man dies just after sundown, his body must be kept for burial just before sundown on the following day.

[2] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 36) says that old men of what he speaks of as the highest rank, *na-humbe se*, are buried in tombs (*tambu*) close to the *ghamal*, but I know nothing of this.

through the appearance above-ground of the leg-bone of a *ta-mat möt* called Ma-taru, who was buried before my informant of the same name was born. The appearance of this bone naturally raised the question "What has happened to the head?" which at the time of burial must have been higher than the knees. The conclusion is that it must have fallen between the legs and be now facing downwards. In consequence, some old men have lately taken to being buried in the extended position.

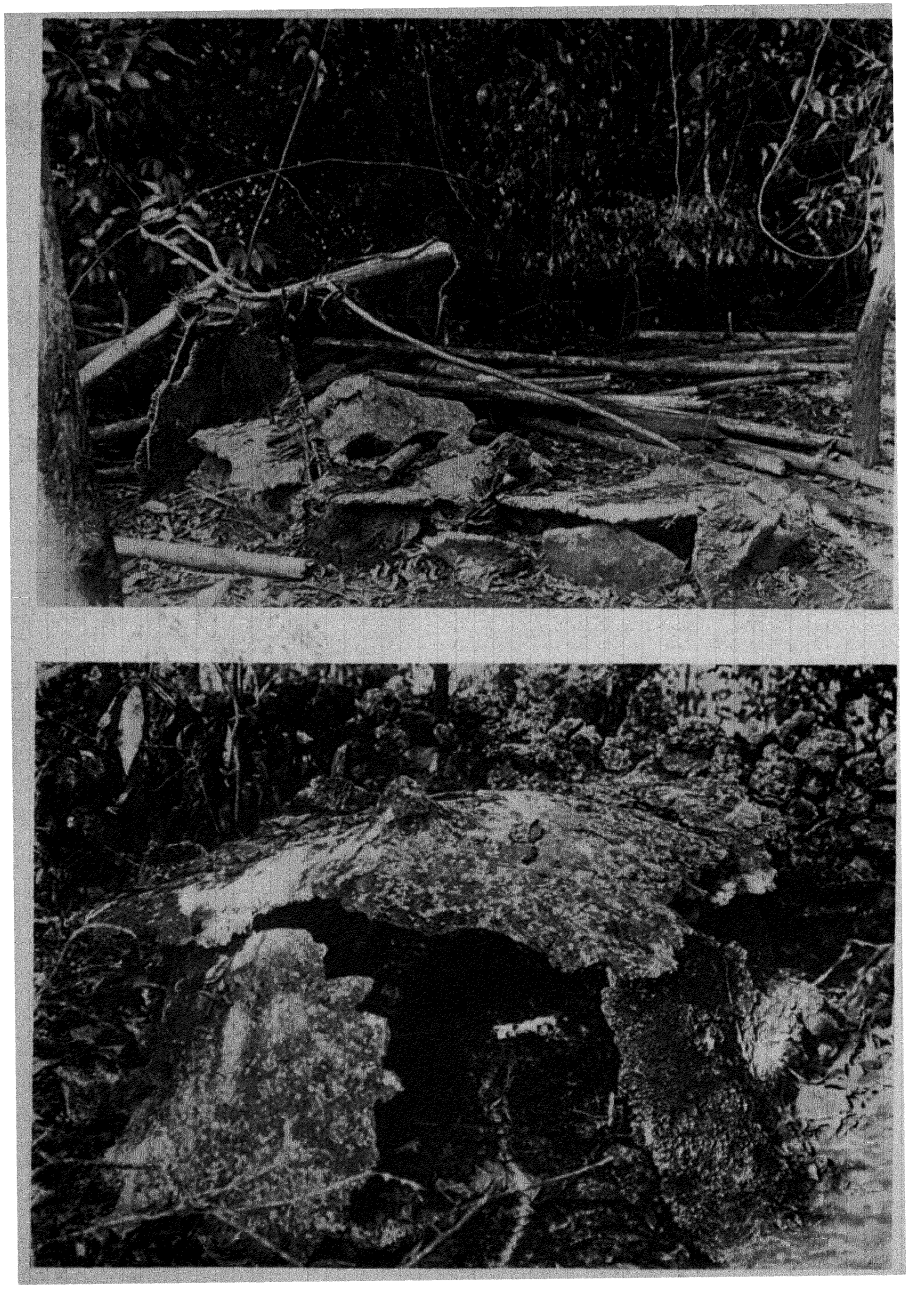
I do not know why it should be considered undesirable that the head should face downwards. In any case, the fear clashes with the assumption referred to on p. 560 that the head sometimes falls off the body on the Seventh Day after death, corresponding with the Wala version of the Journey of the Dead according to which the head of the dead man dancing with his departed kinsmen on the volcano first falls off at dawn on the Seventh Day after death and thereafter at dawn every day of its other-worldly existence.[1] It is clear that we are here dealing with a conflict between two distinct beliefs and their associated burial customs. For in many parts of Malekula the skull and bones of the dead are at some period after burial disinterred and either all or some of them are placed in a communal ossuary or "sacred place." This is the case in Seniang, Lambumbu and Laravat [2] on the west, and at Sanbarei [3] on the east. Elsewhere it is the skull only that receives such treatment, and of the customs centering round this the most relevant from the point of view of the fears entertained on Vao is that of the Big Nambas, among whom the corpse is buried in a kneeling position with its head projecting above the surface of the ground. Two men watch by the grave and continually wash the head to hasten decomposition, and on the Seventh Day a big feast is held to celebrate the separation of the lower jaw from the upper part of the skull. On the Thirtieth Day after death "the head, which has by now rotted off the body, is then taken and put in the skull-house . . . where it is laid on a slab of stone at the far end in company with all the other ancient skulls of notable men." [4] At Matanavat on the north coast such treatment is reserved for an important man who is buried "with his head left sticking out" and the skull is later removed and placed on a dolmen.[5]

With regard to the Small Islands, however, according to my own information, the practice does not extend further north than Wala, where the skull is removed and placed inside a specially erected small dolmen

[1] See pp. 226, 230. [2] Deacon, 4, pp. 533, 564, 575. [3] Ibid., 4, p. 586.

[4] Ibid., 4, pp. 583-4. Similar customs are reported by Rivers from other parts of Melanesia. Thus, in Vanua Lava in the Banks Islands, "the fifth day after death is called . . . 'the head broken off,' because on that day the head is believed to break off from the body, or more probably because formerly the head was removed on that day" (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 265). In Ysabel of the Solomon Islands also the body is interred "with the head so near the surface that the skull can be removed later and preserved" (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 275).

[5] Harrisson, 2, pp. 58-9.



1. Stones placed over the grave of Melteg-rush, buried in the *extended* position at Lodge *La-mbol-na-ninge* in Pete-hul. The bamboo poles are the remains of the hut set up over it during the mortuary rites

2. Stones placed over the grave of an old man buried in the *squatting* position in Togh-vanu. The covering hut has long since decayed

in the cemetery itself. It is not done on Atchin nor, so far as I could learn, on Vao.[1]

On both these islands there is a definite movement against interment in the squatting position, here clearly associated with the removal of the skull, in favour of that in the extended position in which the body is left undisturbed. This movement appears to have had its local point of departure in the Malekulan coastal village of Lawor opposite Wala, whence so many other recent elements of Small Island culture have been diffused. I was assured on Atchin, for instance, that the people of the mainland villages of Lalep and Rel, in the interior, never bury in the squatting position, but always extended. The state of transition from one form to another has given rise to an immense number of variations in the actual position in which the body is buried. One such variation was that tried out at the burial of a man named Saraul, of Lodge *Naru* in the village of Pweter-tsüts on Atchin. This man was recently buried in a sitting position, his legs flat and his body reclining at an angle of about 45 degrees, with the arms stretched at full length by his side. He was buried in this manner at the request of his sister's sons at Wala, who, or whose relatives, had bought the right of doing so from Lawor. His classificatory brothers, Melteg-tò and Ta-maewo, old men still alive and both of whom held him in the highest respect, do not, however, intend to follow his example, but mean, like the old men on Vao, to be buried in the extended position.[2]

Hut over grave; gravestones.

When the body is buried in one of the Lodge cemeteries, whether in the squatting or the extended position, a small hut is erected over it, the

[1] Speiser, 3, p. 306, asserts that the skull is there also disinterred and preserved beneath one of the dolmens used in the Maki rites, but this statement needs corroboration since at no time during my prolonged stay on Atchin and my shorter one on Vao did I ever hear of such a practice, and these dolmens are, moreover, treated, except during the actual Maki rites, with scant respect.

Godefroy, however, mentions an incident tending to show that the Wala custom of placing the skull in a special small dolmen may formerly have existed on Vao (Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 32-3). One day, when his boys were digging for sand with which to make cement, they came across a mass of loose stones, all of the same size, beneath which was a cavity containing a human skull. The skull was very brittle, and the least pressure made it crumble away. The stones covering the skull appear to have been carefully placed together so as to form a chamber in which the skull rested. The depth was not great, as the excavation had barely gone below the humus at the time the discovery was made. As the excavation took place close to one of the old fighting-grounds he concludes that the skull belonged to a warrior slain in battle. But there were no other bones present, and it is more probable that the stone chamber containing the skull was a mortuary one similar to those now constructed on Wala.

[2] This change in position is of considerable interest since it confirms Rivers's conclusion that burial in what he terms the "sitting" posture was the custom of the dual organisation people in Melanesia, and also of the older layer of culture in Polynesia, in both of which places burial in the extended position was introduced at a later date (Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 281-2).

door facing towards the Lodge. If the dead man belongs to the age-grade *mer-sean* or "very old man," this mortuary hut is called *ne-him na mer-sean*, "the old man's house." The grave itself, called *tambu*, is surrounded by thin upright coral blocks, which when used for this purpose are called *hiv-hiv*, and resting on these are covering-stones (also of thin coral) called *kur-kur-vat*.

In the case of a body buried in the squatting position, an opening is left in the upright blocks at a point facing the Lodge, presumably so as not to obstruct the dead man's view, and there is only a single covering-stone. The whole has the effect of a rough dolmen, though the blocks used are of much lighter material than those used for the dolmens of the Maki.

Where burial is in the extended position, the head-stone is much larger than the others, and owing to the length of the grave there are several covering-stones.

Orientation of the Body

With regard to the orientation of the bodies of those buried in the family cemetery outside the Upper Side of the Lodge, the rule is as follows:

(*a*) If buried in the squatting position, both the body and the door of the hut built over the grave must face the Lodge.

(*b*) If buried in the extended position, the door of the hut must still face the Lodge, but the body itself may be orientated in either of two ways:

(i) the feet shall be to the front and the head to the back (*bughto ne-him*) of the hut; or,

(ii) the body must lie across the width of the hut, with its head at the Upper Side.

In neither case is there any relation to the points of the compass, since orientation is in respect of the Lodge, the position of which is inconstant. Moreover, as may be seen on the plan of the village of Pete-hul,[1] a given cemetery is usually very much larger than its Lodge, so that even the graves in the same cemetery, being on different points on the arc of a common circle and all facing inwards, will actually be orientated in a variety of directions.

Fig. 56 shows a variety of possible positions. An archaeologist, coming after both Lodge and the huts over the graves had rotted away, would have difficulty in finding a common rule for the orientation of bodies which appear to be buried facing almost every conceivable direction, though such a rule, as we have seen, exists.

[1] See Map IV, p. 69.

Stone Mausoleum Built for Old Man

Over and above the types of grave just mentioned, old men of very high rank and possessed of sufficient wealth sometimes build large mausolea for themselves during their own lifetime. Godefroy [1] mentions the building of one such tomb (*tambu*) for an old man on Vao by what he

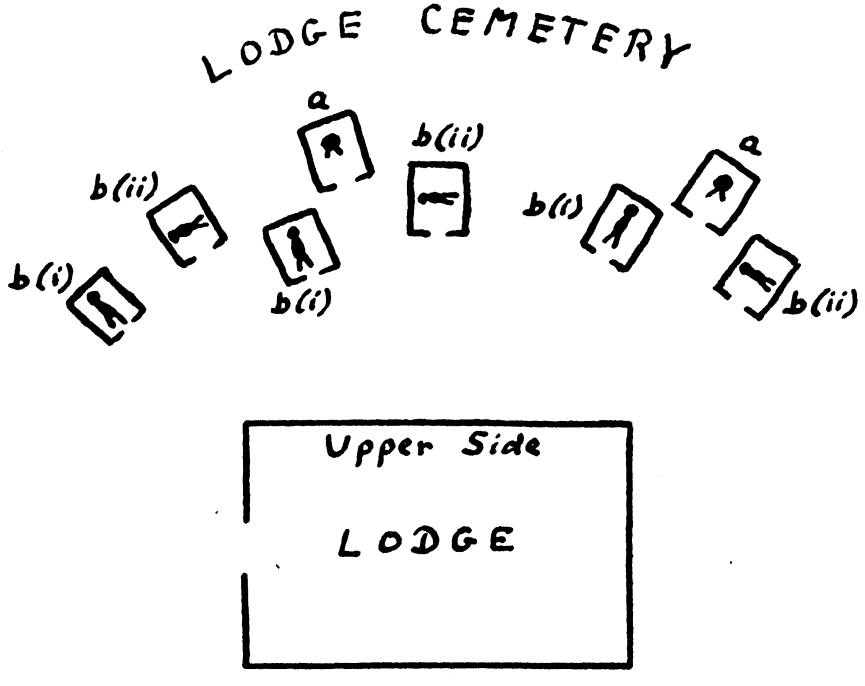


Fig. 56

Illustrating the orientation of burials in the Lodge cemetery.

[ ] = the hut over the grave, in all cases opening towards the Lodge.

a = interment in the *squatting* position, the two projections in the figure representing the feet and so also the direction in which the body is facing.

b = interment in the *extended* position, (i) feet to the front and head to the back; (ii) across the width of the hut, with the head at the Upper Side.

calls "forced labour" (*vehahag*).[2] The tomb took several months to build in a leisurely way, and large numbers of stones, great and small, went towards its construction. Though built with the aid of limed mortar, a modern innovation due to White influence, it followed an ancient pattern which Godefroy, however, unfortunately does not describe. It was

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1934, pp. 211-14.

[2] See p. 329, note 4.

probably not unlike the large mausoleum built on Atchin in the shape of a shark, which will be described in a future volume.[1]

MORTUARY RITES

I obtained three accounts of mortuary rites: an initial, brief account dealing with the death of a young man, and a later, fuller one regarding the death of a *mer-sean*, followed by a few notes regarding the mortuary rites for women. They are very far from exhausting the subject. I will give the rites for a *mer-sean* first.

It will be noted that while the Fifth Day is an important one, no special importance is attached to any kind of observance on the Thirtieth Day, thus showing the early cultural layer to which these rites belong.

MORTUARY RITES FOR AN OLD MAN (MER-SEAN)

Attitude towards the death of an old man.

While every effort is made to preserve the life of a young man who has fallen sick, nothing is done to prevent the death of a man so old as to be called *mer-sean*. The native's usual attitude towards death as a tragic event due to the anger of offended ghosts or to evil magic undergoes a complete transformation when the death is that of a very old man. For not only has he fulfilled his life and died a natural death, but his power over the living, great during life, will be immensely increased once he has crossed the line into the regions of the departed. As my informant expressed it, "at the death of a young man we are sorry that his life has been cut off, so we fast (*taur*). But for an old man, his time is finished and it is right that he should die, so we do not mourn, but adorn ourselves."

This attitude is borne out by their behaviour, for where, in the case of a younger man, the weeping is long and to a great degree genuine, for an old man, though both men and women must make a good show of weeping, this is only "make-believe" and is soon over, for he has died at a good old age, and none is responsible for his death.

Manner of death. Regulation of debts.

I did not myself witness any deaths on Vao. My experience on Atchin is, however, confirmed by Godefroy with regard to Vao, in that he

[1] The only piece of special ritual he mentions in connexion with the construction of this tomb is the ritual bathing of the workers, who at the same time chant. When the day's work was finished the workers "went in a group to bathe, and, on this occasion, the bathing was turned into a ritual act, the bathers singing a slow majestic and beautiful religious chant . . . [as] they stood in the sea with the water up to their chests and with their arms outstretched along its surface. All sing: but from time to time two or three sink down into the water, swim several strokes, come up again and take their place in the song. After half an hour of singing, when all the verses were finished, the bathing regained its secular character" (Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 213).

says that "they die calm and without apprehension." The two chief concerns of a man who knows he is about to die are:

(*a*) That his mortuary rites should be properly carried out. These he will often have partly performed already himself, and then he has no fear that his relatives will omit their part in sacrificing the necessary pigs.

(*b*) The regulation of his debts. Owing to the extremely complicated system of exchange and borrowing, there is no moment in a man's life when all the pigs in his possession are actually his own, or, conversely, when none of his own pigs have been lent to some relative or other. Such transactions, when they overstep a man's lifetime, as often they do, land his successors in disputes and difficulties from which they never fully disentangle themselves. For this reason, and because it is a man's pride to be recognised as a successful and wealthy man, who knows just where all his wealth is, and who owes no man what he cannot repay, one of a dying man's main concerns is to leave all his affairs publicly in order. He therefore sends out cycas-leaf tallies, on which the fronds on the left-hand side are plucked off so as to indicate his debts, and those on the right-hand the number and grade of pigs which he is owed. Debtors and creditors arrive, the former with pigs which they themselves have probably borrowed in order to pay back their debt, and a general settlement is made—that is to say, if the dead man is solvent. If he is not, his relatives strain every nerve to make him so. Disputes, however, not infrequently arise.[1]

[1] Godefroy recounts a modern case in point.

"Melte-sas died when he was about 65 years old. During his youth he had worked in Australia, in Queensland. When he came back to Vao, the old men pointed out to him how behindhand he was compared with those of his own age, who had already attained high rank by the sacrifice of large numbers of tusked boars. . . . He forthwith set about making up for lost time. Strong and courageous, he succeeded in amassing enough money, by the sale of copra, to obtain for himself an honourable place in clan debates. Driven by ambition, he wished to attain the rank of Melteg-amu. In order to reach this, he was compelled to borrow large numbers of tusked boars which he had been unable to repay. When he showed signs of dying, that is to say for the week preceding his death, all his creditors came to his house and, sitting squarely before him, reminded him of his debts. One put in a claim for three "*bouar*" [*bo-ware* —re-entrant-tusker] each worth £12: another pointed out that he had never repaid him the £10 of English money advanced to him for the purpose of prosecuting some rite: a third bitterly regretted having lent him four large pigs which had since inexplicably disappeared from circulation: lastly, two young braggarts loudly asserted that he had never properly paid for his last wife, and that they therefore claimed his last child, a young girl.

"To all these claimants the wretched Melte-sas replied by uttering an indisputable truth, namely that he was ruined, snowed under by debts owing to the downright bad faith of friends and enemies alike. He saw but one way in which they might recover at least part of what was justly owing to them; his son . . . would take service on a [white man's] trading-vessel and his wages would serve to pay off his father's debts. . . ."

On the other hand:

"Sum-tamat died as he had lived, swindling both relatives and friends. For twenty

Mortuary Officials (*Talagh*)

The chief rôle in the mortuary rites for a *mer-sean* is taken by an official called *talagh*, whose main duty is the actual preparation of the body for burial. This man I will call the chief mortuary official. Certain other duties are performed by either one or more assistants, also called by the same name, whom I will therefore speak of as the assistant mortuary officials, though no such division of terminology exists in the native language. The word "official" alone will be used where the context makes it clear to whom it refers.

These men should be selected from among the members of the dead man's Lodge, but feeling is against the chief official being the own brother or son of the deceased. This may be because his intimate handling of the corpse would be too distressing to so near a relative; in any case, these relatives have too much to do to allow of their undergoing the confinement entailed. If a member of the dead man's own "Side of the Lodge" is not available for the office, then one will be chosen from the other "Side of the Lodge" belonging to the same Quarter.

All the mortuary officials sleep in the Quarter-Lodge (outside which the old man is buried) until the Fourteenth Day after death, when, after the launching of the canoe with provisions for the deceased, the duties of the assistant officials are over. The chief official remains in the Lodge till the performance of a special ceremony called *Tulagh*, or *Talogh*, when he makes his first public appearance and is paid for his services.[1]

Restrictions in regard to women.

There is no fasting for these men, but they may not have connexion with women for a year after the death of the old man, nor may they enter a woman's house (*ne-hime vavine*) during this period. During their fourteen days in the Lodge they may not be seen of women,[2] except by

years he had bled his fellow natives white by the practice of magic to obtain rain and wind. . . .

"He sent in his account in the form of a cycas leaf to all those concerned, who hastened to do him satisfaction by bringing all those pigs that they had been owing to him for so long. Stretched out on his mat, with tenderly appraising eye he surveyed this fine circle of pigs tethered around him, each at its stake. . . ." (Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 245-6.)

[1] See pp. 555-6.

[2] According to one statement, this only applies to the chief official, the others being allowed to go freely on errands connected with their work. In Wala, none of them may be seen, except a special one called the "outside official," who maintains the necessary connexion with the outside world, such as going to the mainland to procure food for himself and his companions.

The only time when the general rule of seclusion is broken in Vao is when the mortuary officials (with the possible exception of the chief official) appear in public at the feast called *Matean*. See p. 548.

those female kinswomen of the dead man called *vene na woroan*,[1] who have married into other villages, and who at the news of death return to the home-village and spend a large part of their time in the Lodge with the mortuary officials. Thus, the two categories of women living in their own village by whom they may not be seen are (i) the unmarried girls, and (ii) all the wives of the male members of the village, though this latter category includes their own mothers, who keep them supplied with puddings.

A further restriction which applies only to the chief mortuary official is the prohibition against eating anything that has been touched by women (except his "mothers," who supply him with food), and a reciprocal prohibition against any woman eating anything that has been touched by him. The first thing he does on issuing from his seclusion is publicly to touch the yams which are to be distributed to the assembled guests, in order to demonstrate the removal of this restriction.

Duties of chief mortuary official.

The main duties of the chief mortuary official are:

(1) to prepare the body for burial;
(2) to place the morsel in the mouth of the dead man during the first feast of communion with him before burial;
(3) to conduct the subsequent communion rites held daily at sunrise and sunset until the Fourteenth Day after death;
(4) to blacken himself on the Fifth Day;
(5) to remain in seclusion till the ceremony of *Tulagh* or *Talogh*, when he is paid for his services.

Duties of assistant mortuary officials.

The main duties of the assistant mortuary officials are:

(1) to dig the grave;
(2) to deputise, if he so wishes, for the chief official at the twice-daily communion rites;
(3) to blacken themselves on the Fifth Day;
(4) to remain in seclusion till the Fourteenth Day;
(5) then to swim out into deep water with the canoe laden with provisions for the dead man.

Death and Burial

When a *mer-sean* dies, a taboo is placed on the fruit of such tree as is in season at that time. It is applicable to both men and women, and is not lifted till the morning of the first anniversary of his death.

[1] See pp. 133-4.

No pig is sacrificed at the moment of death, as is the case on Atchin, but a fowl is killed and placed in a pudding to cook in the oven of the dead man's Quarter-Lodge. This pudding with the fowl in it is the material for a feast of communion to be held that evening, the dead man himself partaking, immediately before his burial.

The body is now carried into the Lodge, and if it is to be buried extended, it is laid out in this position on a coconut leaf immediately inside the door, with the head to the Upper Side and the feet towards the door. If burial is to be in the squatting position, the body is propped up in this attitude against the horizontal bamboos forming the front wall (*her-ghor*) of the Lodge, in the corner of the Upper Side nearest the door.

As soon as they hear of the death, all the dead man's kinswomen, called *vene na woroan*,[1] hasten home, each bringing a pig provided by her husband, which she gives to her brothers or fathers at a special presentation called *tam-tamean*.

They remain in the village (? or Lodge) all the time until the feast of Fourteenth Day, playing games with the mortuary officials inside the Lodge enclosure and even the Lodge itself, dancing *Pilagh*, and being the only women allowed to set eyes on the chief official who has the task of preparing the body for burial.[2]

Chief mortuary official prepares the body.

Towards sundown, the chief mortuary official sets about the task of preparing the body for burial. Having first washed it with water, he then anoints it all over with coconut oil (*na-hore*) and adorns it with all the insignia belonging to the Maki rank that the deceased had achieved during his lifetime. The body is first dressed with a new coconut-fibre waist-board (*na-tuve*) and penis-wrapper (*na-avu*), and the face blackened with a mixture of ashes called *na-mbong*,[3] in the manner of one carrying a torch at the Maki. No fowls' feathers are put in the hair, but instead a special twig of croton (*ro-sas*), here called *bei na mer-sean*, "old man's feathers." The dead man's shell-bead arm-badge (*na-mban*) is placed on his arm, with the scented leaves called *hakaul* and the red amaranthus flower called *lok-lok* inserted into it. Yet further scented leaves and another red amaranthus flower, together with another kind of croton called *ro-sas na-mbal*,[4] are inserted in the back of his waist-board. On his wrists are

[1] See pp. 133-4.

[2] Compare the Lambumbu custom where "female mourners" are secluded in the dead man's house for a period of thirty days, except for the twentieth, when they go down to the sea to bathe (Deacon, 4, p. 571).

[3] Young men are not blackened with *na-mbong*, but have their faces painted red.

[4] It is uncertain whether the word *na-mbal* here means "sacrifice" or "hawk."

placed the shell bracelets (*na-lel*), pigs' tusks, and whatever other ornaments he may have worn during his lifetime.

While the chief mortuary official has been thus engaged, his assistants have been digging the grave outside the Upper Side of the Lodge. Over the grave they erect the mortuary hut described on p. 534 called *ne-him na mer-sean*, "the old man's house," with the entrance facing towards the Lodge.

Feast of communion with the dead man.

When all is ready, the body of the dead man, in all his finery, is brought outside the Lodge for the feast of communion, which takes place immediately before burial. Before the body is carried out, three kinds of mat are placed ready, one on top of the other, on the Upper Side immediately outside the Lodge. On the ground are placed the fine mats called *ta-mbagha*, on these are laid the ceremonial mats used as currency called *mangau*, and on the top of these a layer of ordinary sleeping-mats (*petūru*). The last two, *mangau* and *petūru*, will be used after the communion for wrapping up the body. If burial is to be in the extended position, the body is laid on the mats with the head to the Lodge and legs extended outwards. If in the squatting position, it is placed on the mats and propped up against the front of the Lodge.[1]

All the men of the Lodge now assemble for the feast of communion, which is to be made with the pudding containing the fowl that was killed when the old man died, and which has meanwhile been cooking in the Lodge. The feast is called *ra ghete-ghati*[2] *na-tò ne-na mer-sean*, "we partake of the fowl of the old man." The pudding is taken out of the oven, and each man present takes a morsel in his hand. The chief mortuary official takes a little piece and, holding it close to the mouth of the dead man, cries out "*Ghire, ghete-ghati na-longk*," "Let us partake of the pudding." *Ghire* is the first person plural inclusive pronoun, here equivalent to an emphatic "Let us." This word is repeated, and all those present reply with the long-drawn-out word "*Na . . . long . . .ki*," "The pudding," and put the morsels into their mouths, while the official puts his into the mouth of the dead man. This is now repeated with the fowl that was cooked in the pudding, the official crying out "Let us partake of the fowl," and those present answering with a long-drawn-out "*Na . . . tò . . . e*," "The fowl." Then the official (I do not know whether this refers to the chief official alone or to all of them) finishes up the rest of the pudding and the fowl so that nothing shall remain uneaten.

[1] Compare Codrington's account (3, p. 287) of how the corpse is "rolled in the mats valued as money and taken to the *ghamal*: if a great man, the mats are many, and the swathed corpse is set up between two stakes. After a time it is buried."

[2] This word is the equivalent of the Atchin *hatsi*.

Body wrapped up. Tube placed in mouth for reception of communion food after burial.

The body is now wrapped up, first with the sleeping-mats and then with the ceremonial ones (*mangau*).[1] But it is necessary to supply the means by which further feasts of communion can be held with the body of the dead man after burial. For this purpose the end of a nodeless length of a special kind of thin bamboo called *benalum*,[2] between 2 feet and 2 feet 6 inches long, is placed in his mouth and supported in this position by the subsequent wrapping. When the body is buried, the other end of this bamboo tube will project a few inches above the surface of the ground, beneath the flat covering-stone (*kur-kur-vat*).

Burial and sacrifice of pigs for payment by the dead man to the Guardian Ghost. Live pig thrown into the grave, and body buried.

The fine *ta-mbagha* mat, on which the mats now used for wrapping up the body were laid, is left where it is. Similar, but brand-new, *ta-mbagha* mats are now used to line the grave, it being stipulated that the mats so used shall have been made of the leaves of coconuts growing within the Lodge enclosure.

The position and orientation of the grave have already been described on p. 534. Immediately before burial a small live pig is thrown into the grave. This is not the "death pig" cherished throughout a man's lifetime for payment to the Guardian Ghost, since this pig, as will be seen below, is sacrificed later, after the body has been buried. It may be that which the dead man gives to Ta-ghar Lawo for interceding for him. However this may be, the body is then lowered on top of it and covered with yet more *ta-mbagha* mats, after which the grave is filled in with earth, with only the bamboo tube from the dead man's mouth projecting above the surface.

Conch blown with signal for circle-tusker. "Death pig" killed for payment to Le-hev-hev.

A number of men now blow on their conch-shell trumpets the blasts proper to a circle-tusker in honour of the circle-tuskers that the dead man has sacrificed during his lifetime, and also of the dead man himself into whom the souls of these tusked boars passed when sacrificed. Then the

[1] Speiser (3, pp. 274, 306) says that after several months, when the body has decomposed, these mats are dug up and used as currency, and suggests that their value as such (see p. 249) is due to the "*mana*" gained through contact with the dead. I know nothing of this, but cannot deny it, not having made enquiries on these lines. The Banks Islands mortuary rite called "draw mat" referred to by Rivers (1, vol. I, pp. 59, 170) may contain an allusion to a similar custom, though actually applied to the withdrawing of shell-money from the body before burial.

[2] Atchin *pinalum*.

chief mortuary official sacrifices the dead man's own "death pig," reared by himself and kept close to him throughout life for this very purpose, since it is with the soul of this boar that he must propitiate Le-hev-hev the Guardian Ghost on his entrance into the Cave of the Dead, and which the Guardian Ghost eats instead of devouring him. This pig is called *e sivogēni*, and is sacrificed now so that, with the confusion of beliefs regarding the actual moment when the dead man sets out on his journey through the cave to the volcano on Ambrim, he should be not unprovided with the necessary passport into the other world in case he should "go away quickly"—in other words, should set out immediately after death. My notes leave it uncertain whether the sacrificial signal is or is not sounded on the gongs for this "death pig."

The grave-stones, *hiv-hiv* and *kur-kur-vat ne-ghe mer-sean*, "uprights and covering-stones for the old man," are now placed in position in the manner already described, and seen in Plate XXI. Then the ends of the hut over the grave are filled in with horizontal bamboos (*her-ghor*), leaving a small opening on the side facing the Lodge.

The company now repairs to the dancing-ground, where the mortuary officials sacrifice yet further pigs, also called *e sivogēni*, which are then distributed among the members of the various villages who have come to witness the rites. Gongs may or may not be sounded with the sacrificial signal for these pigs. There is no special gong-signal, as there is on Atchin, representing the footsteps of the dead man, at first loud and then fainter, as he sets out on his journey.

Twice-Daily Feast of Communion at the Grave until the Fourteenth Day

Every morning and every evening until the Fourteenth Day, at sunrise and sunset, the feast of communion with the body of the dead man is repeated at his grave, the chief mortuary official or one of his assistants leading the rite. A special pudding is cooked, and, the men of the dead man's Quarter being assembled, each man holds a morsel to his mouth, while the official holds another morsel over the top of the bamboo tube projecting from the mouth of the dead man. The official then says "*Ghire*," "Let us," and each man present partakes of his morsel, while the officiator drops his down the bamboo tube into the dead man's mouth.

Day after Burial

Next day ten more pigs provided by the dead man's son are sacrificed by the mortuary officials. These pigs are called *ōehagh*, and their ghosts provide food for the dead man during the ten days that, according to one version, it takes him to reach the land of the dead. Their corporeal

bodies, however, are distributed among the members of the various villages on the island. According to Godefroy, ten of the dead man's coconuts are cut down to provide him with drink. The fruit of these demolished coconut trees may not be touched by the living.

No *Atean*

The rite called *Atean*, performed at the death of a young man, is not included here, for this rite is a sign of sorrow, and "we do not mourn for an old man."

Fifth Day

In the mortuary rites of almost all peoples of the Northern New Hebrides the Fifth Day after death is one of the most important, since it is on this day that in the older layer of culture associated with burial in the squatting position and with the dolmen-Maki the dead man's period of probation ends and he is admitted with full rights into the land of the dead. Thus, in Raga, it is said that Suqe "would have men die only for five days," [1] and in many districts, including the Small Island of Wala, the ghost, who is thought to remain close to his home for the first few days after burial, is finally chased away on the Fifth Day.

In Vao, as we have seen, there is some confusion as to whether the journey to the volcano on Ambrim takes five or ten days. The rites, however, point to five as the correct number, for it is on the Fifth Day after death that the mortuary officials and also the sons and other close kinsmen of the dead man blacken themselves all over in token of his arrival. At the same time yet another pig is sacrificed, whose ghost is said to be presented by the dead man to the ghostly ferryman who ferries him over to Ambrim.

It is for this reason that, in the case of the burial of an old man in the squatting position, there is no rite corresponding to that of *Ber-mavel* [2] performed in the case of a young man buried in the extended position, which takes place on the Seventh Day after death, since the seven-day period of probation is connected exclusively with this latter form of burial.

Matean: "Death Feast"

Movable feast. Must precede nightly dancing leading to rites of Fourteenth Day.

We have just seen the importance of the Fifth Day after death as being that which, in the older layer of culture, terminates the ghost's period of probation, after which he is admitted with full rights into the land of the dead. On this quinary basis has been built up in many parts of the Northern New Hebrides a system of mortuary feasts held at intervals

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 169.

[2] See p. 560.

of five or ten days over a protracted period, with a general release of mourning taboos ending as a rule on the 100th day but sometimes lasting till the 1000th. This method of reckoning days in multiples of ten is so marked a feature of mortuary ritual that such numbers (with the exception of 30, due to the phases of the moon), and particularly 100, are almost invariably found throughout this area to be connected somehow or other with death. In Malekula and the Small Islands it is closely connected (as we have already seen) with the monolith-Maki, but much less so with the dolmen-Maki such as is practised on Vao. It is presumably for this reason that it is less prominent on Vao than elsewhere.

There are, however, certain movable feasts that in no area fit in with this decimal reckoning. Most notable among these is the rite called *Matean*, which is the Vao form of the word meaning literally "Death Feast." Rites bearing this name have been recorded from various parts of Malekula, dialectical variations being *ni-mesian* in Seniang,[1] *ni-masian* in Lambumbu [2] and, in the Small Islands, *metsen* in Atchin. A case is reported by Deacon in which the rite was performed in Lambumbu on the day after burial. In Seniang the date is variable, the feast in one case being held five days after the corpse was laid on the stretcher. These are but minor variations, for on Atchin the rite, there carried out on a most spectacular scale, may be performed as late as two years after death. It is, moreover, not unusual in the Small Islands for a great man to have it performed before his death so that he may himself take part in his own mortuary rites and make sure that they are correctly performed. One such occurrence on Vao has already been referred to on p. 236. I myself recorded others from Atchin.[3] Some of the more spectacular aspects of the later forms of the rite have already begun to be acquired by the Inferior Side of Vao by purchase from Atchin. To such an extent has this form of the rite become ritually degraded in the interests of display that during my visit three old men belonging to the village of Singon on this side of Vao "made *metsen*" (the Atchin form of the rite) together at one and the same time. This was done on account of the extreme expense involved, not only in the actual feasts given, but also in the payment due to the sellers. The more important aspects of the rite had been purchased some time before, but the old men had still not bought the right to dance the Atchin dance called *Wenen*. This they now did. The sellers were the adult members of the village of Emil Parav on the Inferior Side of Atchin, who came in a body to teach the dance and its accompanying songs. As often happens, there was a dispute over the price paid, and the sellers returned home to Atchin highly dissatisfied with the pigs they had

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 525. [2] Ibid., 4, pp. 566-7.

[3] Thus also in Matanavat a man "may yet live long after the death feast . . . (after which) he will rest and be ready easily to die. . . . The pigs have made ready his path of the spirit and opened the road of hereafter past the hungry devil Le-sev-sev, who waits there seeking to eat those who cannot give pigs" (Harrisson, 2, p. 58).

received and threatened to take them back to the Singon folk and so annul their right to perform the dance. At the time of my visit, however, this threat had not been carried out.

As a rule, however, the old form of the rite as performed on the Superior Side of Vao is carried out shortly after death and prior to the nightly dancing that leads up to the events that take place on the Fourteenth Day; but the return feast called *Mete-vuho*, when those who have eaten the various parts of the pigs killed during the *Matean* Death Feast bring yams for their hosts, does not occur until a year or two later.[1]

Return of dead man's soul to his mother's village.

One of the striking features of this Death Feast on Vao is the dramatic representation of the return of the dead man's soul to his mother's village. The same feature occurs in Lambumbu, where a special pig is presented to the dead man's mother's brother, partly "in recognition of the general indebtedness of the deceased to his maternal uncle throughout his life," and partly owing to "the belief that at death a man returns to the village of his mother's brother." The same motive governs the gift of a pig to the maternal uncle during the purchase of one of the objects connected with the *Mangki*[2] in the same district "to ensure that at his death the buyer's soul shall go to the village of his mother's people."[3] Instances of a similar belief are cited by Tattevin from South Raga.[4] The same motive appears in the birth rites carried out at Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula, where the child's relatives ask the maternal uncle, "'Where did this little thing come from?' And the maternal uncle says: 'From my village.' For the mother is of his clan, and it is the child of his place."[5]

Eve of the *Matean*: Rite called *Ombu Na-ul*

Review of pigs. Song of the Founder of the Maki.

On the Eve of the Death Feast there is performed a special rite called *Ombu na-ul*. I do not know the meaning of *ombu*, but *na-ul* means the "return of the dead."

All the pigs to be killed for the *Matean* on the following day are reviewed by being tied to posts erected within the Lodge enclosure. Then all present give voice to the song sung by To-wewe, founder of the Maki, as he and his sister were about to sacrifice the Maki of *tawò* kernels and later as he went to his death in the hollow trunk of the *nev* tree.[6] Other songs are sung relating to the Maki and to the ghosts of the departed. At the end of the singing those present all pretend to laugh, and then to cry. Then they all cry out "*I . . . i . . . i . . . ui*" four times.

[1] See p. 556.
[2] Form of the word Maki (see p. 692).
[3] Deacon, 4, p. 351.
[4] Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 93.
[5] Harrisson, 2, pp. 41-2.
[6] See p. 286.

Finally the leader cries "*Ia,*" and is answered "*Ia*" by all assembled, and this too must be done four times.[1]

"Dead man" speaks from his grave, saying he has come from his mother's village.

Then one of the men of the home-village lights the special torch here called *ombu na-ul*, and with it enters the hut built over the grave of the dead man. One of those outside calls out "*O hoi*" four times, with a pause between each cry, and he who is in the hut replies "*O he.*" The man outside calls "*We hambe me?*" "Where do you come from?", and he inside replies "*No we N . . . me,*" "I come from N . . .," mentioning the village of the dead man's mother. Then he pretends to cry four times, and those outside weep aloud, after which he comes out from the hut and is presented with a small live pig.

That evening a pudding with fowls in it, which has been cooked in the Lodge, is divided up, part being eaten by members of the dead man's Lodge, and further pieces being sent to each of the remaining Lodges in the village. In explaining the reason why this pudding was cooked in the case of an old man, but not in that of a young one, my informant came out with the characteristic statement already quoted that "at the death of a young man we are sorry that his life has been cut off, so we fast. But for an old man, his time is finished and it is right that he should die, so we do not mourn."

Day of *Matean*

Next day is that of the *Matean* Death Feast. There is no dancing, as there is on the corresponding occasion on Atchin. Attached- and lone-yams are laid out in the dancing-ground, one for each Quarter of the two home-villages and one for each of the other villages represented. Pigs are now killed for the assembled visitors; if plentiful, then one for each "Side of the Lodge"; if only a moderate number are available, one for each Quarter; and if scarce, then only one for each village. These pigs are called by the special name *ghoagh*, and those who have eaten the different cuts from them must return with yams at the feast of *Mete-vuho* held a year or two later.

Pig called ne-numbe sacrificed for mother's brother's son.

Then a large pig is sacrificed and given to the dead man's mother's brother's son (*netun soghon*). This pig is called by a special name, *ne-numbe*. (In my account of the death of a young man it was said that even this part of the rite is not observed so strictly as on Atchin, sometimes only a small pig being sacrificed for this relative, while the large pig is given to the dead man's "great friend." I do not know whether this applies

[1] The number 4 signifies "completion" (see p. 644).

also in the case of an old man. In this account it is also stated that other pigs, both dead and alive, the former called *ne-numbe* and the latter *wol-wolean*, are given to the dead man's "friends" "in payment for his death.") The sacrificial signal is sounded on the gongs for the death of the pig killed for the mother's brother's son.

It is said that the mortuary officials break their seclusion in order to attend this rite.

Nightly dancing leading up to the Fourteenth Day.

Beginning usually on the night of the *Matean* Death Feast, or as soon after as possible, parties from all the Vao villages come at intervals in due rotation (*ar tame vanu*) to dance in the dancing-ground of the dead man's village. The guests may choose which they like from among the dance-cycles called *Tunen*, the Rail dance (*Pilagh*) and the variety of *Banana-Leaves* dance called *Kò-kòke ru-mbulatean*. This dancing (*Veluan*) leads up to the important rite held on the Fourteenth Day called *Lok Na-lang*, during which a model mortuary canoe is launched with provisions for the dead man's ghost, and finally lands up at his mother's village. Of the three dances mentioned, the most important is *Tunen*, danced on the last night, that is to say on the Eve of the Fourteenth Day, by the members of the dead man's village.

EVE OF THE FOURTEENTH DAY

Ulūnge, "Wooden Pillow"

Dead man's wooden pillow taken to his mother's village.

On the Eve of the Fourteenth Day after death takes place the ceremony called *Ulūnge*, or "Wooden pillow," [1] which consists in returning this intimate possession, on which the dead man during his lifetime rested his honoured head, to the dead man's mother's village.

The dead man's brothers and other male kinsmen on the paternal side all proceed to his mother's village, taking with them a young unmarried girl who carries the dead man's pillow strapped to her back by means of a dancing-mat called *ne-sal*.[2] They all dance *Pilagh* in the dancing-ground of the mother's village, while two of their number construct a small hut called *ne-hime na M . . .*, M. being the name of the deceased. When the dance is over, the pillow is placed inside this hut, and a money-mat (*mangau*) on its roof, after which the visitors proceed to cut down some valuable tree, such as a coconut or a bread-fruit, belonging to the mother's village.[3]

[1] Compare Mota *ulunga*, *ilinga*, Tikopia *urunga*, all meaning "pillow." Codrington, (3, p. 282) describes a mortuary feast on Maewo and Raga called *Ulogi*, but translates this "The howling."

[2] Atchin *ne-tsal*.

[3] Presumably to provide the dead man with food.

The girl who had carried the pillow remains in the mother's village, where she must remain for a year, fasting (*taur*) and abstaining from sexual intercourse. This is the reason for the choice of an unmarried girl, since she would have less temptation to infringe the last of these restrictions.

On their departure the visitors are loaded by the mother's people with gifts of money-mats and yams.

Confirmation of this Vao custom comes from Atchin, with the additional information that the hut is constructed on the stone-platform erected during the second part of the Maki in the dead man's mother's village, and that his fan as well as his wooden pillow is deposited within it.

The account I received was in connexion with the recent death of a man called Melteg-ghirighiri-maki, who was Speaker of the Vao village of Togh-vanu. His mother was a woman of the Lodge *Melünbek* in the Atchin village of Olep, one of the twin-villages which, together called Ruruar, form the Superior Side of that island (she does not figure in my genealogy of the Lodge). This man was ill for two months before he died, and before his death he sent for Melteg-samen and Melteg-wes, both men of his mother's Lodge whom he called *natuk*, "son," and gave to each of them a live pig, the purpose of which I do not know, though it was presumably in order to ensure the correct carrying out of the programme in his mother's village. After his death, his mother's relatives from Olep went to Vao and killed three pigs.

The pillow, in Atchin called *no-ul-el*, carried on her back by the dead man's brother's daughter, and the fan (*ne-rib*) [1] are said to have been brought to Atchin, not on the Eve of the Fourteenth Day but on the Tenth Day after death. This, however, may be a mistake, owing to analogy with the patrilineal decimal system of dating on that island. The visitors danced the Rail dance called *Pila* (corresponding to the Vao *Pilagh*) from the beach at Onema through the dancing-grounds of Olep and Pweter-tsüts, to the house of Melteg-rum, the dead man's mother's brother, though this man was no longer alive, and his house was falling to pieces. Then they returned to the Olep dancing-ground called N'amal Para, where they built on the stone-platform a hut with rafters projecting in the manner called *tsin* ("bones"), and deposited in it the dead man's pillow and fan, and on the roof a woman's dancing-mat called *ne-tsal*.[2]

With regard to the cutting down of fruit trees in the village of the dead man's mother and the subsequent rewarding of the marauders, an amusing instance of the workings of culture-contact occurred during the recent celebrations connected with the death of Melteg-hangawul, of Togh-vanu.

[1] Made of a small coconut leaf with the fronds bent back and plaited into one another.

[2] In the Vao account, it is stated that the mat placed on the roof is a money-mat (*mangau*). The Atchin *ne-tsal* is equivalent to the Vao *ne-sal*, by means of which, according to the Vao account, the girl carries the pillow.

This man's mother also came from the village of Olep, on Atchin, where this rite is not indigenous. In spite of the fact that this was by no means the first occasion when this portion of the Vao ritual had been performed on Atchin, the Atchinese have never seen the point of having to pay for the destruction of their trees. They could not prevent it, but were not going to pay, and the visitors returned to Vao empty-handed and hungry.

FOURTEENTH DAY

We now come to the celebrations connected with the Fourteenth Day after death. Fourteen is an unusual number in New Hebridean culture, and I can offer no explanation of what it signifies. The rites performed consist of:

(1) The planting of a special yam and banana, which are surrounded by a fence and left to rot.
(2) The eating of a pudding called *lok na-lang* in a special hut erected in the dancing-ground.
(3) The launching of a canoe with provisions, clothing and luxuries for the dead man, which is finally towed in to the dead man's mother's village and there placed on a stone-platform.
(4) On this day also the twice-daily communion with the dead man ceases; the assistant mortuary officials (but not their chief) are released from their duties; and the dead man's patrilineal kinswomen who have been keeping company with the mortuary officials in the Lodge return to their respective husbands living in other villages.

Banana and special yam planted.

The first act, which takes place on the Eve of the rite (which as usual begins at sundown) is the planting, by the brothers and sons of the dead man, at a certain spot on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, of a banana tree and of a yam of a special kind called *bihure*. Round these is erected a circular fence called *na-lit*, made of groups of reeds (*marwure*) arranged in a diamond pattern and hung with red amaranthus flowers. The work of preparing the reeds, by stripping off all the leaves except the top ones, is done by the married sisters of these men—the *vene na woroan* whom we have seen playing such a prominent part in the proceedings. The leaves left on the top of the reeds form a gracefully drooping crown to the fence, which can be seen in the middle of the panorama of the Pete-hul dancing-ground (see Frontispiece and Plate XVI). The fruit of the banana is left to ripen and fall, and the yam to rot in the ground —no one will eat them—and the fence is left to decay.

This act is performed only in the case of a very old man (*mer-sean*) or of a *ta-mat möt* (deceased *na-humbe*) who has nearly reached the age of a *mer-sean*. It is connected also in some way with the performance of the

supreme sacrifice on the stone-platform at High Maki, those only who have performed this sacrifice being rewarded after death in this way. I was unable to find out the meaning of the act, though later information points to the fact that it is probably connected with the belief held on Wala that the dead man himself plants a banana tree in the land of the dead.[1] A banana tree is planted also during rites giving entrance to certain grades in the Nalawan ghost society in Seniang.[2]

The na-lang pudding.

During this same evening there is constructed also a special hut called *ne-him a na-lok na-lang*. In the case of an old man for whom a banana tree has been planted, this hut will be placed close to it on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground. When no banana tree has been planted, the hut will be constructed by the side of the road, as during the mortuary rites for a young man.

The name given to the hut means "house of the *na-lang* pudding," referring to a pudding of this name eaten in it on the following day. I am unfortunately unable to translate this word, but it seems probable that it is related to *rien long*, the name given in Laravat in North-Central Malekula to a special enclosure erected as a *pied-à-terre* for the ghost "to reside in during the haunting period after the decease, so that it may not molest those dwelling in the house. The ghost is feared, and this is in part a dodge to trick it and keep it from visiting the houses of the village. Considerable uneasiness is felt about going past this structure at night." [3]

That evening a fowl is cooked and placed in the special pudding from which the hut takes its name. This is cooked, not in the Lodge, but in the house of the dead man himself. It is so large that two or three men are engaged in preparing it. When made, it is placed in the earth-oven to cook all night in readiness for the following morning.

During the night *Tunen* is danced in the dancing-ground by the men of the home-village, the last in the rotation of villages that have danced there at nightly intervals since the *Matean* Death Feast.

Next morning, in plain daylight, those who had made the pudding go into the dead man's house where it has been cooking all night, and carry it openly to the Lodge, preceded by another man blowing alternate short and long blasts on a conch.

Meanwhile, all the other men of the Quarter have been up since dawn making puddings, each one for himself, in his own house. These are left to cook, and on the sound of the conch-shell trumpet the men all assemble in the Lodge, whence the special pudding is now carried to the hut set up on the previous evening, and there consumed. This is, however, ***not*** a communion feast, and there is therefore no compulsion to eat, and its exact purpose remains obscure.

[1] Layard, 4, p. 126. [2] Deacon, 4, p. 395. [3] Ibid., 4, p. 576.

Model canoe launched with provisions for the dead man.

We now come to the main business of the day. This is called *ra se nu-wak na mer-sean*, "we launch the old man's canoe." This refers to a small model canoe, five or six feet long, sent out to sea with provisions and clothing for the deceased. The canoe itself is manufactured on the previous day by the men, while the strips for the sail are, as in the case of a full-size canoe, made by the women. In this case the women who make the sail are those of the dead man's kinswomen called *vene na woroan*. It is only these women who are allowed to take part in the work. Women married into the village (*vene na laghean*) may not take part, nor may girls born in the village but who are not yet nubile.

It is not possible here to discuss all the instances of canoe burial or of setting the body adrift in a canoe that occur throughout Oceania, and with which this Vao rite may in some way be connected.[1] In Vao, however, the body has already been interred, so that, whatever may be the origin of the rite, it is now concerned not with the body but with the soul.

After eating the special pudding, the dead man's near kinsmen now carry this model canoe down to the shore, while those who accompany it dance *weluen na nu-wak tembe*, "dance of the canoe running before the wind," and sing songs of the Return from Oba.[2] The only man who remains in the village is the chief mortuary official, who may not yet leave the Lodge. In the canoe is placed a small pig and a provision-basket (*mah*) containing food, dress and luxuries for the use of the dead man. The provisions consist of a pudding, and bananas and coconuts of different kinds; the dress, of a penis-wrapper and plaited girdle (*ne-tuw*); and the luxuries, of such modern articles as matches and tobacco, these being, since the arrival of the white man, the invariable companions of every old man.

Arrived at the beach, apparently at any spot, probably at that used by the dead man during his lifetime, they say "*Ra we ra se nu-wak*," "Let us go and launch the canoe," and push it out to sea. All the mortuary officials (except the chief one), and all their kinswomen (*vene na woroan*) who have been associated with them in the Lodge, *but no one else*, swim out to sea, taking the canoe with them.

When far out in deep water they cry "*Ra teng tuloni e mule*," "We weep as we accompany it (him) on its (his) way," and calling out "*E . . . e . . . e . . . e . . .*" four times they leave the canoe and swim back to shore. Arrived there, a conch-shell trumpet signal is blown with the signal due to a circle-tusker signifying the dead man's rank.

Speiser[3] asserts that the canoe is intended to drift over to Ambrim where the honoured dead spend their life after death. However this may be, what actually happens is that the men of the dead man's mother's

[1] For a comprehensive study of these see Rivers, 1, chapter xxvii.
[2] See p. 321.
[3] Speiser, 3, p. 315.

village, who have been waiting near by in a canoe, take the model mortuary canoe with its provisions in tow and return with it to their own landing-place, where they build a small stone-platform (*na-vot*),[1] and, placing the canoe on it, leave it there until it rots. The stone-platform is carelessly made, being often no more than a heap of stones added to all the similar stone-platforms previously erected for a similar purpose. The food and other articles found in the canoe are appropriated to the use of the maternal relatives. Thus, in addition to a man's soul and his pillow and fan, these things also eventually find their final resting-place in the dead man's mother's village.

If, however, as sometimes happens, the maternal relatives, especially if they belong to another island, neglect to take possession of the canoe, the men of his own village, rather than see it drift aimlessly about, themselves tow it back to their own beach and place it on a previously erected stone-platform.

Last feast of communion; assistant mortuary officials released and kinswomen return home.

In the meantime, those who have been present at the launching of the canoe return to the village. The men take from their ovens the puddings prepared at dawn, and eat them together in the Lodge. This is probably a feast of communion, and is the last of these twice-daily feasts which were instituted on the day of death, and now cease.

All the mortuary officials, except the chief, are now released from their duties. The latter must continue his seclusion in the Lodge until the feast called *Tulagh*, or *Talogh*, which is specially organised to celebrate his first public appearance.

The dead man's married kinswomen (*vene na woroan*), who had left their homes and have been keeping company with the mortuary officials in the Lodge since the day of death, are given baskets full of yams, and now return with these to their husbands.[2]

MOVABLE FEASTS

Now begins the serious work of going over every day to the gardens on the mainland, to bring home yams and other provender for the series of feasts which are to follow, and the date of which depends solely on the rate at which food can be accumulated and the necessary "properties" prepared. Needless to say, local patriotism demands that these shall be held as quickly and as lavishly as energy and stores will allow.

[1] This word is that generally used for a dolmen, thus showing the close connexion between these two types of monument. The heap of stones in this case is not unlike a cairn.

[2] Godefroy (1, 1934, p. 52) mentions a sacrifice at the end of a lunar month, and another at the end of six lunar months. I did not record these, and he does no more than mention them.

Bur-tambean or *Tulo-gogon*

First part. Exchange of 100 *puddings and coconuts between twin-villages.*

The first of these is *Bur-tambean*, or *Tulo-gogon*, a ceremony divided into two parts, the first of which may be held on the fifth, sixth or as much as the tenth day after the launching of the canoe. This rite is remarkable in that it concerns only that Side of the Island to which the dead man belongs. My account refers specifically to a death occurring on the Superior Side consisting of the twin-villages of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu.

The first part of the rite consists in an exchange, on successive days, of 100 small puddings, called *na-lok ne ghe mer-sean*,[1] "puddings for the old man," and 100 coconuts (in the stages of growth called *na-womp* or *nu-mbut*) between the twin-villages. On the first day 100 of each of these objects are sent to Togh-vanu, and on the second a similar number is returned by Togh-vanu to Pete-hul. Smaller numbers are exchanged out of courtesy with the two small refugee communities of Tolamp and Saraliwe. Nothing is sent to any community on the other Side of the Island.

Second part. Presentation of fowl and yams to every group of males born of a common father and mother.

After this, a day is appointed for the second part of the rite, when the dead man's kinsmen present a fowl and a yam to every group of males on this Side of the Island[2] who are born of a common father and mother.

This was first represented to me as "gifts to all the *bete-ram*" (eldest sons of their father) in the villages concerned. This statement, however, soon had to be modified when it appeared that the eldest *surviving* son (such as Vago-lili, see Tolamp genealogy, Table X), who never had been an official *bete-ram*, was among the recipients. Moreover, two sons of different mothers but of the same father could also, in certain cases, each receive a gift, though the second of these could in no case be a *bete-ram* in the official sense. Finally, my informant came out with the full explanation that though it is, as a rule, the first-born sons of common parents who receive each a fowl and a yam, these gifts are not meant for them as individuals, but rather as representatives respectively of each set of sons born of the same two parents on that Side of the Island.

My informant's use of the word *bete-ram* in this connexion will be seen to be very much looser than that defined under the section dealing with the rites in connexion with the birth of an eldest son.[3] There, a boy was only a *bete-ram* if he was the first-born son of his father, here the term is extended to include one who is the eldest son of his mother, although his father may have had a previous *bete-ram* by another wife.

[1] Equivalent to the Atchin *lok-wotsewots*.

[2] Including Tolamp and Saraliwe.

[3] See p. 181-2.

Thus, a man having two sons by two wives will be entitled to three fowls and yams, one for himself and one for each son. Further sons by the same wives do not increase his claim. In the same way, two sons born to the same woman by successive husbands require a fowl and a yam apiece.

Though it is usual for the eldest, or eldest surviving, of a number of brothers to take the part of *bete-ram* and receive the gifts, it is in reality a matter of arrangement between them as to which shall act. For example, Melteg-vanu [1] is entitled to a fowl and yam for himself, and a second for his baby son who is not yet of an age to be able to receive it. Melteg-vanu might feel embarrassed at receiving two fowls while his brothers Rangon and Dominik stood by and received none, and would probably depute Rangon to receive the one due to the three of them as being sons of a common father and mother.[2]

Though presentation takes place on the public dancing-ground, women may not be there. The masculine character of the proceedings is further emphasised by the naming of the fowls and yams, which are here called respectively *tò-gogon* and *rom-gogon*, the second syllable, *gogon*, being probably equivalent to the Atchin *kon* or *hon* and meaning "taboo" or "holy." [3]

When all have assembled, the Speaker calls on those entitled to them to come forward and receive their gifts. Then each member of the dead man's Lodge conducts the particular first-born that is his "friend" to the fowl and yam that have been placed ready for him. These then retire to consume the provender, which may on no account touch the lips of one from the other Side of the Island.

The yams may apparently be presented either attached or lone.

A touch of humour may be introduced into the proceedings by the choice, for a group consisting of three or four brothers, of a yam which has three or four tubers attached to the same root. This, however, is only a joke, a single *bete-ram* being often presented with one that has more than one tuber.

Tulagh or *Talogh*

The chief mortuary official issues from his seclusion in the Lodge. Removal of his restrictions on food.

Till now, the chief mortuary official, who washed and prepared the body for burial, has remained secluded in the dead man's Lodge.

[1] See genealogy, Table X.

[2] Other instances given me from the genealogy were:

Melteg-vanu's son and Ni-sel (2) are entitled to a fowl and yam each, having separate fathers though a common mother. Vago-lili will receive one fowl and yam for himself and a second for his two sons (by the same mother) Tur and Temar. Ni-sel (1) and Mal-sale receive one between them, and Mal-togh one to himself. Ma-taru will receive one for himself, and a second for Wale-kobu and Masing-meria.

[3] As distinct from *ghoghon*, which means "bitter."

Among the restrictions connected with his seclusion has been the prohibition against eating anything that has been touched by any woman (except his mothers), and a reciprocal prohibition against any woman eating anything that has been touched by him.

The ceremony of *Tulagh*, or *Talogh*, which now takes place, marks the public removal of these restrictions.

Preparatory to this all the villages of the island come in turn to perform the Rail dance called *Pilagh*[1] in the dancing-ground, though this may on occasion be compounded so that all of them dance on a single occasion together.

When this is over, yams are placed on the dancing-ground for the chief mortuary official and for the visiting villages, as is usual at all such gatherings. When all is ready, and the people are assembled, the chief official, his body oiled and decorated and his face daubed with red paint, comes radiant into the dancing-ground, is seen of all present, and walks down the row of yams, touching them all in turn. This is precisely what is done by women at the *ghor-ghor* ceremony after the Maki.[2] Here it is done in order to show, by openly touching the yams that are to be distributed far and wide throughout the island, that the restrictions attaching to him in his official capacity are now over.

He now sacrifices with a stick one of the many pigs provided by the dead man's sons as gifts for the visiting villages, and the remaining pigs are then sacrificed by the members of his Lodge and placed with the yam heaps. The dead man's son then pays the chief official for his services with a live circle-tusker. This is called *e tuloni talagh*, "recompensing the mortuary official," and a conch-shell trumpet is blown with the correct signal for the pig that has just changed hands.

Mete-vuho

Exchange of yams with those who have eaten parts of the pigs killed at MATEAN.

This, apart from the annual anniversary communion, is the last of all the mortuary rites. It consists in a complimentary exchange of yams with all those who ate the various "cuts" of the pigs (*ghoagh*) which were killed and distributed at the *Matean*.[3]

An interval of a year or two is allowed to elapse before this exchange takes place, owing to the necessity of waiting for a good crop of yams.

Large numbers of these are collected and arranged in heaps for the various Lodges and villages. Then all those who have eaten parts of the pigs already mentioned arrive with attached- and lone-yams, and going up to their hosts say, "This is for the head" of such and such a pig, "This for the rump" of another, "This for the ribs" of a third, or "This

[1] See pp. 323, 515. [2] See p. 407. [3] See p. 547.

for such and such a small pig." The giving of these yams is called *ra vangani ghoagh*, "we return food for the pigs." The Speaker then announces that they may take the yams that have been placed ready for them, and they depart, the yams they have been given being roughly equal in size and quality to those that they have brought.

Anniversary Communion. *Hulhuluan*

There remains only the annual communion rite celebrated on the anniversary of the old man's death, held every year so long as the memory of him is kept alive. The anniversary day is called *Simbean*, and the feast *Hulhuluan*. The day of the moon on which he died is remembered, and the moon itself is recognised by whether death occurred at the time of the new yams or the season of the *na-viho* fruit tree or some such natural event connected with the native calendrical system.

On the anniversary itself there are three communion rites, the first and last with a pudding, and the second and central rite of the whole proceeding with a kava root (*malogh*). Kava is not drunk in the Small Islands (though it is said to be by the Big Nambas in the interior of the mainland), but it is used on various occasions during the Maki and also for magic. So far as I know, this is the only occasion on which it is placed in the mouth. The tenor of the petitions offered by the living to the deceased after the communion is that the latter may do them no harm, protect them from evil and give them increase in pigs.

Only the men of the dead man's Quarter take part in this rite, though a general feast for the whole Side of the Island is made on the following day.

Morning communion with pudding. Petitions to dead man.

On the morning of the anniversary a small pudding is made by the men of the dead man's Quarter in their Lodge. When cooked, it is taken out of the oven and cut up into small pieces. Each man holds a piece in his hand, with which to communicate. No one says "*Ghire*" as is done on other occasions, because they are seated so close together as to make it unnecessary. They watch one another, and at one moment each bites off a morsel, saying "*Na . . . long . . . ki*," "The pudding," drawing the word out. Then the presiding man offers a petition to the dead man, beginning always with the customary formula "*Ta-mat wurogh*," "Ghost, stay quiet," with which all communion prayers begin.[1] As an example of the petitions offered on this occasion my informant gave the

[1] The same formula is uttered every time a yam-pudding (*na-longk*) is eaten, as a kind of grace. The same holds true of the Banks Islands, of which Codrington (3, p. 271) says, "At ordinary meals when the oven is opened a bit of food is put aside for the dead, with the words 'This is for you, let our oven be well cooked.'"

following: "Stay quiet, do not harm us. If any harmful thing approaches, let it go away, let it not come close to us. Give us long life; let us live to a good old age, as you did. Give us plenty of pigs. Give us circle-tuskers, re-entrant-tuskers, curved-tuskers, crescent-tuskers."

Message-yams (*na-mbüt*), specially adorned with the scented herbs called *hakaul*, to announce the occasion, are now placed outside each Quarter-Lodge on this Side of the Island, so that the members of those Lodges shall find them in the evening on their return from the mainland, and be reminded of the occasion.

Chief communion with kava stick. Petitions to dead man.

After the placing of these yams now takes place the central rite of the day, the feast of communion with the kava stick. Pieces of this are broken off, and each man of the dead man's Quarter holds one to his mouth. Catching one another's eyes, they all at one time bite off a tiny piece. But they don't like the taste of it, and having uttered a long-drawn-out "*Ma . . . lo . . . ghi*" ("kava") they spit it out. Then they all repeat the formula "*Ta-mat wurogh*," "Ghost, stay quiet," and one man will address the ghost of the dead man, saying, "This is your day, do not let anything harm us. If anything harmful approaches, send it away. If war approaches, turn it from us. If sickness approaches, turn it from us. . . ." If any man has anything to say, he will say it. Apparently all the petitions are of a general nature, a man not daring to ask for particular benefits.

Evening communion, with pudding.

After this, a large pudding is made, with luxuries like fowls and fish caught during the previous day and night, and is placed in the oven. The members of the Lodge remain on the island all day, and in the evening the pudding is taken out and a third communion is made.

Next day. Rom van-van. Pudding eaten by all men of dead man's Side of the Island.

Participation in the anniversary communion is reserved for the men of the dead man's own Lodge. On the following day, however, a feast called *Rom van-van* is held embracing the male population of the whole of this Side of the Island. Small puddings are eaten in the morning, as on the previous day, by the members of the dead man's Lodge. Then more yams—not decorated message-yams, as on the day before, but attached- and lone-yams for eating—are presented to the Lodges of the remaining Quarters of the twin-village and the strangers living on their land. All the men of this Side of the Island stay at home all day, make a pudding out of the yams, and eat it in the evening.

An important condition attaches to this feast. It may only take place in the case of the anniversary falling at the season of new yams, when food

is scarce, for it is necessary to be certain that every piece shall be eaten. If yams are plentiful, it might happen by oversight that, not being immediately cooked, one of the yams might be replanted and that the resulting new yams might at some later date be eaten by a woman. This would be a terrible thing to happen to yams in any way connected with the feast of communion with the dead.

Of the two days, the actual anniversary, *Simbean*, is the only one having true ritual importance. The second, *Rom van-van*, is "only for eating."

Taboo on fruit now lifted.

If any fruit (such as *naviho*) is in season at the time of the death of a *mer-sean* a taboo is placed on it, to be observed by both men and women, and is not lifted till the morning of the first anniversary, when it is cooked in the first of the puddings eaten in the Lodge.[1]

Special Sacrifice on Tenth Anniversary

According to Godefroy, anniversary communions continue until the tenth year after death, when a special sacrifice takes place. He gives, however, no further details.

MORTUARY RITES FOR A YOUNG MAN

The following notes on the death of a young man are very sketchy, and were taken down before I was aware of the age-grades stated above, and before obtaining the account of the mortuary rites for a *mer-sean*. Such comparisons as I have been able to make, therefore, have been made while writing it up, when it was too late to ask any of the many questions that present themselves.

Burial

When a young man dies his face is painted red [2] and he is wrapped in money-mats (*mangau*) and buried extended, at any time of day, in his own house, either at the Lower Side (*tosan atan*) or across the closed end of the house with his head to the Lower Side. Before he is lowered into the grave, a small live pig is thrown in. This pig is called *e tulo goni*,[3] "it accompanies him on his way." The dead man's body is then lowered into the grave, and immediately this has been done there takes place the sacrifice of a pig called *e mule ghini*, "he goes home," presumably the "death pig" sacrificed for presentation to the Guardian Ghost.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 52. [2] An old man's face is painted black. See p. 540.
[3] If the dead man is very young, this is omitted.

When the two or four men who have buried the body turn to come out of the house, their way is blocked by an expert magician (*mara-man*), who gives them leaves of a kind called *ro-viavi*, over which he has sung special songs. With these they go straight down to the sea, looking neither to the right nor to the left. Here they scoop up sea-water in the leaves, sipping it and spitting it out four times. Then they wash themselves all over with more water taken up in the leaves in order to "get rid of the smell of the corpse." Having thrown the leaves away, they fill their hands with sand and, returning to the dead man's house, stand one on each side, if there are two of them, or two on each side if there are four, and turning their backs to the house, throw the sand all together on to the roof.

(These men might appear to correspond to the mortuary officials who officiate at the death of an old man. But I was told that there are no such officials for the death of a young man, and these men certainly do not sleep in his house.)

Mothers, daughters and wives remain in the house till Fourteenth Day.

Till the feast held on the Fourteenth Day the mothers and daughters, and the wives of the dead man if he was married, sleep in the house and may not leave it except to relieve themselves. (Nothing could form a greater contrast to this than the rigid exclusion, in the case of an old man, of all women except those born in the village and married elsewhere.)

Atean

On the day after death there is a ceremony called *Atean*, not performed in the case of an old man, in which certain relatives take coconuts to the house of the deceased. (This, or something unrecorded in the rite, is apparently a mark of sorrow, which is the reason why it is not done in the case of an old man, for whom "we do not mourn.")

Fifth Day

On the morning of the Fifth Day (*bong e-lim*) after death the relatives blacken their faces, and in the evening bring yams and bananas, which are then redistributed among the guests. The verb used for this redistribution is *kel-kel*.

Seventh Day. *Ber-mavel*

On the evening of the Seventh Day after death (the day on which the head is said to fall off the body) the dead man's brother or son takes a fresh young coconut leaf and throws it on to the grave. This is called

Ber-mavel, signifying the separation of the head from the body.[1] In reality the head remains untouched. This rite is doubtless connected with the new forms of belief in which seven days, and not five, is the dead man's period of probation. In Wala it is said of the dead on the Ambrim volcano that their heads fall off and their bones fall asunder every dawn till they join together again the following evening, but that this does not happen to the newly arrived ghost till the Seventh Day after his death.[2] The coconut leaf thrown on to the grave corresponds with the coconut placed on it in Lambumbu on the ninth day. This coconut represents the dead man's soul, and on the tenth day it is thrown out to sea, since it is on that day that the ghost is believed to set out for the Land of the Dead.[3]

Matean

The death feast called *Matean* takes place, as in the case of an old man, at a variable date and not too long after death.

