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Volume II

by

RAYMOND FIRTH

Author of

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K. D. SETHNA



SRI AUROBINDO CIRCLE
BOMBAY

CHAPTER VII

THE PROCLAMATION AT RAROKOKA

Of the many ritual formulae in use in Tikopia none can have been more striking than that formerly recited as a public address or proclamation at Rarokoka. Not only was it picturesque in setting - the glade in the forest, the rising sun, the expectant silent crowd, and the towering figure of the chief of Tafua rolling out the phrases - but the speech itself was remarkable for its dignity and rhythm and for the moral code which it promulgated. The ideas contained therein can no doubt be parallelled from those held by other native peoples in various parts of the world, but rarely in a primitive society has expression been given to them in such a formal explicit statement of the duties and obligations incumbent on its members.

The fono as an address to the people by a man of rank is known to other Polynesian cultures. In Tonga harangues were made to the commonalty by the chiefs on matters of agriculture, political duty, and behaviour at public ceremonies, and also on minor questions of the repair of a noted canoe, the freedom of a plantation from tribute or the improvement of the conduct of young chiefs towards women they met on the road.[1] In Samoa the fono is the actual group or assembling of matai, of titled men of a village district or island,[2] and public announcements or addresses are made there In Tikopia, however, the fono differed from this. It was not of frequent, irregular occurrence as occasion required, but a specific unique event, occurring once only in the year on the day fixed by the sequence of ceremonies in the seasonal cycle. Moreover it had not the character of a personal extempore speech on some affair of the moment; both matter and phraseology were prescribed by tradition. Moreover, it had strong religious associations, and the chief who spoke was deemed to be the mouth piece of the gods. In other words the sanction of the fono in Rarokoka was not simply social and political, exercised through the authority of the presiding chiefs, but was intensely religious as well, receiving its validity from its superhuman origin. It is essential to understand this in order to realise the force of the impression produced on the audience by this recital.

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[1] Mariner's Tonga Islands, I, 229-231, 3rd ed.

[2] Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa, passim.

I have spoken of the fono in the past because owing to the defection of the Ariki Tafua the actual address is no longer given, and this is one of the few events of the ritual cycle which I did not observe. But I obtained full accounts of it from several informants, and in particular was given the text of the formula recited, by the Ariki Kafika and by the Ariki Tafua. (Plate I) It was the latter who had the privilege and duty of reciting the fono. Nowadays, in the absence of this chief, no move has been made to secure a substitute. The three other chiefs merely meet at Rarokoka in the early morning, sit for a while in their appointed positions and talk, and then return home. No crowd of people assembles, as formerly. But both the continued meeting of chiefs, denuded as it is of dramatic accompaniment, and the lack of attempt to replace the Ariki Tafua, are indices to the specific religious meaning of the fono, as will be seen later. For convenience, I give the rest of the material in this Chapter in the historic present, as it was made known to me.

THE PROCLAMATION IN FORMER DAYS

The first act in connection with the fono takes place on the evening of the re-carpeting of Mapusanga. When the rites of this temple are over the Ariki Kafika sends a formal announcement to each of his fellow chiefs:

"You group of elders there,
Wake for your Masauma tomorrow".

Masauma is the sacramental name for the Marae of Rarokoka. On receiving the message - for which of course they are prepared - the chiefs assent formally "Yes!" This notification is termed "speeding the messengers of the chiefs".

Rarokoka, or Masauma, is a small glade in the forest to the north of the large Marae of Uta, and in it are several large stones, representing the principal clan atua.

On the following morning the Ariki rise early, get into their canoes and paddle across the lake in order to arrive at the place before the rising of the sun. There the chiefs of Kafika, Taumako and Fangarere take their seats by the stones of their atua, while the male members of each clan, who have assembled earlier, sit down in the rear of their respective leaders. The people of Tafua take their appointed place also, but their Ariki remains in his sacred house till the assembly is complete. When all is ready, clad in a new white cincture, he walks down the path from the building to the marae. A careful watch is kept by the crowd, and as he appears someone whispers "He has come", and all heads are im-

mediately bowed. Not a man, not even the chief of Kafika, may look up as the Ariki enters to deliver the fono. "He will enter and make his speech, not a person shall look at him, alone he will speak."

When the Ariki has halted and surveyed the crowd he calls out to the Ariki Kafika

"Fono mai ke Tinamo!
"Deliver the address you Tinamo"

But that chief with bowed head replies

"Fono mai ke Faifekau!"
"Deliver the address you Worker"

As Tinamo is the personal title of the Ariki Kafika, so Faifekau is that of the Ariki Tafua, since he is the executive officer of the supreme chief. Hence he assents, "Yes!", and proceeds to carry out his task.

I give below two versions of the formula he used to recite. Text I was that supplied by the Ariki Kafika, Text II that supplied by the Ariki Tafua himself. The latter is fuller, not only because the reciter may be expected to provide a more complete text, but also because it includes some injunctions which were said to have been deleted from the recital in the last generation. For ease of comparison I have divided the recital into sections.

TEXT I

1. "Te oro o Ravenga
Na niu, na kaula
Ke tu ke maru.
Ke maru i nia ?
Ke maru ki a rongo o fenua.

2. Te oro o Namo
Na niu, na kaula
Ke tu ke maru.
Ke maru i nia?
Ke maru ki rongo o te fenua.

3. Tangata ne fenatu ku faia ko ana nea
Puni ki roto ko na ngutu.
A ke forua ke ea?
Ka fenatu te tangata o paito nga ariki
Nai fainiaria?
Te atua o te fenua e sokotasi.

4. Tangata ne tu atu ki tona tofi
Kai ki tana foi niu
Kae tao ki raro tana foi puru.
Te fakaarofa ne fenatu
Ono ki anea o paito nga ariki ku fakapini mai
Au fakapini atu ko ni nea mona
Kae peri ke ea?
Ka poi o kaia?

5. A tangata ne taufirifiri
Fekite i roto te ara
Fai taranga fai taranga
Mavae ki tua
Tasi poi i a ko ia.

6. Tangata tau tofi, ana nea e tu i tona tofi
Te tapa o tona manava
Kae te vae ara te tofi o nga ariki."

TEXT II

1. "Te oro o Namo
Na niu na kaula
Ke tu ke mau.
Tuku Ravenga,
Na niu na kaula
Ke tu ke mau.

2. Nia o ta tangata ne riro i nga uta
Ne mataki i tona fiakai.
Te vae ara te tofi o nga ariki.

3. Fenatu te fakaarofa o ono atu ki anea o te maru ku fakangiti mai
Au fakapini atu ko ona nea
Kae peri ko ana nea
Ka poi kaia?

4. Te tangata ne tu atu ki tona ngangea
Ka kai tana foi niu, tao ki raro ke maopopo
Kae peri ko ana nea
Ka poi kaia?

5. Te tangata ne kau ki tona nofine ke poi
Uru atu ku pa i te tuakoi ke foki
Ka ku uru atu kua uru ki mua, kua uru kese fuere, kua uru ki take ngangea.

6. Te tangata ne poi fakaangavare
E fakarongo ake ka fati ke ena i tona manava

Kae titi fakaoti
Nia ka fakamau ko tona manava?
Ke tuku ko tenea ke ena i tona manava ma fakamau o tona manava.
Kae titi fakaoti
Ka poi kaia?

7. Te tangata ne me atu ki tona fafine
E fakarongo ake ke masike
E sokotasi te tangata sokotasi te fafine
Tena te faki o te foi niu kae te kae o te vai.
Ka meaki te tangata ka fakauruuru,
Tefea tona tafito i rakau ka fakauruuru ki ei?
Ka fakauruuru fuere o poi o kaia.

TRANSLATION I

1. "The path of Ravenga
Its coconut, its areca-nut
To stand to ripen.
To ripen for what?
To ripen for news of the land.

2. The path of Namo
Its coconut, its areca-nut
To stand to ripen.
To ripen for what?
To ripen for news of the land.

3. Man who went his things have been stolen,
Press together his lips.
And he would shout to what end?
When the man of chiefly family goes
He will make something for him?
The deity of the land is one.

4. Man who stood over in his garden
Let him eat of his coconut
And stack below its husks.
The commoner who went,
Saw something of the chiefly families which has been prepared
Let him come and tie up something for himself.
But he will destroy to what end?
Will he go and steal?

5. Men, with murderous thoughts toward each other,
Meeting in the middle of the path,
Let them have speech, have speech,
Separate back,

Each go on his way.

6. Man owning an orchard, his things which stand in his orchard.
The fortifying of his belly.
But the border of the path, the orchard of the chiefs.

II

1. "The path of Namo
Its coconut, its areca-nut
To stand firm.
Allow Ravenga
Its coconut, its areca-nut
To stand firm.

2. Anything of a man's hidden inland
Observed in his hunger.
The border of the path, the orchard of the chiefs.

3. Comes the commoner to look at things of the **maru** which have been pressed together.
Return, bind up his things.
But if he destroys his things,
Shall he go and steal?

4. The man who stood over in his place
To eat his coconut, stack it down to be complete.
But if he destroys his things
Will he go and steal?

5. The man who ordered his wife to go
Goes out, has struck the barrier, to return
But has gone out, has gone in front, has gone apart only, has gone to another place.

6. The man who went to face around
Feels that it will break and stay in his belly
But voids completely
What shall bind his belly?
Leave the thing to stay in his belly for the binding of his belly.
But void completely
Shall he go and steal?

7. The man who slept with his wife
And feels thus let him rise
One male and one female
That is the plucking of the coconut and the carrying of the water-bottle
The man who will persist in creating himself a family

Where is his basis of trees he will create his family for?
He will make a family merely to go and steal."

It is regrettable that the sonorous rhythm of the original cannot be reproduced in translation. As the texts are of considerable value as critical documents the rendering has been made as literal as is possible consistent with clarity, and a more detailed linguistic analysis than usual is desired.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FORMULA

In Text I the fono opens with the command that the coconuts and areca-nut in the lowlands of Namo should be allowed to remain until they are mature. The coconut is mentioned since it is the keynote to the food supplies of Tikopia. The indispensable element in all the better foods is coconut cream, obtained from the flesh of the brown mature nut. If the nut is plucked while it is still young and green it is much better for drinking purposes, and the flesh being soft is pleasant for immediate consumption. Forming only a thin layer in the interior of the nut, however, it is of much less food-value than at the later stage. What is probably the most discussed point of the Tikopia agricultural economy is the establishment of an equation between the consumption of young and of properly matured nuts. The green coconut is provided extensively for ceremonial purposes, and is also utilised largely as refreshment by people working in their orchards. Too reckless a consumption of the green coconuts, however, means that there will soon be a dearth of the older nuts for creamed puddings. Hence in any but times of great plenty, there is a perpetual conflict of opinion between the young people and their elders, and between the commoners and the men of rank. In domestic life the married men and the elders accuse all the bachelors and youths of eating green coconuts too freely; the young men deny it and accuse their elders of slander, or speak of theft by persons unknown. In the wider social sphere the chiefs in the privacy of their families discuss the gluttony of the commoners and the wealth of coconuts that would be theirs if they would exercise more restraint, while these latter in their turn bemoan the poverty of their orchards. From the point of view of mere living, a dearth of mature coconuts is of no importance, since the coarser kinds of food provide all the requirements of nutrition. But Tikopia custom requires that every gift of food shall contain a package of creamed pudding. This applies to social as well as to religious presentations. Hence a time of scarcity of dry coconuts is a time of social embarrassment, for most people have difficulty in procuring the requisite nuts from their own orchards or in borrowing them, and unless they do, they will be shamed by the

non-fulfilment of their duties. A Tikopia will go on short commons himself and eat rough food, but he will not neglect the appropriate periodical gifts to his chief unless the time is one of great stress. A central idea of the native social economy is that the interests of the commoner should always be subservient to those of the chief; the food supplies of the commoner should be held in readiness for public occasions of which his chief is the sponsor. Stealing of coconuts in seasons of scarcity is not infrequent, and the chief unwittingly may be a participator in the spoils. But such theft is regarded as evil, because of the disturbance which it causes, and the premature loss of food which is sustained.

This preliminary explanation allows the general tenor of the opening part of the **fono** to be perceived. It is an injunction in favour of economy, and against theft, to preserve both coconut and areca nut. The reason is asked in a rhetorical question, and the answer is given - that they may mature for "news of the land", that is for the important public events initiated by the chief. The use of such a metaphorical phrase is dictated, as will be fairly clear, by the fact that such festive occasions set the whole land talking. The proclamation is first repeated (Section I) for the benefit of the lowlands of Ravenga, on the eastern and southern shores of the lake, and then (Section 2) applied to those of Namo, on the north shore. The district of Faea is not mentioned, possibly because the text of the fono received definite formulation in the period prior to the occupation of Faea by the present inhabitants. The term **oro** might be regarded as a poetical form of **ara**, path, and is so translated by some informants. More correctly, however, according to the Aribi Kafika, it is an abbreviation of an archaic term **orooro**, equivalent to the modern **rauraro** meaning lowland. Another form of this word is seen in the name of Te Roro, the flat expanse at the foot of the cliffs on the northern side of the lake, which is in reality Te Orooro (o Namo).

Section 3 is a caution not against theft, but against giving way to unbridled passion when one's food has been stolen. The common practice of a Tikopia on being robbed is to stand up and shriek at the top of his voice, varying this by curses of the excretory type which serve as a vent for his feelings and apprise other people of his loss. Such conduct is pardonable, but may be unwise. For if a chief or a man of chiefly family is in the vicinity he will come to enquire the cause and soundly rate the noisy one. Such disturbance of the peace is a breach of etiquette and will have to be atoned for by a gift of food. Hence the aggrieved owner is advised to "compress together his lips". What is the use of shrieking? Does he wish to pay a fine to the next man of rank who comes along? The statement that "the god of the land is one" is

highly figurative. It means briefly that the chief is the sole source of authority in the land. This being the case, it is implied, what does a commoner mean by making such a noise and as it were, arrogating to himself the privilege of a chief ? It must be said, however, that the command to refrain from advertising a theft and to suppress one's feelings is disregarded and with impunity by many natives. And on such occasions public sympathy is with the sufferer. No one however would dare to yell in such fashion close to a chief's house.

Section 4 opens with an appeal for orderliness in the orchards. The man who goes to his property is requested to eat the coconut which he desires and then to stack the husk properly beneath the tree, i.e., with the outside surface uppermost. This is in conformity with religious usage, and is normally observed since the coconut is regarded as being under the control of the Atua Tafua, and the symbol of his head. Hence out of respect to him the husk and shell are carefully packed together in an inconspicuous fashion, and not left to lie about the ground. "It is prohibited". Of husk which has been thrown about it is said, "It has been scattered stupidly - The man has made sport with the gods and the chiefs." A chief seeing the husk thus lying around will whoop in anger. The reference to this in the fono has also a further implication; it is a warning against theft. For a man who is interfering with the coconut trees of another without authorisation is in haste lest he be seen, so that he rarely takes the trouble to stack the residue properly.

The next sentences are a variation on the theme of the duty of commoners to consult the interests of their chief. For if a commoner, going to his lands, observes that on those of a chiefly family a tapu has been placed to restrict consumption and conserve the choicer items, then let him go and do likewise for himself. It is an indication that a chief is preparing for some public function to which he himself will be expected to contribute when the time comes. Let him therefore take heed and practise economy that he may be able to play his part. But if he continues to consume his food supplies indiscriminately without reserving any portion, what will he do when the occasion arrives? Will he go and steal in order to fulfil his obligations? - such is the thought expressed.

The term peri also involves further shades of meaning. In disputes over boundaries, or the ownership of gardens, one or other of the contestants may in anger destroy (peri) the crops at the debated spot, by slashing them with a knife or pulling them out. But in the above statement it is rather a warning against wanton consumption of food supplies.

Section 5 is designed more expressly for the

preservation of public order. Private feuds are not uncommon in Tikopia, generated as a rule by either of the two universal causes of strife - land and women. Such men are said to **rama-rama**, or **firifiri** towards each other, harbour in secret murderous thoughts which turn over and over in their minds. Usually such men seek to avoid each other, taking separate paths to their work. If they should meet a wordy argument is the result, ending often in blows. By the **fono** they are enjoined to dispute in speech only and that this being concluded they should turn their backs and each pursue his own way.

The final section (6) gives a formal definition of one aspect of the rights of ownership of the chiefs over the orchards of their people. For while the food supplies which remain hidden from sight in the interior of the orchard are those of the owner himself for his own consumption - "for the strengthening of his belly" as it is vividly expressed - such of his trees as stand on the outskirts are regarded as bearing fruit for the benefit of his **chief.** Hence it is said that "the border of the path is the orchard of the chief". This is a real prerogative which chiefs have, though the exercise of it is left largely to the initiative of the actual owner. He himself observes the food - it may be a bunch of bananas - marks when it has reached maturity, and then cuts it and carries it along to the chief's house.[1]

Text II of the **fono**, which may be regarded as supplementing Text I, opens in the same manner enjoining that the coconuts and areca-nut be not plucked before their time. The term **mau** here employed signifies 'firm', 'undisturbed', and ultimately conveys the same idea in this context as does **maru**, meaning ripening till they fall on the ground.

The second section of Text II coincides in intention, though not quite in form of expression, with Section 6 of Text I. The third and fourth sections of Text II are similar to Section 4 of Text I, with slight variations in phraseology. The **maru** referred to in the former is an executive official, of whom there are several in each clan, brothers and cousins of the chief, their function being essentially the preservation of public order. The expression **fakangiti** meaning literally to "squeeze together" here carries the same significance as **fakapini**, meaning to plait together. It is the custom when it is desired to keep a bunch of bananas to encase it in a plaited cover of coconut leaf - which is implied here.

The remainder of Text II embodies a number of

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1 See Primitive Polynesian Economy, 215.

ideas not suggested in the first version. The fifth section is involved in its phraseology, but the central theme is clear enough. It is in the nature of advice to married couples against pursuing their quarrelling to the bitter end. The husband is warned that if he drives his wife away - "orders her to go" as the stock phrase is - he may find it difficult to get her to return, if once he allows her to get beyond the immediate confines of the home.

The proposition contained in Section 6 is very interesting. Put bluntly, as the native understands it, it states that endeavour should not be exerted to make evacuation as complete as possible, but rather to allow the secondary faeces to remain **in situ**. Thus stability is afforded to the belly. The basis of this idea is the physiological concept of the **tanga kai**, the food bag in the stomach, into which all food from the throat goes, in which the transformation into excrement takes place, and from which the ordure is voided. This idea of the stomach as a simple single chamber for food with throat and rectum respective doors of entry and exit explains why a merely moderate evacuation is thought to lessen the strength of the craving for food, whereas the accomplishment of the act with finality leaves the stomach completely empty and so brings on the desire for food immediately.[1] In discussing this question it must be remembered that defecation is to the native a perfectly natural human process as much so as eating, of which indeed he realises it is the logical result. Hence there is not the same atmosphere of embarrassment surrounding it as exists in our own society. But this does not mean blunt reference to the act. The Tikopia has his niceties of speech as we have, though they are concerned with different situations. Thus in the presence of affinal relatives, as mother-in-law or father-in-law, less definite terms are substituted, the use of which marks refinement and good breeding, and so also in the presence of chiefs and elders.

In the present instance the language of the fono is clear and direct enough, but the precise terms of the act are avoided. Thus the expression **fakaanga-vare**, meaning "to face in a direction indefinitely" is the conventional substitute for the actual descriptive terms for defecation, **Tiko**. **Fakaanga-vare**, though metaphorical in origin, has now however come to acquire a specific, concrete significance. This change from metaphorical to concrete meaning is an illustration of a familiar linguistic phenomenon. The English term "to relieve oneself" is an analogous usage. It will be noted that the other terms used in this part of the fono also follow the same

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1 The psycho-analytical equation of faeces with wealth may be compared with this.

lead; they allude to the act of defecation without employing the common direct words.

The concluding section (7) of Text II contains a still more remarkable injunction - one which is hardly to be expected in the moral code of a primitive people. The problem of population seems to have exercised the minds of the Tikopia ever since the earliest times of which tradition gives record. The small size of the island, and its absolute isolation, which bars the possibility of migration as a means of overflow, has led on the one hand to a very clear appreciation of the dangers of over-population and on the other to very definite types of social mechanism for its prevention. The majority of these do not fall within the compass of our present study; to one only, and that the most unexpected, is reference made in the **fono**. The Tikopia, like most Polynesians, has quite a clear understanding of the primary facts of the procreation of children, and appreciates the part played by the male organ and the male seminal fluid. By the practice of withdrawal before ejaculation, then, the procreation of children can be avoided and population may be kept within reasonable limits.1 Human impulses in this field, however, are notoriously difficult of control, and this preventive measure, though known to the body of natives, is practised only to a moderate degree. The tendency is always for an increase in population towards the subsistence limit. In the **fono** of former days, then, advantage was taken of the public occasion, and solemn effect of the address on the minds of the people, to proclaim the advisability of married men exercising restraint of this kind. The language used, like that of the preceding section, is indirect but clear. The specific terms for copulation and ejaculation are avoided, and polite substitutes are employed. Thus the term **me**, "sleep", is used, its specific connotation being indicated by the particle **atu** indicating motion away from the subject and the preposition **ki** meaning "towards". By the words "The man who sleeps over towards his wife" the idea of marital sexual connection is thus conveyed. The term **fakarongo ake** is subtly used. It means "to feel" and in conjunction with the adverb **ake** which indicates "in an upward direction" applies to the critical moment in tumescence when ejaculation is about to take place. The sentence is in fact elliptical; in ordinary conversation a native would add "**ka pusa ko na nea**," 'will ejaculate his organ'. It signifies then that the husband is adjured "to rise" that the consequence of complete intercourse be averted. The reason for this restraint is hammered home in the next phrases which are familiar in many another context to all Tikopians, "One male and one female .

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1 For a more detailed discussion of this see We, The Tikopia, and Primitive Polynesian Economy, 42-45.

That is the plucking of the coconut and the filling of the water bottles." The eomplete household is in native theory composed of four persons, the husband and wife, with a son and a daughter. This makes for a correct economic adjustment, while it does not impose too heavy a strain upon the food resources of the family. The boy assists his father and does the more energetic "odd jobs" such as climbing the trees to pluck fresh coconuts, cutting leaf for thatch, and preparing the hibiscus fibre for expressing coconut cream. The work of the girl, par excellence, is that of keeping the family water bottles full, a task which is not so light as it may seem. In addition she helps with the work of the oven and in other household tasks. This is the ideal social unit. If the family is much larger there is an increase in food consumption without a corresponding increase in the value of the labour power. The man is reminded by the **fono** then that if he persists in creating a large number of offspring - the metaphor **fakauruuru**, "making many heads," is primarily applied to the branching out of a bushy tree top - he may not be able to increase his food resources proportionately. The **tafito i rakau**, the "bases of trees", refers to the standing vegetation which provides so much in the way of supplies - coconut, breadfruit, **natu**, **voia**, banana, **vere**, **fukau**, **kafika** and others, and which cannot be increased **ad lib** in a limited area of ground. The alternative to restriction of population is presented in a query which forms almost a refrain at the end of each set of phrases - will the person go and steal? In other words, the probable consequence of his improvidence is that he will incur social obloquy.

It was stated by the Ariki Tafua that in more recent years this section of the **fono** was usually omitted from the recital. The delicacy of the subject may account for this, since to Tikopia this matter is normally one only for extremely private conversation.

To sum up the general character of this remarkable proclamation it will have been observed that it is primarily a part of the mechanism for the preservation of social order. It cautions against theft, against disturbance and brawling, it advises economic forethought in the provision for events of public importance and enjoins restraint in the matter of procreation in the interests of communal welfare. It is thus seen that the concepts involved are of a developed moral order - if one agrees that the standards of morality need not be coincident with those of our own society. The Tikopia themselves emphasise this moral element in the **fono**, that it inculcates good as against evil conduct. "The **fono** is made with speech; is made only for the good; evil doings to be abandoned", said the Ariki Kafika.

It will be noted also that the **fono** emphasises

strongly the status and privileges of the chief, and thus tends to maintain the social and political stability of the community. It is possible that in times past the chiefs may have used the fono as a means of advancing their interests as against those of the commoners. This is implied in a statement of the late Ariki Taumako, a man of exceptional benevolence, and held in great veneration by all Tikopia. He spoke privately to the present Ariki Tafua, shortly after his accession twenty years ago, and I give the latter's account of it. The old man said "Hey! Son! I am going to speak to you. The sacred fono abides with you?"

"Yes! it abides with me".

"The affair is complete in you, but we two father and son alone hold speech. I am going to bar you. Anything causing men to go to sea, abandon it."

This means that after being satisfied that the knowledge of the fono had been transmitted fully to the new Ariki Tafua, he assured him that the matter then lay entirely at the latter's discretion, but that he, occupying the privileged status of "father" in the classificatory sense, wished to give a word of advice. He wanted dropped out of the fono any pronouncements which might cause dissension among the people and lead to a possible "suicide voyage". The Ariki Tafua told me that he promised to do this.

But this concept of the proclamation as an assertion of chiefly privileges is certainly not the main aspect of it in the eyes of commoners. All with whom I spoke treated it as a pronouncement in the interests of law and order. Thus Pa Rangi-fakaino, a commoner of Kafika, said to me "It is a proclamation to the land to go about properly, to stand well; for the things of men which stand on the border of the path not to be seized; for men who find that their food has been stolen not to whoop; and not to throw on to the path their banana stalks and skins to spread them out on the path of the chiefs." (i.e., not to litter up the main highways, which are under the control of the chiefs).

SANCTION AND BREACH OF THE FONO

We have now to consider the sanction for the fono. There is no doubt but that the proclamation was listened to with great reverence by all the people. It is difficult to say to what degree they observed the precepts therein laid down, but it cannot be doubted that such a public promulgation of some of the main points of the moral code exerted an influence in tending to preserve the social order. The sanction

of the **fono** as of so many other Tikopia matters was the backing which it received from the principal gods of the land. They were supposed to come and address the people through the mouth of their representative the chief of Tafua. This is the reason for the respect shown by the bowed heads of the assembly. While I was writing down the words of the **fono** (Text I) the Ariki Kafika said to me, "Great is the weight of your writing that is being done. Because the **fono** of the Gods is being made - is based on the **fono** of the gods. That is the Brethen who have come to **fono** - The Great God, Rakiteua, Sakura, Oatuatafu have assembled to go and **fono**. That is their own **marae**, Rarokoka." The Brethren are four of the chief deities of the island, the first three names mentioned being those of Te Atua i Fangarere, Te Atua i Tafua and Te Atua i Taumako, in that order. Their association with the glade of Rarokoka is told in a myth of origins.

This religious ascription stands behind the inclusion of the **fono** in the ceremonial cycle of the season. It provides one more example of the manner in which social, economic and religious interests are intertwined and buttress one another in the maintenance of the communal life.

There is one interesting breach of the sanctions of the **fono**, however, which illustrates the complex motivations of Tikopia conduct.

Every head should be bowed when the Ariki Tafua appears. But occasionally the rule is broken. If the chief catches sight of an upturned face as he strides on to the **marae** he calls out to the offender "Who is the person who looks on the **fono** of the gods ?" The culprit, it is said, is overcome at the disgrace of discovery. "Very great is the shame of the man". Immediately he rises from his seat and hurries away to the beach. There he hauls down his canoe, and paddles out to sea to commit suicide, in conformity with Tikopia custom in cases of intense disgrace. But on further inquiry it appeared that there was a less dramatic alternative. The first, in fact, was the theoretical rather than the actual outcome. Going to his gardens and orchards the offender strips them of large quantities of taro, breadfruit, bananas, and coconuts, and prepares several great baskets of food. Assisted by his relatives he bears these at the end of the day to the Ariki Tafua. Then, wailing his humility, he crawls to the chief over the floor mats, presses his nose to the chief's foot and knee and follows this by the chanting of a dirge. Thus he abases himself and by the presentation of the food is absolved from any further consequences of his fault. (This is the customary method of reinstating oneself in Tikopia society after committing any offence against a chief.)

This breach of the regulation of the fono, however, displays one peculiar feature. In times past, I was told, there were a few cases in which a man deliberately refrained from bowing his head on the entry of the Ariki and made the propitiating gift of food in consequence. This apparently strange conduct is explained by the natives as being due to the fact that the person concerned was a man of great wealth in land and food and committed this breach of custom designedly in order to display his riches by heavy compensation, and gain a reputation. No man of low birth would dare, however, to expose himself in this manner; only a person of chiefly family could afford to ignore possible criticism and draw attention to himself so boldly by what was after all an outrage upon tradition.

(Compare the Ara o Pu for an analogous situation).

The thread of the events may now be taken up again. After the delivery of the proclamation there is a pause. Then the Ariki Tafua inquires formally of the other chiefs as to the manner in which they shall make the sacred roi for the morrow. "We shall make roi in the mouths of the ovens, or we shall make it in the green?" This refers to the preparations for the sacred dance festival which begins the next day. By the conventional expression "the mouths of the ovens" is meant the joining of the people of each clan together to their respective chiefs to make a communal food portion in the sacred house in Uta, each person bringing his contribution. By "in the green" (mata) is meant the cooking of separate packages in the various houses of the principle families. Some people thus make the roi in Tai, others in Uta. The chiefs decide which policy will be best on this occasion, and give their reply. When their decision is made public the people rise and go off to their cultivations in order to carry out the plan. Whatever the procedure adopted, the families of Sao, and Fusi; Niumano and Fatumaru; Rarovi and Porima; make the roi in their respective houses. They do not combine with the other people of their clans, this aloofness being their privilege. Since these families are those of the most important elders their food is called the matua roi, the principal roi of the clan.

The sacredness of the roi depends upon its being used to provide offerings in the most important religious ceremonies. It is said then to be made by the chiefs' elders for their respective deities. "Each makes it for his god". When this food has been consumed the leaves in which it has been wrapped and the basket in which it has been carried are not used again for ordinary food, as is the normal custom, but discarded. In clearing up the debris of the meal instructions will be given by one person to another. "Roll up the leaves and the little basket and throw it away, it is something sac-

red". Other wrappings are obtained in order to carry away the food scraps.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DANCE TO QUELL THE WIND.

After the freeing of the land from tapu an air of excitement began to pervade the villages. The forthcoming rites, with their religious dancing of an unusual kind, were by far the most spectacular of the seasonal cycle, and claimed the interest of the people to a high degree. Over and over I was told enthusiastically "Beautiful dances", and young folk, in particular, looked forward to them with eager anticipation.

The dance period was divided into two sections, referred to as the **Taomatangi** and the **Uranga afi.** The former, which came first on the programme, consisted of four days' rites, with dances performed for a short space of time in the late afternoon, while in the second period a different set of dances began at dusk and continued throughout the night till dawn. These took place around a sacred fire which was not allowed to die down, hence the name of **Te Uranga afi,** the Flaming fire, by which this period was known.

Taomatangi may best be translated as Quell the Wind, **tao** meaning to press down, and **matangi** being the wind. This term was used more generally to cover the **Uranga afi** nights as well and was associated with the belief that these sacred dances have the effect of keeping trampled down, as it were, the violent gales which sometimes spring up at this season.

Pa Vainuina said of the **Taomatangi** "Its idea is the suppression of the wind, the wind not to storm in nights of the summer; the custom of the land of old. It is done for the work which is performed, things of the chief which are done; kava is made in Uta, while the chiefs call to the **wind** not to blow". The association is vague, but it explains the archaic and esoteric expression often quoted, **"Te raranga nga atua e mori ke siki"**, interpreted in more usual speech as **"Te fekau nga atua e fai ke oti"** - meaning "The Work of the Gods is performed that it may be finished". The idea is that it is a good thing to complete the various ceremonies as speedily as is consistent with the programme in order that no untoward events may arise. It can be easily seen how the existence of such a belief tends to promote the efficiency of the performance of the seasonal ritual, and maintain it.