Five days before, "counters" called *na-mbet* are distributed among the members of the dead man's Lodge, binding each to bring a given number of yams. The pigs to be killed on the morrow are reviewed by being tied to posts erected within the house-enclosure. There is no pudding, as there is on the corresponding occasion after the death of an old man, because the relatives are sad that the young man has died before his time.

Large pig killed and given to mother's brother.

Next morning the pigs are taken to the dancing-ground, and attached- and lone-yams are laid out for the visitors. These now assemble from all the villages in the island, and a pig is killed for each village represented. These pigs are called *ghoagh* or *gohōghine*. Then a large pig, here called *ne-numbe*, is killed and given to the people of the dead man's mother's village, though this is not so strictly observed here as on Atchin, only a small pig being sometimes killed for the mother's people, while the large pig is given to the dead man's "great friend." [4] Other pigs, dead and alive, the former all called *ne-numbe* and the latter *wol-wolean*, are given to all his "friends" "in payment for his death."

Some of the visitors have brought gifts of money-mats (*mangau*). All present are now paid with mats "for having cried" for the dead man, and the sacrificial signal is sounded on the gongs for the pigs that have been killed.

[1] *Ber* is equivalent to the Atchin *mpar*, meaning "ripe": *mavel* may be the same as the Atchin *mambur*, "broken off."

[2] See pp. 230, 532.

[3] Deacon, 4, p. 570.

[4] Who this "great friend" may be is a matter which I unfortunately did not look into. On this subject with regard to Seniang see Deacon, 4, p. 538.

Mete-vuho

RETURN FEAST FOR *MATEAN*

The return feast for the *Matean*, called *Mete-vuho*, only occurs if the young man who has died was old enough to have adopted the wearing of a special bark-board belt of the type called *tuve nēghe*. Otherwise it is omitted.

Fourteenth Day

As in the case of an old man, the Fourteenth Day after death is an important one. On the previous evening, a special pudding, called *lok na-lang*, is placed cooked in the dead man's house, to be eaten the following day in a specially constructed hut made of coconut leaves set up in one of the places reserved for this purpose by the side of the public road. This hut, like that set up at the death of an old man, is called *ne'im a na-lok na-lang*, "the house of the *na-lang* pudding."

Early on the morning of the Fourteenth Day, before the sun is yet up, two men go to this hut and, breaking off part of a cane (*marwure*) which has been planted there, return to the village, one of them trailing this cane on the ground behind him, while the other blows plain blasts on a conch-shell trumpet. They go straight to the dead man's house, where his mother, wife and daughters have been sleeping since his death. The two men halt in front of the house, and when the women, awakened by the blasts on the conch shell, open the door the man who has been dragging the cane goes in and throws it down on the grave. The other then lays aside his conch and, having cried *I . . . i . . . i . . . i . . .* four times in a high falsetto voice, falls to weeping loudly. Then the women, and the man who had brought the cane, all start weeping. The man with the conch goes straight away, the man who had brought the cane cries till he is tired and then departs, and the women weep till daybreak.

Meanwhile, hearing the trumpet-blasts, all the male relatives of the dead man have rushed to his house. Two or three of them go inside and take out the pudding which was placed to cook the night before, and they all then repair to the hut which has been built by the roadside, and eat it. The pudding *must* be eaten before daylight. If it is so large that they cannot eat it all so quickly, which is usually the case, the remains must be scattered about the bush so that when day breaks there is nothing left. Then they all go down to the shore to bathe.

At dawn, the women leave the dead man's house, taking with them the yams which have been left them by the men, and return to their own houses.[1]

[1] According to another account, it is not till the Thirtieth Day that the women "put coconut leaves on the grave, shut up the house, and go away."

(There is no launching of a canoe, as is the case for an old man. The whole evening and morning ceremony gives the impression of something to which the young man is not properly entitled, an imitation of the rites due to an old man, to which the younger has no right, but which is tolerated by the community so long as it is carried out *sub rosa* and no traces of it are thrust upon the public consciousness. Thus, the hut must be built by the side of the road instead of in the dancing-ground; the cane thrown on the grave evidently represents the circular fence made out of canes erected for an old man; the crying four times followed by weeping may be in imitation of the fourfold cries and weeping at the launching of the canoe; lastly, the whole of the pudding must, in the case of a young man, be finished or hidden before dawn.)

Period of Mourning

The period of mourning (*taurean*) lasts for thirty, forty or one hundred days, or a year or longer, according to choice, all the dead man's kinsmen, both male and female, having to fast or abstain (*vel-val*) during this time from eating certain yams.

(This presumably corresponds to the taboo on fruit in the case of an old man.)

End of Period of Fasting

When it is decided to put an end to this period of mourning, a day is appointed for a rite called *nagham hinagh*. The immediate relatives of the dead man lay out fowls, pigs, yams, bananas, etc., in the house-enclosure and give them to all those who have been abstaining.

Other Procedure Omitted

There are no mortuary officials (*talagh*) in the mortuary rites for a young man, nor is there any *Bur-tambean* or *Tulagh* rite nor any anniversary rite nor any communion feast such as takes place after the death of an old man.

WOMEN

Women's Age and Degree Names

Age-grades.

All women are called *Vavine*, and this term is used in reference and address for all those who have not yet received complimentary titles in connexion with the Maki.

Age-grades are as follows:

Vene sörik	Small girl.
,, *malakel*	Girl with breasts (nubile).
,, *narömb*	Woman with fully developed breasts.
,, *lagh*	Married woman.
,, *seagh*	Married woman a little advanced in years.
,, *mbamb*	Woman with child.

Complimentary titles.

As we have seen,[1] every woman's name, given at birth, begins with the prefix *Le-*, but at every performance of the Maki, the female relatives of the sacrificers receive complimentary titles, namely:

Le-tang	when Maki has been sacrificed by her *father.*
Le-lek	after the first sacrifice made by her *husband.*
Le-at	after every subsequent sacrifice performed by her *husband.*
Le-ghter	when Maki has been sacrificed by her *son.*

There is yet further a title:

Le-tete	taken when the sacrifice is made by the woman herself at the women's house at a "Women's Maki," about which I unfortunately know nothing.

Once a woman has become *Le-ghter*, she apparently remains so, becoming, as she grows older, without any rigidly demarcated age-limits, *Le-ghter e-humbe* and *Le-ghter mer-sean.*

If a man sees a married woman whose name and title he does not know, he will call her, in reference and in address, *Vavine*, *Le-lek*, *Le-at* or *Le-ghter* according to a guess at her age.

Mortuary Rites

I know very little about the mortuary rites for women, save that they also vary with age and rank.

Women bearing the titles *Le-tang*, *Le-lek* and *Le-at* are said to be buried, like young men, in their houses, with similar rites of *Atean*, Fifth Day, Seventh Day (*Ber-mavel*), Fourteenth Day (*na-lang* pudding eaten in secrecy before dawn) and *Matean.*

Very old women (*Le-ghter mer-sean*) are buried, like their male counterparts, either in the squatting or in the extended position, and either in their houses or a little way removed towards the Lodge. If very old, they may be buried in close proximity to the special places reserved for old men (*ta-mat möt*, the ghosts of *na-humbe*). It is said that at Tolamp they are actually buried in the cemeteries of the male *mer-sean.* There are no

[1] See p. 178.

mortuary officials and no communion rite (therefore no bamboo tube placed in the mouth), nor is there any launching of a canoe with provisions, and the *na-lang* pudding consumed on the Fourteenth Day is eaten in secrecy before dawn, thus resembling rites for a young man or woman. On the other hand, as for a male *mer-sean*, there is no *Atean* and no *Bermavel*, since, having died at a good old age, there is no need to mourn.

A variation is introduced into the *Matean* by the dancing of the Rail dance called *Pilagh* by women in the afternoon.

Heads of Vao Women Married on Wala or the Mainland are Returned

It is the custom, on the mainland and on Wala (but not on Vao or Atchin), to disinter the head some time after death, and in the case of a married woman to send it back, together with a large tusker, to her native village. In the case of a Vao woman married in an island or district where this custom obtains, her head is returned to Vao. In the case of a mainland or Wala woman married on Vao, however, since this is not the custom on this island, her head and body are allowed to lie undisturbed.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SUBMERGENCE OF TOLAMP

AND THE SUBSEQUENT WANDERINGS AND EXPLOITS OF ITS PEOPLE

A MIXTURE OF MYTH, LEGEND, AND FACT

MENTION has already been made of the submerged island of Tolamp, which once rose to the surface between Vao and Atchin and supported a flourishing population, but of which there remains now nothing but a submerged reef marked only by the ceaseless breaking of the surf, round which the natives fish, and which appears on the Admiralty chart under the prosaic name of Bracey Patch. We have seen how the inhabitants of this former island, owing to its position immediately southward of Vao, received the new forms of Maki ritual emanating from the south sooner than Vao, and that this superior social position is still held by the few survivors who are now refugees on Vao, and are still looked up to as "first men" of the Maki and given corresponding precedence in all Maki rites. We have seen also that, after the submergence of their island and before giving up their identity as an individual community, there was a period during which they were established on the mainland of Malekula, where they erected a giant monolith taller than any such monument known in the whole archipelago, and left behind them memorials such as the stone pig reproduced in Plate XI.

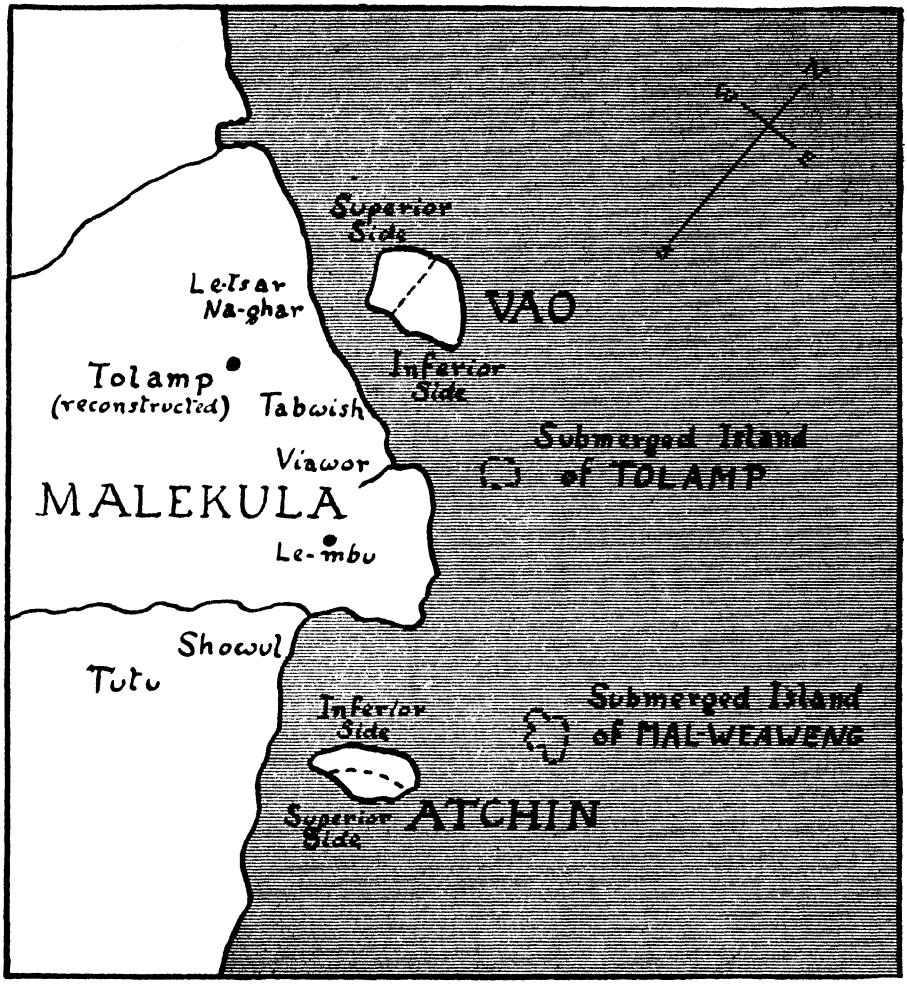
The tale of the submergence of this island, and of the subsequent wanderings of its people, is told both on Vao and on Atchin in a number of versions which on analysis suggest that the actual catastrophe occurred about 200 years ago. While agreeing in the main facts, however, these versions differ considerably in detail, and provide such an interesting example of the accretion of mythological factors on to what was without doubt an actual seismic occurrence [1] that I have no hesitation in giving them, so far as they have been recorded, in full.

Tolamp and Mal-weaweng.

The Atchin name for the island as spoken by the younger generation is Tonlap, and by the old men is Tonlamp, which approaches more

[1] Compare the alteration in the configuration of the south-west corner of Ambrim in 1913 owing to volcanic action (see p. 228, note 1).

closely to the Vao Tolamp. There is, however, a second submerged island between this and Atchin, marked on the Admiralty chart as



MAP VIII

Sketch-map showing positions of the submerged islands of Tolamp and Mal-weaweng, and approximate positions of those mainland sites mentioned in this chapter which I was able to locate.

Croydon Reef. This former island is called in Vao Mal-vavang [1] and in Atchin Mal-weaweng. Both islands are often bracketed together in the native mind. Thus in Godefroy's account, written from the point of view

[1] Godefroy, I, 1932, p. 215. There are a number of misprints of native names in this work, and this word is here misspelt Valvavang. In his biography (Renaudy, p. 151), however, the initial letter is M, so there is no doubt that Mal-vavang is meant, corresponding to the Atchin Mal-weaweng.

of the Vao natives, the two are often referred to together as Tolamp–Mal-vavang, and in Atchin before I had seen the reefs I was given to understand that the two names actually referred to two villages on the same island. It is interesting, therefore, to note that in the names Mal-vavang (according to the Vao pronunciation) and Mal-weaweng (as pronounced on Atchin) the syllables *vavang* and *weaweng* are philologically equivalent to the Oba phrase *wai vung*, there used, as seen on page 97, for "matrilineal moiety," found also in the Atchin phrase *n'ei weaweng* used for the ancestor-images representing all the deceased males belonging to the same matrilineal moiety within the erector's own lodge. It is just possible, therefore, that the two islands sometimes represented on Atchin as two "villages" on the same island may at one time have been occupied by localised matrilineal moieties at some period previous to the introduction of the present system of overt patrilineal descent.

Tolamp closely related to Vao and Mal-weaweng to Atchin.

As, after many intervening generations, the surviving descendants of the original inhabitants of Tolamp have eventually taken up their abode on Vao, and I have a note that those of Mal-weaweng finally took refuge on Atchin, it is probable that, as is at present the case in all the Small Islands, each Side of the now submerged community had affinities by marriage with the Small Island nearest it, namely Tolamp with Vao and Mal-weaweng with Atchin, as well as having the relations with villages on the mainland of Malekula which are definitely stated in the stories about to be related. As almost all the Malekulan villages near the coast have since been wiped out in the wars following the introduction of firearms by European traders, the survivors of each of the two submerged islands (or Sides of one Island) would have no choice but to gravitate to that island to whose inhabitants they were respectively most closely related.

THE TALES

The tales told, bound up as they are with a much earlier creation myth, will be divided for convenience into two parts, dealing respectively with (*a*) the actual submergence; (*b*) the subsequent wanderings of the people.

(*a*) The Flood

Vao versions attribute the flood to the sea, Atchin version to the rain.

Turning now to the tales told of the submergence, I have recorded three separate versions, and Godefroy has recorded a fourth. Of these, two are told on Vao, in both of which the island is referred to as Tolamp, and two on Atchin, each referring to Mal-weaweng. All four stories agree in essentials, but show interesting variations in the mythological

motives that have been attached to them. Thus, in the two versions recorded on Vao the submergence is said to have been caused by the encroachment of the sea, which in one case bursts out of a hole in the land, whereas in the two Atchin versions the agent was torrential rains. This is of interest, since tales of submergence by the sea bursting forth from a confined space on land are typical of the matrilineal island of Oba, with which Vao is culturally in so much closer contact than Atchin. If it is permitted here to bring in the findings of modern psychological research, I may be allowed to point out that of the two water elements, the sea and rain, the sea is almost universally regarded as female, while rain, coming from above, is male. It is thus not surprising to find that in the largely matrilineal island of Vao the agent responsible for the submergence is the sea, while in the more patrilineal island of Atchin it is the rain.

Following out this line of reasoning founded on male and female elements, it is interesting to note further that the version which attributes the flood to the sea bursting out of a hole in the land contains a number of other allusions to a system of matrilineal moieties, and makes no mention of any kind of quarrel based on considerations of kinship organisation. This is quite natural if we consider the mythological element in this version of the tale to be based on an undisturbed matrilineal dual organisation. In the remaining three versions, however, the flood itself is said to have been magically caused by an outraged father-in-law living on the mainland, whose daughter was married to a man living on the island, the inference being, though not overtly stated in the tales, that his action represented his protest against the newly introduced patrilineal organisation that gave the husband overmuch power over the wife.

In the first version there is, moreover, no mention of the Maki, which is an essentially patrilineal development of the public graded society, and which is specifically mentioned in all three remaining versions.

Yet another point of importance is the occurrence of the number 7 in one Atchin version only, this number, as we have already seen in connexion with the mortuary rites,[1] being the resurrection number among the patrilineal communities of Malekula as opposed to the matrilineal number 5.

With this brief introduction, I will now give the four versions, beginning with that recorded by Godefroy from Vao.

VERSION I (TOLD ON VAO OF TOLAMP)[2]

This, the most mythical account of all, states that:

"One day, when they [the Tolamp folk] were all getting ready to go to the mainland, one man told his two small boys to stay at home on the island, telling them that they might play close to their house, but must

[1] See pp. 560, 640.

[2] Godefroy, I, 1933, p. 49.

on no account go to the other Side of the Island. After their parents had gone, the two brothers played about for a bit, and then went over to the other Side. After a while, feeling tired, they sat down and, in the course of their play, started hollowing out a hole in the sand. Their hands came up against two stones. They uncovered them; they were large; they lifted them up. Then suddenly, water began to spring forth, to rise, and finally to gush out of the hole. It was the sea that was swallowing up the island. The few men who had stayed at home on the island immediately signalled to those on the mainland and to those on the island of Vao. They rushed and broke off branches in the vain attempt to stop up the hole. But it was useless; the flow of water forced them back. They broke off branches from a magic tree so as to turn the water towards the shore. It was no use; the hole grew as they watched. Then there was a panic. All the men of Tolamp who had come back from the mainland gathered together their pigs, their bows, their tools for hollowing out canoes, their Ambrim stones which they used for cooking their puddings, everything they could, then sailed back over the strait and established themselves on the mainland. Some who had not hurried enough were swallowed up by the flood; others tried to swim and were eaten by sharks. The island foundered beneath six feet of water at low tide.

"Most of the population escaped, however, to that part of the coast facing the island, called Atchin Point."

Comment

(*a*) Evidence of social segmentation

This story is of great interest from two points of view. In the first place, it provides evidence of a division into a number of moieties, since the island is represented as being divided into two Sides, one of which is further sub-divided into two social groups clearly represented by the man's two sons, and the other into two other moieties represented by the two stones. The two boys did wrong in going to the other Side of the Island, and it was this act of disobedience that caused the flood.

(*b*) The nature of the flood. Comparative evidence

The second point of interest is in the nature of the flood, represented as the sea issuing from a hole in the ground, recalling tales told on the matrilineal islands of Maewo and Oba. As a study in the local application of mythological motives these tales are worth quoting.

(i) *Maewo.* "*How Tagaro made the Sea.*"

The first, told on Maewo, is called "How Tagaro made the Sea," [1] and runs: "They say that he made the sea, and that in old times the sea

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 370.

was quite small, like a common pool upon the beach, and that this pool was at the back of his house, and that there were fish in the pool, and that he had built a stone wall round it. And Tagaro was gone out to look at the various things he had made, and his wife was in the village, and his two children were at home, whom he had forbidden to go to the back of the house.[1] So when he was gone the thought entered into the mind of those two, Why has our father forbidden us to go there? And they were shooting at lizards and rats; and after a while one said to the other, Let us go and see what that is he has bid us keep away from. So they went and saw the pool of salt-water with many fish crowding together in it. And one of the boys stood on the stones Tagaro had built up, and he sees the fish, and he shoots at one and hits it; and as he runs to catch hold of it he threw down a stone, and then the water ran out. And Tagaro heard the roaring of the water and ran to stop it; and the old woman laid herself down in the way of it, but nothing could be done; those two boys who had thrown down the stone took clubs like knives and prepared a passage for the sea, one on one side and the other on the other side of the place, and the sea followed as it flowed. And they think that the old woman turned into a stone, and lies now on the part of Maewo near Raga."

(ii) *Oba.* "*Story of the Old Woman, how she made the Sea.*"

The second, told on Oba, is called "Story of the old Woman, how she made the Sea," [2] and runs: "Nobody knows what her name was, but she was an old woman. And there were two children who lived with her in her house, but nobody knows what their father's and mother's names were; the story about them is that the mother of these two was the daughter of this old woman. Her house was a good one, fenced about with reeds; there was a fence all round the house, and there was a fence also made against the back of the house, and those two children were forbidden to go into it, because she would be there by herself. And in that little fence at the back of the house she put carefully a leaf of the *via* (gigantic caladium); and they say that in that leaf she always made water, and was always very strict in forbidding those two to go there, lest they should see it. And these two were both boys, and they were always shooting lizards. So one day when the old woman went into the garden to work and to bring back food for the three of them, she said to those two, Don't you go there! and they answered, Very well, we shall not go. And she went out of the house, and went into the gardens, and those two brothers played with their bows, shooting lizards. After a

[1] This probably refers to the fact that the two ends of each communal man's house belonged respectively to the opposing matrilineal moieties. In this way the "back of the house" in Maewo would correspond to the "other Side of the Island" in Tolamp.

[2] Codrington, 3, pp. 372-3.

while one said to the other, It would be a good thing to go and see what it is where the old woman has forbidden us to go. Very well, said the other, let us go; so they went, and they saw that *via* leaf and the water in it. Then they saw a lizard sitting on a part of that leaf, and one of them shot at it, but missed the lizard and hit the leaf, and the water that was in it burst quickly forth. And the old woman heard it, and perceived that those two had probably shot the leaf. And she stood up and cried with a loud voice [here follow native words meaning] Pour round about and meet! Roundabout the world! And thus the sea for the first time stood full around the whole world, for before that they say there was no sea. So the old woman you may say made the sea herself."

This last phrase, and the fact that the water which subsequently became the sea came in the first place out of a woman, provides interesting confirmation of the suggestion put forward above that the sea is regarded as being female and that mythological references to floods caused by the sea as opposed to those caused by rain are connected primarily with matrilineal descent.

Flood tales probably originated among a continental people.

When we compare these stories, it becomes clear that, to the true story of the submergence of Tolamp has been added a flood myth long antedating the actual physical occurrence. Apart from any psychological or sociological considerations, two questions present themselves regarding them: What could possibly have given rise, among a seafaring people such as these, to the idea (*a*) that there was originally no sea, but only land?; (*b*) that the sea in the first place came out of a hole in the land? I venture to suggest that the reason may be partly historical, the idea having arisen among a continental people who, from observing water gushing out of springs and then gathering into rivers which finally poured themselves into the sea, drew the conclusion that the rivers gave rise to the sea which then spread itself in both directions as in the two stories from Maewo and Oba, and so finally "surrounded the world." However this may be, it is clear that the myth is not of local origin, but is derived from whatever source is responsible for the whole Tagaro-Qat complex already discussed in Chapter IX.[1]

Remaining three versions attribute the flood to the weather magic of a mainlander whose daughter was married on the island.

I will now return to the three other native versions of how the island of Tolamp–Mal-weaweng was submerged. Of these three, all of which

[1] Yet another myth dealing with the submergence of an island told in Vanua Lava is recorded by Codrington (3, p. 375). Here an anthropomorphic Eel warns a friendly family to escape, and himself causes the submergence by means of a great surf.

I recorded myself, one was collected on Vao and the two others on Atchin. In the Vao version the flood is said to have been caused by the sea, and in the two Atchin versions by rain. In all three cases, however, the catastrophe is said to have been brought about by the weather magic of an inhabitant of the Malekulan mainland (the particular spot on the mainland differs in each version), whose daughter was married to a man on the doomed island, in revenge for the latter's insulting attitude towards him. In all three, also, the occasion when the quarrel occurred was an important rite connected with the Maki (though here also each version mentions a different part of the ritual cycle).

VERSION 2 (TOLD ON VAO OF TOLAMP)

The men of Tolamp were making Maki, and had arrived at the rite there called *Navin*, which is equivalent to the dancing of *Settling-Down* before the Maki on Vao. Now the wife of one of the Tolamp men was a native of Lembu, a Malekulan village on the mainland path connecting the beaches opposite to Vao and Atchin. Wishing to bring her relatives from the mainland to witness the rite, she took her husband's canoe to fetch them. After the rite was over, and they had gone home again, her husband was angry with her for having taken his canoe without his permission, and swore at her. So she went over to the mainland, and told her father. He said to her, "Very well, bring your children over here to me. Don't tell anyone about it. Just come." And when she had brought her children safely over to the mainland, her father worked his weather magic and made a great sea. And the sea swamped the island, and the inhabitants were thrown into the water, and those who were not drowned swam ashore on to the mainland at Lembu.

The two Atchin versions are more circumstantial. Both refer to the island as Mal-weaweng.

VERSION 3 (TOLD ON ATCHIN OF MAL-WEAWENG)

The people of Mal-weaweng had a traditional friendship with the inhabitants of Showul, a Malekulan village on the coast facing Mal-weaweng and Atchin, and on a certain occasion when the great Maki sacrifice was about to be performed they went over to fetch their relatives from Showul, since the people of that place, being mainlanders, have no canoes. The ultimate origin of the trouble that subsequently arose is not stated, but the immediate cause is that when one of the Showul women who was married to a man on Mal-weaweng proposed to her husband that she should take his canoe to fetch her father from Showul, he swore at her, saying, "Go and take a banana skin and bring him in that." This phrase probably referred to the belief already men-

tioned that ghosts travelling to Ambrim use banana skins as canoes,[1] the suggestion being that the husband wished his wife's father were dead. In any case it was a gross insult, with the result that she turned away in anger and, taking a canoe belonging to another man of the island, brought him home in that. And all the time she was paddling she cried, but would not tell him why. It was not till they arrived on the island that she told him what her husband had said about fetching him in a banana skin. Then he on his side was angry, and said, "Why did you not tell me that on the mainland? If you had, I should not have come. And now that we are already here, you tell me. It is too late to go back now; but I will not go to your house—let us go straight to the dancing-ground." So they went there, and when the pigs had been sacrificed for the Maki, the husband said to him, "Come to my house and eat some pudding." But the Showul man refused, and when the pigs were being distributed he said to his daughter, "If you hear a great rain in the night, take your yams and children and paddle them over to Showul. If you do not come when the rain starts you will be lost."

The father went back to Showul, leaving his daughter on Mal-weaweng. That night it began to thunder and the rain poured down in torrents. Then she remembered her father's words, and took a canoe and paddled with her children to Showul. And the rain increased and a hurricane arose and there was a great flood. And the waters covered the island and entered the Lodge, so that the men within it climbed up and clung to the ridge-pole (*wobat*), and if any man let go he was drowned. But a few swam ashore and reached dry land at Lembu.

In the morning the father said to his daughter, "Go down to the beach and look out, and see whether your husband is still there." And she went to look, but there was no Mal-weaweng to be seen—nothing but sea and the tops of trees. And she came back and told her father.

VERSION 4 (TOLD ON ATCHIN OF MAL-WEAWENG)

According to the second Atchin version, there were two brothers on Mal-weaweng, and the elder, who was married to a woman of the mainland village of Tutu, inland from Showul, was performing the ceremony of *Tab-tabuhen* (which is the Atchin name for the rite of consecrating the tusked boars destined for sacrifice at the Maki), and his father-in-law had promised to come to witness it. On the day in question the latter came down to the shore at Showul, where he was met by his daughter, who paddled him over in a canoe to Mal-weaweng. Now her husband had cut a bunch of bananas of the kind called *mat-mat* to be grated into a special pudding for the feast accompanying the rite. But the father was in a state of fast or mourning (*tour*)—my informant did not know on

[1] See p. 227.

what account—during which yams are forbidden, so she gave him the bananas to eat.

After a time, her husband came and said, "What have you done with the bananas?" So she told him, and he said nothing, but was angry. When the rite was over, his wife went to him and said, "I am going to take my father back to the mainland." Then he swore, and threw some of the banana skins at her, and said crossly, "Very well, you go and take your father to the mainland." And she sat down and cried. And when she had finished crying she went and talked to her husband's younger brother, and said to him, "Let me take your canoe to paddle my father to the mainland." He said, "What's the matter with your husband's canoe?" She said, "He's angry, and doesn't want me to take my father home." "All right," he said, "my canoe is on the beach. Go and take it." So she took it, and paddled her father over. And when they got to Showul, she burst out crying again, and told him what her husband had done. So he said, "Very well, you wait seven days, and tell your husband's brother to come and see me then, and I will reward him [1] for the use of his canoe."

Then he went home, and built a new conical store-house, very strong, and gathered yams and cooking-leaves and bananas and all kinds of food and piled them inside it. Then he built another outside the first, and stored that full of food. Five such houses he built, one outside the other, and collected a great store of food against the rain that was to come.

And on the seventh day the woman said to her husband's brother, "Let us go and pay a visit to my father." He said, "Why?" And she said, "He told me to bring you to see him today so that he may reward you for the use of your canoe." So they went ashore and up the hill to Tutu.

That night her father, being a weather magician,[2] made the rain. And it rained, and rained, and the wind blew, and the outer one of his five store-houses was broken through. Then he told his daughter to go to Showul, to see what she could of Mal-weaweng. And when she came back, and they asked her what she had seen, she said, "Only one tree is still left standing in the dancing-ground." And the rain poured down and the wind blew, and next morning her father said to her, "Go down again to Showul, and look again to see what is left of Mal-weaweng." And she went and looked, and could see nothing. And she came back and told them.

7 is Re-birth number on Atchin

It is worth noting that, even in this comparatively circumstantial account, seven days elapse between the giving of the insult and the storm,

[1] The Atchin phrase for "I will reward him" is *pe lemak sen.*

[2] Atchin *pet wahit. Pet* means "stone." The magician is a "stone man."

and that five superimposed roofs are said to have been built over the magician's food-store. 7 is the typical resurrection and re-birth number on Atchin, as opposed to 5 on Vao. The use of these two numbers agrees with the view already expressed that the tale of the submergence of the island has become a hook on which to hang a much earlier flood-creation myth. Whether weather magic in fact takes seven days to mature I do not know. Much longer periods of incubation have been recorded. Deacon records that the length of time taken by a magician in South-West Malekula in preparation for a magical act "depends in part upon the potency with which he wishes to invest his magic, upon the intensity of his wrath or desire for vengeance. . . . In Lambumbu ten days appears to be the normal period" of intensive preparation.[1]

The possible efficacy of weather magic

I will make no further comment on these stories other than to suggest that, under certain circumstances, the efficacy of weather magic may not be so illusory as is popularly thought. It has for the last few centuries in Europe been the fashion to minimise the power of the human psyche over the phenomena of external nature. Modern research, however, has gone a long way towards proving the reality of the phenomena connected with the exteriorisation of psychical energy, though there are not many among us who are now able to control them. It is, moreover, almost certain that primitive people with relatively undifferentiated egos are in touch with collective powers to a far greater extent than modern man, and that native magicians and others with special gifts in that direction develop and foster them by means of a definite technique. Weather magicians exist among primitive communities throughout the world, and it is well known that they undergo periods of fasting and psychic preparation of an intensive nature before attempting to practise their art. It is unlikely that so much energy should have been expended by so many natives of high standing in so many places and for such uncounted ages if no results whatever were forthcoming. I therefore suggest, not of course that all weather phenomena are capable of being brought under human control, but that in favourable circumstances the relatively close connexion between the primitive mind and natural forces may be such that some kind of contact may indeed be established on the lower levels of consciousness by means of which a certain measure of control may become operative. Thus, while in the accounts just given the real cause of the submergence was clearly some kind of seismic disturbance of a kind not uncommon on the volcanic belt in which the New Hebrides lie, it is interesting to note that the narrators, all of whom attribute it to human agency, are unanimous in staging the kind of psychic tension that they would consider necessary

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 685.

to stimulate the magician's powers to their maximum extent, namely the great emotional effect connected with all Maki rites coupled with an acute kinship problem and sense of personal injury.[1]

(*b*) The Subsequent Wanderings of the Survivors of Tolamp on the Mainland of Malekula

We have seen how, in the tales regarding the submergence of Tolamp and Mal-weaweng, the facts have in large measure been dressed up and made to fit in with a mythological pattern of much more ancient date. I have no further record of what happened to the inhabitants of Mal-weaweng, except that the descendants of some of the survivors eventually took refuge on Atchin. I have, however, two records of the subsequent wanderings of the survivors of Tolamp on the mainland of Malekula till the last remnants of their descendants finally settled on Vao. These tales show a similar admixture of facts with mythological and ritual data.

[1] The reader interested in this important subject should study Chapter XXIII on Magic in Deacon's *Malekula*. This work, dealing with South-West Malekula, cannot be taken as applying in detail to the Small Islands, but the principles underlying the practice of magic are probably the same. He says (p. 688): "The performance of any magical act is composed really of three parts: firstly, the elaborate and often very lengthy preparation for the act, by a rigorous asceticism [including abstinence of all kinds], by means of which the performer at once safeguards himself [against the forces he raises turning themselves against himself] and gains power; secondly, the magical rite itself, 'the experimental arrangement and manipulation by which the intensity accumulated by the preparation is made to become effective towards a definite object'; and thirdly, the words uttered, or other means employed (as, for instance, making a feint with spear or blow-gun), both to 'shoot off' the magic and direct it, and to act as a flood-gate for the pent-up strain of the performer." Further, "It seems to me that much more attention needs to be paid to the antecedents of the magical act; that to a considerable extent the sympathetic-contagious principle which Frazer brought out is employed in preparing the channel or mechanism through which the magic is to act (similar, for instance, to a system of pulleys in mechanics), but that the power or force is something distinct, owing its genesis to the whole 'psychological series' leading up to the moment at which the sympathetic-contagious mechanism is released. So far as I can see, the acceptance of the sympathetic-contagious principle is absolutely implicit; it is what 'logic' or 'common sense' is with us, a thing unthinkable to deny, inevitable, universal. It is as impossible for the native to think a proposition based on this principle untrue as it is for us to think an obvious logical proposition untrue. . . . Again and again a discussion has ended by my realising that the magical principle was to my partner in the discussion so implicitly accepted as to make any consciousness of it or generalisation about it unthinkable. With the greatest intelligence he would prepare to doubt or discuss any one particular method, its efficacy, etc., but as for a suspicion that there was some fundamental mental process entering into all his magic—no, never! This leads up to the point that the native sorcerer or magician is absorbed, not in the mechanism of the magic, but in the 'psychological series' preceding the 'magical act.' It seems clear that he is conscious of some entity, capable of generalisation, though he may be unable to generalise it, which enters as an essential into every magical act; you can call it 'magical force,' 'power,' 'necessary psychological state,' or what you will. It seems to me to be the sort of entity that, for instance, sin is in the Christian 'heretical' sects." (Deacon, 4, pp. 688-9.)

VERSION 1 (TOLD ON VAO)

I will give first a more recent matter-of-fact and very over-simplified version recorded by Godefroy on Vao. He considers that the actual submergence took place "at least 150 years ago." [1] After describing the landing of the original survivors on what he calls Atchin Point, he says: "There they constructed a new dancing-ground, and built a new village round it. Later, however, they complained that the new village was too close to the path along which men pass from one island to another, so they decamped again, establishing themselves this time in the interior, towards the mountains. There they established relations with other tribes, but had no dancing-ground of their own. That was the irremediable end of Tolamp as an independent people. Finally, about 100 years ago, reduced to no more than five or six families, they asked hospitality of the people of Vao. Here they were received by the people of Toghvanu and Pete-hul. Today there are no more than two families left; a third died out five years ago." [2]

The two versions recorded by me, while giving the story in somewhat greater detail, are both dressed in a ritual pattern that can hardly be in accordance with actual fact, depending as they both do on the use of the mystic number 7, recalling the seven days it took for the magician to brew the storm in Version 4 dealing with the actual submergence of the island. This use of the number 7 clearly indicates that the conception lying behind all these tales is one of ritual re-birth, a resurrection following on the catastrophe of the flood. I will give first the version recorded on Vao.

VERSION 2 (TOLD ON VAO)

Now the survivors who landed at Lembu were a people without a home. First they made a dancing-ground in one place, then in another. They made one at a place now called Le-sar [3] Moloto, and made Maki there. Then they moved to a place called Na-talal, and made Maki there. Then to Le-sar Asum, then to La-mbar-humbun, and then to Tambi. At each of these places they made Maki, and then moved elsewhere. All these places were close to the sea and in sight of the submerged island. At the Maki at Tambi were still present some of those who were born on Tolamp. At last the men of the mainland village

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 215. According to my own calculations it must have taken place even earlier, since the giant monolith set up by the survivors' descendants (see p. 586) was erected not less than 150 years ago.

[2] Ibid., 1, 1933, p. 49.

[3] Le-sar is the locative form of the Vao *ne-sar*, meaning "dancing-ground," and so also "village."

of Le-mel [1] Pughe persuaded them, and said, "It is no use your always staying close to the sea. You keep on thinking of your island and hoping that one day you will be able to go back to it, and you can't settle down and stay in one place. It were better you come up here and stay with us." So they left Tambi and went up to Le-mel Pughe and founded a permanent village there, and called it after their lost island, Tolamp.[2]

Now all their pigs had been drowned, so when they wanted to make Maki they had at first to sacrifice 100 ants, then 100 shell-beads (*na-sum*), then 100 dogs, then 100 crabs (*na-ghav*), then 100 shell-fish of a kind called *na-ghar*, then 100 *ninge* nuts, and hundreds of many other things, till at last they made a proper Maki with a hundred pigs.

The substitution of other forms of sacrifice such as those mentioned above instead of pigs is a type of myth common throughout the Small Islands and North Malekula when dealing with the origin of the Maki. While details of the kinds of animal or fruit sacrificed vary somewhat, the number of kinds, including the final sacrifice of pigs, is invariably seven, as is the case in the above account. It will be noted also that, including Lembu, the place where they first swam ashore, the survivors changed their abode seven times before finally settling down in their new home and called it after the name of their lost island, Tolamp. In the Atchin version, though the names of the places are not all the same, the fact that seven was the number of changes made is definitely stated as a significant fact. This version runs as follows:

VERSION 3 (TOLD ON ATCHIN)

When Mal-weaweng was submerged, the men of Tonlap (Tolamp) swam across to a place on the mainland coast called Viawor, and made a village there and a dancing-ground. But all their pigs had been drowned, so they had none to sacrifice. So they said, "It is useless for us to stop here. We must go elsewhere." So they went to Le-tsar [3] Na-ghar and made a dancing-ground. But still they had no pigs, so they moved again to Le-tsar Mòlöti, then to Le-tsar Na-shum, then to Bot N'amil. Each time they made a new dancing-ground, but still had no pigs. At last they came to Tabwish, where the men of Vao come ashore to go to their gardens. Here they stopped, till the men of Mel Tar said, "It is useless for you to stop here. Come with us, and we will go a little way

[1] *Mel* is one of the many forms connected with the Vao word *ghamal*, used with the meaning of "dancing-ground," and so also "village."

[2] This is said to have occurred a long time before the birth of Pelur (see genealogy, p. 93).

[3] *Le-tsar* is the Atchin and mainland form of the Vao *le-sar*, the locative form of the word used for the dancing-ground round which each village centres.

into the bush, and found a village there." So they went with the men of Mel Tar, and settled down and called the place Tonlap.

It will be noticed that the names of two of the substitute objects said to have been sacrificed in the Vao version appear in the names of the places at which dancing-grounds were made, which suggests some connexion between the two. Being unable to state what the precise connexion may be, I will content myself with tabulating the facts, hoping that subsequent research may provide a solution:

Places stopped at		Substitute Objects sacrificed in Vao Version
Vao Version	*Atchin Version*	
Lembu	Viawor	Ants
Le-sar Moloto	Le-tsar Na-ghar	Shell-beads (*na-sum*)
Na-talal	Le-tsar Moloti	Dogs
Le-sar Asum	Le-tsar Na-shum	Crabs (*na-ghav*)
La-mbar-humbun	Bot N'amil	Shell-fish (*na-ghar*)
Tambi	Tabwish	Canary nuts (*ninge*)
Le-mel Pughe (Tolamp)	Mel Tar (Tonlap)	Pigs

(*c*) Subsequent Events in the Mainland Village of Tolamp

Laha-mbar-mbar and the Erection of the Giant Monolith

At first the uprooted survivors had died at a terrible rate from sickness and despair, until at last, apart from the younger generation, there were, according to tradition, only four old men left. These were Melteg-mal, Rambrambe, Lilten and Vel-tamat, who doubtless represent four divisions of society in the same way as the four brothers alleged to have founded the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

In their new home they prospered and made Maki many times, and became once more so powerful as to attempt, and very nearly to carry out, the greatest physical and ritual feat ever heard of in Malekula, namely, the erection of the largest monolith ever set up within the limits of the Maki culture-complex.

As the two versions of this story obtained on Vao and on Atchin agree in all essential points, I propose here to combine them into one. The only discrepancy of any note is that in the Vao version this event is placed some time after the survivors had been settled in the new Tolamp, while the Atchin version asserts that it took place during the first Maki performed there and makes the enterprise due to the miraculous acquisition of a sow, which finally released the wanderers from the necessity of sacrificing only the substitute objects mentioned above.

Laha-mbar-mbar, "Missing Testicle," the son of a woman who conceived by means of a snake before intercourse with her husband Tiki-tikis.

The hero of the story is a man called, in Vao, Laha-mbar-mbar, and in Atchin Las-par-par, from *laha* (*las*), meaning "testicle," and *mbar* (*par*), "to be missing," because, according to the Vao version, he has no testicles, and according to the Atchin version only one.[1] I give the story of his birth in its Atchin version, which in this case is the most complete, but in transcribing it I will, for the sake of uniformity, retain the Vao form of the name Laha-mbar-mbar.

Laha-mbar-mbar's father was a Tolamp man named Tiki-tikis, who married the younger of two sisters from the mainland village of Pot-nangal, the elder being married to a man of the neighbouring village of Pweter-ul. Tiki-tikis's marriage was of a type not uncommon in Malekula, the girl being not yet of age for sexual intercourse when her husband led her home to Tabwish, the sixth and last village before the foundation of the final settlement once again called Tolamp. On the way, he walked quickly in front, while she followed more slowly behind, which caused him to stop from time to time in order to let her catch him up, when he would immediately again go on ahead. Not far from her own home a large snake came into the path. Tiki-tikis, as usual, was on ahead, so did not see the snake. But when the girl came to the spot, it caught and bit her.[2] Tiki-tikis heard her cry, and ran back, saying, "What's the matter?" She said, "That snake bit me," and as he ran he saw the snake, but said, "We cannot kill it." And he took a leaf and rubbed the wound, and said, "Throw the leaf with the blood on it back to the snake." And she did so. And he took the girl and gave her to his mother to look after till she should be of age. And the wound healed.

And she was still young, and Tiki-tikis had not yet lain with her, but she conceived and became with child without intercourse. And his mother saw that she was big, and said, "If she is with child, whose is it?" Tiki-tikis thought hard, and said, "But she is too young. If the girl were old enough, I could understand. I cannot think how she has

[1] These are the local explanations. It is worth noting, however, that in Sa'a and Ulawa, in the Solomon Islands, *alaha* (of which *a* is the personal article) means "chief" (see Ivens, 1, p. 57).

[2] Snakes are phallic symbols throughout Melanesia (see Speiser, 4). Small Island and Northern New Hebridean mythology in general is full of tales of men and women both turning into snakes (see, for example, Codrington, 3, Tales 11 and 12, pp. 403, 404; Tattevin, 2, 1929, pp. 991-3). It is said that of the inhabitants of the mainland village of Botore, close to Leuru opposite Vao, all men (but not women) when they die turn into snakes of a kind called *tambere*. A mother's brother's daughter of my informant Ma-taru was married to a Botore man who died. She subsequently returned to her home at Togh-vanu on Vao, but no man will marry her because they are afraid that if any man did so her former husband would come in the form of a *tambere* snake and eat him. I have a note of a snake called *Le-venturu* who gave birth to a girl and created a species of yam called *bihure*.

become like that." And she bore a son, and one of his testicles was missing, for the snake had eaten it. So they called him Laha-mbar-mbar, "Missing Testicle." She had also a second child, whose name is forgotten.

She finds a sow at the spot where she conceived. The sow gives birth to five circle-tuskers.

After a time, she went to pay a visit to her mother's brother at Potnangal, carrying Laha-mbar-mbar on her back. Tiki-tikis went on in front, as before. When they came to the place where the snake had bitten her, she saw before her in the road a young sow. Shè caught hold of the sow, which squealed, and Tiki-tikis, hearing the noise, looked back and asked, "What's that?" She said, "This sow is for my son." He replied, "All right, you take it," and she took the sow back with her to Tolamp, and fed it, so that it grew. And it was not long before the sow had a litter of five male pigs, each one of which grew to be a circle-tusker.

They make a seventh dancing-ground and call the place Tolamp.

Having at last the necessary pigs to sacrifice for a Maki, they said, "Now we will make a new dancing-ground. We have moved six times already, and found no pigs. Now that we have found a pig we will move a seventh time." So they founded the seventh village since their sojourn on the mainland and called it Tolamp. And when they had cleared the ground, they went in search of a monolith worthy of the occasion.

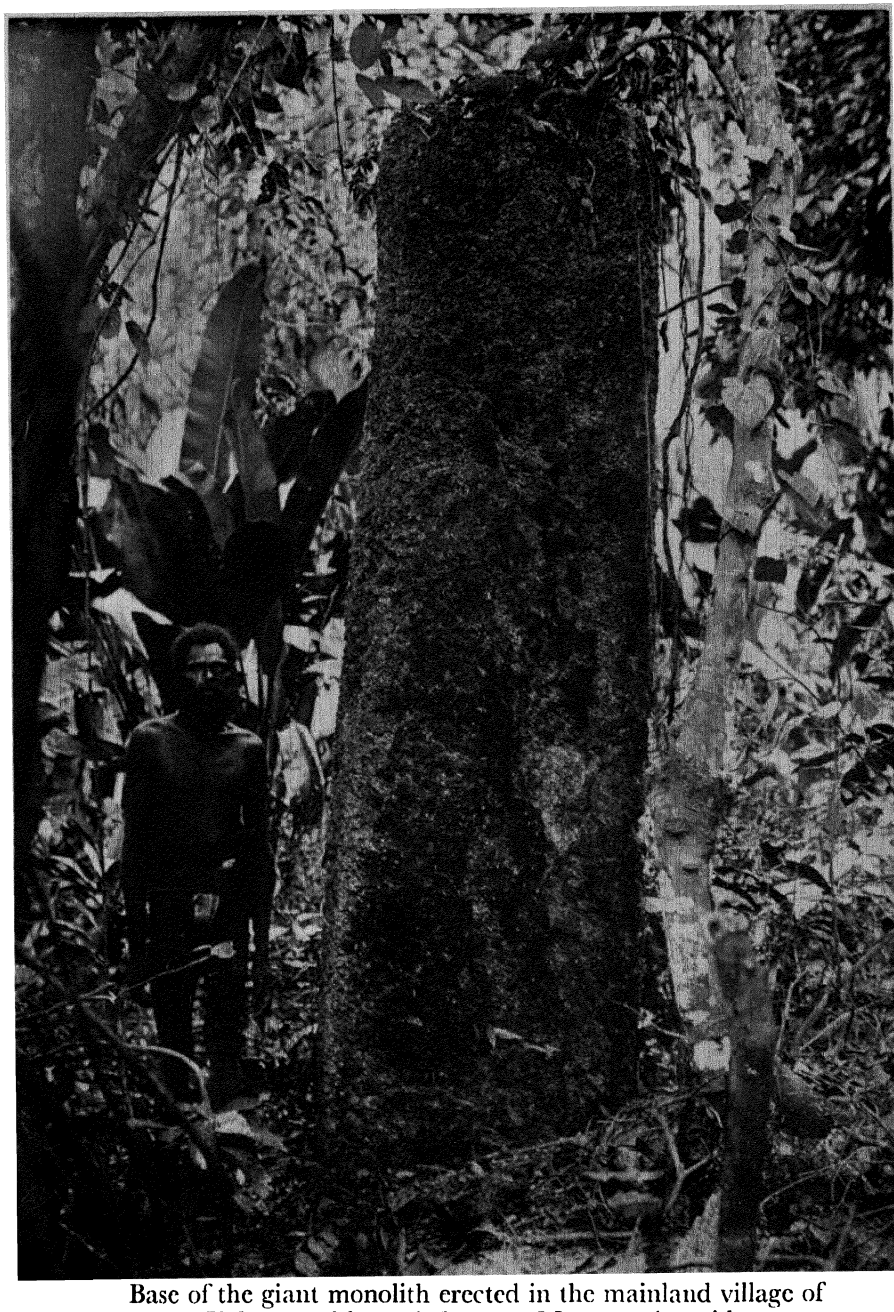
They attempt to fell a giant monolith 30 *feet high, but fail.*

This monolith was a coral block about 30 feet high and about 3 feet thick, which stood, or, as the natives say, "grew," in a ravine called La-mat-mat. When it had been decided to remove this to the village, the men of Vao and of all the surrounding mainland villages were invited, according to custom, to come in turn (*ar tame vanu*) to strike the base of the block with stone adzes in order to detach it from the body of the rock. The usual pigs and yams were distributed among the workers, but however hard they worked they could not succeed in felling it, and the enterprise was abandoned.

The monolith accidentally felled—and broken—by Laha-mbar-mbar's mother while searching for crabs.

Now one day the mother of Laha-mbar-mbar was on her way down to the shore, because it was low tide (*wuwò*) and she wanted to catch crabs. The particular kind of crab she sought was that called *na-ghav*[1] which lives in holes in the reef, and when one is seen entering its hole the searcher breaks open the mouth of the hole with a special hard stone

[1] It will be remembered that this was one of the substitute animals sacrificed by the survivors before they had acquired any pigs.



Base of the giant monolith erected in the mainland village of Tolamp, with my informant Ma-taru alongside

called for this purpose *wet-wowu* and thus secures the crab. Such a stone the mother of Laha-mbar-mbar was carrying in her basket as she passed by La-mat-mat, musing on the fearful expense in pigs and yams incurred by her son in inviting all the villages to assist him in the apparently endless job of felling the giant monolith. Suddenly she saw a crab scuttling into a hole in the base of the monolith itself. Without thinking, she took the hard stone out of her basket and started breaking away the mouth of the hole, to get at the crab. As she struck, suddenly the monolith toppled, and fell over into the ravine, breaking into three pieces.

Laha-mbar-mbar sacrifices at the felled monolith, and his mother eats the sacrificial pig.

When she saw what she had done, she ran back to the village and told her son, "I have felled the stone." He would not believe her, and said, "How could you do what the men of all the villages have been trying to do in vain?" She said, "Come and look." So he went,[1] and saw that it was true, and returning, sounded the gongs and told the people. And they went down to the place, taking 100 yams and a gelded re-entrant-tusker. And Laha-mbar-mbar sacrificed the tusker and made a new fire. And the pig was roasted on the fire and given to his mother to eat.[2] And she ate it all herself, and what she could not eat at one meal, she carried home to finish later.

Monolith dragged to the village in three parts. Laha-mbar-mbar's mother causes the largest to stand erect by means of magic wand.

And they made sledges and dragged the three pieces of the monolith up to the dancing-ground. Even then, however, their troubles were not over, for, according to the Atchin version, when the time came to erect them, the combined manhood of the countryside failed to set the largest on end. So Laha-mbar-mbar, in despair, went to his mother's house, and said, "Mother, we can't erect it." "Why not?" she asked, and he said, "Because it is too heavy." "Very well," she said, "go back to the dancing-ground and I will soon be there." And when she came, she took a wand and touched the stone with it "as if she were praying to it." And she spoke to the stone, and said, "Why will you not be lifted up? Do you wish to sleep? It were better if you stood." Then she said to those who had failed to raise it, "Now take hold of the ropes and pull." And they pulled again, and the stone stood up. This was the lower of the three sections, and the largest. It was set up in the place of honour on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground. The top section was also set up on the Upper Side, and the middle section on the Lower.

[1] According to the Atchin version, this took place on the following morning.

[2] Pigs may no longer be eaten by women in the Small Islands, but were formerly, and still are in some mainland villages. It will be noted that the animal was a gelded tusker and not a boar.

They build a stone-platform and 10 *Maki-shrines and sacrifice a triple-circle-tusker.*

They built also a stone-platform, the men of the assembled villages making one continuous line down to the shore as they handed the stones from one to the other.[1] They built, too, on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, 10 Maki-shrines such as are erected for the Maki on Atchin. The chief circle-tusker they sacrificed is one of the most famous on record, its tusks each completing three circles.[2] This triple-circle-tusker was called Peter-mul. In addition to this were sacrificed yet another circle-tusker and a re-entrant-tusker, as well as numerous smaller pigs at each of the ten Maki-shrines, and 100 gelded re-entrant-tuskers at the women's stones at the Lower Side of the dancing-ground.

Giant monolith called Pal-palen Peter-mul. Measurements.

The giant monolith was called Pal-palen Peter-mul, after the triple-circle-tusker; *pal-palen*, as we have seen, being the word used for sacrificial stone.[3] Apart from the much greater size of this monolith in its original unbroken state, the bottom part, which is still standing, is by far the largest monolith known ever to have been set up on Malekula. All three parts are yet to be seen where once the mainland community of Tolamp flourished and performed its rites, but where now once again the thick forest has regained its sway. Of the three portions, the base, seen in Plate XXII (with my informant Ma-taru, himself a Tolamp man and narrator of this account, standing by), still stands erect to a height of 12 feet above the ground. The top, seen in Plate XXIII, stands obliquely with 8 feet 6 inches showing above the ground. The middle, now lying prostrate and covered with bush, has a length of 5 feet 6 inches. There are thus 26 feet of this monolith now visible, so that, reckoning that the two upright portions have each at least 4 more feet of themselves buried beneath the ground, the original unbroken monolith cannot have been less than 30 feet high.[4] In section it is oval, with the broad side of the top and bottom portions facing what used to be the dancing-ground. The breadth at the base of the bottom portion is a little over 3 feet 6 inches, and near the top of the upper portion about 2 feet 6 inches.

[1] A process called *na-gogo-hon-vat*. *Hon* means "sacred" and *vat* means "stone." I do not know the meaning of *na-gogo*.

[2] Equal in size to the tusker existing at the time of my visit in the village of Emil Marur on Atchin, admitted by the people of Vao to be the finest tusked boar then living.

[3] See p. 417, where Godefroy's spelling is *pal-palon*.

[4] Speiser (1, p. 60) refers to this broken monolith as having once been 5 metres high. But he gives no further details, and may not have been aware of the existence of the third portion. He assumes that, being made of coral, it must have been dragged up from the shore.



Upper third of the giant monolith at Tolamp. The middle third is prostrate and covered with vegetation

PLATE XXIII

Laha-mbar-mbar's mother causes tree-fern images from Oba to be washed ashore at Tabwish.

There is yet another story told on Atchin of Laha-mbar-mbar and his mother's magic gifts. On an expedition to Oba he had seen images of the kind called *ulu* (Atchin *wulu*), made of tree-fern, at that time unknown in Malekula, and had said to himself, "If I had images like that at home, I would sacrifice pigs for them." And when he returned, he spoke to his mother, saying, "If only I had those ten Oba *ulu* here, I would make sacrifices for them." And his mother said, "Very well, go down to the shore at Tabwish, and you will find them there. The sea has brought them." In the morning he went down to the shore, and saw them, even as his mother had said. And she asked him, "Did you see them?" And he said, "Yes," and she told him to gather all the men together and drag them up to the dancing-ground. And when they were all set up, he took ten circle-tuskers, and made Maki with them.

His mother's elder sister's son is jealous. He gives Laha-mbar-mbar access to his wife, and is rewarded with a litter of pigs.

Now his mother's elder sister, who was married at Pweter-ul, also had a son,[1] but could find no pigs there for him to sacrifice. And this boy said to his mother, "My (classificatory) brother (Laha-mbar-mbar) is junior to me. Why should he have circle-tuskers and I have none?" She said, "If you wish, we will try and find one," and he said, "I do wish."

So he went and spoke to the mother of Laha-mbar-mbar, and said, "He is the junior. Why can't I too find a circle-tusker?" So she said cryptically, "If you want to find a circle-tusker, you will; if you don't, you won't." He said, "But I do." "Very well, bring your wife tomorrow to Le-tsar Nagun."

Next morning he and his wife got up and took a crescent-tusker and waited with it at Le-tsar Nagun. After a time, Laha-mbar-mbar appeared, and the husband turned aside into the bush and his wife gave the crescent-tusker to Laha-mbar-mbar, and he lay with her. And when he had done, the husband returned and said to him, "How can I find a circle-tusker?" Laha-mbar-mbar replied, "You go and feed your pigs well, and if one of your sows gets a litter of five pigs, keep them all."

And he did so. And two of his sows littered with five pigs each, and he kept them and fed them well, and all ten grew to be circle-tuskers. And he made sacrifice of them at a Maki at Pweter-ul.

[1] This special mention of the mother's elder sister's son instead of the more usual relationship traced through the father, provides further presumptive evidence of a former condition of overt matrilineal descent.

Laha-mbar-mbar's mother marries Ulter, of Togh-vanu.

Laha-mbar-mbar's mother subsequently came to Togh-vanu, on Vao, and was married to Ulter, founder of the Quarter called *La-mbang-ne-metine*, and bore him a son named Bombo-ronge.

Dating. Giant Monolith probably erected about 150 years ago.

This gives us a convenient dating-point, not only for the erection of the Tolamp monolith, but for the founding of the Togh-vanu Quarter just mentioned. For Pelur, my informant, now an old man of 70 or 80, calls both Laha-mbar-mbar and Bombo-ronge *tete*, "father." In spite of this classificatory relationship, however, Bombo-ronge was a white-haired old man (*mer-sean*) while Pelur was still a child, though he just remembers seeing him before he died. Laha-mbar-mbar, though actually Bombo-ronge's half-brother, will be seen from the story to have been at least a generation older, and Pelur never saw him. Owing to the fact that the natives have no knowledge of their own age, it is impossible to establish dates with any degree of accuracy. An approximation, however, can be made by adding the time that has elapsed since Bombo-ronge's death (say 70 years) to his own age (again say 70), which places the erection of the Tolamp monolith at rather more than 140, that is to say roughly 150 years ago, i.e. A.D. 1765.

The founding of the *La-mbang-ne-metine* Quarter by Ulter would thus appear to have taken place about the same time; which agrees within five years with Godefroy's suggested dating seen in Table III. If this calculation is correct, the actual submergence of Tolamp must have taken place much earlier, say at least 200 years ago or round about 1735.

I should be glad of any information regarding similar submergences in this area round about this date.

DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINLAND VILLAGE OF TOLAMP IN SUBSEQUENT WARS. THE SURVIVORS TAKE REFUGE ON VAO

Laha-mbar-mbar had a son named Te-lugh-lugh, whose son, named Ter-ter-mal, was the father of my middle-aged informant Ma-taru. At the time of the final break-up of the mainland village of Tolamp during the disastrous wars following the introduction of muskets when the Small Islanders who were the first to acquire these fatal weapons laid waste the adjacent Malekulan communities, Ter-ter-mal was a boy. Some of the fighting that took place during this mournful period which the Small Islanders now bitterly regret is described in the chapter on Warfare, pp. 602 ff. It was as a result of these wars that the decimated survivors

finally migrated to Vao, where they were given land to live on by their Togh-vanu kinsmen, in return for which the Togh-vanu people were given a large share of garden ground formerly belonging to Tolamp.

Survivors still "first men" of the Maki on Vao.

Despite their very reduced numbers and their position as mere refugees on Vao, they nevertheless still retained, up to the time of my visit, their status as "first men" of the Maki, as has already been seen in the dispute arising over this question described on pp. 435 ff.

CHAPTER XXIII

WARFARE, CANNIBALISM AND HUMAN SACRIFICE

WARFARE AS A KINSHIP PROBLEM

THE subject of warfare in the Western Pacific has been ably dealt with by Miss Wedgwood in an article on "Some Aspects of Warfare in Melanesia," published in *Oceania*, vol. 1, no. 1, which she sums up with the statement that "war serves the double purpose of enabling a people to give expression to anger caused by a disturbance of the internal harmony, and of strengthening or reaffirming the ties which hold them together." In this chapter I propose to amplify this statement by examining the motives leading to warfare in the Small Islands and the nature of the "internal harmony" which it is thereby sought to maintain, and finally the means whereby it is achieved.

In the first place, it is worth noting that, during the period of about 350 years covered by orally transmitted history on Vao, there is no record whatever, apart from the recent massacres due directly to the introduction of muskets which will be specially dealt with below,[1] of anything in the nature of wars of conquest.

In the Small Islands and adjacent Malekulan coast, wars (called *vaghal* on Vao, *wahal* on Atchin) [2] are, on the contrary, and have been so far as traditional records go, fought almost entirely on questions involving the prestige of one group over against another, in order to maintain the existing order of society by wreaking vengeance on any who seek to disturb it. Now the order of society is based on kinship, and kinship in turn is based on regulations concerning the relations between the sexes. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the immediate cause of almost all wars is a sexual one, such as adultery or the elopement of a married woman with a man belonging to a village or clan differing from that of the husband. A rarer type of immediate causation is theft, particularly of pigs, but as theft of this nature is almost always due to disputes over such matters as the return of bride-price to a husband whose wife has run away, this also is ultimately a kinship problem.[3]

I have said that wars are waged chiefly in order to maintain the

[1] See pp. 602 ff.

[2] Mota *vaghalo*, Seniang *vaal*.

[3] Sorcery, such a fruitful source of warfare in other parts of Malekula, is very rarely so in the Small Islands.

existing order of kinship. This sometimes leads, however, to apparently contradictory results. Owing to the constant mixture of peoples that has taken place in the past and that is still taking place, and since no two peoples in the New Hebrides have precisely the same kinship regulations, the moment any two such cultures overlap, it is inevitable, and indeed part of the process of kinship evolution, that such overlapping must of its very nature cause infractions of the accepted kinship code of both peoples concerned.

Such is at present actually the case on Atchin, where formerly it was considered perfectly natural and fitting that, when a man died, his son's son should take over his young wife, in other words that a man should marry his deceased father's father's wife. This practice is still followed on Vao, but on Atchin, owing to new influences penetrating from the south, it is now disapproved of, and, if it is attempted, leads to war. I have recorded several instances of this that will be given in a future volume.

Disputes on this particular point do not occur on Vao, but I have already produced evidence to show that the wars following the foundation of Pete-hul by Na-va-gharu-kalat some nine generations ago were precisely of this nature, though on a much greater scale, owing to the clash of two different kinship systems.[1] In this case the clash appears to have been due to an actual migration of peoples. According to the historical accounts given by the natives, it took three generations of adjustment accompanied by inevitable fighting before the new system emerged. This conflict, launched by Na-va-gharu-kalat's speech commanding his clansmen that if any stranger came ashore at Kowu they were to kill him and bring him to Na-va-gharu-kalat to cut up,[2] included, of course, other elements besides those concerning kinship, which will be discussed in the section on cannibalism and human sacrifice. But, though cannibalism occupied an important rôle in native religious life, it is by no means essential to the social structure in the sense in which kinship is essential, and warfare continues today even where cannibalism is suppressed. There can then be no doubt that, of the two main causes leading to this fighting, that of kinship adjustment was incomparably the most important. It is moreover to be noted that this speech, and the events that followed it, are considered by the natives even today to constitute the origin of all fighting.

Tension between Complementary Opposites

Leaving the subject of cannibalism for the moment on one side, I propose, therefore, before giving accounts of actual fighting, to consider somewhat more precisely the implications of the kinship structure in so far as they affect the hostility always smouldering between the various

[1] See pp. 125, 163 ff. [2] See p. 90.

sections of Small Island society and liable at any time to be fanned into flame.

In doing this, it must be pointed out that it is necessary always to make a clear distinction between immediate causes of war and the more fundamental social antagonisms. As I have said, the immediate causes are, as a rule, adultery, elopement and theft. Such matters in our society might lead to individual vengeance or litigation, but would not involve whole communities. The reason for this is that our society is no longer founded on kinship, this factor having lost much of its weight owing to the size of the communities we live in and a large number of other factors. Among most primitive communities, however, kinship is sociologically of fundamental importance, extending its influence in the case of the Small Islands not only over all aspects of this life, but also over the next, since kinship considerations are the chief factor in determining the action of ghosts in relation to their living survivors.

Superior and Inferior Sides of all Islands Linked respectively to Form Hostile Moieties

In the Small Islands by far the most important aspect of kinship as regards its influence on warfare is the division of each island, both geographically and socially, into two Sides mutually dependent on one another but permanently hostile. This dual division has a much deeper psychological import than is at first sight apparent. In the first place, while the inhabitants of each island recognise their solidarity by having a common name,[1] thus showing their conscious attitude as members of a single community, the Sides of each Island are in most cases unnamed, indicating the deeply unconscious nature of the forces at work between them. In the second place, each Side of each Island has special relations with certain of the villages on the adjacent Malekulan mainland which make them natural allies in case of war, and in all my records of fighting between the Small Islanders and their mainland neighbours there is no case in which the whole of any one island has taken up arms together, but on the contrary each such war has been waged by the members of one Side of the Island only, without help from the other.[2]

Yet further, we have already seen how each island has a geographically smaller but socially "Superior" Side owning the best beach facing the mainland, and a geographically larger but socially "Inferior" Side facing the open sea.[3] What I have not previously pointed out, however,

[1] For example, *To Vao*, the people of Vao; *To Tsan*, the people of Atchin; *To Wala*, the people of Wala; and so on.

[2] Thus, in the account given on pp. 608-12 it is the Superior Side of Vao only, unassisted by the Inferior Side, that is engaged.

[3] See p. 55.

is the fact that the names of the parent village on the "Superior" Side of each Island are similar. Thus Pete-hul on Vao, Pweter-tsüts on Atchin and Pwe-lut on Wala have somewhat similar names each beginning with what is philologically the same syllable, in each case meaning "stone" or "stones," and regard themselves as forming a kind of aristocracy, while the names of the villages on the Inferior Sides differ considerably [1] and have less sense of solidarity among themselves. Moreover, in any war taking place between any two of the Small Islands, it is found always that in neither case is the whole island involved, but that the quarrel is in each case between the Superior Side of one Island and the Inferior Side of the other.[2] Thus, while geographically each island is a separate entity, and while the inhabitants of each island form a distinct linguistic group, from the point of view of social organisation as seen in the conduct of warfare the homogeneity of each island is transcended by that of the two moieties into which the whole cultural area comprising the Small Islands and the adjacent Malekulan mainland is divided.

In this way, the two Sides into which each Small Island is split up are seen to be but aspects of a much larger whole. These Sides in all cases have the profoundest suspicion of one another, a suspicion which is at any time liable to break out into open hostility, and in this way resemble the two matrilineal moieties found in the dual organisation area immediately to the north and east in the islands of Oba and Maewo and parts of Santo, as well as the Banks Islands and the Torres Islands.[3] Indeed, as I have suggested elsewhere, it is probable that, though now patrilineal, the Sides found in the Small Islands were at some not very distant date matrilineal, representing the matrilineal moieties in the above-named districts, before the introduction of overt patrilineal descent into this part of Malekula.

However this may be, the hostility exists, and is very deep-rooted. When we consider that at least half the population of one Side of each Island takes its wives from the other Side of the same Island the hostility may seem to us very curious. It might at first sight appear due to the resentment felt by every Small Islander towards his wife's father, who exacts from his son-in-law a lifelong tribute in pigs from which there is no escape and which the native feels at the same time insupportable and inescapable, as in fact it is. If the father dies her brothers assume his

[1] The only exception being Peter-ihi on the Inferior Side of Vao.

[2] Thus in the historical account given on pp. 613-17 the Superior Side of Vao engages the Inferior Side of Atchin, neither party being assisted by the other Side of its own Island. Compare the similar segmentation among Australian tribes, among whom "The fights that formerly took place were not wars of one tribe with another, but of one part of one tribe with one part of another, or at times of one part of a tribe with another part of the same tribe. Thus there was no unity of the tribe in warfare." (Radcliffe-Brown, *Three Tribes of Western Australia*, JRAI, vol. XLIII, pp. 144-5.)

[3] See Codrington, 3, pp. 24 ff.; Rivers, 1, chapter II, etc. For similar hostile groups in Tanna, Lifu and other parts of Melanesia, see Wedgwood, 1, pp. 8, 9.

rôle, so that the tribute due from the husband is, in fact, payable to his wife's whole clan. This feeling of unwilling serfdom to the wife's people may contribute to the sense of hostility between the two moieties, but this could do so only in the case of patrilineal communities such as exist in the Small Islands. It could not operate in a system of matrilineal moieties, since in these a man's wife's father belongs to the same moiety as himself. Yet the mutual hostility between the two Sides of each Small Island is of the same order precisely as that between the two matrilineal moieties in neighbouring islands.

Hostility between pairs of opposites extends throughout whole social organisation.

I venture to suggest, therefore, that something deeper than mere economic considerations lies beneath this widespread tension between intermarrying moieties. This question cannot be discussed without raising the problem of the origin of the moieties themselves. For the two Sides of the Island are not the only pairs of moieties that have to be considered. As we have seen in the chapter on Social Organisation,[1] the two Sides of the Island are themselves each split into sub-moieties, represented by one double-village on one Side and two double-villages on the other. Each of these sub-moieties is also liable at any moment to become hostile to the other, and what seems on the surface to be one homogeneous double-village will suddenly split up into two hostile camps. Each village is, moreover, yet further sub-divided into two "Sides of the Stone," which may, if any member of one offend a member of the other through some individual act of violence or by the revival of some old quarrel of a more communal nature, themselves suddenly become hostilely opposed.[2] The same tendency is seen even within the "Sides of the Stone," which, as we have seen, are still further divided into two so as to form four Quarters which, though essential to the whole village organisation, themselves on occasion literally take up the cudgels against one another. Finally, each Quarter is yet further split into two "Sides of the Lodge," between whom a smouldering opposition exists, ready to burst forth at any moment if any quarrel should arise between members of the two opposing Sides.

Progressive sub-division into moieties a spontaneous phenomenon.

Rivers has attempted to explain the hostility between the two main matrilineal moieties forming the dual organisation in the Banks Islands and Northern New Hebrides as being due to the fusion of two mutually hostile peoples who nevertheless managed to settle down together without either wishing to exterminate the other.[3] While by no means denying the fact of culture-contact, evidence for which abounds in every aspect

[1] Chapter III, pp. 57-8.
[2] See p. 68.
[3] Rivers, 1, vol. II, chapter XXXVIII.

of Malekulan culture, I cannot bring myself to accept this as an explanation for the origin even of the two main moieties. Were this the case, we should expect at least that the two moieties should be named. But more often, as in the Small Islands, they are unnamed. Moreover, such an explanation could not possibly hold for the successive sub-divisions just mentioned. In fact, it will, I think, be evident from the above account that the tendency to sub-divide till the opposing groups are so small that no further sub-division is possible, far from being due to the chance fusion of two opposing groups, represents an organic process at work in the body politic itself, resembling the biological splitting of cells in living tissue.

While in the sphere of individual human relations the primary impulse towards this process lies clearly in the creative tension between the sexes, the same tension is reproduced on the sociological level in the relation between the two opposing moieties, each of which at the same time provides wives for the other. The two sexes must, however, become differentiated before they can unite. The same tendency to split and re-unite (for the hostile moieties are in each case dependent on one another for their very existence and for the performance of every ritual act) is seen also in a highly developed condition in class systems of kinship. It is found also in the realm of psychology, the health of each individual depending largely on the maintenance of a satisfactory tension between pairs of complementary opposites. If the tension becomes too one-sided this results in a psychotic condition upsetting the balance of the whole psyche in the same way that anything resembling a war of extermination between any of the two pairs of moieties on Vao would destroy the life of the whole island. There is thus strong presumptive evidence of a close analogy between the processes of biology, psychology and sociology. In each case the ideal pattern is the initial split followed by the re-union of complementary opposites under conditions of permanent and creative tension.

In the case of life on the Small Island of Vao the tension shows itself in the hostility above mentioned, and I trust that in the above brief discussion I may have succeeded in showing in some measure that the hostility so deplored by missionaries and others was, in fact, essential to the health and well-being of the race, so long as it was circumscribed in its relations to a comparatively closed area of small dimensions, and to a population, if we include all the Small Islands and adjacent mainland at the height of their prosperity before the advent of the white man, of not more than a few thousand. Now that the islands have been opened up to contact with the rest of the world, thus automatically destroying the circumscribed conditions under which alone such a primitive system can work, the problem has become very different, and the natives themselves have begun to deplore the internecine strife that prevents them from uniting against the common foe.

Degrees of Hostility; Methods of Fighting; Weapons

If we return now to an examination of conditions prior to the arrival of the white man, we find the principle of self-preservation working in conjunction with the mutual hostility between the various moieties and sub-moieties well illustrated in the different methods of fighting and in the choice of weapons used. The chief weapons [1] used were the club, spear, bow and arrow, pitfalls made of sharp bamboo knives set crossing one another edgewise in pits covered with branches and leaves strewn over with earth, and poisoned human bone-tips (*wuh na ta-mat*) and nautilus shells with poisonous spines scattered at night along the paths. Slings, used in neighbouring islands as weapons, were not used in war by the Small Islanders, who made only miniature ones as toys for small boys.

I have already mentioned some of the causes leading to disputes, such as adultery or elopement, which, though sometimes settled amicably through the peaceable return of bride-price in the form of pigs, lead also on occasion to war if the returnable bride-price is not duly forthcoming. Other causes are insults of various kinds, which in turn bring forth counter-insults and in any case drag in their train recriminations based on disputes that may have smouldered for generations. Wars caused by the theft of pigs, so often referred to by white men, are rare, such thefts when they occur being, moreover, invariably but minor incidents in more fundamental disputes connected with complicated loan transactions or such matters as the non-return of bride-price just mentioned.

Disputes such as these may lead either to greater or to lesser wars, depending largely on the degree of kinship existing between the original disputants, and the same consideration determines the choice of weapons. The three relevant categories of kinship recognised throughout Melanesia hold also for the Small Islands. These are: [2]

(*a*) The members of a man's own clan, in this case the patrilocal village.

(*b*) The members of clans belonging to the same "tribe" or district, in this case the individual Small Island.

(*c*) The members of all groups outside the tribe, who are therefore actual or potential foes, in this case properly divisible into two sections, namely:

(i) the inhabitants of the remaining Small Islands and of the villages of the adjacent Malekulan mainland, with whom marriage relations exist, and all of whom therefore belong to one culture-complex;

[1] For detailed descriptions see Layard, 1, and Speiser, 3, pp. 205 ff. and Plates 50-61.
[2] See Wedgwood, 1, p. 8.

(ii) those other parts of Malekula and of the more distant islands such as Santo, Malo, Oba, Raga and Ambrim, which the Small Islanders visit in the course of their canoe trade in pigs and other objects, but with whom they have no marriage connexions.

(*a*) DISPUTES BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE SAME CLAN

Thus, if a dispute arises between a man and his own lodge-brother belonging to the other "Side of the Lodge," every effort would be made to find a peaceful settlement, and if it came to blows, clubs only would be used.[1] The same may be said of quarrels between the members of two Quarters or two Sides of the Stone, with the exception that more persons would be involved, and spears also might on occasion be used.

(*b*) DISPUTES BETWEEN VILLAGES OR SIDES OF THE SAME ISLAND. FORMAL COMBAT ON SPECIAL FIGHTING-GROUNDS

The skirmishes described above were all in the nature of guerilla warfare on a very small scale. They were not noble conflicts at all, any trick being permissible, and clubbing or spearing from the back, or even when the enemy was quite unaware of being attacked, being more usual than face-to-face combat.

Quite different from these were conflicts between the two Sides of the same Island, or to a less extent between individual villages composing the two Sides. In both such cases the conflict took on a much more formal aspect, being fought out with clubs or spears at pre-arranged times on special fighting-grounds. Each pair of adjacent villages had a recognised fighting-ground at some spot where their respective territories joined. If there was an already clear space between them, such as a beach, this would be used. One such was the central portion of the beach Kowu, each end of which belongs respectively to the two villages of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu, and where formal combats between the inhabitants of the two villages took place. If no natural open space existed, a widening

[1] Godefroy (1, 1934, p. 53) relates how, in case of unwitting murder, "a pig is substituted for the murderer. According to ancient custom, the murderer was seized by the arm, then dragged to the dancing-ground, and there struck lightly with a wooden pig-killer as if he were a sacrificial pig. Having thus been 'sacrificed,' he takes a title of shame; he becomes '*Malolo*,' and is thenceforth forbidden from taking part in any social or religious act. Till death he will remain '*Malolo*,' the sacrificed one."

There are, however, cases, particularly when a serious dispute occurs within the framework of the biological family unit, when other solutions are found. Thus my informant Ma-taru's elder brother Are (see Table X) had a quarrel with his father Ter-ter-mal, and, "in order to spite him," committed suicide by breaking off a part of the shaft of a human-bone-tipped poison-arrow, so as to make it short enough, and shooting himself with it in the calf of the leg.

in the path between the two villages would be the usual place for the opposing forces to meet and fight it out.

By far the most important combats, however, were those taking place between the two Sides of the Island. For these not only had a special fighting-ground at the junction of their respective territories on the beach called Le-siwar, but this beach was also furnished with a stone fort, where it was the custom of the defenders to await attack. This fort, called *titimbe*, consisted of a single surrounding stone wall, but is unfortunately no longer extant, the Roman Catholic Mission having been established, ironically enough, on the site.

Special fighting-grounds of this type are reported by Deacon from South-West Bay (between the districts of Mewun and Seniang),[1] and from other parts of Melanesia.[2] The only stone forts I know of, however, are those reported by Codrington from Ysabel in the Solomon Islands, built on a rocky knoll in the midst of the village for protection against head-hunters.[3] So far as I know, therefore, the Vao fort is the only one recorded in Melanesia as being specially built for formal combat.

Brief Summary of a Formal Combat on Atchin

Apart from a brief reference given on p. 606, I have unfortunately no full accounts of such formal fighting on Vao, no battles of this nature having taken place for some time owing to the Government ban on warfare, which, while still being carried on safely on the mainland, can no longer be prosecuted on a Small Island with a resident missionary. I did, however, witness one such pitched battle in modified form on Atchin, which will be described in detail in a future volume, but of which I will here give a few salient points to illustrate the type of action.

The immediate cause of the trouble occurred during an all-night dance connected with initiation, when the torch carried by one of the hosts was knocked by a third party, also a host, in such a way that the sparks fell in a shower on to the head of the torch-bearer's wife's brother, an important guest from the other Side of the Island. The guest raised his arm to brush off the sparks, but, as this action caused the club he was carrying to be raised also, the torch-bearer thought he was about to strike, and, to save himself, thrust his torch into the guest's face, narrowly missing his eyes. Uproar ensued, clubs were raised, spears brandished and stones thrown. Meanwhile the alarm signal was sounded on the gongs, and at the sight of reinforcements for the hosts the guests made their escape into the neighbouring bush. From here they continued to hurl imprecations at the hosts, some of whom heartily replied, while others, old men, did their utmost to restrain the blood lust of both sides. Finally,

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 223.
[2] Wedgwood, 1, pp. 9 and 16 ff.
[3] Codrington, 3, p. 302.

the guests retired to their homes, having arranged that there should be a pitched battle the next day. During the interval messengers went to and fro trying to persuade the injured parties to come to terms by means of compensation by payment of pigs. These negotiations were showing some signs of bearing fruit when word came that one of the combatants on the guests' side had been severely injured by a stone. This put a stop to any thought of further negotiation. Blood had been spilled, and must be avenged. Next day the pitched battle occurred. As the occasion was one of avenging insult rather than murder, and neither side really wanted to weaken the other, but only to assert its prestige, it was agreed that though spears were permissible in such a conflict these should not this time be used, but only clubs and stones. The clubs so used were not the carved ceremonial clubs used largely for show and always taken to dances, but simple staves about six feet long. The home-party awaited the attack, partly sheltered behind a stone-and-reed wall forming part of a house-enclosure. The attackers, having first skirmished for hours in the bush, finally came to the edge of the clearing. For more than an hour representatives of either side alternately stepped out slightly in advance of their respective parties to harangue the enemy, moving their bodies violently to and fro as they hurled insults at one another, combined with a recitation of present grievances and a repetition of the intricate minutiae of generation-long ancestral disputes. Meanwhile, the opposing sides would send off an occasional volley of stones—small coral blocks, anything from three to four inches broad, stacked on each side ready for the occasion. At times the harangues were so enthralling that the parties would cease even these hostile acts and would advance to listen spell-bound, till some new taunt would set them shouting counter-accusations, and the stone-throwing would be resumed.[1]

At last these Homeric dialogues ceased, and both sides prepared for personal combat. Members of the home-village, now armed with long fighting-staves, awaited the attack, those in front ranging themselves in an orderly line supported by willing seconders behind. Then the attackers, similarly armed and with their front line equal in strength to that of the defenders, advanced, not with a rush, but slowly, prancing backwards and forwards on springy legs, each time approaching a little nearer, and ceaselessly hurling fresh imprecations. The defenders stood their ground, each raising one foot quickly after the other in tense expectation.

I will not waste space here in giving details of the ensuing battle, involving personalities not relevant to the present volume. It is enough to say that the attackers were repulsed. Luckily no one was killed, so that for the moment pent-up feelings had received their required temporary outlet without giving rise to a new blood-feud that would have

[1] For examples of similar speeches or "scolding matches" before battle from New Ireland and Tanna, see Wedgwood, 1, pp. 15-16.

had the effect, among other things, of seriously interfering with the initiation rites on which the home-village was engaged and which had, through the incident of the torch, given rise to the dispute. Next day a truce was called, and the initiation rites proceeded on their prescribed course. The very enemies who had but yesterday been intent on wreaking vengeance on the home-village came, armed it is true, to perform their allotted parts in the rites, joining in further all-night dances and going about their business as if nothing had happened. Nevertheless the age-long opposition between the two Sides of the Island, of which this affray had been but an incident, continued, and will continue till such time as the whole Small Island civilisation crumbles or is replaced by some new form of co-operative competition with a new orientation more fitting to the changed conditions now being forced on this once self-sufficient people.

(*c*) (i) DISPUTES WITH OTHER SMALL ISLANDS OR VILLAGES ON THE ADJACENT MALEKULAN MAINLAND. AMBUSH AND SURPRISE

Two facts sharply distinguish warfare waged against the inhabitants of other Small Islands and of the adjacent Malekulan mainland from that waged on the Small Island itself.

In the first place, no special fighting-grounds are recognised, nor are there any rules such as characterise fighting between the two Sides of the Island. On the contrary, the methods used are those of ambush and surprise.

In the second place, there are no restrictions whatever on what type of weapon may be used. Thus, while spears (*na-hare*) may be used on the Small Islands, I have no record of the use there of those specially dangerous spears tipped with human bone and for this reason called *here ta-mat*, a touch from which is said to cause tetanus and an agonising death. These are, however, the chief weapons when fighting on the mainland, either with mainland villages or with the inhabitants of other Small Islands (wars between communities on different islands being fought always on the mainland, since attack by sea is out of the question). So also bows and arrows, whether poisoned or not, are never, so far as I know, used on the Small Islands, but only when fighting on the mainland. In the same way, man-traps and poisonous spined shells laid in the path are used only against a foreign foe. Enemy homes are burnt also whenever possible.

LEX TALIONIS: EQUALISING THE NUMBER OF DEAD ON BOTH SIDES

Despite differences in technique, and in what is regarded as honourable in the conduct of warlike disputes in the three categories so far enumerated, one principle is common to all. This is the *lex talionis*, according to which no war, once started and once one death has occurred, can cease till the

number of dead on both sides is equal. Thus, if, in revenge for a man murdered for adultery or whatever his offence may have been, the injured party succeed in killing one man of the murderer's clan (whether the murderer himself is a matter of no import), then honour is satisfied, and a peace may be concluded till some fresh fatal act sets the ball rolling again. This process of equalising out by revenging one death by another is called *simbaten.* Thus, if A has killed B, then the clansmen of B will attempt to avenge him by killing a clansman of A, and, if successful, the avenger will call out as he kills him "*Simbaten A,*" meaning "Equivalent for the death of A." [1] The word appears to be related to *simbean,* meaning "anniversary," [2] both words including the concept of repetition.

If, however, in the affray the injured party kill two men of the other side, so that one party now has one dead and the other two, there can be no peace till the winning party has lost another man. This is the case whatever party may be the victor, whether that of the originally murdered man or his avengers. Subsequent affrays may equal out the number of dead, in which case peace may be restored. On the other hand, they may only increase the discrepancy between the number killed on either side, and thus lead inevitably to further conflict. This leads to several interesting results. In the first place, it is only the most injured party that has any desire to continue the war, wars of conquest being, as I have said, and as is clear from the above, out of the question. A second result is even more curious from our point of view. For, as will be seen, it is thus not the vanquished but the victors that henceforth go in terror of their lives. Moreover, among other warlike activities is the ravaging of the enemy's gardens, and it will be remembered that the Small Islanders are particularly vulnerable in this respect since their gardens are all on the mainland and therefore completely unprotected at night, unless their owners care to spend the night in the bush far from their island homes. Thus a prolonged war injures the victors, if they are Small Islanders, even more than the vanquished. The price paid for victory, both in empty stomachs and in taut nerves, is therefore sometimes so high that it is not the vanquished but the victors who must sue for peace. But the rule demanding an equal number of dead on both sides robs them of all power of obtaining it by any means known to more highly civilised communities. The only solution, therefore, is that they should themselves offer one of their number as victim to restore the balance demanded by the honour of both parties. So they seek out the least desirable member of their own clan, approach him from behind, seize him, truss him up like a pig, decorate him for sacrifice, and send him to the enemy, those who deliver him bearing a cycas leaf, emblem of peace. As a rule, the victim is sent, if possible, alive, and it is said that the enemy thus appeased force him to dig a pit for the fire in which he is to be roasted, and then sacrifice him

[1] See p. 611. [2] See p. 557.

with all the ritual due to an enemy captured in battle,[1] and then eat him. Sometimes, however, he may be killed first, as shown by the following account dealing with the close of one of the early wars between the villages of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu following Na-va-gharu-kalat's challenge at the foundation of Pete-hul.

Human victim sent as peace-offering from Pete-hul to Togh-vanu.

This war was caused in the first place by a couple of Pete-hul men attempting to seduce the wife of a Togh-vanu man named Miren-mal while she was grating coconuts in her garden on the mainland. When he challenged them, they shot him, and this was the occasion of a long-drawn-out war between the two villages. Many were killed on both sides till they were weary of fighting. At last the Pete-hul men made up their minds to send a peace-offering in order to end the war. So they decided on a youth named Ewur, and, enticing him to climb a *ni-ra* tree for the fruit, they shot at him. But they missed, and the doomed youth sprang from the tree and made off into the bush. He had, of course, no chance, and was eventually shot down and sent as a peace-offering to Togh-vanu, where his dead body was duly "sacrificed" according to custom. The manner of such "sacrifice" will be described later in the section on cannibalism.[2] The process may not seem very pretty from our point of view, but it at least prevents further bloodshed and kills off the weakest instead of the strongest.[3]

Small number of dead in old-time warfare.

With regard to the number of men killed in battle, it must not be forgotten that all this fighting goes on, as a rule, in thick bush or on the

[1] See p. 414. [2] See pp. 622-4.

[3] Speiser (3, p. 238, quoting from *Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides*, 1909) records a peacemaking scene after a war lasting several years between the Small Islands of Wala and Rano. The Wala men were still a death ahead of the Rano people, who would only consent to peace on the condition of having a Wala man handed over to them to be killed and eaten. When the missionaries (with the authority of a man-o'-war behind them) intervened, their next proposal was that, as they might not have him dead, they would accept a Wala lad "not to kill, but to become a Rano man." The Wala men, however, refused this, and, after much bargaining, agreed instead to hand over a circle-tusker and ten smaller pigs of specified grades. The Rano men grudgingly accepted this, and came over to Wala, but would not land till one extra fat pig was added to the number. Then a Wala man made a speech "lauding the Rano men and saying how much they were esteemed by Wala. He also spoke at length of the splendid present of exceedingly valuable pigs that they were going to hand over to their friends of Rano, and so on. A Rano man replied rather shortly. Privately they had grumbled about the pigs. They were not up to the promises made; but they agreed to take them. . . . Next morning canoes went over from island to island—the first time for some years—and gradually the old friendly relations were resumed."

Somerville (quoted by Wedgwood, 1) records from the Small Island of Uripiv a case of the opposite nature, in which the vanquished sent a small boy as peace-offering to the victors. I know of no other such case, however, in the Small Islands, and am inclined to think this is a mistake.

narrowest of paths leading through it. There is thus very little clear space either for spear-throwing or for shooting with bows and arrows. The natives are, moreover, notoriously bad shots. It thus happens often that months of spasmodic fighting go on without causing a single death, and the numbers killed in any one war seldom exceed two or three on either side. That was in the old days, for since the white man introduced muskets the case has become very different, as is shown below.[1]

(*c*) (ii) DISPUTES WITH COMMUNITIES OUTSIDE THE SMALL ISLANDS AND THE ADJACENT MALEKULAN MAINLAND

Lex talionis not applicable in attacks by "strangers."

The above description of *lex talionis* applies only to warfare waged within the cultural area formed by the Small Islands and the adjacent Malekulan mainland, whose inhabitants intermarry and form a cultural unit. Communities living outside this intermarrying area, whom the inhabitants of the Small Islands visit during the course of canoe voyages undertaken chiefly for the sake of trading in pigs, are regarded as foreigners to be treated with the utmost circumspection lest these strangers should perchance, for reasons best known to themselves, fall on them and attack them.[2] In case of such attack, there is no defence other than to fight a rearguard action and if possible to escape. No question of *lex talionis* arises, since the Small Islanders are too far from their home-lands to make any effective reply. Such battles, of which examples will be given in a later volume, were the only things in any way resembling fights of extermination known in the Small Islands before the white man's arrival.

Lodges enjoying diplomatic immunity in Oba and North Raga.

Nevertheless, relations were not entirely unregulated even there, for it must not be forgotten that the chief islands so visited were Oba (and formerly Maewo) and North Raga, which are regarded as the home of Ta-ghar, and on which special rites are performed in connexion with Initiation into Sex.[3] For this purpose a certain diplomatic immunity is provided through the existence of special Lodges built at certain spots on the shore for the sole use of visitors, in which they are supposed theoretically to be safe from attack. It must be remembered, also, that the inhabitants welcome the visitors for the sake of the pigs which they bring in exchange for other pigs and for the purpose of buying the red mats

[1] See p. 602.

[2] Compare Na-va-gharu-kalat's speech on Vao to the effect that any stranger coming ashore must be killed and brought to him to cut up (see pp. 90 and 167).

[3] See Chapter XX.

made on these islands, especially on Oba, and so highly prized by the Small Islanders. For this reason, the visits more often than not pass off without untoward incident. But there is always the possibility that, lacking any kinship ties, the inhabitants, owing to some dispute over pigs, or some chance slight on their dignity, may turn hostile. So the Small Islanders always go fully armed, and place sentries round about the Lodge to warn them of possible danger.

Ambrim, East Malekula, Malo, Santo.

The same is true, to a slightly lesser extent, of expeditions to Ambrim, where they go also to trade in pigs, and to that part of the east coast of Malekula which is outside the Small Island cultural area as far south as Port Sandwich, which at the present day is the most southerly point to which voyages are made. It was from Unua, on this coast, that the natives of Vao obtained, by payment of pigs, the human victim sacrificed on the erection of a former *ghamal* at Pete-hul.[1] To the north, Malo and Santo are visited for the sake of obtaining the turmeric leaves used in the dying of the red mats manufactured in the Small Islands.[2] So far as I know, no initiation rite is practised by the Small Islanders on these islands, nor are there any special Lodges affording diplomatic immunity, and the Small Islanders have to rely on friendship and the self-interest of the inhabitants not to attack them.

INTRODUCTION OF FIREARMS BY EUROPEANS CAUSING WHOLESALE MASSACRES AND THE VIRTUAL EXTINCTION OF THE ONCE FLOURISHING POPULATION OF THE ADJACENT MALEKULAN MAINLAND

The last chapter in the chequered war history of these islands has reversed all precedents. This has been due to the introduction of muskets into the islands by white men. From the first arrival of the sandalwood traders about a century ago down to the present time the natives all over the group have been provided with shot-guns and rifles—all commonly referred to as muskets—which have been sold to them, partly in exchange for land or in return for coconuts or for direct payment in coin, and partly, in the early days apparently, out of a deliberate attempt to promote war for the sake of creating a demand for cartridges sold at exorbitant prices. The Condominium agreement of 1906 included a clause forbidding such sales, but the sales still go on. The result is that, for decades past, almost every adult male in the group, at any rate in the Small Islands and Malekula, has possessed a gun, and still does. Now that there is a

[1] See p. 451. [2] See p. 456.

certain amount of control along the coastal regions, these weapons, while part of the normal equipment of the natives, as formerly were clubs and spears, do comparatively little damage. When they first appeared, however, it was but natural that the natives inhabiting the coastal districts, who had the first opportunity of acquiring them, were unable to resist the power thus put into their hands and used these new weapons not only against one another, but also against their traditional enemies further inland. These, lacking the means to defend themselves against this unknown and deadly form of attack, were in this way slaughtered in such numbers that it was impossible any more to equalise the number of dead. Whereas in the old days the number of dead in any given war was rarely more than two or three on either side, and, if the victors wanted peace, the discrepancy in numbers seldom demanded more than the sacrifice of one victim on their part, once muskets had been introduced the discrepancy became so great that all rules of warfare were abandoned, and wholesale massacres took place.

In this way, during the latter part of the nineteenth century the Small Islanders practically wiped out the whole population of what was once a flourishing district containing innumerable villages immediately inland from the adjacent Malekulan coast. The sites of these villages, including that of the mainland village of Tolamp, are now pointed out in what is thick jungle. Not only were the mainland villages thus decimated, however. The same tragedy occurred even in warfare between two Sides of each individual Small Island. The first villages to acquire muskets were in all cases those situated on the "Superior" Side of each Island, which, being in possession of the best beaches, were the first to come into contact with white men. These muskets they then used against the members of the other Side of their own Island, with the result that the villages on the "Inferior" Side were severely handled. This was the case with the two villages of Emil Marur and Emil Lep on Atchin, both of which were nearly wiped out.

The more far-seeing of the Small Islanders now bitterly regret these suicidal ravages which have so seriously reduced their numbers in face of the growing menace of the whites. But the measure of their regret still depends, however, on the degree of kinship ties between themselves and their victims. For, while muskets are now with common consent banned in warfare against their fellow Small Islanders, they are still used against the few remaining inhabitants of the adjacent mainland. Thus, no native will think of going to his garden on the mainland unless fully armed, and muskets are part of the normal equipment taken on every ceremonial visit to another Small Island, lest during the dance some hostile outbreak occur.[1]

[1] For the degrading influence of the musket on native warfare see also Wedgwood, 1, p. 33, and Harrisson, 2.

ACCOUNTS OF ACTUAL FIGHTING

(1) Wars Taking Place during the "Classical" Period of Vao History resulting from the Challenge issued by Na-va-gharu-kalat

I will bring this section to a close by giving three accounts of actual warfare.

Of these, the first two are what are regarded by the natives as "classics" dealing with the last phases of the fighting that resulted from the challenge issued by Na-va-gharu-kalat at the foundation of Pete-hul.[1] I have pointed out that this fighting lasted for three generations, which appears, if my conclusions are correct, to have been the time taken for the new system of kinship to be evolved out of the clash between an older matrilineal system with the new overtly patrilineal system introduced by Na-va-gharu-kalat.[2] We have seen how the final act of this process, so far as the internal organisation of the Superior Side of the Island was concerned, was the secession of Tulul from the parent-village of Pete-hul in order to found the offshoot-village of Togh-vanu. The two "classical" accounts about to be related refer to this period, the first dealing with the members of Tulul's own generation and that of his classificatory fathers, and the second with these two generations and that of his classificatory sons.

(a) Asaor is forced to "sacrifice" his sister's son

The first deals, like a Greek tragedy, with a social problem always of great moment, but at that time specially so, namely the clash of loyalties between a man's allegiance on the one hand to his matrilineal, and on the other to his patrilineal, kin. The situation is that arising between a man and his sister's son who, under a matrilineal system, are of one flesh, indissolubly united, but, on the introduction of a system of localised patrilineal descent, find themselves now belonging to rival clans. In this case the mother's brother belonged to Pete-hul on the Superior Side of the Island, but his sister had married a Peter-ihi man belonging to the Inferior Side, so that the mother's brother and his sister's son now found themselves on opposite Sides of the Island. The situation became acute when, in a war waged between the two Sides, the latter accidentally killed his mother's brother's son, and the new order demanded revenge. The tale ends with the ultimate victory of the new order, though at what cost in mental conflict to the two chief protagonists will be seen in the account itself.

The chief character in the tale is a man named Asaor. Asaor was a

[1] See p. 90. [2] See p. 167.

Pete-hul man, and when this village was attacked by Peter-ihi one of his sons (whose name was not given) fell a victim to an enemy arrow. He asked, "Who shot my son?" and they told him, "Your sister's son, Mulon-sung-ni-mal, shot him." Hearing this, he was sorely distressed, and said, "No. It cannot have been he. It must have been some other man." But they told him again, "It was indeed your sister's son." And he protested again and again, saying, "It must have been some other man." For he did not want to have to sacrifice his nephew, and kept on trying to make them tell him that it was another. But they persisted, and would give him no way out. So at last he said, "Very well. I've done my best to make you tell me that it was another man, but you keep on saying it was my sister's son. Well, then, it *was* my sister's son. Tell him to look out for himself, for I shall kill him."

When he heard this, Mulon-sung-ni-mal was afraid, and fled to Tevtu,[1] a village on a promontory on the East Malekulan coast some twelve miles to the south. And when Asaor heard that he was there, he sent word to him, saying, "I know you are at Tevtu. Come back to Vao and take what awaits you." Hearing this, Mulon-sung-ni-mal fled still further south, to a place called Rughbo, just north of Pangkumu. And Asaor heard that he was there, and sent word again, saying, "I know you are at Rughbo. Come back to Vao." But Mulon-sung-ni-mal remained, and lived on there till he was an old man, a *mer-sean*,[2] and his hair had turned white. But still Asaor kept on sending him taunting messages, and at last he could bear it no longer, and said, "He knows I'm here. I'm tired of these never-ending messages. I'm tired of life. I will go back to Vao and die there."

So Mulon-sung-ni-mal launched his canoe and returned to Tevtu, and they greeted him, and said, "So you've come back at last?" He said, "Yes, I've come back." But he did not stay there. That night he launched his canoe and paddled and paddled till he landed on Vao, at Lirövv, the beach belonging to his own village of Peter-ihi. Next morning he took his canoe and paddled over to the mainland and went up to the village of Tuntur, to visit his sister who was married there. And his sister's husband (*tahun*) took pity on him, knowing that he was come back to his death, and said to himself, "He's going to die. Let us give him as good a time as we can while we still have him." So he sent his wife to dig a specially festive kind of yam called *bihure*. And when she came back she made a pudding, and he ate some. But Mulon-sung-ni-mal could not eat it all, so they said, "Never mind, we'll put the pudding back into the oven, and you can come back tomorrow and eat it."

So he went back to Vao. Next morning, when he got up, he said, "Oh, I'm sick of this waiting. I shall go down to Le-siwar (the beach

[1] The Atchin pronunciation of this (see Maps I and II) is Tautu.

[2] See p. 529.

where the two Sides of the Island meet in formal combat) and let them kill me there."

So, accompanied by the manhood of Peter-ihi, he went down to Le-siwar, and together they approached the circular fort (*titimbe*), consisting of a single surrounding stone wall, where it was the custom for defenders to await the advance of their attackers. They were ready to defend him, but he wanted to be killed, and begged them to let him be, and to let the men of Pete-hul come and do their fell work without opposition. So he went alone into the fort, and, seating himself on the ground, he drew his knees up before him, folded his arms around them, and bending his head between his arms, with shut eyes awaited his death. His club and his bow and arrows lay before him.

Asaor, knowing his sister's son had gone to the fort, but not that he was thus all alone, despatched ten men to kill him. When the first of the ten came into the fort and found an old white-haired man sitting there unarmed and unresisting, he could not bring himself to kill him. The second and third, and all until the last, were equally unable. The tenth, a man named Ma-taor (Asaor's classificatory son), said, "What is stopping you, that you don't kill him?" And he struck the old man on the head with his club, and killed him.

Then they dragged the body up to the dancing-ground at Pete-hul, and Asaor commanded them to place it on the great dolmen. Then he addressed the absent men of Peter-ihi saying, "I wished that it had been another man who killed my child, but you told me it was my sister's son. I said again and again it must have been another. But you insisted that it was my sister's son. Then I said that I would kill him." Then he took a wooden hatchet,[1] and having danced with it in his hand, he struck (*e tei*) his victim on the head, and took a new name. And the name he took was Le-hev-hev, the name of the Guardian Ghost. For the Guardian Ghost swallows her victims without scruple, as Asoar had been made to swallow his own inclination and dearest wish. Henceforth, having committed this crime against his own nature in the interests of the new order of society, he said, "I am Le-hev-hev. I don't care what I do any more, and I shall do what I like." No other man, it is said, has ever dared take this name, for, though others have since been forced to sacrifice their sisters' sons, none has ever pursued this dread duty with such perseverance as he.

Facts to Note in the above Story

In the high tragedy of this tale, in which Asaor is forced to outrage all personal feeling and at the same time the main principle of the old

[1] This wooden hatchet, given to me by his descendant Pelur, and now in the Cambridge Museum, is figured in Plate XXIV and Fig. 59. It appears to be called *tele*, the same word as is used for a shell adze.

matrilineal order in obedience to the new principle of overt patrilineal descent, the chief points of interest are:

(i) Sociological

(*a*) That Asaor and his sister's son belonged to opposite Sides of the Island, thus typifying the revolutionary change brought about by the introduction of patrilineal descent which turned a man's nearest blood-relative according to the old matrilineal system into a traditional foe.

(*b*) The operation of *lex talionis*, which, after a lifelong feud, ended in restoring the balance between the two Sides of the Island, as set out below:

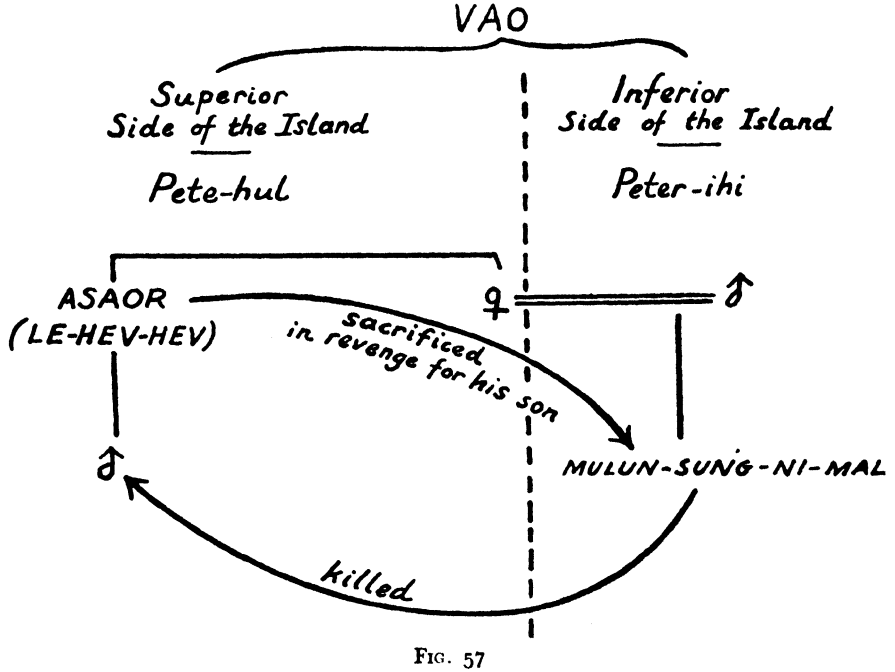


FIG. 57

(*c*) The ten men Asaor sent to perform the bloody task. The number ten is, as we have seen in the case of the ten Maki shrines and the ten divisions of society on Atchin, an introduced number associated with the newer patrilineal culture.[1] In the sending of the ten men to slay his sister's son we may see, therefore, another symbolic representation of the victory of the new patrilineal order over the old matrilineal system.

(ii) Ritual

The fact that the body of the victim is taken on to the great dolmen and there ritually "sacrificed," the sacrificer thereby taking a new name

[1] See p. 180.

and so becoming ritually re-born. This rite, and the ideas underlying it, will be discussed below in the section on "Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice." [1]

(iii) Personal

The feeling of inexorable fate in which the two chief protagonists in the drama are caught up. Lest these should be regarded as isolated phenomena, it is worth quoting two similar cases reported by Harrisson from the district of Matanavat not many miles away on the north coast of Malekula.

(*a*) The first closely parallels Asaor's feeling that in performing this outrage on his sister's son he had, as we should say, "sold himself to the devil," and relates how a certain man, after sacrificing a bastard whom he had brought up as his own adopted son, took the title Mal-tanas, "Lord of the Underworld." The story is quoted in the footnote on p. 621 in the present volume.[2]

(*b*) The second is the case of a man named Malkar, who slew his father in the form of a snake, whereon his father's spirit spoke saying, "'You are a pig, so the Big Nambas tribesmen will eat you.' And from that day forth Malkar never went to the Big Nambas country. . . . But his heart would not be at peace. At last, after many months, he said, 'Well, I will go and be eaten.' And he went in a canoe from Wowo. The men of Ontowalo in the Big Nambas ate him. For which the men of Wowo who took him had to pay recompense to the chief of Matanavat for losing him. . . ." [3]

(*b*) WAR BETWEEN THE SUPERIOR SIDE OF VAO AND THE MAINLAND VILLAGE OF BOT-NAVI

The above account, while concerned primarily with the problem of the sister's son, at the same time gives a good picture of the equalising nature of warfare as carried on between the two Sides of Vao. The next, which includes several of the same characters, gives a similar picture of *lex talionis* as it applies to the relations between Vao and the neighbouring mainland. It is at the same time an interesting example of the lack of co-operation of the two Sides of the Island, in that the conflict is waged by one Side only, namely the Superior Side formed of the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, without assistance from the other.

[1] See p. 617.

[2] Elsewhere Harrisson (1, p. 110) states that Mal-tanas is taken as a title by all those in Matanavat who perform human sacrifice.

[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 60.

How Val-vale, to avenge the death of his son Na-kin, sent Ma-merer to kill his wife's father. Ma-merer himself was killed, but the wife's father and another Bot-navi man were killed and "sacrificed" by Asaor and Val-vale to atone for the two Vao dead.

The men of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu went to Leuru, on the mainland, to fight the men of the mainland village of Bot-navi.[1] At the end of each day's fighting, when the opposing parties had withdrawn, the Pete-hul men were in the habit of quenching their thirst by drinking coconuts, skinning them always on the same stake,[2] which was a particularly good one. This was observed by one of the Bot-navi men, who one night concealed a poisoned human bone-tip in the ground where they placed their feet to do the skinning. The following evening, after the fighting, the Pete-hul men came as usual to skin coconuts, and one of their number, Na-kin, son of Val-vale, trod on the poisoned bone-tip. The poison took immediate effect, and he was carried back to Vao, and died.

His father Val-vale mourned (*taur*) for him, staying at home in a state of ceremonial fasting (*velval*), eating no yams, covering himself with white ashes and wearing a necklet with pendant pigs' tusks called *na-tal*. And the fighting continued, but, do what they could, they were unable to kill a Bot-navi man in revenge for Na-kin.

So Val-vale resolved upon a trick. Now Ma-merer, son of Asaor and classificatory brother of Tulul, was married to a Bot-navi woman. So Val-vale prepared a pudding and in it cooked a fowl, and invited Ma-merer to come and eat with him.[3] And as Ma-merer was scraping coconuts for cream to squeeze over the pudding, he noticed the protuberance made by the fowl in the pudding (even though the wrapping leaves had not yet been removed). So he asked, "What have you cooked in this pudding?" Val-vale answered, "A fowl." "You want me to eat a fowl with you?" said Ma-merer, "I see you wish to ask a service of me. What is it?" Val-vale said, "I want you to kill your wife's father, that I may end my fast and clean my body."

"Very well," said Ma-merer. But he was troubled, and, removing the coconut scrapings out of the wooden bowl (*narövv*), where they were, and wrapping them in an umbrella-palm leaf (*ropun*), he took these and the uneaten pudding and came to his brother Tulul and his father Asaor. And he told them, "Val-vale has cooked this fowl for me and wants me to kill my wife's father. What am I to do?" Then Asaor answered, "Well, here you are already come to Le-hev-hev. My name is Le-hev-

[1] Another version gives the name of this village as Peter-eve. It is possible that, as with Tolamp and Mal-weaweng, each name represents a moiety.

[2] Special stakes (*negos*), about 3 feet 6 inches high, are planted in the ground for this purpose.

[3] This is a common trick. If a guest eats a pudding with a fowl in it, whether wittingly or not, he is bound to accede to any request his host may make.

hev,[1] the Guardian Ghost, who cares for no one. If you did not want to kill your father-in-law you should have left the pudding with Val-vale. But now you have come with it to Le-hev-hev, and you cannot go back. Now you will have to kill him." And all three ate the pudding with the fowl in it.

And when they had eaten the pudding, Ma-merer went to his wife, and acted deceitfully towards her, asking, "Has your father plenty of pigs?" She said, "Yes, he has many." "Well," he said, "I want to borrow one. You go and stay with him for a couple of days. In two days I and my brothers will come to the mainland. All you have to do is to arrange with your father that he shall come half-way down the road to meet us, and bring the pig with him."

Early on the appointed day, Ma-merer, Ma-taor [2] and all the men of Togh-vanu and Pete-hul went to the mainland, and concealed themselves in the bush about the meeting-place. And, true to her word, down the path came Ma-merer's wife with her father and a friend of his carrying the pig, a crescent-tusker. Only Ma-merer was visible, waiting for them in the pathway. But while he spoke with his wife's father his bowels revolted from killing him, and, as any man of the enemy village would do for revenging the death of Na-kin, he slew the bearer of the pig. Hearing the blow, and thinking the wife's father was dead, those in ambush rushed out. They did not see the dead man, but only the wife's father alive and fleeing. They gave chase, and soon he too was slain. But all did not go well with the attackers, for in the confusion of the moment Ma-taor, throwing his spear at the retreating enemy, struck Ma-merer himself, who fell, gravely but not mortally wounded. His lease of life, however, was not long. For, returning home quickly and by a devious route to escape the pursuit of the bushmen, the party had to descend one of the many precipitous outcrops of coral ranged in cliffs along the inland hills of Malekula.[3] Having lowered the wounded man by means of ropes to the bottom of the cliff, they threw down the bodies of their dead enemies whom they were carrying home to be "sacrificed" and eaten; but so carelessly that one of them fell on the prostrate form of Ma-merer, and killed him. So three men met their death in this affray. And the woman who had been used as a tool for decoying her father fled to her own village.

At last the marauding party, with their three victims (friend and foe alike being now called *ta-mat oamp*, "ghost of one slain in battle"), descended to the beach called Veturah, opposite the island of Vao. Here they danced and sang the cannibal song, and Val-vale, who was by now an old man, and had remained on Vao in accordance with the restrictions attendant on his mourning for his son, heard the song, and knew they had

[1] See p. 606.
[2] Famous already for the slaying of Mulon-sung-ni-mal (see p. 606).
[3] Remains of successive periods of land elevation (see p. 7).

a victim. So he sent his classificatory son Na-mbal and said, "Go and see what they are singing for." So Na-mbal paddled over to Veturah, and they told him what had happened, and said, "We made a mistake, and killed one of our own men too." And they loaded the bodies on to their canoes and paddled over towards Vao.

But they were afraid of Asaor, for none dared tell him of the death of his son Ma-merer. So Na-mbal went on ahead, and when he was near the shore, instead of landing, he remained afloat, with the blade of his paddle in the sand to steady him. And those ashore perceived that something was amiss, and they asked him, and he told them what had happened. And Asoar, when he heard, said, "Bring them all ashore. Bring Ma-merer to Tagune (Asaor's beach),[1] and land the other two at Kowu. I will 'sacrifice' one, and Val-vale will 'sacrifice' the other." So Asaor "sacrificed" his son's father-in-law, saying, "*Simbaten Ma-merer*," "Equivalent for the death of Ma-merer," [2] and Val-vale "sacrificed" the other, saying, "*Simbaten natuk*," "Equivalent for the death of my son [Na-kin]." So the dead were avenged, but Val-vale still had to pay pigs to Asaor, since it was in his service that Ma-merer had met his death.

I have recorded the words of the song sung in celebration of the double sacrifice. It runs:

REFRAIN (*ad lib*).

O ai ya gho ngo
O ai ya gho ngo
Banggo a i e

VERSE 1.

Val-vale pwetar-aso ghoro se tele o som,
Sele i mbar-mbar mboto-navi o,
ro tei na-vere mbe viamo.

REFRAIN (as above).

VERSE 2, as Verse 1, but substituting the name of Asaor for that of Val-vale.

The whole song is repeated twice, and at the end of each repétition the singers shout "*Hio, hio, ho!*" and go through the motion of striking the victim.

The word *pwetar-aso* in the first line is possibly the song-language pronunciation of Peter-eve, the alternative name for (or other moiety of) Bot-navi, the name of which occurs in the second line. The first line includes a reference to the hatchet (*tele*) with which the victim is struck,

[1] The exact location of this beach is not marked on my map.

[2] It will be noted that Ma-merer was considered as having been slain by the enemy, although as a matter of fact his wound was due to the misguided spear-thrust of one of his own party, and his ultimate death to the inadvertence of his own clansmen in dropping one of the enemy corpses on to him during the journey home.

and the last line includes the word *tei*, "to strike." More than this I am unable to translate, nor did I record the tune.

The following table summarises the information given in the above account respecting the equalising of deaths on either side and the subsequent "sacrifices" performed on the two enemy victims by the respective fathers of the two Vao men who were killed:

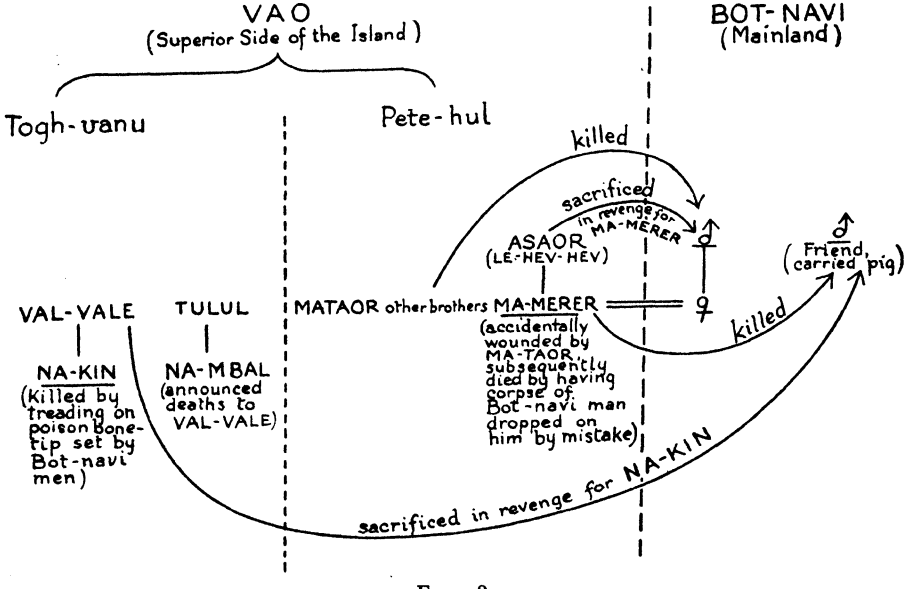


FIG. 58

This fight is said to have been the last of all those specifically occasioned by Na-va-gharu-kalat's challenge issued at the foundation of Pete-hul.

(2) RECENT WAR WITH MUSKETS, ENDING IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINLAND VILLAGE OF TOLAMP

The two accounts given above both deal with the "classical" period of Vao history at the moment when, after three generations of fighting, the new social order was becoming stabilised. Since these events took place before the arrival of the white man and the introduction of muskets, with their disintegrating effect on native warfare, they both illustrate the operation of *lex talionis* with its attendant equalising of the number of dead on both sides.

The third account about to be given, dealing with the final disintegration of the mainland village of Tolamp, is of a very different nature. For the events here narrated belong to the disastrous period already mentioned when the Small Islanders, being the first to acquire firearms

from the white man, used them without mercy against their mainland foes who, not being so armed, were unable to defend themselves, and so were, with few exceptions, wiped out, with the result that the once populous adjacent mainland is now nothing but a waste of jungle.

For this reason, though some attempt was made to equalise out the dead, it proved impossible to carry it out, and the Small Islanders, who also suffered heavy losses in fighting among themselves, won a barren victory which they now heartily regret. Nevertheless, the story illustrates many features of native warfare not included in the other accounts, and so is well worth recording, such as (*a*) the enmity between the Inferior Side of Atchin and the Superior Side of Vao, (*b*) the friendship between Tolamp and the Superior Side of Vao, (*c*) the use of disguises in fighting, and (*d*) the way in which one village after another gets dragged into a quarrel with which, but for the traditional enmity between the two moieties running through the whole culture-complex, they apparently in the first place had nothing whatever to do.

The events here narrated occurred two generations after the erection of the great monolith in the mainland village of Tolamp described on pp. 582-4, and took place some eighty-five years ago, or, as nearly as can be calculated, in about the year 1855. As is often the case, the immediate causation was a marital dispute, this time between a woman belonging to the Superior Side of Vao and her husband, who belonged to the Inferior Side of Atchin, as a result of which she left him and went to another man.

THE ACCOUNT

A Vao woman belonging by birth to the *Holovon* Quarter of Togh-vanu on the Superior Side of Vao was married to a man of the village of Senhar [1] on the Inferior Side of Atchin. One day in the course of a quarrel her husband swore at her, saying, "You are only a Malo woman," a term of reproach, since the men of Malo have no penis-wrappers, but wear instead a simple apron (*ghamb-ghamb*) such as is worn on Oba. The woman was deeply hurt, and ran away back to her own people at Togh-vanu on Vao, and told her brother what her husband had said. Her brother felt himself as deeply wounded as she, and told her not to go back to her Atchin husband, but sent her instead to be married to a man of Bakeloah, a mainland village not far from Rerav.

This was an insult to which the folk of the Inferior Side of Atchin could not submit, and they determined to fetch her back. Not knowing the secret paths, however, they deemed it too dangerous to attempt an expedition to Bakeloah alone. So a Rerav man called Sir-siri who lived

[1] The name of this village is pronounced Heneghar on Vao, but in accordance with my practice of calling villages by the names used by their inhabitants, I shall refer to it as Senhar.

at the mainland village of Na-tsing-ware, bringing with him a disguise of a kind called *na-mat*,[1] came to Senhar and offered to show them the way. They accepted his offer, and paddled over with him to the mainland.

Arrived on the mainland, however, the Atchin men seem again to have become doubtful about the wisdom of risking their lives in the interior (or perhaps they feared treachery on the part of their guide). For the story goes that they said among themselves, "Why, this is a mainlander, and one will do as well as another. We won't bother to go to Bakeloah. We'll just kill this one." So they slew Sir-siri. And one leg they cut off and took with them to Atchin. The rest of the body they left on the mainland, and his own people of Na-tsing-ware came and took it. But they, apparently, wanted no war with Atchin, so they took the body and carried it to a special house in the bush called *ne-him romel* [2] close to Bakeloah, saying to the men of that place, "*Ta-mat ghami*," "This is *your* corpse," adding "You took that woman and offended the Atchin folk. This is your quarrel, not ours. You go and avenge him."

So the men of Bakeloah went down towards the coast and there fought with the men of Senhar, who were supported by the other villages on the Inferior Side of Atchin, including Emil Marur. And one man and two women of Emil Marur were killed. But when the people of Emil Marur wanted to retaliate, the men of Bakeloah, being evidently satisfied with their revenge, and anxious to avoid further trouble, said, "This is none of our quarrel. It is not our fault if that woman was sold to us. It is the fault of her brother, who sold her. She belongs to Togh-vanu, on Vao. You had better go and fight the men of Togh-vanu, not us."

So the men of the Inferior Side of Atchin said, "Very well, we will go and fight them." But Togh-vanu, being on the Superior Side of Vao, which is an island, cannot be easily surprised, so they fell upon the mainland village of Tolamp instead, with which Togh-vanu was closely related.

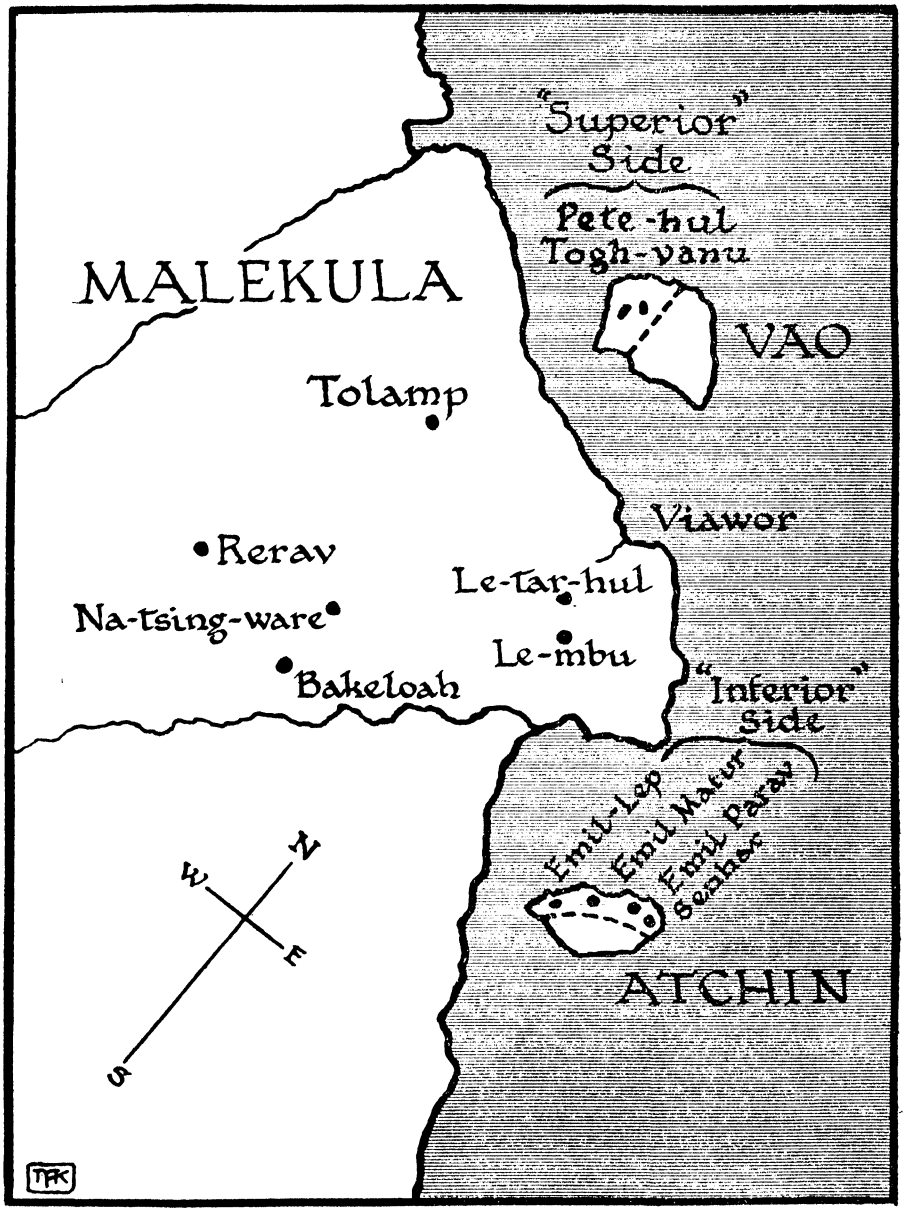
This occurred shortly after the death of Te-lugh-lugh, son of Laha-mbar-mbar who erected the giant monolith,[3] at a time when Te-lugh-lugh's son Ter-ter-mal (father of my now middle-aged informant Ma-taru) was but a boy not yet old enough to wear a bark-board belt. This boy

[1] This is clearly the same as the disguise called *limas* formerly used in South-West Malekula by a man when going into a district other than his own to kill an enemy. This was "a special kind of costume . . . which covered the wearer from head to foot. Over the head was put a mask of tree-fern wood, in which great slanting eyes had been cut; covering the upper part of the body in such a way as to leave the arms free was a waistcoat of . . . bark and hanging below this a skirt of banana leaves reaching nearly to the ground. In such a disguise a man could be fairly confident that when he had killed his foe, he would not be recognised" (Deacon, 4, p. 217). Deacon records in a note that the same kind of disguise is used in the Ranon district of Ambrim.

[2] I do not know the significance of this. *Ne-him* means "house," but the meaning of *romel* is obscure. The structure would appear to be some kind of Lodge or shrine.

[3] See p. 586.

Ter-ter-mal happened to have climbed up a bread-fruit tree and was sitting in its branches when the men of Atchin burst upon the unsuspecting village of Tolamp. They killed two old men and a woman, mother of



MAP IX

Sketch-map to illustrate the fighting described on pages 613-17.

Ve-lingi, who was speared through the breast. Ter-ter-mal prudently remained hidden in his tree till the attackers had withdrawn, when he climbed down and joined in the pursuit, but took very good care not to catch them up. That night the Atchin men slept at the village of Le-mbu on the mainland road between Vao and Atchin. But, to show that their grievance, in spite of its having been wreaked on the people of Tolamp, was really against the inhabitants of Togh-vanu, it was to the Togh-vanu people and to their friends on the Superior Side of Vao that they uttered the customary challenge "*Ta-mat ghami*," "The corpses are yours."

It was now the turn of the Togh-vanu men to take up the challenge and to avenge their friends. They, together with the men of the *Naru* Quarter of Pete-hul,[1] also belonging to the Superior Side of Vao, landed that evening on the mainland beach of Viawor and slept on the road at Le-tar-hal. Shortly before dawn they crept through the bush and surrounded the village where the men of the Inferior Side of Atchin were sleeping.

At peep of day, when the fowls came down from roost they cackled furiously at the sight of these strange figures on the ground. The men of Atchin heard it and, knowing what it meant, cried "*Nise, wahal ko?*" "What, is it war?" The Vao folk started up from their ambush, and singing a war song burst through the fences and over the stone walls, and fell upon those within, killing ten men and putting the rest to flight. Then they set fire to the houses.

Pelur,[2] of Togh-vanu, secured a body with plenty of fat on it and dragged it to his canoe. The others were left where they lay. Of the ten dead, three were set off against the three killed the previous day at Tolamp, and the Superior Side of Vao remained the victor by seven bodies. The corpse secured by Pelur was given to Tolamp.

Those lost to either side in this conflict, which took place entirely on the mainland, were, according to this account:

Inferior Side of Atchin	Mainland and Superior Side of Vao
(Wife of Senhar man ran home to Togh-vanu and subsequently remarried to Bakeloah man.)	Sir-siri (of Na-tsing-ware).
1 man and 2 women (killed by Bakeloah men).	2 old men and 1 woman (of Tolamp).
10 men (killed by men of Superior Side of Vao).	

[1] The members of the remaining three Pete-hul Quarters could not come because they were engaged in observing the anniversary communion feast called *hulhuluan* (see p. 557) for a deceased clansman.

[2] My aged informant. See Table II, and Plates V and VII.

In the early stages of this conflict the rule of *lex talionis* seems to have been carried out fairly successfully, and the numbers of dead on either side accord well with those killed in the traditional fighting of the "classical" period. Moreover, the only weapon mentioned in this fighting is the spear with which one of the Tolamp women was killed. It would therefore appear that this part of the fighting was fought without muskets. The ten Atchin men killed in the final battle were, however, out of all proportion to the number of those usually killed in the old days, and the unwonted slaughter was probably due to the possession of muskets by the Vao men before these weapons had reached Atchin.

It is, however, clear from my informant's comment on this account that the Atchin men soon found means of revenging themselves, for he states that in the fighting that followed the inhabitants of the mainland village of Tolamp were almost wiped out. As we have seen, the survivors later migrated to Vao, where they were given land to live on by their Togh-vanu kinsmen, in return for which the Togh-vanu people were given a large share of garden ground on the mainland formerly belonging to Tolamp.

CANNIBALISM AND HUMAN SACRIFICE

Cannibalism general, with few exceptions, throughout the whole group.

When the white man first came to the New Hebrides, cannibalism was practised almost all over the group, though there were certain exceptions. Thus, Codrington reports that there was no evidence for it in Maewo,[1] and that it was quite definitely not practised in the Banks and Torres Islands, though tales of Vampyres in those islands seem to indicate that it was once the custom there too.[2] A somewhat similar condition of affairs is reported by Tattevin from the district of Pornowol in South Raga, where cannibalism is not practised but man-killers assume the title *ias* in memory of certain mythical beings of this name who ate men.[3] Another curious pocket of natives who are not cannibals though all the surrounding natives are is reported by Harrisson from Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula.[4] These are, however, exceptions, and as a general rule cannibalism existed throughout the group.

It was, however, the first thing to be suppressed by what Government there was, with the result that the custom is confined now to East, Central and South-West Santo, the interior of Malekula, East Ambrim and South Raga.[5]

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 344.
[2] Ibid., 3, pp. 221-2.
[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 409. See also p. 17 in this volume.
[4] Harrisson, 2, p. 40.
[5] Speiser, 3, pp. 239, 449. Tattevin, however, says that the Pornowol in South Raga are no longer cannibals.

Recent cannibal feasts in the Small Islands.

The last cannibal feast recorded on Vao was in 1892, when it is said that seventeen natives were eaten. This is reported by Speiser from a French publication [1] that I have not had access to, so cannot estimate its value, but the large number reported is so very unusual that I can only suppose it to have been due to one of the raids carried out with muskets.

The last cannibal feast recorded on Wala was in 1906, as the result of peace-making negotiations with a number of mainland villages with whom they had for some time been at war. The mainlanders, having on this occasion apparently been the victors, sent to Wala the hands and heads of as many men as there had been Wala men killed, in order to equalise the number. Speiser reports, however, that at the delivery of these the Wala men slew three of the enemy envoys.[2] Subsequent equalising is not reported, and it may be taken that this slaughter may have been also part of the above-mentioned musket-induced war of extermination against the bush folk.

Since then, owing to Government and Mission influence, there have been no recorded cannibal feasts on the Small Islands, and if the Small Islanders wish to indulge, this has to be done in secret on the mainland. The natives of Atchin joined in at least one such feast while I was on the island in 1914. The full story will be given in another volume. It is enough here to say that the feast on this occasion consisted of the arm of a woman belonging to one of the mainland villages who had eloped and had been inadvertently killed (for neither the Small Islanders nor the Malekulans kill women if they can help it). The men of Atchin had not taken part in the affray, but it is the custom to send joints off the victim to relatives in other villages, and this arm had been apportioned to them. It was, however, over a day old and rather high when it arrived, so that the participants in the meal, held secretly on the mainland coast opposite Atchin, did not particularly relish it, though all partook. The young men particularly thought it nasty, but the older men attached a spiritual value to it that the younger men no longer do.

Godefroy, writing as late as December 27th, 1925,[3] records how, a fortnight before, some Vao men killed a Vao woman on the adjacent mainland (a thing that could never have happened in the old days when women were not killed except by accident), and, contrary to my young Atchin friends, enjoyed the resulting feast, saying, "*Ka mbate vavine kam*

[1] Bourges, p. 129.

[2] Speiser, 3, pp. 242-3. One body was sent to Atchin, but the men of Atchin were afraid to eat it for fear of vengeance on the part of the mainlanders.

[3] In a letter written to his mother, of which his brother, the Rev. A. Godefroy, kindly sent me a copy.

gani mo ruk se!", "We have cooked a woman and eaten her, and found her very good." [1]

Cannibalism an integral part of human sacrifice.

Such meals, held in secret for fear of vengeance by a British or French man-o'-war, represent the last stage in the degradation of what was once in the Small Islands, and still is in the interior of Malekula, a very important custom of religious import, in which cannibalism formed an integral part of the larger and more embracing rite of human sacrifice.

We have already seen several examples of victims killed during the course of ordinary warfare brought home and "sacrificed," whereon the sacrificer becomes ritually re-born.[2] In all such cases the body is then sacramentally eaten in a manner to be described below.[3] It is to be noted, however, that in the old type of warfare before the era of wholesale slaughter due to the introduction of European firearms a man was rarely killed in order that he might be eaten, but was only sacrificed and eaten if he happened to be killed. Moreover, in such cases the motives proper to sacrifice were more often than not mixed with emotions of revenge.

Since ritual cannibalism is far from being universal even in the Western Pacific, and since elsewhere the motive of revenge is amply satisfied by the mere act of killing, combined at times with bodily mutilation or exposure to public view, it is clear that we are here faced with a cultural element introduced into warfare from some other source.

There is a clear indication as to what this source was in the statement so often made by the natives in all the Small Islands that the sacrifice of tusked boars in the present-day Maki replaces the former sacrifice of human beings.[4] I have already referred to the traditional slaying on Atchin, some twenty generations ago, of a cannibal ogre called Ias (corresponding to the mythical *ias* in South Raga) by two brothers called Mal-mal-mari and Mal-mal-oba who were apparently responsible for the introduction of the Maki into that island.[5] The same point was made in the answer given to Godefroy by a Vao native whom he asked what his ancestors did before the establishment of the Maki. The native replied, "*Nam ven-venei re, nam ga-gani re,*", "We used to shoot and eat

[1] With regard to the killing and eating of white men, it may be of interest to quote from a letter written by Mr. Ewan Corlette (2) who has lived on Malekula since 1903. He says:

"In the whole thirty-five years of my residence here, no missionary (white) has been killed by natives, nor is there any record of any such thing before: though a good many whites have been killed, no adult has ever been eaten or captured, within my knowledge: the last white man killed was a French recruiter, in 1917, at Malua Bay, on the West Coast. The last murder—there is a psychological difference between a shooting and a murder—was that of R. J. Bridges and his five children, at Tautu, on the writer's property. The body of one of the children, a boy aged four, was taken to the village and eaten: this is the one and only instance within the writer's memory of any person of white blood being eaten."

[2] See pp. 608, 611. [3] See p. 622. [4] See pp. 14, 255, 736. [5] See p. 171.

one another."[1] Amplifying this, he went on: "They fought with bows and arrows, and ate one another! They had no sense, they understood nothing, they were savages . . . *na-man gen-gan* [literally 'birds of prey']. But the Maki made us wise."[2]

Theoretically, therefore, the Maki is held to have abolished human sacrifice in favour of the sacrifice of tusked boars.[3]

Human sacrifice at consecration of a ghamal.

Nevertheless, it still remained customary to obtain a human victim for sacrifice, if possible, on the dolmen built in front of the *ghamal* during the consecration rites connected with its erection, and these rites were regarded as a type of Maki.[4] In the case recorded on p. 451 the victim was bought from the neighbourhood of Unua, on the east coast of Malekula outside the Small Island cultural area, and would therefore be regarded as a foreigner. I do not know whether he had been killed in battle or whether he was an undesirable member of the sellers' own community on whom they decided to "cash in" and so trussed up in the same manner as the human victim sent as a peace-offering described on p. 599. The victim sacrificed at the consecration of the *ghamal* was paid for with pigs, but I did not record the number of these, or their grade value. There is no doubt, however, that the human victim was worth many times the value of the finest tusked boar, as the emotions arising out of the disputed right to perform the sacrifice, which caused the members of the discomfited Lodge to leave Vao altogether and found a new home on the mainland,[5] clearly show. There is no doubt also that he victim was subsequently cut up and eaten, as is the invariable custom after formal sacrifice of this nature.[6]

[1] Literally "We (repeatedly) shot one another, we ate one another."

[2] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 51. In a previous phrase he erroneously attributes the introduction of the Maki to Melteklerang (see p. 283, note 2). He also makes the native say that his ancestors were "like wild beasts," an unfortunate phrase, since there are no wild animals in Malekula larger than the imported rat.

[3] It is notable, however, that the Ambat (variously called also Kabat and Hambut) culture-heroes in West and South-West Malekula were not cannibals though the present inhabitants are (Deacon, 3, pp. 227-8).

[4] For human sacrifice on a dolmen on Malo see Donau, quoted by Speiser, 3, p. 242.

[5] See p. 452.

[6] Obtaining a victim for purely ritual reasons by means other than war is reported also from South-West Malekula by Deacon (4, p. 228): "It is said to have been common in days gone by to buy, or obtain in some other way, a human victim for an important *Nimangki* celebration." Here, however, unless Deacon is mistaken, the sacrificial aspect seems to have given place largely to sensual considerations, since he adds: "apparently this did not form any essential part of the ceremonial, but was regarded merely as a tasty contribution to the feast."

One method of obtaining a victim recorded by Harrisson (2, pp. 38-40) seems to have been the rearing of a bastard solely for sacrifice. The bastard is adopted by a married man who "sees that the child is carefully tended and brought up as his own son, kept healthy and given the best affection," but at the same time keeps him in complete

It has been pointed out already that the Maki performed for the erection of a *ghamal* was a very special type of Maki, probably of a more archaic type than the Low and High Maki which constitute the normal present-day ritual cycle, and it is probably for this reason that the only actual case of human sacrifice that I have recorded as forming part of Maki ritual was connected with this older type of the rite. I have no record of any such human sacrifice either at High or Low Maki.

Cannibal oven on stone-platform at Pete-hul.