According to the Ariki Taumako, in former days the **Taomatangi** took place rather later, after our New Year, in fact as near as possible to the actual hurricane season. It was determined, he said, by the time of appearance of the stars Manu and Saraporu - "adjusted to the stars not to blow hither".

When they appear in the morning in the south-eastern sky low down over the horizon, they are regarded particularly as harbingers of storms. He said that the fixing of the dance period was simply a matter of traditional lore (**tara tupua**) and that there was no actual myth (**kai**) in connection with it. But in recent years the Christmas festivals on the other side of the island led the heathen to seek to maintain their precedence, so that the ancient rites were put forward into an earlier month.

There is, however, a further belief in the function of the **Taomatangi** dances. As with most of the principal religious rites, there is the idea that their performance tends to bring prosperity on the land, to induce the gods to grant that efficacy which is subsumed under the term **manu**. I was told "The singing which is performed by the lake, we men do it only to the gods; it is made to the **manu** of the gods; all the chiefs sing to the gods to make hither the **manu** for the land to be well." In all this the premier god is the Atua i Kafika - "his is the **Taomatangi** which is made" - though he does not figure to any great extent in it.

MARAE

The scene of these activities is a glade in the forest in Uta opening on the eastern side on to the lake; bordered inland on the north side by the sacred houses of Nukuora and Rarofiroki, and to the south by those of Kafika and Taumako with the wall of aromatic shrubbery which surrounds them. The main path from Ravenga to Namo round the lake shore traverses the spot, and joins it up with Takerekere and Matavi, a combined smaller glade, a hundred yards to the north.

The dancing place in Uta is known as **Marae**. The term is applied descriptively to other open spaces used for religious rites, but is reserves as a proper name for this one alone which is the chief of them all. **Marae** is one of the most sacred spots in Tikopia, both from its general association with religious rites, and also, more particularly, because in it stand a number of rough stone slabs, each of which is representative of one of the chief gods of the island. According to native ideas the slab serves as his "seat", or more strictly, back-rest, during any kava ceremonies performed there. These stones are not regarded as **atua** in themselves but are spoken of as the embodiment (**fakatino**), or confirmation (**fakapatonu**), of the **atua**. Each male **atua** is said to sit cross-legged with his back against his stone; the female **atua** to sit with legs straight out before her. The

custom of gods thus agrees with that of men. [1] Because of this association with the deities it is **tapu** to walk indiscriminately over the ground. Except to carry out a definite piece of ritual no one in ordinary times may step aside from the path. Though the track through the **marae** was used as a main highway by many people daily during the year at no time did I see anyone ever set foot off it and tread the **tapu** soil. As a result of disuse after each season's festivities the ground becomes rapidly overgrown with grass and weeds to a height of several feet (Plate II a), and before it can be utilised again it must be thoroughly cleared. This task then forms the initial rite of the **Taomatangi** and is of the greatest sacerdotal importance. It is termed the **Tanga i Marae**.[2]

This ceremony, like so many others already described, took place soon after daylight.

On the occasion on which I saw it I had arrived early in my canoe in order to precede the crowd. The Marae itself was quiet, and wet with dew, and no-one else was there. The people soon arrived by canoe or on foot, and went to join their respective chiefs. Some gathered in the houses to chew betel and smoke; others waited near the lakeside.

While the crowds assembled round the Marae the Ariki Kafika remained in his house. When all was ready he was notified and came down to the border of the sacred ground. There he wound round his waist a new piece of barkcloth, and tied the coconut leaf round his neck. When he appeared the men - there were no women or girls present, any such being inside the houses inland - gathered in from all sides and arranged themselves around the edge of the Marae in a ring, crouching down, with hands stretched out ready to clutch and tear up the grass when the word was given. A chief who is elderly need not participate. The Ariki Taumako, who was young and energetic, crouched with the rest. The Ariki Kafika alone stood erect. Drawing in a preliminary breath he called out the formula for the clearing of the Marae. It was quite short, and I give it in translation

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1 Towards the end of the **Taomatangi**, when I ventured to take photographs, natives asked if I had not seen the **atua** in the mirror of the camera, and seemed surprised that they were not visible.

2 **Ta**, the generic meaning of which is **strike**, or **build**, is also used for operations of cutting palm fronds etc. Its use for the grubbing out of grass and weeds may be in token of respect to the Marae.

since it was of a type already described.

"Pa Tafua, Pa Taumako, Pa Fangarere, Satinamo (i.e. Pa Rarovi).

Your assemblage of Elders there give countenance to the Marae of Pu ma which will be cleared away on this morning.

Clear for welfare.

Be swept away epidemic desease from the crown of the land. **Marie!**"

The formula finished on the word **Marie**, on hearing which everyone began in haste to root up all the vegetation immediately in front of him. The Ariki Kafika on the completion of his recital dropped down and worked with the rest (Plate II b). No definite plan of organisation was followed, but each member of the party gradually worked inwards, clearing all within reach as he went, until in a surprisingly short space of time, a matter of a couple of minutes, the lush herbage had been reduced to piles of rubbish, which people hastily seized in armfuls and ran to throw into the bushes by the side of the lake. Speed is an essential feature of the affair since it is held that one should not delay in setting about the work of the gods. After the initial clearing, which was but superficial, a more thorough survey of the ground was made, and a second load of vegetation removed, leaving only very short grass and weeds. A protruding bush or so was chopped out at the side of the Marae, a work which was superintended by the Ariki Kafika. After this the people returned to their various clan-stations. "**Marae ku ta**", "Marae has been cleared", they said.

Now that it was bare and open to inspection the chief features of interest in it could be clearly seen. Plan I indicates their relation to one another. The surface was fairly smooth but hardly level, since two large low mounds occupied much of the centre space. These were known as **tae kava** (literally "kava refuse") and on them the kava bowls of the chiefs were prepared. The fibrous residue from the sacred liquid was shaken out there; hence by hyperbole that name was given to the mounds, as if they had been built up of the refuse of generations. A third much smaller mound, bearing the same name, lay towards the south end of Marae. Mention has already been made of the stones representative of the principal deities of the island. Immediately in front of the small hut Matangi-aso, on the upper side of the ground, were two such pillars, each a couple of feet high, side by side. These were the stones of Pu ma, Tafika and Karisi,

or Nga Ariki, as they were known in Marae. A yard or so behind them was spread the seating mat of the Ariki Kafika, whose gods they were, and whose offerings were made primarily to them (See Plate IV d). Near by, close to the path from Kafika, stood another stone, under a **fetaka** tree. This however was not representative of any deity, but merely existed to indicate the spot where the **roi** was to stand.

I was told "It is the distinguishing mark of the placing of the **roi**; there is no **atua** who may be embodied therein, no, the stone simply was set up there." 1

At the lower side of the ground, adjoining the lake, in the open space between the trees, lay a tumbled heap of rocks, with the water lapping their edges. This was known as Pae Marae - the Slabs of Marae. The most important of them was a broad flat stone which was perhaps the most sacred object in Tikopia. It was described as **te fatu tapu o te paenga** - the sacred stone of the heap of slabs. This was the stone of Te Atua i Kafika. An inclined pillar in front of this served as support for the sounding board during certain afternoon dances (**fatu fakamau o te nafa**), and another stone at the south end of Rarofiroki served a similar function during the night (See Plate III b). Such a stone was also termed **te fakarave o te nafa**, meaning that under it the sounding board was fitted or engaged. To the left of Pae Marae looking towards the lake, was another pillar, which was the seat of the Atua i Tafua, while near to it, further back in the shrubbery was the stone of Rua nofine, two female deities of the Tafua chief. To the right of Pae Marae stood the stone of the Atua i Anuta who in Tikopia, through ancient association, was under the control of the Ariki Taumako. Near to it was the pillar of the Atua i Sao. A few yards away, almost flush with the ground, lay the stone of the Atua i Taumako. A myth concerning this stone and that of the Atua i Kafika is given briefly in Chapter IX. On the upper side of Marae, between Rarofiroki and the seats of Nga Ariki, leaned the stone of the Atua Fafine, the female deity. In rear of this was the space called Rarofetaka which was the seat of the women at such times as they attended the ceremonies. As the men had their stations near their respective clan deities so the women were posted near to their goddess.

On the north side of the Marae, among the gnarled roots of the huge **puka** tree which bordered the path, stood the low stone of Te Atua i Niumano, son of the Atua i Taumako. A little further along the edge of the ground

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1 According to Pa Motuata, however, it was the stone of an **atua** of Nga Fiti, whose name is lost to memory.

towards Pae Marae was the Taurongorongo, the space in which dancers waited to join the ring during the night festivities, swaying their bodies and shuffling their feet in time to the rhythm. Further still towards the centre lay Raromiro, another space where the men sat to chant their sacred songs in response to the women at Rarofetaka. All these spots, though distinguished by separate names, were quite close together, since the Marae was in all not more than fifty yards long. This minuteness of distinction of locale, with profusion of names, was an essential feature in the complex yet precise organization of events.

During the rites of Marae each clan had its basic station; this was in rear of its own chief, his seating-mat being near the seat of his principal god. Thus Kafika squatted outside the north end of their temple, between it and the hut Matangi-aso; Tafua used to be at the north side of the ground, near the main path and the stone of their god; Taumako were at the south end of the ground, also near the main path, while Fangarere took post at the end of the temple Rarofiroki (see later). Thus the chiefs and their clansmen were roughly at the four corners of a rectangle, each group facing towards the centre of Marae.

RAROFIROKI TEMPLE

It may have been noted that the Atua i Fangarere alone of the principal deities had no stone in Marae. In place of this he had a small temple which was representative of him, and served as his seat when he wished to descend to the kava. "The god of the Work, there is no stone for him. That is his stone, the house which stands there, Rarofiroki; therefore the Ariki Fangarere goes and makes obeisance to it." The name Rarofiroki may be derived from the fact that a tall umbrella palm, the fruit of which is known as Firoki, waved its crest overhead (see Plate II a). Thus the hut was indeed "Under the palm fruit". By the natives, however, it was said to have been named from the dwelling of the god himself in Rangi, the Tikopia Heaven. The tale of its origin is bound up with the history of the island. After the slaying of Nga Ravenga a fearful epidemic of the type known as **te kemo** came upon the land, and the people died by scores. This was the result of the anger of the Atua lasi at having had his clan well nigh exterminated, and as he is the controller of disease, he could easily make his displeasure felt. At last to appease his anger Pu ma, **atua** of the chiefs of Uta, announced through their mediums that a **fare** should be built in Marae. This was accordingly done, the house was named Rarofiroki after its counterpart the house of the Atua lasi among the gods, and the plague was stayed. At this time the sole survivor of Nga Ravenga was the child

Fakaarofatia, who afterwards became the progenitor of the Fangarere clan. To pacify the **atua** still further Fangarere was appointed by mutual consent to be the premier group in Marae. The Ariki Tafua, as executive for the Ariki Kafika, performed the kava to the Atua lasi before this house. Later when Fakaarofatia grew up he joined the Ariki in the ritual and spread the **epa** mat to his deity (v. **infra**). Thus Rarofiroki came to be one of the most sacred houses in Tikopia.

It was distinguished by having on top of the ridge a carved slab of wood running along it from end to end. This was termed **te papa purou**, the covering plank, or **te papa tapu**, the sacred plank, since the figures which were cut out of it were religious emblems of great importance. "Great is the weight of the slab" said the natives, referring to its sacerdotal, not its physical quality.

One of these carvings, the most sacred, was known as **te iofa**; the other was **te manu tapu.** I could not discover what creature, if any, the **iofa** represented. But the **manu tapu** ("sacred animal") was said to be a type of **turi**, a general name for several species of wading birds, in particular the turnstone (**Arenaria interpres**). The living **turi** is not regarded as sacred, but its conventionalization, the **manu tapu**, is highly so. After some objection by the Ariki Kafika had been overcome Pa Fenuatara sketched for me the two carvings on the plank of Rarofiroki, as seen below. Later



Iofa



Manu tapu

he carved the **manu tapu** in wood and mounted it as a parting gift to me (Frontispiece). He flanked it with two **turi** modelled in naturalistic style, and for decoration whitened them with **rimu**, a living growth gathered from the reef. The **manu tapu**, however, he left in self-colour, explaining that it was too sacred for him to smear over thus. The carving did not meet with the entire approval of his father, who thought his son was meddling with sacred things. It was brought to me covered by a cloth, and handed over with the stipulation that women and children and persons of no consequence generally should not be allowed ever to see it.

These emblems of course belonged primarily to the Ariki Fangarere, and his principal canoe bore the carved bird on its bow or stern cover. I was told by Pa Fenuatara that when this vessel is taken out for fishing, should one of the crew by accident strike the wooden figure, the trip is immediately abandoned, and the canoe brought to shore. The crew arrive wailing and when the news is spread abroad the whole clans of Kafika and Fangarere assemble and cry, gash their foreheads with knives, tear the skin off their cheeks and give vent to other manifestations of grief. Then they go over to Uta, pull a plant of kava, collect quantities of **taro** from the cultivation, and **masi** from the stove pits, and go and stand it by the starboard side of the canoe. Then the kava ceremony is performed to appease the anger of the deity whose symbol has been thus outraged, and people come from all parts of the island to take part in the mourning ceremony.

Other chiefs do not infringe on the privileges of the Ariki Fangarere in the use of these emblems. On the subject of the carved **turi** Pa **Fenuatara** remarked:

> "The name in this land is'the sacredcreature'. It is prohibited to the chiefs and the populace; the Ariki Fangarere adorns his vessel and his house - the assembly of chiefs, no! The chief who desires to stand the **turi** on his canoe, does so and goes to sea, but when he returns he is overwhelmed by the waves in the channel; he is swamped; split is the canoe, broken. As done by me, no, it is good, because I am the sacred child".

In other words, Pa Fenuatara might mount the **turi** on his canoe with impunity since his mother came from Fangarere clan. Because of this he was able to carve these emblems as a **gift** to me. Apparent exceptions to the rule that no other chief may utilise them as canoe decorations were also explicable on this basis. Thus in 1928 two canoes of the Ariki Taumako, "Kakeafanga" and "Te Ingoa a Pu" both had the **turi** on the covers. These were carved and set there by Pa Veterei, now dead, who was also a "**sacred child**" to the Ariki Fangarere, though not of close kin. The **iofa**, however, was more sacred. No one, not even Pa Fenuatara, would have ventured to set this on his vessel. It was **tapu** to the Ariki Fangarere alone.

The beliefs and rites described above illustrate the reality of the religious veneration in which these objects were held by the people. The **manu tapu**, i.e., the **turi** (not the **iofa**, as the text states), may be seen in a photograph

taken by Rev.W. Durrad in 1910[1]. The slab has since fallen down and decayed, and in 1928 had not yet been renewed. I was told that when it is to be carved again all four Ariki take part in the rites, in token of their joint interest in the house and its deity. The wood selected is that of the breadfruit for its lightness. When a suitable tree has been chosen the chiefs assemble, each with his sacred adze on his shoulder, and march up to it in line. The Ariki Kafika leads the procession. As he reaches the spot he takes the adze from his shoulder and makes a cut at the tree, reciting as he does so the formula:

"Cut with power be thy slab Te Varotea.
Cut with power be thy slab Futi o te kere.
Face towards the head of the land thy slab,
And be parted the epidemic disease
from the crown of the land.

He then steps aside, and is followed by the Ariki Tafua, who repeats action and form of words likewise. His place is then taken by the Ariki Taumako, who is succeeded by the Ariki Fangarere. When each has performed his share of the rite the experts come to fell the tree and dress and carve the timber, the latter part of the work being done beside the house Nukora at the edge of Marae. For this people assemble from all other villages and a large quantity of food is brought together to form the feast which marks the importance of the occasion. The formula given above is an invocation to the Atua lasi, under his name in Marae and his name in Kafika, to give food and health to the people. The "head of the land" is an esoteric term for the breadfruit. The bulbous fruit of this tree is said to be the head of the Atua lasi. There is thus to the Tikopia a close social connection between the Ariki Fangarere, the breadfruit, the Atua lasi, and Rarofiroki house - a connection which could be pursued further as regards disease, death and spirit homes. The control of the Atua lasi over epidemics gives particular point in the above formula to the customary appeal for health and protection.

Though the house of Rarofiroki is primarily under the jurisdiction of the Ariki Fangarere, as being the property of his god, he comes last of the four chiefs to deliver his formula. This is due to his inferior rank. The opposition between precedence and proprietorship which might otherwise occur is obviated by the use of the rau, the separate titles of the god. Thus in the present instance the Atua i Fangarere is known variously as Te Atua lasi and Tafito to all the people, Te Urupaku in the kava of Fangarere and Taumako

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[1] Reproduced in Rivers, H.M.S. I, p.339, Fig. I.

Futi o te kere in that of Kafika, and Te Varotea in that of Marae, that is in the kava of the Arika Tafua.

PREPARATION OF TEMPLES

This digression has been necessary in order that the true importance of Rarofiroki in Marae should be understood. The first task after the clearing of Marae was to repair this house. A few lengths of thatch were replaced where desirable, while the Ariki Kafika stood by to watch the process, and repeated a very brief formula of the usual type, notifying the god of what was being done and requesting that it might have auspicious results.

Attention was next turned to Matangi-aso. This was a tiny hut, no more than breast high above the ground, and a few feet long. It was said by the Ariki Kafika to have been a small house of Pu ma from olden times, though they have no ritual place therein. When it is rebuilt, as is needful occasionally, kava of the usual type is made in Kafika lasi. Like Rarofiroki, Matangi-aso was never inhabited, but served merely as the shelter for certain sacred objects. Chief of them was the **nafa**, or short trough, of carved wood which was beaten as a sounding board to mark the rhythm of the dances. The one I observed was old and broken so that in actual practice a non-sacred timber was employed. When it gets too rotten to be handled easily the **nafa** will be replaced by another specially hewn for the purpose. In this case the **nafa** was removed, and a few repairs were done such as the replacing of the plaited ridge cover.

The technological aspect completed, the sacerdotal now came to the fore. One of the most sacred spots in Marae was the **mua fare** of Rarofiroki, the space immediately before the house on the side towards the lake. Here was the spot where to native eyes the Atua himself made his appearance to men for the ceremonies, and where his kava was poured several times daily. It was known by the esoteric name of Mua fai toka and in recognition of its importance in the rites it was carpeted with coconut leaves, over which a pair of coconut mats were laid. One mat was for the Atua i Tafua, the other for the Atua lasi. These corresponded to the two main doorways of the house, the one to the east being that of the Atua lasi while the other, to the south, was that of his brother deity. At the same time fronds of areca palm were laid down before the **aro fatu**, the two stones of Nga Ariki, and over them a fresh coconut leaf mat was set. A spot on the mound immediately in front was carpeted with areca palm and banana leaves - this was the place where the kava of the Ariki Kafika was to be prepared.

The Ariki himself now entered Matangi-aso hut with a small green mat and laying it on the floor, proceeded, to tie a number of streamers of new bark cloth to the rafters. These were for the various gods within. Accounts varied as to who they actually were. One version stated that there was a deity named Te Amafakaro, and that he was an atua of the drifting foam on the sea. It may be noted that this name was that of Te Atua i Raropuka as invoked in the game of dart throwing, and that the "foremost dart" of sa Kafika was known as Matangi-aso.[1]

Pa Tarairaki gave the names of the atua as Pu Ase and Angiangi (being two names of Pu ma), Nuku-i-tafa-tai (or Pu-i-tafa-tai) and Te Atua i Matangi-aso, Known as Te Ama fakaro. The two streaners he said were those of Angiani and this last god. The Ariki Kafika himself said that he had not heard of these separate deities. He knew of three atua, who were gods of the sea foam, and had no individual names, being termed collectively Nuki-i-te-tafa-tai. He received this information from his predecessor, and from the late Ariki Taumako. The difference of opinion on this point is not material, since the hut Matangi-aso played no importance part in ritual - which is probably the reason for the variation of evidence. The sole rite of interest in connection with it was the washingof large helmet shells, which took place a little later. A large leaf was brought from the lake, full of water. Pa Rarovi, whose function it was to officiate, entered the house with the water and washed the shells. As he did so he called "Ia!" to announce his work to gods and men, and the Ariki then recited a formula:

"Wash with power your bodies
Nuku-i-te-tafa-tai.
Pour out your bodies to go in the
wastes to seawards."

This is an invocation addressed to the deities of the sea foam, whose material embodiments are the shells, to give efficacy to the rite, and also to proceed to the open ocean, far from land. The point is that sea foam is the result of breaking waves, which make trouble for canoes and fishermen. Hence in directing these gods to remove their body, i.e. the foam, to the ocean wastes, the Ariki is in reality making an appeal for fine weather at sea. But he invokes the effect, not the cause, the foam gods, not the sea gods. According to Pa Tarairaki who was a collateral kinsman of the Ariki,actually in the elder line, and received his information from a different source, the formula for the washing should have been addressed

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[1] v."A Dart Throwing Match in Tikopia," **Oceania**, I, 1930.

to Pu Ase, Pu Ase-kau and Nuku-i-tafa-tai, requesting the parting of the line of foam (tafe) on the reef. Another allied meaning of **tafe** is the **miro**, the wake of a canoe, which is the "body" of Nuku-i-tafa-tai. From the common elements in these variations, however, it is clear that the deities of Matangi-aso are foam gods and the object of the rite and formula is to cause them to retreat and leave the sea calm.

After the Ariki Kafika had completed his task, the Ariki Fangarere entered Rarofiroki and tied the various streamers to the rafters and post. The formulae for these were of the same type as those given in the case of Nukuora, Vaisakiri, &c.

THE KAVA OF MARAE

The more important part of the ceremony now began. Each Ariki took his seat at the traditional position (v. Plan) and his kava was brought - a root and stem of the plant bared of leaves - and laid on top of a large basket of food, the **roi** prepared the night before. The basket of food of each chief was set near his seat. That of the Ariki Kafika was laid against a stone to the right of the pillars of Nga Ariki. Next to it was put the basket of Pa Porima, whose seating mat, dedicated to his chief deity, Te Atua i te Uruao, rested at the side of Matangi-aso. On the other side was the mat of Pa Rarovi, by which his **roi** was laid. These two men had their special seating mats in Marae on account of their position as principal elders of the Ariki Kafika.

After the washing of the shells in Matangi- aso and the return of Pa Rarovi to his seat, the Ariki Fangarere rose from his mat and went with a small finely plaited pandanus mat under his arm down to the front of Rarofiroki. There he sat on the coconut leaves, facing the house. The mat was termed **te epa** and was the seat of his Atua.1 He unfolded it, held it up in both hands breast high, uttered a short formula, and then, making an obeisance with it, laid it down by the side of the house. Then he returned to his place.

The **roi** was now carried from its respective positions out to the centre of the ground. This, like all other rites of this place, was done in a definite order. The bearer first brought the basket of Tafua, then that of Fangarere, then that of Kafika, and finally that of Taumako, the food of the elders in each case following that of their Ariki. The primacy of Tafua was due to the special functions of that chief in Marae,

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1 cf. **fakaepa** "to do honour to," "to praise", in a general sense.

and Fangarere was next since it was the Atua lasi, the god of that clan, who was the chief object of the present ceremonies. When the baskets of food had been heaped together the "kava house" was constructed on them. The sticks of kava were lifted and stood with their tops together so that they formed a pyramid.

The next rite was that of the recital of the kava. This was essentially of the same type as the repeated invocation of deities by each chief in his own private ceremonies, but was invested on this occasion with much greater solemnity and grandeur, and had a number of special features associated with it. It was not performed in full when I was present, owing to the absence of the Ariki Tafua. I insert here, however, the account of it I received from several sources. The recitation of the formula was the privilege of the Ariki Tafua - a privilege which was highly valued and was the subject of great pride on his part, inasmuch as he stood erect to execute his office, while the rest of the people, including his superior chief, the Ariki Kafika, sat in silence with bowed heads. This was in his capacity as Worker to the Kafika chief, and was on the same plane as his position as reciter of the fono in Rarokoka. Unlike the normal kava formula, this one was recited aloud, in fact shouted, and men who were present before the defection of the Ariki Tafua said that the resounding tones of his voice rolled round the hills in Uta, and could be heard like the rumblings of thunder from over the lake.

The Ariki stood up, girt with a new waist-cloth and with two fronds from the tip of the coconut leaf, the symbol of his deity, stuck at his back. He laid one hand on top of the "kava house", the erection of stems, and turned towards the north. Then he began his recital.

"Tinamo! ma tau ke fainga roi ma
tau ke takinga kava ne fai foki ke
te marae o Pu ma.

Ma mata ratou ke fainga roi ma
ratou takinga kava ne fai ifo ki te
marae o Pu ma."

"Pa Taumako! ma tau ke fainga
roi ma tau ke takinga kava
ne fai ifo ki te marae o Pu ma.
Ma fai nga roi o a mata ma ratou
ke takinga kava ne fai ifo ki te
marae o Pu ma."

"Pa Fangarere! tau ke takinga kava
tau ke fainga roi ne fai ifo ki
te marae o Pu ma.

Ma mata ratou ke fainga roi, ratou
ke takinga kava ne fai ifo ki te
marae o Pu ma."

(Tera karanga rei ki a ko ia, Te
Faifekau:)
"Taku ke fainga roi ma taku ke
takinga kava ne fai ifo ki te
marae o Pu ma.

Ma fainga roi a mata ma ratou ke
takinga kava ne fai ifo ki
te marae o Pu ma."

"Ku oti te fakasao o te kava"!
"Toru kava tena Nga Ariki.
Koru tiko mai kau kai;
Tiko ki te uru fenua.
Totou wai totou keri
Ku pakupaku.
Kae fifi ki raro
Totou tafa - ki - rangi
Kae fai mai ni tae
Ki te uru o totou fenua
Ku tu fakaarofa
Kae ranga totou wai
I totou tuakau
Ma fakaora totou fenua
Kae tafia makimakia
Ma fonga fenua

Tou kava tena Te Varotea.
Ke tiko mai kau kai,
Tiko ki te uru fenua.
Totou wai totou keri
Ku pakupaku;
Kae fifi ki raro
Totou tafa ki rangi.
Kae fai mai ni tae
Ki te uru o totou fenua
Ku tu fakaarofa
Kae tafia makimakia
Ma fonga fenua
Kae ranga totou wai ma totou
tuakau
Ma fakaora totou fenua.

"Tou kava tena Sakura.
Tou kava tena Raki-te-ua.
Tou kava tena Oatuatafu.
Tou kava tena Rua nofine,

Saesae tou kete
O fai fangainga mau
Ki te fonga fenua;
Ma tua tafora.
Ni mafa mo te kava
Tuku atu ki te ra ka to na
Marie"!

TRANSLATION:

"Tinamo! (the Ariki Kafika) for your own making of the **roi**, for your own digging of the kava prepared for the assembly ground of the Gods.

For your elders and their own making of the **roi**, for their own digging of the **kava** prepared for the assembly ground of the Gods."

"Pa Taumako! (i.e. the Ariki Taumako) for your own making of the **roi**, for your digging of the kava prepared for the assembly ground of the Gods.

For the making of the **roi** by your elders, for their own digging of the kava performed for the assembly ground of the Gods."

"Pa Fangarere (i.e. the Ariki Fangarere) your digging of the kava, your own making of the **roi**, prepared for the assembly ground of the Gods."

For your elders and their own making of the **roi**, their own digging of the kava prepared for the assembly ground of the Gods"
(Then he calls to himself - The Worker.)
"My own making of the roi, for my own digging of the kava prepared for the assembly ground of the Gods.

For the making of the **roi** by my elders, for their own digging of the kava prepared for the assembly ground of the Gods."

"The confirmation of the kava is finished!"
"Your kava there, the Chiefs!
You two excrete hither food for me;
Excrete on to the head of the land.

Your water, your soil
Has become parched.
And urinate down below
Your sides of the heaven
And prepare excrement
For the head of your land
Which has stood orphaned.
And raise your waters
On your reef
For giving life to your land.
And brush away epidemic illness
From the crown of the land."

"Thy kava there, Te Varotea!
Excrete thou hither food for me,
Excrete on to the head of the land.
Your water, your soil
Has become parched;
And urinate down below
Your sides of the heaven
And prepare excrement
For the head of your land
Which has stood orphaned.
And be brushed away epidemic illness
From the crown of the land.
And raise our waters and your reef
For giving life to your land."

"Thy kava there, Sakura.
Thy kava there, Raki-te-ua.
Thy kava there, Oatuatafu.
Thy kava there Ruanofine,
Open thy basket
And prepare nourishment for thyself
For the crown of the land,
And the edge of the reef.
Things burdensome for the kava
Put away, to the sun which is sinking there;
Marie!"

The formula opens by calling on each chief in turn, in virtue of his having made the **roi** and pulled up the plant of kava for the ritual of Marae, to confirm or countenance the invocation to the Gods. This is the implication, though the actual invitation is not delivered but merely announced as completed. The introduction, **fakasao**, differs considerably in this respect from that which opens the ordinary kava. The **mata** mentioned in each case after the **chief** are his principal elders. In the previous chapter reference was made to the making of **matua**

roi separately by a certain number of elders, and here is the formal recognition of that act. (**Mata** is said to be an old term for **matua pure**.) The invocation proper opens with an appeal to Nga Ariki, i.e., to Tafaki and Karisi. They are asked in symbolic language to excrete upon the land and its inhabitants, i.e. to give profusion of foodstuffs. A plentiful appearance of bread fruit (the head of the land) is likened to the excrement of the gods voided upon the trees. An appeal is also made to their sympathies by the pathetic-and not necessarily correct - statement that the springs have dried up and the land is parched. They are asked then to pour down the skies in rain by the symbolism of urination. The formula then proceeds along normal lines, invoking in order Te Varotea, i. e. the Atua lasi; Sakura; the Atua i Taumako; Raki-te-ua, Atua i Tafua; and Oatuatafu, another of the Brethren, also a deity of Tafua. It concludes with an appeal to Rua nofine, two female deities of Tafua,who are believed to possess a typical woman's basket, which they are asked to open in order to disperse food to the land. The actual form of the recital of the kava of Marae thus differs considerably, notably in its freer use of scatological symbolism,from the normal invocations,though the underlying ideas are of precisely the same kind. This is regarded as the premier kava of Tikopia. In addition to this the Ariki Tafua also "possesses" another form of recital which he uses for all ordinary ceremonies. The kava of Marae should be recited only in Marae.[1]

When I saw the rites in 1928 the Ariki Tafua had ceased to attend the **Taomatangi**, so that though the other procedure was still carried out, his invocation was replaced by a short formula of confirmation recited by the Ariki Kafika. He remained seated on his mat, while Pa Fenumera, a man of Fangarere chosen for this duty, went and stood by the "kava house".

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1. I obtained this formula in several texts, the principal ones being from the Ariki Tafua himself, and from his eldest son Pa Rangifuri. The latter was an excellent informant and wished always to illustrate his data. On this occasion he was standing up in his house, girt with a new waist-cloth, and with considerable excitement began reciting the invocation in proper form. Suddenly I noticed gooseflesh begin to appear on his arms and body. He began to tremble, then stopped and sat down quickly, saying shakily, "You have seen? The God jumped on to me. He has heard his formula recited, and has come to his kava". He was much disturbed at the thought that by imitating the procedure of Marae he had summoned the deity of his clan who had entered him as a medium. When he sat down, however, the symptoms disappeared; later, after my reassurance,he continued the formula, but in a moderated tone, and without performing the appropriate actions.

The substitute version, which was formerly recited on occasions of unavoidable absence of the Ariki Tafua, was practically a repetition of the invocation recited for the clearing of Marae earlier in the day.

When the recital of the formula was finished the **fare kava** was dismantled, and the kava stems were apportioned (literally "thrown") to the stones of the various deities of Marae. The kava of the Atua lasi was first laid at Muafaitoka, then that of the Atua i Tafua was set by his stone, and that of Te Atua i Taumako, Rua nofine and Te Atua i Anuta followed in this order. "It is distributed among the gods". Packages of **roi** were then carried in the same order and set by the stones.