At the same time, however, there still exists, as we have seen, the cave hollowed out among the roots of a banyan tree on the Upper Side of Pete-hul dancing-ground and illustrated in Plate II, in which there was a special stone oven reserved for cannibal feasts. Godefroy says, "In the old days, it received the cut-up limbs of the enemies of the Pete-hul clan who had been killed in war, and these enemies were Vao men belonging to other clans." [1]

The victims were, of course, not confined to the members of other

ignorance of the fate in store for him. The sacrificial rite is said to take place when the boy is about thirteen. A special shrine is built over what appears to be a stone-platform with the usual ancestor-image in front supporting the carved image of a hawk. On the morning of the fatal day the wife of the adopted father who is about to sacrifice him decorates the victim with flowers, bright feathers of scarlet parrot and green fruit-dove. His body is then rubbed down with coconut oil, and his face is painted (though it is not stated what colour). His body also is decorated with leaves, and, though he has not been incised, he is given a new penis-wrapper. Then, as though he were the chief personage in the rite, he leads in by its rope a three-circle-tusker, painted as he is, while behind dance his fellow-villagers. Inside the shrine is a "stone-altar" (i.e. dolmen). It is not stated in what relation this stands to the stone-platform, but from the description it would appear to be in front, as on Vao. The adopted father sits on this dolmen, waiting as the procession headed by the victim dances towards him. Suddenly, those dancing behind the boy seize him, and slipping over his blue-painted neck a rope dangling from the hawk-image, jerk it so that he is left hanging, whereon the sacrificer, lifting his club, sacrifices him by striking him on the head. The victim is then lowered, and the three-circle-tusker he led in is clubbed also and left on the victim's body to die. The body of both victims, the boy and the tusked boar, are then given to the sacrificer's "friend," and the boy's body is given to the makers of the ancestor-image belonging to the neighbouring village of Wowo to eat. The sacrificer assumes the title Mal-tanas. "He communicates with the unearthly. He may do as he wishes; he may even do what is not done. No man dare be hated by him. After the killing he stays for thirty days on the stone-platform; his limbs are covered with armlets of the most valuable shell beads from Malo island . . .; he has pigs' tusks as bangles from elbow to wrist, he eats only yam."

[Apart from the poignant interest of this story, it is significant to note (*a*) the ritual identity between the human victim and the three-circle-tusker; (*b*) the title Mal-tanas, which means Lord of the Underworld, corresponding to that of Le-hev-hev the Guardian Ghost assumed by Asaor on Vao (see p. 606); and (*c*) the ritual seclusion and abstinence observed by the sacrificer on the stone-platform after the rite.]

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1932, p. 231. He adds: "Later, when peace was ultimately established among all the Vao clans, it served for the preparation of feasts more fitting for human beings: pigs, and even heads of young cattle, had the honour of passing through the oven. At last, the rain having washed away its exterior walls, causing great loss of heat, it was filled in, and still is, let us hope, for ever!"

Vao clans,[1] since, as we have seen, warfare was not confined to Vao, but was waged also against mainland villages and other Small Islands, whose dead were also, if possible, eaten. What connexion, if any, the cooking and eating of enemies had with the present-day Maki I am unfortunately unable to say. It is, however, to be noted that the cave and oven are situated on a pile of stones forming the earliest stone-platform of the long wall-like series of such monuments that have been built for successive performances of the Maki rite in this village. Taken in conjunction with the fact that on Atchin a human victim taken in war was always slaughtered on the stone-platform, there seems at least strong presumptive evidence that in some earlier form of the rite human sacrifice played an important part.

Human sacrifice on dolmen confers higher favours than the sacrifice of tusked boars. "Re-sacrifice" by men of high rank.

There is in any case no doubt in the native mind that human sacrifice conferred favours of the same order as, but still superior to, the sacrifice of tusked boars at the Maki. For, in warfare, every effort was made not to kill an enemy outright, but, having severely injured him so that he could not escape, to transport him home to be ritually sacrificed, on the great dolmen if on Vao, or on the stone-platform if on Atchin. So important was it to keep the victim alive until the moment of sacrifice that, if he showed signs of dying before there was time to bring him home, the victor would swiftly build an improvised dolmen in the bush and ritually sacrifice him on that. Sometimes, however, when a man had been killed, the sacrifice was performed not by the actual killer, but by some older or more important member of the clan on whose behalf the killing had been done. Instances of this have already been given on pp. 606 and 611. It will be remembered also how, in the account of the foundation of Pete-hul, when Na-va-gharu-kalat commanded his clansmen, "If any stranger come ashore, kill him and bring him to me to cut up," it was not the killer, but Na-va-gharu-kalat, who intended to have the honour and glory of performing the sacrifice.[2]

The sacrificial act. All male members of the community partake of the flesh.

If forced to sacrifice in the bush, the sacrificer had to use any weapon he had at hand with which to deal the sacrificial blow, and moreover had

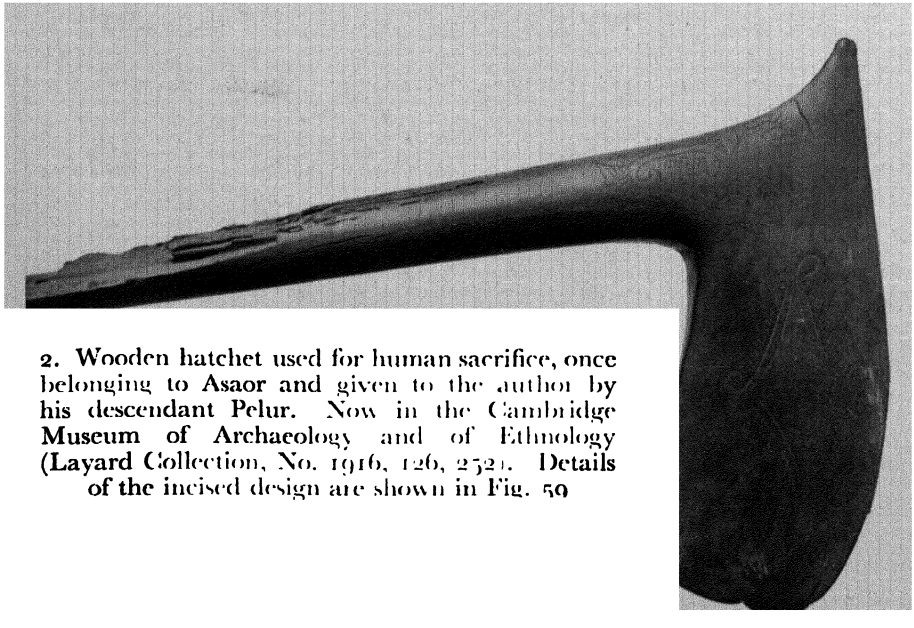
[1] Those killed in disputes between different portions of the same patrilineal village were neither sacrificed nor eaten. Their immediate kinsmen were allowed to take the body and give it due burial. A case in point is that of my informant Ma-taru's father Ter-ter-mal, of Tolamp, killed during a fight between two Tolamp Lodges. His body was recovered and received due burial, and so saved from the fate of being a wandering ghost.

[2] This recalls the practice in Tanna, where cannibalism was the prerogative of the chiefly class (Humphreys, p. 83).

PLATE XXIV



1. Rain-stone used in the weather magic described on p. 635, of which two sides are carved to represent the human face, the third a shark, and the fourth (not seen in the illustration) a caterpillar



2. Wooden hatchet used for human sacrifice, once belonging to Asaor and given to the author by his descendant Pelur. Now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology (Layard Collection, No. 1916, 126, 252). Details of the incised design are shown in Fig. 59

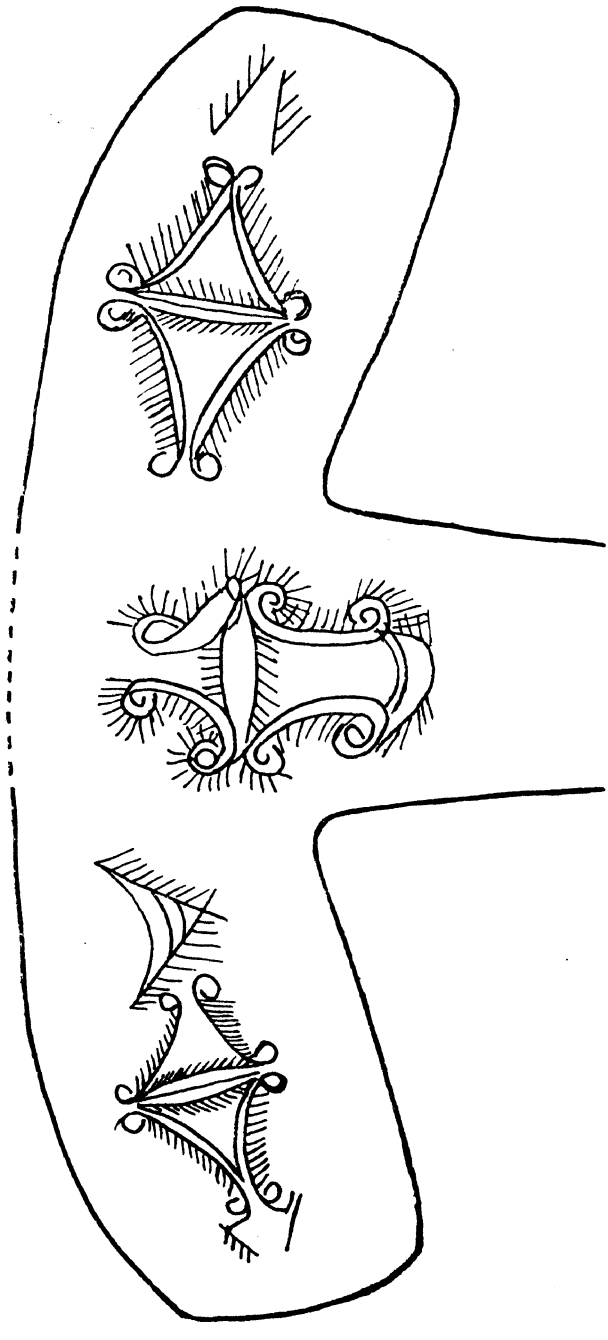


FIG. 59

Designs incised on the wooden hatchet used for human sacrifice figured in Plate XXIV.
The hatchet is single-bladed and made out of one piece of wood. The tracing shows the designs on either side of the blade and on the rounded back. The patterns are all carried out in the hatched technique used frequently in body painting. The three main designs, each consisting of two scrolled triangles set with their bases together, are said to represent lice (*na-hui*). The single hatched triangle represents the sail of a canoe.

to forgo the publicity that accompanies sacrifice on the great dolmen at home. Therefore every effort was made to transport the body home, when the sacrificer ceremonially despatched the victim (whether alive or already dead) with the special kind of wooden hatchet illustrated in Plate XXIV,[1] the only difference being that if the victim was alive the act of sacrifice was called by the sacrificial term *mbal*, while in case of re-sacrifice after death it was called simply *tei*, meaning "strike." Indeed, so strong is the natives' recognition of the symbolic nature of such re-sacrifice that there are cases on record of the re-sacrificer simply tapping the dead body with his finger. Whatever method was used, however, the result was that the sacrificer became ritually re-born and signified this fact by taking a new name and title of high rank that would have taken half a lifetime to acquire by the slower, though possibly more "civilised," procedure of the ordinary pig-killing Maki. Special cannibal songs accompanied the rite.[2] The body was then cut up and placed to cook, if at Pete-hul, in the stone oven underneath the cave hewn out of the aerial banyan roots on the stone-platform on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground. Then followed an all-night dance. The manner of cooking was the same as that for a sacrificial boar, in a great pudding of yams and other vegetables which, when taken out of the oven, was sprinkled with coconut cream. When cooked, every male member of the clan joined in the feast, it being essential that each one, whether he liked the taste of it or not, should partake, if only by placing a small morsel in his mouth.[3] Joints, such as arms and legs, were, and still are by the bush folk, sent round as complimentary gifts to other villages in order that they too may partake.[4] The thigh bones were split open and, after the marrow had been eaten, were preserved for use as knives for cutting up the puddings in which future victims were cooked.[5]

General Remarks

It has been seen from the above account that cannibalism constitutes in this part of Malekula the supreme rite of re-birth, transcending in this respect the pig-killing Maki.

[1] Among the inhabitants of the North Malekulan plateau, according to Harrisson (2, pp. 403-4), the victim is slung up on a large gong and beaten to death with "sharp-edged hardwood clubs, shaped like canoe paddles." Compare also footnote on p. 621.

[2] See pp. 610-11.

[3] This is also the case in North Raga (see Coombe, quoted by Speiser, 3, p. 243). Speiser (3, p. 241) reports also that on Wala even babes at the breast had a minute portion forced into their mouths.

[4] According to Speiser (3, p. 241) the dismemberment of the body was due to two further motives: in the first place so that the victim should lose all identity and with it his soul, and in the second place so that the guilt of partaking of his flesh should be equally divided among all.

[5] See Cambridge Museum, Layard Collection, Nos. 81, 194-6.

Thus, through the sacrifice of a human being, the sacrificer is re-born in a kind of transcendent way, becoming almost a god, and this benefit extends beyond the individual to the whole community, which, through partaking in the feast, which is a communion rite, and each taking a morsel of the sanctified flesh, also partakes of the re-birth.

The close resemblance between this rite and that of the Christian Mass could hardly be more clearly expressed than in the following dialogue recorded by Godefroy as having taken place between himself and a young native boy on the eve of Christmas, 1931. The boy approached him with the request that he might be confessed. Godefroy asked: [1]

"So you want to communicate tonight?"

"Yes, Father."

"Oh, but I cannot permit that unless you can explain to me what communion means. Tell me, if you communicate tonight, what is it that you will do?"

"Father, communion means eating the child Jesus."

"That's right, that is exactly it. But how are you going to set about it? Where is the child Jesus?"

"Father, he is up in heaven."

"Have you seen him?"

"No, Father. We can't do that now, but we shall when we die."

"Yes, but you aren't dead yet. How will you be able to eat him tonight?"

"Father, when the priest says the Mass, he takes the host, but that is only bread. But when he has said a prayer over it the bread goes away altogether, and only Jesus is left."

Godefroy goes on: "Charmed by the boy's childish but substantially correct replies, I had no hesitation in admitting him to communion, and advised him to come back often to 'eat' his child Jesus at the holy table."

When we remember that the human victim on Vao was formerly (and still is on the adjacent mainland) sacrificed (i.e. consecrated) on a dolmen, which the Roman Catholics rightly refer to as an "altar," that this dolmen was furnished with an ancestor-image, and that Père Godefroy had shortly before (on August 15th, 1931) installed a statue of Notre Dame de Lourdes in his little church,[2] we may imagine what visions of cannibal feasts were called up in the boy's mind. How conscious the missionaries are of the very real connexion I cannot say. Psychologically conceived, the cannibal overcomes and subsequently consumes or re-absorbs the Old Adam in terms of human victims, and as a result is re-born, together with all the members of his clan who partake with him of the flesh. The Christian becomes spiritually renewed through precisely the same sequence of events when, in the Mass, he consumes the body of the sacrificed Christ. Those who, belonging to the present scientific age,

[1] Godefroy, 3, pp. 196-7. [2] Renaudy, p. 180.

are no longer able to gain salvation either through eating their fellow-men or through the Mass, have the more difficult task of withdrawing all such 'projections' by overcoming the Old Adam within themselves and of becoming re-born through a re-absorption of its contents which, in dreams, is still symbolised by eating, such eating being repugnant or not according as they reject or accept the lesson which the dream teaches.

To most adults (though not usually to children) it is repugnant, and it is therefore of interest to find that while the cannibals of the Small Islands attach great spiritual value to the eating of human flesh, the actual taste of it is not always so relished as is commonly supposed. Thus, though the Big Nambas are reported as being great lovers of human flesh,[1] there is nothing in Malekula resembling the degraded practice in Oba of fattening women especially for eating.[2] Nor is there any evidence for the materialistic conception that cannibalism originated from the desire on the part of a largely vegetarian people to supply a deficiency in meat. On the contrary, human flesh is on occasion, for ritual reasons, purposely befouled before eating. Such is the case in Tanna, where, at the first eating, boys have on this account to be forced unwillingly to partake.[3] From all over the islands come reports that, quite apart from any white influence, the natives have a feeling that the eating of human flesh is "not quite normal."[4] Thus, Codrington reports from Oba that "the boys were afraid, but were made to do it. It is the feeling there that to eat human flesh is a dreadful thing, a man-eater is one afraid of nothing." This reminds us of Asaor's adoption of the name of the Guardian Ghost, the definition of whose fearsome attributes is that she is "afraid of nothing."[5] Codrington continues that in Oba "on this ground men will buy flesh when some one has been killed, that they may get the name of valiant men by eating it. A certain man in Lepers-Island [Oba] mourned many days for his son, and would not eat till he bought a piece of human flesh for himself and his remaining boy; it was a horrid thing to do, appropriate to his gloomy grief."[6] In other parts of the group, cannibalism has become degraded into a pure lust for human flesh, and in most places it includes notions of revenge. Even in those cases, however, in which contempt plays a large part, as in South-West Malekula, where there exists a special cannibal society called *Nimbe'ei*, the eating of a human being was never treated as a purely secular affair.[7]

While cannibalism is thus seen to constellate a great number of emotions in other islands I heard little of such secondary characteristics on Vao, where the act is still primarily regarded as a sacrifice. But the motive of boasting and the acquisition of a reputation for ruthless valiance

[1] Harrisson, 2, p. 404, and 1, p. 14.
[2] See Deacon, 3, p. 496.
[3] Speiser, 3, p. 241.
[4] Ibid. p. 240.
[5] See p. 606.
[6] Codrington, 3, p. 344.
[7] See Deacon, 4, p. 230.

certainly exists there as elsewhere. Thus, my own informant Pelur is credited with having killed thirty-two men, all of whom have been eaten, but it is to be noted that the emphasis is here on the killing (i.e. the sacrifice) rather than on the eating. This number is, moreover, unusual on Vao, though beaten by the report of one East Malekulan chief having killed and eaten one hundred and twenty.[1] Both cases are almost certainly due to the introduction of the musket and the consequent orgy of killing described on pp. 602 ff., which, wherever it takes place, by making killing too easy, inevitably detracts from its sacrificial nature and leads to those excesses of which, though he himself was responsible for the introduction of this lethal weapon, the white man usually hears of and condemns.

[1] Reported by Paton (see Speiser, 3, p. 242).

CHAPTER XXIV

MAGIC

I WAS not long enough on Vao to go at all deeply into the question of what is commonly called magic. This will be treated more fully in a future volume on Atchin, where I recorded a number of cases in some detail. As the subject is of no little importance, however, with regard not only to Small Island culture but also to an understanding of the psychic forces still under control by primitive people, I propose in this chapter, after first giving a brief record of the few cases that came under my notice on Vao, to draw to some extent on my knowledge of magic among neighbouring communities, to discuss one or two outstanding features common to the magic of all the Small Islands.

In the Small Islands of Vao and Atchin magic and medicine are both called by the same name, namely *man*, in Vao usually combined with the indefinite article *ne* as *ne-man*, and in Atchin with *ni* to form *ni-man*. Philologically this is the same word as the Banks Islands *mana*, both being derived from the Indonesian *manang*, meaning "power." [1] Whatever may be its significance elsewhere, in the Small Islands the word has an extremely wide meaning, embracing powers which, according to our way of thinking, are both occult through their connexion with dreams and ghosts on the one hand and with unspecified magical forces on the other, and practical through knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs. This power may be used either for good (as in healing the sick) or for evil (as in sorcery), and either in the interest of private individuals (as in love magic) or of public welfare or disaster (as in weather magic).

The word *man* in all cases implies the possession both of psychic power and of knowledge of the appropriate ritual acts and incantations, and, in the case of many "cures," of the appropriate physical remedy as well. The same word is also applied to the magical or curative process itself. Thus, any item of magical procedure may be called *ne-man*, be this a method of divining on important occasions or simply a cure for toothache. Nor are its practitioners confined to a single sex. Thus, we have already seen how midwives are called *vene na man*, or "women with power (or knowledge)," [2] and the whole of weather magic is said to have been

[1] For the linguistic history of this word see Capell, 2. The Small Islands *man* used in this sense is quite distinct from the other *man*, meaning "bird," derived from the Indonesian *manuk*.

[2] See p. 173.

founded by a woman.[1] But more usually the practitioner is a man, called *mara man*,[2] meaning "man of power," or, if we translate *man* as "magic," then literally "magician." We have already seen such an expert magician at work in the making of upright slit gongs.[3] We have seen also the prominent rôle played by a special type of magician called *na-wogh* in charming each Maki-man during the period of feverish activity leading up to the great sacrifice in order to assist them in collecting the correct number of sacrificial boars.[4] Yet another specialist, this time called *mara kur*, is called in to perform, with magic rites, the delicate task of exactly placing the outrigger booms on the hull of a new sea-going canoe,[5] and later to ensure fertility in pigs and successful trading by placing a sow, with due rites, in the bow.[6] At death yet another magician presents charmed leaves to those who have buried the corpse in order that they may purify themselves by washing with these leaves in the sea.[7]

These are but a few instances of the immense variety of magical rites practised by individuals in the interests of the community. Innumerable other rites exist, covering almost every aspect of life, ranging from those of public utility to those applicable only to individuals, and it is safe to say that there is *no* adult member of the community unacquainted with some form of magic which he performs on occasion either for his own benefit or for that of others, in return for a fee commensurate with the importance of his act.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME MAGICAL ACTS

I have unfortunately no detailed information of how, in the cases cited above, the magicians set about their work. I have, however, a few details from Vao regarding (1) the appeal to ancestral and other ghosts in case of sickness, (2) other cures, and (3) weather magic.

(1) Appeal to Ancestral and Other Ghosts in Case of Sickness

This needs the assistance of a diviner to find out what ghost it is that is causing the sickness.

As we have seen, the only kind of death that is considered as being due to what we should consider "natural" causes is that of an old man who dies in the fulness of time without visible disease. In such a case it is recognised that there is nothing that can be done to prolong life. He duly settles his affairs, as described on p. 536, and his kinsmen's

[1] See pp. 633-4.

[2] Compare Banks Islands and Maewo *gismana*, Santa Cruz *mendeka*, Florida *mane kisu* and *mane nggeha vigona*, all meaning "magician" (Codrington, 3, pp. 195-201).

[3] See pp. 354 ff. [4] See pp. 379, 422. [5] See p. 466.

[6] See p. 467. [7] See p. 560.

attention is devoted to preparing for the elaborate mortuary rites rather than towards seeking any kind of so-called "supernatural" causation. In all other cases, except where caused by an obvious wound, sickness and death are ascribed to supernatural causes, chief among which are some act of malignant magic (though this is much rarer in the Small Islands than in most other parts of Malekula), or the fact that the sick man has in some way offended the ghost of a departed kinsman or else has been wantonly attacked out of sheer blind revenge by the ghost of some man who has been killed in battle and therefore roams the world in search of victims.

In all such cases a diviner is needed to diagnose the cause, that is to say to discover what sorcerer or ghost is responsible for the sick man's condition. If a sorcerer, the only cure is to persuade him by threats or payment to remove by counter-magic the sickness that he has caused. If a ghost, it must first be discovered what individual ghost it is. For this purpose a practitioner (*mara man*) is called in who, looking at the sick man, sings to himself a special song and by this means finds out what ghost has entered into him. Then he tells the patient who the ghost is.

(*a*) *Ghost of a kinsman.*

In almost all cases, such an initial diagnosis will point to the fact that the ghost (*ta-mat*) in question is that of a departed relative [1] offended at the omission of some ritual act or at the commission of some accidental slight. In this case the practitioner tells the patient whose ghost it is, and says, "I think you must have done him some wrong, to cause him to enter into you in this way." The sick man then thinks it over, and remembers something or other that he has done that must have offended this particular ghost. The practitioner then tells the son or brother of the sick man to bring a leafy branch of the kind called *rumbu log-log*, and when brought places it in the sick man's right hand to hold. When the sick man has held it for a little time, the child or brother takes the branch from him and places it on the grave of the offended ghost, and addresses him, saying, "You have gone into this man; come out from him now. You have made him sick; if you leave him now he will recover." Then he lays a money-mat (*mangau*) on the grave and ties a pig to it as an offering. The size of the pig depends on the importance of the ghost and on the gravity of the disease. If the sick man gets well, the pig is subsequently removed. If he remains sick, the pig is left there until the patient either gets well or dies.

(*b*) *Ghost of one slain in battle.*

It is, however, possible that the diagnosis points to the fact that the ghost that has entered in is that of a man who has died a violent death.

[1] This may be from either side of his family. Instances given include the brother, father, father's father and mother's brother.

Ghosts of this kind are known by a special name, *ta-mat oamp*, or "fiery ghost," from their habit of wandering about the bush looking at night like a red will-o'-the-wisp. Such ghosts may act in one of two ways. On the one hand they may enter into the body of a kinsman, just like any ordinary ghost, in order to punish him for some wrong he may have committed. On the other hand, a ghost of this type, especially if his body was carried off by the enemy and eaten and he therefore received no proper burial or mortuary rites and thus cannot reach the land of the dead, will wander about the bush seeking whom he may destroy, and, seeing some stranger whom he "does not know," will enter into him as an enemy and cause sickness or death. If his relatives had succeeded in bringing home his body and giving it a proper grave, the procedure in case of sickness caused by his ghost is the same as for that caused by the ghost of a man who has died an ordinary death. But if he was taken by the enemy and eaten and so has no grave, the relatives of the sick man whom he has maliciously entered take a branch of the *rumbu log-log* to the place where he was killed and, making there a small fire, roast upon it a special kind of yam called *la-las*.[1] This yam is red and, like the will-o'-the-wisp, symbolises violent death. (My informant Ma-taru, once a Mission teacher, compared it with the wine of the Sacrament which by its redness signifies the blood of Christ.) Then they address the ghost of the slain, just as an ordinary ghost is addressed, and holding a communion feast over the grave, leave a portion of the yams as an offering to it.

My informant Ma-taru assured me that the cure was infallible. The only trouble, he said, was that sometimes the practitioner is mistaken in his diagnosis, and, the offerings having been made to the wrong ghost, naturally the man dies.

(*c*) *A man's sickness may also be caused by an offence committed by his wife.*

Ma-taru's own father, Ter-ter-mal, was a *ta-mat oamp*, having been slain during the course of a quarrel between two Tolamp Lodges. The warring factions being so closely related, his body had been recovered and given decent burial. The following instance shows how a ghost of this type may function just like any ordinary ancestral ghost visiting sickness on his descendant for some fault committed, and shows also how a man may suffer not only for his own fault but also for that of his wife. Ma-taru used to suffer from some periodical illness every year. One day he spoke to a friend on the mainland, who looked at him and said, "I see. The spirit of your father Ter-ter-mal is doing this. Your wife has done something that has displeased him. You had better make her give you a pig and a piece of kava root and a *rumbu log-log* branch and go and put them on his grave, and you will recover." He did so, and got well. His pigs also used to be constantly dying, so on the advice of this same main-

[1] Atchin *letsi-lets*.

lander he placed these three types of offering on his father's grave, and thenceforth they prospered.[1]

(2) Cures due to Removal of Evil Influence by Other Means

If these methods fail, then the same or some other practitioner is called in to deal more specifically with the sick man's trouble by means of further magical acts, which include the administration of potions made by infusing leaves in hot water, or hot fomentations,[2] blood-letting or massage. In all cases, as is quite evident in the case of blood-letting, the purpose of these acts appears to be to remove the evil influence injected by the offended ghost. In the case of massage the evil influence is often extracted by the magician in the shape of some material object such as a stone or a snake. These symbols, both more or less world-wide in therapeutic magic, are highly significant. The stone often appears in the dream-language of Europeans to represent a hard core in the psyche causing sickness which can only be cured by its removal by means of psycho-therapeutic treatment.

The snake also is a well-known psychological symbol. In religious terminology it frequently represents the devil which has to be exorcised, or quite literally "driven out." In this case the driving out is spiritually conceived, whereas the native magician claims actually to remove the object from the patient's body. How far the native practitioner who, we can but conclude, himself produces these objects in concrete form, is aware of what they mean is a matter that has never, so far as I know, been investigated, since the attitude of investigators has been up to the present that these symbols are of no importance and that the whole performance is designed simply to trick the gullible patient. So far as the patient is concerned, however, we may assume that he fully believes that the object in question was a manifestation of the ghostly influence that had entered into him, and its removal in apparently concrete form is doubtless in many cases sufficient to perform a cure.

[1] An experience of my own shows, not only how unwittingly a man may offend a ghost, but also how easy it is even for a white man to get caught up in this belief. I had taken one morning, in excellent light, a photograph of the grave of an old man named Melteg-rush, here reproduced in Plate XXI. That afternoon, while I was working with my informant, I was seized with an attack of fever. He immediately said, "I knew that was coming. Didn't you see a small bird called *na-higho* with a white breast and blue tail sitting on a branch and screaming at you this morning while you were taking that photo? That was Melteg-rush's ghost, and he has entered into you and given you fever." That night, in high fever, I found myself thinking what a fool I had been to have taken the photograph in such bad light, as it would only result in wasting a plate. Next morning I realised the reason of my self-reproaches. I must be half-believing in my informant's reasoning. The test would be whether the exposure *was* taken in bad light or good. The photograph turned out to be perfectly good.

[2] Similar to these used after incision (see pp. 509 ff.).

(3) Weather Magic

The only other case of magical procedure actually recorded on Vao was a brief description of weather magic, including firstly a short account dealing with the origin of magic for making wind, and secondly some of the songs together with a short account of the ritual used for making rain.

(*a*) The origin of wind and rain magic on Vao

We have already seen the strength of the belief in weather magic in the tales regarding the submergence of Tolamp.[1] A man may either, as in this case, make weather magic on his own account, or else may do it for others on payment of a heavy fee. It is a dangerous operation, however, for if by mistake the weather he produces becomes too turbulent he may be held responsible for the damage.[2] The first Vao man said to have learnt the magic for making wind was one named Bu-wush, who is said also to have been the first to have made rain, so that it would appear that wind and rain magic form part of the same system.

The tale told regarding the origin of wind magic tells how this man Bu-wush belonged to the Vao village of Peter-ihi, and was married to a woman of Lavame. Lavame, it will be remembered,[3] is the name of a former Vao village whose inhabitants, after a war with another village called Handillagh, left Vao and took up their abode on the mainland. At the time to which this tale relates, however, they were still on Vao.

Now Bu-wush and the Lavame woman had a daughter named Le-taghar. It is not stated to whom she was married, though, according to a statement made later in the tale that she used the beach called Kowu, it would appear that he belonged to the Superior Side of Vao. The story runs that one day Le-taghar went to the mainland village of Buaror, near which she found some mushrooms (*na-mbor*) growing on the ground, and, picking them, came home with them, meaning to cook them in a pudding for her husband. But he was afraid, and refused. So she took them to her woman's fire and cooked them in a pudding for herself, and ate them.

That night she dreamt, and in her dreams a number of ghosts (*ta-mat*) came to her and told her how to make rain and winds, singing the songs appropriate to each kind of weather magic. So henceforth, whenever

[1] See pp. 575 ff.

[2] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 246) gives a case in point that occurred on February 8th, 1928, when a certain magician named Sum-ta-mat, having engaged to make wind for a whaler (such as the natives (see p. 456) now use instead of the old sea-going canoes) which was about to set out on a long voyage, "made too much, so that what should have been a moderate breeze turned first into a squall and then a cyclone. The cyclone drove the whaler on to a reef where she was smashed to bits. The owners held the magician responsible for the loss and forced him to refund the value of the boat by paying them ten pigs each worth £20."

[3] See pp. 59, 80.

she wanted to go to Buaror, she made the north-east wind called *rualo*,[1] and, holding a coconut leaf up in her canoe (she did not even need to bother to put up a sail), was blown over to Leuru, which is the beach for Buaror. And when she wanted to come back, she made the south-west wind called *gharu*, and was blown back to the beach Kowu on Vao. And all the people saw that she always had the wind she wanted. And they suspected that she made the winds herself, and they asked her, and she said, "Yes." But she would not teach the magic to her husband, for she said, "I offered him the mushrooms, but he would not eat them. Therefore I will not teach the songs to him, but I will teach them to my own people." So she taught the secret to her father, Bu-wush, of Peter-ihi, and after that he was able to make the winds and rain.

One of the most striking features of this tale of origin lies in the fact that the individual who first discovered weather magic was a woman. Weather magic is now, so far as I know, entirely in the hands of men, nor is there any indication that it was ever practised by women. The fact that the transmitter was a woman would seem, therefore, to indicate some connexion between the origin of this form of magic and matrilineal descent, and this supposition is supported by her name Le-taghar, connecting her very definitely with the dual organisation creator-deity Ta-ghar. It is, moreover, of interest to find that according to Codrington (3, p. 199) the healing of the sick belongs in Oba to the *tangaloe ngovo*, "to those, that is to say, who have the knowledge of the songs and charms, believed to have come down from Tagaro himself, by which *mana* is conveyed and applied."[2] The significance of this will be seen later when we come to examine the cultural basis of magic.[3]

(*b*) BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MAGIC FOR MAKING RAIN

I have no record of the rites connected with the making of wind, but I have recorded briefly two of the four elements[4] that go towards the making of rain, namely the concrete medium containing the "power" together with the actions performed over it, and the songs sung to encourage rain from several specified quarters. My informant was an old man named Wu-wushi,[5] of Peter-ihi, a rain-maker who had inherited the art in direct succession from the Bu-wush mentioned above as being the first weather magician on Vao.

[1] All winds have names, according to the direction in which they blow. A full list in the Atchin language will be given in a future volume.

[2] But note that, according to Godefroy, Ta-ghar has no power to cause the rain to fall (see p. 217).

[3] See p. 640.

[4] See p. 641.

[5] It is interesting to note the similarity of this name with that of Bu-wush, the first practitioner. It is just possible, therefore, that the name may be a kind of magical title. One of Wu-wushi's other names was Sum-res. Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 238) records the names of two others, Sum-ta-mat and Melte-lil-nale [my hyphens].

(1) *Concrete medium and action.*

A rain-maker on Vao is called *bet-ghate*, meaning "one stone," and the medium through which he works is a diminutive stone image of phallic proportions, which is regarded as representing both the founder of the rite and all those who in turn have used it, to all of whom the petition for rain is made. One such stone obtained on Atchin is illustrated in Plate XXIV. It is made of what looks like lava with a coating of brown paint. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and 2 inches broad, shaped like a cylinder with a flat base so that it can stand upright, and rounded at the top. Two opposite sides of the cylinder are carved to represent the human face in a conventional manner called *wena*,[1] a third side is carved to represent a shark, and the fourth side, opposite to the shark, is incised with a design said to represent a hairy caterpillar called *shu-shu*. The uncarved portions of the stone on all sides excepting that depicting the caterpillar are incised with criss-cross lines representing a kind of reed fence called *nier merer*, the right to use which is possessed by those of high Maki rank.[2]

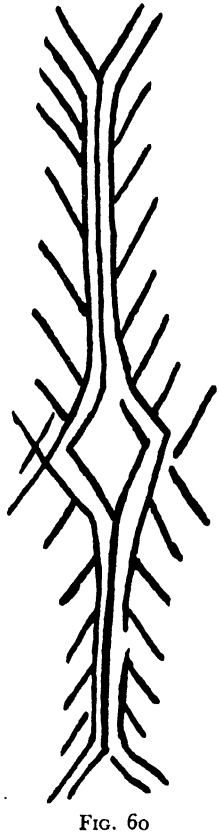


FIG. 60

Design representing a hairy caterpillar called *shu-shu* incised on the fourth side (opposite the shark) of the rain-stone illustrated in Plate XXIV.

This stone is placed in the midst of a pudding (*na-longk*), from which it is supposed to eat. Then 4 young coconuts in the stage of growth called *we-garat*, in which the milk has not yet begun to solidify, are placed upon it, and the pudding containing the stone image together with the 4 young coconuts are all wrapped in umbrella-palm leaves (*ro-mbun*). At low tide, the rain-maker takes this parcel and places it on a rock. Then he shuts his eyes and sings in a low voice the song appropriate to the

[1] This and the following two terms are in the Atchin language.

[2] Deacon (4, pp. 664, 670) mentions two stones used for sun magic in Lambumbu. He also figures (Fig. 40) a cylindrical black polished stone, uncarved save for one bevelled conical end, used in garden magic to ensure a prolific yield in yams, from South-West Malekula. Rivers (1, vol. II, p. 406) speaks of "stones or other objects which are believed to possess *mana*" in the Banks Islands.

particular kind of rain it is desired to produce. While singing, he taps with his hands upon the 4 young coconuts through their umbrella-leaf wrapping, to symbolise the pattering of the rain upon the ground. This he repeats over and over again till chased away by the rising tide. Then he retires, leaving the image there surrounded by its pudding and the 4 coconuts, having first covered them with heavy stones in order to prevent them from being washed away.

If no rain comes, the process is repeated on the following day, and if necessary again on the next. If on the fourth day there is still no rain, while singing his song he will spear the pudding as if to break the clouds. The same will be done on the fifth day, and if the rain still cannot be induced to fall it is evident that he has failed, and that there is some magician stronger than himself who is engaged in making the sun to shine.

If he still desires to make rain he must start all over again, and this time will choose a creek on the mainland, in the hopes that fresh water will be more efficacious than salt.[1]

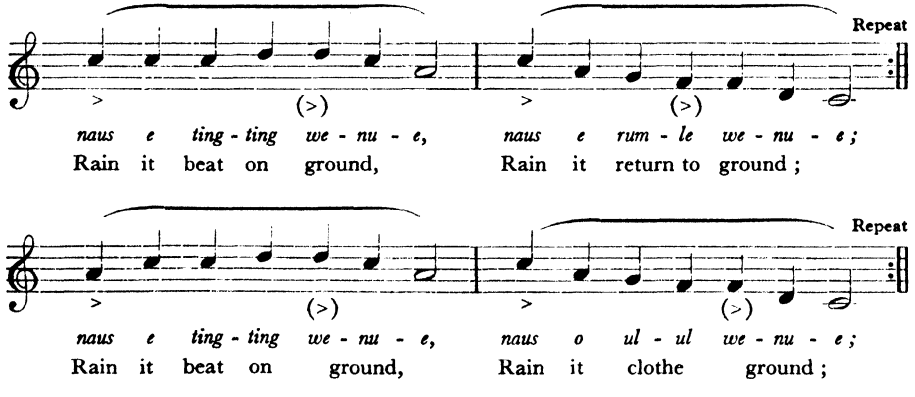
The Songs.

I recorded three songs, each for a different kind of rain, all of which are remarkable for their comparative simplicity both in melody and in rhythm, in which they contrast vividly with most Small Island songs.

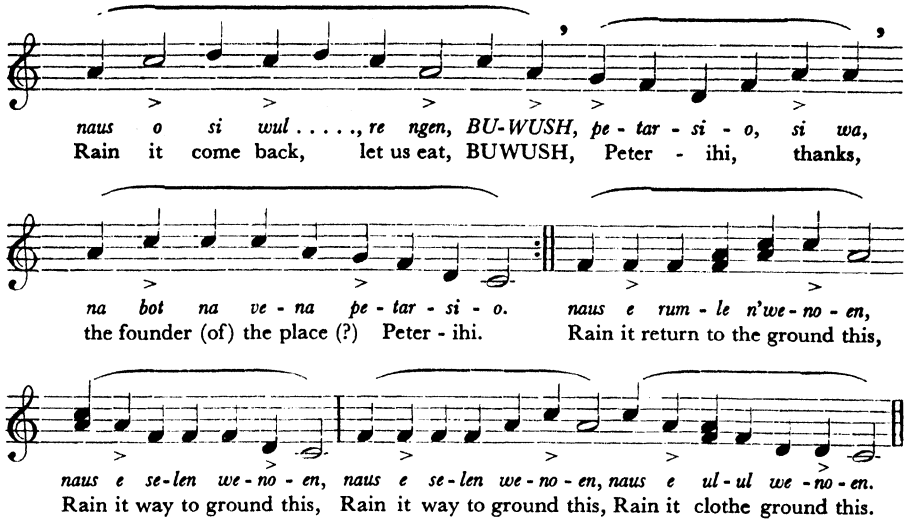
The first song, No. 9, is for obtaining what is called the rain of Vao, that is to say a general rain on a calm day without wind from any particular direction. Note the staccato form of the personal appeal to the founder, Bu-wush.

SONG 9

For "the rain of Vao" (i.e. rain without wind)



[1] Compare the report by Deacon (4, p. 670) that "a certain magician could bring about wet weather by pouring water on to a certain stone." Harrisson, in a written communication, mentions the spitting of kava juice towards each point of the compass. The use of kava in weather magic on Atchin will be described in a future volume.



The words divide themselves into three verses:

Naus e ting-ting wenu(e),
Naus e rumle wenu(e);
Naus e ting-ting wenu(e),
Naus o ul-ul wenu(e).

Naus o si wul re ngen.
Buwush, Petar-si-o, siwa,
Na bot na ve na Petarsio.

Naus e rumle n'weno-en,
Naus e selen weno-en,
Naus e selen weno-en,
Naus e ul-ul weno-en.
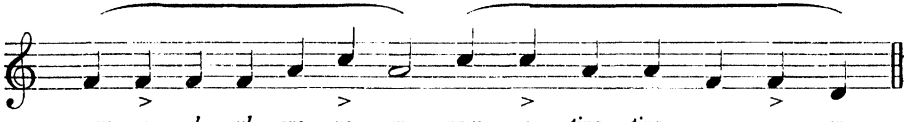
"Let rain beat on the ground,
Let rain return to the ground,
Let rain beat on the ground,
Let rain clothe the ground.

"Let rain come back, that we may eat.
Buwush, of Peter-ihi, thanks,
Founder of Peter-ihi.

"Let rain return to this ground,
Let rain make its way to this ground,
Let rain make its way to this ground,
Let rain clothe this ground."

The first and third verses represent the practitioner's desire, and the second his appeal and professed gratitude to his predecessors in the rite.

The whole song is in the usual archaic poetic diction. Bu-wush, whose name appears in the second stanza, is, as we have seen, reputed to have been the first man to have made wind and rain magic on Vao. The song is repeated a number of times, and at each repetition the name of Bu-wush is changed for that of each weather magician in turn through whom the stone image and the knowledge of the rite have descended to the present practitioner. Some of these names, on the occasion on which I heard the song, were repeated more than once. They were in groups of 4, namely Meten, Memes, Itöm, Meten; and Iwa, Meten, Nigha, Itöm. At the end of each group of 4 names two lines were repeated, ending on a characteristically weak note, thus:



"Let rain clothe this ground,
Let rain beat on this ground."
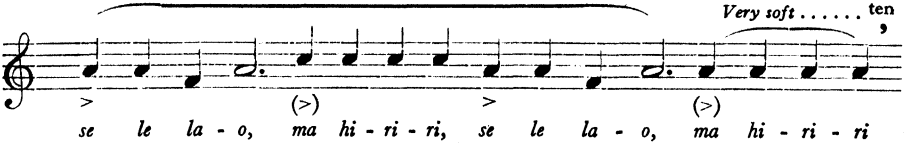
It will be noted how the name of the practitioner's village, Peter-ihi, is rendered by the archaic *Petar-si-o.*[1] *Ting-ting* is a word commonly used for the beating of gongs, and *ul* of articles of clothing, i.e. men's penis-wrappers and women's mat-skirts.[2] Of special interest is the word *siwa*, here rendered "thanks," a word of unknown origin, noted elsewhere throughout these volumes, indicating heartfelt gratitude.

The other two rain songs which I recorded are:

Song 10, for rain coming from the direction of the island of Oba, i.e. from the north-east. I am unable to translate this. Though the melody is very simple, constructed as it is with only three notes, there is peculiar charm in the very softly sung passages occurring on the words *ma hi ri ri.*

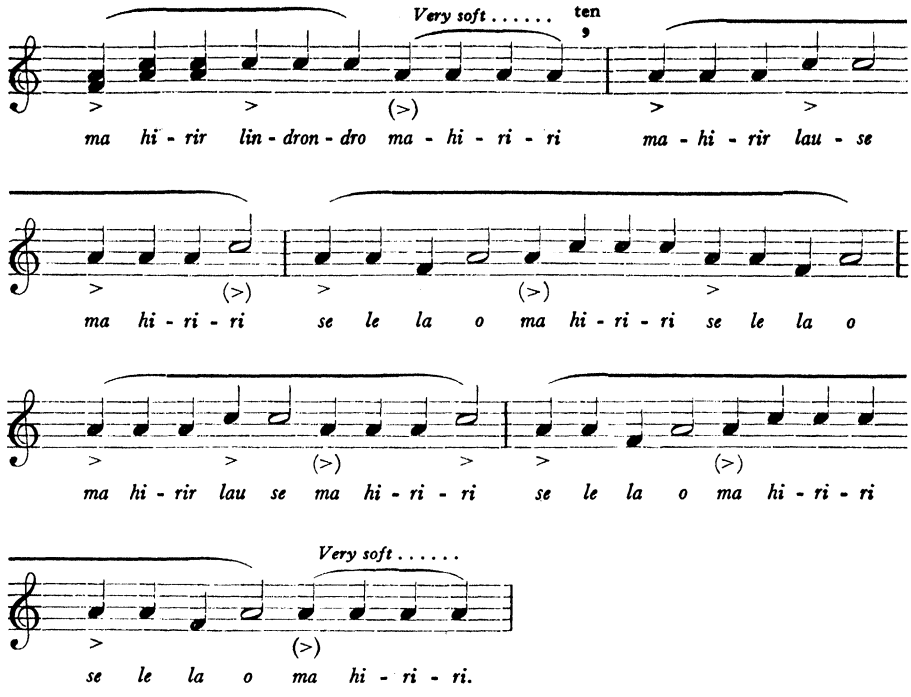
SONG 10

To obtain rain from the direction of the island of Oba (i.e. from the North-east)



[1] Compare *Peter-asi* in Song 6, p. 404.

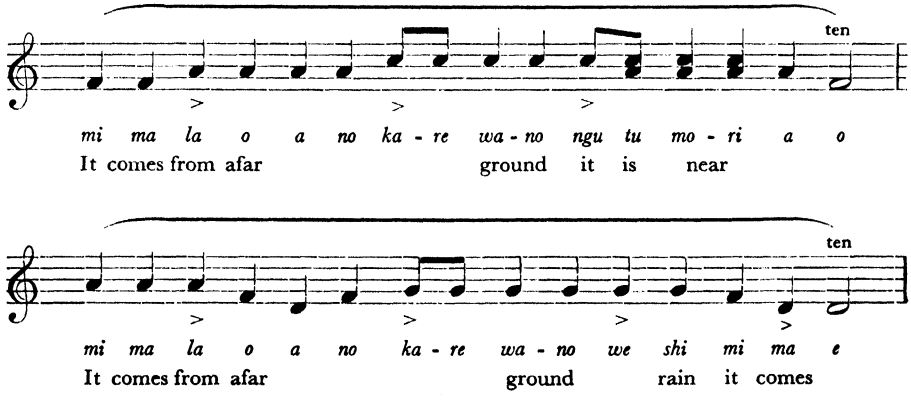
[2] The danger of translating such archaic words without accurate knowledge of the poetic dialect is well illustrated by the fact that the words *re ngen*, in the first line of the second stanza, mean, in the language of today, "in it," but in the poetic dialect represent the modern *ra ghan*, "let us eat."



Song 11, for rain coming from the direction of the island of Raga. Of the archaic words of this song I am able to suggest the translation of some only, which appear to indicate a coaxing attitude, suggesting that the rain, though it has far to travel, cannot be long in coming. It is repeated over and over again.

SONG 11

For rain from the direction of the island of Raga (i.e. from the East)



THE CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF MAGIC

In view of the very small amount of information on magic recorded actually on Vao, and of the apparent complexity of the whole subject, it may seem out of place to venture any further remarks about it. Nevertheless it is necessary to show briefly its setting with regard to other elements of culture described in this book. For this reason, and since certain basic features of magical procedure are common to all the Small Islands, I propose now to draw to some extent on my knowledge of magic on Atchin in order to show in what relation this stands to other elements of Small Island culture as a whole. The psychological "preparation" undertaken by the individual magician by means of fasting and abstinence and other efforts towards achieving the psychic control needed to give effect to the magical act is a subjective process which, though briefly referred to on p. 576, I did not investigate sufficiently to elucidate further. What I intend to call attention to here is, on the contrary, the cultural basis of magic as seen in the object or objects to which appeal is made—in other words, the objective psychic forces which the native himself thinks he is activating when performing his magical act.

Definition of Magic.

In discussing the difference between magic and religion Rivers subscribes to the view that actions may be described as magic "if they are believed to be in themselves sufficient to produce the desired effect, so that any element of appeal or supplication is absent from the mind of the agent. Religious actions, on the other hand, involve a definite appeal to a higher power." He adds: "The obvious objection to this mode of distinguishing religion from magic is that it depends on a factor, the mental attitude of the agent, of which we have, and can have, no direct knowledge." [1] Deacon does not attempt any definition at all, merely pointing out that the commonly accepted statement that magic includes "that body of ritual activities by means of which the native believes himself to be able to control nature without the intervention of any spiritual beings" is *not* applicable to Malekula. Referring primarily to West and South-West Malekula, he points out that the natives there "class together under a single term a number of ritual performances, some of which would be included as magical in accordance with this interpretation of the word but of which others because they are accompanied by invocations to a *temes* (ghost) or other spirit would be excluded from it." [2]

This is also the case in the Small Islands, where there is one single word *man* that refers to all forces of a psychic nature by which the natives seek to control the unseen phenomena of life. We have already seen two cases in which this force operates, namely in the divining rite to find out

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 405. [2] Deacon, 4, p. 663.

what ghost has entered a man to cause his sickness, and in the ritual of weather magic, in which appeal is made to the ghosts of all previous practitioners but which also includes other elements of a more purely "magical" nature. In other forms of magic such as sorcery, fertility magic to promote the growth of pigs,[1] "cures" based largely on "sympathetic" symbolism, there is a gradual progression from the direct appeal to specified ghosts to cases in which no ghosts are mentioned at all. In all these, however, the general pattern of the rite is so similar that it is impossible to draw any line other than a purely arbitrary one (to which the natives themselves do not agree) between acts which quite clearly are based on an appeal to ghosts and those which apparently are not.

In attempting to solve this problem I propose to put forward two considerations that have not, I think, received due attention in the past.

The pattern of the rite.

The first is the question as to why there should be any fixed procedure at all. For it is the essence of every magical act that it depends for its efficacy on an exact repetition down to the minutest details of an accepted ritual pattern. This does not apply only to the accepted ritual pattern of all magical procedure in a given locality, but also to the often extremely complicated details of each particular rite.

In the Small Islands the general ritual pattern consists of four main elements, namely:

(*a*) Abstinence and fasting and the observance of various taboos.

(*b*) The concrete medium (such as a stone which may or may not be the dwelling-place of a ghost, a kava root, a leaf, an infusion), together with the ritual acts performed over it.

(*c*) A song or incantation, the words of which are fixed but for (in certain cases) the addition of the name of the new practitioner to the long list of previous practitioners each time the ownership of the rite changes hands (usually from father to son but sometimes from mother's brother to sister's son).

(*d*) A muttered prayer (addressed to specified ancestors in all important rites, but in lesser ones apparently to the concrete medium).

Of these, all but the prayer are rigidly fixed. The prayer only is left as a general framework within whose limits the practitioner is free to express his own individual personality in the form of the actual words chosen. The rules of abstinence are comparatively constant in all rites, though varying in number and intensity with the importance of the rite. The concrete mediums are also, though very numerous, limited in number,

[1] Compare pigs as fertility symbols (p. 263).

the same type of medium being used in a number of different magical procedures, though in each case in a somewhat different way. The one element that is entirely different for each magical act is the song or incantation. It is therefore this song which (in the absence of inherited concrete mediums such as the stone image used in weather magic) is the magician's best "stock in trade," acting in a way as the hall-mark of each individual rite. The song is always sung in a low voice so that no one, not even the patient in the case of curative magic, shall hear the words or, though aware that the incantation is in progress, even properly catch the tune, and it is the knowledge of this that constitutes the essential point in the retention or transmission of a practitioner's "copyright" in any given magical performance. For, like everything else in Malekula, in addition to the profits accruing to a magician through the practice of his art in the service of others, magical knowledge is a commercial asset in that it can be sold, and while the more important rites will only be transmitted to a son or a sister's son or other near relative, knowledge of the lesser rites may be transmitted to anyone willing to pay a high enough price.

The ghostly hierarchy of previous magicians.

To the question "Why should there be any fixed ritual, and what is the sanction for it?" the native has only one answer, namely, "This is the way it has always been done," or at least "how the last practitioner taught me." The sanction from the native point of view in each case depends on the goodwill of all the ghosts of those who have previously performed the rite and jealously guard the forms which they have handed down, visiting sickness on those who offend. This is quite definitely the case in those more important forms of magic in which the repetition of the names of all previous practitioners are recited and whose help is thus sought for the successful outcome of the rite. But it would appear to be also the case in those less important rites in which such names are not recited, the only difference being that in the case of the more important rites the names are remembered, while in the case of the less important rites, which are also those the ownership of which changes hands the most often, they are not. In this respect, the bond between the past and present practitioners of any one rite may be likened to that existing between the members of a religious hierarchy as opposed to that existing between members of a kinship group. For while the bonds joining the members of a kinship group, whatever the particular kinship regulations may be, are bonds of flesh and blood and so unalterable within any given system, those joining successive practitioners of a given magical procedure are spiritual in so far as the succession is not immutably fixed by biological considerations, but lies within the personal choice of each man. Thus, as in the laying on of hands in our own episcopal hierarchy, the candidate

has first to receive the sanction of the last in the long line of practitioners before being invested with the power to act. It is true that in many cases a man hands on his magical knowledge to his own son or to his sister's son. But nepotism is a world-wide phenomenon, and the point to notice is that he need not, and that the choice of a successor lies within the personal competence of each individual practitioner.

This principle applies in every case, whether the names of those forming the ghostly hierarchy of previous practitioners reaching back into the unrecorded past are remembered or not. It would appear, therefore, that in each magical act, whether the material medium be a stone believed to contain the essence of all previous practitioners or simply a piece of kava root or leaf used in a traditional manner, and whether the ghosts of the dead are appealed to by name or not, the cultural sanction comes from the ever-watchful ghosts. But whereas in matters concerning everyday social life the important ghosts are those of direct ancestors, in magic the ghosts are those belonging to the spiritual hierarchy formed by all previous practitioners, chief among whom, where known, is the supposed "inventor" of the rite.

The Number 4

This brings us to the second point in our consideration of the cultural basis of magic, and in this it will not be quite so easy to draw a clear distinction between cultural and psychological factors. I have referred to the supposed "inventor" of a rite. Now it is clear that, though without doubt individuals must have added their quota towards building up the huge corpus of magical procedure, the basic conceptions must have grown out of something much deeper than mere conscious "invention." The fact which I wish now to bring to the notice of the reader is clearly not one that could ever have been "invented," but has to do with something much more fundamental in human nature. This is the magical use of numbers.

Brief survey of the use of numbers.

The careful reader of this work cannot but have been struck with the ritual importance of numbers. Thus, we have seen how 5 is the number of re-birth and resurrection in the older forms of Small Island culture and 7 in the later; how 10 is connected with the monolith-Maki; how 30 in the sense of thirty days (theoretically the moon's cycle) is connected with periods of re-birth involving seclusion and abstinence; how 50 and 100 are ritually important as being multiples of 5 and 10; and how two different systems of numbering can become fused as in the combination of 7 and 10 leading to the 17, 27 or 37-day period elapsing between the announcing of the great Maki sacrifice and its performance.

The number 4 in magic.

It is remarkable that not one of the above numbers ever appears, so far as I know, in Small Island magic.[1] In these islands magical procedure is, on the other hand, connected exclusively with the number 4 and its multiple 8. Thus, in almost every magical performance of which I have sufficient record, either 4 leaves or other objects are used, as in the weather magic described above, or else all or part of the action is repeated 4 times, or else the incantation, itself usually consisting of 4 parts, is sung 4 times in succession. In some cases all these types of repetition are included in one and the same rite, in others the magic number occurs only in one or other element in the procedure. Sometimes in special cases it may be doubled to 8. In all cases, however, the basic magical number is 4.

It is clear, then, that the number 4 has some very definite significance in the native mind, and in seeking what this may be it is necessary first to find out in what other ritual contexts it occurs in the Small Islands. These may be seen quite clearly in Vao culture alone.

The number 4 in mortuary rites signifies "completion."

I have already suggested that all magical procedure has a common basis in an appeal to the ghosts of the dead, whether explicit in that some specified ghost or ghostly hierarchy is mentioned or not. It is therefore interesting to note that the most striking use of the number 4, apart from its use in magic, is in the mortuary rites. It is to be noted, moreover, that the use of the number 4 in mortuary rites differs from that of the numbers 5 and 7. For 5 (in the older cultural level) and 7 (in the later) are both connected exclusively not with death as such but, on the contrary, with the life after death, representing in each case the number of days elapsing before the ghost is admitted into full partnership with the living dead.[2] In contrast with these, the number 4 has to do only with death as an act complete in itself. More than this, all the occurrences of the number 4 that I have recorded in my account of the death of an old man beginning on p. 546, are connected with the older level of matrilineal culture still so prominent on Vao. The first two occur during the rites accompanying the death feast called *Matean* when (*a*), after those present have sung the song celebrating the first Maki performed by To-wewe and his sister with the twin *tawò* kernels representing the two matrilineal moieties, they then laugh and cry and call out "*I . . . i . . . i . . . ui*" 4 times; and (*b*) a relative impersonating the dead man enters the hut built

[1] 7 occurring as the number of days it took for the weather magic to mature in the tale dealing with the submergence of Tolamp recounted on p. 575, and 5 as the number of superimposed houses built over the magician's food-store in the same tale, have to do not with the weather magic as such, but with the fact that the whole story has become confused with a creation or re-birth myth, 5 being the re-birth or resurrection number in the older form of Small Island culture and 7 in the later.

[2] See pp. 230, 561.

over the grave, and those without call out 4 times, whereon he replies in the name of the dead man saying that he has come from his mother's village, and himself then cries out 4 times while those without weep. In the same way, when the canoe laden with food and clothing for the dead man is launched and sent to the dead man's mother's village, those who swim out with it cry "*E . . . e . . . e . . . e . . .*" 4 times and weep. Further examples in my account of the mortuary rites for a young man are that (*a*) the 2 or 4 men who have buried the body go down to the sea, where to purify themselves they scoop up sea-water in special leaves, sipping it and spitting it out 4 times, and (*b*) on the day when the mortuary canoe is launched one of two special men, after blowing conch-shell trumpet signals, calls out "*I . . . i . . . i . . . i . . .*" 4 times in front of the dead man's house, and also weeps.[1]

It will be noticed that in none of these cases is there any indication whatever of any belief concerning the life after death on the volcano, which belongs to a different level of culture, but that, on the contrary, they indicate the finality of death, through which the ghost of the dead man returns for ever to the village of his maternal kin. His cycle of life is complete, and the number signifying this completion is 4.

The number 4 in birth also signifies "completion."

Having established the significance of this number with regard to the phenomenon of death, let us now turn to an examination of its meaning with regard to the other end of life, namely birth. For here too the number 4 is prominent, this time during the naming rite when in Vao the child is carried by 4 women, and in North-West Malekula is passed 4 times over a fire and is made 4 times to touch two trees, while in Mota the number 4 is used at birth in an even greater number of ways.[2] It is to be noted that, while 7 signifies the hope of spiritual re-birth, this number never appears during the rites of actual birth in the flesh. 7 is therefore an incomplete number representing what *may be*, but never what *is*. 4, on the contrary, represents what *is*, and I suggest that here too, as in the mortuary rites, it signifies completion, this time the completion of the process of birth.

The number 4 in the Maki also signifies "completion."

If we now turn to the Maki, which is primarily a re-birth rite, we are struck by the almost complete absence in it of the number 4. There is, however, one very striking occasion on which it appears. This is when, after many years of preparatory rites, all is now ready for the final act. Then the Speaker, having marked out with red paint the nipples of a representative of each marriage class on the island as well as of any others from overseas who wish to attend the rite, raises a kava root,

[1] See pp. 560, 562. [2] See p. 178.

whereon they all, touching the root signifying continuity with all previous performances of the rite, utter a nasal sound "*m . . . m . . . m . . . m*" and slightly raise the root, repeating this 8 times, after which the date of the great sacrifice is finally announced.[1] Here once again I suggest that the significance of the number 4, here doubled to 8 because of the supreme importance of the occasion, is that of completion, this time referring to the years of preparation leading up to the final great sacrificial act.

The number 4 in kinship signifies "perfection." The 4 Quarters of Pete-hul.

I will not take up space with further examples, but will turn to the question of *why* 4 means completion, and what this has to do with the magical act. The answer may be made either in cultural or in psychological terms, depending on the angle from which it is approached. I will consider first the cultural aspect. The most fundamental aspect of native culture lies in the regulation of kinship and social organisation. It is therefore by no means irrelevant to point out that the number 4 is not only used in ritual, but in fact pervades the whole social organisation of the Small Islands as seen primarily in Vao in what the natives refer to as the "ideal" division of the village of Pete-hul into 4 Quarters.[2] This "perfect" arrangement is said to have been due to the direct action of Ta-ghar [3] in causing the *memel* fruit to split into two, thereby making a man and a woman from whom issued the 4 brothers who are regarded as being the ancestors respectively of the inhabitants of the 4 Quarters. This "perfect" arrangement was, however, considerably modified in the remaining villages of the island on account of the kinship upheavals some nine generations ago described in earlier chapters. The same process seems to have taken place in the remaining Small Islands, notably in Atchin where, despite later influences, the appearance of 4 brothers at certain nodal points in the genealogies as well as numerous survivals in the existing social organisation testify to the underlying 4-fold division.

The number 4 based on a primarily "incomplete" Dual Division based on matrilineal descent, completed by recognition of patrilineal moieties.

The first thing to note about this in relation to magic is the natives' own view regarding the "perfection" of this 4-fold division of society, according closely with our previous conclusion that the number 4 used in magic signified "completion." The two concepts being so similar, it is our task now to find out why this particular number should bear this very special meaning. Here we are once more led back directly to a consideration of the regulations governing kinship. For, as has been explained in a previous chapter,[4] the 4 Quarters of Pete-hul themselves

[1] See pp. 377, 422. [2] See p. 68.

[3] Compare the name Le-taghar given to the alleged foundress of weather magic as described on pp. 633 ff.

[4] See p. 154.

go back to a yet earlier form of social organisation into 4 kinship sections, and these in turn take their origin in a dual organisation with matrilineal descent.[1]

It may be asked in this case why 2 and not 4 should be the ideal number, 2 being the number connected with the dual organisation from which the whole kinship system appears to have sprung. The answer to this is, I think, that while in the purely biological sphere 2 represents the fundamental division of human beings into two sexes, when it comes to the organisation of society a division into two exogamous moieties must inevitably be one-sided, since such an arrangement is bound to be unilateral, depending either on matrilineal or on patrilineal descent. But I have shown [2] that the fundamental institution of bilateral cross-cousin marriage combined with the exchange of a sister for a wife automatically creates both matrilineal and patrilineal moieties, and the two sets of moieties operating together automatically create a 4-section system.

It would appear, then, that what is meant in the native mind by the "perfection" of the 4 Quarters of Pete-hul is that it in fact rests on a 4-section basis which is the only system in the world that gives, or can give, equal weight to both matrilineal and patrilineal descent. For this reason it is both "perfect" and "complete," and any subsequent developments, necessary and inevitable though they may be from other points of view, can only destroy its internal harmony as a kinship system.

Connexion between the use of the number 4 in magic and kinship.

Thus, on the purely cultural level there is ample reason for the special significance of 4 as the "completion" or "perfection" number.

In the sphere of social organisation this is frequently expressed in terms of 4 ancestors referred to as "brothers," representing the 4-fold division of society, as in the Vao and Atchin cases already cited. This phenomenon is of course far from being confined to the Small Islands of Malekula. The relation between the two pairs of moieties and the psychological aspect of magic is well illustrated by the fact, already mentioned on p. 166 with regard to social organisation, that in the neighbouring village of Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula a diviner appeals to 4 spirits, two of whom are male and two female. Such spirits there "always go in fours." Lest it should be thought, however, that the connexion between magical numbers and social organisation is fortuitous, the same district affords us with proof seen in an interesting exception to the rule. This is that, in certain forms of magic, as in the magic for making wind, some of the cries are repeated, not 4 times as in

[1] It is interesting in this connexion that Rivers (1, vol. II, p. 408) on quite different grounds ascribed the magic of Melanesia to the "dual people" as opposed to the immigrant "kava people."

[2] See pp. 103 ff.

Vao, but 6 times,[1] corresponding to a later 6-fold division of society in a manner recalling the 6 stones supporting the table-stone of the dolmen at Pete-hul.[2]

The psychological aspect. Tension between pairs of complementary opposites. Psychological functions.

This is, however, but one aspect of the tension between pairs of complementary opposites. We have already seen another aspect of it in relation to the social organisation of warfare.[3] Tension between complementary opposites is, however, also a psychological phenomenon believed by many to be the mainspring of all creative effort. I have already on p. 516 expressed the opinion that the idea of weather magic has a basis in real fact, and that at least one of the factors contributing to it is the conscious control of psychic tension producing a force similar to the spark taking place between two opposite electric poles which, when projected under favourable conditions into the material world, produces the desired effect. What I wish to suggest here is that the use in magic of the number 4 is, quite apart from its association with the kinship problem, by no means a chance one, and that both these phenomena probably rest on a common psychological truth. In other words, that two pairs of opposites combining to produce a 4-fold division of society have their counterpart in a similar structure of the psyche represented by the 4 psychological functions demonstrated by Jung [4] and the 4-fold aspect of so many primitive magico-religious systems throughout the world. If this is the case, to the magician gathering up his psychic forces preparatory to the launching of a magical act the number 4 would represent "completion" in the sense of the "wholeness" of his own personality united into a single entity and directed towards the achievement of one single-minded purpose. Precisely how this is achieved we do not know, and only further intensive investigation on psychological lines of the magician's self-preparation and the methods by which he finally launches his bolt can show.

[1] Harrisson, 2, p. 50. [2] See p. 367. [3] See p. 589.
[4] C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*. London, 1924.

CHAPTER XXV

SAND-TRACINGS FROM VAO AND ATCHIN

BASED ON THE LABYRINTH MYTHOLOGY OF SOUTH-WEST MALEKULA

1. EXPLANATORY INTRODUCTION

The Setting.

AMONG a people whose artistic sense is expressed primarily not in the plastic arts but in dramatic performances and in the elaboration of ritual, one element of culture that easily escapes the casual observer is that of the ingenious designs drawn by the natives in the sand or in the fine volcanic dust that covers the floor of the dancing-grounds or any swept space such as is found in any house-enclosure, or in the cold ashes of a dead fire. As, according to the mythological account given below, they are all derived from a design traced in the sand, I propose to refer to them throughout as "Sand-Tracings."

These designs, which used apparently to be drawn by women,[1] are now drawn by men as a kind of pastime, with which are combined the elements of a game of skill. The only tool used is the designer's own finger, with which the designs are traced. The Vao word for this is *ghir*, as opposed to the widespread Malekulan word *ul* used for painting.[2]

Continuous-line technique.

All the designs follow the same fundamental plan. First a framework is traced, consisting either of a number of straight lines set at right angles and crossing one another, or else of small circles set in a regular pattern. The pastime consists in tracing round and round and in and out of these straight lines or small circles a geometrical design formed of a single continuous line. In all cases the skill arises from the fact that once the continuous line is started the finger must not be withdrawn till the entire figure is completed.

Design called "The Path" drawn by the Guardian Ghost in South-West Malekula.

When I first noted the existence of these designs in the Small Islands I did not know they had any significance other than as pure games of

[1] See Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 47, who adds "as they are still done by women in Santo."

[2] Compare Mota *ul*, "to smear, paint, draw figures on a Tamate hat" (Codrington, 2).

skill affording at the same time a certain artistic pleasure. Subsequently Deacon recorded a great number from South-West and West Malekula, Ambrim and Oba.[1] In Laravat on the West coast of Malekula the designs are called *rolu*, and in Seniang *ni-tüs*, from the verb *tüs*, to "draw" or "paint," used today by Mission natives to designate the writing of Europeans.[2] Their importance in Seniang may be gauged by the fact

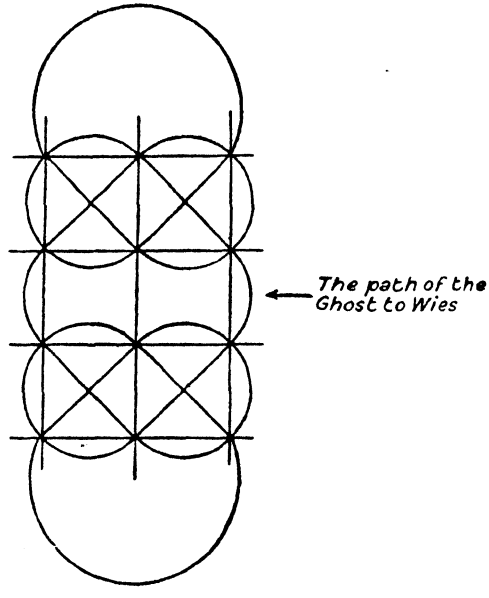


FIG. 61

Sand-tracing from Seniang called "The Path," representing the design drawn by the female Guardian Ghost, Temes Savsap, in the sand. As the dead man approaches she rubs out half the figure. The dead man must know how to complete it, and then walks through it to the land of the dead. If he cannot complete it, the Guardian Ghost eats him. (Deacon, 5, Fig. 52; Layard, 6, Fig. 9.)

that *ni-tüs* is one of the four things by which a man may swear when making promissory oaths.[3] Deacon says "each design is regarded . . . as a kind of maze," and found that in the Seniang district in South-West Malekula they were all connected with a special design called "The Path" (Fig. 61), the drawing of which was an essential item in the journey followed by the ghost of every dead man to the land of the dead. According to this belief, "Ghosts of the dead . . . pass along a 'road' to Wies, the land of the dead. At a certain point on their way they come to a rock . . . lying in the sea . . . but formerly it stood upright. The land of

[1] Deacon, 5. [2] Ibid., 5, p. 131. [3] Ibid., 4, p. 48.

the dead is situated vaguely in the wooded open ground behind this rock and is surrounded by a high fence. Always sitting by the rock is a female [guardian] ghost, [called] Temes Savsap,[1] and on the ground in front of her is drawn the completed geometrical figure known as *Nahal*,[2] 'The Path.' The path which the ghost must traverse lies between the two halves of the figure.

"As each ghost comes along the road the guardian ghost hurriedly rubs out one half of the figure. The ghost now comes up, but loses his track and cannot find it. He wanders about searching for a way to get past the Temes [Guardian Ghost] of the rock, but in vain. Only a knowledge of the completed geometrical figure can release him from this impasse. If he knows this figure, he at once completes the half which Temes Savsap rubbed out; and passes down the track through the middle of the figure. If, however, he does not know the figure, the Temes, seeing he will never find the road, eats him, and he never reaches the abode of the dead." [3]

Sand-tracings represent labyrinths.

It is not within the province of this book to discuss this statement in detail. Subsequent research, based partly on an analysis of the designs themselves and partly on a comparative study of mythology and mortuary rites over a wide field, has shown, however, that the design called "The Path" is in fact a degraded form of labyrinth such as, in ancient Egypt and elsewhere, stood before the tomb representing the entrance to the future life. It is for this reason that it is described how the ghost "loses his track and cannot find it," how he "wanders about," and how "only a knowledge of the completed geometrical figure can release him from this impasse." The whole subject of these designs, together with that of the *na-leng* maze-dances described on pp. 336-9 with which they are closely associated, has been fully discussed in my paper on *Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula* published in *Folk-Lore*, vol. XLVII, June 1936, to which the reader should refer for a more detailed analysis.

Labyrinth mythology connected with older layer in the beliefs regarding the Journey of the Dead, corresponding to those held in ancient Egypt.

It is, however, necessary to a proper understanding of the mythology underlying the Small Island designs to make two points clear. In the first place, it will be remembered that the beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead in the Small Islands are divided into two cultural layers, in

[1] *Temes* means "ghost" (Vao *ta-mat*, Atchin *ta-mats*). Savsap is the same word as is used for the Guardian Ghost in the Small Islands, namely Le-saw-saw in Atchin, Le-hev-hev in Vao (see p. 219).

[2] A widespread word used with the same meaning in many parts of Malekula: Vao *na-hal*, Atchin *ni-sel*.

[3] Deacon, 5, p. 130.

the earlier of which the dead are believed to have their home in a cave, while in the second the cave has been reduced to the status of a mere episode in a much longer story according to which the dead man walks right through it and, after undergoing various tests, finds his final home in the volcano on Ambrim.[1] These two layers of belief are far from being confined to the Small Islands and have close parallels in many parts of the world. Professor Hooke has indeed gone so far as to trace both layers of belief back to the two great religions of the Ancient East, showing the close connexion of the earlier Malekulan story, in which the home of the dead was located in or immediately behind a cave, with the beliefs current in ancient Egypt, and the later and longer story including the journey to the volcano with the Sumerian system as found in the Gilgamesh Epic.[2]

Of the two systems it is clear that the account given above of the dead man's journey in South-West Malekula belongs to the first, which shows close parallels with the beliefs current in Egypt. It is therefore not without significance that the labyrinth, well known in Egypt, should in Malekula be also associated with this early layer of megalithic culture.

Labyrinth a re-birth symbol.

What precise route this particular cultural trait followed is not known. It has, however, a wide distribution, as shown in a further study on *Labyrinth Ritual in South India* (*Folk-Lore*, vol. XLVIII, June 1937), from which, as well as from other evidence from many parts of the world, it is seen that among the many similarities in labyrinth ritual and belief certain facts stand out as being of special import, namely:

(i) that it always has to do with death and re-birth relating either to a life after death or to the mysteries of initiation;
(ii) that it is almost always connected with a cave (or more rarely a constructed dwelling);
(iii) that in those cases where the ritual has been preserved the labyrinth itself, or a drawing of it, is invariably situated at the entrance to the cave or dwelling;
(iv) that the presiding personage, either mythical or actual, is always a woman;
(v) that the labyrinth itself is walked through, or the labyrinth design walked over, by men.

Instances of labyrinth ritual from various parts of the world.

To take only a few instances: In the Malekulan account given above, the design is drawn and watched over by a female Guardian Ghost sitting beside a cave, and has to be completed and walked "through" before the

[1] See p. 231. [2] See Hooke.

dead man can pass through the cave into the land of the dead, where he will be re-born into a new life after death. This doubtless explains Godefroy's statement that in Vao, as in Santo, the designs were formerly drawn by women. Among the Tamils of South India designs in some cases almost identical with those from Malekula are drawn by living Hindu women before the thresholds of their houses in the month when the sun dies and is re-born, and the designs are straightway walked over by their husbands.[1] A more classical instance is Vergil's account at the beginning of the *Sixth Aeneid* of how Aeneas, seeking to visit his father Anchises in Hades, first has to visit the female sibyl who guards the entrance, near which is a painted representation of the Cretan labyrinth, and of the well-known events connected with it.[2] Nearer home still are the Celtic stone crosses, symbols of re-birth, with their entangling designs. Rather later in time are the labyrinth designs executed on the floor of the nave or over the west door of many mediaeval Gothic churches, and the turf mazes which the village boys run round in our own country,[3] while today in parts of Scotland and north England women draw what in the north are called "tangled thried" designs on their thresholds and hearthstones as a prophylactic against evil influences or witches.[4]

Psychological significance: "Dream-walking" on Vao.

From this brief summary it will be seen that the labyrinth has a long cultural history. But it would not persist in so many places if it had not also a deep psychological significance. Many people have labyrinthine dreams in which they try to prove the mysteries of life. Somnambulistic phenomena also are often of this nature. Nor are such things confined to our own culture.

Godefroy describes a culturally recognised condition of dream-walking on Vao called *rel pul*, words which mean literally walking (*rel*) in a dream (*pul*).[5] He describes it as "walking in a dream, or rather a dream-state induced while a man walks about, which lasts all day long. I have a strong suspicion that the *rel pul* is a ritual act, since the dreamer must be in a state of fast beginning the evening before; he does not speak, he goes alone, with a switch in his hand, sits down from time to time, and if a friend joins him, such words as pass between them must be spoken in a very low voice. A man who is doing *rel pul* is never criticised nor regarded as being lazy (*nime mat-mat*, 'having the hands dead,' i.e. paralysed), as are those who stay behind on Vao doing nothing instead of going with all the rest to work in the mainland gardens." [6]

[1] Layard, 7, p. 124.
[2] See Knight. Till the publication of the Malekulan evidence this passage had remained a puzzle to scholars. Mr. Knight was the first to explain it.
[3] See Matthews. [4] See Banks, p. 78.
[5] Compare Atchin *por-por*, Mota *qore*(*-qore*), both meaning "to dream."
[6] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 210.

Malekulan labyrinth belongs to early unstereotyped kind.

Such dream-walking represents an introverted state sanctioned by culture in which, so far as we know, the dream-walker follows no stereotyped route. It is therefore of interest when compared with the question of labyrinth designs, since in the early history of the labyrinth this also had no stereotyped form, being simply a complicated way intended to confuse or baffle those who were not familiar with its plan. Stereotyped forms of labyrinth such as that of the well-known labyrinth design of the coins of Knossos did not occur till the labyrinth had lost its meaning as a form of initiation through which the candidate wishing to solve the mysteries of death and re-birth had to pass.

Now used as games of skill and named according to the designer's fancy.

An examination of the Malekulan labyrinth designs shows that these belong to such an early unstereotyped stage, since, of all those collected in Malekula and the neighbouring islands both by myself and Deacon, and in Raga by Miss Hardcastle and Dr. Firth,[1] no two are alike. Indeed, now that they are used as games of skill this tendency, as with cats' cradles, with which they are probably allied, now serves to stimulate the creative ingenuity of the natives, who, while certain designs, of course, become traditional and are copied over and over again, constantly invent new ones as an intellectual pastime. Each new design is given a name, as a rule to suit the designer's fancy, though in the case of one particular type, as will be shown, the names almost always have to do with ghosts.

Two Main Types of Design

While, as we have seen, the individual designer is at liberty to exercise his fancy to a certain extent, he is, however, in other respects strictly confined within the limits described at the beginning of this chapter, namely the tracing of a continuous-line design meandering in and about a framework consisting of:

A, straight lines, often set at right angles and crossing one another, which I will refer to as a linear framework; or

B, small circles set in a regular pattern.

While in actual practice these two types sometimes overlap, the two categories are nevertheless important, since each originally represented a different aspect of the labyrinth myth. The evidence dealing with the origin of these two types is set out fully and with reproductions of the most relevant designs in the article already referred to,[2] and can here only be summarised in a manner that might appear arbitrary were it not possible for the student to follow it out in detail in the article mentioned.

[1] Published in Deacon, 5.

[2] Layard, 6.

Type A represents the journey through the labyrinth.

Put very briefly, the designs belonging to Type A with a linear framework represent the actual journey through the labyrinth, the framework itself representing originally the structure of the labyrinth (the actual walls and barricades) and the continuous line the path traced by the initiate on his way through it. It is characteristic of these that the continuous line has a definite beginning and end, marking the beginning and end of his journey. It is for this reason doubtless that the design drawn by the Guardian Ghost in Seniang, which the ghost of the dead man must complete and then walk over, is called "The Path."

Type B represents the body of the Guardian Ghost.

The designs belonging to Type B differ from those of Type A not only in the fact that the framework is made not of lines but of small circles symmetrically arranged, but also in that the continuous line, instead of beginning at one point and ending at another, is never-ending and curves round the small circles in such a way as to enclose a space. The prototype of these is a design drawn on a funeral coverlet representing the Guardian Ghost,[1] and an analysis of the designs belonging to this type shows that they all originally represented this ghostly person, the small circles representing her eyes, nostrils and breasts, and the never-ending line drawn round them representing the outline of her body.

2. THE DESIGNS

Owing to the fact that I did not make any attempt to make a complete collection of the designs drawn on Vao but only recorded those that happened to come to my notice, and since, owing to their popularity as games, they are culturally very mobile, I propose also to include in this chapter those which I collected on Atchin. As an introduction to the whole subject I propose also to reproduce two important designs collected by Deacon on Oba.[2]

TYPE A

REPRESENTING THE TRACK FOLLOWED BY THE INITIATE THROUGH THE LABYRINTH

(Formed of a continuous line having a beginning and end meandering in and around a linear framework.)

This type of design is divided into two sub-types, corresponding to two types of labyrinth construction in ancient Egypt.[3]

[1] See Fig. 72.

[2] The author has constructed a complete diagrammatic table showing the various stages of technological degradation seen in the 91 designs recorded by Deacon, those published in this book and others from Raga. This Table is too big to publish, but can be seen on request.

[3] See Deedes, and Layard, 6, p. 168 and Figs. 27, 28, reproducing Egyptian labyrinth designs after Sir Arthur Evans.

SUB-TYPE A I: PARALLEL-LINEAR

In the first type the labyrinth surrounded the structure representing the tomb through which access was had to the land of the dead, so that the initiate progressed from the outside of the labyrinth inward towards the centre. Designs of this sub-type, here referred to as A 1, characterised also by a tendency for the continuous line to be drawn in such

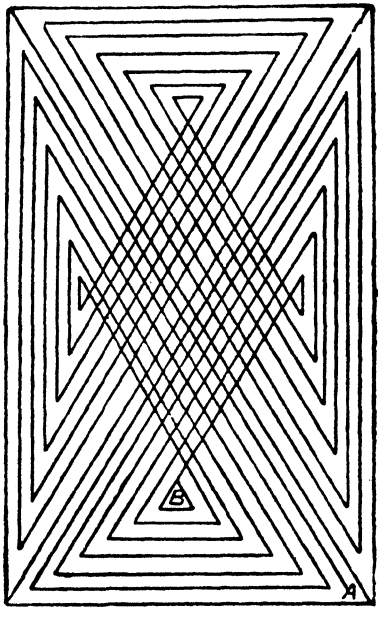


FIG. 62

Sand-tracing from Oba (Deacon, 5, Fig. 78; Layard, 6, Fig. 2 (*a*)), Type A 1. The framework consists of a rectangle with diagonals joining the corners. The continuous line starts on the periphery at A and ends internally at B.

a way as frequently to run parallel to itself, do not occur at all in South-West or West Malekula, but they do in the Small Islands and in Oba.

Fig. 62 is based on a rectangular framework with diagonal lines joining the corners. The whole of the rest of the design consists of a single continuous line which, beginning at the point marked A on the periphery, after crossing and re-crossing itself many times, finally ends up internally at B.

Fig. 63 has a framework (shown by thick heavy line) based on the diagonals only, which are themselves twisted into a single line. The continuous line proper begins at A (in the same position relative to the

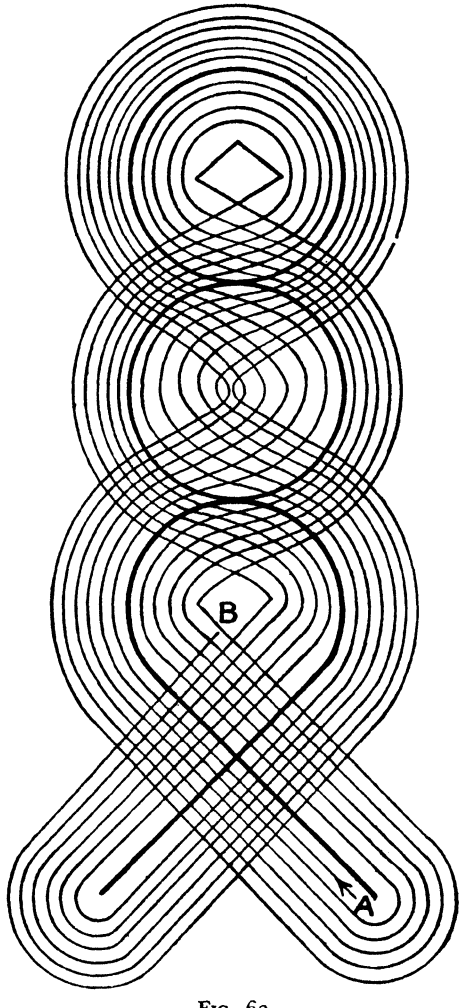


FIG. 63

Sand-tracing from Oba (Deacon, 5, Fig. 74; Layard, 6, Fig. 2 (*b*)), Type A 1. Linear framework denoted by thick line. Continuous line starts externally at A and ends internally at B.

diagonal as in Fig. 62) and, after crossing and re-crossing itself, ends up also internally at B. It will be noted that, owing to the lack of external rectangular framework in this design, the continuous line encloses the framework.

This is the case also with the only example of this type which I collected on Vao, seen in Fig. 64. Here only the diagonals of the framework are present, set in the form of a cross in the same way as the lower part of Fig. 63. The continuous line begins at A, proceeding clockwise and ending at B, and so appearing this time to represent the outward

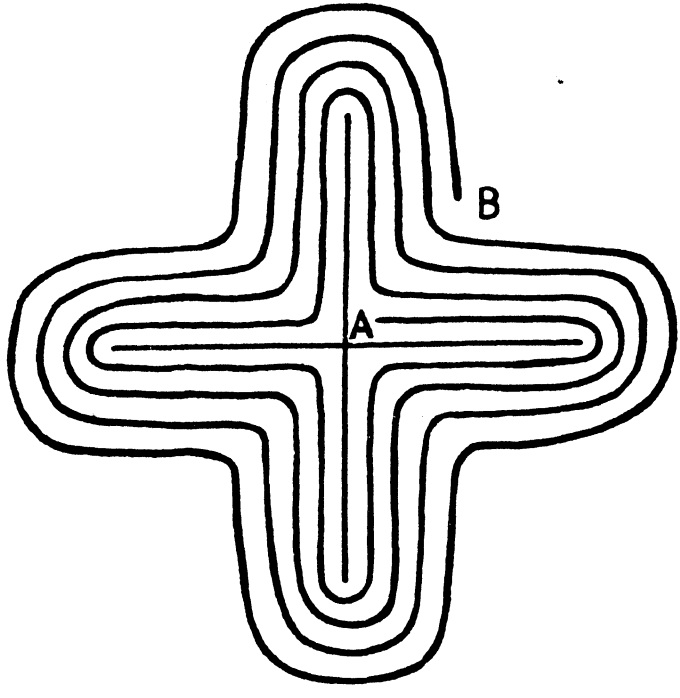


FIG. 64

Sand-tracing from Vao, Type A 1, called *na-ghimbò*, a kind of yam. The framework, consisting of two straight lines set at right angles in the form of a cross, is drawn first. Then the continuous line is drawn round it clockwise, beginning at A and ending at B.

journey. This design is called, for reasons unknown to me, by the fanciful name *na-ghimbò*, a kind of yam.

A similar, but somewhat simpler, design from Atchin, also called by the same name, there pronounced *na-himp*, is seen in Fig. 65.

SUB-TYPE A 2: CURVILINEAR

We have seen how, in the first type of labyrinth construction in Egypt the labyrinth surrounded the tomb, so that the initiate had to go from

the outside of the labyrinth to the inside and vice versa. In the second type, however, the position of the labyrinth was changed, and instead of surrounding the combined tomb and the palace, stood before the entrance so that the initiate's path no longer led from the outside of the labyrinth to the inside, but through it from one end to the other.[1] It is this second form that we find mirrored in the beliefs concerning the

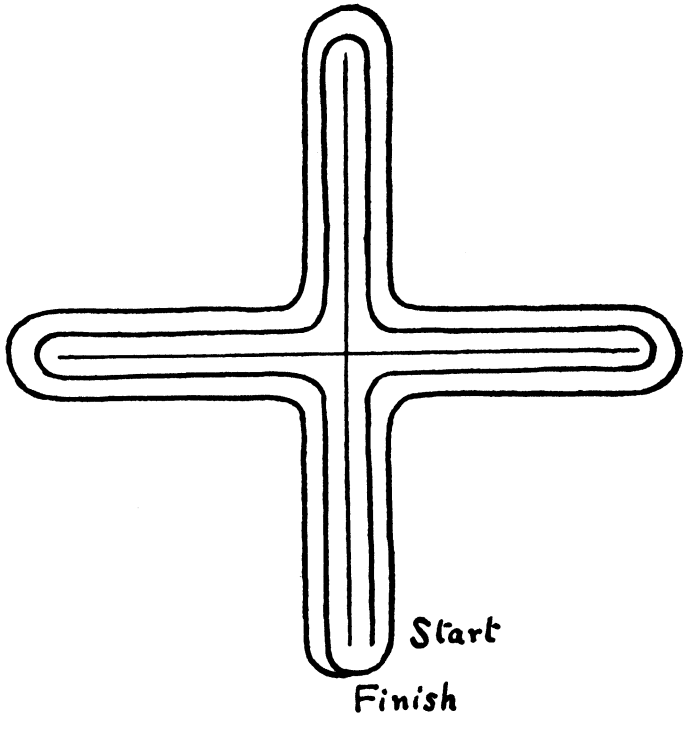


FIG. 65

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A 1, called *na-himp*, a kind of yam. (Compare Vao, Fig. 64.)

journey of the dead in South-West Malekula, and it is the designs of this type that are by far the most common in that island. The framework is still a linear one formed of straight lines, this time crossing one another at right angles. The path traced by the continuous line is, however, very different. In the first place it is curvilinear, thus differing from the parallel-linear form of type A 1, and in the second place it does not proceed from the outside inward or from inside outward, but, starting

[1] See Deedes.

at one corner, meanders around till finally it comes out at some other corner. In the basic design of this type the exit is diagonally opposite to the entrance, and the continuous line curves round the intersections

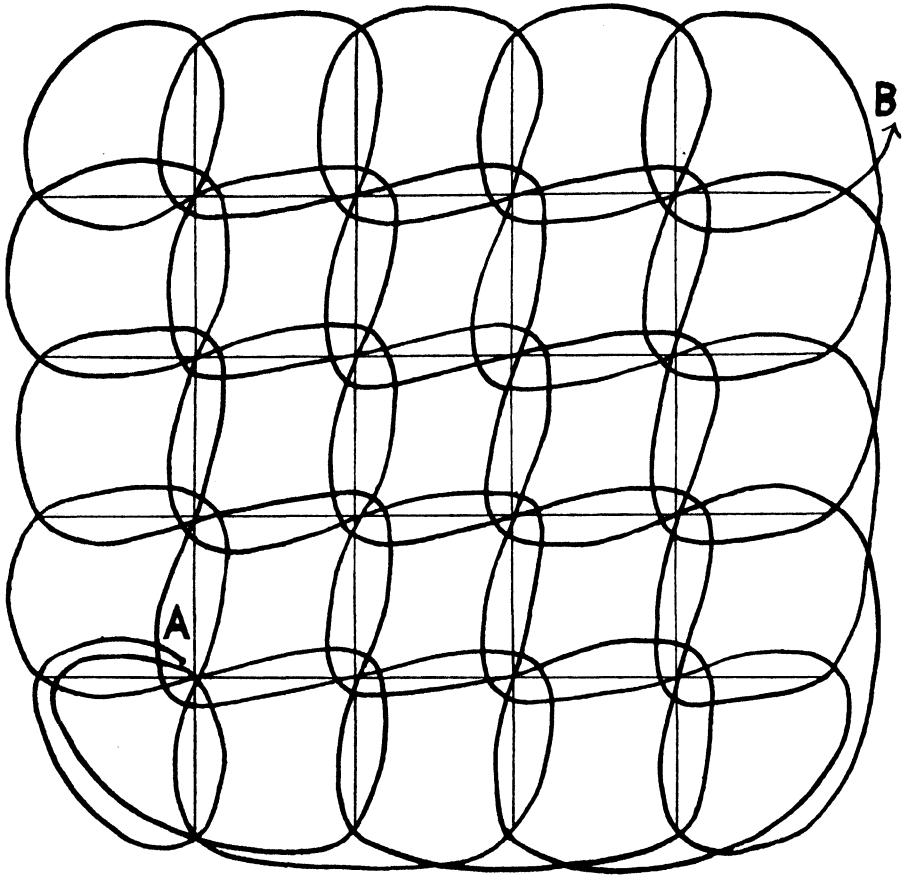


FIG. 66 (*a*)

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A 2, called *na-hit rin ta-mats*, " Octopus, food of the ghosts." The framework consists of two sets of four lines each, set at right angles to one another. This design is drawn freely, showing the continuous line sweeping round the intersections of the framework as a man would walk round the corners of an actual structure, starting at A and ending at B on the diagonally opposite corner.

of the framework as a man would round the corners of an actual structure, as in Fig. 66 (*a*) from Atchin, called *na-hit rin ta-mats*, "Octopus, food of the ghosts." [1]

[1] The octopus is a totemic animal and clan name in many parts of the New Hebrides.

In the majority of cases, however, the labyrinthine symbolism of the designs has been lost in the interests of ingenious symmetry. Thus, Fig. 66 (*a*) becomes Fig. 66 (*b*), which is precisely the same design drawn

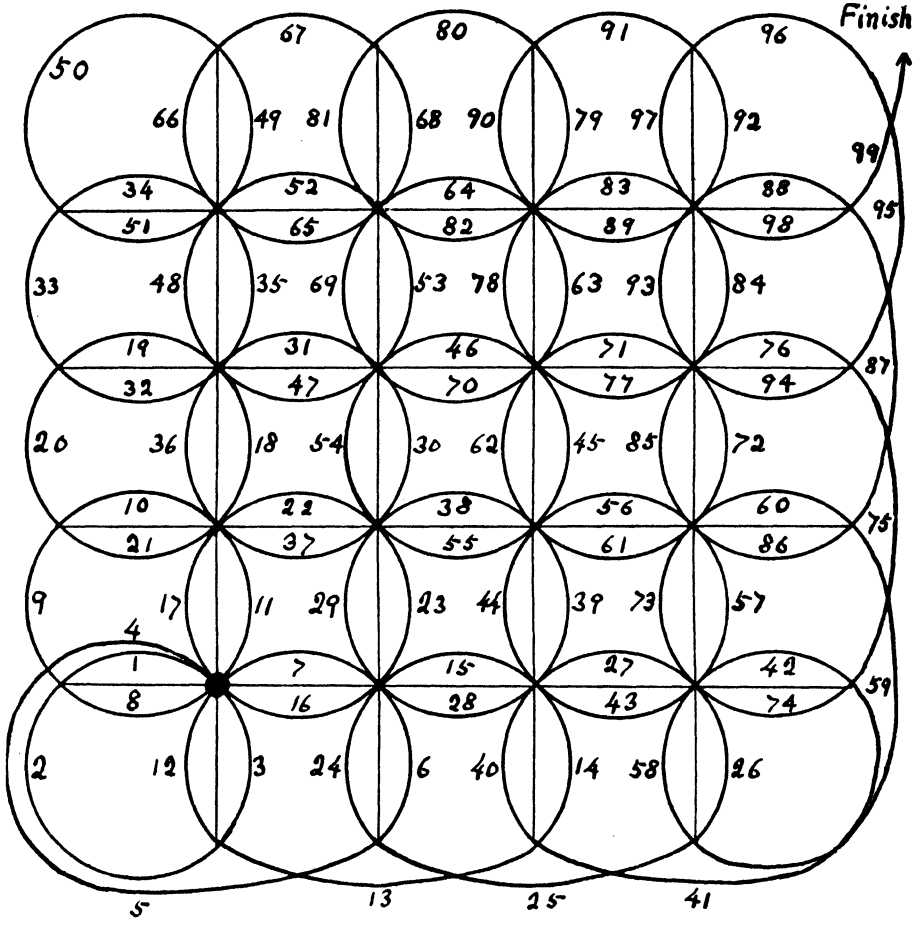


FIG. 66 (*b*)

Same as Fig. 66 (*a*), but with the continuous line passing through the intersections of the framework instead of round them. The numbers have been added to enable the student to trace its course. (Compare Deacon, 5, Figs. 38, 83.)

with the continuous line passing through the intersections of the framework instead of round them.

One direction in which these designs may be manipulated is seen in Figs. 67 (*a*) and (*b*) from Atchin, also given in two alternative versions. This figure is called *Ni-wat Bong-na-un*, "The stone of Bong-na-un." It

will be remembered how, in the Vao version of the Journey of the Dead, the dead man comes to a promontory called Bong-na-un and there lights a fire to attract the attention of the ghostly ferryman on Ambrim.[1]

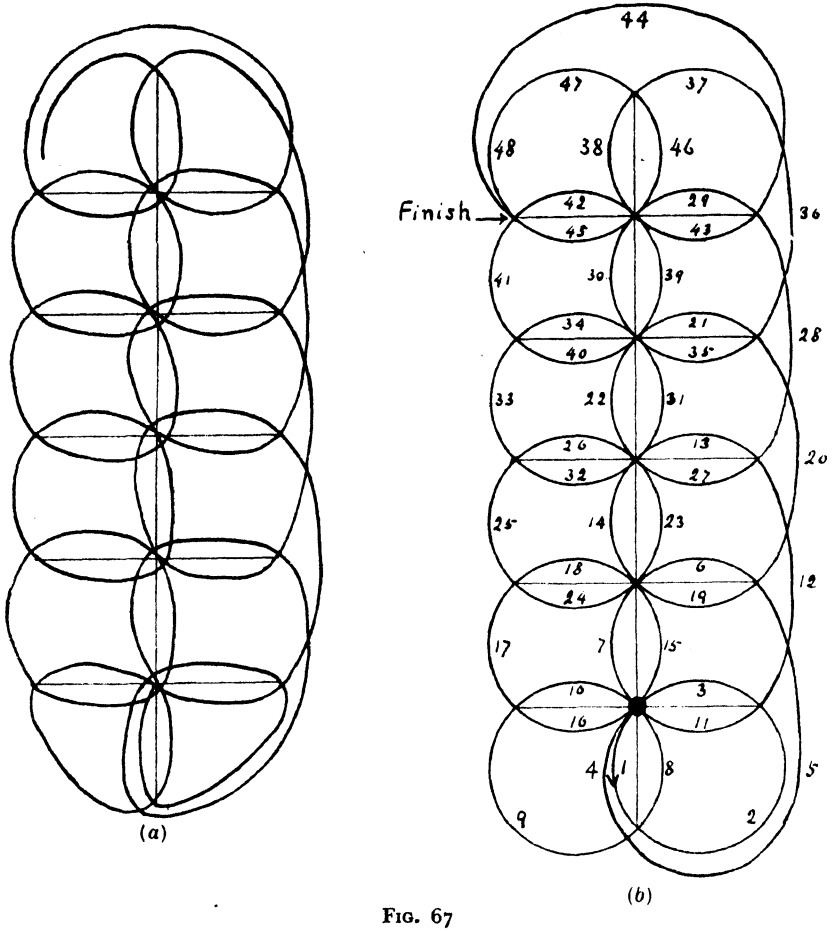


FIG. 67

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A2, called *Ni-wat Bong-na-un*, "Stone of Bong-na-un," representing the petromorphic Guardian Ghost in the Wala version of the Journey of the Dead.
(*a*) drawn freehand,
(*b*) drawn as a geometric design.
The continuous line starts at the bottom and ends at the top. (For progressive stages in technological degradation starting from this model see Deacon, 5, Fig. 72 from Oba, and Figs. 56, 29 from Seniang.)

In the Atchin and Wala versions it is at this spot that they meet the female Guardian Ghost, and in the Wala version she is represented as dwelling in an upright stone standing in the sea. It is this stone that is

[1] See p. 228.

here indicated, and it will be observed how the originally square design has been elongated so as to resemble an upright monolithic block.[1]

Further stages in ritual degradation making for greater freedom in the construction of pure design are:

(*a*) abandonment of the principle, properly belonging to this type of labyrinth design, that the continuous line should go right through the figure from one corner to that diagonally opposite to it; thus giving greater freedom in that it may come out at any corner that fits best with the design;

(*b*) incorporation into the continuous line of the diagonal lines properly belonging to the framework; and

(*c*) the extension of the continuous line in a bold external sweep outside the previously constructed figure.[2] This line may be manipulated in all sorts of ways, to imitate such things as the flappers of a turtle, crescent moons or conch shells, as seen in some of Deacon's examples.

I have no such realistic examples from the Small Islands, but the three principles listed above are all seen operating in Fig. 68 from Vao, in which the continuous line includes diagonal movements as well as the more usual curves, begins at one corner of the figure and comes out at another corner on the same side, finally completing the symmetry by making a complete external sweep enclosing the whole previously constructed design. This design is called *ro gialu*, a species of creeper frequently fed to pigs.

An analysis of this figure shows that it is constructed on a rectangular framework (*a*) formed of two sets of three intersecting lines crossing one another at right angles.

(*b*) The continuous line begins at one corner, J, and first describes a double figure-of-eight around each of the three vertical lines, ending at C.

(*c*) Then it repeats the process, describing three more double figure-of-eights round the three horizontal lines, beginning at C and ending at A. This should, from the mythological point of view, properly end the figure, since the continuous line has now come out at the corner diagonally opposite to that at which it started.

[1] See Layard, 4, pp. 122, 124.

[2] For simple examples of this see Layard, 6, Figs. 7, 8 (Deacon, 5, Figs. 37, 81).

(*d*) However, since mythological conceptions have now given place to ingenuity of design, the continuous line now proceeds to link all the intersections of the framework with a series of diagonal lines, but,

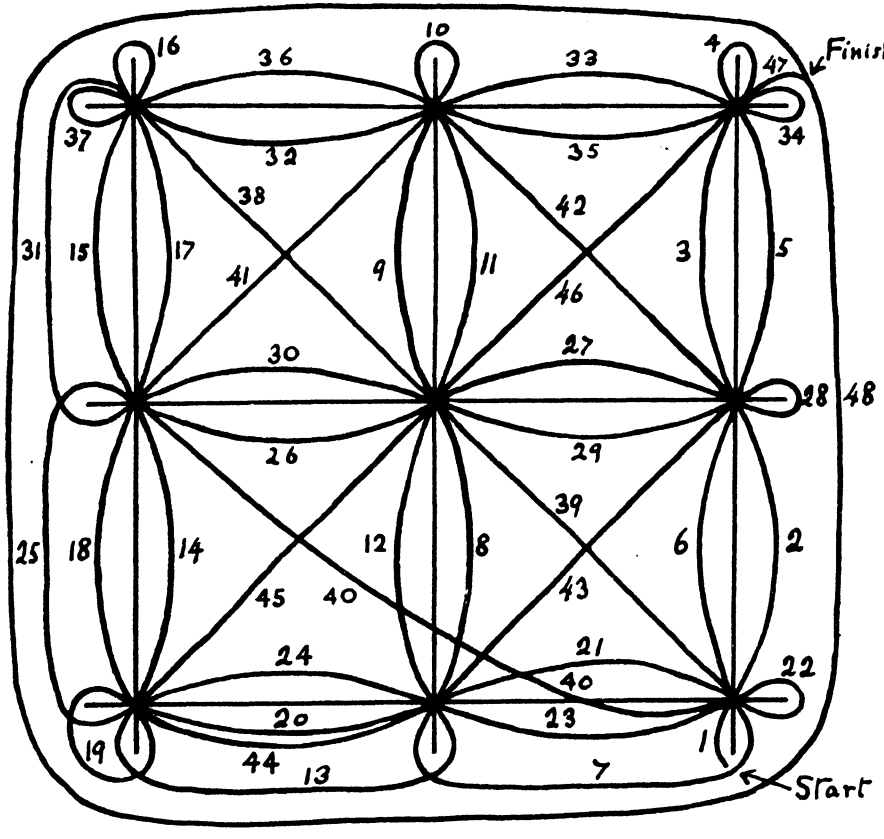


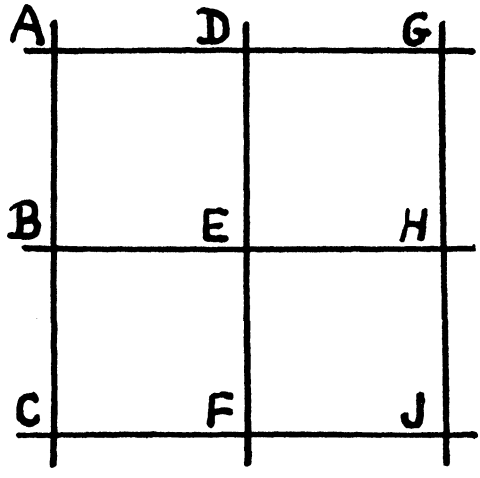
FIG. 68

Sand-tracing from Vao, Type A 2, called *ro gialu*, a species of creeper frequently fed to pigs. The continuous line starts at one corner and comes out at another corner on the same side, includes diagonals as well as curves, and ends in an external sweep enclosing the whole figure. Compare mythological account of a creeper twisted into a design "similar to a spider's web" (see p. 668). (Deacon, 5, records numerous designs of this type.)

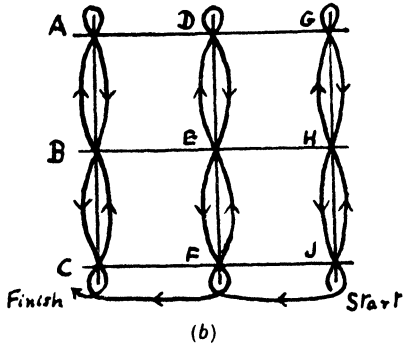
being a degraded design, it deviates somewhat between J and B, and F and C.

(*e*) Finally, it sweeps round the whole design, joining up with itself at G.

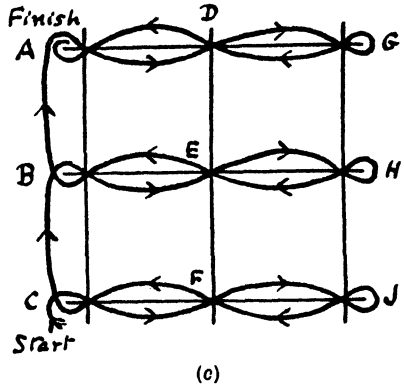
Another line of development is for the continuous line to be so manipulated as to join up with itself and thus become a never-ending



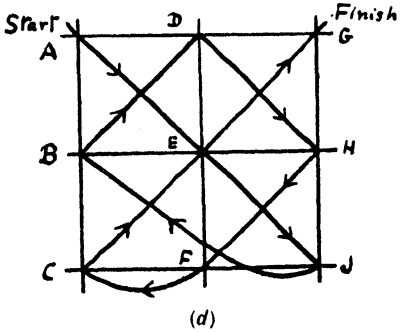
(a)



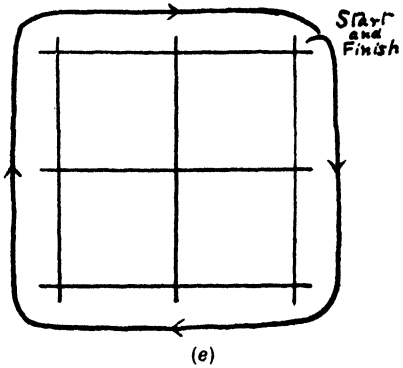
(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Analysis of Fig. 68

line without the use of any additional external line. Such is Fig. 69 from Atchin, called "Five *tabakor* clubs" from its resemblance to ceremonial clubs of this name obtained by the natives of Atchin from Raga, and much prized on this account.

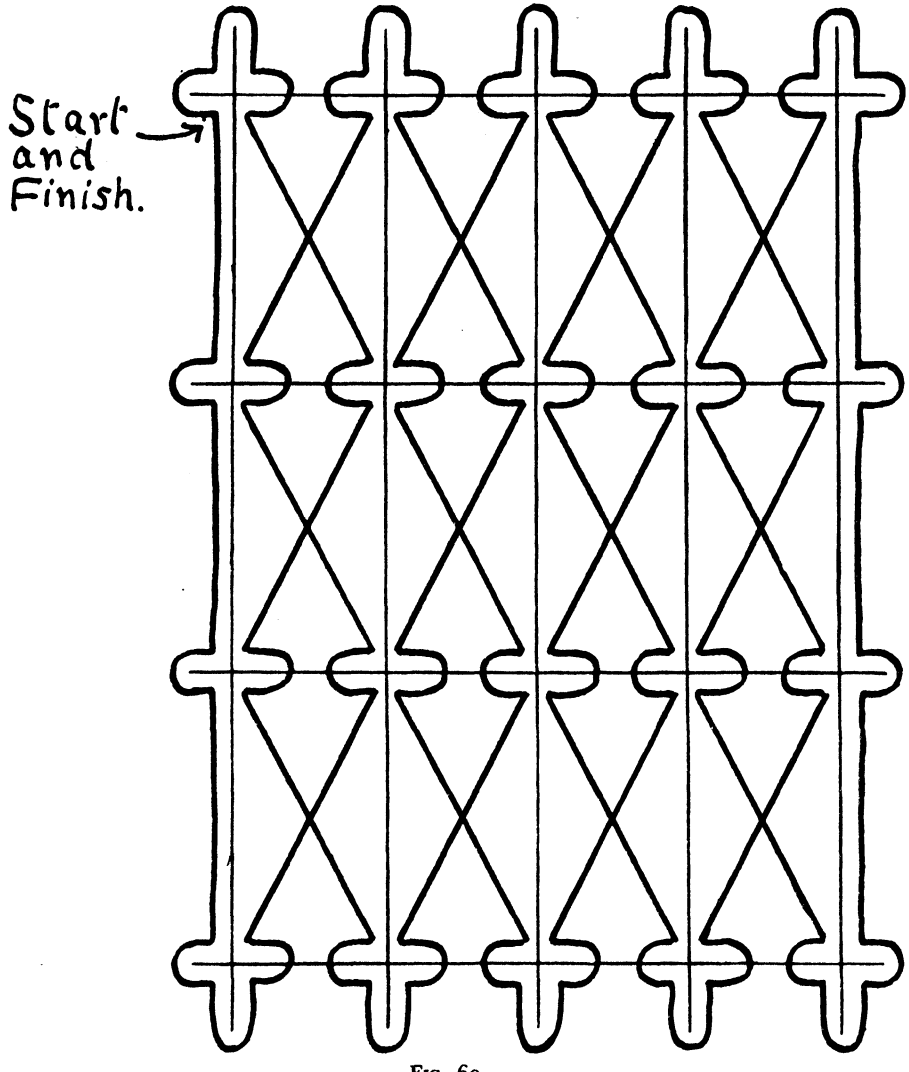


FIG. 69

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A 2 (modified), called "Five *tabakor* clubs." The continuous line has become never-ending.

At the end of this series we find once more a very simple design, Fig. 70, in which also the continuous line has become never-ending, being composed almost entirely of diagonals with loops on the outside

of the figure where it turns. Simple as this looks, however, it will be seen that it is the heir to a long line of development through the stages outlined above. This simplified design, drawn in the volcanic dust on

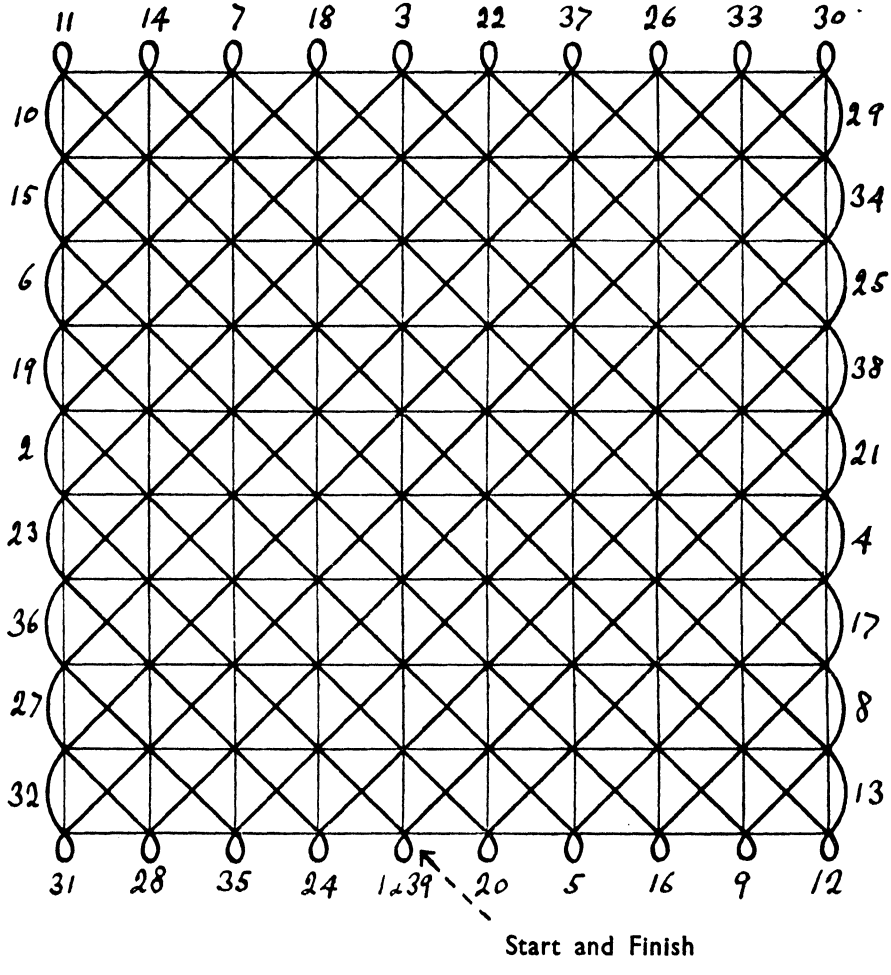


FIG. 70

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type A 2 (modified), called *kalo wawa*, "The penis (?) of the *wawa* tree." The continuous line has become never-ending. (Compare Deacon, 5, Fig. 63.)

the floor of the dancing-ground of Olep, on the Superior Side of Atchin, bears the somewhat curious name of *kalo wawa*, "The penis (?) of the *wawa* tree," a tree prized chiefly for the sake of its soft but strong white inner bark used for making string belts.

Note on "The Path."

These are roughly the stages in the technological degradation of the key design called "The Path" (Fig. 61) which, in the belief current in the Seniang district of South-West Malekula, the Guardian Ghost draws in the sand and which the dead man must complete and walk through in order to reach the land of the dead. The peculiar form of this figure is due to the fact that, while the knowledge of the precise function of the continuous line as representing the path through the labyrinth has been lost, the natives still know that the whole design in some way represents a path. Having, therefore, transferred the element of baffle-ment properly associated with the labyrinth to the dead man's alleged confusion and loss of direction before reaching it, the continuous line no longer fulfils any religious function, but instead the whole design has been so constructed as to leave a comparatively empty central space through which, in this now mythologically almost meaningless figure, the ghost of the dead man is said to pass.

Barkulkul, creator-deity in South Raga, bolts his wife's door by means of creeper in the form of a design resembling a spider's web.

An interesting way in which the labyrinth story has been adapted elsewhere in the New Hebrides is seen in the mythological account from South Raga cited on p. 222, in which it is related how one day the creator-deity, there called Barkulkul, when leaving his house, left his wife in it and "shut the door by making, with a liana, a design similar to a spider's web." When he came back, finding the design disturbed, he went to the men's house, where he said to the men, "Let us make drawings." They made drawings in the ashes, similar to spiders' webs, and when Barkulkul saw that his brother Marrelül made the same design as he himself had made, he knew that it was he who had entered his house in his absence and seduced his wife. And so he killed him.

The interest in this story lies firstly in the use of a creeper, recalling Fig. 68, named after such a creeper and itself not unlike a spider's web. In the second place, it is important to note the position of the design made with the creeper on the very door of the house so that an intruder would have to break through it, in the same way as the ghost of the dead man in Seniang must pass through the design called "The Path" in order to penetrate into the cave. In the third place, it will be noted that the motive is a sexual one indicating something in the nature of a sacred marriage resembling that of Theseus and Ariadne, seen also in the labyrinth dances performed at the marriage of a chief's daughter among the Big Nambas of the North Malekulan plateau.[1] In this case

[1] Harrisson, 2, p. 413; Layard, 6, p. 168.

the inner sanctum guarded by the spider's web design is occupied by a woman, Barkulkul's wife. But a spider's web itself has a central point occupied by the spider which not only constructs the web in the same way that the female Guardian Ghost in Seniang constructs the labyrinth design called "The Path," but also sits in the middle ready to devour any outsider who ventures to disturb it in the same way that the Guardian Ghost devours the uninitiated dead. It is therefore highly relevant that, in Lakona in the Banks Islands, Supwe who, though male, corresponds to the female Guardian Ghost Temes Savsap, is called Marawa, meaning "Spider." What the Guardian Ghost depicted in the sand-tracings herself looks like will be seen in the next section.

Type B

REPRESENTING THE BODY OF THE GUARDIAN GHOST

(Formed of a never-ending line enclosing a space drawn round and about a framework consisting of symmetrically arranged small circles.)

We now come to a different type of design formed of a single never-ending line drawn round a framework of symmetrically arranged small circles.[1] This type of design, as we have seen, originated in a representation of the figure of the Guardian Ghost, the small circles representing her eyes, nostrils and breasts, and the encircling never-ending line the outline of her body. The evidence for this lies partly in two paintings connected with the mortuary ritual of Seniang in South-West Malekula. One is the design shown in Fig. 71 representing the Guardian Ghost, Temes Savsap, painted on a funeral coverlet. The second (Fig. 72) is a design painted on a hat forming part of a mask belonging to the Nalawan ghost society. With reference to this latter it is interesting to note that one of the Tamate Societies in Mota described by Rivers is called Wotlewona, derived from the words *me wota alo one* meaning "born in the sand," of which it is said "A woman was sitting on the sand making drawings, and she drew a design which a man saw and used as the pattern for the hat. A little while ago the Mota people made one of these hats, and went about with it." [2]

It will be noted that in Fig. 71, representing the outline of the figure, the small circles representing the eyes, etc., have disappeared, while in Fig. 72 they are multiplied beyond recognition. They are, however, easily recognisable as such in many of the sand-tracings of this type, most of which are named after ghosts or some other sacred objects. The most perfect example of this type I saw executed on Vao was

[1] Sometimes replaced by dots, and in one case by spirals.
[2] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 119.

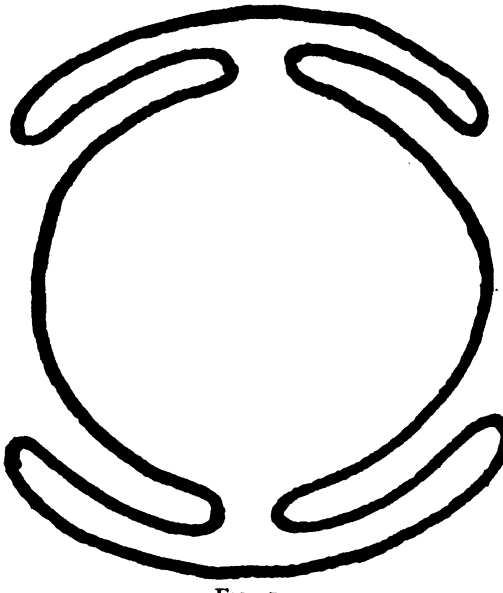


FIG. 71

Design representing the female Guardian Ghost, Temes Savsap, on a funeral coverlet in Seniang. (Deacon, 4, Fig. 52; Layard, 6, Fig. 18.)

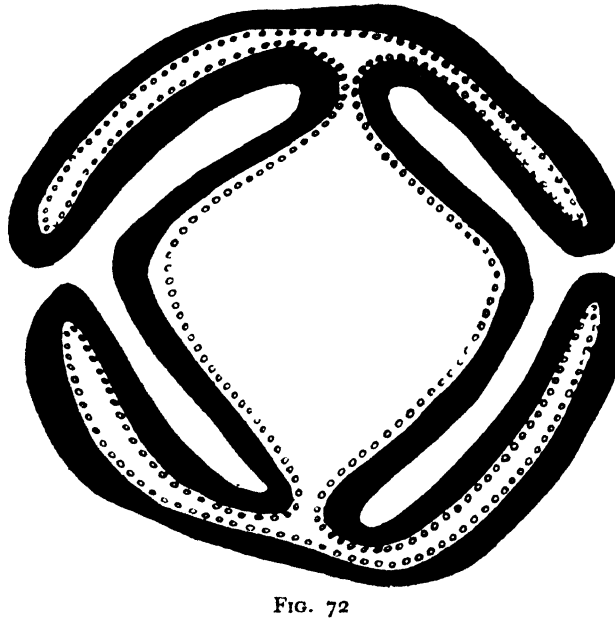


FIG. 72

Design painted on the hat forming part of a mask belonging to the *Nalawan* ghost society of Seniang, now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Jenning's Collection Z11172. The thick lines are black, the enclosed space brown, and the dots white. The whole is on a whitish ground, on which other geometric designs are painted in thick black lines. (Layard, 6, Fig. 19.)

Fig. 73 (*b*), drawn with the right forefinger in the volcanic dust that covers the floor of the dancing-ground of Togh-vanu. The first item to be drawn in this design was a central diamond (a comparatively rare feature) called *tangöv*, followed by sixteen small circles, as in Fig. 73 (*a*); after which the never-ending line was started at the point marked A and continued without lifting the finger from the ground till it had joined up with itself at the point from which it had begun, thus producing the complete design shown in Fig. 73 (*b*).

In this Vao Fig. 73 (*b*) it will be noted that the small circles numbered 12 and 13 are more or less recognisable as eyes (this is much clearer in Fig. 74), but what may be taken as the "arms" and "legs" have in each case been duplicated in the interests of pure design.

Connexion of these designs with arm-badges, cicatrisation and tattooing.

An interesting point is the name of this design, *wu-wör tangöv*. The word *tangöv* refers to the central diamond, a ritual pattern occurring as a badge of high Maki rank on shell-bead armlets and woven into the reed fences surrounding the house-enclosures of men of high rank. Its importance is shown by the fact that the name for one of the old forms of Maki on Atchin was Maki Tangöv,[1] and that the same word under the form Tangop is still used as a Maki title in Ambrim and East Malekula.[2] In this Vao design derived from a representation of the female Guardian Ghost it seems to occupy the place of the vulva.

The word *wu-wör* which precedes *tangöv* in the name of this design is the same as that used for cicatrisation by means of incisions made in the skin, which, though not practised on Vao, is characteristic of the Malekulan mainland.[3]

Cicatrisations of this kind may be made on any part of the body, but more particularly on the shoulder, as in the case of my informant marking the length of my nose as a memorial of me on his daughter's shoulder, seen in Fig. 87 on page 744. More usually, however, they are

[1] See future volume. [2] See p. 719.

[3] According to information obtained on Atchin, there are two kinds of cicatrisation. The first is called *uwör* (corresponding to the Vao *wu-wör*) and consists of simple incisions made with a sharp bamboo knife into which black ashes are rubbed in order to make a weal. Cicatrisations made in this way include geometrical designs called *wena*, said to represent the human face precisely similar to the sand-tracing Fig. 84 from Atchin. Another popular design is said to represent what the natives refer to as a "sea-snake," called *lumweik*. Other raised marks also called *uwör* are the designs carried out in relief on certain ceremonial clubs and on combs (see Layard, 1, pp. 77 and 85).

A second and more severe type of cicatrisation done on the mainland is called in Atchin *shül-shül hamb*, meaning "roasting" (*shül-shül* corresponds to the Vao *hul-hul*, and *hamb* to the Vao *amp*, "fire"). This is done by means of the dry midrib of a coconut frond, which is first burnt and then coated with some special kind of loose earth. Thus coated, the midrib is laid on the arm and there relighted, so that it smoulders, leaving a narrow black mark. In a few days this develops into a sore, which is not treated in any way, and when healed gives rise to a glossy raised keloid.

made on men and serve as permanent badges, though, not being familiar with mainland practices, I do not know their precise function. The word *wu-wör* is of mainland origin, possibly related to the Vao *ghir* used for the drawing of these designs, since both processes consist in making

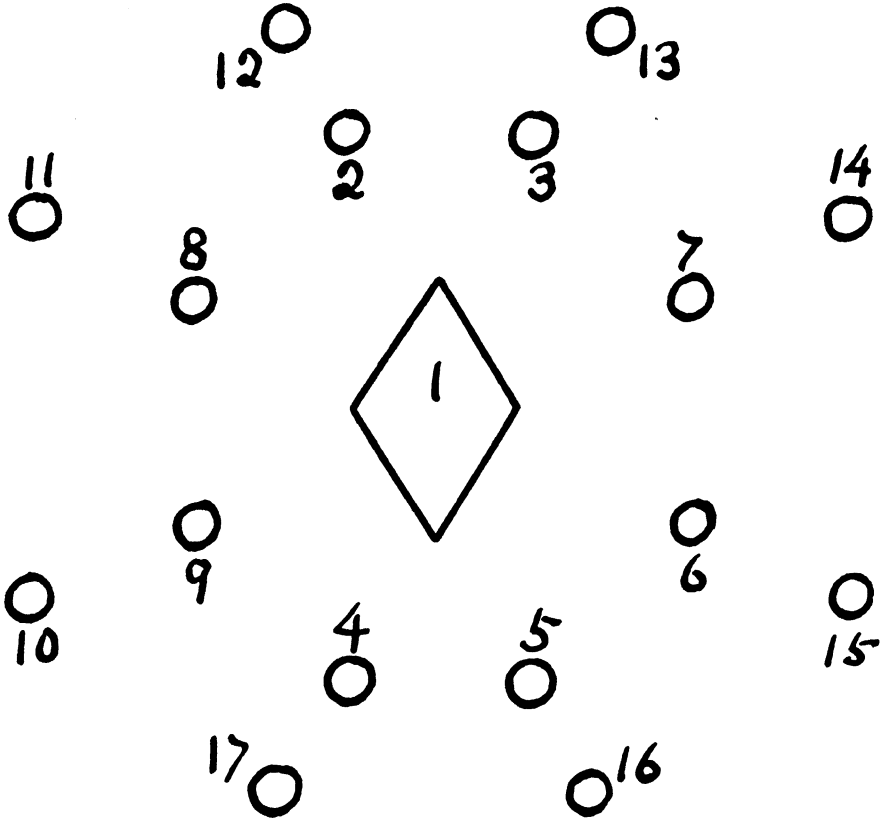


FIG. 73 (*a*)

Showing the framework for Fig. 73 (*b*), before drawing the never-ending line. The diamond was drawn first, and then the small circles in the order marked.

incisions, in the first case in the skin and in the second case in the sand or earth. The whole name may therefore be translated "diamond badge," or possibly "badge (or cicatrisation) of one who has taken the rank of Tangop or Tangöv."[1] A point worth noting about this is that cicatrisation in Malekula and the painting of the body in the Small Islands correspond to tattooing among those people whose lighter-

[1] It is interesting to note that one of the key designs collected by Deacon (see Layard, 6, Fig. 4 (Deacon, 5, Fig. 83)) is called *Wul' wul' nitimbu*, translated "Mark of Grandmother." It is probable that the real meaning of "mark" is "cicatrisation."

coloured skins make tattooing possible, whereas on the darker-coloured skins of these natives it does not show up enough to be a practical measure. I mention this because designs almost exactly similar to many of the Malekulan sand-tracings of both types are found in South India both

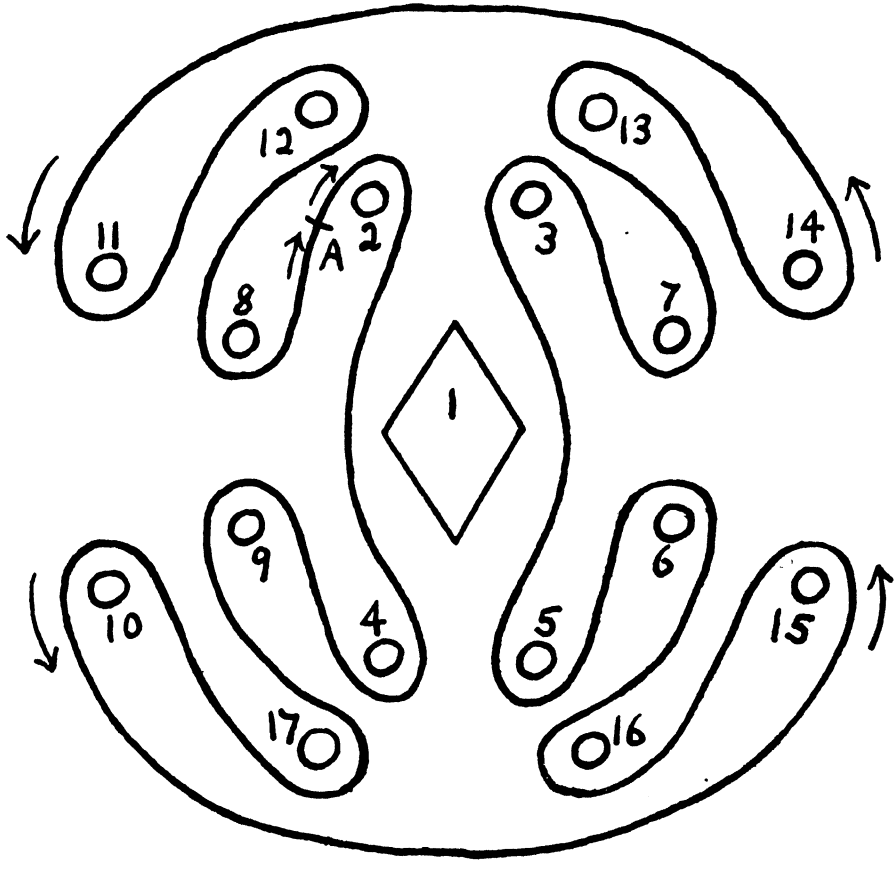


FIG. 73 (*b*)

Sand-tracing, Type B, drawn with the right index finger in the dust on the floor of the dancing-ground of Togh-vanu, on Vao. The design is called *wu-wör tangöv*, "badge of the *tangöv*," *tangöv* being the word for the diamond-shaped central figure.

The continuous line starts at the point marked A, proceeding in the direction shown by the arrow, till it joins up with itself again at the same point, thus forming a never-ending line. (Compare Deacon, 5, Figs. 61, 70 (Layard, 6, Figs. 15, 16), the latter having "arms" and "legs" tripled, and dots in place of small circles. See also Deacon, 5, Fig. 71 (unfinished).)

as threshold designs and as tattoo patterns and having, moreover, the same re-birth significance as the Malekulan designs.[1] This fact should have some bearing on the study of tattoo patterns in the Pacific.

[1] See also Type C, Hatched Designs, p. 681, and Layard, 7, particularly Figs. 1, 2, 3, 6, 33, 34.

Fig. 74 is another design of the same type B originally representing the Guardian Ghost. The anthropomorphic features are more clearly distinguishable here, but in a technically degraded form, since the four-

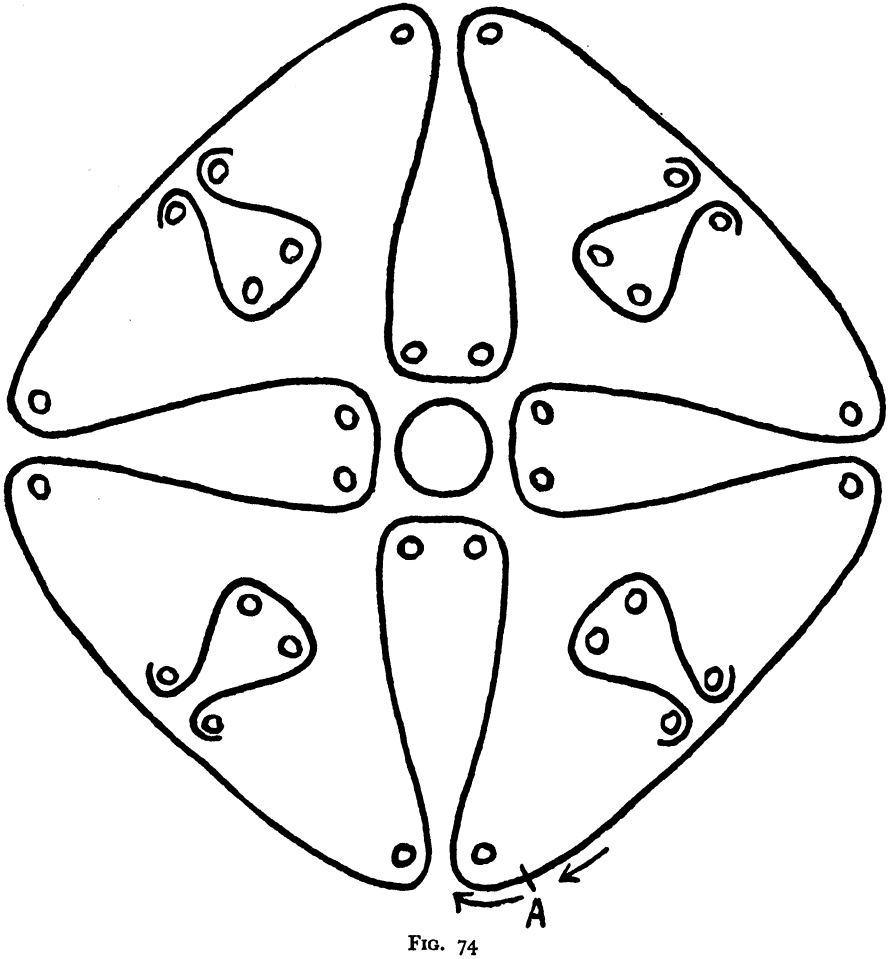


FIG. 74

Sand-tracing from Vao, Type B, called *kere*, "flying foxes," said to represent four flying foxes hanging on to a bread-fruit. The central circle represents the bread-fruit. This is drawn first, then the pair of small circles immediately below it, and the pair of circles immediately below them on the periphery of the figure, followed by the two corresponding pairs of circles in the three remaining directions. The never-ending line is then started at the point marked A, to which it returns. When this has been completed, the small circles representing the "nose" and "eyes" in the left-hand bottom section are made, followed by those in the remaining three sections, and after they have all been made, the curved lines are drawn round them. (Compare Deacon, 5, Fig. 64.)

fold repetition of the "eyes" and "nostrils" does not form part of the never-ending line, though they could easily be made to do so by joining them on to the exterior lines in each quarter of the figure. This design

is called *kere*, meaning "flying foxes," and is said to represent four flying foxes hanging on to a breadfruit represented by the central circle. The connexion of this name with the Guardian Ghost lies in the fact that flying foxes, owing to their nocturnal habits, are said to be frequently inhabited by human ghosts.

Another design of this type, Fig. 75, drawn on Atchin, is similarly called *kara*, the Atchin form of the word meaning "flying fox." This

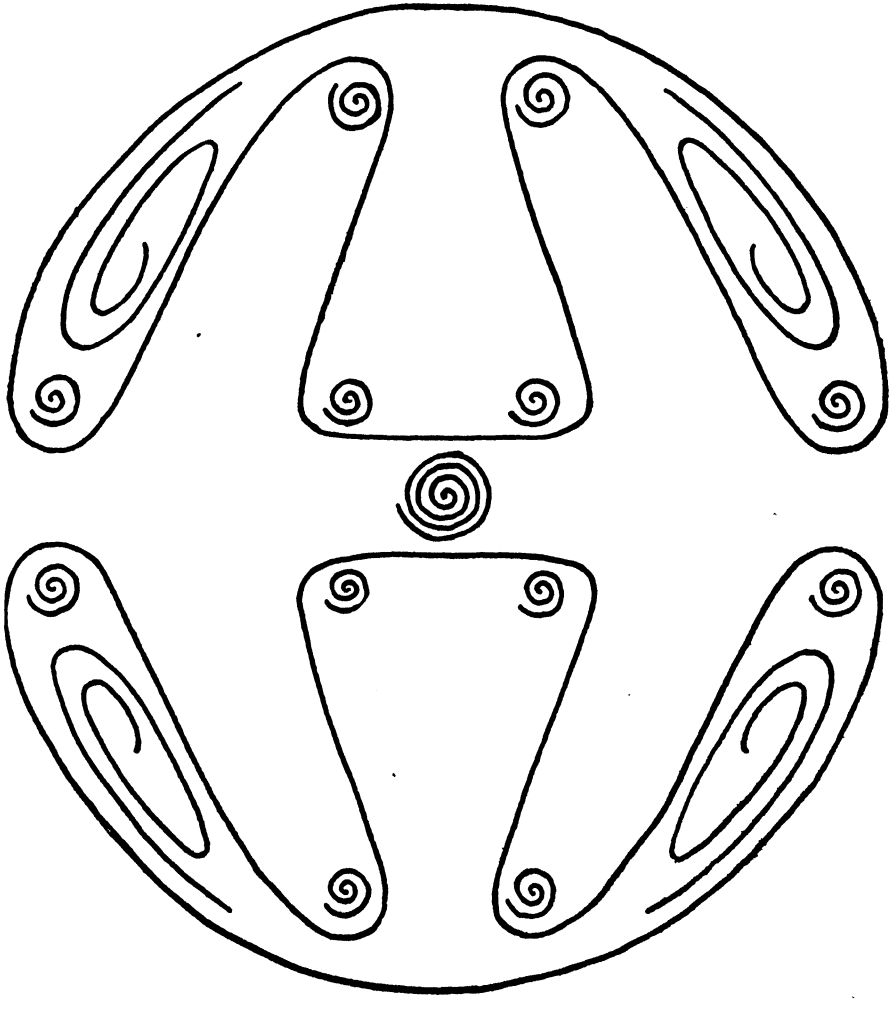


FIG. 75

Sand-tracing from Atchin, Type B, called *kara*, "flying foxes." Represents two flying foxes eating a bread-fruit. Note the substitution of spirals for small circles. The large spiral representing the bread-fruit is drawn first, then the small spirals, then the two continuous lines outlining the flying foxes, and last the four elongated spirals decorating their wings.

design is peculiar in that it is divided into two halves and that the place of the small circles is taken by spirals. From an aesthetic point of view it is perhaps the most beautiful of the whole series. It is said to represent two flying foxes eating a breadfruit. The central spiral representing the bread-fruit is drawn first, then the other small spirals, then the two continuous lines outlining the bodies of the two flying foxes, and finally the four elongated spirals decorating their wings. Owing to the transformation of a single Guardian Ghost into two flying foxes a corresponding curious transformation has taken place in the naming of anatomical features. For, whereas the two upper spirals clearly represent what were originally the eyes of the female Guardian Ghost, these are now, from their position on the flying fox's body and regardless of the Guardian Ghost's sex, referred to as testicles, and the two inner spirals, which originally represented her nostrils, as the flying fox's eyes.

Fig. 76 is another example of the same type of design, though technologically degraded in that (*a*) the never-ending line in places retraces its own path, and (*b*) the central point is occupied by a cross similar to that in Figs. 64 and 65, which originally represented the labyrinth, so that we have here the amusing spectacle of a labyrinth inside the body of the Guardian Ghost! Nevertheless, this degraded figure is almost exactly similar to that said to represent the path followed by the ghost of a dead man on his way to the land of the dead in the Lambumbu district of West Malekula,[1] both figures being very interesting examples of the progressive loss of mythological knowledge regarding these designs the further they are removed from the centre of distribution of the labyrinth myth in South-West Malekula towards the north and east.

Fig. 77 is a yet more technologically degraded figure, combining both the linear framework of Type A and the small circles of Type B. In a similar example, drawn the other way up, from Atchin, seen in Fig. 78, the place of the small circles is taken by dots. It is a very common design, apparently originating in Ambrim, whence the Vao men bought the right to draw it, for in these islands even sand-tracings are copyright. Deacon records another example from an unspecified spot on Ambrim or East Malekula. In all cases the design represents warfare, though the alleged disposition of the forces varies in different places. Thus Vao Fig. 77 is called *na-hal na-vuro*, "The path of battle,"[2] and represents two bodies of men lying in wait for the enemy on either side of a path which runs between the two halves of the figure. The four pairs of circles are outposts, two on either side of each party, ready to give warning of the approaching enemy. Atchin Fig. 78 is similarly called *tibwis nor sa ar wahal*, "Some children go fighting." In the similar

[1] See Deacon, 5, Fig. 51 (Layard, 6, Fig. 21).