The pouring of libations was the next item of the ritual and this too was done with much greater solemnity than usual. Indeed I could not help but be impressed by the quietness and reverence of all the proceedings there, the haste to perform duties and the absence of slipshod methods, all of which was in contrast to the normal habits of the Tikopia. The kava bowl was brought in from the wings as it were, i.e. from the non-sacred area, by Fenumera.

For these rites the kava-maker is girded with leaves of **rau tea** over his ordinary bark cloth held in place by a belt of sinnet rope. If he be an elder he dons a new **bark-cloth** for the occasion.[1] This is the traditional dress of the persons who have special duties to perform in Marae.

The kava server seated himself behind the bowl on the mound facing Rarofiroki and was followed by the cup bearer with a water bottle and piece of kava, which he proceeded to chew. (Plate IVa) The usual method of preparation was followed, but a new bundle of hibiscus fibre was used as a strainer, and special care was taken to see that all residue was removed from the liquid, which should be clear. "He looks to see that it shall be clear absolutely". The reason I was told is that if any of the epe or **moimoi kava**, the cheqed fragments, remain in the liquid when the libations are poured, the deity who is thought to drink thereof will choke, and thereupon disappear from the ceremony. This is known by the fact that the man who has been preparing the kava

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[1] For the opening day of the **Taomatangi** of 1928 Pa Fenua tara was kava-maker. Though he was the eldest son and heir of the principal chief of the island yet he wore the **rau tea** leaves; he was still "a common man".

topples over and falls insensible.[1] The people at large, if they witness such an accident, say at once, "The kava was not clear, the god choked; the leavings are still there." Then they rush up and drag the kava maker away to revive him. "Great is the weight of the kava of Muafaitoka", it was said.

The knowledge of this makes the kava maker very careful, and no event of this kind had been known to happen within recent memory. While the kava was being made the cup bearer sat with bowed head, the cup in his hands.

ENTRY OF "THE GREAT GOD"

The cardinal feature of the ceremony was the entry of the god upon the scene - a display of spiritualistic mediumship similar to that described in the rites of Vaisakiri house. **The medium**, who was at that time the eldest son of the Ariki Fangarere, appeared suddenly from the house inland, girt with a new **cloth**, with bands of turmeric on arms and belly, the black charcoal stripe on his forehead, and the splayed cycas leaves at his back. Trembling slightly, he seated himself on the mat of the Ariki Fangarere, his head moving slightly from side to side. When the kava was nearly ready he rose quickly and took his seat in **Mua fare**, that is at **Mua faitoka**, facing the north end of the Marae. His trembling became more violent, and his locked hands rattled on the coconut matting. Suddenly he emitted a shriek, then with head swinging rapidly from side to side he began to speak in loud, metallic, curiously prolonged tones. This was regarded by the natives as the voice of the deity speaking to his brothers among the gods. There appeared to be no doubt in the minds of the people as to the genuineness of the phenomena witnessed; I heard someone whisper as the medium appeared, "Our ancestor has come". In former days, as the medium sat there the Ariki Tafua was handed a cup of kava by the attendant, and pouredit out, exclaiming as he did so:

"Tau kava tena Te Varotea.
Inu tau kava,
Kae fakasari ki tau fare fanau."
"Thy kava there Te Varotea.
Drink thy kava,
And drip down on thy house of the Brethren".

This interpretation of the last phrase is uncertain but it probably refers to breadfruit and other crops to be "rained down",

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[1] Or the medium when as deity he drinks from the cup offered him by the Ariki Tafua.

as it were, by the deity upon the people. As he emptied the cup the Ariki passed it behind him,then stretching out his hand palm up, he called

"Kau kaina, kaina, yae Te Varotea
I o-oo rei! 1 "
By me eaten, eaten, excrement Te Varotea
Aye! "

The final words of assent, "Io rei" were taken up by the assembled people, who dwelt on them in a prolonged shout which echoed round the hills. Thus the clans as a whole jointed in the affirmation of humility. "The whole land assents entirely, not a person remains", it was said with pardonable hyperbole.

This rite was termed "the Conveying of the God to the Skies", since it was regarded as an act of formal and reverent dismissal. It was in fact the parting homage of one god to another. For the native conception was that in the person of the Ariki Tafua it was actually the Atua-i-Tafua who sat there and who in spiritual guise raised up his brother in his arms and so sped him on his path to the heavens.This rite is not performed nowadays.

A slight digression is necessary to explain this ritual whereby the principal god of Fangarere is believed to appear to men. For a long period after the building of the house Rarofiroki, I was told, the Atua lasi sought no human contacts. About four generations ago, however, a chief of Fangarere, Te Atua Vao by name, married a woman from the chief's family of Tafua. They had a son, Rakei mai tafua,[2] who became

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[1] A variant of the formula substitutes "We" for "I" in the announcement of eating excrement.
The god i.e., the medium, may sometimes drink kava at Muafaitoka, though this did not happen when I was there. According to Pa Fenumera it is a point of etiquette in presenting the cup not to hold it straight to his lips, as is usual, but to proffer it with the front of the wrist held towards him. He will then take it himself and drink.

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[2] Also known as Suma tangata, or Pu Fenumera.

a medium for the spirits in the ceremonies of his father. Seeing this, the chief deity of the clan took possession of him and used him as his vehicle, or "god-anchor", **tauratua**, for his appearances in Marae. "When he became a medium, the Atua lasi flew on to him, he was decorated by sa Tafua, by his mother's kinsfolk, to convey him and bring him hither. They lifted him up, bore him in their arms and set him on the mat at Muafaitoka that the deity might possess him. Therefore he was called by the name Rakei mai tafua (Adorned by Tafua)."

The action taken by the clan of his mother in thus decorating him was to gratify the evident desires of the great deity and also to honour both their nephew and themselves in the eyes of the community. Because of his maternal affiliations Rakei mai Tafua became the object of favour on the part of the Atua i Tafua. He was the latter's "sacred child" and received much **mana** from the god in consequence. While he acted as the vehicle of the Atua lasi the prosperity of the land was great. Both the breadfruit and the coconut fructified, while chestnut, taro and yam also flourished. His end, however, was tragic. On one occasion when the ritual season came round he refused to listen to the entreaties of his relations and instead of remaining to take his place as medium of the Atua lasi he lowered his canoe and set off on a voyage to Anuta. He never reached his destination, being lost at sea, "trodden down", as the natives say, by the vengeful deity. If the god had been allowed to "run to men", to have made his appearance on earth as usual, all would have been well, but thus deprived of his customary vehicle of materialisation he followed and slew him. Ever since then one of the chief's family of Fangarere has acted as medium for the god.

It has been mentioned that the pandanus mat spread at Muafaitoka was a token of respect to the Atua lasi from the Fangarere chief. But when the medium came down in a state of possession by the god he was not allowed to sit on it. He was a god, but he was a man also, and being a man, to use the pandanus mat would mean death for him. As he was about to sink down on it the mat was deftly jerked from beneath him by the watching Ariki and he rested on the coconut matting alone. It will be remembered that it was believed to be the Atua i Tafua, not merely the Ariki, sitting in front. The medium then was usually chosen from the **afu** of Tafua (i.e., those born of women of that clan) so that on his arrival the **atua** would have consideration for his relative and not let him sit to his death.

To return now to the actual progress of events in Marae. After the recital of the formula of abasement the kava was "clapped" at Mua fare, and a cup was brought and poured by the cup bearer to the foremost stone of Nga Ariki in front of the Ariki Kafika. The reason for this was the prim-

acy of these two gods in the Marae, since they were the deities of the Atua i Kafika when as a man on earth he initiated these ceremonies. Hence in all rites acknowledgement was made to them. The next cup of kava was poured to the Atua lasi at Muafaitoka. This was done formerly by the Ariki Tafua (now by the Ariki Fangarere), after which he retired to his seating mat a few yards away. (Plate IV b) There used to be a division of function between Ariki Tafua and the Ariki Fangarere based, according to the natives, on ancient usage since the days of Fakaerofatia, whereby the chief of Tafua performed the kava and offered it to the medium to drink, while the Fangarere chief had control of the **epa** mat and threw food offerings from the **roi**.

The kava of Muafare served also to provide the libations of the Fangarere chief. As soon as it was begun the bowls of the other three Ariki were brought in and set near their seating mats while their kava was prepared. Each chief then poured the libations to his own clan gods in the usual manner, and threw offerings from the basket of **roi** allotted. The procedure of the Ariki Kafika was marked by the preliminary attentions he paid to his gods, Nga Ariki. He rose from his mat, and with bowed head seated himself on the mat laid before the two stones. Two cups of kava were brought and with each he made obeisance. This in Marae corresponded to the ritual of **raurau kumete** in the **temple** of Kafika. Like other deities these two were imagined to drink of the libations, sitting cross-legged each before his stone. "They drink of the kava which is pouring down; when it has poured out they two have drunk." The Ariki returned to his seat, and poured the ordinary kava, cups being also given to his elder, Pa Rarovi. The first meal of the morning then took place.

The custom on this occasion was for the **roi** to be exchanged: no chief might eat of the food which he had brought to Marae. Consequently on the conclusion of the kava the **roi** of sa Kafika was carried to sa Taumako, and that of sa Taumako to Kafika, while a similar exchange used to be made between Tafua and Fangarere. The reason for this was given simply as "the custom from of old". It was however in agreement with normal Tikopia usage, which promotes the exchange of food at large assemblies. An exception to the rule of reciprocal presentation was in the case of the families of Fusi, Sao, Niumano and Fatumaru. Each elder of these presented a portion to his chief and then, with his immediate kinsmen, fell to upon the remainder of the package. As each chief received his basket from another it was opened and the contents were apportioned among the crowd in rear. All ate heartily, with animated conversation, but each clan group kept to itself in the neighbourhood of its chief; people did not wander from one to the other.

Like other important rites, those of Marae had their fakaoatea, performed not at noon, but about mid-morning. On the first day, that of the clearing of Marae, this was provided by the Kafika clan. A basket of roi with a stem of kava across the top was carried from the house inland and set at the bottom of the ground. The Ariki Kafika then recited a short formula. The kava was then removed and laid with the previous stem at Muafaitoka, while the roi was laid between the two mounds in the centre of the Marae. Portions of the food were distributed to each chief - these were for ceremonial purposes only, since the meal had just concluded. The kava maker and cup bearer, who had meanwhile been in retirement at Fenumera after the previous rite, came in again and the liquid was prepared with the same ceremony as before. The Ariki Fangarere went down to Muafaitoka and the first cup of kava was handed to him there to pour to the Atua lasi. The second was taken to the mat before the stones of Nga Ariki, the third and fourth to the other two chiefs. Other cups were then filled and carried as quietly as possible to the chiefs, in order of precedence, an assistant cup-bearer being called in for the purpose. For the fakaoatea the kava was prepared in a single bowl, not separately as in the previous rite. The various offerings were then "thrown", the Ariki Kafika rising to officiate for that of Nga Ariki, then returning to perform the same service for his other gods at his seating mat. The Ariki Fangarere then lifted the epa and replaced it on his own seat, while the cycas leaves which covered it were stuck in the top of the roof of Rarofiroki.

This concluded the rites for the time being, and the members of the various clans now mingled and chatted. The Ariki visited one another informally to talk and chew betel. A common subject of conversation was the size of the crowd that had assembled, the significant absentees, their reasons and the like. On the occasion of my visit about seventy men and youths were present. A small private kava ceremony was performed in Kafika lasi by the Ariki Kafika but this was of no great importance, libations alone being poured to some of his clan deities. Of the rest of the people most went to Tai to continue their ordinary work, or pay visits to the houses of friends and relatives.

At this point the description of events may be interrupted to give a few general observations on the structure of the cycle of activities. The Taomatangi proper lasted for four days, each of which was associated more particularly with one of the clans. Thus the first day, that on which the marae was cleared, was termed the "Day of sa Kafika", and for this the basket of roi which constituted the fakaoatea was provided by this clan. Likewise they were responsible for the accumulation of a large quantity of areca nut, which was dis-

tributed among the men and women present at the dance. This areca was also termed "te aso", "the day" from a linguistic transference. The order of precedence of the clans was strictly observed. The second day was thus "the day of sa Tafua" who (until their abstention about 1918) were responsible for fakaoatea and areca nut; the following was "the day of sa Taumako" while "the day of sa Fangarere" concluded the period. The **Uranga afi**, which immediately followed, was divided in similar style, the first night being that of sa Kafika, the second being associated with sa Tafua, and so on. Here the stress was laid not so much on economic contribution, but on the type of song chanted, certain kinds being restricted to certain nights, with very close clan associations. This will be considered in the next chapter.

When I saw the dance festival, however, adjustments had been made to meet the defection of the Ariki Tafua and his clan. The "day" and "night" of sa Tafua still remained in name, but the people responsible for the areca nut, etc., were different. The solution found was to split one clan, that of Fangarere, into two sections, one of which, the immediate kinsfolk of the chief, remained as "sa Fangarere", and the other acted as "sa Tafua". This was very ingenious, since Fangarere was the smallest in numbers by far. If either Kafika or Taumako, which were each about the same size, had been split, the traditional balance of exchanges between them would have been disturbed, but by dividing Fangarere into two approximately equal sections equilibrium was kept. Another reason for selecting Fangarere people to fill the place of Tafua was possibly that their premier god was of outstanding importance in Marae.

In the following account the description of the part formerly played by sa Tafua is given in terms of the traditional scheme, as the natives themselves described it. It must be remembered, however, that the actual persons taking part were people of sa Fangarere.

By ancient rule, the ordinary offices of Marae, especially the apportionment of betel nut, the setting up and redistribution of the **fare kava**, were done by men of sa Tafua, in particular by those of the family of Sao. The reason was that since the Ariki Tafua was the "**Faifekau**", the "Worker", in esoteric affairs, of the Ariki Kafika, it was proper for his clansmen to carry out the ordinary duties therein. Sa Sao and sa Fusi have a peculiar right in this respect since their principal deities, Te Atua i Sao and Te Atua i Fusi, were believed to be the **atua faifekau**, the "working gods" of Marae. This position was regarded as an honour and a privilege, not as in any way degrading. On account of its sanctity very strict rules had to be observed as to conduct of affairs in Marae.

Men who performed such offices as cup-bearer or distributor of food had to appear in correct costume, with hair loosened, not tied up on top of the head. Except when actually engaged in carrying objects, they had to adopt a conventional posture - the body respectfully inclined forward, the hands clasped in front. The method of walking was stiff and stilted, due to the weight being thrown mainly on the toes and ball of the foot, and movement was hurried and jerky. The object was to convey the impression to the gods that the person was moving rapidly about their business, yet with due regard for the sacredness of the ground on which he treads. According to Pae Sao, the cardinal rules which he himself observed in performing the tasks of Marae were, first, to go lightly, and not let his feet thud (**paku**) on the ground; and secondly to go quickly - only ignorant people move slowly - while he adopted the correct position of hand and head as already mentioned. Pa Fenumera of Fangarere, who in 1928 performed many of the offices in Marae and was acknowledged as being well versed in such matters, said, "Distributions of Marae are clutched quickly. One runs, runs in going". By this he meant that quick action was imperative, in apportioning areca nut one should grasp the bunch, wrench it apart and fling down the pieces, moving almost at a trot the while. There must be no pause, no slow consideration. But on account of its **tapu** no one walked idly across the Marae, and the cup-bearers kept to the track between the mounds and did not take the shorter route across the centre.

In order to accomplish his task in Marae in the minimum of time, a man of the Sao family muttered a special formula to himself prior to rising to proceed on his duties :

"Ke, Toki tai te kere
Furi tou matira kau tere
Kuou ka poi morimori ko anea a nga ariki".

"You, Toki tai te kere
Turn up your foot sole that I may hasten
I am going to distribute the things of the chiefs."

He called on his Atua by name to speed him on his way by assisting the soles of his feet to turn up more rapidly. Moreover the formula served as an announcement to the Atua of the intentions of his messenger so that he knew the man was not merely trespassing on his domain. The people of Fusi substituted the name of Tarikotu for that of Tokitai te here in the

recitation[1].

Towards the middle of the afternoon the aso of areca nut began to accumulate. Since this was the day of sa Kafika it was their responsibility, and in theory at all events every man of the clan contributed his share. A bunch of kaula (a varienty of areca nut) or in lieu several of the less valued fuariki, was the rule, but if a man had many trees in his orchards he might give more. Each bunch had a few leaves of betel tied to the top and was stood on a mat outside the house of the Ariki. The aso was in two sections: one, te aso nga tangata, the other, not so large, te aso nga fafine. The former was for apportionment among the men, the latter among the women. On this day the aso of sa Kafika was distributed mainly among the people of sa Taumako, with smaller quantities to those of Tafua and Fangarere, while those of Kafika each received only a single nut or a couple as their share. On the second day, te aso sa Tafua, they provided the betel, of which the largest portion went to sa Fangarere, while the third and fourth days reversed the position of the first and second respectively. By such means equivalence was maintained in the presentation and reception of gifts.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE DANCING

As the sun went down towards the western cliffs preparations were made for the dance. To avert evil influences and secure welfare some of the women came to the Ariki and got circlets of twisted cordyline leaf tied round their necks, with the recitation of the usual formula.

The antithesis between dancing and tapu has already been discussed with regard to the ban imposed after the throwing of the Firestick. In ordinary life, after a death has occurred, all the members of the immediate family group, and others of close kin, as the mother's family, are subject to a form of tapu which restricts them from eating certain of the choicer kinds of food and from indulging in any of the outdoor amusements, or even appearing abroad by day. This be-

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1 This was made known to me by my friend Pae Sao when in conformity with the usage of visitors of ranks I rose after the aso to make customary presents to the deities of the Marae. He coached me carefully, and insisted that I recite the formula to enlist the co-operation of his atua. It is of interest to note that this man did not attend the Taomatangi of 1928, since his son was absent from the island on a vessel, and festive conduct would be therefore unbecoming in him.

comes less severe as time goes on, until at last the initiative is taken by a more distant relative, who without announcing his intention brings food and turmeric to the bereaved household. Despite protests he anoints the mourners with the red pigment, thus by decorating them in festive manner breaking the prohibition under which they lie. While the turmeric is being applied, and for some time after, the bereaved family break out into extravagant wailing, and chant dirges in memory of their lost one. After a time the expression of their grief subsides and they are constrained to eat. This ceremony is termed the **furufurunga kere** - the "Washing of the Soil"- and frees the mourners from their voluntary seclusion.

On the evening before the clearing of the Marae for the Taomatangi dirges could be heard chanted from many of the houses of the village. It was a recognised time for release of restrictions, and the relatives of those people who had been in mourning for some months made a point of anointing them then in order that they might be able to take part in the festive season. Mourners for a recent death, however, were not so treated, nor if it were proposed would they consent; the demands of their affection had not yet been assauged.

For the dances of Marae elaborate decorations are worn. New bark-cloths are donned, and over them men of rank wear a mat kilt, and commoners green banana leaves. Leaf fringes are worn on the head, tassels of flowers or leaf in the ears, rings in the septum of the nose, and necklets of leaf or the sweet-smelling white frangipani blossom. Unmarried people often also stick such a blossom in the hair above the brow. Trochus shell rings are worn on the arms, coconut-shell rings on the fingers, and beads of shell or coconut shell on wrists and ankles. A spray of leaves, or a bouquet of flowers and fruit, is set at the back of the belt. Much time is spent in the choice and preparation of these ornaments, and both colour and scent are taken into consideration. So much, in fact, is smell important that the preparation of ornaments in general is known as **fai mamongi**, "preparing scents".

SONGS AND DANCES OF THE TAOMATANGI

The dances held in Marae, like other features of the Work of the Gods, follow a definite traditional arrangement. This systematic organization refers primarily to the songs which are basic to the dances. The characteristic elements of the system are: firstly, the division of the songs into a number of named types, which are performed in a recognised sequence; secondly, the association of some types of song, and of some individual songs, with a particular clan, to which they "belong", with the chief of that clan as

the primary "owner"; and thirdly, the maintenance to some extent of an order of songs within the particular type, the first few at least following a definite sequence.

The division of the songs into types rests partly upon the rhythmic patterns upon which they are based, and partly upon their content - as for instance whether they are of the "dance type" or "dirge type". Some, traditional compositions the origin of which is unknown, form the archetypes; others, composed by "historical" persons, have been framed to fit a particular type. The association of a particular song with a particular clan rests primarily on the fact that the song is dedicated to a god of that clan, or secondarily, on the attribution of the song to a member or ancestor of the clan as composer. The sequence of songs within a type depends also to some extent on the gods to whom they are dedicated, the songs relating to the most important gods tending to come first on the programme. But here adventitious factors of selection in the past seem to have complicated the arrangement.

This systematic arrangement holds both for the "days" of the Taomatangi and for the "nights" of the Urangafi. The fundamental feature in it is the provision of definite occasions for the chanting by each clan of its "own"songs, which from the religious point of view honour its own gods in particular, and from the social point of view allow it to give expression to its special individuality and privileges. It will be noted, however, that the co-operative aspect of the ritual is still maintained; all four clans participate on each occasion, no matter what songs are being sung, or whose "day"or "night" it is. Thus the gods of each are honoured in turn, and are treated as the gods of all, due attention being paid to the recognised hierarchy.

I recorded in all more than sixty songs chanted during this festival of Marae, and it is not possible here to give the text of each. But in this and the next Chapter I give what may be termed the special "feature songs", the key-points of the ritual, in their context of performance. In addition I give as an appendix to this Chapter a few samples of other songs, choosing those whic occupy the more important positions in the recital.

As an example of the proprietary attitude to these songs the **vetu masanga** may be mentioned. These are sung at Fenumera, on the "days" of sa Kafika and sa Tafua only. They are regarded as belonging to the Ariki Tafua. I obtained some texts of them first from some men of Ravenga, partly because we had all been present at the dance together, and partly because I wished to get check material. When later I applied to the Ariki Tafua for them he was very annoyed on finding that

I had received them already. He said these songs were his; to impart them to me was "stealing". This is the same principle which applies to kava lists and basic myths of social origins. One factor in the situation is that the man who "owns" them is believed to hold the authentic version in his memory. In practice I usually found that he could give me a complete version, but that other men were often equally well versed. In the case of the songs of Marae this tends to be particularly the case, since they all chant the songs together.

We may now return to the descriptive account of events on the first day.

The people began to assemble for the initial dance when the shadows began to creep out over Marae. Like other important ceremonies it had to be done in the maru afiafi, the shades of evening, or late afternoon, not under the full glare of the sun.

First, however, came the rite of "the Drinking", which was essentially a series of kava libations connected with the offering of fresh coconuts to the Gods. A large pile of coconuts was brought into Marae and set down on the lower side of the path, while baskets of food were laid before each of the chiefs. The pile of nuts was then divided up, and the man officiating seated himself by the stones near the water, then the Ariki Kafika called out the fakasao formula. The coconuts were then apportioned: the first lot to Fangarere, the next to Taumako, the next to Tafua. The stones at the bottom of the Marae had each their share, as also the mat of Nga Ariki. The kava was made at Muafaitoka, cups being carried to the various Ariki in turn as already described. After this brief ceremony the chiefs went to join the crowd, which, after gathering at Fenumera, had gone to Matavi to await their arrival.

The Vetu. The first dance was the Vetu. A hollow square was roughly formed, the people facing inwards with the side nearest Marae constituted by the chiefs alone. After a moment's silence all looked at the chiefs, and a wild yell broke out, "Iefu!" The song was now started, the time being kept by clapping of the hands with a rising motion. Hence the expression "Is crashed (clapped) the vetu". At first the demeanour was restrained and the arms alone were swung. Gradually however the rhythm was felt more and more deeply, and, though with no change of tempo, the excitement began to grow. Bodies turned in unison first to one side, then to the other, while the knees bent and rose in co-operation with the swinging of the arms. The song was chanted in high tones in quick time. The correct method of beating time was not to clap the hands lethargically together, but to lift them high up - in

completion of the movement. The more vigorous of the dancers thus exhorted the others "Lift them up"! in an endeavour to animate the proceedings still more. Towards the end of the stanza, when a kind of refrain was introduced with the words "Riele, riele", the hands were not merely allowed to swing up and down, but urged up in a sweeping gesture, and the volume of sound waxed accordingly. As the dancers became more fired, stamping with the foot was also introduced to synchronise with the simultaneous clap of the hands. The spectacle was a dramatic one.

Each song ended with a whoop that made all the cliffs of Uta echo and re-echo. A short pause ensued before the next song was raised, during which the participants remained silent, mostly with eyes cast down to the ground. It was noticeable also during the dance that the men avoided each others' eyes but looked up to the hills, or out over the lake. This persistent gazing at the mountain crest was a symptom of the self-consciousness which the dancers felt at facing one another thus -" they are shy", I was told. Moreover it was tapu to laugh or joke during the proceedings, since the dance was that of the gods. By fixing their eyes on a distant point of the landscape any tendency to laughter was thus minimised. The vetu varied considerably in melody and also in rhythm, while a variant of the clapping, with one hand raised on high and the other meeting it from below alternately, was characteristic of certain dances. The signal to commence a vetu was given by the Ariki Kafika, who called out "Osepo!", a conventional cry which had no special meaning. At the conclusion he was supposed also to call "Forua!" "shout", when all the men obey. But complaint was made by the older members that the crowd acted stupidly, and began without the preliminary signal, and shouted at the end of the songs without waiting for the order which it was the privilege of the chief to give.

After four songs had been given in Matavi, the group moved off, singing, led by the chiefs in due order of rank, to the nearby place of Fenumera. Here they reformed and again after a short silence the whoop Iefu was given and other vetu were sung. These were of a different type and were known as vetu masanga. After four songs or so the dancers again moved off in single file, led by the Ariki Kafika, out on to Marae. Arrived at Raromiro, that is the position towards the lower edge of the ground, between the path and the lake, they all sat down, facing inland.

The women meanwhile had been busy, and before the men entered, they seated themselves at the side of Nukuora, facing towards the lake behind a number of new coconut mats. The women had all donned clean skirts for the occasion and had circlets of twisted cordyline leaf round their necks. The

mats which were unfolded were dedicated to the Atua Fafine, behind whose stone they were ranged. They were known as "principal mats", and might not be used by the women as seating places. "It is tapu, they do not go and sit on the mats spread out". Male deities had no part in this rite; the dichotomy of the sexes operated on the spiritual as well as on the earthly plane. "It is tapu; male deities do not go to the women." It was believed in fact that each party not only represented but actually embodied the deities of its own sex who had come to attend the singing.

> "It is held we the men who chant, that is the gods, the Brethren"

The women likewise were held to be the material embodiment of the Female Deity. For this reason no conversation was exchanged between the men and women; the tapu of Marae required the strictest decorum. On the entry of the men the sounding board was brought from Matangi-aso hut and set in position before the Ariki Taumako. This sacred board-looking like a trough - was under his control. "It is his," the natives said, meaning that he alone had the privilege of beating it for the dance. A low seat of wood on four legs was slipped under him and a song was started by the group of men. All clapped gently with one hand on another, or with hand on knee, while the Ariki Taumako beat with his hand on the sounding board. The women were silent.

The Sore. The songs now given were of quite a different type from the vetu. They were known as sore and were classed under the generic name of fuatanga (dirges), whereas the vetu were mako (dances). The special feature of the sore is that they are drawn from a much larger range of songs, many composed in quite recent times; they have been chanted in the first place as an integral part of a particular type of festival of a chief, known as the seru. The songs of the seru itself are divided into three sections: the "seru in front", those "in the middle", and those "behind". The first two sections comprise "dirges of the deities"; the third section consists of songs to the chief composed by his clansfolk. It is from the first two sections that the songs of the sore are chosen. Each section is marked off by a song of a different tempo, and the same principle is used to sub-divide each section. And in each of the first two sections one song, the matai of the seru, takes prime place from its dedication to all the major deities of the land. It is composed by the chief giving the festival. The songs of the sore in particular represent homage by each clan separately to the common deities. As "dirges of the gods" they are intensely sacred; they embody names which under ordinary circumstances are never repeated by the common people, and are invoked only by the chiefs in their kava.

As with the **vetu**, the chanting of **sore** was regarded as a serious matter, and the behaviour of the participants was very restrained. There was no joking or laughter; each sat quietly in his place. The Ariki were in the centre of the front rank, with men of importance immediately flanking them; the rest of the crowd were ranged behind, indiscriminately in several rows, no order of clans being observed.

After four or five songs had been chanted the **aso**, or **anea kamu**, of betel was brought in. This was done by two men detailed beforehand, who carried the heavy loads from the inland house. They came down the path, along the front of Marae, passing the people till they came to the Ariki who was the principal recipient of the gift. On this, the first day, it was the Ariki Taumako. Setting the bunches down in front of him, slightly to his right side, they did not turn round, but marched off the Marae by the opposite exit, with hands clasped and heads bowed in orthodox style. Thence they walked round again to the house, making a circuit, and entered with the second load, and after that a third, mainly of betel leaf. A special song was chanted for the bringing of the betel, but after this the singing of the men ceased.

The women now began their **sore**, beating time with fans held in their hands while their betel was also brought in in similar fashion. The bearers of the betel did not move down Marae to join the crowd of men when their task was finished, but sat apart near the station of their clan.

The distribution of the betel was done with care, by two men of the clan which provided it. A large **bunch** of **kaula** (each variety of areca nut), and another of **fuariki** garnished with betel leaf, was carried first for the Ariki Fangarere and laid on his mat. A single bunch of **kaula** followed for the Ariki Kafika, a gift for the Ariki Tafua equivalent to that for the chief of Fangarere, and a specially large mass for the Ariki Taumako. The bunches were then taken by the servers and broken up for distribution among the crowd. The people of Tafua and Fangarere got moderate shares, the people of Taumako received large portions, those of Kafika only a single nut each, in accordance with the principles already discussed. The special bunch carried to the mat of the Ariki Kafika was for his principal deity; it was not torn up and distributed by the chief afterwards but kept by him for his own private consumption. After the distribution the men began a further set of songs, while the women paused and arranged the apportionment of their betel in turn.

By now the dancing and singing had been pursued for nearly two hours. Hence the clapping was not nearly so vigorous as at the commencement, and some people made hard-

ly more than a pretence at beating time. At last the songs ended, and the crowd dispersed.

The "evening kava" was then performed, by each chief separately, his own bowl being set near his own seating mat. The procedure in this followed the normal course. No one partook of food from the baskets of the chiefs, and after sitting for a short time in general conversation everyone went home. This concluded the rites of the first day, the day of sa Kafika.

FOOD EXCHANGE ON THE DAY OF SA TAFUA

The next day was that of **sa Tafua.** Since the Marae was clear the first ceremony of the day was that of the kava of the **fakaoatea.** This, a single basket, formerly prepared by the family of the Ariki Tafua[1], was brought into Marae, and the chiefs were summoned to sit upon their mats. The rite was quite simple, being in fact a replica of that performed the previous day. The party was small, comprising only half a dozen men in addition to the chiefs. The rest of the time passed as before. This was the "day of decoration of the land." On the previous day it was **tapu** for people to indulge in too much ornamentation, the opening dances of the season being a matter of the greatest solemnity. On the succeeding days, however, the tension had relaxed somewhat, and ornaments were much more liberally used, as also was turmeric pigment. Moreover this freedom extended to the actual dance itself, in which considerably more laxity of style was permitted. The reason given for the constraint of the first day was that it is "the day of the Atua i Kafika" and the people must show 'respect' to him. On this initial occasion, according to native distinctions, movement should be almost solely of the vertical type, as the swinging up and down of hands, or the stamping of feet. Later, however, lateral movement of body, arms and legs is allowed; one can dance instead of merely sing and clap. The principal difference in the procedure lay in the performance of individual dancers in the square. After the song had been chanted for some little time, and the rhythm was properly adjusted, one of the experts (**purotu**) emerged from the ranks with little sidelong jumps, his fists clenched and alternating, one close to the body, the other extended to the side, rather after the fashion of a boxer. With bent knees he progressed by short movements of the feet up the centre of the square, body swinging, turning first to one side and then to the other in

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[1] Nowadays, as mentioned earlier, this **fakaoatea** is prepared by Pa **Fenumera** of Fangarere clan, whose family has taken on the responsibilities of the second day, including the provision of the **aso** of betel nut.

perfect time to the song. His head was thrown back, and his face bore a fierce expression. Each rhythmic change of position was accompanied by a grunting "Uh! Uh! Uh!" or "Ih! Ih! Ih!", a sound which was taken up by some of the dancers in the square in token of encouragement. This was known as the **fakai** of the dance, and had no special significance apart from its rhythmic value. The movements of the performer were varied from time to time by opening the hands and throwing wide the arms as if in a gesture of appeal, while the steady advance of the feet and the swaying of the body proceeded. This was the **sava**, the display of individual skill which was much admired as the crowning point of the dance. Anyone might **sava** provided that he was sufficiently expert, and young men were often urged to go and do so by their elders.

The ceremonial dancing season, like so many other Tikopia institutions, has as one of its important features the making of reciprocal presents of food. In the **Taomatangi** these exchanges take place between the women. The grouping here again is on the basis of clans, the people of Kafika exchanging with those of Taumako and those of Tafua with those of Fangarere. The packages of food concerned are termed **longi** (household food baskets) though in reality they are baskets of the largest size. In name the transaction is one which concerns the women alone - **a longi nga fafine** is the term used - but actually all the resources and man power of the household are mobilised to assist in the preparation of the gifts. The time of selecting partners for the occasion is in the evening of the "**day of sa Tafua**", after the **sore** have been sung in Marae. When the men have dispersed the women wait in their places at Rarofetaka, to make the arrangements. The method is for the women of Taumako and Fangarere to sit silent while those of Kafika and Tafua announce their choice respectively. A woman says "I desire so and so". Someone who hears this will pass on the information to the person concerned, "You have been chosen by such and such a family", and the procedure is complete. No objection is ever made by the person selected; this would be a grave breach of etiquette. One woman may be chosen by several of the opposite group; this is quite in order, though it means of course that a corresponding number of packages of food will have to be made by her family for the return gift.

The **tafi longi**, choosing food-baskets, or **fakatau longi**, agreeing of food baskets, as it is termed, is done on the evening before the actual presentations are made in order to allow due time for the collection and cooking of the requisite amount of food. Though in theory the women of the primarily recipient clans are supposed to sit silent while the choice is being made, actually they appear to enter into the conversation and give their opinions freely.

Though many of the partnerships are traditional ("Its food basket from of old"), there is always a certain number of free decisions to be made. Moreover some rearrangement is often necessary, since people try to spread out the obligations as far as possible so that no family is omitted, and others are not overloaded. The result is a babel of talk for many minutes. The women are left to settle the affair themselves, and no man goes to take part in their conversation. As a rule, however, the chiefs of the two clans concerned meet informally afterwards and discuss the arrangements to ensure that no serious omissions have been made.

On the next morning, which was the "day of sa Taumako", the fakaoatea rite was performed at an early hour - somewhere about 8-30 a.m. - in order that the people might be free to prepare the food for the exchanges. When the kava was over the men went off to their orchards accompanied by some of the women of their household, and plucked coconuts and breadfruit or dug up taro. Everyone was very busy, for each family group was preparing its oven. The social emphasis of the reciprocal presentation had now entirely passed from the women to their respective households and it was now these which were spoken of as conducting the exchanges. Much discussion went on about the baskets and about the various households which had been linked together. Representatives of one or two families which had been overlooked in spite of the arranging of the night before wandered about from house to house, trying to find partners, and in order to accommodate them some "reshuffling" took place. The fact of cardinal interest to a family was that their food basket had to be made for presentation; the precise group which was to be the recipient of it was important, but to a less degree. But to be entirely left out of the scheme of exchanges would be a reflection on their name and social prestige. The number of food baskets which a single family has to reciprocate is a rough index of its importance in the society; the household of a chief or man of rank is usually "bound" to several other families of the opposite clan, that of a commoner to one alone. Thus in the actual season under review the family of the Ariki Kafika were linked to three other families - that of the Ariki Taumako; that of Kamota, also of Taumako clan; and that of Notau, a family group of Tafua resident in Namo. The first of these exchanges, that between the households of the chiefs of Kafika and Taumako, is a standing arrangement of traditional origin (as also was one between the Ariki Tafua and the Ariki Fangarere). That with the Kamota group was concluded on the previous evening at the "choosing of the food kits", while that with Notau was the result of a visit from a woman of that family earlier in the day. Exchanges are often thus settled

by friendly agreement before the evening discussion[1]

The social unit concerned in the exchange is not, except in rare cases, the individual household of parent and children, but the extended family, the members of which gather to assist their head.

An interesting mechanism enables people not directly involved in an exchange, and not wishing to go some distance to join their own family group, to affiliate with that of a neighbour or friend. A person who thus desires to take part in the system of exchanges may "seek the food basket" of another. He goes with a contribution of taro etc. to the place where the food basket of the person of his choice is being prepared. He gives in his supply to be absorbed, and in due time when the return basket is received from Marae he will be allotted a share of the food. This institution of "seeking baskets" is very useful, since it enables orphaned youths, single men, old widowers and other people without near relatives to join in the system of exchange and share in the product without taking upon themselves the full burden of the whole basket[2] Moreover it gives opportunity for a mark of friendly attention from one person to another. Though a man may be busy in his own family group with its food basket he can assist that of his friend or neighbour by sending over a lad with a bundle of taro or breadfruit. All such contributions are welcome since the amount of food required to equip a longi is great.

As the sun sank the longi began to arrive. Canoes came over the lake loaded up with the large green baskets, filled to bursting with food, and with the feathery tufts of the sprouting coconuts hanging over the gunwale. They put in at the landing place among the trees at the bottom of Marae and unloaded, then moved off along the shore, while the packages were carried up and set down at Rarofetaka, at the side of the house Nukuora. Other baskets were carried in on the backs of women, who were assisted to remove their burdens by husband or male relatives. The men came in shouldering a bunch

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[1] The departure in this case from the rule that Kafika clan is linked only with Taumako and Tafua only with Fangarere is due to the fact that the abandonment of these ceremonies by the Ariki Tafua has disorganised the arrangements of those of his clan who live in Ravenga or Namo and still attend Marae.

[2] Cf. Primitive Polynesian Economy, 326, 328-9.

of bananas, or some taro or coconuts at the end of a pole. Most of the baskets were set indiscriminately on the ground, but certain ones had a definite position assigned to them. These were a **longi o a tapakau** - "food baskets of the mats"—so called because they were placed on coconut mats which had been spread out for their reception at the edge of Marae. The laying of such mats was a privilege which belonged to only a few of the principal families in each clan - in Kafika that of the Ariki, and his elders of Rarovi, Porima and Tavi alone. One basket in each clan was termed **te longi o mua** "the food basket to the fore", so called since it stood in front of all the others. It was the gift of the Ariki which was destined for the other Ariki; a preliminary kava rite was performed over it in the house as soon as it was prepared, and it was lifted out from under the eaves on **mata paito**, not through the ordinary doorway, in token of its sacerdotal importance. It was in fact directly associated with the gods of each clan, and after it reached its destination the kava was performed over it likewise before it was apportioned out for food. The "baskets of the mats" were exchanged only against each other, and as each family of rank had one only it followed that gifts of this type took place only between the principal family groups of the clans. Thus in the case of the Ariki Kafika mentioned above, the basket which went to the Ariki Taumako was the "basket of the mat", whereas that which went to the group of Notau was not. (The "basket to the fore" of the chief was of necessity his "basket of the mat"). There were thus three grades of food gift in the exchange.

"The Basket to the Fore"	the principal basket of the chief, to be presented to his corresponding chief.
"Baskets of the Mats"	the main food baskets of the principal elders, presented to other elders of similar status.
"Baskets"	the general baskets exchanged between commoners, or men of rank and commoners.

When the baskets had been set in position and a kava rite performed, the **vetu** and the **sore** were sung as on previous days. The distribution of the betel was effected as before, but this time a large share was given to the Ariki Kafika, another to Pa Rarovi, and four moderate bunches to the chiefs of Tafua and Fangarere, while the Ariki Taumako received only a small bunch. This was his "day", so that he reciprocated the allotment of the "day of sa Kafika".

The dancers dispersed, and the evening kava took

place, after which came the exchange of the **longi**. Before being handed over each basket was cut through at the top band. The only reason which could be given for this was that it was an old custom.

In addition to the ordinary routine of the Taomatangi, according to which certain songs and dances are prescribed, there are items which are sometimes performed as "extras". One of these is the **tau**. This is a dance which takes place when a boy of rank comes to the ceremonies of Marae for the first time as a **Koromata** (novice). As a rule this happens at the first Taomatangi festival after he has undergone the operation of incision.

When the dancing season arrives an oven is made in the clan temple of the lad and the **tau** is sung. It is repeated over and over as if it were a new song being learned for the first time. After the food has been eaten the people assemble outside and again go through a preliminary practice. The men who are about to take part on Marae decorate themselves in a peculiar fashion by bands of turmeric smeared across the temples from the corners of the eyes, and down the cheeks from the sides of the nose. This is the distinguishing mark of the group of **tau** dancers in contradistinction for example to the performers of the **Uru** (v. later). Valuables are also donned for the occasion, including new bark cloth,beads, etc.; while the boy is decked with a new waist cloth,has many ornaments hung upon him and is smeared with turmeric on breast, neck and cheeks in token of his social importance.

During the time that the oven is being made and the song chanted some of the relatives wail. The ostensible reason is that they are ashamed for their kinsfolk who are going to perform the **tau**, and desire also to show affection for their child. The wailing, however, is of the same nature as that which takes place at incision, marriage and other ceremonies. It is a formal method of signalling the entrance of the boy on a further stage of his career, and expresses the interest of the relatives in him and their sympathy with him in the social crisis through which he is passing. More generally it is a re-affirmation of the bond of kinship.

In a pause in the **sore** the people of his clan rise up, with the lad in their midst, while the people of the other clans remain seated, and sing and dance the **tau**. The boy also is encouraged to take part, and is supported by his mother's brothers (real and classificatory) who stand behind him and at the sides, even in front of him, grasp his wrists and hands in theirs, and perform with them the motions of the dance. The object of this is to give the lad moral support

in the face of the spectators - he is shy, the natives say, in the sight of all the people. How true this attribution of shyness may be is uncertain; the real function of the **tau** and its procedure is undoubtedly the formal recognition of the rank and social prestige of the boy and honouring of his family. Moreover it serves as a public demonstration of the amplitude of his maternal kinship affiliations. The action of the mother's brothers in supporting him is termed "the honours of the definite child", and the more the men surrounding him the greater is the distinction accorded him. By the "definite child" is meant that the presence of so many maternal kin to assist is a proof that he is accorded full social recognition by his mother's family group. As natives continually seek concrete forms of expression for social relations they say "Such a boy is not allowed to fall down in the **tau**". When this sight is seen in Marae it gives rise to approving comment."The land will make speech. That one there is a definite child; he does not fall down".

The **tau** may also be performed for guests of rank, and then their arms also are supported by their maternal kin.

The movements of the **tau** differ somewhat from those of the **vetu** and other **mako**. The dancers rise to their feet with fists clenched, and bent knees, and begin to sway the body from side to side, with one arm advanced, the other held close to the breast. The body is thus turned slowly to the left, and bent over, the right arm extended and the head bent down. A prolonged swing downward is followed by a quicker upward movement and a toss of the head, after which the function of the arms is reversed and the body sways to the right in a corresponding movement. This is repeated many times, the rhythm of the song being followed. The feet are kept firmly planted on the ground, and no one moves from his position in the ranks. Songs of the **tau** which are performed in Marae are sacred.

The type of dance just described, for which an oven is prepared, is termed the **tau nunga**. Sometimes, however, a clan will decide to perform a **tau** even though they have no boy of rank to introduce to the **Taomatangi**. For this no food is made and no special term is used. As is always the case they hold the **tau** on their own day; it would not be etiquette to select the day of another clan for the purpose.

During my attendance at Marae a **tau** was performed by **sa** Taumako, and aroused considerable discussion afterwards. The chief and his cousins had determined on such a dance, but had not announced their intention beforehand. When the time came they stood up, and wished the men of the other

clans to follow suit. Some complied, others remained seated at first but were brought to their feet by exhortation from the men of Taumako, and the dance was performed. The Ariki Kafika remarked laughingly afterwards: "I remained sitting down, but Pa Tarikitonga looked at me furiously and said 'Those who do not stand and dance will have to go out to Tai' so I stood up.[1] His eyes looked as if they were about to drop out, and he appeared as if to fight me"! The Ariki gave as his reason for sitting down "I refused because we had no tau yesterday for our day". His grievance was shared by the men of Kafika as a whole. They felt that in introducing this special dance without warning the people of Taumako were arrogating to themselves prestige in the affairs of Marae which was not rightly theirs; that mention should have been made beforehand, that they too might have had a tau of their own. Such an attitude on the part of one group against another for a real or fancied slight is not an uncommon feature of these ceremonial proceedings.

The concluding day of the Taumatangi was" the day of sa Fangarere", but was also termed te aso tauware. The explanation of this latter term presented difficulties to the natives, who merely said "It is the same as the speech, 'the stupid person'". This, however, shed little light on the point. The reference may be to the somewhat confused order of events on this day, or to its lesser importance, but no one could speak with certainty on this. The procedure, however, differed from that on the previous occasions. The fakaoatea was made in Fangarere temple, and during its preparation the three other Ariki attended. The kindling of the oven was the signal for the chiefs to assemble, and while the smoke was billowing through the house they sat and talked and chewed betel. The Ariki Kafika, as befitted his position, occupied the mat at the head of the house, while the other Ariki sat at the foot. Pa Rarovi had the duty of tending the fire, in which he was assisted by other elders. It may be noted that each Ariki brought with him, or sent with some member of his household, his contribution of raw food to the oven of his host. When the food had been prepared the company began to sing dirges. These were of various types, including vetu, and their performance lasted for some time. Like the ceremonies of Rarofiroki its primary object was to pay honour to the Atua lasi, the chief god of Fangarere, and other senior deities of the Marae.

When the songs were finished a man of Fangarere brought in bunches of areca nut and bundles of coconuts,

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[1] The idea that the Ariki Kafika could be compelled to dance on pain of being banished to the beach village was humorous.

from which offerings were made to the deities of Marae. The chiefs then went to Marae, and performed the kava of the fakaoatea.

The **aso tauware** was characterised by a fishing expedition conducted towards midday by a large number of people, more especially young men. Armed with pole net or hand net they swept the reef and bagged all that came their way. The catch was cooked and eaten in the beach villages in Tai; but if the fish had been very plentiful some would have been brought to Uta and given to the chiefs.

Later in the **day** the **aso** was collected. I noticed that on this occasion the Ariki Kafika observed to the Ariki Fangarere, "Great is the quantity of betel". This praise was by way of tactful comment, for everyone knew that the people of Fangarere clan, including their chief, were not wealthy and their stock of areca was not large. Pa Fenumera, who had now assumed the responsibility of the Ariki Tafua, was of this clan also, and was comparatively poor. On this account Pae Sao, his friend, sent over five bunches of **areca** nut for his "day" remarking in comment, "He is a bat; he has no betel". "Bat" is a term of commiseration or contempt applied to a person who has little wealth; the reason for the metaphor is, as natives say, that the bat is a creature possessing no property of its own.

During the course of the afternoon several bunches of taro, leaves and tubers complete, were brought into Marae and set by the stone which marked the depositing of the **roi** on the first morning. They were termed the **putu**, and were to provide the **fakaoatea** of Kafika on the morrow. After the usual **vetu** and evening kava the people dispersed; thus ended the day of Fangarere, which was the last of the **Taomatangi**.

APPENDIX.

SONGS OF THE TAOMATANGI

VETU

1. "A foremost **vetu** of sa Kafika".

Tafito: "Te ata ne tafa i te tonga E !
Kau ono mai - o
Ko Reani ra E
Turi oke i te toi.
A uru o a maungo
Ka **nokotanumia**
E te tai roroto.

Kupu: Ai-e! A uru o a maungo
Ka tanumia
E te tai roroto.
Riele, riele!
Kakea ke oko ai
Ko Reani ku rere tu i runga."

Translation: The dawn broke in the east, O!
To me appeared
Reani then, O!
Risen in the sea.
The crests of the mountains
Which were formerly buried
By the swollen tide (empty ocean).

Ai-e! Crests of the mountains
Buried
By the swollen tide.
Riele, riele!
Mounting, and now to be reached.
Reani has flown and stands on high."

This song was said to have been composed by an early chief of Kafika and "to have been left in progression to his grandchildren of later days." Its theme is the returning voyager sighting at last the peak of his island home, amid the ocean wastes. In a version given by Pa Fenuatara the last line but one runs

"Kake ake i oku vae" - "climbing up from my feet". His explanation was "Joy has mounted up from his feet to go into his body above, because he has looked upon Reani arisen. Thereupon the man says that he has been saved, that he will arrive at the land on shore".

The sacredness of this songlies not in its content, but in its antiquity.

2. Vetu of sa Kafika.

Tafito: "Ku moe a kolo
I oso
Ku moe a kolo
O pisa.

Kupu: Te folau loa
Taua ku moe
A kolo o pisa
Ko niu na ku moe
Loloki ie!

Safe: Ku moe
A kolo o pisa."

Translation:

Penis has slept
In vagina
Penis has slept
In sheath.

The long voyage
We two have slept
Penis and sheath
Coconut there has slept
Female fluid Ie!

Has slept
Penis in sheath.

I obtained the text of this from Pa Fenuatara, who said "Great is its weight, brother!" He further commented upon its sexual character. "It is the giving of a mind to the land; that the men shall not go foolishly to the women, that the women shall not go foolishly to the men." His argument was that sex references in such a sacred context impressed upon people the need for control. This point of view (which he gave me quite unsolicited) was later opposed by Pa Rangifuri strongly when I put it to him, on the grounds that such words inevitably tended to arouse desire. "How then do they give people minds?" But as I observed, in the actual chanting of the song a serious demeanour is maintained.

3. "An initial **vetu** of the day of sa Taumako".

Tafito: "Ne tu ra te motongi E!
A tupua o te roki
Ka ifo ko Manu
Ka timu afa mai.

Kupu: Riele, riele!
E tu te tonga
Moe au
Soro ai aku moe
Te matangi ka timu afa mai."

Translation: Stood then the wind O!
Deities of the monsoon.
Manu will descend,
Will blow a hurricane hither.

Riele, riele!
The trade-wind stands.
I sleep
My sleep is sound
The wind will blow hither a hurricane.

This song is said to have been composed by Faisina, a former Ariki Taumako, who taught it to his son, from whom it was passed down. The song is a well-known one. The version above was given by Pa Fenuatara. An expanded version was given by the Ariki Kafika, mentioning also Saraporu,allied with Manu in the production of hurricanes. The theme is the danger of hurricanes in the monsoon season, contrasted with the safety of the trade-wind season, when a person hearing the rising wind may nevertheless sleep soundly. The song is by way of propitiation, tending "to quell the wind."

VETU MASANGA.

4. Tafito: "Fakatupu mai oi
Ke kau rere atu
Ki fonga te vetu E !
Ko mako i kove.

Kupu: Ko mako i kovo
E susuru E!
Ko mako i kove
Ko tu i nokotarè
Ko mako i kove."

Translation:
I was made to grow
That I might fly away
To the crown of the vetu O!
Dancing among you.

Dancing among you
With back-decorations, O!
Dancing among you
Standing up from the bearded one
Dancing among you.

This **vetu** was said to have been composed by Tisasafa, the ancestor of the chiefs of Tafua, who is alleged to have sprung from the beard of a dead Tafua chief.The song refers to this. "He thought of it, and left it to the chiefly group of Tafua. This is a weighty **vetu**; it is performed only on the day of sa Kafika and the day of sa Tafua," said Pa Fenuatara. The translation of the song is approximate only, because of the licence of grammatical forms.

5. First stanza: "Euo, iai o
Euo, iai o
Rongo!
Ka Aniaio
Anivetu.

Second stanza: Aniaio
Kanisava
Teretere
Euo, iai o
Euo, iai o
Rongo !
Aniaio
Anivetu.

Third stanza: Aniaio
Anipanipa
Ne loa
Euo, iai o, etc.

Fourth stanza: Aniaio
Kanisava, Moitekava
Euo, iai o, etc.

This **vetu** was sung with a lilting, undulating rhythm. The characteristic of the **vetu masanga** is that they each have a refrain, to which each stanza returns. "**Vetu** which goes in the one place, that is the **vetu masanga.** It sticks to the one base, therefore it is termed twin **vetu**".

These "twin **vetu**" are primarily the property of sa Tafua. According to the Ariki Tafua, who gave me the text of some of them, they were all composed by Tisasafa. According to Pa Torokinga, who also gave me texts, two only of the ancient ones, "Euo, iai o" and one beginning "Mako sivo", were composed by him, and the others by the Atua i Kafika. Pa Torokinga said that the role of Tisasafa as composer was due to his having been the "Worker" of the Atua i Kafika. He added that **vetu masanga** are tapu. Ordinary vetu can be composed by any chief, he said, but "twin **vetu**" only the Ariki Tafua may compose. His new songs are inserted in between the songs of the Atua. This privilege he has as "Worker" of the Ariki Kafika.

This song is untranslatable. "There is no speech in it we recognise," said the Ariki Tafua, in givingme another of the same type. Aniaio, Anipanipa, Teretere etc. were said to be the names of a canoe-crew. Pa Torokinga said it was not known of what canoe, whether a vessel of the gods or of men. The Ariki Tafua said that they were the names of the crew of the canoe which went to Varuka to invite Tisasafa, his ancestor, to assume the chieftainship of Tafua, according to the myth. But though portions of some of the names can be interpreted as Tikopia words (**sava**, for instance, meaning the movements of the arms in the dance), the names themselves are not current, and no gods are worshipped under them.

Pa Torokinga said that **vetu masanga** "are composed simply to names". Then he added that the speech in most cases is "evil speech", referring to genitalia, at the same time that it represents personal names. He also put forward the same view as Pa Fenuatara on this point, that the intent of these sexual songs was the instruction of the people. Brought to a consideration of the importance of the sexual act by the setting of the songs they do not merely "go foolishly" in such matters.

SORE.

6. The initial **sore** of the days of sa Kafika and sa Tafua, an ancient song, of only one stanza.

Turi kou sore
Turi kou sore, turi kou sore
Turi vonusio.
Turi farakura i matau ra
Eketia e ai a
Eka te atua ne to ifo mai Rangi
Saungatia i Maunga Rafa.
Kaia kove
Sina kaea kaea.

This song, known as a **sore matangi**, was said to have been composed and sung by the Atua i Kafika while he lived among men. Its theme is the **turi** (turnstone), the sacred bird of Fangarere, "the deity fallen down from Heaven". But most of the song is untranslatable in detail. "Great is its importance," said the Ariki Kafika.

7. The second **sore** of the days of sa Kafika and sa Tafua.
Tafito: Kau pipiki ki Rangi-mata E! (bis).

Kupu: Tu ki Rurupeo o mata rei. (bis).

I clasp Rangi-mata O!
Standing on Rurupeo to gaze.

This also was composed by the Atua i Kafika, and refers to the speeding of the gods through the heavens from one point to another. Rangi-mata and Ruropeo are names of different sections of the heavens.

8. A third **sore** of sa Kafika.

Tafito: E Asoaso i aso
E Asoaso i aso
Mai ra
Si ki oko mai ra.

Kupu: Kau tuku kau sava
Moi-o, moi-o
Kau sava ki Retonga
Moj-o moi-o
E au se fai ia
Te totoro a te unga
Nai se ukuakina
Moi-o, moi-o.

I received this text from Pa Motuata, who said that it was composed by the Atua to Asoaso, his grandfather (actually, by the genealogies usually accepted, his father). It was described as "a dirge of parting from his grandfather". The meaning of some of the phrases is doubtful, but the theme is that Asoaso has become old, "crawling like a hermit-cr and the Atua is dancing in his grief. At the present time it is a Tikopia custom to perform a "parting dance" over the corpse of a young person, and this **sore** seems to be analogous. Retonga was said by my informant to be a sacred name for the east (**tonga**).

9. **A sore** of the day of sa Tafua.

Tafito: Tuisifo kua rere i te raki
Uru o afa ko te matangi
Taotaomia ke mau
Ke tutofu te rangi.

Kupu: Ku mariporipo ko tou kakamo
Ko Sakura
Ka rafi ki te roki E !
Te Tafito e angai ki te tonga E !
Ka fakaefukia.

Safe : Na ko Te Matapupulo
Tukia te tafa-ki-rangi
Ko te tau tinana
E ifo i te tokerau
Ma toru ra mera.

This song is typical of the **sore** which come from the **seru** of recent chiefs. It was composed by Pukenga, chief of Tafua, who died about 1910, and is sung only on the day of sa Tafua, as their "foremost **seru**". Its theme is one of praise to the principal gods, whose names are mentioned.

Translation:

Tuisifo has sped from the west
The wind enters for a storm.
Be it pressed down firmly
That the sky be clear.

Your lightning has kept on flashing,
Sakura.
It draws near to the west, O!
The Tafito is turning to the east, O!
Black storm clouds will arise.

Now it is the Matapupula.
Pounded are the sides of heaven;
The mother and son
Descend from the north
With their red clouds.

I received this song in several versions, with minor verbal differences, that given here being from Pa Vainunu. The song pays reverence to the storm-powers of the deities. Tuisifo is a former Ariki Kafika, credited with great power, and appealed to here to go from the west to the south to stop the coming storm. In the second stanza the Atua i Taumako and the Atua i Fangarere are invoked; in the third, the Atua i Kafika under his Tafua title of Matapula (reduplicated), and the Atua i Tafua and his mother, the Atua Fafine. The association of the gods with various wind-points may be noted. (According to Pa Vainunu the "son" in the last stanza is Oatuatafu, but the Ariki Tafua said that it was Raki-te-ua.)

10. A sore of the day of sa Fangarere.

Tafito: Raki-te-ua
Tu i te marae
Tupua kokove
Rongino te kovo.

Kupu: Kake ake ko Sakura
Te Surumanga E !
Tu ko tou tupuo oriki
Kau fokoepo ki oi.

Translation:

Raki-te-ua,
Stand in the Marae.
You are a god,
Hearing the kava.

Climb up, Sakura;
The Surumanga, O!
Let your chiefly deity stand
That I may do reverence to him.

This song was composed by the present Ariki Fangarere, in honour of the Atua i Tafua and the Atua i Taumako.

In reviewing this selection of representative songs of the Taomatangi two general points may be briefly made. One is the difference between the modern songs and those believed by the natives to be ancient. The former are clear in meaning, granted the "poetic licence" of the composer; the latter are often cryptic, and even untranslatable. The other point is that despite the clear-cut privileges which organize the songs on a clan basis, the compositions belonging to each clan are not at all restricted in theme to its own gods, but range over the hierarchy of gods of the whole community. I should also like to stress again that whatever the theme of the song - and some of them show no particular religious feature in the text - they are all chanted with great reverence, and are held as equally sacred. Their value to the Tikopia lies in their context, not in their words as such.

CHAPTER IX

THE DANCE OF THE FLAMING FIRE

The Dance of the Flaming Fire, the Urangafi, followed immediately upon the Taomatangi, and in ordinary conversation the latter term was often used to cover both. The essential difference between them in point of procedure was that the one was held in daylight, the other from dusk till dawn. The Urangafi was even more popular as a festival than the Taomatangi, since whereas all the daylight dances were sacred to a high degree, those which were performed during the latter part of the night were practically free from tapu. The women joined in and in the early hours of the morning the sexual interest of the songs became very marked. For this reason much larger crowds attended the second period of the festival. To Christians participation was prohibited, since it implied the worship of the old gods, but so attractive was the spectacle, and so appealing the rythm and the choruses, that more than one of the young men, unable to resist its spell, had abandoned discretion and mingled with the dancers. For this they are publicly reprobated and put out of Church for a year. Reinstatement was gained by preparing a present of food, and going to express contrition to the native teacher. The very aged and infirm, persons who were ill and their attendants, and more numerous, those who were under restraint because of mourning, did not take part in the festival. They were spoken of as "sa Tua", "Those at the Back", whereas in contradistinction the people who did attend were known as "sa Roto", "Those Within." No esoteric value attached to these terms.

The Dance of the Flaming Fire, like that to Quell the Wind, was divided into four sections. Thus **te po sa Kafika**, the night of sa Kafika, opened the festival, and this was followed by the nights of Tafua, Taumako and Fangarere in this order. The term night includes the period of daylight as well. It is in fact the normal Tikopia habit to count the passage of time by **po**, nights. (Cf. Ch.IV on the intervals between yam rites).

The **po sa Kafika** was begun in the early morning by the kava of the **putu**. This was performed by the Ariki Kafika in Marae before sunrise in connection with the bundle of taro left the day before against the stone. The rite was simple and comprised no more than libations to Pu ma and the other chief gods. The **putu** was then prepared for cooking, the peculiarity on this occasion being that the tubers were not scraped, but the stalk base alone was broken away from the tuber with the thumb nail - no knife might be

used. "Its manner is to be stripped only; it is not scraped, it is cooked dirty only". By the time the oven had been covered the crowd had begun to arrive. Theoretically it was still **fenua po**, the time of darkness, but actually it was quite light and the sun was rising. The last act to be performed was the clearing of Marae for the second time. The men, numbering between forty and fifty, assembled round the edge of the ground and squatted down with hands outstretched as on the previous occasion. Once more the Ariki Kafika repeated the formula, and the ground was speedily cleared of all weeds and rubbish. This time much more attention was paid to it, and all the surface vegetation was removed, leaving the ground bare but for the roots of fern. As an accompaniment to this rite, the **pae Marae**, the stones at the border of the lake, were carefully washed, water being brought in a large leaf of **pulaka** for the purpose. It is the custom not to use a bowl or ordinary water bottle. The care of this task was left to the Ariki Taumako, or in former times the Ariki Tafua, the Ariki Kafika being busy superintending the work in Marae.

The large flat stone previously mentioned as that of the Atua i Kafika was the principal object of attention; it was exceedingly **tapu**, and could not be used as a seat by anyone; nor could any person set foot upon it. 1 During the nights of the dance it was said to be permitted for chiefs, and for commoners as well, to lay their heads on it as a pillow, but I did not witness any use of it in this way.

A man climbed the umbrella palm which stood over Rarofiroki temple and broke off a few of the leaves and some of the fruit. The latter, the **firoki**, were planted at the south end of the Marae, but without ceremony, and I understood that there was no particular significance in the act.

When the Marae had been cleared the Ariki Kafika cried:

> "We who have fallen hither to the place of crowds, a night then shall be for us".

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1 Unwittingly I broke this rule of **tapu** and stepped upon this stone during the ceremonial washing. Though previously warned by natives I had mistaken its position. The deep moaning grunt from all the men around and the absolute silence maintained afterwards by everyone indicated the sacrilege which I had committed. No one ever referred to it again.

This was a formal announcement that the ensuing night would be devoted to dancing, that is that the Urangafi would take place and not the substitute performance of the **Purunga** kava (see end of chapter).

THE URU

The next performance of the day was the **Uru** This ranks with the **vetu masanga**, the **fu tapu** and the **tuaro** as one of the primary recitals of Marae, **a mua o te Marae**, being extremely sacred and more in the nature of a formula than a song. The pronouncing of the **Uru** is properly the privilege of the Ariki Tafua, to whom it is commonly said to belong. The characteristic features of this recital are the use of wands by the attendant crowd, and the markings of charcoal displayed.

Previous to assembling in formal ranks the men gathered in a group at Fenumera, where charcoal was powdered, and each person was given two horizontal stripes on the upper right arm. This was the **pani marara** which was held to be the mark of the Atua Kafika for whom the ceremony was performed. The chiefs bore the mark as well as commoners. It was essentially a ritual sign, not a mere decoration.