[2] The ordinary word for warfare is *vaghal*. I do not know the special significance of *na-vuro*.

design called "The Fight" recorded by Deacon,[1] however, the two sides of the figure represent, not two friendly parties lying in wait for

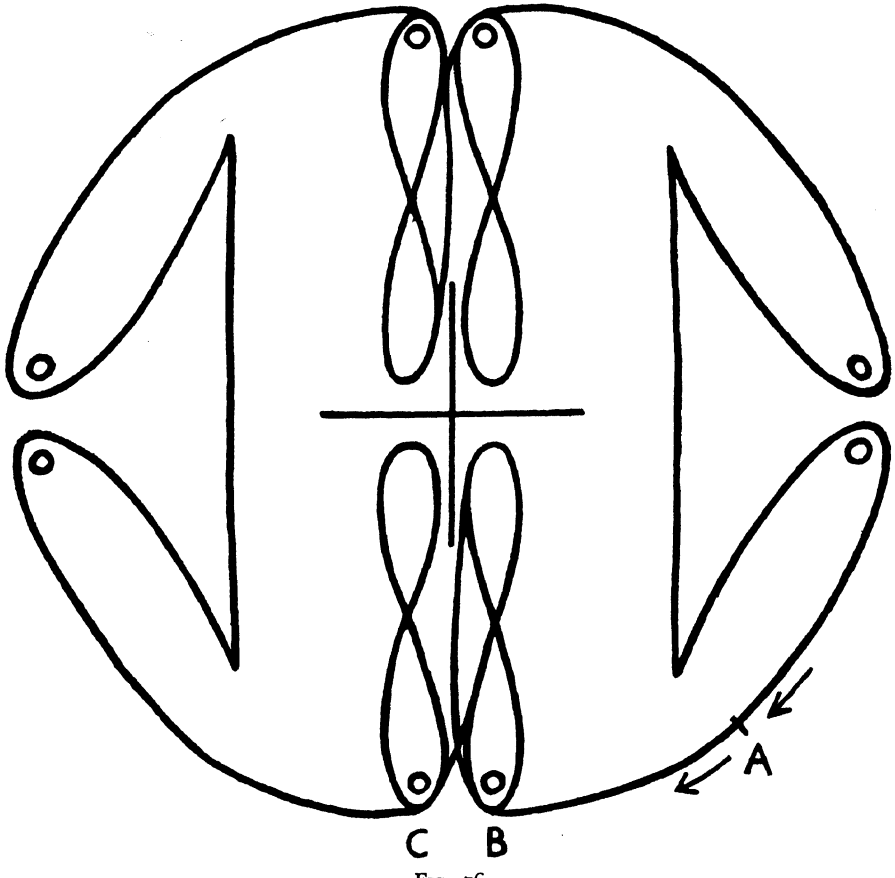


FIG. 76

Sand-tracing from Vao, Type B modified by Type A, called *wu-wör*, "cicatrisation," or "badge." The central cross (borrowed from Type A) is made first, followed by the four pairs of small circles, the two circles of each pair being made simultaneously with the first and second fingers of the right hand. The never-ending line is started at the point marked A and continued round the small circle marked B and centrally upwards till it reaches the top of the figure-of-eight, which is then described and subsequently partly retraced on the downward path in order to pass round the small circle marked C, which is then used as the focal point for a second figure-of-eight, after which the line passes to the left-hand side of the design, treating the upper two figures-of-eight in the same manner as the lower, and finally joining up with itself at A. The technique of this figure is thus seen to be degraded, in that in two of the figures-of-eight the continuous line passes over paths previously traced. (Compare Deacon, 5, 51 (Layard, 6, Fig. 21).)

the enemy, but the two opposing sides in the battle, said to be between some men of Ambrim and some of Raga, the dots at the sides (similar to those in the Atchin figure) representing the leaders and those in the

[1] Deacon, 5, Fig. 48.

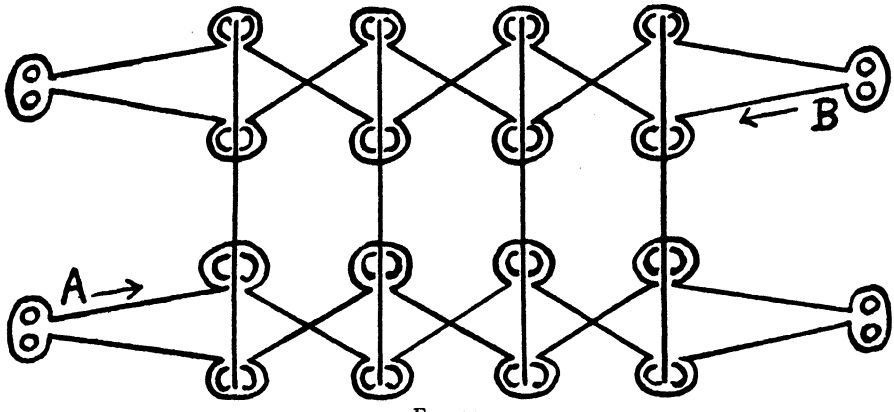


FIG. 77

Sand-tracing from Vao, mixed type AB. Called *na-hal na-vuro*, "The path of battle." The figure represents two bodies of men lying in wait for the enemy on either side of a road, which runs between the two halves of the figure. The four pairs of circles are outposts, two on either side of each party, ready to give warning of the approaching enemy.

The straight lines forming the framework are made first, then the pairs of semicircles on either side of the lines, then the four pairs of circles representing the outposts. Finally, the two are traced, the first beginning and ending at A, and the second at B.

The right to draw this figure was bought from Ambrim.

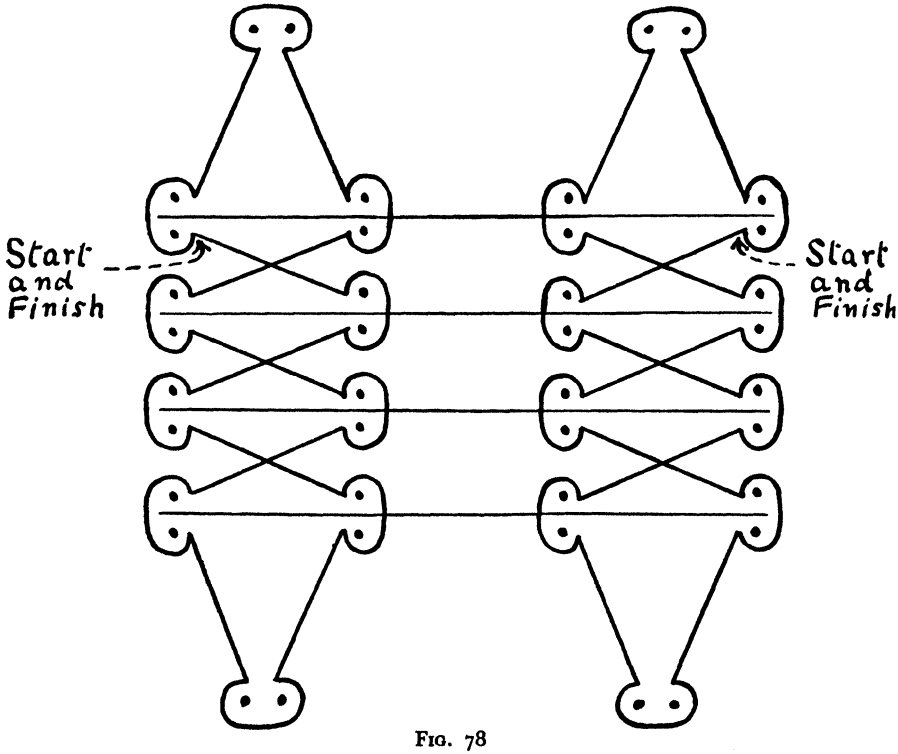


FIG. 78

Sand-tracing from Atchin, mixed type AB, called *tibwis nor sa ar wahal*, "Some children go fighting." Constructed in the same way as Vao Fig. 77, replacing the small circles by dots

centre the ordinary rank and file. It may or may not be significant that in the Vao and Atchin examples there are four central pairs on each side in addition to the "outposts," while in Deacon's example from Ambrim or West Malekula there are five. If this has any social significance at all, the change to four central and two external figures on either side of the Vao and Atchin designs probably correspond with the four Quarters of the parent village and the two Quarters of the offshoot village on Vao.[1]

TWO-FINGER TECHNIQUE

Some technologically degraded examples are drawn with two fingers making two parallel lines in the sand. Deacon recorded a small number of examples drawn in this technique, in which the doubled line follows the continuous-line technique. In Fig. 79 from Atchin, however, the continuous-line motive has almost entirely disappeared. This design, of which the scrolls resemble those outlining the faces carved on the ancestor-images on that island, is nevertheless called *net*, meaning a species of yam.

TYPE C

HATCHED DESIGNS

One further type of design that the natives of the Small Islands are fond of drawing on the ground is that of geometrical patterns hatched on the outside. Deacon records two such examples from East Malekula, one of which has a figure representing the Guardian Ghost in the middle.[2] What connexion the designs of this type have with those based on the labyrinth motive is uncertain. The same hatched technique is, however, used frequently in the case of certain marks on the body, of which illustration will be given in a future volume on Atchin, similar to that seen on one side of the rain-making image shown in Fig. 60. This last quite definitely represents a cicatrisation. It is interesting, therefore, to note that the Vao sand-tracing illustrated in Fig. 80 is called *wör batik*, in which the meaning of the word *batik* is unknown to me but in which the word *wör* is the same as the *wu-wör* we have already met with in Figs. 73 and 76 as meaning "cicatrisation." In view of the designs of this type seen on the rain-making stone it is interesting that the phrase *wör batik* is said in my notes to refer to "a certain kind of stone occurring on the Malekulan mainland." This is probably a mistake, and the

[1] See p. 91. Another design from Ambrim (Deacon, 5, Fig. 47), resembling one "side" only of the designs in this "battle" series and with only three central figures and two "outliers," is called "Dwarfs," and yet another similar to this from Seniang (Deacon, 5, Fig. 54) without "outliers" but with a few other manipulations, is called "Three Ghosts Sleeping."

[2] Deacon, 5, Figs. 30, 31.

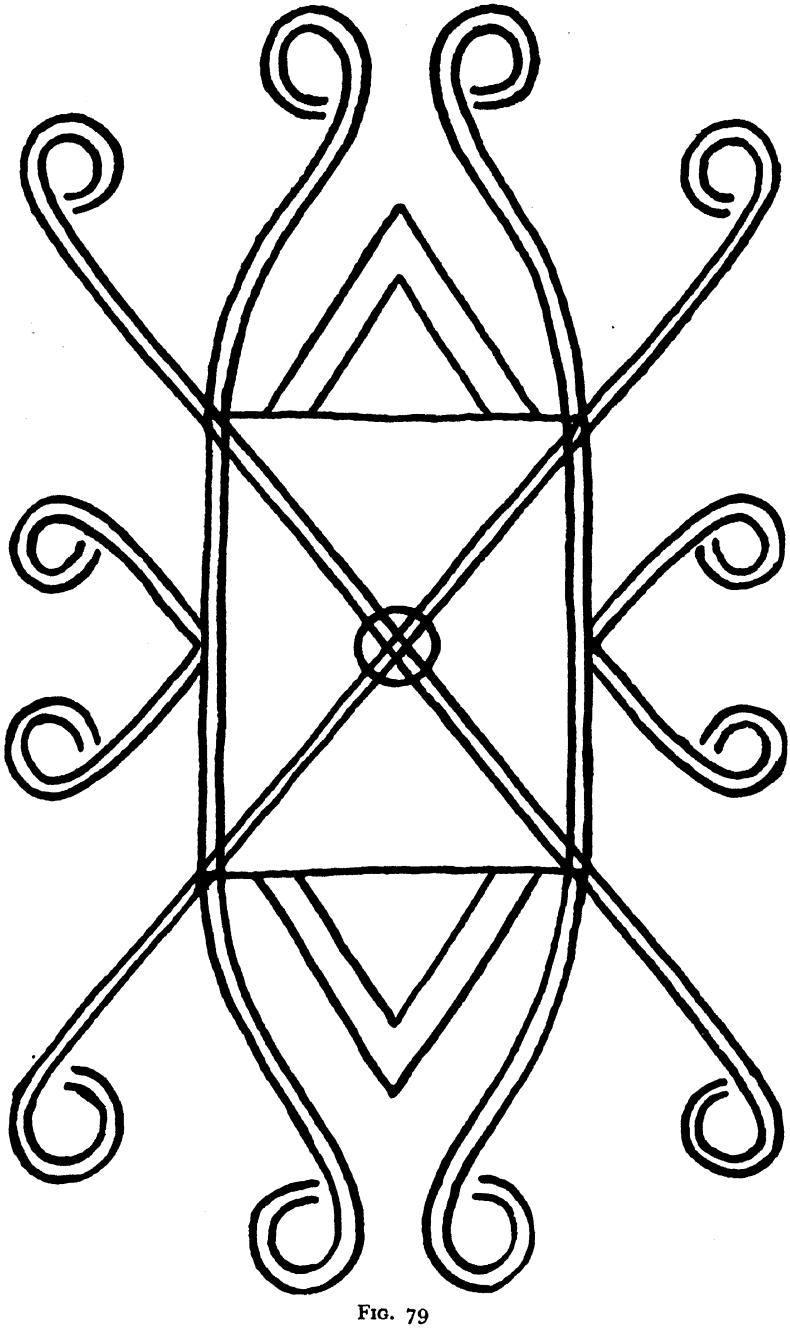


FIG. 79

Sand-tracing from Atchin, called *net*, a species of yam. The double lines are made with two fingers dragged together through the dust.

(For other double-line sand-tracings from Malekula see Deacon, 5, Figs. 4, 57, 67, 82, 85, 86, 87. The technique is used also in the South Indian threshold designs (see Layard, 7, Figs. 2 (*b*), 23, 24, 25 and 36 (*a*), the last of which represents a variant of the labyrinth design on the coins of Knossos).)

phrase probably refers rather to a mark incised on another rain-making stone. Similar hatched designs are found on the wooden cannibal hatchet illustrated in Fig. 59, one of which is bounded on the outside by four scrolls similar to those bounding the sand-tracing. These scrolls are similar to those bounding the faces carved on the ancestor-images used in the Maki on Atchin and Wala, but not on the Superior Side of Vao, and so appear to be connected with the later rather than the

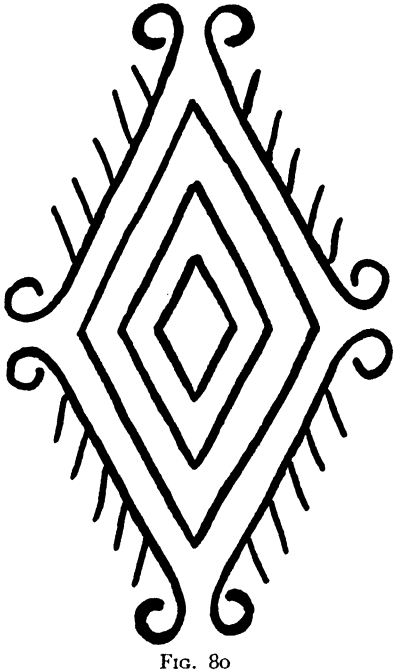


FIG. 80

Hatched design from Vao, Type C, called *wör batik*. Constructed from outside inwards, the outer scrolls being drawn first, then the diamonds, beginning with the outer one and ending with the inner, the strokes forming the fringe being added last.

older forms of Maki. In view of the possible connexion with designs based on the labyrinth motive it is interesting to note that Fig. 80 is constructed from outside inwards, the outer scrolls being drawn first, then the diamonds, beginning with the outer one and ending with the inner, the strokes forming the fringe being added last. Similar hatched designs are found among the tattoo patterns of Tanna in the southern New Hebrides,[1] and also of South India, where they are found closely associated with others derived from labyrinth motives.[2]

[1] See Harrisson, 2, p. 332.

[2] See Layard, 7, Fig. 33.

Another sand-tracing of this type is Fig. 81 representing a mask called *bot mòl-mòlige*, shaped like a kite, in which the influence of the small-circle technique of the designs is seen in the delineation of the eyes and nose.

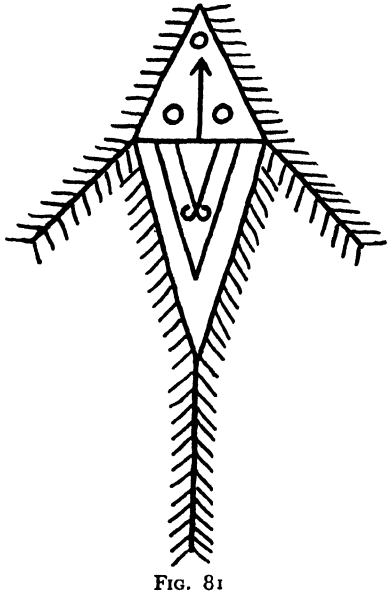


FIG. 81
Hatched design from Vao, Type C, representing a mask called *bot mòl-mòlige* in the shape of a kite.

OTHER DESIGNS

The natives also amuse themselves by drawing other kinds of design with the finger on the sand or soft ground. Fig. 82 from Vao is said to

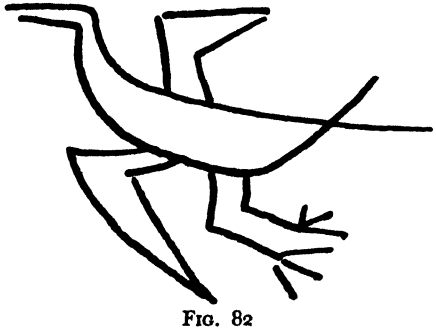


FIG. 82
Sand-tracing from Vao representing a kind of bird called *ba-mbare*.

represent a small bird of the kind called *ba-mbare*,[1] similar to the birds carved below the face on some of the ancestor-images in the Maki on Atchin and Wala but not on the Superior Side of Vao.

[1] Atchin *pwere-pwere*.

Fig. 83 from Atchin is said to represent a species of yam called *na-was*, probably referring to the tentacles with which the yam-vine attaches itself to the trellis up which it grows.

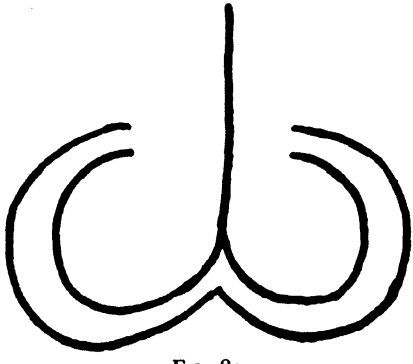


FIG. 83
Sand-tracing from Atchin called *na-was*, a species of yam.

Fig. 84 also from Atchin is of two geometrical designs called *wena*, said to represent the human face, sometimes used on the mainland as

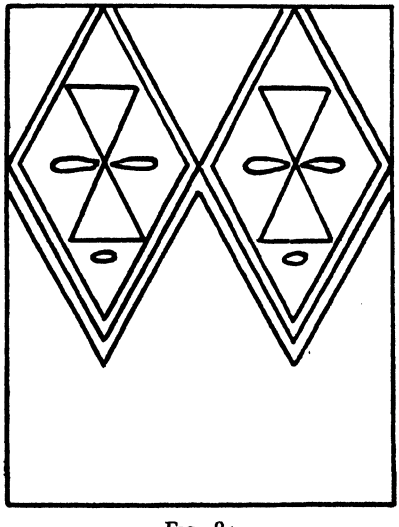


FIG. 84
Sand-tracing from Atchin of two geometrical designs frequently found carved on ritual objects, called *wena* and said to represent the human face.

a cicatrisation badge,[1] and carved on ancestor-images and other ritual objects such as the arm-badges seen in Plate XX.

[1] See footnote p. 671.

PART IV

General Survey of the Public Graded Society Complex in the New Hebrides and Banks Islands

CHAPTER XXVI

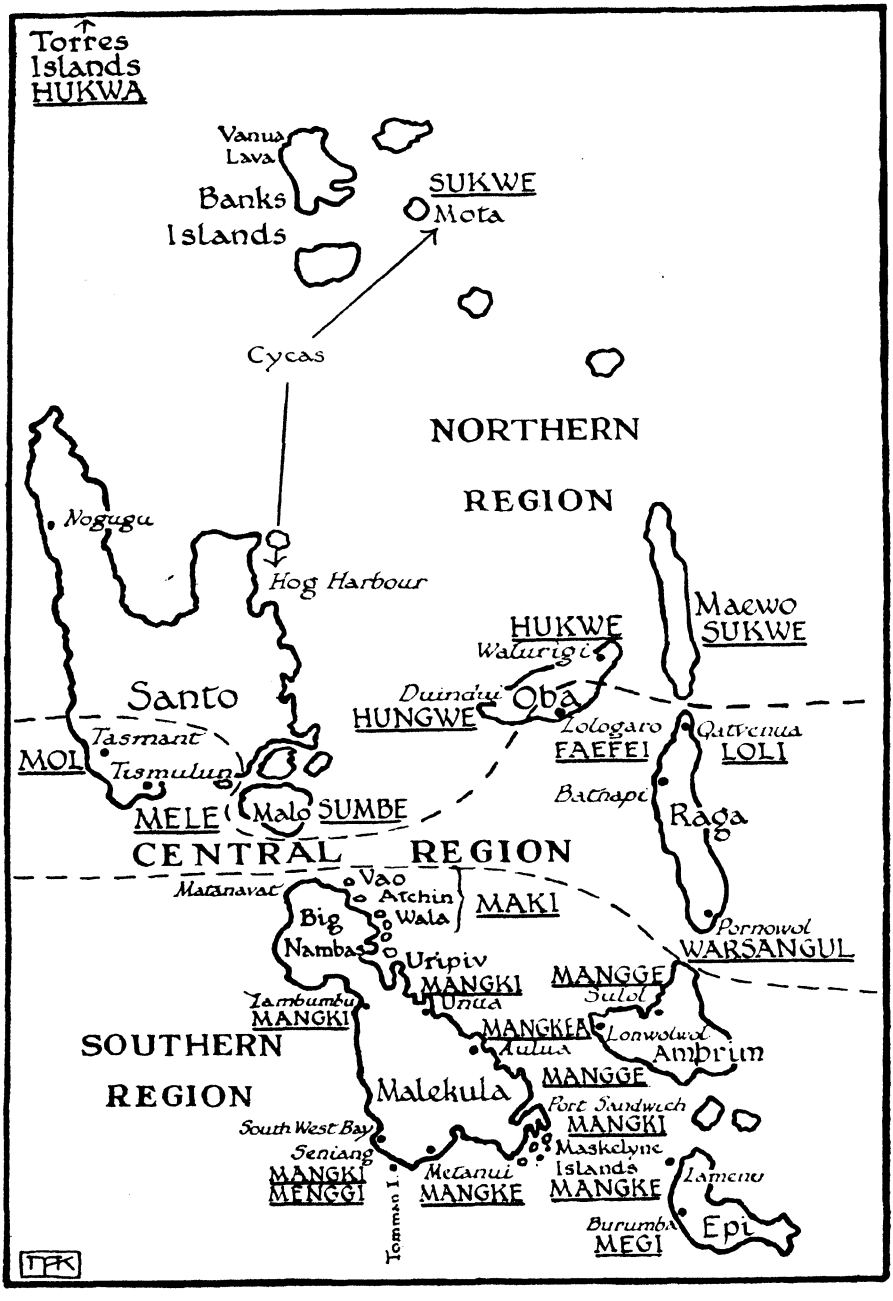
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Maskelyne Islands.	Watt Leggatt, 2, pp. 6-8 ; Deacon, 4, pp. 376-7.
Port Sandwich.	Deacon, 4, p. 379.
Aulua.	Watt Leggatt, 1, p. 705.
Unua.	Deacon, 4, p. 379.

INTRODUCTION

IN the foregoing chapters we have gained some idea of the complex series of rites that go to build up the Maki on Vao. This account is, it must be repeated, but the briefest survey of an institution an adequate description of which as it exists even on Vao would take many volumes. I have myself records of the corresponding institution on Atchin, enough to occupy at least one volume without repetition of any of the material here published on Vao. The same applies to the neighbouring island of



MAP X

Sketch-map of the Northern New Hebrides and Banks Islands, showing the names by which the Public Graded Institution is known. Those in the Northern Region are all variants of the word *Sukwe* or *Supwe*, and those in the Southern Region of the word *Maki* or *Mangki*, while those in the Central Region have no common root.

Wala. Deacon's brief survey of the rite as performed in Seniang and in various districts of North-West and East Malekula show yet greater variation not only in detail but in the whole social background from which the rite derives some of its main characteristics. These represent only those forms of the rite that happen to have been recorded. Since, as I have said, no two villages perform it alike and very great variations occur between districts as little as two or three miles apart, the number of such distinct uses is very large.

It is, however, possible, taking the whole area comprised by the Central and Northern New Hebrides and the Banks and Torres Islands, (*a*) to make certain generalisations, and (*b*) to arrive at some kind of classification of some of the main variations.

With regard to the generalisations, I cannot do better than to quote Deacon, who says: "It seems evident that a culture, distinct from any of the three which we have already distinguished,[1] must have spread throughout the area of the Northern and North-Central New Hebrides—a culture characterised by secret societies . . ., by the use of the bull-roarer; by the cult of the dead and of the skulls of the dead (involving the treatment of the corpse with fire and being manifested in South Malekula by the custom of making *rambaramp* [2]); by the carving of tree-fern images; by the cult of the cycas, croton, erythrina and cordyline; by the setting up of stone structures such as dolmens, monoliths, and stone images; by the development of a graded society with chieftainship, a rigid sex dichotomy, and the attendant ritual phenomena of the *Sukwe* and *Nimangki*.[3] To this culture I also attribute totemism, the use of the spear and of the conch trumpet, the institution of tabu and, where it occurs, the sky-home of the dead. Very probably, too, the use of the slit gong and of a system of signalling by means of gong-rhythms, the practice of giving a pig as a burnt offering, which occurs in Ambrym and Malekula, and the Ambat-Qat mythological cycle belong to this culture. Finally, it was, I presume, distinguished by patrilineal descent, inheritance and succession. It appears to have spread over both the patrilineal and the matrilineal areas of the Northern New Hebrides, modifying the kinship organization of the latter region by changing the rules of inheritance and succession to patriliny." He suggests further

[1] Namely (i) a matrilineal society with dual organisation and a division into six marriage sections; (ii) an immigrant culture, bringing with it the rite of incision, the use of the fringed skirt and penis-sheath, the musical bow, etc., and which was responsible for the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent; (iii) what Deacon calls the "mat-skirt" culture in the north (Deacon, 4, pp. 705-6).

[2] Painted wooden effigies attached to the skulls of the dead preserved in the Lodge. The skull is plastered on the outside with modelling to resemble the face of the dead man. The effigy is adorned with the insignia that he had acquired during life in the various graded societies to which he belonged. See Deacon, 4, Plate XX.

[3] I.e. *Mangki*, corresponding to the *Maki* in the Small Islands. See footnote on p. 692.

that this culture is probably associated with the former presence of the great sea-going canoes in East, South and North-West Malekula, adding, "indeed it is more than likely that these were the vehicles whereby the culture reached these shores. . . ." [1]

Every observer agrees that this culture is the most recent to have arrived in these islands, thus confirming once more the conclusion already come to regarding the relatively recent development of the art of rearing pigs with artificial tusks.

The above quotation gives a good outline of the culture-complex to which these public graded societies belong, with one exception, namely that the reference to the "development" of a graded society with chieftainship might lead one to suppose that these institutions had been evolved in the New Hebrides themselves. This may be so in a few details, but, as we have already seen in the case of tusked boars and their association with chieftainship in Arue, and with mythology in Nias, the main features of these rites are far from being confined to the New Hebrides, and, as Deacon himself has shown, have a marked similarity with those of the secret society complex in Ceram.[2] Deacon notes further how "in Raga, Santo, Malekula and Ambrym there is a progression from the use at entrance to the lower ranks of wild canes, through erythrina, cycas and croton as the scale is ascended, until for the highest some form of stonework is set up." [3] This is true certainly of both areas which have so far received intensive study, namely the Banks Islands, studied by Codrington and Rivers, and South Malekula, studied by Deacon, and to a lesser extent of South Raga. It is also the case in Oba and Maewo. But it is not so in the Small Islands, where, owing possibly to the recent phenomenal increase in the production of high-grade tuskers, all but the highest grades have dropped out and, though plants were formerly prominent, the whole emphasis is now on stonework in the form of the monoliths, dolmens and stone-platforms that stand in serried rows in every village dancing-ground.

1

DISTRIBUTION OF NAMES BY WHICH THE PUBLIC GRADED SOCIETY IS KNOWN

It is clear from what has just been said that the Small Island Maki holds a very special position in the complex introduced culture of which the broad outlines have just been described. In order to assess in some measure what this position is, I propose, by combining my own information with all available records, to devote this chapter to a classification based on the names by which the rite is known, the types of monument erected

[1] Deacon, 4, pp. 709-11.
[2] Ibid., 1, p. 332.
[3] Ibid., 4, p. 707.

and the titles taken. Subsequent chapters will deal with the underlying kinship element and with some aspects of general symbolism common to all districts.

With this purpose in view, I propose first to call attention to Sketch-map X, on which have been plotted the names by which the public graded institution is known in all those places where it has been recorded. This map shows very clearly, on this basis, the distribution of the public graded society complex into three main regions.

Northern Region.

(*a*) A northern region, in which this institution is known by variants of the word *Sukwe*. This region comprises the Torres and Banks Islands, Maewo, North-East and West Oba, and Malo. The variants of the word, arranged geographically from north to south, are:

Hukwa in Torres Islands
Sukwe ,, the Banks Islands and Maewo
Hukwe ,, North-East Oba
Hungwe ,, West Oba
Sumbe ,, Malo.

Central Region.

(*b*) A central region, in which it is known by a variety of names having, superficially, no connexion with one another. This section comprises South-West Santo, South Oba and Raga. These names are:

Mol in Tasmant } South-West Santo
Mele ,, Tismulun }
Faefei ,, South Oba
Loli ,, North Raga
Warsangul ,, South Raga.[1]

Southern Region.

(*c*) A southern region, in which it is known by some form of the word *Maki* or *Mangki*. This region comprises the whole of Malekula (except the centre, where the institution does not exist), Ambrim, and the only part of Epi of which record has been made. The oldest form of the word appears to be *Mangkea*, used at Aulua on the east coast of Malekula. From this it changes progressively to shorter forms as it spreads north

[1] Tattevin (1, 1927, p. 575) says that this name is used also in North Ambrim, by which he presumably means Olal, since in the neighbouring Sulol it is called Mangge.

and south. The full list of recorded forms, arranged in geographical order from north to south, is:

Maki [1]	in the Small Islands
Mangki	,, Unua and Port Sandwich (east coast of Malekula)
,,	,, Lambumbu and Seniang (west coast of Malekula)
Mangkea	,, Aulua (oldest form)
Mangke	,, South Malekula
Mangge	,, Ambrim (Sulol)
Menggi	,, Seniang (South-West Malekula, coexistent with *Mangki*)[2]
Megi	,, Epi.

The distribution of these names is sufficiently striking to suggest that at least three separate influences have been at work to produce such variation. This supposition will be found to be borne out later, when we come to examine the types of monument erected in the different areas and the titles conferred for the successive ranks. Before doing this, however, there is one important conclusion to be derived from mythological and philological evidence.

Sukwe-complex, now Represented in Region (*a*), Probably Extended at One Time over the Whole Area now Covered by the Other Two

I have already called attention to the fact that the various forms of the word *Sukwe* as applied to the Guardian Ghost have a distribution considerably greater than that of the Tagaro-Qat-Ambat mythological

[1] The derivation of these words is uncertain. Père Jamond, of the Marist Mission, suggested, with regard to the Small Island form Maki, that *ma-* is the predicative particle, and that the second syllable, *-ki*, is equivalent to the verb *ki-ki*, "to make fire." This derivation would accord with the fact that the lighting of a new fire is an essential item in the culminating ceremony by which a man rises in rank, takes a new name, and so advances a step towards the attainment of life after death. It is doubtful, however, whether the verb *ki-ki* originally had anything to do with fire, since it is also used for marking out a boundary, and its root meaning appears to be to "scratch" or "rub," whence it came to be applied to the lighting of a fire by the plough method of rubbing a stick on a flat board in such a way as to produce a groove in which the dust collects and finally ignites. This derivation must be taken, therefore, only as tentative.

Deacon pointed out the many similarities existing between the New Hebrides Mangki or Maki and the Kakihan Society of Ceram. It has been pointed out that the two have rather similar-sounding names, but it would be rash in the present state of knowledge to assume a direct philological connexion between the two, and in any case the oldest form of the Malekulan word appears to be Mangkea.

[2] *Menggi* is the form recorded by myself (Layard, 2); *Mangki* (under the form *Nimangki*, of which *Ni-* is the article) by Deacon twelve years later, in 1926. It is possible that the new form of the word had in the meantime been introduced along with new forms of the rite obtained from Lambumbu.

cycle,[1] and evidently belong to an older layer of culture. We have, moreover, seen the close inter-connexion between the Guardian Ghost and the public graded institution on Vao, where the symbolism of the rite rests largely on the placation of, and identification with, this Being through the sacrifice of tusked boars,[2] and there can be little doubt but that this symbolism runs through the whole graded society complex. It is therefore at first sight curious that in the Banks Islands, where the graded society and the Guardian Ghost are both called by the same name, *Sukwe*, Codrington failed to find any connexion between the two. This is presumably to be explained by the fact that the introduced Qat mythological cycle in the Banks Islands succeeded in repressing the overt recognition of *Sukwe* as a previous object of worship by representing him as Qat's brother, whom Qat finally relegates to the overlordship of the under-world. This supposition is supported by philological evidence, which derives the word *Sukwe* and all its many variants such as *Sumbe*, *Hungwe*, etc., together with their female equivalents, used to designate the Guardian Ghost, such as *Temes Sav-sap* (in Seniang), *Le-saw-saw* (in Atchin) and *Le-hev-hev* (in Vao), from the Indonesian *sĕmba*, "to worship, or honour." [3] This meaning is seen clearly preserved in the Banks Islands' use of the word *sukwe* as a verb,[4] meaning to perform all the rites pertaining to the public graded institution.

It is found also in the honorary title given to old men of high rank, which is in Atchin *na-sup* (pronounced *na-sumb* by the older men), in Vao *na-humbe* and in South Oba *sungwe*. Now, the interesting thing about these honorary titles is that they all exist in places where the public graded institution is *not* called by forms of the word *Sukwe*, but which are very close to those areas in which it is. As has been seen, the older form of the Vao rite was almost exactly the same as that now practised on Malo, and this older form has been superseded by later forms introduced from the south.[5] It is therefore clear that, just as the distribution of *Sukwe* terms for the Guardian Ghost shows that the cult connected with this being is older and more widespread than the Tagaro-Qat-Ambat mythological cycle, so also the public graded institution known by the same name and now restricted only to the northern region consisting of the Torres and Banks Islands, Maewo, North Oba and Malo, was once spread over at least parts of the central and southern areas also. Indeed, if the evidence connecting the Guardian Ghost with the public graded society is as correct for the whole area as it is for Vao, we are forced to the conclusion that the *Sukwe*, which is now confined only to the northern region, was once spread over the whole area from the Torres Islands in the north to Epi in the south.

[1] See p. 219. It is found at least as far south as Epi, where the Guardian Ghost is called Supua.

[2] See pp. 255 ff.

[3] For this philological note I am indebted to Dr. A. Capell.

[4] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 64.

[5] See p. 13.

Southern Region has its Centre in North-East Malekula, and is still Spreading

If we now turn to the southern section, in which the graded society is called by some form of the word *Mangki* or *Maki*, we find the reverse process. For this institution, having its main centres of distribution in North-East Malekula, is still spreading. My own evidence from the Small Islands shows that its slow diffusion from the mainland villages of Lawor and Bot-walim, opposite Wala, to all the Small Islands, has been in progress for at least eight generations. On the west coast I found definite evidence of its diffusion from Lambumbu in the north to Seniang in the south-west, and this evidence was later confirmed by Deacon. Other observers have also recorded its diffusion, still going on, from East Malekula to Ambrim,[1] and from the Maskelyne Islands to Epi. There is thus no doubt whatever of the recent diffusion of the Maki, (*a*) from North-East Malekula on the one hand to the Small Islands and on the other to Lambumbu and thence to South-West Bay, (*b*) from South-East Malekula to Ambrim and Epi.

Central Region: Analysis of Names

There remains the central region, consisting of South-West Santo, South Oba and Raga, in which the public graded institution is known neither by the name *Sukwe* nor any of its variants, nor yet by any variants of the word *Mangki*, but by a different name in each district.

Mol (*Tasmant*).

Beginning with those recorded from South-West Santo, we find in the first place that in Tasmant the name of the public graded society is *Mol*. This is but a philological variant of the title *Mal* met with already in the Small Islands, and which, with its equivalents *Mol* and *Mòli*, is that used for members of the most important rank in the whole megalithic area of the North and North-Central New Hebrides.[2] As we shall see later, one of the chief rewards acquired through rise to the rank of *Mal* and its equivalents in other areas is the association achieved with the sky-world by sacrificing on some high object such as a dolmen or stone-platform and/or becoming identified with the hawk. In Tasmant, where this grade is absent, we find the interesting phenomenon of this word being absent as a title but, on the contrary, used not only for the whole society itself, but also for the sky-deity[3]

[1] Speiser, in particular, writes: "Even today, it is not rare for a man from Ambrym to settle for a while on Malekula, so as to be initiated into some rites which he then imports to Ambrym" (Speiser, 2, p. 205).

[2] See pp. 699, 715 and Table XI.

[3] Deacon, 3, pp. 475 ff.

with whom, in other districts, men taking this title become associated. This affords an interesting parallel to the fact already mentioned of the word *Sukwe* being used in the Banks Islands both for the whole graded society and for the older form of deity, but not as a title, while the corresponding terms *sungwe*, *na-sup* and *na-humbe* are used as honorary titles in South Oba, Atchin and Vao, where the graded society is no longer called by this name.

Mele (*Tismulun*).

In the neighbouring district of Tismulun in South-West Santo (the only other of which we have record),[1] where *Mol* is the title of the second-highest rank, the society itself is called *Mele*. This word means "cycas," and refers to cycas fronds tied as taboo marks on to stakes surrounding the dolmen on which sacrifice is made. The cycas is the most important symbol employed in the *Sukwe* further north, where it is planted outside the *ghamal* and close to which the feast of communion with the ancestors is held. It is symbolic of peace throughout the whole area which we are considering, and in many districts (though, significantly again, not in Tismulun) it is a title of rank.

Faefei (*South Oba*).

In South Oba the name given to the public graded society is *Faefei*, but I am unable to say what this means.

Loli (*North Raga*).

In North Raga (Qatvenua) it is *Loli*, which probably means simply "inside."

Warsangul (*South Raga*).

In South Raga (Pornowol) it is *Warsangul*. *Sangul* means "ten," which Tattevin believes to refer to ten ranks, though he himself finds it difficult to distinguish this number. The more probable explanation is that *War* is the same word as that we have already met with, meaning "curved," and refers to tusked boars such as the re-entrant-tuskers of Vao (*bò-ware*) and Atchin (*ni-wara*), and that the word *Warsangul* therefore means "ten tuskers," indicating the number of tuskers sacrificed during one particular rite. Individual performances of the Maki in the Small Islands are frequently referred to in this way.

With regard to centres of distribution in this central region Deacon,[2] judging by the titles belonging to the various ranks, found evidence of diffusion from Malo to Oba.

[1] Though Deacon records certain details regarding the public graded institution from the Nogugu district of North-West Santo, he does not record the name by which it is known.

[2] Deacon, 4, pp. 382-3.

North-East Malekulan Centre of Distribution

With regard to the southern region, we have already seen how the Maki spread from Malekula to Ambrim and Epi, which coincides with the fact that the word *Mangkea* used for the public graded institution in Aulua in East Malekula is philologically the oldest form of this word.

Deacon also agrees with my own conclusion already published [1] that for the *Mangki* of South-West Bay there is a dual origin: on the one hand from Tomman Island on the south coast of Malekula, and on the other from Lambumbu on the north-west coast.

One only of his conclusions needs modification, namely that in which he refers to the "highest development [of the cult] in North-East Malekula (in Wala, Atchin and Rano)," suggesting that the Maki may well have spread from there "overland to Lambumbu and thence influenced the south-west."

It is true that I myself, at the beginning of my investigations, thought the same, owing to the great prevalence of monoliths in the Small Islands. I was, however, forced to change my opinion when the Small Island natives themselves insisted on affirming that the whole Maki had been derived from the Malekulan mainland. This was confirmed when I travelled over the trade route that traverses the "neck" of Malekula from Lambumbu to a point on the east coast opposite Uripiv. For at Lambumbu, where the *Mangki* is more important than in South-West Bay, I saw stone avenues [2] exceeding in length and grandeur anything to be seen in the Small Islands, and, at a village on the mountains half-way over, I saw a circular dancing-ground entirely surrounded by monoliths well over six feet high.[3]

2

DISTRIBUTION OF STONE MONUMENTS

Monoliths are thus the dominating factor in the whole of the Maki complex of North Malekula and the Small Islands, with the exception of the villages of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu on Vao, where, apart from the stone-platforms, though monoliths exist, the large dolmen is the chief sacrificial monument. The contrast, indeed, between these two types of

[1] Layard, 2, p. 202.

[2] Deacon (4, pp. 348-9 and 354-5) later described some of these and the rites connected with them. My own account will be published in a future volume.

[3] This was during the course of a hurried journey back to Atchin in order to be there in time for certain initiation rites, and I was unable to stop. The village lay on the trade-route path from Lambumbu to Litsilits on the east coast, through the heart of the Lagalag district. Deacon (4, p. 29 and Fig. 2; also p. 508 and Fig. 34) describes and figures a similar arrangement, which he also records from Senbarei, near Port Sandwich (4, p. 380). Such monoliths set round a circular dancing-ground are not to be confused with the small stone circles mentioned elsewhere, which have quite a different origin.

monument led me years ago, and before I knew anything of the dolmen cult in Santo, to distinguish the two types of Maki in the Small Islands by referring to the older as the "dolmen-Maki" and to the later as the "monolith-Maki." [1] The history of the Maki on Atchin summarised on pp. 278-80 demonstrates the gradual introduction, piece by piece, of the monolith-Maki from the mainland of Malekula, and its slow ousting of the dolmen-Maki which, as the natives still tell in their historical accounts, was similar to the rite called *Sumbe* that is still practised on Malo.

It is thus clear that a form of the rite characterised by the erection of monoliths had its centre of diffusion in North-East Malekula. Thence it spread on the one hand to Lambumbu and thence to South-West Bay, but only into the very highest ranks in that area, and on the other to the Small Islands.

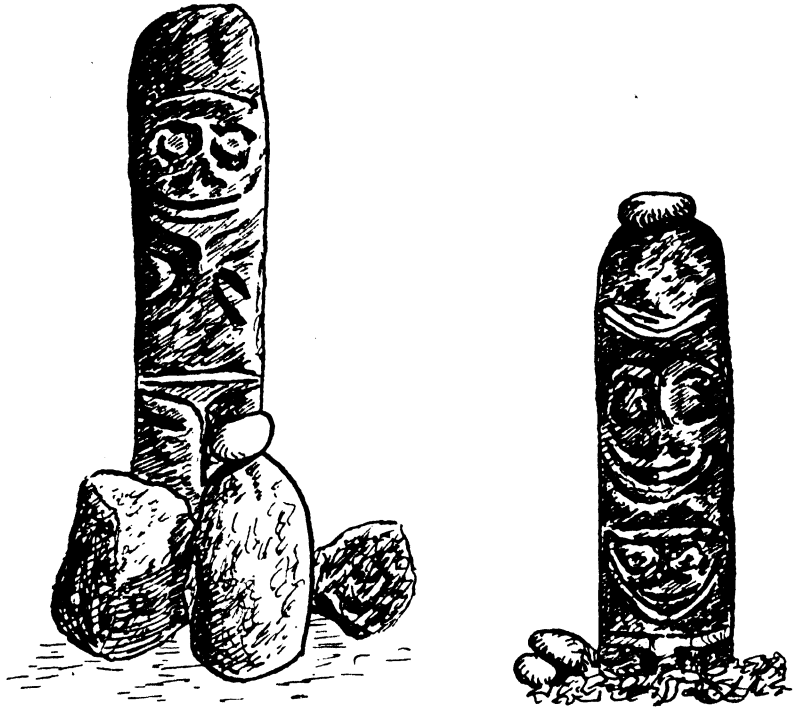
MONOLITH, STONE STATUE AND WOODEN IMAGE

This leads to a consideration of the relation between monoliths and wooden images. As I have shown elsewhere,[2] the whole graded society complex depends on what I have termed a system of "trial" or "anticipatory" ranks leading up to, and imitating, the higher ranks which it is the ambition of all to reach. New members are admitted at first only on sufferance, and only on payment of a high price to those already established, who defend and enhance the prestige of their own position by making the anticipatory stages as difficult and as incomplete as they can. The system is seen clearly in the progression of "fires" in the men's houses in the more northerly islands, where the whole house is divided into compartments corresponding with the ranks in the graded society in ascending order. Here the fires belonging to the lowest grades are considered "inferior" to those belonging to those above. Precisely the same system is followed further south with respect to the monuments erected for the different ranks. Just as, in the instance stated above, there is in each case a "fire," but one "fire" is placed in an inferior position to the other, so, elsewhere, the monuments erected in the lower stages are made inferior to those in the higher. But the whole system depends on the fact that they are *in essence* the same, though in inferior degree.

This fact is seen most clearly by taking a district where there is a considerable number of grades, and examining the higher ranks. Let us therefore take the case of those high ranks which have been introduced from Lambumbu into South-West Bay. These ranks all [3] bear the title *Mbalias*, which is equivalent to *Mal*, *Mòli* and *Mol* in other districts and, alone of all ranks in South-West Bay, confers on its holder the right to erect a stone monolith. The fact that they all bear the same title shows

[1] Layard, 4, pp. 116 ff.
[2] Ibid., 2, pp. 181 ff., 202-3.
[3] With the exception of two very high ranks which are now extinct.

that in themselves they form a small series within the larger series, and may therefore also be expected to show a similar tendency to allow those entering the less elevated ranks within the series to erect only such monuments as are inferior in some way or other to those erected in the highest of all. This is what in fact occurs, for in the first three steps in this rank



(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 85

Carved monoliths used for the higher ranks of the *Mangki* in the Seniang district of South-West Malekula.

(*a*) Carved to represent the whole human figure and surrounded by a small stone circle, the front stone of which represents the penis which is not carved on the statue and has resting on it a small pebble called " the stone's child."

(*b*) Carved with three human faces, the topmost of which is obscure.

(Drawings made from Layard, 2, Plate XVII, Figs. 1 and 2.)

only plain monoliths are erected, while in the fourth and fifth the monoliths that are put up are furnished with a vertical groove, and it is not till the sixth step is reached that we find the monolith carved to represent the human figure. This highest rank, according to yet another native characteristic of always trying to "go one better" even than the best, is then capped by two supernumerary ranks, for which the right is acquired of erecting monoliths carved with three, or even four, faces.[1]

[1] Layard, 2, p. 173.

As will be seen later when we come to make a comparative examination of the ranks in all districts, *Mal*, or *Mbalias*, is the most important rank in the whole area comprising the North and North-Central New Hebrides. The rites connected with it are therefore not likely to exhibit abnormal features, and are, in fact, the model on which all the others, however incomplete, are based. We thus find that in the centre of the monolithic area the chief monument erected for the most important rank is a carved monolith representing the human form. As Deacon has abundantly shown, all such monuments are said to be the habitation of ancestral ghosts, in the first place that of the father's father of the man who erects them, in the second, of all those who have previously performed the rite, and will also be the habitation of his own soul when he dies.

In the highest rank of all, then, we find the erection of a stone statue which is a kind of collective representation of all those who have taken that rank. In the preparatory stages conferring the same title we find in descending order, firstly, stones carved only with a vertical groove, and lastly, perfectly plain, uncarved monoliths. There can therefore, I think, be no doubt that the plain monolith in the earlier steps in fact also represents a statue, from which, for the reasons stated above, the carving has been omitted.

In Atchin, plain monolith and wooden image represent composite statue.

If we now turn to the Small Island of Atchin, which was the centre of my own field-work, we find that, owing to the peculiar circumstances that have led to the very special development of the graded institution in all the Small Islands, the whole population takes the rank of *Mal*. In Atchin the art of carving stone, which at best, even in Lambumbu, must have rested in the hands of very few men, is unknown, and has presumably been lost. What happens in Atchin, therefore, is that, the whole population of each village being divided into ten families, each family, when a Maki is about to be performed, erects a shrine the chief element of which is a plain monolith, with a wooden image immediately in front and, if possible, touching it. The sacrificial boar, which in the main rank in Lambumbu is attached to the stone statue, in Atchin has its tether tied round both monolith and wooden image, since the two form but one unit, and the ancestral spirit is said to inhabit both. We know that the monolith-Maki came to Atchin from the mainland of Malekula. It is thus clear that, in the combined monolith and wooden image on Atchin, we are in the presence of an attempt to reproduce the stone statue as it is met with in Lambumbu, but that, the art of carving stone having been lost, the durable aspect of the stone statue has been retained in the plain monolith, and the ancestral features have been transferred to the more easily carved wooden image.

Two facts result from this split. In the first place, the wooden image

sooner or later rots, and all that remains as monument to the erector, and dwelling-place of his soul, is the plain monolith. When this has occurred, the plain monolith is all that remains of the original conception of the stone portrait statue. Hundreds of similar plain monoliths exist on Atchin, arranged in alignment, 100 at a time, and even frequently in parallel rows owing to the repetition of the rite possibly several times on the same site, for no stone monument is ever removed. This fact may be of interest to archaeologists in Europe, who have no living witnesses to tell them how parallel alignments of stones came to be where they are.

The second result is that, in the lower grades where these exist, the wooden image, divorced from the original stone statue, now takes on an existence of its own, and is erected alone. I therefore suggest that, in this area, the wooden image in fact represents a degradation of the stone statue used in the centre of dispersal of what I have termed the monolith-Maki.[1]

This concept at least introduces some element of clarity into the extraordinary complex problem presented by the variety of monuments erected in the various districts, and will enable us to make later some sort of intelligible classification of the cultures that have combined to build up the Small Island Maki.

DOLMENS

I propose now to leave the question of monoliths and examine yet another group of monuments, of which the most outstanding example is the dolmen.

Definition and use. Wide but erratic distribution.

The dolmen as found in the Northern New Hebrides is a structure of varying dimensions from six inches to four or five feet high, composed of a large horizontal slab supported by a number of upright stone blocks. In some areas, such as the west coast of Santo, in Malo and in Vao, it is the central sacrificial monument, on which the sacrificial tusked boars are slain. In one case (for the grade Tari in Tismulun in South-West Santo) it is approached by a series of steps.[2] Its distribution is erratic, appearing as it does as far south as Lamenu (Lamman) Island in North Epi. In Vao, as we have seen, besides being used as a sacrificial monument, it represents also the cave of the dead, through contact with which men are re-born, and also the womb. When used in mortuary ritual,

[1] The question of fern-tree images, such as are found in South Malekula, Ambrim and the Banks Islands (but not in the Small Islands), I propose at the moment to leave aside. They might at first sight be taken for yet more degraded wooden statues, but the style in which they are carved is very different, and their distribution suggests some other influence.

[2] Deacon, 3, p. 894.

as for instance in Wala, smaller dolmens house the skull, which is there thought to contain the essence of the dead man.

Use of the word "dolmen" as a religious symbol.

It has been a sign of the excessive caution used by anthropologists with regard to religious subjects during the past three decades that they have avoided using the term "dolmen" for these monuments, substituting such non-committal phrases as "stone table." This caution may have been justified at one time owing to unwise speculations on the part of early travellers, but is undoubtedly closely bound up with the decay of religion in our own country and the consequent loss of understanding of the function of symbols, and particularly of those collective symbols which are so prominent in most religious systems.[1] It is in accordance with this over-cautious spirit that we find even in Deacon's posthumously published work, despite the identity in Malekula between ancestors and the mythical hawk, and the tremendous emotional content with which all the ritual is charged, the statement that the *Mangki* in South-West Bay is "primarily a secular organisation."[2] This phrase is used, it is true, by way of contrasting the *Mangki* with the secret Ghost Societies, but the phrase begs the whole question of collective as against secret religion. The *Mangki*, despite its performance by individuals, is, as we have seen, nevertheless a collective institution of aristocratic type in which the burden, as well as the glory, is vested in the individual, though shared by the community. This is the case with every public religion. What gives the *Mangki* a secular appearance is that the rites are performed in public, and that the performer thereby gains social kudos which he may then use for personal ends.[3] This secular aspect, however, is not primary, but secondary, and the whole rite depends for its efficacy on complex religious sanctions.

It is thus seen that the use of the phrase "stone table," far from being non-committal, is pregnant with suggestions of the secular type conforming with a protestant or rationalistic mentality which is very far removed from the native conception. Deacon himself is unable in the long run to keep up the pretence, and does in fact sometimes refer to this monument as a dolmen. The Roman Catholic Missionaries, who certainly have no desire to perpetuate a religion they are trying to replace, without exception refer to it as an "altar," and so does Speiser. The term "altar" is, however, sometimes used in such a way that it is not always

[1] Compare the substitution of the words "communion table" for "altar."

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 272.

[3] It was evidently due to the prestige attaching to all performances connected with the public graded institution, as opposed to the Tamate secret societies, that Codrington also remarked of the Sukwe that "it is a social, not at all a religious institution" (Codrington, 3, p. 103). Elsewhere, however, he says of the Sukwe in Maewo that it "was in old times valued for the advantages it carried with it after death" (3, p. 112).

certain whether the word refers to a dolmen or to one of the small stone-platforms to which reference is made below, and is therefore unsuitable for use in a work in which it is essential that terms shall be exactly defined.

With regard to dolmens of smaller type, there is, however, yet another use to which they are put, which tends, at first sight, to remove them from the category of purely religious monuments, and that is their use as seats. Even in this case, however, such seats have a sacred character in that they may only be used by old men, are in most cases associated with ancestors, and in all cases that I know of are never erected without due sacrifice of boars.[1] For the reasons given above, I reject both the extreme terms "stone table" and "altar," and, as describing this type of monument in all its aspects, have adopted throughout this work the term "dolmen" for all monuments consisting of a horizontal stone slab supported by stones resting on the ground. This term also conforms with that used for similar stone structures occurring in megalithic cultures in Europe and elsewhere, and I see no reason to draw any distinction between these monuments and those found in the New Hebrides. Indeed, archaeologists will probably find much in these pages that will help them to reconstruct some of the motives that led to the erection of dolmens in civilisations now dead.[2]

Stone Monuments Functionally most closely Associated with Dolmens

As I have said, however, it is not within the province of this book to pursue comparisons outside the New Hebrides and neighbouring islands. I shall therefore return now to an examination of those monuments in this area that are most closely associated with dolmens.

(*a*) *Stone-Platforms and "Towers."*

The first of these monuments is what, for want of a better term, I have called the stone-platform. This structure, built up of loose stones carefully fitted together, varies in different districts from a small rectangular erection on which tusked boars are slain to what has been described as a "tower."

[1] On p. 339 of Deacon's *Malekula* his editor takes me to task for referring to the word *sumbsumb*, used in the phrase *temes sumbsumb* (the name of an image erected in the Seniang district of South-West Bay), as being connected with *supwe*, because, she says, "it is related rather to the word *sump*, meaning 'squat' or 'sit'." Both words, in fact, have the common root *sěmba*, meaning to 'worship' or 'honour' (see pp. 274, 693), used for a great number of sacred objects and acts, of which sitting on stone seats is one.

[2] I do, on the other hand, use the word "table-stone" as opposed to "supporting-stones" when describing the actual building of the dolmen on Vao (see p. 364), but this is from a purely constructional point of view, and I never use this expression to describe the whole monument.

Existing structures in Atchin are not more than five feet high, sloping up from the back, like the *ahu* of Easter Island. In Vao they are anything up to twelve feet high, but, according to native historical record on Atchin, one was once built so high that it overtopped the trees, and those sacrificing on it could see over to the other islands. These platforms not only perform the same function as dolmens in that sacrifices are made on them, but they are also especially associated with burnt offerings, and with the period of seclusion that follows the rites. Thus, in the Tasmant district of South-West Santo, for the rank of *Wutai*, which is probably equivalent to the Vao word *na-vot* (Atchin *na-wot*) meaning dolmen, a stone-platform is erected and surrounded by a circle of crotons and other plants [1] just as is done for a dolmen in the neighbouring district of Tismulun,[2] and sacrifice is made on it. So also, in West Oba, a stone "tower" is set up, on which, among other things, a pig is sacrificed and then burnt, but not eaten.[3] In the same way, from Matanavat in North Malekula, comes the description of a human sacrifice on a stone-platform, after which the sacrificer remains on the stone-platform for thirty days.[4] In this case, the platform was built within a house, presumably a Lodge. This seems to incorporate the same motive that is recorded by Codrington from the Banks Islands, where, while in some districts the *gamal* is furnished "with stone seats or a stone-platform at the main entrances at either end," in others "a visitor on entering a village would see one or more platforms squarely built up of stones, with high, pointed little edifices upon them, open in the front like shrines, the embers of a fire below, and above an image grotesquely shaped in human form. He would naturally take these for shrines of idols with the altars of sacrifices to them; but these also are *gamal*; the little edifice is the eating-place of a man of rank; the fire has cooked his food, which none but he in that place can eat, and the image is the emblem of his degree." [5] Rivers does not refer to these structures in connexion with the *Sukwe*, but mentions two stone-platforms called *wona* close to the *gamal* in Mota, on which masks and other objects connected with the *kolekole* rites are laid.[6] In the Small Islands the stone-platforms, like the dolmens, are covered with roofs and furnished with images, but the roofs are but temporary, and those taking rank by sacrificing on the stone-platform pass their subsequent period of seclusion and eat in the *ghamal* (on Vao; or on Atchin where there are no *ghamal*, in their own family lodge).

There thus seem, in the case of stone-platforms, to be two lines of development, one tending to produce dolmens, and the other connected with high stone structures surmounted by a sacred edifice. In the case of

[1] Deacon, 3, p. 476.
[2] Ibid. p. 490 and Fig. 5.
[3] Ibid. pp. 497-8.
[4] Harrisson, 2, pp. 38-40.
[5] Codrington, 3, p. 101. Banks Islands *gamal* corresponds to the Vao *ghamal*.
[6] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 70, 136 and Fig. 3. See also Codrington, 3, p. 302 and frontispiece.

the latter, the motive of height plays, as we shall see later, a powerful rôle in the whole graded society complex. Whether these two lines of development are converging or diverging is a question which we must leave for the moment unsolved. In the brief survey I am about to make I shall leave the matter of height to be discussed later,[1] and restrict my attention to those stone-platforms which are clearly allied to dolmens by reason of the sacrifices performed, or of the fires lit, on them.

(*b*) *Small stone circles.*

The last type of stone monument connected with the public graded society which we have to consider is that of the small stone circle surrounding some object such as a sacred tree or a monolith.[2] Such objects have been described and illustrated in my article on the *Menggi* in South-West Bay,[3] and are further referred to by Deacon. They are quite small, and almost certainly correspond to the small dolmens which have been retained in the monolith-Maki on Atchin, where they act as a kind of companion to the monolith. Compared with the distribution of the other types of stone monument, the area in which small stone circles are found is restricted, being confined, so far as has yet been recorded, to South Malekula and the Maskelyne Islands.

Composite monuments. The vota of West Malo.

The above brief survey shows that, despite the great variation in detail, it is possible, from the functional point of view, to divide the stone monuments in the area under consideration into two main categories: on the one hand, monoliths, which in all cases represent dead ancestors; on the other hand, monuments built up out of more than one stone, namely dolmens, stone-platforms, and small stone circles surrounding some sacred object. This second category at first sight appears so diverse that it is worth while quoting, from an unpublished manuscript of Rivers, a brief description of a complex monument combining all three features. The type of structure referred to occurs in Malo, which, as will be seen from the sketch-map, holds a central position abutting the three regions of our area deduced from an examination of the names by which the public graded institution is known. This monument is called *vota*, a variant of the word *na-vot* which in Vao means "dolmen." Rivers's description runs as follows: "The *vota* as a whole consists of a number of circular arrangements, also called *vota*, formed by setting low stones upright in the ground with other stones lying horizontally within or upon them.

[1] See p. 732.

[2] These are quite different from the large monoliths arranged round a circular dancing-ground in North-East Malekula described on p. 696.

[3] Layard, 2, pp. 154 ff.; Plate XV, Fig. 4; Plate XVII, Fig. 1; etc.

These *vota* have been made at different times when men have taken one of the higher ranks of the *Sumbe* [the name here given to the public graded society], and it can be seen that they differ greatly in age. Some of them may be quite overgrown by vegetation, or the stones may be separated from one another by the stems of trees which have grown up between them. The *vota* are made of coral taken from the reef; at this [west] end of the island the individual stones are small and of no definite form. I saw only one *vota* which had any resemblance to a dolmen, in which one stone rested on others, but this resemblance may be closer when a *vota* is freshly made. The compound *vota* will be surrounded by a fence called *mamba* if it had been recently used. Chiefs do not sit on the *vota* in this part of Malo as they do at Tongoa, but this custom was said to be followed in another part of the island. People are not allowed to go near the *vota*." Those sacrificing process round the *vota*, but do not mount on it. One hundred low-grade tusked boars are sacrificed at the stakes forming the fence, but the main tusker (of the grade *undruk*, a name corresponding to the Vao *na-rugh*, curved-tusker) is sacrificed by the man who is taking rank inside the fence.

In this description the monolith found in other areas is conspicuous by its absence, and the "circular arrangement," dolmen, and stone-platform constructed of stones of no definite form, which in other districts are found differentiated, are here seen combined in the single monument called *vota*, a word which in Vao (*na-vot*) and in Atchin (*na-wot*) means "dolmen," and in South Raga (*ot*) means the small stone-platform which Tattevin calls "altar."

Dolmens and "altars" in the Small Islands and Malo called by names indicating "re-birth."

The fundamentally religious nature of all these monuments, both dolmens and "altars," is strikingly shown by the fact that all the words just cited are derived, according to Dr. A. Capell, from the Indonesian *batu*, meaning "to appear," or "to be born," and so also "to be born again" or "re-born," clearly brought out in the Vao symbolism by virtue of which the large dolmen erected during the Maki rites represents the womb.[1]

Small Islands possess all types of stone monument with the exception of small stone circles.

In the Small Islands, where the Maki has reached its highest development, monoliths, dolmens (but not stone circles) and stone-platforms are all erected during various stages in the rite, while stone seats also occur and are used only by old men, and cairns are built in connexion with mortuary rites.

[1] See p. 367.

SUGGESTED DERIVATION OF ALL TYPES OF STONE MONUMENT FROM THE CHAMBERED ROUND BARROW, AS TYPIFIED IN THE KABAT'S TOMB

Such monuments are so familiar to students of megalithic civilisations in other parts of the world that it will perhaps not be out of place here to consider how they all come to be associated together in Malekula. Having in mind, therefore, the ancestor worship with which they are all concerned, and also the close connexion of the Maki with mortuary rites, together with the re-birth symbolism on which they are based, I will here call attention to Deacon's description of the burial of the white-skinned and aquiline-nosed culture-hero called Kabat in the Mewun district of South-West Bay. It was said of the chief Kabat that "his body never decayed. It was arranged in a sitting position, the hands resting on the knees, and set upon a flat stone which was supported by two low upright stones. . . . Tall stones were then erected round the body and a large slab placed across the top, the whole forming a dolmen-like tomb. . . . This was then covered over with a mound of earth and small stones, which can be seen to-day. . . . Within this megalithic tomb . . . [his] remains still rest, as fresh as on the day he died. . . ." It is said that, had his two sons performed a certain act as their father had commanded them, "then he would have lived again. Out of his body would have come, not by any normal method of conception and birth, but 'as a living thing rises from a dead one,' a new-born child who would be the Kabat returned to life. This child would have grown up, lived and died, and out of its body the Kabat would have come forth yet again as a child, thus never dying, but living for ever by continuous re-birth." [1] Since the Kabat did die, he is recurringly re-born in the rites described as the "Making of Man," [2] on which the continued fertility and prosperity of the race depends. It is not, however, with the rites that we are here concerned, but with the mausoleum in which he was buried, which resembles what in Europe would be called a chambered round barrow. If now we isolate the various elements of which it is built up, we find a complete inventory of the monuments which we have just been discussing as being used in the ritual of the Maki, namely (*a*) the stone seat on which the Kabat sat, (*b*) the dolmen which was his tomb, and from which, but for a human error, he should have been re-born, (*c*) the mound of earth and loose stones, corresponding to a cairn or stone-platform. If we allow for a revetment such as is common in megalithic tombs, we find that this provides the prototype for the stone circle. The monolith is not mentioned here, since the actual body of the Kabat is supposed to be present, but we have seen already that the monolith definitely represents a portrait statue of

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 631.

[2] See Deacon, 4, chap. XXII.

the dead. Of the two other types of monument erected during the graded society rites, we have seen also how the wooden image probably represents a degraded form of monolith; we have, however, no evidence of a sacred tree, such as is planted in the Banks Islands and elsewhere, being planted on the Kabat's tomb, but Deacon records the planting of a cycas in a hole on the top of a stone-platform in Tasmant.[1]

MORTUARY SYMBOLISM SEEN IN THE RITUAL OF THE PUBLIC GRADED INSTITUTION IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS

(*a*) *South-West Bay.*

A few details culled from the rites in various districts will serve to show the mortuary symbolism associated with them. This is much more in evidence in some places than in others, where other aspects of the rite largely obscure it. Thus, in South-West Bay direct evidence is confined to the fact that the rectangular enclosure formed of four posts connected by wild canes set up round the image in the lower ranks is called *numbul*, meaning "the grave."[2] It is this "grave" that, in the higher ranks, is represented by the stone circle surrounding the image or sacred tree.

(*b*) *South Raga.*

In South Raga we find the symbolism more thoroughly carried out in the case of the rank called *Buerang*, found also all over Ambrim, West Epi and South and South-West Malekula. The word itself means "cave," presumably in reference to the "cave of the dead" (Vao *barang*, Atchin *pwereng*),[3] and for this rank in South Raga a tree-fern image is laid on a cycas leaf and buried in an extended position in the ground.[4]

(*c*) *Vanbaut* (*Port Sandwich*).

What is possibly the most striking evidence, however, comes from Vanbaut, near Port Sandwich, concerning which the very briefness of the account serves to reveal the essential features. Of the lower ranks the only information recorded is that a pig is sacrificed, but for the entrance to the next rank "a small circular house is built, into which the candidate and ten other men go. When all are inside they destroy the house, breaking it to pieces from inside. After this pigs are killed." In this we have clear

[1] Deacon, 3, p. 476. [2] Ibid., 4, p. 293.

[3] In Fanting, in South-West Ambrim, the word *burang* is applied to small altar-like structures built of coral slabs (Lamb, pp. 118-19), thus confirming the symbolic identification of dolmens with the cave of the dead.

[4] Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 425. In this district the term *buerang* has come to be applied to the image itself, a stage of degradation carried yet further in the fact that the tree-fern is sometimes not even carved at all (cf. the transition from stone statue to plain monolith in Atchin, p. 699).

evidence of a re-birth rite. For the next three ranks, including that called *Mweleun*,[1] an image is erected, "covered by a platform of bamboos, to which steps lead up from the back. . . . The candidate ascends the platform; the pigs which he is to kill are handed up to him, and he clubs them to death." The image is thus *underneath* the candidate at the moment of sacrifice. For the next rank "a pit is dug and the earth thrown up in a mound on either side. In this hollow is planted a wooden image, carved with a full-length male figure, showing testicles and penis," over which a sloping roof is built. "At the entrance to the highest grade of all, no *temij* [image] is made, and instead of the platform used in *Mweleun* a kind of stone tower is constructed around the foot of which cycas leaves are laid. . . . On it the candidate kills a number of pigs."

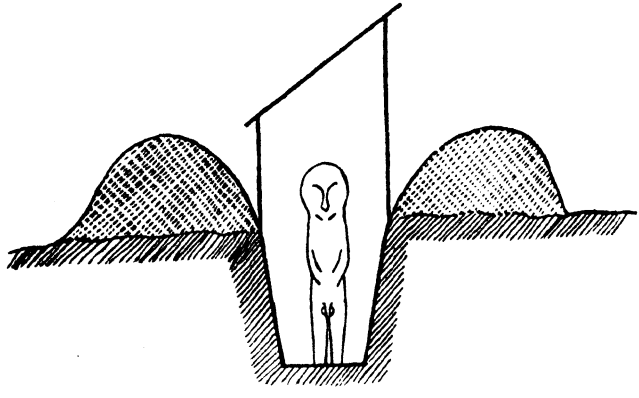


FIG. 86

Diagrammatic sketch of the image erected in a pit covered by a sloping roof for the rank of *Lokparo* in Vanbaut, close to Port Sandwich. (After Deacon, 4, Fig. 21.)