For the actual performance the men stood in a circle at the entrance to Marae with heads bent, eyes directed to the ground and wands lowered. The Ariki Kafika, deputising for the Ariki Tafua, then recited the formula at the top of his voice. It was divided into a number of sections, (**taunga**) the end of each being marked by a lowering of the voice and a slight pause. After a moment the voice was pitched in a higher key, and the recital of the next section began. The fifth section concluded with the words :

"Neti neti ne pisa ia.

Osio!

Forua!"

which were repeated over and over again, and after each imperative 'forua!' the crowd of men gave vent to wild yells of "Iefu!" The formula itself was recited in loud tones, with clear annunciation and a commanding manner. The final section, the **taunga pese**, was chanted by the group as a whole. For this they raised their wands and walked singing on to Marae, headed by the Ariki Kafika. When Pae Marae was reached they stopped and arranged themselves into ranks for the succeeding dance, the **vetu.**

The formula of the **Uru** was as follows :

Taunga mua :

Osiosi O!
Pe ea?
Oio io manu
Ara paia a!

Taunga muri :

Osiosi O!
Pe ea?
Oio io tu
Ara paia A!

Taunga :

Tenei penapena vaka nei
Ufiufi vaka nei
Fausia vaka nei
Osi moi
Osi moi!

Taunga :

Tutu afa ka ni afa
Tutu afa ka ni afa
Osi moi
Osi moi!

Te fou kupenga
Ke mouo moi se iko
Te fuo romongo
Te fou kupenga
Ke moua moi se iko
Te fuo romongo
Osi moi
Osi moi!

Taunga :

Tenei te kata nei
A mate a te pure nei
Mo te fia kai touo,
Tou fia kai touo.
Neti neti ne pisa ia
Osio
Forua
Neti neti ne pisa ia
Osio
Forua.

Taunga pese :

Tapetape ki na nuku e tu
Tapetape ki na nuku e tu
Fetukuokino ea
O io
Fetukuokino ea
O io.

Like certain of the songs in Ch. VIII the **Uru** is not capable of adequate translation, being apparently framed in archaic language, and referring to incidents in myth not fully preserved in the memory of present generations. Some of the words and phrases are not understood by the natives themselves. The **Uru** is not, however, a dead relic in the midst of the performances of Marae, but is a ritual item of the utmost importance, the significant thing to the natives being not the original meaning of the words of the recital, but the fact of the recital itself as an element in the ceremonial cycle. Moreover, a textual analysis of the formula with the help of native comments, though not final, is nevertheless illuminating. For the terms **"osiosi"**, **"osi moi"**, **"ara paia"**, no translation could be given by informants. Of them it was said "Speech of old, we do not know it, speech of the growth" - i.e. of the time when Tikopia culture is supposed to have been formed by the gods. Of the word **manu** in the first section it is known only that it represents an appeal for efficacy. The idea is that the **Uru** mentions certain of the most prominent of human activities in order that success may be granted them.

"The dirge (i.e., the **Uru**) is made to the god to listen to the speech to grant efficacy to canoes for the vivifying of man". Hence in the third section the statements are made

"This is the preparation of the canoes here
Covering of the canoes here
Lashing of the canoes here"

embodying instructions to repair the vessels, shelter them from the sun and attend to their sinnet lashings.

The fourth and fifth sections are thought to refer to the antagonism between the **Atua i** Kafika and the Fanau, the Brethren, the band of deities (Atua i Tafua, etc.) who are held to have arrived in Tikopia from abroad and striven for mastery of the land. The **afa** is the storm, and it was suggested that the phrases are a derisive song directed by the Atua against his opponents, inviting them to raise a storm against him, which he beats down by lifting his hand.

The translation then is :

"The storm threatens, but what a storm!" The verb **tu** meaning "to stand" is used of the black clouds standing in a quarter of the sky, and threatening to burst over the land. In the following part of the section considerable mutation of vowels has occurred, a common phenomenon in Tikopia songs, the **a** becoming **o** for greater euphony in singing or reciting. In ordinary speech the words are :

"Te fua kupenga
Ke maua mai se ika
Te fua ramanga"

That is "The catch of the net
To secure a fish;
The torchlight fleet"

This is an appeal for a good catch when the fleet goes out at night for flying fish.

The next section, in which the Atua is represented as speaking, states how the Fanau laughed at him, but that they came only through their desire for the food made from the turmeric, the **tauo**. They "laughed to death" at him - the metaphor is actually a Tikopia one, "**e kata ki te mate**" - but they came in reality to obtain the things which he had made. According to native belief the Atua i Kafika is responsible for the conversion of the turmeric to human use, but the incident to which reference is here made is obscure.

Of **neti** the meaning is unknown but **pisa** is a term for female genitals found in other old songs. The significance here, as also in the last section, which is sung, is evidently erotic, involving a veiled reference to the sexual act. "**Tapetape ki na nuku e tu**", is stated to be indecent speech. It may be rendered as "Knocking on her hamlet standing there", where **nuku**, ordinarily a local prefix is used as a synonym for the place of particular sex interest.

In former times it was the custom after the **uru** for the wands to be poised and hurled into the lake after the fashion of darts, but nowadays this is not always done.

The **uru** was followed by a couple of **vetu**, after which the performers washed off their charcoal marks and sat about in the shade under the trees.

The **fakaoatea** from the taro of the **putu** was now brought into Marae. The Ariki Fangarere then entered Rarofiroki and brought out the **epa** mat which he laid at

Muafaitoka with the customary formula and obeisance. After covering it with leaves of cycas he returned to his seat. When the kava was made he again went to Muafaitoka, and the first cup was handed to him there. He recited the brief formula to Te Varotea in high appealing tones, ending again with the Io which was taken up by all those present with a loud cry. As the Ariki uttered the concluding words he raised his hand palm up to the level of his shoulder in a gesture of offering, after which he poured the kava. Other libations and food offerings were made as usual, after which the epa was put away.

The remainder of the day till late afternoon was spent in work, conversation or sleep according to individual fancy or responsibilities. Some people went to collect food, others to fish; the Ariki Kafika occupied himself with pinning together the thatch for the shed which was to shelter the evening fire. Children were sent off to get flowers, cordyline leaves and fruits to provide ornaments. "Go and get perfumes for us" they were told by their elders. This was the greatest occasion for decoration, and people brought out all their stores of beads to string them round neck and wrists. Conversation turned almost wholly on the coming dance and discussion of the fine sight that would be presented.

THE TAUME

A rite of some importance towards midday was that connected with the **taume**. This was the name applied to the dry sheath of the coconut which was the most important ceremonial element of the occasion. Like most other sacred objects it was "announced" to the gods beforehand. The **taume** and the **afi**, the coconut sheath and the fire, were regarded as the property of Pa Rarovi and were managed by him. Food was prepared at his house in Uta, and when it was ready a taume was laid ceremonially by him on his seating mat at the head of the building. As he performed this action he recited the formula to ask the chiefs to countenance the rite.

"Ke Tinamo, ke Pu Tafua, ke Pu
Taumako, Pu Fangarere!
Fakasaosao mai kotou kaupure ki
te taume tenei tana aso ka
fakaari ki ei."

"You Tinamo, you Pu Tafua, you Pu
Taumako, Pu Fangarere!
Countenance me you the assemblage
of Elders for the **taume** this (being)
its day on which it will be announced.

The chiefs were not in attendance, and his request was a purely formal one. Then the kava was made and formulae were recited to dedicate the **taume** to the service of the gods and to invoke their assistance in the coming dance. This was an important rite "a weighty kava". I attended the rite and Pa Rarovi later gave me the formulae.

The appeal uttered over the kava stem was as follows :

"Ke Taringa moea!
Tafuri ifo ke ma tau fare fanau
Ma tau kau faifekau na
Ki te taume totou aso fakamanaia
ki te Marae o Puma
Ke tutafa ko te vaerangi ma
masara ko te vaerangi ke uraura
ko totou afi."

"You Taringa moea!
Turn down with your household of brethren
And your group of workers there
To the **taume** of your day which has
been decorated for the Marae of Puma
That the sky may be fine and the
sky be clear that your
fire may blaze."

This invocation is to the Atua i Sao, whom Pa Rarovi addressed by the special title of Taringa moea. He is asked to incline towards the speaker in order that he may be able to secure good weather for the dance. As an inducement to the deity it is pointed out that these conditions are necessary to the activity of his fire. The **fare fanau** spoken of in the formula, literally "the house of brethren", means the children of the deity.

As a substitute the expression

"Tafuri mau ma au tama"

"Turn together with your children"

may be employed, said Pa Rarovi. **Fakamanaia**, meaning 'decorated' or 'splendid', refers to the enhancement of the occasion by the attendance of the people and their performance. It is a term of praise, but through its causative prefix conveys the suggestion that while the day is the god's its effectiveness is due in no small measure to the interest taken in it by his worshippers. Towards evening the "drink" of coconuts was sent into Marae and the kava was made there.

The rite of the **taume** then took place. The men, all decorated for the dance and each with a sheath in his hand, assembled at Takerekere and awaited the coming of the chiefs. When the kava was finished they entered, whereon the crowd rose. All seated themselves on the row of flat stones on the upper side of the path which once flanked the former sacred house of Rarovi. The chiefs were in order of precedence, the Ariki Kafika being nearest to Fenumera. Each person held his **taume** on his lap, supporting it across the palms of his hands, the point of it being to his right. As the row of men was facing towards the lake, the **taume** thus pointed to Marae. Here as elsewhere the precise orientation of the sacred objects was a matter of concern. When all were in positionPa Rarovi entered and seated himself at the head of the chiefs. Of his premier position on this occasion he was intensely proud, and indeed it was regarded by the community as a whole as a signal mark of his importance.

After sitting for a moment Pa Rarovi raised a cry

"Taringa moea!"

upon which all made obeisance with the **taume**, raising it to their foreheads. They took up the call on the antepenultimate vowel and ended it with "Oooo-uri?" Pa Rarovi then began to sing, in low tones, so that the words could not be properly heard. The chiefs alone joined with **him**; the crowd as a whole remained silent, save that at intervals in the song, following the example of the soloist, they repeated the cry and the act of obeisance. This, the song of the **taume**, was the especial property of Pa Rarovi. He said it was not made known by him to other people, but would be handed down to his son. He spoke of it to me as "The forefront of my kava, this, the **taume**!" With its solo and the interspersed cry in which the crowd of men joined it ran :

Shout: "Taringa moea!"

Song : "Ko nga tama moe mo
Moe mo mo e mako
O ara ra."

"Taringa moea!"

"Fua te marama
Fua te marama."

"Taringa moea!"

"Fuasa asaka

Tutu ki Retou
Ko matou e si ki vae atu."

"Taringa moea!"

"Oue nunu E!
O te ra mai u-o."

"Taringa moea!"

"A matou rara
Suru ki Retua
Ma rau tataka
Suru ki Retua
Se umata ke fare kou ura toto."

"Taringa moea!"

"Ke raumisi raumisi
Te rau tao"

"Taringa moea!"

"A fafine kere i o ma ki tongo."

The song is composed of seven stanzas or groups of phrases (**kupu**) which are divided off by the chorused cry of "Taringamoea", the name of Te Atua i Sao. The rites of the **taume** are under the jurisdiction of this god, who, it will be remembered, is one of the two "working deities" of Marae.

As in the **uru** and other pivotal chants of the festival, the language of the **taume** is of a different character from that used in everyday conversation, and contains a number of words which are said by the natives to be of archaic form. Thus of some phrases it is said "speech of former times; it has disappeared". The absence of any very precise meaning for individual words and phrases, however, is not detrimental to them in native eyes. Their value is essentially symbolic and lies in the correct recital and conjunctionof them, not in their individual significance to the people who sing them. An essential in all these songs is to preserve the authentic version as believed to have been handed down through the line of ancestors from the gods themselves. Thus Pa Rarovi said to me "We who sing the speech, sing it to be correct, that the deities may see that it is correct." Moreover because of its sacred character the song must be rendered with due reverence. Despite the strange, even humerous, sound of some of its words to modern ears, any tendency to laugh must be suppressed, and no jokes

or careless ways of behaviour are permissible.

The central theme of the **taume** song is a series of brief allusions to activities of the coming dance. Thus the first stanza speaks of "the children" (**nga tama**), in this case the people, sleeping, then waking to dance. Then comes the wish that the moon may shine and be full for the occasion. **Fua te marama**, an archaic form, was explained as "the moon to be good for the dance". **Fua** here is probably connected with its basic meaning of "to fruit". So also it is desired that the sun shall be favourable; i.e. that bad weather shall not interfere with the festival. The fifth stanza deals with the aromatic leaves (**rara**) used in the dance and refers to those "hung up in former times" (**suru ki Retua**). **Rau tataka** is to be translated as "(Scented) leaves of all kinds". The concluding line of this stanza contains an obscure reference to the rainbow, **umata**, and links it with the blood red flames, presumably of the fire, **ura toto**, which is to be made. The rainbow serves as an omen to the natives, but why it is mentioned here is not known. In the final stanzas the language is of the erotic type common to several of these sacred songs.

When the song was finished the men rose and, headed by Pa Rarovi, walked slowly in single file to Fenumera, and thence on to Marae. Each person carried his **taume** at breast height on his palms. At the invitation of Pa Rarovi I walked with them, bearing my **taume** with the rest. When the first mound was reached the leader knelt down, again performed obeisance with the **taume**, and laid it on the ground. Then he passed on. Each member of the group followed suit, so that a pile of these coconut spathes was formed. This was the fuel for the fire for the night's dancing.

After depositing their burdens the men formed in lines at the lower side of the Marae, the Ariki Kafika and Pa Rarovi being in front. The **ta**, the sounding board - often a small old canoe - was carried in, and supported against the stones at the Pae Marae. A man took his place behind it, commenced to beat, and the dance began.[1] This was the **matavaka**, the dance of the canoe prow, so called from its most characteristic feature, the tossing heads and masses of flowing hair which were held to resemble the movement of the bow of a canoe on the waves, and the flying spray

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[1] Sometimes the shout of "Osepo!" introduces the **matavaka**, and a song is chanted, ending with a yell of Iefu ! before the sounding board is carried down.

thrown out on either side. The dance is very striking and rhythmic. The **matavaka**, however, was only a preliminary to the ritual events; it was the same dance which at ordinary times was beaten almost nightly on the beaches.

DANCE OF THE BAMBOO

After a short time an interlude was provided by a dance of a highly sacred character. A long pole, a dry bamboo stem, which was kept stored against a tree on the north side of Rarofiroki, was brought to the entrance to Marae at Fenumera. About a dozen men, six on either side, arranged themselves along it, holding it with one hand, and grasping a light wand in the other. Then they struck up a song and with curious jerking movements and gestures, began to advance on to Marae. Holding the pole horizontally, they crouched low, moving with stiff-legged short jumps, bending their heads from side to side, and singing the while. In this manner the dancers bought the pole to the south end of Marae, where they laid it down, in front of the seat of the Ariki Taumako. (Before the dance each chief had seated himself on his mat, while those of his clansmen who were not participating squatted behind him.) When the pole was set down the dancers stood looking down upon it and resting their wands on it, while they continued their song. Concluding the stanza with a few phrases, spoken in ordinary tones, they turned abruptly away, each side facing outwards, and pointed their sticks to the ground. Again they sang, then finished again with the spoken phrases and walked off. The bamboo was then removed.

The significance of this dance lay in its mythical associations. It was termed **te mako tapu**, the sacred dance, and was indeed one of the most sacred of Marae. Its descriptive name was **te Mako te foi Kofe**, the Dance of the Bamboo, but it was also known, more familiarly, as **te Mako te Atua**, the Dance of the God. It was believed to have originated with the Atua i Tafua in the days when the gods lived as men upon the earth, and conducted the ceremonies of Marae. Each Atua was seated in his place, the Atua i Fangarere at Muafaitoka, the Atua i Taumako at the south end of the ground, Pu ma at their stone pillars and the Atua Fafine on the inland side, when the Atua i Tafua entered with his bamboo, singing his song. "His idea, he was exhilarated, he rejoiced". It was a **mako faifakakata**, a jesting song, made in derision against his brethren, with the object of causing them to laugh. He was successful in all but one instance. As he went from one seat to the other, making his gestures and singing, one god after another broke down and chuckled. The Atua i Taumako alone succeeded in retaining his gravity, and refused to laugh. It is for

this reason at the present time that the dancers at the conclusion of their song set down the bamboo before the Ariki Taumako, who is the representative of the god. For this reason also the Ariki, however much he may feel amusement at the dance, must not show it, but keep an unmoved countenance in conformity with the behaviour of his deity.

The introduction of the mako tapu at each successive ceremonial season is thus the perpetuation of an ancient jest and its rebuff, solemnised and sacralised by being enshrined in mythic lore.

The point of the whole affair lies in the character of the dance. Baldly stated, it is nothing more or less than a pantomimic representation of the movements of man in copulation, with the gestures reinforced by the allusions in the song. The bamboo, swung in jerking thrusts as the dancers hop slowly along, represents the action of the male organ.

Further point is given by the explanation of one informant that the song and the dance were primarily directed against the Atua Fafine. She was the mother of the Family of Gods, but several of them, in particular the Atua i Fangarere, had entered into sex relations with her. The Atua i Tafua, who presumably had refrained, then composed the song, deriding and at the same time amusing his relatives by allusion to the crude facts of the case. I received versions of the song from several informants, with little variation. I give here that which appeared most coherent. (It was not possible to catch the complete wording when the song was actually chanted in Marae.)

Tafito: Ea ea simotoro
Ea ea simotoro
Ie koli! Ie kola!
Ie koli! Ie kola!

Kupu: Mo vero kou raverave
Nonue nonue
E piro revoi
Ka mapapa te masoa
Nonue nonue
E piro revoi.

Kupu: Malaki tau E!
Malaki lulu E !
E vau
E tangi i te varo.

Safe: Io! Semu
Ia koki!
Ia koka!

The words of the song are foreign to ordinary conversation: like those of the **uru** previously mentioned they are held to be archaic, and their meaning can be explained only by elderly, well-informed men. The stanzas do not embody any continuous statement or set of ideas, but merely present a number of words of erotic significance in conjunction. A coherent translation then is not feasible; it is necessary only to know the significance of the various key-words in order to apprehend the purport of the song. **Simotoro** means the **genital** organs, of which **simotoru**, and **semotou**, given in other **versions**, are variants. According to one informant it was the **membrum virile** that is thus indicated. Another held that the word is the equivalent of **mimi**, the female genitalia, and regarded it as derived from **motomoto**, a virgin. The cry of **Ea Ea simotoru** thus would express the desires of the singer. "He wishes for a virgin". **Koli** and **kola** both refer to the sexual act, being euphemisms derived from the ordinary word **koni**, which is, however, not used in polite speech. Of these words it was said: "they are made to curve", i.e. they are a roundabout means of alluding to the ordinary term. **Mo vero kou raverave** describes the act of entry (**vero** meaning to "lower down") and the motions of thrust and withdrawal "(the thing of the man is connected with the thing of the woman)". **Raverave** means to connect or lock. **Nonue** is a figurative term for the female genitalia, while **revoi** applies to the **rugae** or to the interior of the vagina as a whole. **Piro** is the normal adjective used to describe anything of unpleasant odour; this is a kind of stock gibe flung by the men at the women in lewd conversation and song, and alluding to their organs. **Te masoa**, or in another version **te maloa**, is a figurative term for the testicles, these being compared to the fruit of the masoa plant. **Mapapa**, onomatopoeic in etymology, signifies "clapping", and the allusion here is to the striking of the testes against the body of the woman during congress.

The first two stanzas were sung as the bamboo advanced across the Marae. After it was laid down the third stanza was sung.

In this **malaki** is another allusive term for the act of connection, the syllable **ki** denoting a squeak or more broadly any small sound. The explanation was "When persons copulate the penis 'squeaks' into the genitals of the woman". **Lulu** describes the entrance of the male organ into that of the female. Another version gives this word as **ulu**, a form of **uru**, a verb in ordinary speech meaning 'to enter'. The same rendering concludes this stanza thus:

E tangi te valo
Ulu E!
E tangi te valo

Both here and in the text given the meaning is obscure. Informants tentatively suggested that **valo** or **varo** represented the female genitalia,but were uncertain as to how these could be said to 'mourn' (tangi). On this one point they were all agreed, however, that it was the act of copulation which was described. It is possible that the 'mourning' or 'wailing'of the female parts is a symbolic mode of stating that the act of penetration has been accomplished - such a form of speech is sometimes met in other songs.

The final stanza was sung before the bamboo was left on the ground.

The word **semu** is used, though sparingly, in ordinary speech in the sense of **kaisi**, i.e., to ask or beg.Here, however, it is probably a variant of **simotoro**, the male organ. The phrase "**semusemu to ifo**" occurring in one version was translated as "penis drop down", meaning that it is inserted and rests in the vagina. **Koki** and **koka** are again variants on the theme of **koni**, the sexual act. **Ia**, like **ea,ie, tau E,** (**Ue** in one version) is a euphonic particle introduced to allow the rhythm to be maintained.

The song as a whole is thus an agglomeration of terms, more or less archaic and disguised, descriptive of male and female genitalia and the act of sexual intercourse. As such, it was clear from discussion, it has certainly the tendency to provoke amusement in a native audience, particularly as it consists largely of a play upon words, wherein the direct terms of normal usage are avoided. But it is a point of etiquette in Marae to regard the song with all gravity and suppress any amusement. The fact that it is of high antiquity and sacred, a legacy from the gods, does not render this difficult. Since at the same time the speech is recognised as being lewd, women are prohibited from hearing it, and when the time for the performance arrives, they retire to the houses inland.

The solemn performance of song and dance in which the language and gestures are of what is commonly called a "lewd" type is an interesting phenomenon, which has its parallel in ritual in other parts of the world. It receives its sanction from its religious and mythic basis. Its precise function or place in the social life of the community is somewhat difficult to comprehend, since this emphasis on a sexual theme appears to be irrelevant to the religious and economic interests of the Work of the Gods. The significance of this dance in the immediate context has been explained, but its social functions are probably to be sought in more indirect fashion. Its importance in the ceremonial cycle may lie,in addition to its value as an integral part of traditional ritual, in the

element of sensation which it provides, acting as a fillip to the imagination of the people, a point on which their interest can be focussed and maintained, and an attractive feature of the ritual. On the other hand it is perhaps part of an attempt at sacralisation of the sexual side of life, by associating these impulses with religion and myth, and thus assisting in their regulation. But it may also be fairly argued that this and the other sex songs provide a sanction for the use of "bad speech", that is bawdy references, in ordinary life, by projecting their origins into mythic antiquity. The second point, that of teaching sense to people, which seems to be a rationalization, is the only one mentioned to me by Tikopia.

THE SACRED FIRE.

After the Dance of the Bamboo preparations were made to construct the Shed of the Fire - te Fare o te Afi - for the ritual of the night. The thatch of the shed had been pinned together by the households of the chiefs during the day, each chief himself as a rule taking part in its manufacture. While the dance of the **matavaka** was being performed in the late afternoon poles were cut and quickly set up in position on one side of the mound where the kava of **Muafaitoka** was made. The shed was a simple shelter of thatch, a roof without sides. It was the custom to carry the materials on and off Marae at the run. The shed was completed just as it was getting dusk, and the evening kava was prepared immediately. No chief ate from the food basket set before him in Marae, but each waited to have a meal with his family outside his own house.

The next rite was the bringing of the Fire. This was the special duty and privilege of Pa Raravi, and was allied with his control of the **taume**. But it will be remembered that all items of ritual are under the jurisdiction of gods of the men who respectively own them. The Fire was partly under the control of Taringamoea, (also the god of the **taume**) and more especially of Pufine i Ravenga, a female deity, known in this particular function as "Ruataka".

The crowd of men sat around in the vicinity of the houses waiting for the fire to be brought. Pa Rarovi, who had gone off alone, was meanwhile in his house preparing the torch; he waited until he considered that the correct time had arrived to perform his task. This was one of the crucial moments of the ritual, and his attitude was indicative of his importance; he knew that he could delay all the proceedings and keep the four chiefs waiting with impunity. A couple of his male relatives kindled a small fire on the **mata paito** side of the house close under the eaves. Pa Rarovi took some

fronds of the areca palm, **kaula**, and broke them into smaller sections, each with a piece of rib that would stick into the ground. Laying them down he took up a torch which had been plaited of dry coconut leaf, and seated himself on a mat outside the house near the cave. He held the torch so that its end rested on the ground by the fire and the butt was inclined over his head. He then began to chant softly to himself and rubbed the end of the torch along the ground, approaching it slowly to the blaze, until it caught alight. This was the **tutunga afi**, the Kindling of the Fire. The chant was a formula of the **fakasao** type to invite the chiefs to countenance the rite which he was performing:

"Ke Tinamo, ke Pa Tafua, ke Pa Taumako
Pa Fangarere
Fakasaofao mai totou kaupure na
ki te Afi o Pu ma ma Fanau
Ka uraura atu i te po nei."

"You Tinamo, you Pa Tafua, you Pa
Taumako, Pa Fangarere
Countenance me your assembly of
elders there in the Fire of
Pu ma and the Brethren

Which will flame away on this night."

When the torch was blazing thoroughly he rose, laid it down for a moment and then picking up the pieces of areca frond set them on his right arm and the torch above. As it was about four feet long the flaming top stood up diagonally above his head, and his shock of bushy hair was lit to a warm brown by the glow, while his face, as he stood with benthead, rested in shadow. He moved off with stately step along the special track leading from his house to the main path, a way which was sacred, and was trodden only by the bearers of the Fire of the Gods. His progress was extremely sacred, and though people gathered at the entrance to Marae to await his approach, none might speak to him.[1] Children in particular were warned to keep out of the way, but some, in spite of restraint, insisted on dashing along the path to catch a glimpse of the torch-bearer and were roundly cursed by the adults in consequence. When the glow of the fire was seen approaching all retreated, and the people near the path drew aside, squatting down out of respect. As Pa Rarovi walked slowly along he crooned softly to himself the song of the

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[1] As another special privilege, he allowed me to follow him, on condition I uttered no word, to him or the spectators.

Afi:

Raumisi raumisi
Raumisi raumisi
Ko rau tao
A fafine e rere i ou ma ki tongo".

This is practically identical with the refrain or conclusion of the song of the **taume** given earlier.

Nearing the open space of Fenumera,Pa Rarovi raised torch and leaf, made obeisance to them, and then went on into Marae. There he sat down beneath the shelter, and kindled the Sacred Fire, using for the purpose some of the **taume** and the residue of his torch. The areca fronds were then stuck in the ground to act as a kind of shield from the blaze, and he remained there to attend to the Fire.

The entrance of the **Afi** was accompanied by complete silence on the part of the crowd.

The Sacred Fire was maintained thus all through the night, fresh **taume** being added whenever it died low. A man was always seated behind the leaf screen to tend it; in olden days, it was said, two men shared this task. When the watcher tired, after an hour or so, he made a sign to one of the dancers, and this man dropped out of the ranks and relieved him. The man who had just been released backed away from the fire in a respectful crouching attitude and joined the throng. It was primarily the task of the men to tend the fire, but towards morning it was permissible for a woman to act as relief. Under no circumstances must the fire be allowed to die out, or to remain untended. After his preliminary vigil Pa Rarovi took no further part in this, until just before dawn, when he slipped into his place again.

As soon as the **Afi** was brought, the men began to arrange themselves for the further rites. The people of Taumako gathered at the southern end of the Marae, those of Kafika and Fangarere at the northern end, beside Rarofiroki. The dance of the **matavaka** was begun again, and followed by a dirge which was sung as a preliminary to the bringing up of the sounding board or "trough" from its position by the stones by the water's edge. The actual accomplishment of this was signalised by a vigorous clapping of hands. This was the signal of **te mori o te nafa,**" the conveying of the trough". The Ariki Kafika had previously been seated in his house inland, for the "trough" and the handling of it was the affair of the Taumako clan. When he heard the clapping he knew that it was in position for the performance of his office. This was the beating of the fu **tapu**, the sacred **fu**, which was at

once the most picturesque and the most revered of all the dances of Uta.

THE FU TAPU

The substitute sounding trough, the ta, had also been brought, and was held firm against the stone which stood at the south end of Rarofiroki. The **nafa** itself was not beaten, since in the first place it was too infirm to be roughly handled, and still more, it was the property of the Ariki Taumako, and was used by him for patting during the sore.

The Ariki Kafika took his seat behind the **ta**, gripped the two wooden beating sticks, and waited till complete silence reigned over Marae. When all was quiet he began to beat, a single stroke, with a long pause between each. Then he began in low measured tones the song of the **Fu tapu**. Every word was clearly articulated, and there were no drawling cadences, as is common in Tikopia songs. The melody itself was of an unusual type, and was associated with this one song only. It was sung nowhere else but in Marae, as a prelude to the nights of sa Kafika and sa Tafua alone.

The text of the song, recorded in Marae, and checked by the Ariki Kafika, is as follows:

Turou, e turou
Ariki o Namo
Mamaru mamaru
Ariki o Namo
Fu io io
Fu io io.

Somotio tu
Kouro tu
Fu io io
Fu io io.

Tukutuku ifo i te ava E !
Kae au ko te ika E !
Rere mai te tokape
O asu ki oi
Fu io io
Fu io io.

Ko Tafaki tefea ?
Ko Tafaki tenei
E tu ifea ?
E fu io io !

Ko Karisi tefea ?
Ko Karisi tenei
E tu ifea ?
E fu io io.

The song is believed to have been composed by the Atua i Kafika when he lived upon earth, in honour of his own deities, Pu ma, here addressed by their personal names, Tafaki and Karisi.

Translation :

Respected, are respected
Chieftains of Namo
Reverenced, reverenced
Chieftains of Namo
Fu io io
Fu io io.

Samutia standing
Kaura standing
Ku io io
Fu io io.

Lay it down in the channel O !
And then comes the fish O !
The **tokape** rushes hither
To scoop it up.
Fu io io
Fu io io.

Where is Tafaki ?
This is Tafaki
Where is he standing ?
Is hidden indeed !

Where is Karisi ?
This is Karisi
Where is he standing ?
Is hidden indeed !

As usual, some of the words were obscure, even to the best informed men of the community, among whom were the Ariki Kafika, the owner of the song. But from him I obtained the following comments.

The opening words **turou, e turou,** sung very slowly and distinctly, are what the natives class as **taranga fakaepa,** honorific speech. They are used principally in reference to chiefs. When, for instance, a man is striking blows with an axe, or producing any loud booming noise in the vicin-

ity of where a chief is staying, someone of influence and authority will say :

"Turou ra ! te ariki e tapu". "Have respect there ! the chief is sacred". (There is a causative verb **fakaturou** formed from this.) The term **mamaru** is of similar type. It is derived from **maru**, meaning "soft", and is used in similar situations. Thus it will be said to a man in rebuke **"E ! sise e maruia e a ke te ariki e tapu e nofo?".**
O ! is not reverenced by you the chief who is sacred sitting there?

Another expression is **"Te ariki e tapu e maru e nofo".** "The chief is sacred, is reverenced sitting there".

Ariki o Namo refers to Pu ma, Tafaki and Karisi. They are mentioned as chieftains of Namo since they are held to have been the original rulers of Kafika, and the ancient honorific title of the Ariki of Kafika, still borne by each successive chief, is Tinamo, Ruler of Namo (cf. Tui Tonga, termed in Tikopia Ti Tonga.) **Somotio** is a form of **Samutia**, the vowels having undergone mutation in the song. By one informant (of Taumako) this was said to be an alternative name for Karisi and to be very sacred. He begged me in fact not to mention that he had made it known to me lest he be bewitched for his effrontery. The Ariki Kafika, however, said that the meaning of this word was unknown to him. **Kouro**, a form of **kaura**, was said to be the areca palm (**kaula**, of which two varieties, the **kaura tu**, standing palm, and **kaura raro**, low palm, are distinguished), The third stanza was held to be an appeal to the gods for fish, of which the **tokape** is a variety. The description applies to the use of the bag net, the **kuavi**, which is let down at the end of a sinnet line. The **tokape** flock into it to devour the bait and are then hauled up. The concluding stanzas ask of the whereabouts of Tafaki and Karisi, question and answer following in dialogue form. Concerning the words **fu io io**, which form a kind of refrain to each stanza, considerable difference of opinion existed. The Ariki Kafika gave the meaning of the phrase as 'sharp edged' and contrasted it with **fu tokotoko laui** meaning an even plane surface. In this sense **ioio** is connected with **te io**, the edge, as of a box, and **te ioioanga** the corner, as of a field; while **fu** may be translated as **surface** or **aspect.** The Ariki said in explanation of the refrain, **"A kaokao a atua e ioio"**, "ribs of gods are edged",[1] and placed his hands to his sides in illustration of the sharpness of outline. The word **fu**, however, in ordinary speech means "hidden" and **io** is the word of em-

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[1] Reminiscent of an Easter Island wooden figure?

phatic assent. The refrain may be then translated as"hidden indeed". It is in this sense that other informants understood it. Their idea was that the atua, angry with men,hide from them, and go off to the sky. The object of the song is to induce the gods to return again to earth. It is from this, these informants said,that the name of the dance,"The sacred hiding",is derived. It is evident from this disagreement in interpretation by the best informants that a great deal of individual guesswork has been brought to bear on the song.

Before the song began half a dozen men, including the Ariki Taumako and some of his near relatives,detached themselves from the group at the bottom of Marae and in the dim light crouched in a curved line round the periphery of the tae kava mound. They held fronds of the areca palm in each hand or leaves of a species of cordyline, the ti mea. They crouched motionless while the tempo of the song quickened and the rhythm changed from a single slow alternative beat to two single beats followed by two double beats. As the beat quickened still more, and the song swelled out, there was a sudden movement from the crouching figures. With a simultaneous leap they sprang high into the air, throwing their arms above their heads, and waving across each other the palm fronds held in their hands. With an agility surprising in men of such heavy build they sprang again and again, almost without a sound, for they landed on their toes each time. It was tapu to thud to the ground in the dance. Even the waving of the palm fronds was done silently. They leaped and crouched, swung their leaf fans, and turned to one side and to the other with set gestures, in conformity with the rhythm. Then they stiffened again into immobility as each chanted stanza ended.

It was a weirdly impressive spectacle, especially to one who saw it as I did, in the moonlight, which was yet not bright enough to give an air of reality to the scene. As background there was the still lake, with the rock pyramid of Fongo te koro rising on the further shore and its black reflection reaching across the silvered waters to the foot of the Marae. In the glade there were the dark mass of people clustered by the open lake side, the figures of the dancers, the firelight flickering on them and on the thatched roof of the shelter and the sitting figure of the attendant dark and motionless, shielded by the screen of palm fronds. The rhythmic beat of the sounding board, regulated by the high flung arms of the chief as he wielded the polished striking sticks and intoned the ancient chant, contrasted strongly with the noiseless movements of the dancers as they leapt and postured with waving limbs and flowing hair.

It seems a legitimate assumption, though it

cannot of course be verified, that these highly sacred dances, dedicated to some of the most important gods of the people, represent one type of ancient Polynesian religious cult, of which only the vestiges have been preserved by tradition in Hawaii and elsewhere.

The **fu tapu** and the dances immediately following it are regarded as the property of sa Taumako, to be performed only by men of this clan and sons of women of their clan. The songs which serve as their accompaniment, on the other hand, are held to belong to the Ariki Kafika and his "house", and the privilege of beating the measure and leading the singing is accordingly theirs.

THE TUARO

As soon as the **fu tapu** was finished the beat of the sounding board changed, without a break, to that of the **tuaro**. Each type of dance had its own special rhythm - known variously as **te ranianga o te mako, te uakianga o te mako** or **te tafito o te mako**. The beat of the **tuaro** may vary somewhat, depending on the character of the song which it accompanies: "some **tuaro** are beaten progressively(**morimori**), other **tuaro** are beaten in a rising manner" (**fakaevaeva**). In the first style the hands are kept fairly low and the beat is a steady throb; in the second the hands are flung high after each stroke, giving a lighter nervous feel to the rhythm. "I alone am expert," said the Ariki Kafika to me. His assumption of sole knowledge was really an expression of his privilege and no more, since in strict accuracy there were quite a number of men capable of officiating at the post. The technique, he said, would be transmitted by him to his eldest son when he himself reached old age, and I noted that Pa Fenuatura sat near him on the second night and watched his style.

The dance of the **tuaro** comprised practically the same series of movements of arms and legs as in the **fu tapu**, save that they were in quite regular time, and the dancers did not spring into the air. The sons were traditional, and followed a fairly definite order.

The initial song, of which the position never varies and which is most sacred, is given below.

Tou ra, Sakora
Tou ra, Sakora
Matakina tou ra, Sakura
Oie ! turou Sokuro
Oie ! turou Sokuro

According to tradition the origin of this song is to be found

in the acts of the Atua i Kafika when he instituted the ceremonies of Marae. He desired to be supreme there, so set up his stone at what is now the Pae Marae. It was a lofty pillar, but he was offended by the competition of that of the Atua i Taumako, which was as tall, and trod this down flat. This is the stone as it now rests in Marae. Not unnaturally the Atua i Taumako was annoyed at this slight put upon him and through his agent, the sun, planned revenge. The sun shone strongly without ceasing, day after day, and concentrated its rays upon the stone of the Atua i Kafika. At first it had no effect,but gradually the rock cracked with the heat and pieces began to fall away. The Atua i Kafika observed the crumbling of his pillar with dismay, and tried to restrain it by pouring water upon it, but without avail; it split to pieces. In the end the once massive pillar was reduced to a number of slabs, which form the present Pae Marae. In acknowledgement of the victory of the Atua i Taumako, the Atua i Kafika composed this song, mentioning his adversary by name and doing reverence to him.

"Thy sun, Sakura
Thy sun, Sakura
Observed thy sun, Sakura.
Oie! respected, Sakura
Oie! respected, Sakura."

I recorded 14 tuaro altogether. Most were very short and some were untranslatable, even by the Ariki Kafika, who was most entitled to pronounce on them. One such, which is usually sung second in the programme, is as follows:

"E tuaro ne o
E tuaro motongi ne oro
E tuaro ne o
E tuaro motongi ne oro
E tuaro samusamu eia
E tuaro samusamu eia."

The first two lines can be rendered

"Dancing the tuaro, went;
Dancing the tuaro, the wind went".

but the significance of this is unknown. Another runs:

"Tuaro ro, rofio, rofio
Tuaro ro, rofio, rofio.
Tuaro ro, niu oso
Tuaro ro, nio oso."

The last two words mean literally "coconut rushing on",but as

the Ariki Kafika said "What sort of talk is this?" Another is:

"Taku tama lu E !
Taku tama lo niu E
Ke tukuo mai.

Te tangata mou kupenga
Ke moua moi
Ke purutia i a koka koka."

Here, with the exception of lu and lo, the words are ordinary Tikopia - "My son .... to be left to me .... the man with a net ...." - but convey no organized idea. The Arika Kafika said he was unable to assign any meaning to it. Another of the same type is very brief:

"Makoti, e makoti koti
Makoti."

The chief remarked about it, "There is no speech like that made in this land." I may add that the chief's ignorance seemed absolutely genuine, and was corroborated by the inability of all other informants to supply any more cogent explanations.

These "unintelligible" tuaro are the first to be sung, and after them come several which are comparatively clear in meaning. Nothing is known about the composition of the former, save that they are regarded as very ancient, and the latter include three which are held to have been composed by former chiefs of Tafua, a few generations ago, and one by the great-grandfather of the Ariki Kafika. It therefore is a reasonable inference that the former are older, their original wording altered and their meaning lost in the course of oral transmission. But I would argue that this is not necessarily evidence of any high degree of antiquity, and does not allow us to conclude that here are the relics of an archaic speech of Tikopia of an essentially different culture from that of today. The range of variation I have recorded when different informants have given me the text of the song same, in the chanting of which they themselves have taken part only a few days before, shows the flexibility and liability to change inherent in the native system of performance and transmission.

The more recent tuaro, of which the text need not be given, have as theme the acts of invading Tongans, or sea voyages.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE DANCING

After the set of **tuaro** had been performed a change took place. The most sacred dances of the night had now been completed,**and** the tension noticeably relaxed.Joking and laughter began. The Ariki yielded his post to a younger man and the beat of the dance was changed to that of the **matavaka**. This was the real beginning of the night's enjoyment. The band of dancers round the circle was now augmented by practically all the non-Christian men of the island and the dance became a social rather than a religious function. The ritual element, however, was not wholly discarded. The dancing circle was formed round the periphery of the mound on which the fire was situated, and one part of the circle passed close to Muafaitoka. Even at the height of the dance due reverence was paid to this sacred spot. As each performer approached it he quietened the swing of his head and limbs, straightened up his body and walked with benthead and hands clasped in front of him round this portion of the circle, facing outwards towards the **tapu** place. Though his feet moved in time with the beat and the music of the dance he did not swing his body - "he does not dance". This was the conventional mark of respect to the Atua Lasi and his house Rarofiroki. On moving away the performer broke into the swing of the dance once again.

The rhythmic motion of the **matavaka** was intoxicating, as I found when I took part in the dance each evening. The insistent throb of the sounding board went on and on, and blended with the chorus of voices, now swelling, now dying down, but never quite ceasing. The dancers moved round and round in the ring with short steps, knees bent, feet wide apart, arms swinging simultaneously with the movement of the feet and heads swinging regularly with hair tossing like the waves of the sea. The people kept close one behind the other, and their exact and regular movement gave the circle an air of corporate life, independent of the coming and going of the individuals who broke into or fell out of it from time to time.

Everyone was ornamented with head fringes, beads and scented leaves,and many people, especially women, carried fans in their hands. The women joined in the dance late in the evening. Their attitude was different from that of the men; they did not sway from side to side,spread their feet apart or toss their heads, but bent their backs and, dropping their hands down low, moved up and down with a curious shuffling step. They had their own dancing line near the centre of Marae, which undulated up and down in the vicinity of the stone of the Female Deity, but they also joined the ring of the men and circled around the fire. When the

dance was in full train and excitement was high this ring formed a tightly packed mass. People who were awaiting their turn to slip in,"marked time" as it were at the Taurongorongo at the bottom of Marae, swaying to and fro and shuffling their feet in time to the music. Those who dropped out for a rest sat down on the tree roots or stones near by in little groups and discussed the dance, chewed betel and smoked or went to sleep. Some,more luxuriously inclined, went to a nearly house and lay down on a floor mat with a wooden head rest. Food was occasionally brought along and eaten but no organised meal took place.

The dance went on without a pause through the night, and the majority of the crowd did not sleep. From time to time a change of attendants took place by the fire, or one man relieved another at the sounding board, but the function proceeded with scarcely a perceptible check.

The early hours of the morning was for the young folk,perhaps,the most colourful time. For by then all were thoroughly soaked in the rhythm of the performance. At this point ancient custom permitted the introduction of erotic songs. Of these there were two kinds, the **tauangutu**, and the **feuku**. The distinction between them lies in this,that in the former there is grossness of speech, but figurative expressions, and veiled phrases alone - some of them quite poetic in their imagery - convey the intended suggestion. In the **feuku** as a rule, all indirect allusion is cast aside, and the plain crude physiological vocabulary is employed. The song of the Bamboo in particular is an example of a sacred **tauangutu**. These songs, though usually erotic to a high degree, are not love-ditties. They are essentially of derisive kind, a challenge to the opposite sex, imputing bodily imperfections and absence of virtue, linked with unbridled desire. They are sung alternatively in challenge and answer and the object of the one sex is to reciprocate and if possible surpass the song of the other. The atmosphere is one of humour, and some of the songs have certainly wit in them.Because they embody **taranga pariki**, impolite speech, they are relegated to a late period of the dance. It would be highly improper to perform them in the presence of **tautau pariki**(persons in a relationship of constraint) as for instance a man and his father-in-law.[1] When the night has worn on most of the elder folk who comprise one term of these relationships have danced their fill and withdrawn, leaving the field open to the young people. "When we see that the **tautau pariki** have gone, then we perform **feuku and tauangutu**". The presence of both father and sons, who are under constraint of relationship in certain other respects, is not considered to constitute **tautau pariki** for the purposes of Marae.[2]

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1 See **We,The Tikopia** for a discussion of dancing,sex and kinship.
2 During the dance period,it was said,the women are under the protection of the Female Deity. The male deities, at times,desire the mortal women whom they see on their dancing ground,but the Female Deity interposes and will not allow them to obtain their desire.

The dance continued without interruption till the flush of dawn reddened the sky. When light began to creep over the land everyone mustered at the dance ground, and all the sleepers were summoned to swell the number of performers. The dance became rapid and vigorous. As the first rays of the sun began to appear Pa Rarovi, who had again taken his place beside the fire, suddenly stretched out his hands to the screen of palm fronds and toppled them over on to the flames. These went out almost immediately and the dance stopped at the same moment. This was the ceremonial "Touching of the Fire" (popo o te afi) and marked the end of the night's festivities.

The shed of the fire was then dismantled, the roof being lifted off in one piece and laid at the side of Marae for use the following night. After this the men adjourned to the bottom of the Marae where the **vetu** was clapped once. The morning kava was performed by the Ariki Kafika and the Ariki Fangarere, the chiefs of Tafua (formerly) and Taumako attending on their respective days. Many of the crowd then went off to their homes to sleep.

The ceremonies of the **Urangafi** were of the same symmetrical form as those of the **Taomatangi**, in that each clan had its own night, and in connection with this prepared its **fakaoatea** of food on the appropriate day. Pa Rarovi, whose ritual of the **taume** and the **afi** was an integral part of each evening's performance, had a constant duty of making the kava in his own house each afternoon. This was termed **Aumumu taume** and was a minor rite, a reinforcement of the major one which took place on the initial day. Every night of the Fire Dance was not of the same esoteric value. Those of Kafika and Tafua which led off, were of more weight than Taumako and Fangarere, a position which was to be correlated with the respective status of the chiefs. Associated with this differential importance, the **fu tapu** and **tuaro**, the most sacred dances, were performed on the first two nights only; this was analagous to the performance of the **vetu masanga.** The majority of the **matavaka** which constituted the bulk of the choruses for the night were common property and sung indifferently on any occasion, but those which were introductory were always the specific property of the clan whose night it was. Examples cannot be given here for lack of space, but they are of the same type as the songs already published (in **We, The Tikopia**).

Since the Dance of the Flaming Fire is essentially an open air festival, it depends for much of its success upon the state of the weather. "The **Urangafi**, its spoiling one thing - the rain" said the Ariki Kafika. If the sky is overcast during the day, as evening draws on it

is watched very anxiously. On one occasion when it had started to rain the Ariki after grumbling a little called out loudly "Clear up the sky, Pu ma!", an appeal to his deities to mend matters. Even when it rained, however, the dance was not abandoned. I was told that as a rule it is not even shortened. People came from the villages carrying leaves of the umbrella palm over their heads, and girt, not with **kie** and other fine clothes, but with leaves of **rau tea**. This was the "bad weather vesture". The fire was lit, the sounding board beaten, and all night long they danced in the wind and the rain. This is an index of the importance of the ritual, for the native dislikes rain and will not get his skin wet unless for some very good reason. Occasionally a concession is made. Thus after a thoroughly wet day Pa Rarovi came to the door of the house of the Ariki Kafika, and told him to remain seated on his dry mat in Marae with the other Ariki and not to take part in the **taume** rite since the stone slabs in Takerekere were soaking wet. This night was exceedingly stormy, with very heavy rain, and this time the dance was stopped by Pa Rarovi in the early hours of the morning. Most of the crowd had abandoned the scene and were sleeping in the various houses round about, while **eight** or nine young people were left to carry on the dance. Round and round they went, untiring, but drenched with rain and lashed by the squall which came sweeping over the lake. Pa Rarovi said afterwards "I had compassion on our young men and maidens; I put out the fire". This action was approved by public opinion.

FOOD EXCHANGES

Apart from its religious performances the **Urangafi** has its set of transactions of social and economic importance - an exchange of food baskets similar to that of the **Taomatangi**. The reciprocal gifts already described, centring primarily on the women, are regarded as being of the greater ceremonial importance: "Its making weighty that which was made inland," it was said, since the baskets of the women, which are deposited at Rarofetaka, are made of much greater size. For those of the women, moreover, it is **tapu** to use breadfruit or banana as the basis of the food. **Taro** must be used, or if a woman has no taro at command, she will draw upon her reserve stores of **masi**, or in the last resort will go and dig her yams and grate them up. This **tapu** rests on the differential value of these foods for consumption. Pudding made of breadfruit or banana is deemed to be inferior to that prepared from **taro** or yam, hence for the **longi** of the women it is etiquette to employ the latter alone. For the baskets of the men, however, which are of less ceremonial importance, it is permissible to use the foods of a lower grade.

The arranging of the baskets of the men took place on the second day of the festival - **te po sa Tafua.** The initial presentation was made on the third day, **te po sa Taumako**, and the exchange was concluded by a reciprocal gift on the fourth day - **te po sa Fangarere.** In this respect the affair differed from that of the women where the reciprocal presentation took place on the same day. The arrangements were made carefully and methodically. The procedure was simplified by the custom that all the **longi nga fafine,** exchanged by the women, were made and exchanged again in the **longi nga tangata** by the men. Thus in the case of a married couple the wife, during the **Taomatangi,** exchanged a basket with a woman of the opposite clan. As a result, in the **Urangafi** the two husbands exchanged likewise. An unmarried man and his sister followed a similar rule. Hence there is never much difficulty in allotting partners, since if two family groups have been linked by their women folk, a pair of men - it does not matter greatly who - are easily found for the second exchange. For other unmarried men (of whom a great number always attend the festival) one procedure is to go methodically through the list of family groups of one clan, naming them in turn, and settling partners for the principal young men in each. In arranging this any baskets previously fixed for each "house" are kept in mind, and when the total for any group reaches three or four, then a halt is called. But I heard this termed excessive. "A household is plentiful, two, three their baskets, then cease," was laid down as a guiding rule by some people. When the number reached the desired point the Ariki or someone else in authority called "Stop", and the discussion passed on. "Anyone who is left (in that kin group) stick him on to another man," was the instruction of the elders.

A bachelor may arrange his own basket beforehand instead. He goes to the dance on the first night with a **surusuru,** a branch from a scented shrub, worn as a back ornament, and sticks it in the waist belt of the friend whom he selects as the object of his food presentation. When the allotting of baskets is being decided he informs the meeting of his choice, or someone else does so in his absence. Mutual discussion is thus the basis of the organisation of this important set of transactions.

The next day the work of preparing the food for the **longi** began - on the part of sa Kafika and sa Fangarere alone, since sa Tafua and sa Taumako reciprocated the following day. The same distinction was made as before between the ordinary baskets and the "foremost baskets", which one chiefly family presented to another. For this a minor kava ceremony was performed before it left the house of the donor.

A novice (**te koromata**) who has come to the ceremonies of Marae for the first time, makes a presentation of a much larger amount of food than the normal. Besides the huge basket which forms the main portion of the gift there is a secondary basket and usually a bundle of sprouting coconuts or a bunch of bananas in addition. The large basket is termed the **matua longi**, the smaller one **na taotao**, "its support," or the **taotao longi**. In former times every man made both of these - though less imposing than those of a novice - but of recent years the minor one has been discarded by common consent of the chiefs. In the season described in our account the Ariki Kafika and the Ariki Taumako had a conversation and agreed to conduct the exchange on a single **longi** basis (except in the case of novices, who were to be allowed to present both baskets).

The religious ceremonies of each day did not vary: after the morning kava came that of **fakaoatea**; the **inu** took place late in the afternoon while in the evening after the **taume** rites the evening kava was a prelude to the dance.

The technique of presentation of the **longi** differed in some respects from that in the case of the womens' baskets. The **longi o mua** or the **longi o Marae**, as it was sometimes termed, destined for the Ariki Taumako, was carried out to the ground and placed on the mat of the Ariki Kafika, the donor. Those of the rest of Kafika were set at the clan-station in rear of that of their chief. When the evening kava was to be made, after the **taume** had been brought, the **longi o mua** was carried from the mat of the Ariki Kafika and placed on that of the Ariki Taumako. Simultaneously a kinsman of this chief brought across a small food basket and a bunch of coconuts and set it before the chief of Kafika. The real reciprocating gift for the **longi** was made the following day, but this was by way of preliminary acknowledgment. The native idea was that - theoretically - the Ariki Kafika, having been busy all day with the preparation of the gift to his co-chief, would be without food, hence the Ariki Taumako sent him a kind of 'sustaining present'. The next day, when the return gift was made from Taumako, the Ariki Kafika sent over a corresponding basket. Between the chiefs of Tafua and Fangarere a similar series of secondary presentations used to take place. Exchanges of this nature indicate the complexity of the system of reciprocal gifts, and also the endeavour which is made to preserve its symmetry.

During this satisfaction of the obligations of the chiefs the baskets of the commoners had remained in position. After the kava was over and the dancing of the **matavaka** began the presentation was made; the **longi** of Kafika and of Tafua being carried to the stations of Taumako and

Fangarere respectively, and placed near the seat of the chief. As each consignment arrived it was announced to him. The people of the recipient clans were dancing the while. Later they assembled and their chief made known to each man the position of his basket in the mass.

Certain baskets were not formally presented in this manner. If the oven was ready very quickly in a household, by the early hours of the afternoon, the basket might be filled and sent along to its destination immediately. The saying was "Send along the basket that it may arrive for their hunger at the midday". In this case of course it was not stood in Marae - the practical object of the food gift has here taken precedence over the ceremonial aspect. Of such a basket it was said "it was sent in by the back way"

On the next day, which was the fourth of the **Urangafi**, the reciprocal baskets were prepared and presented with a similar procedure to that already described.

FINAL RITES OF THE DANCE

This was the night of sa Fangarere, the final occasion of the Dance of the Flaming Fire, and its importance was stressed by all. It was **te te po**, the remaining night, **te po fakamavae**, the night of parting, and efforts were made to render the dance as vigorous as possible. "The dance will be packed closely this night; the crowd are separating!" was stated by men of rank and echoed on all sides, and the emphasis given to the word **ngingiti** (pack tight) indicated the strength of their wish. On this evening the **vetu** was introduced before the **matavaka** began. I heard the Ariki Taumako, turning to one of his young relatives, say, calling him by name, "Koroamanongi! Go and **sava**; this is the last night, go and **sava** in the dance". The young man was bashful and objected, but was prevailed upon to obey. **Sava**, it will be remembered, is the term for the admired solo movements performed in the square while the rest of the dancers clap the **vetu**.

The evening and the night followed as before, though the scene was if anything more animated, and the dancing towards morning more furious. At last dawn broke, the fire was extinguished and in the grey light the dancers dispersed.

The concluding rite of the **Urangafi** was one of great sacredness. It was a kava rite of the ordinary type, but its specific object was to render the Marae **tapu** so that once again no one might set foot beyond the border of the path. The "Work of the Gods" was finished there, and

therefore the place of the Gods should not be profaned.

For this kava the ariki should not sit on separate mats, but assembled and occupied the one seating mat, at the side of Rarofiroki. The Ariki Kafika took the head, next him (formerly) was the Ariki Tafua, then the Ariki Taumako, while the Ariki Fangarere occupied the tail. The **epa** mat and some leaves of cycas lay there also. When all were seated the Ariki Fangarere rose and laid the **epa** with appropriate obeisance before his Atua at Muafaitoka, and covered it with the cycas leaves. Then he returned to his seat, while the kava was prepared. This occasion was noticeable for its solemnity: the men who entered the Marae did so on tiptoe, and spoke only in whispers.

When the kava was ready the maker glanced at the Ariki Fangarere, who rose, went down to Muafaitoka, and poured a libation to his deity. As he did so he recited the formula of abasement, ending with the **Iorei!** which was taken up by all the crowd. I was told that as a general rule the medium of the Atua lasi entered Marae for this ceremony, and seated himself at Muafaitoka. At the recitation of this formula the Atua was believed to leave the medium; this was the signal for his final departure from Marae now that the rites had finished there. The medium did not come, however, on this occasion. The next cup of **kava** used to be brought to the Ariki Tafua who handed it to the Ariki Kafika, who poured it out. This was a mark of respect to the premier chief. Nowadays it is handed direct. Other cups were then handed to the chiefs of Tafua (formerly) and Taumako, who poured their customary libations. The **epa** was then folded up, the cycas leaves stuck in the roof of Rarofiroki, and the various seating mats of Ariki and elders were folded and carried off to their houses. This was the conclusion of the ceremonies in Marae.

Each ariki then went to his **fare** where he performed the kava to his own immediate gods. This was done with full libations, omitting none of the deities. In Kafika, for instance, the Ariki poured the kava to Pu ma before the mound of the Tinai ariki.

These rites have as their essential object the re-establishment of the state of **tapu** which has been disturbed by the constant traffic, the presence of women and children, the noise and the dancing. The first kava of the morning was termed **te kava po te Marae** - "the kava for extinguishing the Marae" while the other was known as **te kava po te vasia fare,"** the kava for extinguishing between the houses". Both might be described as ceremonies of "clearing-up" after the confusion of the last few days; the restoration of the

peace characteristic of the sacred district of Uta.

THE PURUNGA KAVA

In the normal way the festival of the Urangafi follows that of the **Taomatangi.** Sometimes, however, in former times, by a decision of the chiefs this was not held, but the rites of the **Purunga** kava were substituted instead. The following account is hearsay only.

The Ariki slept in Uta on the night after the dance was finished, then rose early the next morning and went to Matorotoro where there are a number of stone pillars and slabs (**pae**) which served them as seats and back-rests. Matorotoro is a small point of land jutting out into the lake in Te Roro, about half a mile from Uta, and is a spot of traditional associations. While the chiefs sat and talked their followers went through the orchards in Uta and brought a small quantity of coconuts and other food. This was known as the **aru.**

A minor kava rite was performed over it, and the Ariki then proceeded by canoe back to Uta, to Masauma, or Rarokoka as it is more generally called, the small Marae where the **fono** was delivered. (V. Ch. VII) There they seated themselves at their appointed posts, and a much larger **aru** was then collected, even the heights of Maunga lasi being laid under contribution. When the food was brought the kava house was set up (**ta**) as in the Taomatangi, and the kava of Marae was recited by the Ariki Tafua. The Ariki then went and sat in their respective houses, and each partook of food. They waited until the sound of a shell trumpet, the **pu**, was borne to them across the lake from Tai, then boarded their canoes and met in the beach village at the house of who ever of them had made preparations for their reception. The house selected was one of the **fakariki**, the lesser sacred buildings of the chief, and the choice lay between Raniniu, Rangieva, Mapusanga, or Ranga te atua. The clan of the chief who was acting as host had meanwhile been extremely busy; since early morning the ovens had been going, and as a rule they collected food the day before in order to have an abundance.

The large **aru**, which had been brought over from Uta, was divided into three portions. One portion was cooked in the oven to supplement the feast, another was set in its green state on the **mata paito** of the chief who was the host, and the third was carried back to Rarokoka to provide food for the next day.

When the oven was ready, the **aru** was "announced" by the Ariki Tafua, that is a formal acknowledgment was

made to the gods, offerings of it were thrown, and the Ariki ate together in the house.

The next day the oven was made in Rarokoka, and each Ariki recited his own kava. An interval of a day or two then occurred until the signal was given by the Ariki Kafika to recommence the ceremonies. Such intervals serve a very useful purpose - they allow people to recover their normal equilibrium, to accomplish tasks which have been neglected in the performance of their ritual obligations, to inspect their orchards and cultivations, to plant taro bases which have accumulated and to manufacture or repair tools and implements for which the need is pressing.

When the Ariki Kafika gave the word a round of ceremonial dancing began. The people assembled on each successive day at the Marae of a different chief, who, assisted by his clan, prepared large quantities of food for their reception. In this the Ariki Fangarere joined himself with the Ariki Kafika, partly on account of the intimate relation of the two clans, and partly on account of the comparative poverty of Fangarere. The first day's performance took place at Te Akau roa, a sandy flat on the beach below Potu sa Kafika, since swept away in the great storm of a decade ago. Roi was made the previous evening, the chief and the principal families of his clan each making their **fonakava** for themselves and their guests. On the day of the festival the chiefs decided whether or no "the whole land should be divided apart", that is whether the people should dance as a single group, or should divide into two dancing groups, those who attended the Taomatangi forming one (sa Taomatangi) and those who for various reasons had stayed in Tai forming another (sa Tua). In this latter case a form of competitive dancing was the order of the day.

That same evening the **roi** was made again, and the following day the people assembled and danced at Faretapu, the Marae of the Ariki Taumako. Again the **roi** was made, and on the final day the dance took place at Matautu, on the other side of the island, in the Marae of the Ariki Tafua. Here a **feasinga** of competitive dancing usually took place between the two districts, the people of Faea forming one group and those of Ravenga another. Each day the formula of the kava was recited by the Ariki Tafua, but the **fare kava** was not set up - it being a ritual structure confined to Uta alone. For the ceremonies of the Marae in Tai a fresh stem of kava was plucked each day, the Ariki Tafua sat down, held it in his hand and recited his formula. Each Marae has its principal **atua**, to whom chief place was given on these occasions. In the Akau roa Nga Ariki (Pu ma) have control; in Fare tapu it is Sakura, the Atua i Taumako; in

Matautu it is Oatuatafu, a deity of the Ariki Tafua who presides over the channel in the reef. In the Marae of Tai, as distinct from those of Uta, only one **tau kava** was used for the ceremonies of the conjoined Ariki; this is the bowl of Tafua, and from it the other chiefs were served with cups of kava with which to make their libations.

This distinction on the part of the Ariki Tafua, together with the fact that he alone recited the kava formulae there, is in keeping with his other privileges as the Faifekau, the "Worker" who performs the ritual offices for the Ariki Kafika. Here as elsewhere, however, special function has given rise to privilege and social prestige, and the Ariki Tafua was wont to plume himself on the fact that he, and not the Ariki Kafika, carried out these rites.

The dancing in Tai was of a less formal character than that in Uta. The **vetu**, and other highly sacred dances, because of their **tapu**, were absent from the programme. Women and children, moreover, attended without hindrance. The **Purunga kava** was not wholly free from ritual restraint, however, and the dances ordinarily performed for amusement were not introduced. The **matavaka tapu**, the "Canoe bow", fairly sacred, with songs referring to the deities, was the prescribed type. The performers, however, did not circle round and round as in the Urangafi, but marched up and down as in the ordinary dance.

The **Purunga kava** was performed on occasions when it was desired to push on more rapidly to the end of the ceremonial season. In former times, after the conclusion of the Urangafi in Uta the dance was "conveyed" to Tai and performed in the Marae of the main villages in a manner similar to that of the **Purunga kava.** In both cases this procedure was known as the **Fakataketakanga o Marae,** "The causing to tramp of Marae;" since figuratively speaking its rites were borne through the island by the feet of the crowds as they assembled at the various dancing grounds. Like the **Purunga kava,** this conclusion to the Urangafi is no longer in vogue, since the Ariki Tafua is no longer available for the performance of the kava. Nowadays then, an interval of two or three days generally elapses before the final piece of ritual of the ceremonial season, that is the "carpeting" of Takarito.

CHAPTER X.

DESERTED GODS IN TAKARITO

The carpeting of Takarito is a piece of ritual of a different type to that which has gone before.