These four stages show very clearly the way in which the rites attending the successive ranks have been built up through a separation of the elements connected with mortuary ritual. The first stage represents re-birth without, apparently, any attendant mortuary symbols. The second, including both image (which is not buried) and bamboo platform, represents a kind of rehearsal or inferior representation of tomb burial. In the third stage the symbolic burial takes place, but the image is covered only by a temporary roof. In the fourth stage we find the building of a stone "tower" or platform which represents the stone mound in which the tomb is enclosed. Each item is, however, taken separately, and the stone-platform is, like all stone monuments connected with the public graded

[1] The others are *Naim* and *Ngulngul*. The quotations are from Deacon, 4, pp. 380-1. No account is given for the three other ranks listed in the comparative Table of Ranks. (Table XI.)

institution all over the Northern New Hebrides, a cenotaph pregnant with symbolic meaning but devoid of bodily content.

When all these stages have been gone through, the candidate, if rich and powerful enough, proceeds to take the supreme rank of *Mal*, which he does by sacrificing pigs in his own special house, which is surrounded by a stone wall. In fact, he is himself now identified with the dead, his house is at the same time his temple, and the stone wall, symbolic of the tomb, is his symbol of immortality.

DIFFERENTIATION, DISTRIBUTION AND TIME-SEQUENCE OF MONUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE PUBLIC GRADED INSTITUTION

From the above examples it would appear probable that, just as the symbolism seen throughout the graded society ritual is one of re-birth, so also the monuments used in it are derived from the structure of tombs.

It will have been noticed, however, that, in the last examples, though the stone-platform is present the dolmen is not. It is a fact that, outside the Small Islands (in which also the stone circle is lacking), the whole range of monuments is rarely or never found together. In other areas only one type may be erected, or possibly two. There are, nevertheless, certain districts in which one type of monument is so characteristic that we are, I think, justified in distinguishing three main cultural levels and centres of distribution. If we combine the knowledge gained from a study of these with the conclusions already arrived at from the study of the names by which the public graded society is variously known, we shall, I think, be able to gain some indication as to the order in which they were introduced into this part of the world.

(*a*) *The cycas and other sacred trees.*

In order to do this, it is necessary to begin with sacred trees and shrubs, which in many places occupy a similar position in the rites as dolmens, monoliths or images do in others. Of these the most important is the cycas. Others are the dracaena, croton, erythrina and cordyline. In the broad survey I propose now to undertake, I shall pay chief attention to the cycas. This beautiful little palm is throughout the whole area a symbol of peace, and it is presumably for this reason that it is connected with the public graded society, since, wherever this institution occurs, it involves an oath on the part of those of high rank to abjure warfare and bloodshed. Though used in connexion with the public graded society in almost all districts, its chief home as the central object erected is the Banks Islands. Here the cycas is planted outside the '*gamal*,' and is the object to which shell-money for payment is attached and by which

the ceremonial eating takes place.[1] It also gives its name (*mele*) to one of the higher ranks. In spite of the stonework used in house-building, especially in Gaua, and the wooden and tree-fern images connected with the men's houses, no stone monument or wooden image appears to be erected for the *Sukwe*, and the stone-platforms called *wona* already mentioned appear to be connected, not with the *Sukwe*, but with the rite called *kolekole*.

Though it is only in the Banks Islands and to a lesser extent in Hog Harbour, in North-East Santo, that the cycas holds supreme sway as a "monument" that is erected, it is an important factor in nearly every district of which record has been made—as for instance in South-West Bay, where for one of the ranks it is planted and surrounded by a small stone circle.[2] Here also, as in the Banks Islands, it gives its name to one of the high ranks.

The planting of other trees as an integral part of the rite has also a wide distribution, and in some districts, such as in South and West Santo and in the Maskelyne Islands and South Raga, as well as in parts of Oba, these have an importance almost as great as the cycas. Nowhere, however, do they form the central feature of the rites to the extent that the cycas does in the Banks Islands, where we may take it that this form of the rite is at its purest. In the Small Islands, apart from the erythrina, sacred trees are conspicuously absent.

Now, as we have seen, the name given to the public graded institution in the Banks Islands is *Sukwe*, a name that, when applied in its various forms to the Guardian Ghost, has a very wide distribution, from the Torres Islands in the north to Epi in the south. No stone monument used in the graded society has such a wide distribution as the cycas, nor is there any indication of the use of the cycas having recently spread. On the contrary, wherever we can trace a movement it in each case represents the spread of one or other of the stone-using forms of the rite. This, then, supports the conclusion already arrived at, that the *Sukwe* is the oldest form of the rite, and that it had at one time a distribution covering the greater part of the whole area under consideration, from the Torres Islands to Epi.

To save unnecessary confusion in Sketch-map X, I have marked in only that part of the area in which the cycas is virtually the only monument erected, namely the Banks Islands and Hog Harbour in North-East Santo.

(*b*) *Dolmen, stone-platform and small stone circle.*

The next type of monument to be considered is the dolmen, together with the stone-platform and small stone circle. The area in which the dolmen is the main sacrificial monument to-day is West and South-West

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 65 ff.

[2] See Layard, 2, Fig. 4.

Santo, where Deacon reports it from the districts of Nogugu (where it is called *sua*, a word reminiscent of *Supwe*) and Tismulun. In Tasmant, however, which lies between these two places, its place is taken by a stone-platform. The dolmen is again the chief monument in Malo, under the composite form called *vota*,[1] and in Vao, where the rite is duplicated, the chief monument in the first half being a dolmen (*na-vot*), and in the second a stone-platform. In Atchin the stone-platform remains in the second half of the rite, but in the first half, though large dolmens of Malo type were formerly erected, pride of place is now held by the monolith, with which only a small dolmen is associated as a kind of companion.[2] It is in Atchin that history tells of a stone-platform erected in former times that reached above the trees. In East Oba, which has been influenced from Malo, Deacon, as we have already seen, records the erection of a similar stone "tower." Mention has been made also of the sacrificial "altar" in the form of a stone-platform called *ot* in South Raga. The furthest south of which I have any record is from the island of Lamenu (Lamman), off the north coast of Epi, where the Rev. J. Smaill[3] says there are many "stone altars," which he thinks were derived from Malekula or Ambrim. Deacon also says that the graded society has come thither from Malekula in quite recent years, and that "all the dead, of whatever rank," from Burumba on the west coast of Epi go to Lamman Island.[4] The Rev. J. Smaill also records the making of "stone altars" on the mainland of Epi, but adds that they are poor specimens "bought" from Lamman. I do not know what part of South Malekula or Ambrim these "stone altars" are supposed to have come from, since no such monuments have been recorded. The only stone monuments recorded from South-West Bay, apart from the monoliths that have been recently introduced from Lambumbu, are stone circles, and the same is true of the Maskelyne Islands.

Monuments of dolmen type (including true dolmens, stone-platforms and small stone circles) are thus seen to have a distribution that is wide but erratic. If we exclude those mentioned by Codrington, which are really platforms for men's houses, and the two *wona* mentioned by Rivers, they appear to be absent entirely from the Banks Islands. Nor have they been reported anywhere from North, Central or East Malekula (with the exception of Matanavat in the extreme north), and in South Malekula they are represented only by small stone circles. If we examine their distribution, however, one fact cannot fail to strike us, namely, that the area of their most striking development, South-West Santo, Malo, Oba and South Raga, coincides exactly with what, in our examination

[1] See p. 704. [2] See p. 272.

[3] In a letter dated 1893, written to Dr. Gunn, now in the possession of Dr. A. Capell.

[4] Deacon, 3, p. 506.

of the names by which the graded society is known, we termed the "central" region, which is that in which the society is known neither by variants of the term *Sukwe* nor by variants of the term *Maki*, but by a number of descriptive names which differ in each place. Two facts regarding the movements of culture serve to place it in chronological sequence. The first is its spread (*a*) from Malo to Oba, and (*b*) from Ambrim or South Malekula to Epi. Both these movements, and particularly that to Epi, are more or less on the periphery of the graded society area, at some distance from the centre of distribution of the monolith cult in North-East Malekula. The second fact is that it is itself being encroached on by the cult of the monolith in the Small Islands. These facts serve to place it as definitely later than the cycas cult now mainly represented in the *Sukwe* district in the north, but earlier than the cult of the monolith now ousting it in the Small Islands.[1]

(*c*) *Monolith and wooden image.*

The last type of monument to be considered is the monolith. The matter here is a little complicated by the fact that monoliths are sporadically found almost everywhere. As I have stated before, however, we are here concerned only with those movements that have left a really decisive mark of the public graded society complex. When looked at from this point of view, there can be no doubt at all that there has, in recent generations, been a very great impulse towards the erection of monoliths in the higher ranks of the society emanating from North-East Malekula. The matter has already been discussed, so that it is necessary here only to summarise its development. The known movements still taking place are (*a*) from the mainland to the Small Islands; (*b*) from Lambumbu to South-West Bay; and, if we include forms of Maki in which monoliths are replaced by wooden images, (*c*) from East Malekula to Ambrim.

Summary of distribution.

It is thus possible to distinguish, on a basis of names used for the institution itself and of the chief monuments erected, three main types of graded society culture in chronological order, namely:

(*a*) An early type in which the chief monument erected is the cycas, and, to a lesser extent, certain other sacred trees and shrubs. This type was probably at one time spread over the whole area, but is now confined to the Banks Islands. In its present area of distribution the name of the graded society is *Sukwe*, or a variant thereof. In the absence of stone monuments, which elsewhere are erected in the open, it is characteristic of this type that its rites are all celebrated inside the *gamal* or immediately outside it.

[1] Speiser (6, p. 181) attributes the introduction of the dolmen to the Ambat of South-West Bay, but the Ambat are not known in Santo, where dolmens are most important.

(*b*) A later type, characterised by the erection of dolmens, stone-platforms and small stone circles. The distribution of this type includes the central region consisting of West and South Santo, Malo, parts of Oba and South Raga, in which the graded society is known by a number of different names which, except in Malo, are not variants of either *Sukwe* or *Maki*. This region, according to Speiser, is characterised by a complete absence of tree-fern and wooden images.[1] This type also extends to Vao and to a lesser extent to parts of Ambrim, North Epi, and South Malekula, in all of which places it is strongly mixed with other elements.

(*c*) The latest type, characterised by the erection of monoliths representing ancestors, and of wooden images. This type has the most restricted development of all, having its centre of distribution in North-East Malekula and extending over the whole of that island, including the Small Islands (though least of all on Vao), and parts of Ambrim and Epi, in all of which places it is known by variants of the word *Maki* or *Mangki*. In those areas in which it chiefly flourishes, namely in North-East and North-West Malekula and in the Small Islands, it has almost entirely ousted the use of ritual plants.[2]

RANK NAMES AND TITLES

THREE MAIN GROUPS

Confirmation of the existence of these three main types of public graded institution is to be derived from a brief survey of the names given to the ranks in the various districts, and the titles which they bestow. This survey will necessarily be brief, since in only a few cases out of very many have the meanings of them been recorded. A certain difficulty in dealing with these lies in the fact that in some cases only the names given to the ranks have been recorded, and in others only the titles adopted by those who take the rank. In some places, such as the Small Islands, there are no names but only titles, and this seems to be the case also in many other districts. Where there is therefore a choice, as in South-West Bay, between names and titles, I have, in Table XI (*at end*), which includes all records which I have been able to trace, confined myself to giving only the titles, which, on the whole, afford the best matter for comparison.

A glance at this table will show that in spite of the great wealth of

[1] Except those connected with recently acquired rites (Speiser, 3, p. 389). See also Deacon, 4, p. 709.

[2] Speiser, following Rivers, envisages at least two megalithic influences represented by the dolmen and monolith, tracing them back to Indonesia (Speiser, 6, p. 176).

detail, the distribution agrees in broad outline very closely with that which we have already deduced from an examination of the various monuments erected and the names by which the whole rite is known in the various districts. Thus, in general terms, we find that they are divisible into three main groups: Group A, found chiefly in the Banks Islands but sporadically elsewhere; Group B, found chiefly in the central region; and Group C, found in the southern region with its centre of distribution in North-East Malekula.

Group A: Banks Islands

Group A, confined mainly to the Banks Islands, is the most clearly marked off from the rest, and includes only two names found elsewhere.

Fire.

Of these, the first is that of the lowest rank, *Avrig*, "Little Fire." This is found also in the Torres Islands, whence *Avlav*, "Big Fire," is the only name to have been recorded. These names, of course, refer to the lighting of a new fire, which is one of the basic rites in the older form of graded society, but tends to become less evident in the later forms. It is therefore interesting to find that the only other places from which it is recorded as being used as the name of a rank are (i) North Raga, where the names *Gab* and *Gabi* refer to the ovens in which the fire is made; (ii) Central Raga, where *Kabalaba* means "Big Oven"; and (iii) South and South-West Malekula, where *Amb-kon* means "Sacred Fire." This distribution supports the supposition that the Banks Islands form of public graded society at one time covered an area much greater than it does now.

Cycas.

The second name, found also outside the Banks Islands, is, as might be expected, *Mele* or *Mwele*, meaning "Cycas." Here also the connexion is with South and West Malekula, where it is found with the same meaning under the form *Mweil* or *Na-mweil*.

Sky-world.

It is also at the two extremes that names and titles indicating a connexion with the sky-world are used, such as *Wometloa*, "the face of the sun," and *Wetaur-o-meligo*, "catches the clouds," in the Banks Islands, and *Pit Namap*, "at the zenith of heaven" in South-West Bay.

Groups B and C. Megaliths and the title Mal

Apart from these resemblances, all having to do with an early non-megalithic form of public graded institution, Group A is sharply divided from both megalithic groups based respectively on the dolmen and

on the monolith. This division is most noticeable through the absence, in the Banks Islands, of the title which, with a single exception,[1] now dominates the whole megalithic graded society area, namely *Mal*, of which the variants are:

(1) *Mal*, in the Small Islands, East Malekula and Ambrim.
(2) *Mòli*, in Santo, Malo, all parts of Oba and North Raga.
(3) *Mol* in Central and South Raga.
(4) *Mbalias* in South and South-West Malekula.
(5) *Balias* in the Maskelyne Islands.

This title is allied to the Atchin verb *pal*, "to sacrifice or be sacrificed," which in some areas is pronounced *mbal*,[2] and can be traced back to the Indonesian *paluh*, "to sacrifice." The root-meaning thus seems to be "the one who sacrifices," in other words "the sacrificer," who is also "the sacrificed." The word has a curious history, since, through a phonetic process whereby *a* becomes *ò* and then *o*, the word has, in certain districts, become *Mòli* or *Mol*, which has then been confounded with the native word for orange, which in Mota is *mwoli* or *mwol* and in Atchin *na-mul*, and has nothing whatever to do with the idea of sacrifice. The confusion has been so complete that, in certain areas, wild-orange trees are erected in connexion with this rank on the analogy of the cycas and other sacred trees planted in the old form of graded institution. Taking the New Hebrides as a whole, the wild orange is not a sacred tree, and there is no doubt whatever that its connexion with this rank is a fortuitous one due to a philological misconception by the natives themselves of a type that we should in Europe call "folk etymology."

The other curious thing that has happened to this title is the addition, in South and West Malekula, of the syllable *ias*, in explanation of which I am at present able only to suggest that it may be due to a combination of the chief sacrificial title, here pronounced *Mbal* or *Bal*, with a yet earlier title *ias* still used in South Raga. This title *ias* is there applied to those who have killed men, and rests on a series of legends dealing with a supposed race of small men who eat people, and particularly children.[3] The same title, used as a personal name, *Ias*, is used on Atchin for a cannibal ogre whom the two heroes who founded the existing era on that island are said to have slain.[4]

However this may be, the title *Mal*, in one or other of its philological variants, meaning "the sacrificer" and at the same time the sacrificed, is

[1] That of the Big Nambas of North Malekula, for which see p. 718.

[2] In South Raga the word meaning "to sacrifice" is *bal* or *mbal* (Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 82). Compare also the Mota *malai*, "to make payment or present after an offence" (Codrington, 2).

[3] See Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 409, and 2, 1931, Tales Nos. XXIX, p. 879, and XXX, p. 880.

[4] See p. 17.

now the chief title, with a few exceptions, in the whole of the megalithic graded society area of the North and North-Central New Hebrides. In the Tasmant district of South-West Santo it is absent, but here the title in the form of *Mol* has, as already stated, been elevated so high that it is applied on the one hand to the sky-deity, and on the other to designate the whole public graded institution.[1] As has already been pointed out, in the neighbouring district of Tismulun, where *Mòli* is used as a title, the whole institution is known as the *Mele*. This word means "Cycas," which we know to be the most sacred tree connected with the graded society in the Banks Islands, but it is possible that here, too, a punning effect may have been at work, and that, just as the title *Mòli* has been confused with the word for "orange," so also the word *Mele* would not have been used for the whole institution, which here has a strong megalithic character, but for a similar terminological confusion between the name of the rank and that used for the cycas.

If we now continue our brief examination of the titles, we find that, though certain terms have an erratic distribution, on broad lines the megalithic area may be divided into two main groups corresponding closely with those already deduced from the names given to the graded society as a whole.

Group B: Central Region

Group B thus corresponds with the central district, including Santo, Malo, Oba and Raga.

Tari.

The whole of this district, with the exception of South and Central Raga, the North Raga district of Qatvenua and the north coast of Oba, is characterised chiefly by a rank called *Tari*, a word of which I do not know the meaning.

Karai.

South-West Santo, Malo and South Oba also have in common the title *Karai* (variously pronounced *Ngarrei*, *Ngarai* or *Garai*), which means either "Dracaena" or "Flying Fox."

Fire.

All parts of Oba and Raga share, further, as the highest title of all, unknown in other districts, the word *Fire* (also pronounced *Vire*, *Vira*, *Vii* and *Bir*), which means "having fruited or flowered," or simply "a flower." Dr. A. Capell tells me this word is derived from the Indonesian *buḍak*, meaning "blossom, shoot, or scion of a family," and is connected with words such as the Atchin *wor*, "to be born." The title *Vire* thus probably connotes re-birth.

[1] See p. 694.

Liwusi.

Santo (with the exception of Hog Harbour and Tasmant), Malo, Oba and North and Central Raga also share a title called *Liwusi* (*Livusi, Liwushi, Levusi, Liwus*), which Codrington translates as "many," presumably referring to the number of boars sacrificed. This title, like *Karai*, holds an erratic place in the series, being sometimes below, sometimes above, *Mòli*. It reappears, however, under the forms *Luwush* and *Liwis* in Atchin and Lambumbu as quite a low rank.

Hawk. Ovens. Re-birth.

In addition to these, Tismulun, in the south coast of Santo, and Malo share the title *Mala*, meaning "hawk," while South and Central Raga seem to hark back to the Banks Islands model in the retention of early ranks referring to "ovens," as well as including ranks called *Ma Votu* and *Mawot*, almost certainly referring to dolmens and to the implied re-birth.[1]

Breasts.

Throughout this central district, and stretching into the southern district, there also occur sporadically low ranks of which the names refer to breasts. Thus, in Nogugu in North-West Santo the lowest rank is *Sus*, meaning "teat"; in South Raga there is one called *Bo-sis*, "sucking pig"; and in Epi the lowest is *Barang Sus*, where *Sus* again means "teat."

Group C: Southern Monolithic Region

We come now to Group C, which includes the whole of Malekula, the Small Islands, Ambrim and West Epi, in which the public graded society is known by variants of the word *Maki* or *Mangki*, and coincides with the area in which the monolith is one of the main objects erected for the highest ranks.

Mulon.

Here we find a new title of high degree, which is found nowhere outside this district. This title has been variously recorded as:

Miliun or *Mulon* among the Big Nambas.
Miliun in Unua.
Mulon in Vao and Atchin.[2]
Mulun in Wala and Aulua.
Mweleun in Port Sandwich and Ambrim.
Muluwun in Lambumbu and South-West Bay.
Meleun in South Malekula and in the Maskelyne Islands.
Melun in Fanting (S.-W. Ambrim).

[1] *Ma* is a predicative particle. *Wot* (*votu*) is a verb meaning to "emerge," hence to be born or re-born, and so applied, as in the Vao word *na-vot*, to dolmens (see pp. 703, 704 and 705).

[2] In Vao and Atchin, owing to the tremendous increase in tusked boars conferring the higher ranks of Mal and Melteg, this title has during the past few generations become obsolete.

This title has the further distinction of being that taken by chiefs in the only area where chiefs exist in the North-Central New Hebrides, that is to say among the Big Nambas of the North Malekulan plateau, where not only this title but the whole graded institution is said to be the prerogative only of the chiefly families. I am unable to suggest any translation for the name. It occurred to me at one time that it might be another form of the familiar word for cycas, but the fact that both in Lambumbu and in the Seniang district in South-West Bay the next rank below it is *Ni-mweil*, which definitely means "cycas," appears to invalidate this.

Divided into four areas.

Notwithstanding this general agreement throughout the whole southern region, four very definite areas can be distinguished within it.

(i) The first is confined to the Big Nambas, who, alone in the whole southern region, appear to lack the title *Mal*, which in all other areas is superior to *Mulon*. Only four ranks have been recorded from this area. Of these one is *Bwil*, recalling the name *Bwili* used in North-East Malekula for a secret society of Flying Tricksters that I have described elsewhere.[1] Another is *Vil-vil* (see below).

(ii) The second area is that of the Small Islands. Here, at any rate on Atchin and Vao, the number of ranks is now restricted to two, namely *Mal* and the supernumerary rank *Melteg*. Ranks formerly taken correspond closely with those obtaining among the Big Nambas, including *Mweleun* (or *Mulon*) and *Vel-vel* (*Wel-wel*).

(iii) The third area is that comprising Lambumbu, South-West Bay, South Malekula and the Maskelyne Islands, where, particularly in South-West Bay, a number of influences have combined to build up the most complicated set of ranks so far recorded. Some of these ranks, as we have already seen, appear to be not unlike those otherwise found only in the Banks Islands, while others appear to form a series not traceable in any other area, but the highest ranks of all are those which have been recently introduced from Lambumbu, and resemble those of the Big Nambas and the Small Islands.

(iv) The fourth area is that comprising the east coast of Malekula, Ambrim and West Epi. Here, as elsewhere, *Mal* is the highest rank, with *Mweleun* (*Miliun*, *Mulon*, *Melun*) below it, but between these is sandwiched another high rank which we have already met with in our discussion of pig grades, namely *Lukparo*, *Lokparo* or *Lugubaru*, which is also met with as *Ruhvaru* in Unua and as *Ruk-waru* in Wala and Atchin. This title, as we have seen, means "twice curved," and refers to the high grade of super-circle-tusker which must be sacrificed for this rank.[2]

In this area (but not in the Small Islands) a number of ranks are met with which are not found elsewhere, but the names of which correspond

[1] See p. 238. [2] See p. 244.

to those used for certain features in the protracted ritual of the Maki as performed in the Small Islands, and in their mythology. Thus, the title *Potomau* corresponds to the name of a dance (*bot-mau* in Vao, *bot-mew* in Atchin);[1] *Tangop* to the name for a certain diamond-shaped design (*tangöv* in Atchin) seen on shell- and coconut-bead armlets, the right to wear which depends on the wearer's rank, whence it came to be applied to a former type of Maki which has long since been abandoned;[2] *Naim* means "a house" such as is erected over all sacred objects such as dolmens or stone-platforms; while the commonest rank of all, *Pwerang* (*Buerang*, *Berang*, *Bwaranga*, *Barang*, *Bara*), found also in Raga and in South-West Bay, is, as we have seen,[3] almost certainly the same as the Vao *barang* (Atchin *pwereng*), meaning "cave," referring to the "Cave of the Dead."

[1] See p. 383. [2] See pp. 43, 393. [3] p. 707.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE KINSHIP ELEMENT IN THE GRADED SOCIETY

THE 4-SECTION ELEMENT AND THE THREE PATRILINEAL DESCENT GROUPS

NO one can have read the account of the Vao Maki without having been impressed by the importance attached to considerations of kinship. We have already noted on pages 295 ff. the fundamental drama caused by the mutually interacting functions of the two lines of descent, by virtue of which the mothers' brothers representing the matrilineal line act as initiators but at the same time exercise a ritual veto owing to their guardianship of the dolmen, while the fathers and sons representing the patrilineal line do everything in their power to assist the Maki-men to achieve re-birth at the hands of the mothers' brothers and are rewarded by being paid "for the stones."

We have seen also how the whole rite rests on a 4-section basis implicit in the above ritual pattern and finding expression in the sub-rite of conferring complimentary Women's Titles, in which the chief actors each belong to one of the 4 sections, namely the Maki-men (A^1), their daughters (A^2), their mothers (B^1) and their wives (B^2).

Lastly, we have seen how, owing to the bisection of the inferior patrilineal moiety, the wife's father is no longer equivalent to the mother's brother, so that the indemnification due to the members of the Maki-men's matrilineal moiety has become split, giving rise to two separate payments, one to the mothers' brothers for the rite of re-birth signified by the assumption of a new title and name, and the other to the wife's father in the sub-rite called "Circling for Pigs." In case of the death or infirmity of either of these, their places may be taken by their sons, namely the mother's brother's son and the wife's brother. In this way, as demonstrated in Fig. 43, the three patrilineal trisections in the kinship system are each seen to be represented in the ritual of the Maki, namely:

A. The Maki-men, together with their fathers and sons.
B. Their mothers' brothers and mothers' brothers' sons.
C. Their wives' fathers and wives' brothers.

The important point regarding the payments is that while those due

to the fathers and sons are made willingly since the wealth thus expended remains within the Maki-men's own patrilineal clan A, those due to the mothers' brothers and wives' fathers are grudged owing to the fact that these belong to clans (or trisections) B and C, and the pigs so paid are thus a dead loss.

THE SOUTH RAGA RITE OF *LO-SAL*

SACRIFICES MADE TO THE MOTHER'S AND WIFE'S PATRILINEAL DESCENT GROUPS

The relation between these kinship obligations and the complicated graded organisation all over the New Hebrides was one of the problems I was not fully able to solve during my visit to the Small Islands. Since that time, however, Père Tattevin has published his important account of the graded society complex in the Pornowol district of South Raga,[1] which he there found to be composed of two distinct elements, namely:

(*a*) an older element called *Lo-sal* performed on the occasion of a great number of *rites de passage*, such as when a child receives its name, when he acquires the right to eat in the men's house, at circumcision, when a girl puts on her banana-leaf skirt, at marriage, at death, and also at every step in the public graded society ritual; and

(*b*) the rites proper only to the graded society, which have been grafted on to this older rite.

This rite, which Tattevin refers to as the main ritual directed towards the ancestors, is based entirely on considerations of kinship. The term *Lo-sal* is derived from *lo*, meaning "inside," and *sal* or *selak*,[2] meaning "road" or "kin," and the rite known by this name consists of "the solemn offering, with due ritual, of a tusked boar and of red mats" by the natives, "in the first place to their maternal uncles and to the children of these, namely their mothers' brothers' sons, and in the second place to their wives' brothers and parents." [3]

A man "does duty to his kin."

These correspond, as will be noted, with the Vao patrilineal trisections B and C. Tattevin goes on to ask "What does the native mean when he makes this ritual offering?"

[1] Tattevin, 1. All the quotations in this section are translations from 1926, pp. 411-13, and 1927, pp. 82-91, omitting only those native terms that have no direct bearing on the Vao rite.

[2] First person singular suffixed pronoun. Compare Vao *na-hal*, *halak*, etc. (see p. 132).

[3] There is also a subsidiary offering to the sister's son, but this is recognised as being of comparatively little importance, and the offering in this case consists only of taro and coconuts.

The phrase he uses shows us. The native understands that, by this means, he is performing an act of kinship: "He does duty to his kin." [1] He performs it firstly in honour of those living individuals to whom he is related by blood [2] and by marriage, to both of which groups of relatives this offering is made. He performs it also in honour of the deceased members of both these groups, for, as he thinks, death has no power to rob them of the bonds that united them during life. On the contrary, death only strengthens these bonds and confers on them a more sacred character by adding to them the emotions of fear.

"The native, as he himself says, belongs by birth to his father's clan, totem [3] and family, and has therefore nothing to fear from the members of this clan, whether alive or dead, for wolves of a pack do not devour one another.

"It is quite otherwise with regard to the members of the clan to which he is related through his mother. These are exacting to the last degree, and woe to him who neglects or offends them, especially after they are dead; fever and diseases of every kind, and even death, are signs of their displeasure. It is therefore to defend himself against these various ills, to appease these ancestral ghosts and make them favourable, that the native makes this offering of a pig and red mats to his maternal uncles, his closest male relatives on the mother's side, and through them to all the members of her clan. . . .

"In the same way, with regard to affinal kinship, in marrying a woman of a clan and totem other than his own the native contracts an alliance with all the members of this clan, and consequently has cause to fear the evil influence that the members of this affinal line may exercise over him. . . .

"By making this double offering . . . the native of Pornowol sets out to defend himself against the evil that may attack him from these two directions, from these two lines of kinship, these two 'roads' as he himself puts it.

"Here we have a religious act of first importance in the sacrifice made to the totemic ancestors of the clan to which a man is allied through marriage, and also to the ancestors on his mother's side."

Sacrifice performed on stone-platform. Connexion with "Circling for Pigs."

One of the striking things about this rite is that the sacrifice is performed on a stone "altar" called *ot*, which is the same word as the Vao *na-vot* there used for "dolmen," [4] and that the ritual is substantially the

[1] "Il fait sa parenté" (*im sekne hlan*).

[2] By this Père Tattevin means, as is made clear below, his mother's patrilineal kin.

[3] In South Raga totemic descent is patrilineal.

[4] For each new sacrifice a new stone is added, on which the victim is placed, in this way resembling the new stone-platform added to the old ones on Vao (see p. 413) and also the composite monument called *vota* on Malo (see p. 704). "While others hold the boar down, he who is making the offering first strikes it on the head with a stone. Each member of his clan then strikes it on the head with the same stone. Each individual takes a new name" (Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 90).

same as that used on the occasion of the great sacrifice of the Vao Maki, with the exception that in South Raga it is performed by individuals and not by groups. It is, moreover, preceded by a dance called *bilbilan* in honour of the tusked boar [1] that in many ways resembles the Vao "circling for pigs" which accompanies the presentation made by a man to his wife's father or brother. In fact, as Tattevin points out, once the rite of *Lo-sal* has been subtracted from the graded society ritual there remain to the graded society proper only the special rites that distinguish the entrance into the various grades.

The matrilineal element.

When we come to examine the implications of *Lo-sal* more closely, we find yet another point of no little importance with regard to its fundamental meaning. Let us first take the statement that the sacrifice is made in the first place to the "maternal uncles and to the children of these, namely the mothers' brothers' sons," and in the second place to the "wives' brothers and parents."

Though it is at first sight to the members of both these patrilineal descent groups that a man sacrifices his tusked boar and presents his red mat, it will be noted that his connexion with each group is through a woman, in the first case his mother and in the second his wife. Thus, in the case of the sacrifice made for the mother's brother the customary phrases used are all variants on the same theme, namely "I do duty to my kin," "I give a pig on behalf of my kin," "I do duty to my mother's kin," "I do duty to my kin and to my mother's kin." It is said also of the victim, "The pig is offered in the name of my mother." [2] So also, in the case of the wife's brothers, the phrases in common use are, "I do duty to my wife's kin," or "I do duty to my wife's kin and to that of my children." In this context it is said of the victim "that it is killed in the name of the wife."

These phrases are significant, since in saying "I do duty to my kin and to my mother's kin" the native is clearly not thinking in terms of patrilineal descent but of his mother's matrilineal line, to which he himself belongs. The same holds of the phrase, "I do duty to my wife's kin and to that of my children." Here also it is clearly not the wife's patrilineal line that is envisaged, but her matrilineal line, to which her husband's children also belong. It is thus clear that the patrilineal aspect of the sacrifice is but a superficial one due to the existing system of overt patrilineal descent, and that the real sacrifice is made to the matrilineal line, in the first place of the mother and in the second of the wife.

[1] Tattevin, I, 1927, p. 88.

[2] "Je fais ma parenté," "je donne un cochon pour ma parenté," "je fais la parenté de ma mère," "je fais ma parenté ainsi qui celle de ma mère" (Tattevin, I, 1927, p. 82).

Rôle of the mother's mother's brother.

This is seen most clearly in the case of the mother's line in the ritual accompanying the sacrifice of a tusked boar to the mother's brother, who may not himself carry the victim home, this being the privilege of his own mother's brother (namely the sacrificer's mother's mother's brother), in anticipation of which service the mother's brother has previously in turn sacrificed to this same mother's mother's brother while the victim was being danced for before sacrifice. It is clear, then, that the original intention of the rite was the indemnification not of the mother's patrilineal clan, but of her matrilineal line of descent, extending through the sacrificer's mother's brother, through this mother's brother's own mother's brother, and so backwards, always on the mother's side. What has happened is that with existing emphasis on overt patrilineal descent the mother's patrilineal clan has, except in certain instances, usurped the position formerly belonging to the matrilineal element only, and it is this that accounts for the inclusion of the mother's brother's son among those to whom this sacrifice is made.[1]

This emphasis extends now to the whole of the two patrilineal descent groups to which the mother's brother and wife's brother belong.

Indemnification due to patrilineal descent.

It is thus interesting to recall Tattevin's statement already quoted that in South Raga it is "*on account of the patrilineal organisation* that the sacrifices made to the ancestral ghosts are given to the mother's brother, and, in his name, to all the members of his family or clan." [2]

In other words, as we have seen to be the case with regard to the devouring female Guardian Ghost in other patrilineal districts, the natives must for ever keep paying the price due to the matrilineal principle for the outrage done to it through the introduction of overt patrilineal descent. Thus, in Tattevin's words, while the sacrificer dances in honour of his tusked boar his mother's brother accompanies him as if to say, "You are indeed paying your debt today, but do not forget that you will have to repeat it over and over again so long as I live." [3] "This blood claim, this sacrifice, covers every kind of object: pigs, mats, taro [and nowadays] money and cloth, and lasts throughout a man's whole life. It takes hold of the native in his cradle, and accompanies him to his tomb and even beyond, as is seen in the mortuary rites."

So much for the South Raga rite of *Lo-sal*, by means of which, when

[1] It will be noted that in a 6-section system with patrilineal descent the MMB belongs to the same section as the WF. The fact that they here fulfil different rôles supports the supposition put forward on p. 158, footnote 1, that the Pornowol system is a 12-section one similar to that represented in Fig. 39, in which the MMB belongs to section A^1R and the WF to section B^1R.

[2] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 380 (my italics). [3] Ibid., 1, 1927, p. 88.

combined with the public graded institution, "the native takes rank through the sacrifice of a pig which then becomes the property of his mother's brother or of his wife's brother," each of whom, together with the members of his patrilineal clan, eats the victim that has been offered on his account.

"Other tribes separate the two institutions, and when they take rank in the graded society the boar that has been sacrificed is divided among all those present." [1] This phrase probably applies to those matrilineal areas such as parts of Santo in which whole sections of the community sacrifice at one time. Vao may be a half-way house between the two, the mass sacrifice held in broad daylight representing this aspect of the rite, while the individual sacrifices on the dolmen at sundown have to do with the propitiation of the maternal line, just as the "circling" is concerned with the debt due to the wife's people.

THE FATHER AND THE MOTHER'S BROTHER

Having examined the part played in these rites by the male relatives of the mother and of the wife, let us now turn to a brief comparative survey of the part played by the father.

The father's rôle is in almost all cases that of assisting his son to fulfil the obligations due to the mother's brother. We have already seen this to be the case in Vao, where the father is the chief representative of the introducing "line," and the mother's brother performs the ritual initiation. The relative positions of father and mother's brother are well seen in Codrington's account of the much simpler form of graded society ritual known as the *Sukwe*. Thus in the Banks Islands what Codrington sometimes refers to as the patron is "a boy's mother's brother by rights, whose good-will some months before must be secured by the presentation of a pig, which is made over formally to him by a slap upon its back." [2] In this area the rôle of the father is simply that of one among many helpers. Thus, "a boy who has no property of his own is supplied by his father or some friend with what is necessary for engaging the patronage of his uncle, upon whom the expense chiefly falls. In the higher grades the candidate for advance still has his patron, but the expenses fall upon himself, aided by his friends with gifts . . . of pigs and [shell] money." [3] It is stated also that his wife's father is expected to be liberal in this.

In North-East Oba, which, though still in the matrilineal dual organisation area, is closer to the patrilineal islands to the south, the father occupies a much stronger position. Here, the patron is still "properly one of the same family division, the uncle on the mother's side, or the brother, but the father's interest in advancing his son, and his power to do so, are both greater." This fact involves a delicate situation

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 84. [2] Codrington, 3, pp. 105-6. [3] Ibid. p. 106.

with regard to the relations between a man and the members of his son's matrilineal moiety. "Thus, in the case of a boy whose rich father bought [1] him up at once in early childhood to the rank of *moli* [one of the highest ranks], the first step was to give a pig to the members of the boy's *waivung* [matrilineal moiety], as an acknowledgment that he was intruding on their province, that the patriarchal was intruding on the matriarchal system." [2]

In North Raga the process has progressed still further, and here, "though in principle the mother's kin should take charge of the boy's advancement, the father in practice generally makes it his own business." [3]

We have already seen how, in South Raga, the mother's side of the family has lost its benevolent rôle, which has been turned into one of outraged injury demanding endless propitiation coupled with the threat of inflicting death and disease on the candidate in case of failure duly to perform all the prescribed sacrifices and rites.

In other districts we find a gradual shifting of responsibility from the shoulders of the mother's brother to those of the father corresponding with the candidate's progressive rise in rank. Thus in the Seniang district of South-West Bay it is the father who, in the lower ranks, provides the pigs which are to be given to the mother's male relatives, but it is the mother's brother who makes the images and, in the lowest rank of all which acts as an introduction to the whole graded society, kindles the fire for his nephew outside the paternal lodge.[4] As a man rises in rank, however, the maternal line plays an ever-decreasing rôle. So also, in the Tismulun district of South-West Santo, we find that while the pig sacrificed for each rank goes to the mother's brother, in the lower ranks the rite takes place in the mother's brother's village, and this man sometimes actually despatches the animal himself, but in the higher grades, for which a dolmen is erected, it takes place in the father's village, and it is the father who himself mounts on the dolmen to perform it.[5]

THE FATHER'S FATHER COMBINES BOTH PATRILINEAL AND MATRILINEAL LINES OF DESCENT

It thus appears that in all cases it is through sacrifice to or for a representative of the matrilineal line of descent that a man achieves re-birth signified by his assumption of a new name and title.

In the above cases the chief representative of this line is the mother's brother. In Lambumbu it is actually the mother's brother's name that the sacrificer assumes.[6] In other districts organised on a basis of overt

[1] Through supplying the necessary number of pigs, feasts, etc.
[2] Codrington, 3, p. 114. See also present volume, p. 501.
[3] Ibid., p. 115.
[4] Deacon, 4, p. 293.
[5] Ibid., 3, p. 489.
[6] Ibid., 4, p. 354.

patrilineal descent the sacrificer on entering one of the higher ranks assumes, on the contrary, the name not of his mother's brother but of his father's father, whose ghost also inhabits the image erected during the rites.

The first instance of this kind was recorded from the island of Ambrim by Rivers, who says: "In most of the higher ranks an image in human form is made, which becomes the abode of the ghost of the father's father of the man who is taking new rank, or, if his father is dead, it may be the ghost of the father who inhabits this image." [1] This statement, though specifically mentioning the father's father, would make it appear at first sight that it is the nearest deceased ancestor in the male line whose ghost is considered to inhabit the image. In Malekula, however, it is quite definitely never the father, but invariably an ancestor in the second ascending generation in the male line between whom and the sacrificer this special relationship exists. Thus in Seniang, on entrance to the important rank of *Nevelvel* the image erected for this rank is "definitely addressed as *aavu*,[2] the word used primarily for grandparents, both male and female, on both sides of the family." [3] Deacon's translation of the words actually used before sacrifice at the image is "Grandfather, peace! I behold the ghost's house; if ye live, take ye the pig." [4] The phrase "if ye live" refers, of course, to life after death, assuming that, through the proper performance of the rites, this individual has escaped being devoured by the Guardian Ghost. In the same way, in the performances of the *Nalawan* Ghost Society in this district the ghost whose voice is said to be represented by the sound issuing from the wooden musical cylinders kept in the men's house is considered to be that of the *aavu*, who is addressed with the words translated, "Grandfather, abide thou long here." [5]

On these ritual occasions, when a man's deepest spiritual emotions are constellated in one act, the father's father is thus seen to be invested with an almost mythological glamour. The reason for this has clearly to do with the former existence of matrilineal moieties in this area, by virtue of which the father's father belongs to the same matrilineal moiety as EGO. As Deacon has pointed out, these moieties probably extended at one time over the whole of Malekula, as they still do in the Small Islands and on Ambrim. It is thus interesting to note that the chief place known to me where the sacrificer of high rank actually assumes the name of his deceased father's father is Atchin, where the matrilineal moieties still operate, and where the images erected in each patrilineal village represent alternate generations of males composed of members of one matrilineal moiety. In this way, on Vao as well as in Ambrim, the father's father

[1] Rivers, 2, p. 230.

[2] Related to the Vao *bumbu* and traceable to the Indonesian root meaning "old man."

[3] Deacon, 4, p. 281. [4] Ibid., 4, p. 306. [5] Ibid., 4, p. 407.

combines in his own person the veneration due to both matrilineal and patrilineal lines of descent,[1] and it is on this account that his position is one of such outstanding importance in the religious system of the natives.

WOMEN'S GRADED SOCIETY RITES

The last item to be considered is that of the rites by which women themselves take rank. Institutions in which women take new names are a feature of every district from which we have reasonably full records, except in the Mewun district of South-West Malekula, where there was also until recent years no men's public graded institution. These institutions appear to be of two different kinds:

(*a*) The women's institution proper, in which only women, or men belonging to the maternal line, officiate, and in which women acquire rank in their own right.

(*b*) That which appears as a kind of appendage to the men's graded society, in which a man may confer honorary titles on his close female relatives during the course of his own degree-taking rites.

The complimentary titles conferred on women after the Vao Maki, described on pp. 394-6, belong to this category. So also to some extent do the women's rites recorded by Deacon from the Lagalag district of North-East Malekula,[2] during the course of which the men's upright slit gongs are beaten. It is interesting to note that in this district also the highest of the two women's titles is *Li-sev-sep*, the local variant of the Vao *Le-hev-hev* (Atchin *Le-saw-saw*) used for the Guardian Ghost, recalling the honourable title assumed by men of high rank (*na-humbe* in Vao, *na-sup* in Atchin), which is a male variant of the same word. Even here, however, there are several features in the women's rites that do not appear in the men's.

In Seniang [3] further south the rites appear to be entirely in the hands of women without accompaniment by the men's slit gongs. This is in turn closely connected with a fundamental cleavage between two kinds of sanctity, that of men, which is called *ileo*, and that of women, called *igah*, a word which may be allied to the Vao *hat* found in the highest women's title in that island, namely *Le-at*.[4] This opposition is so strong in Seniang that Deacon describes the relation between *igah* and *ileo* as being "something like the relation of positive and negative electrical

[1] In a 4-section system, as seen in Fig. 16, the father's father is actually the same person as the mother's mother's brother.

[2] Deacon, 4, pp. 491 ff. [3] Ibid., 4, pp. 479 ff.

[4] See p. 395. It is significant that while variants of the word *hat* are fairly constant with reference to that kind of women's sanctity that is frequently referred to as "bad," the words for male sanctity differ considerably according to district, presumably representing successive waves of patrilineal immigration. The word in the Small Islands corresponding to *ileo* is *kon*.

potentials. Things which are strongly *igah* are definitely feared by the men because they counteract and destroy the *ileo* property appertaining to males and to men's ritual objects. On the other hand, the possession of the quality of *igah* or of objects imbued with this quality confers power and prestige upon women." He adds: "The term *igah* is particularly associated with the women's secret society," [1] and men are strictly prohibited from taking any part in their rites.

Women's rites associated with dolmens and with early layer of culture.

This secrecy suggests the survival of rites belonging to an earlier matrilineal stratum of culture, and it is to be noted in this connexion that the highest women's grade now taken in Seniang is that called *Tari*,[2] which does not appear in the men's ranks anywhere in Malekula,[3] but is one of the chief ranks in Santo and Oba where dolmens and stone-platforms, used and danced on as in the *Lo-sal* ritual of South Raga, are still the chief sacrificial monuments.

In Seniang the women's rites are clearly associated with the idea of procreation, shown by the fact that the only monuments erected are the wooden images of a man and a woman, which are kept inside the special house belonging to the members of this institution, contrasted with the exclusively male images erected for the men's graded society. That dolmens are also connected both with the matrilineal line of descent and with birth has also been frequently pointed out in the foregoing pages.

South Raga.

When we come to examine Tattevin's account of women's rites in South Raga,[4] we find the same difference between the two kinds of women's ranks.

With regard to those ranks which are taken by women in their own right, a significant point is the name given to the highest rank called "The Stone Altar" and the title it confers, being "On the Stone Altar." The stone altar referred to is the stone-platform called *ot* on which the men dance, sacrifice and take their new name in the *Lo-sal*, and which corresponds to the dolmen, and in some respects also to the stone-platform on Vao.

The next important thing to be noted is that the victims (a boar and a sow, such as are here also sacrificed by men) belong in the case of ranks taken in her own right to the woman's own family (namely to her father or brother), and in the case of ranks conferred by her husband belong to herself. In each case they must have been reared by her, and for the ranks taken in her own right she sacrifices them herself.

In the case of titles conferred by the husband, the victim is sacrificed

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 478.

[2] Ibid., 4, pp. 482-6. This is also the highest women's rank in North Raga (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 211).

[3] Unless it may possibly be seen as in the first syllable of the title *Tar-lenunggor*.

[4] Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 570-5.

by the man, but can only be used for conferring a title on the woman if the victim itself was reared by and belongs to her. It is psychologically interesting to note that on all occasions when a man sacrifices his wife's boar he does so with his left hand, though he uses his right hand to sacrifice his own. In the former case this is called "striking in the name of his wife."

Also important is the fact that, for the ranks taken in her own right, the woman has no introducer, but confers her own title on herself.[1] No man ever does this.

Early prominence of women, where dolmen is chief monument.

Two pieces of evidence from different parts of the North and North-Central New Hebrides point to the same prominence of women in that form of the public graded institution of which the central monument is the dolmen or one of its derivatives, the stone-platform or small stone circle.

The first comes from Nogugu, in North-West Santo, where the dolmen is possibly more important than anywhere else. Here the dolmen is called *sua*, a word probably connected with *supwe*, and, when the man about to take rank is already standing on the dolmen, the sacrificial boar is handed up to him, for the lowest grades by his mother, and for the higher grades by his wife.[2]

Seniang public graded society founded by Ne-vin Bumba-au.

The second piece of evidence is the fact that in Seniang in South-West Malekula, where the place of the dolmen is taken by the stone circle, the whole public graded society is reported by Deacon to have been founded by a woman, called *Ne-vin Bumba-au*.[3] She is said to have made the first graded society fire, which, it will be noted, is still made in this area for a boy taking his first rank by his mother's brother outside his father's house.[4] This mythological figure is a female man-devouring ogress who, in the very complex mythology of Seniang, plays in her attitude towards the Ambat culture-heroes [5] a rôle similar to that played in the same district by the Guardian Ghost *Temes Sav-sap* towards the ghosts of the dead [6] and to that played by *Le-hev-hev* on Vao. Her name signifies "Crab Woman," recalling the crab-like devouring figure of the Guardian Ghost which in one version of the Vao story stands in the way of the dead man as he mounts the volcano on Ambrim.[7]

Banks Islands kolekole.

We have already seen that the aspect of the graded society complex with which women are chiefly concerned is that part which has for its central monument the dolmen, stone-platform or small stone circle. It is this aspect which in South Raga is represented by the *Lo-sal*, and in the

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 573, but the boar is given to the mother's brother to eat.
[2] Deacon, 3, p. 473. [3] Ibid., 4, p. 272. [4] Ibid., 4, p. 293.
[5] Ibid., 4, pp. 626-7, 720. [6] See p. 219. [7] See pp. 221, 228, note 1.

Banks Islands apparently by the rite called *kolekole*, in connexion with which a stone-platform called *wona* is erected, thus strongly contrasting with the *Suqe*, which has no such stone monument. According to Rivers, "a *kolekole* can be performed either by men or women, or probably more correctly, a *kolekole* can be carried out by a man on behalf of a daughter or other female relative." He adds: "In this case it is the woman who is said to *kole*." [1] Codrington says that the *kolekole* and the *Suqe* "become so connected in the higher ranks of men that an account of one is incomplete without an explanation of the other," [2] so that the relation between these two rites appears to be very similar to that between the *Lo-sal* and the public graded society in South Raga.

Women's dolmen on Atchin.

With regard to the ranks taken by women in their own right in the Small Islands, I am able to cite only two facts. The first is the assumption of the title *Le-tete* by women during the consecration of the special lodge built for them by their husbands the Maki-men some time after the performance of the men's Maki, this being the only occasion known to me on which the women of Vao sacrifice pigs (see pp. 452-4). The second is the existence of two large dolmens situated close to the Lower Side of the dancing-ground of the village of Pweter-tsüts on Atchin which were said to be connected with what on that island is referred to as the "Women's Maki," and of which photographs will appear in a future volume. It is worth noting that large dolmens are no longer set up in connexion with the men's rites on Atchin, where the dolmen-Maki has been supplanted by the monolith-Maki already mentioned on pp. 272, 697.

List of References to Women's Graded Institutions

For the convenience of readers interested in this important but little-known subject of women's graded institutions I append here a list of references:

Banks Islands.	Codrington, 3, p. 110.
West Santo.	Speiser, 3, p. 399.
South Oba.	Layard, 9.
North Raga.	Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 210-11.
South Raga.	Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 84, 570-5.
South-West Ambrim.	Lamb, p. 128; Speiser, 3, p. 399.
Malekula: Seniang.	Deacon, 4, pp. 479 ff. (called *Lapas*).
Lambumbu.	,, ,, pp. 488 ff. (name not recorded).
Lagalag.	,, ,, pp. 491 ff. (called *Langambas*).
Banggor.[3]	,, ,, p. 497 (called *Langambah*).
Matanavat.	Harrisson, 2, p. 44.
Small Islands: Vao.	Layard, present volume, p. 452.
Atchin, Wala	,, future volumes.

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 131. [2] Codrington, 3, p. 110. [3] South of Lambumbu.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SOME SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF THE RITE

(*A*) HEIGHT AS A SYMBOL OF ASPIRATION

Small Islands home of the dead on a volcano.

WE have already seen how one of the chief motives of the rite is the effort to escape, through sacrifice, from being devoured by the Guardian Ghost who in Vao is sexless and in the remaining Small Islands is female. This creature, according to the older stratum of belief, lived in or at the entrance to a cave leading underground, and we have seen how, in the later forms of the rite, the dead of high rank in the Small Islands, as part of their effort to throw off their earth-bound nature, find their home on a volcano. The volcano, it is true, has a vent leading underground, but out of this vent new life comes in the form of fire, and it is here that the dead live a kind of sublimated existence, dancing and singing all night and sleeping during the day.

Apart from the existence of the vent, therefore, the volcano combines two motives, that of fire and that of height. Fire we have already seen to form an essential part of the public graded society ritual, in that a new fire must be lighted with each rise in rank. The aspect which I propose therefore to examine now is that of height.

Sky-world and light.

The notion of height is, with the natives of the whole area under consideration, symbolic of both spiritual and social aspiration. This is expressed in a great number of ways. Sometimes, but not always, it is connected definitely with ideas concerning the sky, and so with light. Where this is so, the luminaries in question are either the sun or stars, which are male; never the moon, which is female. Direct light (sun and stars), height and aspiration are thus male, indirect light (the moon), caves and earth are female. It will be remembered that the god Ta-ghar is male, and is the god of light, and so associated with the sun, giving light to the female mother of men, the moon. It would, however, be dangerous to draw this parallel too far and to regard this idea of aspiration associated with height as being due to a belief in this deity, as it is almost certain that the graded society complex antedates such a belief, and is in full vigour in Ambrim and South Malekula where Ta-ghar is unknown.

Titles connected with sky-world.

Examples of this connexion with a sky-world were first recorded by Codrington from the Banks Islands. Speaking of the ranks which a man may attain, and of the titles obtained thereby, he says that "a man who has got to the very top and emerged, *me wot*, is a very great man indeed; he has the title of *Wetuka*, as if he had reached the sky." [1] He records also that among the ranks in Mota one of the highest is *Wometloa*, "the face of the sun," and that a man taking this rank has as distinguishing mark "an image of a man carrying on his head with outstretched arms a disk representing the firmament, with heavenly bodies painted on it." A yet higher rank is called *Wetaur-o-meligo*, "catches the clouds." [2] From the other end of the area, in Seniang, Deacon records two high-grade names as meaning respectively "at the zenith of heaven" and "holy ground on top," [3] this latter being the grade of *Muluwun Sumburan*, of which the second word is undoubtedly connected with the word *Supwe*. In the area which forms the chief subject of this book, namely the Small Islands, one of my own chief informants on Atchin was called Bageran, "cumulus cloud," and one of the highest titles on Vao is *Melteg-aul*, "Lord of the Above." [4]

Identification with the Hawk.

Closely connected with this same skyward aspiration is the important rôle played by the hawk both in sculpture and in ritual. This symbol, with its wings carved out of the buttress roots of trees, is one of the first things to impress the observer on entering any village dancing-ground in the Small Islands, in which every shrine erected in connexion with the Maki has, resting on the head of the carved image representing the ancestor, a ridge-pole ending in the carved representation of a hawk with outstretched wings. Similar hawk-images crown the eaves of the *ghamal*, and, in Atchin, the Family-Lodges.

These are, however, only the outward symbols. For both aspirant and the ancestor or ancestors into whose august company he is admitted by the rite are, in different districts, identified with this bird and act as though they themselves were hawks. Deacon has already described how, during the rites for the higher ranks in Seniang, the old man who clearly represents the ancestral figure and who later invests the aspirant with his new title "springs into the air, with extended arms and fluttering hands, in imitation of the . . . hawk." [5] In Atchin, while the crowning of the ancestral-image with a representation of the hawk clearly indicates a similar identification, it is the sacrificer himself who, mounted on his stone-platform at the supreme moment of sacrifice, spreads out his own

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 103. [2] Ibid., 3, p. 105. [3] Deacon, 4, p. 277.
[4] See p. 433. [5] Deacon, 4, p. 307.

arms in imitation of a soaring hawk and sings a song about the stars.[1] In Vao the word *Na-mbal*, meaning "hawk," may be used as a personal name by one of high rank.[2]

In addition to this, hawks' feathers are throughout the whole area worn in the hair as a symbol of rank in the public graded society, as also in the *Nalawan* Ghost Society of Seniang.[3] In North Malekula, where alone there are chiefs, actual hawks belong only to chiefs, and must be taken to them if shot,[4] and the exchange of hawks is one of the signs of peace.[5] Hawks also figure largely in the intricate labyrinth dances called *na-leng* which, based largely on mythological stories, form an important part in the ceremonial of the public graded rites in the Small Islands and North Malekula.[6] It is, in view of all these facts, not surprising to find that Speiser definitely associates the hawk with the megalithic complex of which he traces the introduction into Malekula and the adjacent islands from the Malay Archipelago.[7]

One final word regarding the hawk may not be out of place here, and that is with respect to its name. The hawk is in the Small Islands and in all other parts of the mainland of Malekula from which it has been recorded, called by variants of the word *mbal*.[8] This is the same word as is used in all these districts under the forms *bal*, *mbal* or *pal* for "sacrifice." The same also holds good for South Raga, where both "hawk" and the verb "to sacrifice" are *bal*, or, in the case of sacrifice alternatively, *mbal*.[9] In the islands from Oba northwards to the Banks Islands, the variants of the word for hawk are *mal*, *mel* or *moli*,[10] which are also the variants used for the most widespread and clearly the most important graded society title, which in Vao and the remaining Small Islands is *Mal* or *Mel-dek*, and elsewhere is *Mòli* or *Mol*. There is thus little room for doubt but that the word for "hawk" and that used for the chief title in the public graded society are one and the same, and that, as already suggested, both names mean at one and the same time "the sacrificer" and "the sacrificed." [11]

Stone "towers" and ladders. Giant monolith.

Yet another aspect of the effort towards height is seen in the construction of the actual monuments erected during the rites. The type of structure that lends itself most easily to manipulation of this kind, and on which the sacrificer can himself mount at the moment of sacrifice, is the stone-platform. I have already called attention to the stone-platform built on Atchin so high that it overtopped the trees, to the report of similar

[1] See future volume. [2] See p. 434. [3] Deacon, 4, p. 393.
[4] Harrisson, 2, p. 34. [5] Ibid., p. 55.
[6] See pp. 336 ff. [7] Speiser, 6, p. 176.
[8] In Vao and elsewhere in Malekula combined with the indefinite article in the form of *na-mbal*, modified in Atchin and Wala to *ni-mbel*.
[9] Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 82. [10] Capell, 1, p. 55. [11] See p. 257.

"towers" on Oba, and to the high platforms on which the man of high rank cooks and eats in the Banks Islands.[1]

Stone-platforms are not, however, the only structures so elevated. Deacon, for instance, describes how in Tismulun in South-West Santo a stone table (that is to say, a dolmen) is built so high that it has to be mounted by means of a ladder,[2] while in South Raga one of the high ranks is actually called "ladder" (*abal*) after a kind of sloping wooden framework without corresponding stone structure on which the candidate mounts to perform his sacrifice.[3]

It is, perhaps, not out of place to mention again here the giant monolith thirty feet high erected by the people of Tolamp in their last resting-place before their survivors finally settled on Vao, as described on p. 584 and illustrated in Plates XXII, XXIII.

Mythological winged women and ascent to the sky connected with Qat-Tagaro mythology.

I have previously omitted mention of the accounts from various islands of the winged women who in Maewo and Oba are said to have come down from the sky-world and flown back, since these do not appear to be connected in any direct way with the graded society complex, but rather with the deities Tagaro and Qat. In some of these stories the hero reaches the sky by first shooting an arrow into it, and then another and another, till all the arrows, each sticking into the last, form a kind of ladder up which he climbs.[4] Sometimes this is replaced by the aerial root of a banyan tree, and in one such version recorded from Uripiv the hero is a man.

Smoke of burnt offering communicates with sky-world.

There is, moreover, one record that definitely connects the sky-world with stone monuments, and that is Deacon's account from Tismulun of an offering made to the sky-deity, there called Tautai, when in the old days a man would set up a heap of stones some four to five feet high on which, choosing a windless day, he would burn a fat pig so that the smoke from it would reach Tautai in the sky.[5]

Exposure of dead man of high rank on high platform.

A possible connexion between such practices and mortuary rites is an account from Ambrim that "when Werwer-Melun, the chief of Melbongan, died, his body was exposed to the sky on a high platform supported by a framework of bamboo poles."[6] Melun is a variant of *Mweleun*, which, it will be remembered,[7] is the title of a man of very high rank.

[1] See p. 703. [2] Deacon, 3, p. 491. [3] Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 427, 561.
[4] Codrington, 3, pp. 169, 398. [5] Deacon, 3, p. 488.
[6] Ibid., 4, p. 708, quoting R. Lamb, p. 118. [7] See pp. 717 ff.

(*B*) PEACE

Another important aspect of the public graded society throughout the whole area is its connexion, especially in the higher ranks, with the ideal of peace and absence of fighting, which is again closely connected with the abolition of human sacrifice in favour of the sacrifice of tusked boars.[1] In the Small Islands, in spite of frequent wars and cannibal feasts held actually on the stone-platforms used for the Maki, the public graded society is, in theory at least, the one institution that definitely stands out against such practices and is, by its introduction, considered by the natives as having ushered in a new era of peace. In this way the Maki stands for the native as representing, in an otherwise disordered world, what we should call "civilisation." Thus each man, when he has performed the supreme sacrifice of tusked boars, takes vows to abstain from fighting for a stated period of two or more years or, in certain cases, for life. This peaceful atmosphere is at the same time extended to the entire community and even to its traditional enemies, to whom cycas leaves are given with the words, "If any man wishes, let him bring his pipe and smoke it in the dancing-ground; but if he is angry, let him stop at home."

The word used for peace: its probable connexion with ghosts.

The word for peace is in the Small Islands *tamat*, and in Mota *tamwata*. In South Raga the corresponding word *temat* is used in two ways, firstly, as a general term for all objects used during a man's rise in rank, and secondly, as the power exercised by that man towards the conservation of peace and decency in the district over which his influence extends.[2] In the Seniang district of South-West Malekula the word is again *tamat*, and is incorporated into the term *litamate*, which is the name given to a highly important rite performed by the man whom we have already seen impersonating the ancestral ghost in the attitude of a hawk and who addresses the image with the words "Grandfather, peace!" [3] This rite is apparently of yet greater importance in the *Nalawan* Ghost Society, in which it is said to represent "the setting to rest of the *temes* [ghosts] who have been active during the whole of the *Nalawan* performance, and therefore can only take place when everything is finished. After *litamate* 'it is peace' and nothing more can be done." [4]

The connexion with ghosts is highly significant, and raises the question as to whether the word for "peace" is not itself a variant of that for "ghost," which in Vao is *ta-mat*, in Atchin *ta-mats*, in Seniang *temes*, in South Raga *temar* and in Mota *tamate*.

[1] See pp. 257, 620.
[2] Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 568-9.
[3] See p. 727.
[4] Deacon, 4, p. 393.

Special connexion of peace with the higher ranks.

Whatever the precise implications of this possible connexion with ghosts, the overt obligation to observe the peace works itself out in terms of social behaviour, especially, as I have said, with regard to the higher ranks in the society. Two examples from opposite ends of our area suffice to demonstrate this. In Mota, while the proceedings for the lower ranks involve only a particular village or district, for the high rank of *Tavatsukwe* and upwards "the whole island is concerned. In the old days fighting was put aside." [1] In the Burumba district of West Epi a "chief," that is to say, man of the high rank of *Mal* or *Meleun*, had the power of becoming taboo. This meant that "no one might fight him, and, for his part, it indicated that he would fight no one, that he desired peace." [2] The ceremony imposing peace comes in all cases at the end of the long and protracted series of rites conferring the rise in rank, which shows that the peace thus declared is not simply one of convenience designed so as to promote favourable conditions for their performance, but is one that results directly from them and is ordained by them. Moreover, the observance of this peace involves fasting and abstinence of all kinds on the individual or individuals who undertake it.

The whole conception of an obligation to observe the peace between normally warring village communities is remarkable among cannibals such as the Small Islanders, combined as it is with the extreme braggadocio and dionysiac extraversion that accompanies every other aspect of the public graded society ritual, and supports the native view of the "civilising" effect of the Maki.

Graded institution a valuable bond of society.

In this respect what Codrington wrote of the Banks Islands *Sukwe* is true of the whole complex throughout the islands, namely that "in the absence of any more directly political arrangements among the people" it forms "a valuable bond of society . . . in which the male population is united, and in which a considerable power of control is vested in the older and richer men." [3] Thus on the one hand it is this institution that, through the ritual exchange of gifts which it involves and in which the balance lies always in favour of the older generation, both sanctions and maintains this power. On the other hand, the wealth thus acquired can never be hoarded, and a man invariably loses prestige if he is not continually using the pigs and yams that he has amassed for the promotion of new works, such as the building for himself and for his kin of a new lodge or sea-going canoe, or for the ever speedier and more magnificent performance of the numerous cycles of rites, including those of the public graded society itself.

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 68. [2] Deacon, 3, p. 505. [3] Codrington, 3, p. 103.

(C) CHIEFTAINSHIP

Problem of the relationship of chieftainship with the public graded society.

Students of comparative culture throughout the world will not fail to have been struck by the similarity between many of the ideological features just enumerated with those which elsewhere are exclusively associated with a hereditary aristocracy and with chiefs. The question thus arises as to whether we are here face to face with a primitive stage of culture preceding and leading up to chieftainship, or whether, on the contrary, these features represent a state of society in which chieftainship has become degraded into plutocracy. The great mixture of peoples found in this part of Melanesia, and the clear instances of cultural connexion with Indonesia already cited, make it certain that degradation has played a part. This does not mean, however, that the whole rite and all the ideas connected with it are of alien origin. Some would indeed find in them a type of universal symbolism inherent in a certain stage of cultural development. I do not propose to draw any conclusions of a general nature, but simply to state the facts.

In the great majority of districts in the Northern New Hebrides and Banks and Torres Islands the public graded society is at the present day organised on a plutocratic basis. In most districts the whole male population takes part, and rise in rank is theoretically open to all, but in practice the attainment of high rank is to a considerable extent vested in certain families owing to the efforts made by a wealthy and influential father to help his son. In this way, rank may be said to be hereditary in a modified sense through the male line.

Banks Islands.

This is the case not only in the overtly patrilineal districts of the North-Central New Hebrides, but even extends into the overtly matrilineal Banks Islands. For here, before the arrival of the white man, there appear, in spite of the matrilineal organisation, patrilineal chiefs. These patrilineally hereditary chiefs were called *etusmele* or *tavusmele*, a title which, according to Codrington, "no doubt refers to the rank obtained in the Suqe club by killing pigs; *Ta vus mele* is the man who kills pigs for the *mele* [cycas]." [1] Rivers suggests that this may not have "meant anything more than that the father put his son in the way to rise high in the *Sukwe*." [2] In spite of this suggestion, however, and his consequent doubt as to the validity of the Banks Islands chieftainship, he goes on: "The point which is quite clear is that, whether there be hereditary chiefs or not, social rank and importance are so closely connected with the *Sukwe*

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 55, footnote.

[2] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 140.

that if a true chief were not a member . . . or only of low rank he would possess little authority."

There is thus clearly, in the Banks Islands, a conflict between two principles, that of sacrifice to the maternal ancestors which is open to all, and that of rank which is hereditary in the patrilineal line of descent and is associated with chieftainship. As it is unlikely that patrilineal chieftainship could have arisen spontaneously out of a matrilineal dual organisation, it would appear that the institution of patrilineal chieftainship represents an intrusive cultural element. If this is the case, it was in all probability this element which brought with it the system of grades which, according to the evidence of Tattevin from South Raga, became grafted on to the older practice of sacrifice to the maternal ghosts which is there still distinguishable as a separate entity in the rite of *Lo-sal*.[1]

South Raga. Membership formerly restricted.

It is thus worth noting that in South Raga it is this very system of grades, there known as the *Warsangul*, of which membership was till recently restricted, and was not open to the general public.[2] Tattevin puts this down to the difficulty of rearing tusked boars. The rearing of tusked boars is, as we have seen elsewhere on the route by which these animals were introduced into this area, the prerogative of chiefs.[3] Tattevin speaks also of the progressive democratisation of the institution in South Raga owing to increased facilities for trade in pigs, which he puts down to European influence. The same process of democratisation has taken place in the Small Islands, but has been in progress there for at least eight generations,[4] which shows that if European influence has had any effect on this aspect of the rite it has only hastened a development already under way.

Big Nambas: information derived from Small Islands. Chief called Mulon.

Turning now to Malekula, there is one district in which we find true patrilineal hereditary chieftainship. This is the North Malekulan plateau, inhabited by the Big Nambas, among whom chieftainship appears to be very highly developed and where it is not complicated, as in the Banks Islands, by overt matrilineal descent.

According to my own information obtained on Atchin, the Big Nambas villages, in contrast to those on the Small Islands, which have at most 100 inhabitants, are thickly populated, the inhabitants being so numerous that, in the words of my informant,[5] they are "like leaves on the

[1] See p. 721.

[2] Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 419. Even today not everyone belongs, though the majority do.

[3] See p. 268.

[4] See pp. 257, 289.

[5] Mari of Emil Marur. The following account is not to be taken too literally, but rather as a distinctly sensational account given by a Small Island native of a mysterious and dreaded folk whose country he has himself in all probability never penetrated.

trees." [1] "Each village has a chief, whose title is *Mulon*. The chief has absolute possession over all the men, women and chattels in the village. Every man's pigs belong to the *Mulon*, who can demand them at any time. No man will sell a pig without the *Mulon's* consent. All yams also belong to him, as does every kind of possession. Though the *Mulon* himself has only one wife, yet all women also belong to him, and no woman may be bought or sold [i.e. married] without his consent. He has, however, a right over all women until they are married, but once a woman is married he does not interfere with her. The *Mulon's* word is law, and cannot be disobeyed. He never eats any flesh except human flesh, and orders the death of any man he may fancy to eat.[2] He never gives his orders direct, but always through the medium of officials called *mako*.[3] The office of *Mulon* is hereditary; he is succeeded by his son, who, even if a small child, assumes immediately on his father's death absolute command of the whole village, old men and all. If the *Mulon* dies without issue he is succeeded by his brother or, failing such, another member of his patrilineal family."

This Atchin account was supported later by my chief informant on Vao,[4] who added: If a man feeds plenty of pigs and gets plenty of yams for the *Mulon*, the latter will give him a wife; otherwise he cannot get married. There is one *Mulon* and one *ghamal* in each village, but there are no Quarter-Lodges (*na-tamp*). He added also the significant remark that "only the *Mulon* can make Maki," meaning that he alone can perform the graded society ritual.

While it is probable that both these accounts contain certain exaggerations due to the enormous prestige the Big Nambas folk enjoy in the Small Islands, there is no doubt that they are at least based on fact, and they certainly draw a picture very different from that of life in the Small Islands.

Big Nambas: Deacon's account. Four ranks, of which two are the exclusive prerogative of chiefly families.

While on Atchin I heard only of two ranks among the Big Nambas, namely *Wel-wel* and *Mulon*. Deacon, however, recorded two more, the four ranks recorded by him being called *Dravu*, *Bwil*, *Vilvil* (Atchin

[1] Harrisson, 1, reports that their largest village, Amok, contains "at least one thousand people and is by far the largest village in the New Hebrides."

[2] This is no doubt a gross exaggeration, but shows the awe with which the Big Nambas folk inspire the Small Islanders.