In order to understand its significance it is necessary to go back into Tikopia traditions. Nga Ravenga, said to have been the former inhabitants of the greater part of the eastern district of the island, have already been mentioned. At the time of their extermination, and for the space of about two generations afterwards, it is said, the western side of the island was occupied by a people known as Nga Faea, a name associated with the present name for this district. Nga Faea in their turn became the object of the same land-hunger on the part of the chiefs which had destroyed Nga Ravenga. The Ariki Tafua of the time, seeing the success of his confrere of Taumako with the latter, determined that he also would acquire territory for himself, and to that end attacked Nga Faea. In this, according to tradition, he was aided by "houses" from the other clans. Indeed one version of the tale has it that the initial impulse came from the elder of Marinoa who persuaded the Ariki Kafika to make kava and by magic unsettle the hearts of Nga Faea and induce them to abandon their lands. Be this as it may, the result was that Nga Faea, apparently threatened by attack, and not liking to meet the fate of Nga Ravenga, chose the more dignified though no less fatal course. Led by their Ariki, Tiako, they prepared their canoes, gathered their women and children together, and, figuratively speaking, with banners flying, pushed off into the ocean wastes - to perish. They left but a few children as survivors,[1] and the fertile lands thus vacated were soon occupied by the eager retainers of the chiefs.

The importance of Takarito lies in the fact that it is the site of the old Marae of Nga Faea corresponding to the sacred dancing ground of the Chiefs in Uta. In times long ago, I was told, each of the districts of the island had its own Kafika, the temple its own Marae, the sacred square, and its own **Taomatongi** festival; the Ariki Kafika was, as now, **primus inter pares**, and the Ariki Tafua, as his Faifekau, his executant, went from one set of ceremonies to the other, to recite the Kava of Marae.

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1. A few details about Nga Faea are given in my "Dart Match in Tikopia", Oceania, I, 1930, and "Report on Tikopia", ibid.

At Takarito stood the dwelling house of the chief of Nga Faea, close beside the dancing ground, and when the last chief abandoned the lands of his fathers he sent a message to the Ariki Kafika to come and occupy the site, use the food of the adjoining orchard, and perform the ceremonies to the gods. For in addition to its importance as a "historical" relic, Takarito has yet another claim upon the interest of the people. There, on the site of the ancient house lies the Atua i Takarito, a deity of the most sacred character. He is the abandoned god of the vanished chiefs of Nga Faea, and it is on his behalf that the Ariki Kafika concludes the ceremonial season with the "carpeting" of Takarito. The **atua** is embodied in a stone, round and heavy, which is kept covered by cycas leaves and a coconut mat.[2] It is **tapu** to disturb this stone or even to look upon it at unauthorised times, and tales are related of how even in recent years inquisitive people have suffered for their temerity. A decade or so ago, so I was told, two girls who were out in the woods were led by curiosity to tamper with its coverings, and one of them even dared to touch the stone with her foot. The girls went home, and soon after they became ill. The one who had been most forward in meddling with the stone died, the other recovered, but with a diseased leg from which she still suffers. More recently, since the establishment of Christianity in Faea, one man in his zeal for the new faith, and contempt for the old, ventured to tamper with the **deity**. He took it out of its wrappings and rolled it away, some little distance. Then he went away, but told no-one. Later Pa Fangatoto, a man of the "**house**" of Siku, the members of which are descended from the former chiefs of Nga Faea, and who consequently have a proprietary interest in their **atua**, found what had happened and hastened to report the sacrilege to the Ariki Kafika, not daring himself to touch the stone. The Ariki came, in great anger at the disturbance of the sacred relic, and replaced it. He complained to the native missionary teacher, a Motlav man, of the lack of toleration which the new converts displayed and prophesied evil would come upon them. The offender had been accused of the deed but denied having taken any part in it. Not long afterwards, however, he became afflicted with frightful yaws in the arm, rendering it useless. In the eyes of the Ariki Kafika, who told me the story, and of many other people, Christian as well as pagan, this was his punishment.

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2 The account given of this rite by Rivers, H.M.S. I,338-9, is the first record of it, but contains many inaccuracies of detail. It was based on the description of a Motlav teacher, Ernest Wirit, who had not seen the ceremony, but had been told about it by a Tikopia.

The Atua i Takarito is related to that of Fatumaru, mentioned in Chapter V. The former is named "Sefu", the latter "Sefuia", associated names which are known only to a few people. Both are said to be used for purposes of black magic by the respective chiefs who have charge of them, that of Takarito by the Ariki Kafika, and that of Fatumaru by the Ariki Taumako. Both are known by the natives as **fua teka**, a term which is applied to the "spider-shell", but which also denotes a foetal **monstrum** of which limbs are lacking or which is otherwise imperfectly formed. When used of **atua** it signifies that they are not equipped with powers of locomotion and a full complement of organic parts - though potent in supernormal affairs. Another name for the Atua i Takarito is "Te Kerepuna" and it is by this title that he is addressed by the Ariki Kafika on formal occasions. It is not only, however, in perpetuation of a traditional obligation that this deity is recognised in the seasonal rites. As the deity of Nga Faea, he was held responsible for the fecundity of the fruits of the earth in their district, for the breadfruit, the coconut and the taro, and also for the continuity of the fish supply on the reef and off-shore. Of these benefits he is believed to be still master, so that there is a direct incentive for the Ariki Kafika to appeal to him in order to conserve them for the people. On investigation indeed, I found that Te Kerepuna was identified with the premier God of Nga Faea, Feke, whose normal embodiment is the octopus.

The ceremonies of Takarito began after sunrise, on Xmas day, 1928. The Ariki Kafika advised his elders and others whom he desired to attend, and the cortege moved off along the track to Faea. I accompanied it. On the way parties broke off and went to their cultivations to collect food for the day. Some taro and breadfruit were wanted, but the main requisite was coconut. "The coconut only shall be considerable", said the chief, addressing the people at large, who echoed his words with emphasis. The custom is for the proportion of cooked food on this occasion to be small.

On this day, all the orchards of Faea, without privilege of family or clan, were laid under contribution, and from each a few coconuts, or a bunch of bananas, or a couple of breadfruit were taken. This was in the nature of a levy on the produce of the district; it was termed **te aru** and was sanctified by tradition. The toll on each person's plantation was not heavy, and no owner interfered with the collecting party. Such conduct indeed would have been definitely sacrilegious; they were **tapu**. I was told that the correct procedure is for the gatherers of the food not to speak to any person whom they may encounter in the woods. They are regarded as representing for the time being the material embodiment of the Atua, Pu ma.[1]

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[1] Discussion of the **aru** is given in my **Primitive Polynesian Economy** pp.260-261.

While the majority of the men were away collecting provisions the Ariki and a few followers proceeded to Takarito. The first rite performed there was the Clearing of the Marae, which was done in the same manner as that of the square in Uta. There were about fifteen men present. The formula, which I obtained from the chief on the spot, was as follows:

> Pa Porima and your assembly of Elders there
> Countenance me in the Marae of Pu ma and Te Kerepuna
> Which will be cleared away on this morning.
> Clear for welfare,
> For the reef edge and the head of the land.
> And let the sky to be rent apart.
> Marie.

In this invocation the Ariki appeals first to his elders to confirm the performance of the sacred rite in the usual way. His request to the deities, Pu ma and Te Kerepuna, to look favourably on the reef edge (**tua tafora**), i.e., the sea, is an appeal for a plentiful supply of fish, while the mention of the "head of the land" (**uru fenua**) is for fecundity of the breadfruit. The "parting of the sky" is a synonym for fine weather; it refers to the breaking up of heavy clouds.

This influence on the elements is a characteristic feature of Tikopia religious rites and formulae. The greater the importance of any piece of ritual, the greater its effect upon the weather. The carpeting of Takarito is a very important rite. "Completion of the Work of the Gods - tremendous, friend! My house here, a house of weight!" said the Ariki to me, indicating the glade in which we sat, and the former dwelling of chiefs.[1] In proof of this power the chief was able to point to the weather of that very day. In the morning heavy black clouds covered the sky, thunder was heard close overhead - and to all appearances a violent storm was about to ensue. However by midday the clouds had rolled aside, the sun was shining, and a beautiful day was the result. Hence a manifestation of the power of the old gods!

The next rite was the washing of the god. The

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1. If the weather has been bad for a long time, too much sun, or too much rain, then the kava is made in Uta to obtain a change. If this is unsuccessful then the Ariki Kafika comes to Takarito and performs the ceremonies there. This is said to act without fail.

centre of the clearing was spread with palm fronds on which the Ariki seated himself; this was his ritual position. Two men who had been previously appointed for the task had plaited a pair of small baskets from coconut leaves, one to fit inside the other. They went to the spot where the god was lying, removed the cycas leaves and put the stone into the baskets. One man held these, while the other manipulated the stone, a task which taxed his strength, for it was very heavy.

My presence as a guest prevented me from examining the **atua** closely, on account of its **tapu**. From what I saw of it, however, it appeared to be a sphere of light coloured, greyish brown stone about a foot in diameter, and of irregular surface. According to the natives it had a face, equipped with eyes, nose and mouth, but this I was unable to verify. It is probable that, as in the case of other such sacred stones in other parts of the world, peculiarities of natural formation have been taken as anthropomorphic characters.

One man who had performed the offices in connection with the stone described it to me thus—"Great is its weight; heavy just like iron; it is small, it is round." He continued, "Baskets are plaited, circular like this" (curving his arms in illustration). "Two baskets are made and it is enclosed in them. A large stick is cut; if a small stick is used, it breaks, the large stick is good alone." The narrator indicated a stick of about six inches diameter as being necessary to sustain the weight of the stone when carried. It is said to be very hard, so that a knife or an axe would be broken on it - though no one would ever put this to the proof on account of its **tapu**.

The bearers of the stone are most properly men who are **tama tapu** of sa Kafika, i.e., whose mothers are from that clan. The informant mentioned above, Pa Nukutau, said: "Because I sprung from sa Kafika, because my origin came from there, therefore I went to shoulder it". It is not always the same person who undertakes this task in successive seasons. "Wishes a man to go and carry it, he goes; wishes another man to go and carry it, he goes." The Ariki Kafika himself does not handle the stone at this time. "The chief does not go and touch it; the common people only". In substantiation of this and other statements regarding the **atua** Pa Nukutau said "My truth; I it is who looked at it; I who lifted it."

As the stone was lifted out of its bed one of the men thus occupied called out to the Ariki "Ia!" informal announcement of the act. "The Deity is lifted" was the expression used by the people commenting on this.

The men enclosed it in the baskets, thrust a stick through the top and, shouldering it, carried it down the path which led to the beach at Matafanga. This was called to **ara tapu**, the sacred path, since it led direct from Takarito, and was the road of the **god**. On ordinary days the path was used freely for all purposes, but on this occasion everyone kept clear of it - they hid, it was said, on the approach of the bearers; in other words they remained within their houses if in the vicinity.

A few years ago a dramatic incident occurred which illustrates both the sacredness of the rite and the dread which is entertained of the **atua** by the people at large. The bearers were carrying the stone down to the beach for its customary cleansing when they noticed that someone - probably a child - had deposited excrement in the path. Since this would have been defiling to the **atua** they turned aside from the sacred track, and went along by the house of Niukapu which stood near. In due course they returned, and the kava was prepared. As the ritual was being performed the chief and the people were astounded to hear a succession of whoops from the direction of the shore. "Iefu!" "Iefu!" "Iefu!" Several men at once seized their axes and ran down in anger, to find out who it was who had dared to violate the sanctity of the occasion in this challenging fashion. They discovered the culprit, Pa Niukapu, outside his house. Raising their axes to strike, they lashed him with their tongues. To their abuse and reproaches the offender answered not a word but sat with bowed head, and wailed. At last he said, "Launch my canoe; I am going to sea" - a notification that he would commit suicide in expiation of his offence. Then the Ariki Kafika had sympathy for him since in times long past the ancestor of Pa Niukapu, a famous navigator, had perished at sea in the same canoe as his nephew, the ancestor of the Ariki Kafika. The traditional saying is **"Te kerekere o te Ariki, ne poi ma ko ia"** "The earth of the chief, who went with him;"meaning that he supported the chief by his presence in his last moments, and accompanied him to his ocean grave. This ancestral link still counts for much, and was responsible for the lenient attitude of the Ariki on this occasion. Instead of confirming the intention of suicide he said "No! we are angry because you have whooped like this; but there is no need to go out to sea". Finally after more talk the party returned and finished their rites. Later, after the group dispersed, the Ariki and Pa Porima sat on at Takarito. Then came Pa Koroatu the brother of Pa Niukapu, and Vaitere, his son, with gifts of bananas and breadfruit to the chief. Crawling to him along the ground, they pressed their noses to his knee, as the custom is, in token of their humility. "The one fool in Tikopia," said Pa Koroatu of his brother. The apology and the present were accepted by the Ariki, and the incident was tacitly buried.

But the most interesting point remains. It was the Ariki himself who told me the tale, as we sat together on the palm fronds in Takarito, and he added, in comment, "Pa Niukapu was right!" In elucidation of this curious statement he explained that the diversion of the bearers from the sacred path brought the stone right past the side of the house. It was an **atua pariki**, an evil deity, in that it was fraught with the potentialities of causing sickness, and Pa Niukapu feared therefore the possible hurt to his children. It was as an objection to this disregard of the welfare of his family that he had made his protest. Of course from the native point of view this justification of his reason for action in no way removed Pa Niukapu from having to suffer the consequences.

To return now to the bearers of the stone. After carrying it down to the water's edge they removed it from its baskets, and carefully washed it in the sea. When it was thoroughly cleansed they enclosed it again and carried it back to Takarito.

At the moment when he judged that the **atua** was being washed the Ariki recited a formula to it.

Thou hast arrived at thy flat of the sea,
  Ancestor!
Excrete on to thy flat of the sea,
To climb hither a sea creature
For the fish offering of thy kava.
The land has come in conclusion to thy
  chiefly house
Which has been carpeted singly on this day.
Cause to lie down, thou, Ancestor,
The eye of the wind
To tumble below
As a witness to your house
A sign of thy own kava on this day.

This is primarily an appeal for the **atua** to grant bounty from the sea wherein he is now being washed. The "flat of the sea" is a figurative expression for the reef waters. The appeal to the **atua** to excrete at the sea-edge, is a metaphorical way of expressing a desire for the creatures of the sea to multiply; the scatological figure of speech represents the humility of the speaker and exalts the deity.

The theme of the formula then changes to praise of the **atua**. It is pointed out that the people have assembled in the concluding rite of the season at his chiefly house, that is the glade of Takarito where the house once stood; and that this house is recarpeted alone on this day. The inference is that it is accorded primacy of place. The deity is then fur-

ther requested to push down the clouds which come from the wind quarter, i.e., to mend the weather, and this service is pictured as being a token of the importance of the occasion and of Takarito.

As usual, the choice of phrases in the invocation lies with the Ariki; he can make his appeal short or long as he wishes. If the preceding period has been one of drought, and rain is desired, then he substitutes an alternative form of words:

"Turn then, Ancestor, to the sky
To rain for a witness of thy sacred house
Which will be carpeted singly on this day."

When the time came for the return of the stone all the party were alert for the first sounds of its approach. When the bearers finally emerged from the leafy mass of shrubs which embowered the path, the people drew back and remained quiet while the stone was replaced in its bed, and covered with fresh cycas leaves. Again the formal announcement was made to the Ariki. When the **atua** was once more safely deposited the Ariki addressed it again. This time he invoked it for the products of the soil, as formerly he appealed for those of the sea.

"Thou hast arrived hither in thy earth,
Ancestor,
Excrete on thy soil that it may fruit
To be secure thy kava and thy food portion;
And send down hither the coconut
For the preparation of thy liquid
For the pouring of thy liquid."

The "pouring of the liquid" meant the libations of the coconut kava which followed.

After the **atua** had been brought back from the beach and was once more set in its bed the **kava a nui** was performed with a few **coconut** obtained from the adjacent orchard. The libations were for **his** deities, including the Atua i Takarito. The Ariki then want to sit under the shade of a tree, to await the arrival of the **aru** party.

Towards midday the food gatherers assembled, each man carrying a large load on his shoulder. Breadfruit, bananas, coconuts and betel nut were the chief items collected. These were set in the middle of the Marae and after a time the Ariki notified the crowd of his intention to go and "announce" the **aru**. He squatted before the heap and recited a formula similar to that already given as a preliminary to the clearing

of the Marae, and appealing in the same way for fertility of the breadfruit and other crops. The crowd of men present was then counted - there were of course no women or children - and the **aru** was apportioned among them. Green coconuts formed the midday meal; the bananas and breadfruit were set aside to be taken home. Some of the breadfruit had preciously been taken to Teve, the house of the Ariki Kafika in Sukumarae where the oven was prepared, four men, one from each of the clans, acting as cooks. In order that the proceedings might be accelerated as far as possible no pudding was prepared; the breadfruit was simply cooked whole. The cooks were not forgotten in the distribution of the **aru**; piles of coconuts were set aside for them.

Mention has been made of the coconut mat the head of which covered the sacred stone. This mat marked the site of the ancient house of Takarito - in which the stone formerly lay, in the same manner as the Atua of Fatumaru rests nowadays in Fatumaru - and lay on the grave of Pu Forau, the father of Tiako, the chief of Nga Faea who led his people out to sea. Pu Forau, who was buried by his mother's brother, Pu Tafua roa, was said to pillow his head on the stone of the Atua. Two groups of his descendants, the houses of Siku and Torokinga, exist at the present day, and the elder of Siku (or Ratia) being the senior, should be responsible for the renewal of the mat of his ancestor. (Another mat of Tiako should also be spread in his own house).

But nowadays he has ceased to do these things. Formerly, while the oven was being made in Teve he brought a newly plaited mat, laid it on the grave, and weighted it with stones on the edges, accompanying this act with the recital of a formula (given me by Pa Ratia).

"Thy mat, Grandsire,
Will be recarpeted
Carpet with welfare.
And a marine creature
To be laid hither on the reef edge
For the vivifying of the land."

The meaning is again that all fish and sea products should multiply and become available for the benefit of the people. Formerly associated with this laying of the mat but now a separate item is the ritual of the kava, performed when the cooked food has been brought from the house Teve. The Ariki Kafika took the principal part in the ceremonial. He recited a long invocation over the kava stem, calling upon all his principal gods in turn to grant fine weather, send fish and cause food to be plentiful. The usual procedure of the kava then followed. Special attention used to be paid to Pa Ratia,

to whom cups of the liquid were handed that he might make his own libations to his ancestors and their gods. The first cup he poured to the Atua i Takarito under his general name :

Thy kava there Feke !
Excrete on to thy flat of the sea
That there may be a marine creature
For the vivifying of the land.

The second cup was poured to Pu Forau

Thy kava there Ancestor !
Push down the skies
To stand calm
And the reef edge to climb a
marine creature.

His last cup was given as a libation to the chiefs of Nga Faea of olden times, many of whose names are said to be lost. A formula was addressed to them collectively that they might all attend the kava and by so doing exert a beneficent influence on it still.

Your kava there the line of chiefs
Meet together simultaneously at the kava
Not a one may remain from among you
Turn hither with welfare.

At the conclusion of the kava the cooked food was distributed among the crowd, but the meal was a very perfunctory one, and a number of people did not eat at all. The object of the breadfruit was not to satisfy the hunger of the people, but to enable offerings to be made to the deities, after which the people quickly packed up their share of the provender and went off to their homes for a family meal.

The principal ritual formulae for this day's events have been given above, but one addition may be made here. According to Pa Ratia, the carrier of the stone also may recite his own set of phrases to invoke formally the cooperation of the chief. As he takes the stone to be washed he may murmur to himself:

Recite hither Pa Kafika to the deity who
will be washed on this morning.
Wash for welfare
And push down the skies
To stand calm;
And excrete on to the reef edge
That a marine creature may climb here
For the land.'

But I do not know if this formula was in general use.

The carpeting of Takarito marked the end of the long series of rites which had engaged the interest of the whole island for weeks on end, and demanded assiduous attention and constant labour, especially on the part of the men of rank. Now at last the Ariki Kafika had a breathing space, and the land could revert to its ordinary state, untrammelled by taboos and the daily performance of sacred ceremonies. One significant feature, in fact, was that almost immediately afterwards a period of intensive dancing began, with competitive festivals, held during the day, instead of at night, as ordinary dancing was. This was a kind of exoteric prolongation of the recreational aspect of the Work of the Gods.

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I have now completed the account of the Work of the Monsoon Season, which represents one-half of the Work of the Gods. The Chapters which follow deal with the Work of the Trade-Wind Season, which, however, can be covered much more briefly, though the time the rites occupy is much the same.

The interval between the Work of the Monsoon and that of the Trade-Wind, a period of roughly five months, is not without seasonal rites. Apart from the operations in connection with the yam, described in Chapter IV, ritual is performed by the Ariki Taumako for taro planting and harvest, and by the Ariki Fangarere in connection with a breadfruit crop. The extraction of sago, again, in September and February, has its own system of rites.[1] But none of these belong to the cycle of the Work of the Gods, and the Ariki Kafika takes no part in the taro or breadfruit ritual.

The beginning of the Work of the Trade-Wind is determined in the same way as that of the Monsoon, by a consideration of the position of stars and the wind, the condition of the yam and other vegetation, and a clinching pronouncement by a spirit medium. In 1929 the programme began in the middle of June. The first rite was the throwing of the Firestick, but the rest of the programme, especially for temples and canoes, followed a somewhat different order than in the monsoon season. The precise order of events is given in Chapter I. It is not necessary to give here an account of the

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[1] Some details of the economics of sago production have been given in **Primitive Polynesian Economy**, 135, 288-9.

complete series of rites I witnessed in the Trade-Wind season, since they followed so closely those of the Monsoon, and differences in detail have already been noted in earlier Chapters. But two important series of rites which are not performed in the monsoon season, the "work" of Somosomo and Fiora, and the ritual extraction of turmeric, remain to be described.

CHAPTER XI

THE WORK OF SOMOSOMO AND FIORA

The rites of Somosomo and Fiora are composed of a series of incidents which, though in no way spectacular to a casual witness, are yet of the deepest religious interest to the natives. In each case the ritual centres around a house site in an open glade, near the lake, the central feature being the recarpeting of the site with fresh coconut matting. One cardinal distinction exists, however, between the work of Somosomo and Fiora and that of the temples in Uta - the latter are celebrated twice a year, in both the monsoon and the trade-wind seasons, the former in the trade-wind alone.

In this chapter the work of Somosomo will be described first; that of Fiora really comes prior to it in the chronological order of events, but in the absence of the Ariki Tafua from the sacred cycle its rites have fallen into abeyance in the last decade. The ritual of Somosomo is therefore recorded in full detail, as the result of my personal observations, while that of Fiora, which is very similar, is given as a supplement from description by my informants.

A. THE WORK OF SOMOSOMO

The glade of Somosomo is a picturesque spot on the north shore of the lake, beneath the lofty cliffs leading up to Reani. It is a grass-grown space, less than fifty yards square, traversed by the main path along the Te Roro shore, bounded on three sides by a wall of vegetation and by the lake waters on the other. Inland stands a **puka tree**, its broad leaves giving shade to the participants in the ritual in the noonday heat.

Like many of the other important religious rites in Tikopia Somosomo is primarily associated with the Atua i Kafika. The orchard inland, which bears the same name, was originally his, near by are the pools at which he instituted the first turmeric-making in the land, and the glade itself is his **marae**, where in ancient times rites were performed by him. This is the traditional basis for the present fact, that the rites of Somosomo are peculiarly those of the Ariki Kafika and no other chief except the Ariki Fangarere attends them or has any share therein. During the time of the work of Somosomo, indeed, the greater part of the people, including the chiefs of Tafua and Taumako, carry on their ordinary tasks; the Ariki Kafika is left to carry out his rites, and incidentally to seek **manu** for the land.

Originally in the glade there stood a small house, the prototype of which was said to have been built by the Atua himself, and which was annually repaired. This was swept away in the great storm with its accompanying tidal wave which struck the island about 1918, and now the space stands bare. It is the recarpeting of this site, irrespective of whether there is a roof over it or not, that forms the crux of the ritual.

Here again is another example of special privilege in religious affairs; for of the people of rank who represent the clan of Kafika it is only the Ariki himself, and the elders of Tavi, Rarovi and Porima who are entitled to take part in the work, with the Ariki Fangarere, who as already explained is considered as bound to the Ariki Kafika by peculiarly intimate ties. The Kafika elders of Raropuka and Marinoa are not represented on this occasion. "They have no mats," it is said.[1] Such privileges are highly regarded. The elder of Tavi, for instance, is very proud of the fact that his mat is one of primary importance, taking precedence over that of Pa Rarovi, who is ordinarily his superior in rank. And the latter plumes himself on the kava formula which he is entitled to recite, which is in addition to that of the Ariki Kafika. In public, each participant is punctilious in recognition of the others, but in private discussion every man tends to exalt his own privileges and depreciate those of his fellow office-holders. Thus I was assured by Pa Rangi-maseke, heir of the elder of Tavi, that his "father" held pride of place among the elders at Somosomo, and that the kava of Pa Rarovi was very short and unimportant in comparison. He described it as merely introductory to that of the Ariki Kafika. "Pa Rarovi goes, goes only to announce, announce the kava to the gods. His kava is not long. He goes simply to confirm it to the assembled elders". Actually, as the formula given me by Pa Rarovi and my own observation on the spot showed, it was a long and weighty invocation. This also was the comment on it of the Ariki Kafika who, in his pre-eminence, is careful to hold the scales even in regard to the relative importance of his elders. It must be noted that the attitude of these men towards each other is not one of struggle for position. This is already fixed for them by their traditional obligations; it is the maintenance of their personal prestige in office and the dignity of their "house" in their own eyes and in those of the observer that is involved.

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[1] The name Somosomo is given by Kafika as that of one of the traditional island homes of their people. It is found today in Fiji as the name of a village, and appears on maps also as the strait between.

INITIAL WORK

The work of Somosomo began on the last day of the re-carpeting of Kafika temple in the trade-wind season. After the final kava was made and the people dispersed some of them went and cut coconut fronds. By a prolepsis in expression it was said that they "have gone to cut mats in the crest of the coconut" or they "have gone to slice mats", since the fronds were to be used for this purpose. Members of four kinship groups only took part - Kafika, Tavi, Rarovi and Fangarere. They did not take the material all from one spot, but went through the orchards, selecting a few fronds here and there, some in Uta, some in Te Roro. "They go slicing walking", it was said. The fronds were not carried to Somosomo on this first day but were set down at a spot on the lake shore in Te Roro known as Matorotoro. Here was **te paenga**, a heap of stone slabs with one standing upright in their midst, resembling the Pae Marae in Uta, and with kindred name and associations. Matorotoro was in myth the residence of the **atua**, Tangata katoa, "All men", who appropriated a girl from Tafua to be his wife and thus began a line of deities. Later it was under the control of the ill-fated Nga Ravenga folk, the standing stone marking the place where some of their men were killed. The stone slabs are important apart from the work of Somosomo; they are used as seats by the chiefs who paddle over there from Uta on those occasions when the **Purenga kava** ritual follows the **Taomatangi**. (v. Chapter IX.)

The coconut fronds were left at Matorotoro all night, while the people engaged in the ceremony went back to Uta to sleep.

The next morning the work began. The first procedure was to clear the Marae of grass and weeds, as at Uta and Takarito. The men assembled at the spot in the early morning, theoretically before sunrise, but actually later, the main point being being that the sun had not appeared over the shoulder of the mountain, or his rays struck the glade, before the ceremony began. The working group was small, comprising the Ariki Kafika, Pa Tavi, Pa Rarovi, Pa Torokinga (whose house stood just inland and was used as a basis of food preparations) and a few other assistants. Women might also help on this occasion, though this was not strictly their sphere. The Ariki prepared himself with new necklets and cincture, and called out "The assembly of elders there! Stand up !" They rose, spread out round the edges of the marae, and crouched down. The Ariki, standing alone, repeated the formula - which I recorded at the time.

Satinamo, Pa Tavi, Pa Torokinga,
Totou kaupure na,
Fakasaosao mai ki te tanga marae o Pu ma

Ka ta i te pongipongi nei.
Ta ki se ora
Kae tafia te makimakia ma fonga fenua.
Marie !

Satinamo, Pa Tavi, Pa Torokinga,
Your group of elders there,
Confirm me in the clearing of the Marae of Pu ma
Which will be cleared on this morning.
Clear for welfare
And be brushed away epidemic disease from the crown of the land.
Marie !

All then began tearing up the grass and weeds with their hands, the chief working with the rest. The invocation was made in the name of Pu ma, since though the marae is under the control of the Atua i Kafika, they are his deities and are therefore interested in it.

In the midst of the clearing a party of women and children arrived from Uta bearing the sleeping mats and household gear of the chief, who stayed here during the four days in which the ritual was in progress. In former times he used to sleep in Somosomo itself, the house which stood in the Marae, but since its loss in the hurricane he sleeps with his family in Maraetoto, the dwelling of Pa Torokinga inland.

After the glade had been cleared - the centre portion only was laid bare - the men sat down and chewed betel in and around the canoe shed which stood at its eastern end, while some of the young people set the oven going at the dwelling house. Meanwhile the women of the group went off to Matorotoro to fetch the coconut fronds laid there the afternoon before. Returning, they began to plait the mats which were the principal ritual objects of the day. Here the regulation of the tapu came into force.

A brief reference to the arrangement of the Marae may be given here, as shown in plan II. Two stones were standing in the glade, a small one (S.1) beside the path, and a broad slab (S.2) set at an angle in the ground, further inland. The former was the representative of the Atua fafine, the Female Deity, the latter was the mark of an ancient turmeric-making enclosure, said to be that of the Atua i Kafika. Both of these were sacred to some extent. The space at the lake side of the temple site, between it and the path, was known as Mua-fare - the Fore-house - and was of the greatest ritual importance. Another spatial distinction was made between that portion of Mua-fare which lay towards Uta and the

stone of the Female Deity, and that which lay towards Tai, the coast,and more immediately,the canoe shed at the eastern end. The one was known as Katea, the other Ama. The use of these words is curious, since they are taken from canoe terminology. Katea is starboard, the side free from the outrigger, Ama is port, the side to which the outrigger is attached. No reason for the application of these terms to the **marae** was given,save that they were first introduced by the Atua i Kafika who attached them also to his turmeric-making.As one stands in Somosomo and faces towards Uta, **Katea** and **Ama** correspond with right and left, and it is possible that the idea expressed is of this kind. Whatever be the origin of the figurative sense of these terms here, however, it is certain that their use gives a much greater esoteric significance to the spatial division than the mere "right" and "left" would do, for which the Tikopia have ordinary words.

The plaiting of the sacred mats was a rite of importance. The women who sat down to plait were supposed to do so in Ama, though they sometimes placed themselves further forward.Moreover they had to turn their backs to the sea coast, not to the lake.The reason for this was that by following the latter course they would be showing disrespect to the sacred district of Uta, which lay on the farther shore. This is a point on which the elders in charge were insistent. In my presence Pa Rarovi called out to the women as they were standing up to prepare their leaf, "Your backs, do not turn them to Uta," as a warning. When the actual plaiting began the taboo of silence was imposed: the women might not speak to each other, nor the men to them. This rule was not absolute - one woman asked another about a technical detail of the plaiting, for instance,and when a light shower of rain came on the elders called out to the women to go on working. But this latter was due again to the sacredness of the task; it could not be laid down because of mere weather conditions. All ordinary conversation, however, was barred. Nor might the workers be approached by anyone else. A boy,grandson of the chief, when about to cross the marae was told to go inland, by the hedge, and not to go near the women. The **marae** as a whole was in fact **taboo** during the progress of the "work" there. During the clearing operations a lad came along the path carrying a food bowl and taro grater. He was at once stopped and rebuked for not proceeding by an alternative route which ran some hundred yards or more inland and avoided the glade altogether. On his protestations of ignorance, however, and after a good talking to by the older men, he was at last allowed to go past. The tapu extended also to all details of the sacred work.Thus the women on their return with the coconut fronds from Matorotoro expressed their indignation at another, not a participant, who had bathed that morning near the spot where the fronds lay. "No one should go near when the Work is in progress," was the comment passed.