[3] Mari, who has seen a white settlement, likened these officials to "lawyers." Harrisson also speaks of the chief's "public orator." He says also that the Big Nambas chiefs are "sacred and not to be shot at by any enemy," and further, that "there is a drug given to the chiefs as youths" which has the effect of making them exceedingly fat, so that they find it difficult to move (2, pp. 407, 413).

[4] Ma-taru, of Tolamp.

Wel-wel) and *Miliun* (Atchin *Mulon*). The two lower grades are in a different class from the two higher. "Membership of *Dravu* must be purchased from a classificatory or real brother; *Bwil* may be acquired from any man; but a person desiring to enter *Vilvil* can only do so with the permission of a chief, and the seller is always a man of this rank. *Miliun* is only attained by the most powerful and wealthy. . . . *Vilvil* and *Miliun* are entered only by chiefs and the sons or near relatives of chiefs. . . . It is said that the son of a chief pays his own father for admission to *Vilvil* with the very pigs with which his father has provided him for the purpose." [1]

Big Nambas culture discusséd.

Deacon's account and mine, while probably representing the state of affairs in different parts of the Big Nambas territory,[2] agree in main lines. Both show that the chieftainship and the graded society are in this area, so far as is possible to judge, very closely connected.

The Big Nambas are renowned cannibals, the Indonesian elements in their speech are more primitive in character than those of their neighbours,[3] and at the present time they are a non-seafaring folk. In spite of these apparent indications of comparatively ancient settlement, it is precisely the North Malekulan area which they inhabit which appears to have been the centre of distribution for the monolith-Maki, which is the most recent of the many types of public graded society in the whole area. The chiefs also drink kava, which is used elsewhere in Malekula only as a magical symbol, and even then not in all districts.

I do not pretend to be able to solve this problem without further investigation. Two possibilities present themselves:

(*a*) That they represent the same cultural drift as the patrilineal chiefs in the Banks Islands (*Mulon* may be equivalent to *mele*),[4] and are in part responsible for the introduction of the element of rank into the public graded society.

(*b*) That their chieftainship has developed locally out of the public graded society owing to the growth of the hereditary principle founded on the assistance given by a father to his son in attaining rank.

[1] Deacon's information was probably obtained from the tribes bordering the Big Nambas territory in the neighbourhood of Lambumbu.

[2] Deacon, 4, pp. 371-2.

[3] Information from Dr. A. Capell.

[4] See p. 279. *Mele* means "cycas," and it is possible that *Mulon* means the same.

Of these two possible alternatives Deacon favours the latter. When discussing the relation between the semi-chiefly nature of the graded society in Lambumbu, just south of the Big Nambas, with the organisation in Seniang, in the south-west, he says: "In the south it is fundamentally a democratic institution; any man who can accumulate the necessary wealth can attain as high as he chooses, and though, as was pointed out, a prosperous man could expedite the advancement of his sons, there was no system by which a child could claim membership of any degree as a birthright. In Lambumbu, on the other hand, chieftainship, though undoubtedly inconceivable apart from the possession of full *Nimangki* [1] dignity, and though built up by the *Nimangki*, transcends the constitution of this society and has become, for all practical purposes, the prerogative and heritage of one or two families who have the prestige of a line of chieftainship behind them in each of the small areas which go to make up the district." Thus, the sons of a man of high rank are permitted to eat at the fire belonging to his rank "in virtue of their father's position, although they themselves have only purchased the lowest *Nimangki* title of all; the privilege of using this fire has become hereditable, passing from father to son. It can be, and is, also sold, but only by a member of one 'chiefly' family to another, never to a commoner. In this way the degree is kept select and its members form an aristocracy." Thus, as in Great Britain, titles "can be inherited, but they can also be bought."[2] There are, however, also "groups of people in the community who are never allowed to enter the *Nimangki* at all. They are not permitted to acquire any pigs, or at most very few, and should their stock rise above the prescribed number the surplus must be given to the chiefs. Further, while not allowed to obtain wealth for themselves, they are expected to help others in its acquisition by working for the 'privileged class.' These depressed people eat apart from other men at a fire of their own," so that we have here "a stratification of society which is reminiscent of feudal conditions."

When writing this very interesting account, Deacon was not aware of the South Raga custom of *Lo-sal* and of the dual nature of the whole rite that this implies. Moreover, it must be remembered that in other districts pigs are not the only offerings that are made, being accompanied in South Raga by red mats, and the chief offering in the Banks Islands being shell-money, and further, that in those distant areas to the north-west from which the cult of pigs appears to have been derived, these animals are the exclusive property of chiefs.[3] Bearing these facts in mind, his account, particularly with regard to the exclusive ownership of pigs, far from being evidence of the local development of chieftainship, points, to my mind, to the introduction of this institution from without and to its

[1] *Ni-mangki*=Maki. See p. 692.
[2] Deacon, 4, p. 347.
[3] See p. 267.

having been grafted, like the South Raga ranks, on to a pre-existing system of sacrifice to the maternal ghosts.

The title Mulon.

Before leaving the subject of chieftainship one fact is worth noting. This is, that, alone of all the public graded society systems in the whole of the New Hebrides, those of the two chiefly districts of the Big Nambas and of Lambumbu [1] lack what is elsewhere the supreme title of *Mal*. The title *Mulon* (or *Miliun*) held by the Big Nambas chiefs is, on the contrary, found all over the area included under Group C,[2] consisting of Malekula, the Small Islands, Ambrim and West Epi, but nowhere else, and in those islands it holds a position almost invariably inferior to that of *Mal*. Deacon, speaking of Lambumbu, explains this by supposing that the title of *Mal* has simply dropped out.[3] Though inferior as well as supernumerary titles often do disappear,[4] this is, however, nowhere the case with *Mal*, and it is unlikely that chiefs would put up with a second-rate title. I have, moreover, pointed out that North Malekula appears to be the centre of distribution for the monolithic form of Maki characteristic of this group of islands. It would seem, therefore, as though this title *Mulon* was especially closely associated with the Big Nambas, and I suggest that this may possibly have been originally one of two chiefly titles, of which the other was *Mal*.[5] In this case, it points either to the simultaneous existence of peace and war chiefs or else to two separate migrations.

DEGRADATION OF MYSTICAL CHARACTER OF THE RITE IN FAVOUR OF INDIVIDUAL DISPLAY

Whatever the precise course of development in the past, however, there is no doubt that the great multiplication of ranks in some places, and of the number of pigs slain in others, represents a degradation of the originally mystical character of the rite in favour of individual aggrandisement and display. On the other hand, the dramatic performances that punctuate the rites, and the beauty of the accompanying singing, make up in artistry what may have been lost in other respects.

[1] It appears that there may also be hereditary chiefs in Matanavat on the north coast (Harrisson, 2, p. 23), but there is no record of what their connexion is with the graded society.

[2] See p. 717.

[3] Deacon, 4, pp. 346-7.

[4] See Table XI.

[5] Compare the situation in Seniang, where *Muluwun* and *Mal* appear to carry almost equal weight (Layard, 2, p. 151).

At the same time the commercial aspect of the rite has led to a yet further secularisation and in some cases to devices by means of which a rich man will pauperise his rivals with great gifts which he knows they can never repay.



FIG. 87

My informant Ma-taru, desiring to preserve a memento of me on my departure, chose to do so by measuring the length of my nose and scarifying a mark of equal length on his daughter's shoulder. He and his wife are here seen holding the dry strip of pandanus leaf with which the measurement was taken against their daughter's arm in order to mark out the correct length for the scarification. The wife's head-dress and loincloth are of trade " calico."

APPENDIX I

POPULATION AND MALE NAMES

Writing in 1892, Père Vidil, the first Roman Catholic missionary on Vao, made a rough census of the population, which he found to consist of about 400 men, a still greater number of women and a host of children,[1] and it is presumably on this evidence that Godefroy later estimated that the island may at one time have supported a population of perhaps 1000, but never more. By the year 1910 it had shrunk in Godefroy's opinion to about 600.[2] Speiser estimates the population in about 1912 to have been roughly 500,[3] and Harrisson made a census in 1935 that amounted to 406 with a sex ratio of 126 males per 100 females.[4]

On the other hand, in an undated letter, Godefroy estimates the population of the five main Small Islands at—

Vao . .	390 inhabitants.	Rano . .	250 inhabitants.
Atchin . .	300 ,,	Uripiv . .	100 ,,
Wala . .	300 ,,		

The only figure which I can compare with these is my own census on Atchin showing 401 men, women and children in 1914.

The problem of depopulation in the New Hebrides as a whole has been discussed by various authors and cannot be gone into here.[5]

Godefroy attributes the general decline to:

(*a*) Contact with Europeans;

(*b*) Indentured labour;

(*c*) Introduced diseases;

(*d*) Alcoholism.

It will be noted that (*a*) covers all the others. Though alcoholism has taken its toll in other parts of the group, it was not a serious factor on Vao while I was there, though it may have become so later. He says that, according to reports of the old men, many died of famine (probably due to a particularly bad hurricane destroying their crops or preventing access to the mainland) about 100 years ago.[6]

[1] Douceré, p. 153. [2] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 34-5.
[3] Speiser, 1, p. 57. [4] Written communication.
[5] See particularly Rivers, *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, Cambridge, 1922; Baker, *Depopulation in Espirito Santo, New Hebrides*: *Man*, LVIII, January-June 1928; Harrisson, 2, pp. 261 ff.
[6] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 51-2.

In 1932, the year of his departure from Vao, Godefroy compiled a list of all the married men on the island, together with their children, arranged in "clans," i.e. villages. This list cannot be regarded as a census, since it omits, (*a*) bachelors, though it does not state at what age a boy is assumed to become a bachelor, (*b*) women, and (*c*) the children of widows.[1]

The list is useful, however, as giving

(i) the names of married men;

(ii) the approximate strength at that date of the population of the various villages;

(iii) the proportion of males who, judged by their assumption of baptismal names, had at that time become members of the Catholic Church.

The figures are as follows:

Side of the Island	Village	Married Men	Children of Married Men	Total	Heathen	Christian
Superior	Pete-hul	17	32	49	14	3
	Togh-vanu	30	16	46	25	5
		47				8
Inferior	Peter-ihi	9	6	15	7	2
	Venu	9	6	15	2	7
	Singon	8	7	15	6	2
	Norohure	12	3	15	10	2
		42				13
(refugee)	Tolamp	4	1	5	4	–
	Total	89	71	160	68	21

If we assume that the "children" are of both sexes, and that the number of women is approximately the same as that of men, and if we add 20 "bachelors," we arrive at the approximate figure of 358 for the total population in the year 1932. This agrees with Godefroy's statement,[2] that the population was then about 350, and certainly well below 400.

The figures show clearly the preponderance of the superior double-village Pete-hul–Togh-vanu over each of the other two double-villages, but at the same time show how the population of the two Sides of the Island is approximately equal, the Superior Side containing 47 married men [3] and the Inferior Side 42.

It is noticeable also that the number of converts is greater on the Inferior

[1] Children of widows are usually adopted by one of the father's younger brothers, so that this omission is negligible.

[2] Kindly transmitted by his brother, l'Abbé A. Godefroy, in a letter dated Dec. 11th, 1936.

[3] The list of married men provides the only reliable figures. The number of children must be taken as only approximate.

Side of the Island, always avid for something new, than on the more conservative and better organised Superior Side. The figures for the whole island show that among the married men 21 have been baptised as against 68 who at that time were still heathen, that is to say, a ratio of about 1 to 3½. Of the 21 baptised married men, 8 belong to the Superior Side of the Island and 13 to the Inferior. This corresponds fairly with Godefroy's statement that at the time he left, 24 families, comprising 112 or 115 individuals, had embraced Christianity.[1] The ratio between the two Sides of the Island is interesting, because it follows exactly the cultural pattern existing under native conditions quite apart from the introduction of Christianity. Thus, it is precisely the villages on the Inferior Side who, quite apart from European influence, have always been the first to adopt new elements of culture, either with regard to new words derived from other islands or to new Maki, Initiation or other rites.

GODEFROY'S LIST OF MARRIED MEN, TOGETHER WITH THE NUMBER OF THEIR CHILDREN

(The sign ↓ indicates relationship of father to son. Names of those who have been baptised are placed in brackets.)

Pete-hul.

Age	Name	Number of Children (both sexes)	Age of Children
70	Te-le-melum		
	↓		
30	Mal-melip	1	4
50	Sue		
35	Shelling	1	
40	Melte-sas [2]	2	
50	Melte-ratan	2	
40	Melte-buras	1	
35	Sak-sak	4	
25	(Cyprien)	1	
60	Batun-vanu	7	
35	Melte-tali	1	
40	Melte-ral	2	
30	Melte-romon		
35	Melte-saen	1	
35	Mal-kali		
35	(Alexandre)	8	
25	(Louis)	1	

17 married men, 32 children. Total 49.

[1] In another place he gives the figure of 124. When Godefroy went to Vao in 1925 there were less than 12 baptised Christians.

[2] The syllables *Melte-* occurring so many times in this list represent the title *Melteg*, of which the final *g* appears to have been softened out of existence since my visit.

Togh-vanu.

Age	Name	Number of Children (both sexes)	Age of Children
70	Melte-lum		
	↓		
45	Melte-navertüm		
45	Melte-singon-maki	2	12, 15
60	Timbatum		
	↓		
25	Melte-sale		
55	Sarongi		
	↓		
20	René Pong		
40	Te-singon	1	8
50	Melte-ronge [2 wives]	7	4 to 16
35	Ne-imor		
	↓		
10	Tari [1]		
60	Lili-melteg-ru		
	↓		
25	Melte-mburi	1	2
55	Aser-aul		
	↓		
30	(Claver)		
50	Sarong	2	(young)
50	Saraul		
	↓		
10	Na-sum [1]		
40	(Etienne)		
	↓		
14	(Raymond)		
35	Roring-mal [2 wives]		
60	Val-vale		
	↓		
30	Melte-ver-sal	1	1
55	(Barthélémy)		
	↓		
18	Viamey		
45	(Gabriel)	1	
60	Melte-suri		
	↓		
30	Mel-singon-reim [unmarried]		
55	Nei-mot-mot	1	5
40	Melte-mbirsi		

29 married men, 1 bachelor, 16 children. Total 46.

[1] These two can hardly have been married. I leave them, however, as they stand in Godefroy's list.

Peter-ihi.

Age	Name	Number of Children (both sexes)	Age of Children
60	Ni-mbek		
	↓		
25	Tugan	1	
30	Pel-bomb	1	
35	Sami	1	
40	Melte-les-aim		
	↓		
—	Mal-sor		
40	(Antoine)	2	
25	Rowung	1	
35	(Marco)		

9 married men, 6 children. Total 15.

Wen (Venu).

55	Melte-limare	1	
—	(Marcel)		
25	(Joseph)	2	
25	(Stanislas)		
23	(Valerien)		
60	Sile	1	
35	(Gaston)	1	
25	(Thomas)		
30	(Emile)	1	

9 married men, 6 children. Total 15.

Singon.

50	(Dominique)	2 (has had 15 children by his only wife)	
60	Tan-wogaru		
25	Mal-severe		
—	Melte-kapman[1]	1	
60	Melte-rong-neim		
—	Mikael	1	
25	Melte-guhu-maki	2	
50	(André)	1	

8 married men, 7 children. Total 15.

[1] *Kapman* is the native pronunciation of the word "Government."

Norohure.

Age	Name	Number of Children (both sexes)	Age of Children
80	Mal-var-varas		
	↓		
50	Melteg-aul		
	↓		
—	Posé		
65	(Barnabé)		
50	Melte-serale		
30	Melte-kila	1	
90	Na-ror		
	↓		
55	Melte-sum-balbal		
	↓		
30	Sale		
60	(Constantin)		
	↓		
30	Sak	2	
30	Melte-longan		

12 married men, 3 children. Total 15.

Tolamp (refugee community).

80	Melte-sarer		
	↓		
50	Melte-Captain-Morin [1]		
	↓		
20	Martinio		
60	Te-lug-lu [2]	1	

4 married men, 1 child. Total 5.

To complete the list of available male names other than those appearing in the above lists, and in the Vao and Tolamp genealogies (Tables II, III and X), and in the course of the text, the following names of small boys occur in Godefroy's letters :

Sio	Vete	Maklal
Wili	Tali	Tari
Masumso	Solimp	Metu
Puembo	Malili	Narer
Pong		

[1] Named after a Frenchman well known in the islands.

[2] This name figures also in my Tolamp genealogy (Table X), where it is spelt Te-lugh-lugh.

APPENDIX II

NOTE ON SOME RITUALLY IMPORTANT BIRDS

BY

TOM HARRISSON

The Hawk.

There are two hawks in the New Hebrides, the Harrier, *Circus approximans wolffi*, and the Falcon, *Peregrinus ernesti*.

The Harrier nests on the ground, in wild cane.[1] It is the largest land-bird of the New Hebrides, and very similar to the three types of Harrier found in Britain. The particular New Hebridean form is a subspecies of the type widely distributed in the Pacific zone. The bird is conspicuous for its alternating flight, beating for a few strokes, then gliding. In this way it quarters over the cane-fields, seeking rodents, the small birds that frequent the cane like *Zosterops*, the White-eye, and the Parrot Finches, *Erythrura*. On the whole of Malekula there would not be more than four or five pairs of this hawk; on Santo a few more. An island the size of Vao could not possibly support a pair. For they eat large quantities, including also beetles, and other hard insects; and they like to fly over long distances, and to soar high in the sky, wheeling up in wide circles above their territory. Moreover, the native habit of burning the cane, and the general inflammability of the cane-brakes, keeps down the numbers by destroying the nests and nesting-sites. The bird is a general buff colour, and a specimen collected by me can be found in the Natural History Museum.

The Peregrine Falcon is even rarer than the Harrier. To the eye, it is almost identical with the Peregrine Falcon of Devon and Cornwall. In fact, it is a subspecies of the same species as is found in England. The particular New Hebridean form, *ernesti*, is itself found over a huge area. The Peregrine Falcon is thus one of the most widely distributed birds in the world. I have even seen a specimen in mid-Pacific, as described in the last chapter of *Savage Civilisation*.[2] These birds nest in cliffs and in inaccessible rocks, and are sometimes ferocious in the protection of their young. The bird is small in the body, tremendously long in the wing, and probably the fastest flyer of any bird. It eats mostly the smaller birds, and the single specimen that I obtained contained the remains of the mountain parakeet, *charmynsopsis*, a White-eye, a dove.

Though these birds are both numerically exceedingly scarce, they fly over great distances, and spend nearly all day on the wing. Their conspicuous features are, firstly, their supreme ability in flight, and secondly, their frequent and ferocious killing of other birds, which, to natives with whom I have discussed the matter, is clearly associated with some idea of cannibalism.

[1] This refers to the cane-fields on the uplands of Malekula.

[2] Harrisson, 2.

I have 50 or 60 different native names for both birds, but almost without exception the root *Mal* forms a part of these names. Often the name for the Falcon in one tribe is the name for the Harrier in the next, and vice versa. In fact, the two are interchangeable.

Ritual attitude towards birds.

While New Hebrideans are very keen naturalists, they do not look on species in the same way as an ornithologist does. In some cases they class two or three birds together as belonging to one species, in other cases they divide several plumage phases of one bird into different species. This is not due to ignorance, because they know that these phases come from the same eggs, and that the species they class together do not mate together, have different nesting habits, etc. The tendency is much more associated with their ritual attitude to birds, or rather to birds that are important in ritual. All birds which have red in their plumage are particularly confused etymologically. And all birds with red in their plumage are particularly used in ritual in the New Hebrides, especially in Santo, Malekula and around Oba, where red is so important in many ceremonies.

Bush-Turkey.

There is one bird which has some red on it, but not in the form of feathers suitable for head-dresses, belts, etc. This is the so-called Bush-Turkey, *Megapodius layardi*,[1] which is characterised by its skulking jungle habits, dog-like bark, and the fact that the New Hebridean form is not a mound-builder, but digs long tunnels into the ground, in which it places its eggs. I have elsewhere described the importance of the Megapode, especially its use in ritual interchange, even more elaborate interchange than that used in connexion with the Harrier, between villages in North Malekula. The same thing is found on Malo, where flying foxes are used in precisely the same way, and where the natives ascribe the origin of the Ranked Society to these interchanges. Rivers has already noticed the widespread use of the root *Mal* (as in *malau*) for the megapode all over the Pacific. On p. 340 of *Savage Civilisation* I have pointed out his erroneous conclusion from this fact. As I see it, the explanation of this is that the natives who swept down into the Pacific and spread all over it, had in their mind certain qualities which they described by the term *Mal*, and applied this term wherever they arrived to suitable birds.

Frigate Bird.

There is one other very important bird, which, unlike the Harrier and the Falcon, combines the quality of redness with the quality of superb flight and predacious habit. That is the Frigate Bird, the huge sea-bird which ranges all over the Pacific Ocean, and lives largely by pursuing other birds and forcing them to sick up their food, in the same way that the Skuas of Britain do. The Frigate Bird has a scarlet throat-patch, enormous wing-spread, a forked tail similar, on a larger scale, to the forked tail of the Harrier, and a superb flight. But the Frigate Bird keeps mostly out to sea and nests only on remote and tiny islands. For people who live on larger islands,

[1] This is not called after the author, but after his first cousin twice removed, the late Edgar Leopold Layard, C.M.G., British Consul in Nouméa from 1872 to 1890, and brother of Sir Henry Austin Layard.

inland, the Frigate Bird can only be seen very rarely. I am certain, as a result of many conversations, that in such cases the Frigate Bird becomes equated with the Harrier and Falcon. The native names are again inextricably confused, and one can almost trace the Frigate Bird's dominance on the small coastal islands like Vao and Atchin, decreasing as one goes inland into the Middle Nambas, and disappearing as one gets on to the high cane-plateau of the Big Nambas. In my opinion, also, the Frigate Bird was definitely the original symbol, and the suitable symbol of a sea-going people.

Shearwater and Swift.

There are two other groups of birds to which special attention is paid by the natives, and who have widely similar names all over the islands, the Shearwaters and the Swifts. The Swifts, usually having names based on the root *rara*, are miniature falcons in flight, though not in habit. After the falcons, they are the fastest flyers. The Shearwaters, like the Frigate Bird, are tireless sea-goers, and also conspicuous in that in certain seasons they swarm literally in hundreds of thousands, passing on their way to certain nesting-grounds, one of which happens to be in the New Hebrides, in a small uninhabited island near Tongoa which I visited and where I studied their habits. It so happens that the main stream of these birds passes just off the Small Islands on its way south, and I have myself witnessed this mass-migration, carrying on in an almost continuous line for thirty-six hours.

Owl.

Finally, there is the Owl. Again, its native name is the same practically all over the Pacific, *Lulu*. Again, it is predacious, killing other birds and rodents. Again, it is comparatively scarce in the islands. And again, it is a bird which has a very wide distribution. Like the Falcon, but unlike the Harrier, the New Hebridean form is actually only a subspecies, and exactly the same species as that found in Britain, *Tyto alba*. The Owl has the particular attribute of being nocturnal, the only strictly nocturnal bird in the New Hebrides. The name *Lulu* is also widely used of the pygmoid peoples, who are in most places extinct, and who are widely regarded as the original Hebridean stock. The Owl is not etymologically confused with any of the other birds, and is not so important in ritual ; rather is it important, I think, as a fear and superstition symbol, the spirit of the night.

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GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY of VAO words appearing in this book, including, for comparative purposes, a few from the two Small Islands of Atchin (A.) and Wala (W.). Indonesian (IN.) and some Polynesian (PN.) roots have been kindly supplied by the Rev. Dr. A. Capell. Comparative material from Malekula and other Melanesian islands will be found in the relevant places throughout the text.

Owing to the phonetic peculiarities mentioned on pp. 25 and 219 (note 3), to the fact that the author's main philological work was done on Atchin and no detailed study of this kind was made on Vao, and to the inclusion of words recorded by Godefroy, the spelling of which did not always accord with his own, certain inconsistencies in spelling have been unavoidable, but these have, where possible, been indicated by a system of cross-referencing in the Glossary. Since it was known on Vao that the author spoke Atchin and all Small Islanders through trade and intermarriage are familiar with one another's languages and out of politeness help one another out by using occasional phrases from their interlocutor's dialects, it may be that a few Atchin words may have been included as belonging to Vao, but care has been taken to avoid this as much as possible, and in all known cases such Atchin words have been marked with the letter A.

The only Vao words included in this book which do not appear in the Glossary are personal names, names of ranks and some titles, all of which will be found in the Index.

The French Roman Catholic Marist Mission on the island had at the time of my visit compiled a considerable vocabulary which it is hoped still exists, and may one day be made available to philological students.

A feature shared by Vao with all the Small Islands, and found also in most Malekulan languages, is the existence of indefinite articles, usually beginning with *n*, such as *na-*, *ne-*, etc., but sometimes with *gh* preceding a great number of nouns. These being sometimes separable, but sometimes inseparable from the noun they qualify, they have been included hyphened on to the noun, but for the sake of comparison with other languages the noun, even if inseparable from the article, is placed in the Glossary under its own initial letter. Thus *na-ho* appears under *h*, not under *n*. In the few cases where there is not sufficient comparative evidence to make the correct separation, the noun appears without hyphen under *n*. Hyphens have also been used as far as possible, though with some exceptions, to indicate the component parts of all words.

LIST OF SUFFIXED PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Suffixed pronouns, attached chiefly to kinship terms and terms indicating parts of the body, and occasionally to some other words, are:

Sing.			
1.	*-k(u)* [1]	e.g. *temak*, my father	*batuk*, my head
2.	*-m*	*temam*	*batum*
3.	*-n*	*temen*	*batun*

[1] Also *-ahu*, see *mbambeahu*, my mother, p. 127.

Plur.			
1 (incl.).	*-r*	*temar*	*batur*
1 (excl.).	*-mam*	*temamam*	*batumam*
2.	*-mi*	*temami*	*batumi*
3.	*-r*	*temar*	*batur*

Possessive pronouns take similar suffixes, but vary in relation to the class of noun to which they refer. They are:

	used for general objects	used for all foods	used for all drink	used for general objects often in place of *nuk*, but less frequently and in a more personal sense	
Sing.				present	future
1.	*nuk(u)*	*ghaku*	*maku*	*taluk*	*tavaluk* [1]
2.	*num*	*gham*	*mam*	*talam*	*tavalam*
3.	*nin(nen)*	*ghan*	*man*	*talan*	*tavalan*
Plur.					
1 (incl.).	*nere, nandre*	*ghar(e)*	*mar*	*talar*	*tavalar*
1 (excl.).	*nimam, neme*	*ghamam*	*mamam*	*talamam*	*tavalamam*
2.	*nimi*	*ghami*	*mami*	*talami*	*tavalami*
3.	*(na)nire*	*ghar*	*mar*	*talar*	*tavalar*

All these may be used either before or after the noun they qualify. If placed after, the pronoun may be preceded by the article *na-*. Thus

nuku mbô na-matean na-nuk, my pig for my death, 234 (note 1);
vavine na-nuk, my woman (wife), 130;
to-mbat na-nuk, my guardian, 504;
mov ghal na-nuk, my novice, 504;
ra hele ghamban nen, we sew up the sails (of it), 467.

gha- (3rd sing. *ghan*), used for all food, is clearly connected with *ghani*, to eat. Examples are: *ghu lore na-tô na-ghan*, I will give him the fowl (to eat, not to be kept alive), 189 (note 3); *ta-mat ghami*, this is your corpse (to eat), 614; connected with which is: *na-lok ne-ghe mer-sean*, puddings for (the food of) the old man, 554; an exception to its use solely for drink appears to be: *woroan na-ghak*, my *woroan* (a kinship group), 134.

maku (3rd sing. *man*), used for all drink, may be connected with A. *mimini*, to drink.

A

a, 1. prefix indicating direction; *a-ul*, up, high; *a-tan*, down, low

a, 2. copulative particle; *e ronge a vala—e ronge a vi Bu*, he wishes to sail, he wishes to go to Ambrim, 469

a, 3. relative particle; *ne-him a na-lok na-lang*, house of the *na-lang* pudding, 551

aghav, ? appointed day; *Tolamp gha me aghav hangawul barigh*, Tolamp will come on the appointed day, ten days from to-day, 371

n'aghon, face; image of human face representing ancestors carved on the top of gongs, 347. Misprint for *na-ghon* (q.v.)

ni-ah, jaw-bone (of tusked boar); A. *ni-es*; IN. *ajay*; *mbale ni-ah*, rack (lit. "stand") erected for display of pigs' jaws, 402

amal, A. dancing-ground, 60. See *ghamal*

n'amil, W. dancing-ground, 60. See *ghamal*

amp, quivering in death agony. See *oamp*

na-amp, A. fire; V. *ghamb*

-amu, *Melteg-amu*, Maki title, 432 ff.

-an, nominal suffix, see *-ean*; e.g. *sumbul*, to go down to the shore, noun *sumbulan*

ar, verbal pronoun, 3rd plur. indefinite; they; *ar tame vanu*, they welcome the villages, 316

ni-ar, reed fence, 73; A. *ni-er*; *hu ni-ar*, birth-enclosure, 73, 389, 423, 443

[1] For future sense of the particle *va*, see *va* (2).

asar, to sound the sacrificial signal on the gongs, 313; *asaren*, sacrificial signal, 313, 349

at, to remain, stay, be; *e at ne-him*, he is (stays) at home; *Le-at*, second title bestowed on Maki-men's wives (lit. "she stays at home"), 395, 728; *Atean*, name of a mortuary rite, 560

ni-at, thatch-palm, 401; IN. *atep*; panels of, used for roofing, 441-2

ghe-atat, thwarts (of a canoe), 456, 467

aul, high, upper; (*a-ul*). See *ul*

avol, *hal avol*, outrigger platform, 467

na-avu, plaited penis-wrapper, 42, 483, 510 (note 2), 540

N'av-av, Malekulan village, said to be place of origin of Initiation and the Maki. See Index

B

Ba, Oba (Lepers Island), 208, 320

bageran, A. cumulus cloud, 215; used as personal name, 733; V. *bakeran*, sky

bagho, (na-mbagho), the operation of incision, 508, hence used for whole initiation rite, 483-5, Map VII; A. *baho*; W. *mbahi*; *bagho homb-homb*, complete initiation rite, 498; *bagho ru*, "good initiation," 500; A. *baho res*

baghoi, to incise, 508

bagure, tree used for making sea-going canoes, 462; A. *bahure*

bahi, A. shark, 486; *memen bahi*, "shark's tongue," referring to hardwood stick inserted under the foreskin during the operation of incision, 485; *bahi e hatsi*, "the shark bites," used of the operation itself, 485

baho, A. incision, initiation, 483; V. *bagho*; *baho n'òs-òs*, form of initiation rite on Atchin, 312, 499, 505 (note 1); *baho tureput*, form of initiation rite on Atchin; *baho res*, "good initiation," 500; V. *bagho ru; baho pu pal*, "*baho* will sacrifice," 486 (note 2)

bak-bakean, expiatory sacrifice, sacrifice of atonement, 396 (note 3); propitiatory gift, 334. See *mbak(e)*

bakeran, sky-world, 214, 337; A. *bageran*

bakral, palisade round house-enclosure, 71

ba-mbare, species of bird; sand-tracing of (*ba-mbare*), 682 (Fig. 82); carvings of (*mbambar*) as subsidiary figure-head on canoe, 467; A. *pwe-pwere*

bambaru. See *mbaru*

bang-ne-im, Quarter-Lodge, 63, 198. See *na-mbange*

barang, (mbarang), cave, 36, 707, 719; A. *pwereng; barang na ta-mat*, cave of the dead, 227

barigh, to-day; *hangawul barigh*, ten days from to-day, 371; *hangawul raman ghembut barigh maki*, Maki will be seventeen days from to-day, 377

bat, head. See *pet*

bat, A. "stone," used as prefix to names of culture-heroes, 18, see *pat, mbat*; *to-bat*, novice's guardian in initiation, 492; *Ka-bat*, culture-hero(es) in Seniang, 493; incorporated in names such as Ambat given to light-skinned immigrants, 492-3. See *mbat*

batin(e), upper canine, specially that of boars, extracted to let tusks grow, 259 (note 1)

batutun (Ranon), matrilineal moiety, 121

behak, rite of making the slit in slit gongs, 354

bei, feathers; *bei na mer-sean*, old man's feathers, 540

benalum, species of bamboo used as tube through which dead man is fed during communion rite, 542; A. *pinalum*

ber, 1. post, see *na-mber(u)*; *ber mele*, lateral struts, 441; *ber hangawul*, "ten posts," the name for the *ghamal* at Pete-hul, 76, 441 (Fig. 53); *ber tur*, centre-posts, lit. "standing posts," 440

ber, 2. "ripe," 561 (note 1), see *nu-mbar*; A. *mpar*; *ber-mavel*, name for rite held on the Seventh Day after the death of a young man, 560-1

bet, in *bet-ghate*, term for rain-maker

bete-ram, "head of the yam," term used for "eldest son," 166 (note 1), 181, 286, 554; *bete-ram vavine*, "female *bete-ram*," eldest daughter, 182. See *bot*

bete-won, in vain, 404; A. *na-won*

betige, single, alone, 302; *rom betige*, "lone-yam" presented during ritual distribution of food, 302

beturu, sleeping-mat, 178, 249 (note 1), see *peturu*; A. *borot won*

bihure, species of yam planted during mortuary rites, 550; created by snake-woman, 581 (note 2)

biton, umbilical cord, 176; W. *büton*; IN. *puser*

bò, (na-mbò), general term for pig, tusked boar, 242, 243, 245; W. *bò*; A. *buha*; IN. *babui, babwi, babi*; *bò-rav*, sow, 242; *netin na-mborav* (A. *nötin pwere-pwere*), "home-bred tusker," meaning tusked boar bred of the owner's own sow, 242; *bò-ware* (A. *ni-wara*), re-entrant-tusker, 243, 246 (spelt *bouar* by Godefroy, 195); *bò-*, used as prefix to terms for tusked boars in various stages of growth, 246-7; *bò-vi-ghih*, ritual exhibition of tusked boars, 380

bong, (na-mbong), black, darkness, night, period of 24 hours; hence: rite, notable occasion, date; IN. *(m)bengi*; *bong e-lim*, Fifth Day, 291; *bong movul ghetol*, Thirtieth Day after Death, Maki, etc., 291; *na-mbong*, black ashes, used for blackening the face during mourning, 540; W. *bong le muisi*, crickets, 230 (note 1); *na-mbong mow hangawul raman ghe-mbüt*, the Hundred and Seventh Day (after Incision), 519

bor-mbaru, leaf, used for making infusion to cure incision wound, 513
borot won, A. mat on which a child is laid to receive its name, 178 (note 1); V. *beturu*
bot, "foundation," "origin," or "chief person," 383; *bot na-mbagho,* "founders (or 'First Men') of Initiation," 497. See *mbot, bete-ram*
bot-mau, name of a processional dance, 324, 383, 719; A. *bot-mŏw*; W. *bot-mew*. Cf. *mbot,* trunk (of a tree)
bot-mew, W. See *bot-mau,* 383
bot mòl-mòlige, mask shaped like a kite, 682
bot-möw, A. See *bot-mau,* 383
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Bò-vi-ghih, exhibition of pigs, 369 (note), 380. See *bò*
bò-ware, (bouar), re-entrant-tusker, 243 ff. See *bò*
Bu, Ambrim, 469. See *Mbü*
bughute, (bughto ne-him), rear end of the house, 440
buha, A. pig, 243; V. *bò*
bumbu, kinship term for grandparents, 130; (IN. word)
bur-tambean, a mortuary rite, 554
bure-bureni, A. a serpentine movement in dancing, 323 (note 4); V. *vire-vire*
bwes-bwes, W. penis-wrapper, 481 (note 1); A. *na-mbwes*; V. *nu-mba-nu-mbe*
bwulim (Ranon), patrilineal descent group, 119 (note), 121, 123

D

n'das, A. sea, sea-water; V. *tes*
dirav, species of fish, mock name for leaf-infusion applied to incision wound, 513
dromghe, doing anything for the first time, e.g. woman bearing her first child; *vel dromghe,* to dance first, 317

E

e, as verbal pronoun, 3rd sing. indefinite: *e ronge a vala,* he wishes to sail, 649; *e mule,* he departs, 552, 559; *e hu-hu ni,* she suckles it, 178; as copulative: *leghter e humbe,* woman's title, lit. "old lady who is honourable," 564; as particle making a verb into a noun: *e mbere,* "it curves," used as noun for curved end of side wall to *ghamal,* 442-443; *e lohure,* "he operates," used as noun for "operation" of incision, 508; *e lim,* five, 291, see *ghe*
-ean, the most usual form of nominal suffix; *matean,* death feast (from *mat,* dead), 544. Cf. *bak-bakean, hek-hekelean, masean, rev-revean, tamean, taurean, tetean, tor-torean, vag-vagalean, war-warean, wiwihean.* See also *-an, -en, -ian, -uan*
n'ei, A. wood, 97; V. *ghe* (3); *n'ei weaweng,* wooden images, 97; ancestor-images erected in front of shrines, 97, 568
emb, woman's mat-skirt. See *nemb*; *ghamb-ghamb*
-en, nominal suffix; *asaren,* sacrificial signal (from *asar*), 313, 349. Cf. *simbean, simbaten,* etc. See *-ean*
ni-er, A. reed fence; V. *ni-ar*; *ni-er merer,* type of, 389 (note 2), 635

G

gamul, place where four village streets meet, 72 (note 1)
gan, gani. See *ghani*
garat, *we-garat,* young coconut, 635
gha, 1. verbal pronoun, 3rd plur. (future or indefinite); *Tolamp gha me* (the men of), Tolamp (they) will come, 371; *gha vire-vire,* they dance in serpentine course, 323, 510
gha, 2. indefinite article; *gha-tambol,* the *tambol* tree, 82, 171, 355
gha, 3. prefix to the numeral "two"; *ru, gha-ru,* two, 293. See *ghe* (1), *e*
(na-)ghamal, central village building connected with the Maki and sacred to men, 60; "place of sacrifice," 61, *see* Index; philologically related to A. *amal,* W. *n'amil*
(na-)gha-mban, sail, lit. "wing," 460; A. *na-mban*
ghamb, fire; A. *na-amp*; *Ghamba Lep,* term for Flying Tricksters, probably meaning "Great Fire," 238
ghamb-ghamb, apron, 613. See *emb*
ghamb-ghamb-lehi, pig of which the lower canine is about to appear, 246
ghani, to eat, 531, 619; *ra ghan,* let us eat, 638 (note 2); *ga-gani,* to eat constantly (in the past), 619; *gen-gan,* to eat together, 198; *na-man gen-gan,* birds of prey, 620; *ghen-ghenian,* pigs killed and given for food only, 351; A. *hani*; IN. *ka(e)n*
na-ghar, kind of shellfish, 579
gharu, south-west wind, 634
ghat, bad, holy; IN. *jahat.* See *hat*
gha-tambol, species of tree, 82. See *tambol*
ghati, to bite; A. *hatsi.* See *ghete-ghati*
na-ghav, species of crab (sacrificed instead of pigs), 579
ghavigo, malay apple, the red fruit of which is symbolic of incision wound, 508; A. *n'avi*; Fiji *kabika*
ghe, 1. prefix to certain numerals; *ghe-te,* one, 371; *ghe-tol,* three, 291, 401; *ghe-mbüt,* seven, 377, 519 (but *gha-ru,* two; *e-lim,* five)
ghe, 2. verbal pronoun, 2nd plur. indefinite; *ghe tur a-ul,* "(you) stand up," 371
ghe, 3. general term for tree, 422 (note 6); A. *n'ei*; IN. *kayu*; hence: post, wooden image; *ghe meme,* wooden image of face with protruding tongue,

422, cf. A. *n'ei weaweng*; *ghe-atat*, thwarts of a canoe, 458, 467; *ghe-val-val*, structure to support attached-yams, 353

ne-ghe, large variety of kava, 376; *ne-ghe na Maki*, kava root elevated during announcement of date of great Maki sacrifice, 376

gheli, to dig; A. *hili*; IN. *kali*; *ra gheli na-mbu*, we plant bamboos (in the middle of the dancing-ground), 374 (note 1)

gheluvghe, third largest upright gong, 346; probably *ghe* (3) *-luvghe*

ghen-ghenian, pigs killed and given for food only, 351. See *ghani*

ghete-ghati, feast of communion, 177, 364, 451, 465; A. *hatsi*. See *ghati*

ghigh, out, all out, 369 (note 1); *bò-vi-ghih*, exhibition of pigs, lit. "pigs go out," 380; *vin-vi-ghih*, name of a rite in which *vi-ghih* means "go all out," 369

na-ghimbò, species of yam, name for sand-tracing design, 658 (Fig. 64); A. *na-himp*

ghini, pronoun object, 3rd sing. plur., it, them; *ra vole ghini*, we pay for it, 178; *ra re ghini vanu*, we set them out for each place, 303; *ra sale ghini ghowov te*, we remove the salt-water from them, 352; *e ghore ghini ro-mbung-mbung*, he removes from himself (or from them) (the effect of) the *ro-mbung-mbung* leaves, 425

ghir, to incise, make sand-tracing design, 649, 672. See *wör*

ghire, cardinal pronoun, 1st plur. inclusive, we, let us, 541; A. *ikir*

ghirire, pig presented to members of introducing line as payment for right to transport logs for manufacture of gongs, 351

gho, verbal pronoun, 2nd sing. indefinite, thou; A. *ko*; IN. *kaw*

ghoagh, *gohoghine*, term for pigs cut up and distributed during mortuary rites, 547, 556, 561

ghoal, attached-yam, 302

ghoghon, bitter, 555

na-ghon, face; term used for "fore-stone" in Maki ritual, 425, see *n'aghon*; A. *no-on*; IN. *hadep*, front; *na-ghon ne-him*, face (front) of the house, 440

g(h)ore (ghoro), words recorded without discrimination between two apparently opposite meanings: (1) to surround, pursue, restrict, place a restriction on; *ghoro ne-ime*, the act of raiding the father's house at the birth of an eldest son, 182; *ghore pilagh*, "catching rails" (an initiation hoax), 515, cf. A. *hor-hor mara*, "catching eels," 407, 515; *nain ghore*, women who sleep in the Lodge, where a mother has given birth to a child, 176; *tutu g(h)ore*, to bind, place a taboo on, "retain" a child or a bride, see *tutu*; used also for putting a cycas leaf, etc., to taboo a tree or road; *her-ghor*, front or rear wall of a house, see *her-ghor*; (2) open, out, 176 (note 3); to open, remove a restriction, 407; A. *hore*; *e ghore ghini ro-mbung-mbung*, he removes from himself (or from them) (the effect of) the *ro-mbung-mbung* leaves, 425; *ghor-ghor*, the act of removing restrictions imposed (*a*) on women after the Maki, 407, (*b*) on mortuary officials during mortuary rites, 556; *tav-tav ghore*, name of a gong-signal sounded when the screen is torn down from the place of sacrifice, 313, 389, 407 (note 2), 420, 429; *ghor-ghor lera*, the opening words of To-wewe's song celebrating an end to fighting, 284

ghowov, *ra sale ghini ghowov te*, to purify (logs for gongs) from contact with the sea, 352; *ra sale ghowov te*, to purify (hull of canoe) from contact with the sea, 465

ghter, old; A. *tara*; *Le-ghter*, title bestowed on Maki-man's mother, 395; A. *Le-ter*

ghu, verbal pronoun, 1st sing. future; *ghu lore na-tò na-ghan*, I will give him the fowl to eat, 189 (note 3)

ghu-ghulat, alternative name for complimentary pig, 304 (note 2). See A. *kalatsi*

ghunsun, nose; A. *gunsun*; W. *gunsin*

gialu, *ro gialu*, species of creeper fed to pigs, 663-4

na-gogo-hon-vat, phrase used for rite of handing stones from one to another during building of stone-platform, 584 (note 1)

gohoghine. See *ghoagh*

golehi, to strip bark off a tree (in canoe-making), 464

gore. See *ghore*

gu-ghugh, verb describing payments, 513

H

hag, to sit, to rest upon, 329; A. *sek*; *ve ha-hag*, community labour, 329 (note 4); *hek-hekelean*, "Settling-Down" dance, 329; A. *sek-sekeleen*

hagh, to climb, 512; A. *sa*; IN. *sakay*, up

hakaul, hibiscus, red flowers emblematic of incision wound, 518; scented leaves of, inserted into arm-badge, 540; adorning message-yams, 179, 401; A. *sekawul*, *sekol*

ne-haku, 1st sing., name, 393; A. *ne-sak*, *ne-sen*; IN. *ngaran*

na-hal (*halak*, *halar*, 1st sing. and plur.), road, path, 132, see *ne-selu*; A. *ni-sel*; IN. *jalan*; general term for relative by marriage, 132, 133, 721; *mata-hal*, "road's eye" break in the wall for entrance into house-enclosure; A. *meten sel*; *na-hal na-vuro*, "the path of battle," 676, 678 (Fig. 77)

hal, to float; A. *sale*; *To-hal-hal*, those who float (i.e. white men); Ambrim *Ta-hal-hal*; A. *To-sal-sal*; *hal avol*, outrigger platform, 460, 467

halaghan, 3rd sing., voice, 356 (note 2); used for any harmonious sound; A. *salan*

hamal, A. *lol-hamal*, initiation lodge, 60. See *lol-hamal*

hambe, adverb, where?; *we hambe me?*, where are you going to? (mistranslated where do you come from?), 547

hangawul, ten, 440; A. *sangawul*; IN. *sa nga puluh*

har, to shine; *Ta-ghar mo har kele*, Ta-ghar shines again, 214; *bô-her-hari*, boar with tusks gleaming, 246

na-hare, wooden spear, 370, 598, see *here ta-mat*

hat, "bad" in the sense of "powerful" or "feared," 295 (note 3), 728; sacred or taboo, 522; used after adjective as superlative, "very," see *ghat*; A. *tsats*

hatsi, A. to bite, partake of communion feast, 541 (note 2); V. *ghati*

havean, turn, rotation, dancing in rotation, 317; *havean e him*, the turn of the home-village (to dance), 317

he, to show; *u he-he*, he shows it (*u* is the Oba form of pronoun)

hek-hekelean, "Settling-Down" dance. See *hag*

hele, to sew up, 467

hen, to sleep; IN. *hinep*, lie down

here ta-mat, "ghost's spear," used of a spear tipped with human bone, 370, 598. See *na-hare*

her-ghor, front or rear wall of any structure, made of horizontal bamboos, 441 (Fig. 53), 540, 543. See *ghore*

herum, hole in the reef, 356 (note 3)

hi, answering cry at the end of Settling-Down dance, 371; *hi-i-i-i*, shrill cry uttered during Settling-Down dance, 371

na-higho, small bird with white breast and blue tail, harbouring Melteg-rush's ghost, 632 (note 1)

ne-him(e), house, 119 (note), 448; IN. *yumah*, see *n'ime*, *ne-im*; *ne-hime vavine*, woman's house, 538; *no-ghon ne-him*, "face (front) of the house," 440; *maki ne-him*, Maki for a house, 443; *ne-him na mer-sean*, "the old man's house," 534; *ne-him a na-lok na-lang*, "house of the *na-lang* pudding," 551

na-himp, A. species of yam, name for sand-tracing design, 658 (Fig. 65). See V. *na-ghimbô*

hinagh, in *nagham hinagh*, rite ending period of fasting after death, 563

na-hit, A. octopus; *na-hit rin ta-mats*, "octopus food of the ghosts," sand-tracing, 660 (Fig. 66 (*a*))

hiv-hiv, coral blocks surrounding grave, 534; A. *siw-siw*

na-ho, chief bird figure-head attached to canoe prow, 373, Figs. 48, 49, 467, Plate I; A. *solüb*

hogotuk, reciprocal term used between brother and sister, also between members of opposite sex in some kinship group three generations apart, 129; A. *tsötsik*

hokuri, scented herbs, 372; A. *segur*

hŏlŏt, name for large ornament worn on back by Maki-men's wives, 424; *bô hŏlŏt*, grade of tusked boar, 246; *merer hŏlŏt*, grade of tusked boar when tusk has reached the same position the second time round, 247

homb, separate, apart; *homb-homb*, separate, cf. A. *ne-him homberong*, woman's house; *ne-rev homb-homb*, fore and aft wash-strakes, 466

hombombok, term used by members of a clan for one another, 134 (note)

hombun, several, some; A. *shopon*

hon, sacred, 555, 584 (note 1), 728 (note 4); A. *hon*, *kon*, taboo, holy, 555. See *won*

hore, A. to chase; V. *ghore* (1); *hor-hor mara*, "catch eels," 515

na-hore, coconut oil, 540

hu, *hu-hu*, "to suckle," 73, 178-9; *hu ni-ar na woroan*, "birth enclosure," 73, 389, 423, 443

hui, a form of cry when dancing, 513. See *hurei*

hul, high, 75; Pete-hul, name of village meaning "High Stone," 75, see *a-ul*; IN. *(h)ulu*, head

hulhuluan, communion feast, 557; A. *shulshulen*

hulup, species of fish, mock name for remedy for incision wound, 513

na-humbe, honourable term of address and title for old man, 177, 259 ff., 432, 469; A. *na-sup*; *na-humbe se*, very old man, 432, 447; *le-ghter e-humbe*, title for old woman of high rank, 564

hurei, to utter a cry when dancing, 513 (note 1), see *hui*; A. *hur*

na-hut, louse, 623

I

Ia, exclamation with which Speaker brings his speech to a close, 371, 377; audience replies "*laus-e*"

-ian, nominal suffix, e.g. *wiwihian*, 466. See *-ean*

ihi, three (archaic form), 75; Peter-ihi, name of a village meaning "Three Stones," 75. See *til*, *tol*

ne-im, house village, see *ne-him*, *n'ime*; *bang ne-im*, Quarter-Lodge, 63; *na-rel ne-im*, *na-rel*, of the home-village, 427

n'ime, house, village, 452, see *ne-im*, *ne-him*; *n'ime na maki*, "house of the Maki," 442; *n'ime na-mbagho*, "initiation house," 504; *n'ime na tetean*, "women's lodge," lit. "house of the *tete*," 453; *n'ime na venean*, "the house that is shot at," 422; *n'ime na vevean*, type of lodge, 452

K

ka, *kam*, verbal pronoun, 1st plur. past; *ka mbate vavine kam gani mo ruk se*, we have cooked a woman an eaten her and found her very good (lit. "we have cooked a woman, we have eaten her, she very good"), 619; *kam tuto gore*, we have retained her, 194

(ro-)kalat, stinging-nettle, a symbol of dangerous strength, 85; used during gong-making, 354; *Na-va-gharu-kalat*, one of the four founders of Pete-hul, 85; IN. *ha-laji*

kalatsi, A. to give in exchange, 304 (note 2); V. *ghu-ghulat*

kal, to make fast. See *vokălăgh*

kal, to dig up yams; *kal-kal*, yam-table, 468; A., W. *kel-kel*

kalo-n, penis; *Kalo-won*, personal name meaning "Holy Penis," 434, 522; *kalo wawa*; A. "the penis (?) of the *wawa* tree"; sand-tracing, 667 (Fig. 70); 3rd plur. *kalor*, 518

kam. See *ka*

kara, A. flying fox, 675 (Fig. 75); V. *kere*

kara-kara, subsidiary purlin, 441 (Fig. 53)

kel-kel, 1. to re-distribute yams and bananas, 560

kel-kel, A., W. yam-table; V. *kal-kal*

kele, again, 214

ker, to make (the earthen) foundation of a *ghamal*, 448

kere, 1. the base; *kere-ram*, youngest son, lit. "base of the yam," 181

kere, 2. flying fox, 674 (Fig. 74); A. *kara*

ker-keriel, *tena-*, species of scented shrub, 354

ki-ki, to make fire, scratch or rub; possible connexion with the word *Maki*, 692 (note 1)

ko, exclamation, 616

kobu, a cove (in song-language *ke-u*, 32 (note 1)); *Kowu*, the best beach on Vao

kòke, to carry in a bundle, 322; *kò-kòke ru-mbulatean*, name of a dance, lit. "carrying dry banana leaves," 322

kol-kol, A. circum-incision, 486

kon, A. taboo, holy, 555; particularly referring to men, 728 (note 4). See *hon, won*

na-kor, "ancient custom"; packet containing magic substance used in canoe rites and taboo to women, 471. See *na-kur*

kos-kosean, act of trimming the inside of canoe hull, 465

na-kur, kind of magic, 466 (note 1), 471 (note 3), see *na-kor*; *mara kur*, magician specialising in this type of magic determines position of outrigger booms, 466; *Kur-kur*, personal name, 434; *kur-kur-vat*, covering stones for grave of dead man buried in extended position, 471 (note 3), 534, 542

L

la-, locative particle, at, in, see *le-*; A. *la-tap*, cemetery, lodge, 63; V. *na-tamp*, used as prefix to many lodge names, 76-7

lage, to marry, 193. See *lagh*

lagh, *lage*, to take, hence to marry, 134; A. *lai*; IN. *laki*, adult, see *lakel*; *vene lagh*, married woman, 564

lag(h)ean, taking, marrying, 134; marriage, 193; *vene na laghean*, "women we marry," i.e. women belonging to the social group into which a man may marry, 134

laghau, to cross over, jump over a fence; term for pig sacrificed when new gong is first taken into dancing-ground, 358

laghen, undercut projection on bottom of gong for insertion into the ground, 346, 450

laha, testicle, 581; A. *las*; *Laha-mbar-mbar*, personal name meaning "missing testicle," 581

lakel, "fecund," 530, see *lagh*; *malakel*, "young man," lit. "having become fecund," 530

na-lang, *lok na-lang*, term for special pudding made during mortuary rites, 551

lang, wind, 381; IN. *langit*, sky

las, A. testicle, 581; V. *laha*; *Las-par-par*, personal name meaning "missing testicle," 581

lase, testicle, name for one of the dolmens erected at rear of *ghamal*, 450; A. *las*; V. *laha*

la-las, species of red yam symbolising violent death, 631; A. *letsi-lets*

la-tap, A. cemetery and its accompanying lodge, 63; V. *na-tamp*

lau, far; *ne lau*, from afar; IN. *jawuh*

laus-e, reply made by audience at the end of Speaker's speech, 228, 371, 377; A. *laus-o*

laus-o, A. See V. *laus-e*, 371

na-lav, twins, 176 (note 2)

le-, locative particle, see *la-*; *le-sar*, locative form of *ne-sar*, dancing-ground, 59, 87

Le-, prefix to women's names, 564; prefix to women's complimentary titles, 564; prefix to name of Guardian Ghost *Le-hev-hev*; prefix to name of a dance, *Le-tean*, 319

lehi, to see, 246; A. *lesi*

lek, to stay or remain, 395

Le-lek, woman's title meaning "she stays at home," 395

na-lel, bracelet of turbo shell, 43, 541

na-leng, figure-dances and mumming plays; maze-dances, 336 ff., *see* Index; A. *leng*, to dance, 506; A. *na-leng wishewin*, women's *na-leng*, equivalent to V. *rokaik*, 337

letsi-lets, A. kind of yam, 631 (note 1); V. *lalas*

lighor, to make fast a canoe, 350; IN. *laylay*; to shape the end of the log destined to become a gong, 350; to hang oneself

na-lil, a shell, umbilical cord deposited in, 176
ne-limbe rarah, canes used in making thatch, 442
lime, five (*e-lim*), see *nime*, hand; *bong e-lim*, fifth day, 177
lingi, to lead, conduct, accompany, 228, 308; *Lingi*, name of the ghostly ferryman, 228; *ling-ling*, to give small pigs to relative-in-law after "circling for pigs," 304; *ling-lingean*, term for the small pigs thus given, 308
na-lit, reed screen, 355, 389, 550; A. *na-lüt*
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M

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mas, A. food, see V. *mah*; V. *masean*, feast for which no return is expected, 300 (note 1), 347; *ma-masean*, work that a man does for himself, 348; A. *matsing*; *masoamp*, single pig killed and given for food only, 355
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ne-mbal, 2. consideration-pig, 304

mbale ni-ah, rack (lit. "stand") for pigs' jaws, 402

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na-mbange, banyan tree, 63; A. *ni-mbek*

mbar, 1. new; A. *mpar*; *ta-mbanga mbar,* new tapa mats, 511

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nu-mbar, ripe coconut; used as mock name for remedy applied to incision wound, 517; see *ber*

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na-mbò, general term for pig, 242; pig that has been weaned, 246. See *bò*

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mbun. See *ro-mbun*

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mbut, dumb; *vivi mbut,* the thick lip of a slit gong which is not struck, 347

nu-mbut, coconut, stage of growth called, 554

na-mbüt, "message-yam": single yam chosen for the smoothness of its skin, decorated with croton leaves, used as emblem by messengers, 301

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melolop, A. purlins (of a *ghamal*), 441 (note 1)
Melteg, Maki title, *see* Index, derived from the title *Mal* and the word *teg,* "to stay," 289; translated "Lord," 433; *Melteg-aul,* supernumerary title meaning "Lord of the Above," 733; *Melteg-Mal,* supernumerary title meaning "Lord Sir," 434; followed by personal name chosen by title-taker, e.g. *Melteg-tamat,* "Lord Ghost," 433; *Melteg-vanu,* "Lord of the place," 433. See also *Meldek, Meltek, Melte* in Index
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merer, twice, double, 243; *merer-pakeah,* circle-tusker, 243, 247, meaning "*pakeah,* again," A. *merer-pekes*; *merer-hŏlŏt,* grade of tusked boar, of which the tusk repeats the stage called *hŏlŏt* the second time round, 247; A. *ni-er merer,* a reed fence of criss-cross design, 389 (note 2), 635
mes-mes, species of tree from which gongs are made, 346, 349; A. *mish-mash*
mete(n), eye, 76 (note 3), see *mat* (2); *mete-mbô,* holes bored in hull and planks of a canoe for lashing, 458, 467; *meten sel,* A. road's eye, 357, V. *mata-hal*; *meten ta-ghar,* "Ta-ghar's eyes," tusked boars hoisted on shoulder and thus presented to members of introducing "line" as payment, for dolmen, 368, for stone-platform, 416
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meut, A. white, grey, black, 529 (note 2); V. *möt*; IN. *ma-hitam*
mish-mash, A. See *mes-mes*
mo, verbal pronoun, 3rd pers. past; *Mal-kali mo tuka vavine,* Mal-kali has led (i.e. married) a woman, 193; *Ta-ghar mo har kele,* Ta-ghar shines (lit. has shone out) again, 214; *Meltek mo tuka,* Meltek has taken her, 200; *ka mbate vavine kam gani mo ruk se,* we have cooked a woman and eaten her and found her very good (lit. "she (*mo*) very good"). See *mwi* (variant of *mo,* the variation being due to phonetic influence of the following verb)
na-moh, the bush, 512; A. *la-mösh,* in the bush
moh wal, A. novice, 492; V. *mov ghal*
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mov ghal, novice, 492, 503; A. *moh wal*
mov-ghat, fish, mock name for leaf used in infusion for cure of incision wound, 513, 514
movul, particle indicating multiples of ten; A. *möwil*; *ghe-tol,* three; *movul ghe-tol,* thirty, 291, 402
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mpar, A. ripe, 561 (note 1); V. *ber,* 2; *mbar*
mpiri. See *rampiri*
mul(e), go away, go back, 552, 559; IN. *burit,* behind
na-mul, wild orange used as missile in sham fight, 183; tree, 715
mumun, shadow, soul, 257 (note 3)
na-mwel, A. cycas; V. *mel* (1)
mwer. See *mer*
mwere, A. man, person; V. *mara*; *mwere n'das,* "sea folk," applied to all inhabitants of the Small Islands, 24; *mwere n'maki,* Maki-men, 294 (note 2), V. *mara Maki*
mwi, verbal pronoun, 3rd sing. past; *na-rel to-San mwi me,* the *na-rel* of the men of Atchin has come, 387; *na-rel mwi me ne le-sar,* the *na-rel* has arrived on the dancing-ground, 387. See *mo* (variant of *mwi,* the variation being due to phonetic influence of the following verb)

N

(The many nouns invariably preceded by the indefinite article *na-, ne-* are all placed under the initial letter following the article. In some cases where comparative philological evidence enabling this division is lacking they have been placed undivided under N)

na-, 1. separable or inseparable article preceding many nouns. See *ne-*
na, 2. relative pronoun, who, equivalent to preposition of; *vene na woroan,* woman of (a man's own) *woroan,* 134; *vene na laghean,* women (whom) we marry, 134; *n'ime na maki,* house of the Maki, 422; *n'ime na vevean,* house of (i.e. belonging to) the *vevean,* 453; *ne-him na mer-sean,* the old man's house (i.e. mortuary hut), 534

nagham hinagh, rite after fasting for the dead, 563
na-ha, what?; A. *ni-se*; IN. *(s)apa*, with article
(na-)nah, species of plant; *rombon na-nah*, leaves used for infusion as remedy for incision wound, 513
nain ghore, term for women who sleep with a mother after the birth of her child, 176
nam, verbal pronoun, 1st plur., inclusive future, we; *nam ven-venei re, nam gagani re*, we used to shoot and eat one another, 619
namere, male; A. *noroman*; *natuk namere*, male child, 130
nara, species of fruit tree at which child's feet are laid during naming rite, 178
narömb, *vene narömb*, woman with full-developed breasts, 564
naröv, wooden bowl, 609
natuk, 1st sing., child, son, daughter, used also between husband and wife, 130; IN. *natu*, offspring, see *netin*, *netun*; *natuk namere*, male child, 130; *natuk vavine*, female child; *tine natuk*, wife, lit. "my child's mother," 131; *natuk tinar*, "my child's mothers," used for the wife and her classificatory sisters, 131; *teme natuk* or *natuk taman*, "my child's father," husband, 131; *pelegen natuk*, daughter's husband's parents, 132; *natuk tumbun* or *tumbun natuk*, "my child's grandparents," used for the daughter's husband's parents, 132. See *netin*, *neton*
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ne, 3. relative pronoun, which; *na-mbang ne me tine*, the banyan which is large
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nera, here, 402
netin, *netun*, 3rd sing., baby, child of, small; *netun tutu* (*tehik*), elder (younger) brother's child, 130; *netun hogotuk*, my younger brother's child (w.s.), 130; *netun soguk*, sister's son, lit. "my little maternal uncle"; *netun mambik*, my son's son's child; *netin na-mborav*, pigs reared from a sow belonging to the owner, 242. See *natuk*, *netun*
netun, small. Cf. *natuk*, *netin*
nev, tree, used for hull of dug-out canoe, 79, 462; tree in the hollow trunk of which To-wewe met his voluntary death, 286
ni, pronoun object, 3rd sing., him, her, it; *e hu-hu ni*, she suckles it, 179; *e tulo ni*, he conducts her, 192; *e tulo ni talagh*, he recompenses the mortuary officials, 556; *e lagi ni*, "he is married to him" (i.e. the tutor to the novice), 503
nime, hand, see *lime*, five; *nime mat-mat*, "having the hands dead," lazy, 653
ninge, (ni-nge), canary nut, 76; canary nuts used as substitute sacrifice, 579, 580
nise, A. what?, 616; *nise, wahal ko?*, what, is it war?, 616. See *sav*
nis-nas, *vet nis-nas*, stone-platform, 412-13
no, A. verbal particle, 1st sing. indefinite tense, 547
noar, *ne-sar noar*, weeding the dancing-ground, 363
noe-moel, Godefroy's spelling of *memel*, 82
nu-, possessive root; *na-nuk*, my
na-nu, coconut; A. *na-ni*

O

oamp, cf. *amp*, quivering in death agony; *ta-mat oamp*, ghost of one who has died a violent death, see *mat*; *masoamp*, single pig killed and given for food only, 355. See *mas*
oehagh, pigs sacrificed at burial, 543
o hoi, *o he*, cry and answering cry in dialogue from old man's grave, 547
oi, cry uttered by leader of song, 285
ombu na-ul, name of a mortuary rite, 546
no-on, A. face, 76 (note 3); V. *na-ghon*
ong, *na-longk ong rehi kalor*, pudding with foreskins in it, 518
ne-òs-òs, "approach signal" sounded on gongs, 312; in Low Maki, 380, 386, 388, in High Maki, 420, in Initiation, 505, 510; A. *n'òsòs*; *baho n'òsòs*, type of Initiation rite on Atchin

P

pakeah, crescent-tusker, 243 ff.; A. *pekes*; *merer-pakeah*, circle-tusker. See *merer*
pal, *mbal*, to sacrifice, to be sacrificed, to strike (ritually), 60, 246, 367; connected with *Mal*, 60; IN. *paluh*, see *mbal*, *mpal*; A. *e pale Maki*, he makes the Maki sacrifice, 405 (note 4); A. *Maki e pal*, Maki is sacrificed, 405 (note 4); A. *pal-pal*, wooden sacrificial poles, 374 (note 1); *pal-pal na-mbò*, sacrificial monoliths and small upright stones, 367; ritual name of monolith, lit. "the sacrificial (stone) for pigs," 417, 419; *pal-palen* (*pal-palon*), large monolith, 417; giant monolith at Tolamp, 584; stones supporting the dolmen, 367
par, A. "to be missing," 581; V. *mbar* (2); *Las-par-par*, "Missing Testicle," 581
parav, long; *vet parav*, monolith, 417; *Emil Parav*, name of an Atchin village, lit. "long dancing-ground"; *ne-rev parav*, type of canoe wash-strake, 466
pat (BN.), stone, used as prefix to names of Big Nambas chiefs, 18. See *bat*, *mbat*
patin(e), upper canine of tusked boar, 246, 259 (note 1)
pego, bread-fruit tree used for making canoe, 79
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pekes, A. crescent-tusker; V. *pakeah*
pelegak, 1st sing., wife's father, wife's mother, daughter's husband (m. and w.s.), 131, 133, 138; A. *pwelak*
pembe, strong liana, used as rope for hauling gongs, 351
per-perean, undercutting the hull of a canoe, 465; A. *per-pari*
pet, 1. beginning, head, origin, see *bat*; A. *pet wahit*, magician, 572 (note 2), erroneously translated "stone"
pet, 2. *pet*, stone, 75, see *vet, vat, wet, wat*; IN. *(m)batu*; *pet vatu*, "head of the stone," the solid part of a slit gong between the top of the slit and the top of the gong, 347; used in village names, e.g. *Pete-hul*, "High Stone"; plural *peter*: *Peter-ihi*, "Three Stones"
petur, type of upright slit gong, 346 (possibly connected with *tur*, to stand); A. *pwetur*
peturu, sleeping-mat, 541. See *beturu*
pila, A. banded rail; the name of a dance, 323, 549; V. *pilagh*
pilagh, banded rail; name of a dance, 323, 548; A. *pila*; Rel. *pilak*
pilön, bald; pierced projection on upper end of gong, by means of which it is hauled, 346, 350
pinalum, A. species of bamboo, 542 (probably derived from Malekulan promontory of that name); V. *benalum*
piriov, slit in gong through which it is hollowed out, 347; the creeper with which expert magician measures its length, 354
por-por, A. dream, 653 (note 5); V. *pul*
potali, A. name of a rite, 281
pul, dream, 653; A. *por-por*; *rel pul*, "dream-walking," 653
pwe-pwere, A. a small bird, see *pwere-pwere*; V. *ba-mbare*
pwere-pwere, A. sow (this word is used on p. 682 (note 1) as A. synonym for V. *ba-mbare*, a small bird, in a mis-spelling for *pwe-pwere*)
pwereng, A. cave, 707, 719; V. *barang, mbarang*
pweter, A. stones, 591; used in place names, e.g. *Pweter-tsüts*, name of village on Atchin; V. *peter*. See *pet*
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R

ra, 1. verbal particle, 1st plur. incl., indefinite, we, let us; *ra uri pal-pal nambô*, let us lever up the pig's sacrificial stone, 418; *ra we ra se mu-wak*, let us go and launch the canoe, 552; *ra gheli na-mbu*, we plant the bamboos, 374 (note 1); *ra teng*, we weep, 552
ra, 2. species of tree
ragh, *raghe*, see A. *rahe*, 412 (note 2); *nambe ragh-raghe ne-luw*, "the summoning signal" sounded on the gongs, 312, 366, 412, 416, 420, 448; *vet vi-vi ragh*, used for stones collected for construction of the stone-platform, lit. probably "stones which have been fetched," 412 (note 2)
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ral, rali, *rel*, to run, 318; to walk about, run, run about. Cf. *na-rel, ril-dralen*
na-ram, general term for yam, 181; *bete-ram*, eldest son, lit. "head of the yam," 181; *lugha-ram*, middle sons, lit. "middle of the yam"; *kere-ram*, youngest son, lit. "base of the yam"; see *rom*
raman, connective particle in numerals between ten and twenty, e.g. *hangawul raman gha-ru*, twelve, *hangawul raman ghe-mbut*, seventeen, 377; *mow hangawul raman ghe-mbüt*, a hundred and seven, 519; A. *romon*; the word means midrib of a leaf, used as tally
ramben, first part of the Maki, 274, 362
rampiri (possibly *ra mpiri*), wooden scaffolding of piles, used in canoe building, 466
rangon, branch, 498; *rang-rang na-mbagho*, "the branching of initiation," 498
rar, *na-rar*, erythrina tree; wood of, used magically to make child grow strong, 178; special, called *rar na-taure*, erythrina tree planted in dancing-ground in connexion with dance called *Taure* and with mourning (*taure*), 420-1; A. *ni-rere* or *n(d)rere*; W. *rer*
na-ras, rafters, 419, 422; A. *ne-rets*
rau, to hollow out; *ro rau nu-wak*, "we hollow out the canoe," 464
rav, 1. tree, to poles of which sacrificed boars are slung after the Maki, 392
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