As is customary in Tikopia ritual of this type, where several different groups are concerned, a definite precedence was observed. For the plaiting of the mats each woman had her place, the seating order being as follows: at the head of the row, nearest to the stone of the Atua Fafine, sat the woman of the "house" of Kafika; next her was the woman of Rarovi, then the women of Tavi, of Fangarere, and lastly, in former days, of Porima. No representative from this last group attended this ceremony in 1929, however, their sacred mat having been abandoned some years before. Occasionally more than one woman takes part from Kafika, as several mats have to be made. These other women sit always in rear of the principal plaiters. The wife of the head of the group, from her status as the senior married woman, is usually selected to fill the office. Sometimes the wife of the eldest son is given the task, which is looked upon as a duty to be efficiently performed rather than an honour. When I was present the wife of the heir of the Ariki Kafika was summoned from her work in the cookhouse to come and assist in the plaiting but refused. Her unmarried sister-in-law then sent for her to come, with the message that she herself would attend to the oven. This was obeyed, with not too good a grace. Each woman plaited two mats, and the work was competitive in the matter of speed.

While the women worked the chief and elders sat in the canoe shed - formerly in the temple itself - chewing betel and talking, on this occasion about fishing. As each mat was finished it was laid face downwards near the path in Mua-fare. The mats were spoken of collectively as "mats of the forefront "(**tapakau o mua**) or "mats of the offering of the forefront" (**tapakau a inaki o mua**). The term **mua** is used here not so much spatially as signifying ritual importance of position. The word **inaki** was explained to me as "mats spread out to the deities", the idea being the same as in the "recarpeting" of Kafika, Nukuora and other temples.

Meanwhile food was cooking in the house inland. It was spoken of as "The oven of mats", since its object was to provide food for the kava rite associated with the laying of the mats in their final position. (**Te umu kavaki o a tapakau ka fora**). The uncovering of the oven thus gave the signal for the rite to begin.

The mats were spread out one by one on the temple site, in a reverent manner, the bearer squatting down in respect while he arranged them in position. The order and orientation of the mats was a point of definite ritual significance, the broad end, the "head", being turned towards the centre of the temple. The arrangement was as shown in Plan II.

The leading position was occupied by the mats of the Ariki Kafika, which were in Katea. The mats of Porima formerly also shared with him in this division, though they were of less importance, as shown by being on the inland side. In Ama were the mats of Rarovi on the lake side, and of Tavi and Fangarere on the other. In addition to all these which occupied the temple site were two mats of even greater sacredness, known as the **Tapakau o Katea** and **Tapakau o Ama**, each being laid in the respective division in Mua-fare, as shown in the plan. The first was the mat of the Ariki Kafika, the second that of Pa Tavi, and it was the privilege of having this special **mat** outside the ordinary **inaki** which gave this latter elder his importance in the Somosomo"work". These two mats were distinguished from the others of the ritual by the fact that they, instead of being left open continually throughout the day, were kept folded except during the kava ceremonies. In importance they may be compared with the mats of **anea tapu** in the canoe ritual, the folding of which indicated the conclusion of events. Each group might spread several mats - according to one account Kafika four, Porima, Rarovi and Fangarere two each, and Tavi three. However I did not see as many as this. The principal mat of Pa Rarovi was known as **te Tapakau o Pou roto**, "The Mat of Centre Post" - this being the name of his deity.

While the mats were being thus arranged the oven was uncovered and the food when prepared was brought to the **marae** for the ceremonies, the "kava of the mats".

The kava was made with great formality on this occasion, although so few men were present to take part. Especial attention was paid to the seating of the principal participants, each being on the mat of his own deity. The Ariki Kafiki sat on Mat 1, Pa Rarovi on Mat 5, and Pa Tavi on Mat 7. When I was at Somosomo the Ariki Fangarere was absent, while Pa Porima, as already mentioned, had abandoned his mat some years before. With the exception of the Ariki Kafika, Pa Rarovi was the most important figure there. The ritual of Somosomo was one of the spheres in which his rank was demonstrated; like a chief he had the privilege of repeating a major invocation at the kava. In token of this, like a chief he had a bark cloth cincture brought him, and girded it round him. The usual procedure of the kava ritual was followed, and the Ariki Kafika repeated a very long formula to the deities for protection and assistance.

The libations of the kava then followed (v. Plate V).[1] The cup was handed first of all to the Ariki Kafika who poured it after an obeisance, and then to Pa Rarovi and Pa Tavi, returning to the Ariki again when their libations had been offered.

In former days, when the actual house of Somosomo was still standing, the centre post of the building was anointed in a ritual manner as in the case of Kafika or Resiake. This was the task of Pa Rarovi, and preceded the kava offering. Pa Rarovi took his oil and scented leaves, and rubbing the post briskly repeated the **kaukau pou** formula (which he made known to me):

"Ke Pu E !
Kau kaina fakangafuru kou tae
Takuri ke Mapusia ki tou pou
e kaukau atu
Kaukau ki se ora
Mafuke ma se ora ma tou fonga fenua."

"Thou, Ancestor !
I eat ten times thy excrement
Turn thou Mapusia to thy post
which is being anointed
Anointed for welfare
Unfold welfare for thy crown of the land."

The oil bottle used in this rite was kept hung in the house of Pa Rarovi.

More importance than usual attached to the kava of Pa Tavi on this occasion. Not only did he receive several cups, but the first one was given him before Pa Rarovi. In pouring his libations Pa Tavi called first on Tauaroaro, this being a name of the Atua lasi used at Somosomo - **"na rau i Ama,** his title To Port."

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1. As on other occasions, the Ariki Kafika was disturbed at the idea of my photographing his sacred rites. He consented to my camera at Somosomo only on condition that I sat at his back - and not in the marae proper. Without my camera I was always given a seat among the participants in the rite.

It may be added that the set of photographs of which Plates IV and V are examples are unique, as far as I know, in showing Polynesian chiefs worshipping their ancient gods in genuine ritual, not reconstructed.

He said:
"That is your kava Tauaroaro
I eat ten times your excrement
Turn to your name in Ama
You are standing in your kava among
the chiefs
So turn to your kava in Ama."

The appeal here was to the deity to combine earthly with heavenly ritual - he attended the kava of the gods; let him do the same for that of men. This formula and other information about Somosomo was given me by Pa Rangimaseke, heir to Pa Tavi.

The next **atua** to be invoked was Tuna, the eel god, under the name of Feseketaki, his title in Tavi. Appeals to Akiti, progenitor of the family, and to Fakasautanga and Tuarofi, later holders of the title of elder, followed.

After the kava came the withdrawal to the shade of the **puka** tree for conversation and chewing betel. Here again was a rule of taboo. The Ariki Kafika told me that at Somosomo, as during turmeric making or at the celebrations of Kafika house, each man should come equipped with all his betel apparatus - mortar and pestle, leaf and lime. It is prohibited to take or ask for the gear of another person owing to the sanctity of these occasions. I saw, however, that like many other such rules, this was broken unostentatiously, and with impunity.

MARRIAGE GIFTS AND RELIGION

An important feature of the rites of Somosomo (and of Fiora also) is the presentation of food to the chief of the clan from men who have married women of the clan during the past year. This gift is known as the **roi**. The term is "the name only", since the food does not consist of the creamed slices of vegetable properly so designated but of ordinary pudding (**susua**) cooked in the oven over night, and reinforced by a further supply in the morning. This subsequent oven is known as **"te fao rua o a popora"**, "the second filling of baskets". At the first Somosomo celebration following the marriage the gift is of considerable proportions, and is termed the **roi fou**, the "new **roi**". For the second and possibly, subsequent years the gift is much smaller, and is called the **peni roi** or "little **roi**". Another name for it is the **umu matasanga**. Thus the question is asked "Whose is the little **roi** which has been stood in the fore-house there?" The answer is "The **matasanga** oven of So and so". The amount of food required for the initial presentation is great - twenty, thirty or forty baskets may be taken to Somosomo as the gift of one man.

Preparations are begun months in advance, and on the actual day the oven may be split into two or three, that is several houses may each cook a portion of the food in order that the family may cope with the quantity. In any case, kinsfolk and neighbours come in to assist.

From the oven of the **roi** when opened one basket of food is taken and carried to the house of the wife's parents of the **roi** maker. No special name is assigned to this gift, which represents their prior share of the **roi** to be carried to their chief. The food is assembled for the **marae** in two main sections. The most important is the four large baskets for the principal men at Somosomo - the Ariki Kafika, Pa Rarovi, Pa Tavi and the Ariki Fangarere. The food for these is known as "the pudding of the baskets". The other section of the gift consists of a number of smaller baskets each containing two packages. The food in these is much of the same type and is termed simply **te kofu**, the package.

When the gift arrives on the **marae** the four huge baskets are arranged in the order of importance indicated above, and the small parcels together in a separate heap. These latter are for the use of the participants in the "work" in general.

Some time prior to the Somosomo ritual which I attended a man of the family Nukufetau of Fangarere clan, living in Namo, had married a daughter of Pa Taraoro, also of Fangarere clan, but from a different village, Potu sa Fangarere. As Fangarere and Kafika are for many ritual purposes considered one clan the new husband, Pa Korofatu, and his kin prepared the **roi** and brought it to the Ariki Kafika. The gift consisted of four large baskets of cooked provisions, five bunches of sprouting coconuts and a bunch of bananas, a considerable mass of food. A set of these items was taken also to the Ariki Fangarere in his own house, since he was not present at Somosomo. The food was brought about mid- afternoon, and was carried by women in addition to men. As the bearers advanced into the open space they were preceded by a man holding a bunch of areca nut which he deposited ceremonially on the seating mat of the Ariki Kafika. On his return to his fellows the baskets of food were carried in. The four baskets (**matua popora**) with such coconut bundles as were stood behind them were, as already explained, for the four principal men present; this is known as **te mori o te anga** - the gift from the feast; the remainder of the food was for division among the other men present.

When families of Tafua or Taumako clan make the gift of the **roi** to the Ariki Kafika it is reciprocated by food - of less quantity - from the midday oven at Somo-

somo[1]. For this reason the oven-makers keep in mind thepossible bringers of **roi** when deciding how much food they will prepare - that is they recall the marriages of Kafika women since the last season's "work".

Nowadays the presentation of the **roi** is tending to fall into abeyance among Christians, particularly after the first year of marriage.

When the second trade-wind season comes round again only two large baskets of food are prepared, one forthe Ariki Kafika and the other for Pa Rarovi, and these are reciprocated by a single basket as before. The affair may then cease.

But the intricacy of economic arrangements between families connected by marriage, and derivately by the ties of the woman's family to her child, provides for an extension of the gift of the **roi** to a lifelong obligation. It is the custom of a chief on the death of a prominent member of his family to decree, if circumstances allow, that the funeral shall be a **pariki sausau koroa**, wherein gifts of property are made on a much larger scale than usual. Should the child of the woman from the Kafika clan be once included in such a scheme of presentations, then its father would continue year after year to make the gift of the **peni roi** to the Ariki Kafika at Somosomo. "He does it constantly". The reverse is also true, since the continual making of the **peni roi** obliges the family of the chief to make the periodic gifts to their "sacred child". As the Ariki Tafua pointed out in regard to his own clan "The foundation of the **tama tapu** lies in the **mua fare** of Fiora; when the valuables are presented to the sacred child the basis is from Fiora" - that is from the **roi**.

Again if the husband should go to a mourning ceremony of Kafika,and there be given a mat or barkcloth sheet in reciprocation for his attendance, then this lays on him a similar obligation. He should present the **roi** season after season at Somosomo. These obligations are not so one-sidedas they seem, since on every future occasion of importance a present will be made to the man or to his child in acknowledgment of this seasonal food gift.

One custom which I did not observe may be noted here. I was told by Pa Rangimaseke that from the **peni**

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[1]Cf. **Primitive Polynesian Economy**, 321.

roi baskets of food are sent out to the chiefs of Tafua, Taumako, and Fangarere. This present is termed "the companionate path of the gods" (**Te ara fanonga o nga atua**). He explained that the deities known as the Brethren have been collected at the cleansing of the marae, hence food is sent to their representative the chiefs, "their presentations to their houses". The food is not carried to the ordinary dwelling houses of the chiefs, but to their sacred houses - to Motuapi of Tafua, Raniniu of Taumako, and Ranga-te-atua of Fangerere. There offerings are cast to the respective deities. The food gift is not reciprocated by the chiefs concerned. But I am not sure if this custom should not refer to Fiora rather than to Somosomo, since it appears to be essentially the same as the **fakaariki**, which is performed only from the **marae** of Tafua.

A presentation of the **peni roi** of particular interest is that made on behalf of the Ariki Taumako. Between chiefly families, if ancestors of note have been involved in the preliminary obligation, their descendants in subsequent generations take pride in continuing the bond. Taumako remember that the great founder of their clan was the offspring of Te Atafu the Tongan, and Matapono the daughter of the Ariki Kafika of the day, hence as the fruit of that marriage, each chief of Taumako sends his contribution of food every year to Somosomo. The gift is known as **Te Peni roi o Pu**, "the little **roi** of Pu". The **Ara o Pu** gift (v. Ch.III) is another item in the set of reciprocal obligations on this same basis.

The **peni roi** of the Ariki Taumako was sent to Somosomo early in the morning, unlike those of ordinary people which arrived in the afternoon. While the sun was still low a canoe came over the water, paddled by two lads, who quietly landed their burden on a mat specially spread out on the **mata paito** side to receive it, and departed as quickly and silently, out of respect to the sacredness of the glade. The gift comprised two small baskets of food, with a stick of kava atop, and formed part of the offering at the first kava rite.

Like so many of the gifts made at the ceremonial season, the **roi** has a religious basis. Its root lies in the deference paid to the Female Deity, the Atua Fafine, of Kafika, under whose watch and ward are the women of the clan. No very clear formulation of the meaning of the gift is made by natives, but it is understood that the performance of the kava at Somosomo over the food supplied is a kind of solemnisation of the marriage; the union is brought to the notice of the Female Deity, and her sanction assured. As she is responsible to some extent for the creation of children there is perhaps a further point in gaining her favour. A similar institution used to characterise the ceremonies of Fiora, the food gift here being made to the Ariki Tafua by men who had

married women of his clan. In this case three large baskets only were prepared - one for the Ariki, one for Pa Saukirima, his chief councillor, and the third for Nau lasi, by which title his eldest daughter is known. In this case the religious basis of the offering lay in the presentation of it to Pufine i Fiora, the female deity of Tafua. The ritual of Fiora has now been discontinued.

No gifts of **roi** are made in connection with any Taumako temple rites. The Ariki Taumako explained this by saying that according to tradition originally the food-present was made for a woman of Taumako and sent to Resiake in Ravenga at the appropriate season. A short time afterwards, however, the woman died. Then the clan, seeing that she was dead, knew that the goddess had claimed her, and resolved to discontinue the custom, lest other women die also. Ravenga, in which the Resiake marae lies, was thought to be bad for the ora (life) of women. Hence the **roi** takes place only in Namo - that is, as Somosomo and Fiora.

THE SACRED BASKETS

The next ritual operation on the first day of the Somosomo events was the plaiting of the sacred baskets, to be used at a later stage. The work of plaiting had to be done by women of high rank in the clan, one of Kafika representing Ama. **Nau Kafika**, the wife of the chief, and Nau Vangatau, the sister of Pa Tavi, both elderly, officiated when I was there. Each from deference to her task was clad in a brand-new skirt of bark-cloth. As the sun declined to the crest of the hills overlooking the lake they came on to the marae, took down the coconut fronds set up on the inland side of the glade and began their work, sitting on the **tuaumu** side of the house. The fronds had previously been stood up in the sun to dry a little. "Look out a place where it beats down that they may be sunned, stand them up singly," had been the command given. The women proceeded carefully with their work, each intent on producing a creditable basket. As I watched - sitting with the men at a distance - these latter called out to them "What are you splitting?", The women were observed to be splitting the fronds as they plaited in order to make the work finer. The men wished them to make more speed by using a coarser plait, but they ignored the interruption and went steadily on with their work. This was an instance of disregard of male authority. The men were in charge of the organisation of the ceremony as a whole, but the women maintained their independence in their own sphere. Their reputation as plaiters of taste and skill brooked no rough work through haste. The two baskets, oblong in shape and of medium size, were known as **kete roro**, and were named individually and in the same fashion as the principal mats: **Te Kete o Katea**, and **Te Kete o Ama**. When completed they were hung

up on the bushes on the inland side of the **marae.**

As soon as they were finished preparations began for the evening kava, which took place outside the house site, by the lake side. The two principal mats (**matua tapakau**) were now unfolded on the lake side of the house and seating mats for the main participants were spread. In front of each one was set his basket from the **roi** (v. Plan III.) The chief and his assistant elders took their seats, the food of the **roi** was distributed, and the portions set out as offerings, one of the baskets of the **peni roi** of Taumako being set before each of the principal mats. The first two cups of kava were poured on to the Tapakau o Katea and the Tapakau o Ama respectively, the one being announced by the cup bearer to the Ariki Kafika, the other to Pa Tavi. Each then recited a short formula to Pu ma, the tutelary deities of Mua fare. The phraseology was simple. That of Pa Tavi, for example, was:

> "That is the kava of you two Pu ma E !
> And you Tauaroaro, that is your
> kava also."

Thr third cup was handed to the Ariki Kafika, and the fourth to Pa Tavi, who poured it with the remark

> "That is your kava Feseketai
> That is your kava The Fear-creating
> Chief" (i.e. the Atua i Kafika).

Pa Tavi, owing to his status as representative of Ama, received his cup before Pa Rarovi on these occasions, contrary to the normal usuage of the kava. Two more cups were then presented to the Ariki and to Pa Tavi. The seventh cup was presented to Pa Rarovi, the eighth to the Ariki Fangarere, the ninth to Pa Porima, and others followed to the Ariki Kafika and Pa Torokinga for their usual libations which, with food offerings, concluded the kava for the day.

A little piece of ritual which took place in the evening was the setting up of a bunch of raw bananas at a stone at one end of the Somosomo house site. The stone was a sacred one, but its importance was traditional only - "It is not know if it be the stone of a deity of long ago, or simply a stone which has been made **tapu** - it is Tikopia!" The custom of the country was to have such things - such was the native attitude. The purpose of the bunch of bananas was to furnish the food for the early morning kava of the next day, and the placing of it against the stone, to remain there through the night, was a rite of sacralisation. It was similar to that performed for Marae in Uta.

This custom was observed on three successive nights, the bunch being known in each case by the name of the principal provider of the next day's food - as "the bananas of sa Kafika," etc.

THE FISHING OF SA RUNGA.

That same night saw a curious event. One of the features of the Somosomo ritual was the provision of fish for the ovens, by netting by torch-light on the reef. I give the following description from accounts of informants only, as I did not attend the fishing itself. The symmetry of the ritual was preserved even here - two nets were used, the Net of Starboard and the Net of Port - **te Kupenga o Katea**, and **te Kupenga o Ama**, the former belonging to the Ariki Kafika, and the latter to Pa Tavi. The fish were netted in the usual way.

Then came the symbolism so characteristic of the Tikopia religion, the fiction that certain persons were for the time being deities in the flesh. The two baskets made during the afternoon were held to be baskets of Pufine ma, those two dread sisters who under various names find place in the kava list of nearly every family of note. When darkness fell the baskets were taken by two women, who went down to the beach and there personified the goddesses, receiving the tribute that was their due from the fisherfolk.

"Ku fai ko Pufine ma tera ku o ma kete."
"They have become Pufine ma there who have gone with their kits".

The fishing parties started from the bluff of Nuaraki at the northern end of the Namo beach, worked down round Tua te Koro to Te Rano and thence down the reef to Sukumarae, the village of the Ariki Kafika, a distance of more than a mile. Both men and women took part in the drive, which was known as Sa Runga, a name applied also to spirit folk of the mountain, of fairy type. The two women with the baskets walked in front, and it was a most strict taboo that no one should hold any conversation with them. As a fish was caught in the net it was taken out and put without a word in the basket on the back of one of the women. Fish from the Net of Katea were put in the Basket of Katea, and similarly with Ama. A fish was put into the Basket of Katea first. As the fishing party came up from the reef on to the beach at Sukumarae a man ran ahead inshore, got a thatch door, and laid it at the tide mark. After the baskets had been put down on this the taboo was laid aside, and people spoke to the two women, whose identity with the female deities was momentarily lost. The baskets were emptied on to the thatch door, and the fish gutted. The catch numbered 40 on the first night in 1929.

They were put back again into the receptacles and shouldered again by the women when the taboo once more came into force, and silence fell upon them. After the gutting of the fish the people dispersed scattering to either side to give the women free passage. These went ahead again, but returned along the beach. The fisherfolk, falling in behind them in a body, raised a song in honour of the Atua i Kafika, under whose charge the marae of Somosomo and its ceremonies lay. The first song chanted was a dirge beginning

"Mapusia ! Mapusia!
Rere i tou ara.
.....&c.

"Mapusia! Mapusia!
Fly on your path.....

This was the same dirge as rendered in Marae on the day of sa Kafika during the Taomatangi. Other dirges of the same character followed.

When the party arrived opposite Raniniu, the sacred house of the Ariki Taumako, on the return journey, the singing was dropped. But as they came abreast of Faretapu another dirge was raised. The reason for the cessation of the song was that the canoe yard of Maraniniu was under control of the Taumako god Pusi, who would resent encroachment of this type by strangers in praise of another god. When the party arrived at Asanga a dirge to Pu, the Taumako ancestor, the fruit of the Kafika woman, was raised. This was a sore composed by Tarotu, late Ariki Kafika, in praise of the generosity of the great chief, continued through his descendants, in making ritual food gifts to Kafika. I did not record the first stanza of this song; the second runs

"Tona roto foki
Tou ara toku tofi
Mavae moi Taumako".

"His thought also
Thy path my food
Separated from Taumako".

This refers to Te Ara o Pu, sent as described in Chapter III. Singing as they walked, the people went along the beach, past the cliff face of Te Koro, past the hamlets of Namo, striking up one dirge after another until they arrived back at Te Roro. The two women went on and hung up the baskets in their original position at Somosomo while the remainder of the party stayed at Maorere, the canoe-landing of the Ariki Taumako nearer the sea. There they sang for some time until they

felt sleepy, when they retired to their homes. While all this fishing and singing was taking place, in the dead of night, the people of other clans who had no immediate connection with Kafika remained inside in their houses.

THE DAY OF PA ROROVI

The next morning was the day of Pa Rarovi, the time when he took charge of the ceremonies and in particular had the responsibility of providing the food supplies. This, however, came later. The first item before the morning kava was the offering of the fish caught in the **Sa runga** of previous night. When the people woke in the morning the baskets of fish were taken down and stood side by side on the **tapakau o mua**, the principal mats, which were now opened after lying folded through the night. The Ariki Kafika then came and "announced" the fish to the gods. The baskets were then separated and one put at the head of each of the two chief mats. Pa Tavi then went and "announced" his own basket - the "Basket of Port", which had been laid on the "Mat of Port". He grasped the end of the basket said:

"There are fish, Pu Ma E !
Consider fish of Sa Runga brought
hither
For the making of your kava".

The fish were then cooked. This operation was performed very early, as the kava itself took place at sunrise.

The oven in which the banana bunch and a little other food was cooked was prepared while the land was still dark. Hence it was known as "the night oven". Owing to the sacred nature of this early kava, and the danger incurred from the wrath of the gods in allowing it to be tardy, great care was taken to see that the oven was begun in time. The working party slept in Maraetoto near by - formerly in the Somosomo temple itself - and one man was deputed to wake the others. The sign by which he went was the Pleiades. When this constellation appears over the crest of Tapukuru, a cliff which stands above the lake shore, then the oven should be lit. By the time that the land is properly light, but before the sun has risen, the oven should be uncovered. Sometimes it happens that the watcher sleeps on, and on waking is scolded by the others. I was told how in the time of Tarotu, the former Ariki Kafika, the man assigned slept late, and Nau Kafika, the chief's wife, went and prepared the oven alone. When the rest of the party awoke and berated the laggard, the oven was already covered and the food cooking.

The banana bunch should be cooked stem and all,

an unusual proceeding, and one undoubtedly followed in order to emphasise the ritual character of the food. But in 1929 no "night oven", strictly so called, was made, since there were no bananas fit for cooking. The early preparation of an oven, however, was still necessary, to heat food for the later offerings.

The morning kava now took place. In preparation for this the fish when cooked had been divided into two portions, and one was set on each of the principal mats again. A detail of interest at this kava rite was the position of the kava stem itself, which after the ceremony of the evening before was "stood up" - a ritual phrase - by being inclined against a forked stick. Now it was taken down and laid at the head of the chief mat, pointing to Pou roto, the middle of the house. On this occasion Pa Rarovi took pride of place. His function it was to taro the kava, that is to recite the formula of invocation to the gods. A necklet of creamy young coconut fronds indicated his sacerdotal task. His recital was very long, and brought in a great number of his own family gods in addition to the names of deities shared by the Ariki Kafika and other elders. The formula he used is given below[1].

Kava of Somosomo recited by Pa Rarovi.

"Ke Tinamo, ke Pa Fangarere, ke Pae Tavi,
totou kaupure na, fakasaosao mai ki te kava.
Ku oti te fakasao o te kava.
Te kava nga tupuna kau takina,
Taki ke se ora.

Tou kava tena Mapusia
Kau kaina kafangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ki te kava
Tu fakamaroi i tou fonga fenua
Aua makimakia i tou fonga fenua
Mafuke ko se ora

Toru kava tena Nga Ariki
Turaki fakamaroi korua i toru Kafika
Ma te Atua i Kafika i tou fonga fenua
Tafuri ki outou fekau

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[1]This, like practically every kava formula quoted, was obtained by me from the actual user, corroborated in substance from other informants, and checked over again from the original giver.

Fakamaroi kotou i otou fekau
Ke to se ngaio.

Tou kava tena Tauaroaro
Kau kaina fakangafuru kou tae
Tofutofu mai tou mata matangi
Tafuri mai ki a kekau tou tama furu.

Tou kava tena Raki-te-ua
Tafuri ki te kava
Papa fangatasi kotou Fanau ki a
  fekau totou tama furu.

Tou kava tena Sakura-fiti
Kau kaina fakangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ke ki a fekau tama furu
Papa fangatasi kotou Fanau
Ke to se ngaio.

Kuoti te kafasao o te kava.

Tou kava tena Seke-i-te-vai
Tou kava tenei Tapua pou
Tou kava tena Pu fafine
Ku oti te fakasao foki o te kava.

Tou kava tena Resa
Kau kaina fakangafuru kou tae
Rango fakamaroi ke tou tapakau.

Tou kava tena Taukiriti
Kau kaina fakangafuru kou tae
Rarango fakamaroi ki tou tapakau
Ono ki tou tapakau
Te kava ku fai varea atu
Ka e fakatonu mai e a ke.

Tou kava tena Pu kefu
Totou kava tena te Kau firifiri
Kau kaina fakangafuru otou tae
Rarango fakamaroi kotou totou tapakau.

Tou kava tenei Pa E !
Tanaki ke nga atua
O ono ki te kava ka fai varea
Kae fakatonu mai e a ke.

Tou kava tena Ruakimata
Kau kaina fakangafuru kou tae nga Anuta.

Rarango fakamaroi kotou fuanga.
Finia mo te kava
Tuku atu ki te ra ka to na
Marie ! "

Translation:

"Thou Tinamo, thou Pa Fangarere, thou Pae Tavi,
You group of elders there, countenance me in the kava.
The presentation of the kava is complete.
The kava of the ancestors which I pulled up,
Let it be pulled for welfare.

That is thy kava Mapusia!
I eat ten times thy excrement
Turn to the kava
Stand firmly on thy crown of the land
Ward off epidemic disease from thy crown of the land.
Unfold welfare.

The kava of you two, the Chiefs,
Stand firm you two in your Kafika
With the Atua i Kafika on your crown of the land
Turn to your work.
Be you firm in your work
That a calm may fall.

That is thy kava Tauaroaro
I eat ten times thy excrement
Blow gently thy eye of the wind
Turn hither to the works of thy cleansed son

That is thy kava Raki-te-ua
Turn to the kava
Agree equally you Brethren to the works of
your cleansed son.
That is thy kava Sakura - fiti
I eat ten times thy excrement
Turn thou to the works of thy cleansed son
Agree equally you Brethren
That a calm may fall.
The presentation of the kava is complete

That is thy kava Seke-i-te-vai
This is thy kava Tupua pou
That is thy kava Pu fafine
The presentation of the kava again is complete.

That is thy kava Resa
I eat ten times thy excrement
Preserve thou firmly thy seating mat.

That is thy kava Taukiriti
I eat ten times thy excrement
Preserve firmly thy seating mat
Look upon thy seating mat
The kava has been made stupidly
But let it be confirmed by thee.

That is thy kava Pu Kefu
That is your kava the Bearers of the Necklet
I eat ten times your excrement
Preserve you firmly yourseating mat.

This is thy kava Father !
Collect thou the gods
To watch over the kava which is being made stupidly
And let it be confirmed by thee.

That is thy kava Ruakimata
I eat ten times your excrement
The Anuta.
Preserve firmly your fruits of kin.

Evil things for the kava
Lay away at the sun which sets there
Marie!"

This invocation is one of the chief formulae in the possession of Pa Rarovi; hedescribed it as his "standing kava"(Toku kava tu tena), and the privilege of reciting it at Somosomo, particularly prior to the recital of the Ariki Kafika,is both a token and an enhancement of his social status as the elder next in rank to the chiefs. It is worthy of note that in confirmation of the invocation of Pa Rarovi the Ariki Kafika joined with the other elders in uttering the "Kona! Kona!"of approval, thus putting himself in the position of an assistant to one of his own dependents.

The general purport of this invocation will be clear from analyses of others already given. A few expressions only need comment. "Cleansed son" refers to the belief that spirits of the dead are cleansed before their entry to the spirit world, with deities as sponsors; in this case the gods of the Brethren acted in this capacity for the Atua i Kafika. "The seating mat" is the elder of Rarovi himself, on whom the gods rest when they attend the kava. And the statement that the kava is being "made stupidly"involves the idea that the human performer of it may err, but through the watchfulness of his particular tutelary deity and immed-

iate ancestor any mistakes can be corrected and its efficacy assured. The appeal to "The Anuta" to preserve their "fruits of kin" is to the gods of that island, since the mother of Pa Rarovi came from there.

Following the recital of Pa Rarovi came that of the Ariki Kafika, which was complementary to it, omitting the **fakasao** introduction. This morning kava, like that of the evening before, took place outside the house site. It had to be performed before sunrise. The reason given was that in this way the **marae** was not trodden by passers-by prior to the rite, which would be offensive to the gods and a contamination of the kava.

The main part of the ritual of Somosomo consisted of a series of kava performances - morning, noon and evening - performed on three successive days, on each day one of the principal participants being responsible for the food supply, the offering of which was made at the midday celebration. The food offering was termed the **fakaoatea** (v. Canoe rites etc.) and each day was named after the principal food providers. Thus the first was the "fakaoatea Pa Rarovi", the second the "fakaoatea sa Kafika" and the third (the last full day) the "fakaoatea sa Tavi". Each day however the various groups brought contributions to the supplies of the principal food provider. Moreover, whatever be the type and quantity of food provided by the principal man on the first day, it had also be provided by the others on the subsequent occasions.

The help of people of other clans might be enlisted to enable the requisite food supplies to be obtained. An instance of this showed how on such occasions the paramount position of the chief overrode ordinary family custom. The net of Pa Motuata, son of Pa Vangatau, who had married the sister of Pa Tavi, was borrowed by the Ariki Kafika for the "work" of Somosomo and used on the lake by a son of the Ariki and a son of Pa Motuata. The result of their labours was seven fish, which as in the normal course of events they carried to Pa Vangatau, the head of the net-owner's family, to "announce" to the family net-god. The old man scolded them for not taking the fish straight to the Ariki. He pointed out that when a net was borrowed by a chief for any sacred rites the catch should be taken directly to him, not brought to the owner to handle, since the ritual and **tapu** of the chief were paramount, no matter of what clan.

Technically the term **fakaoatea** was applied only to the bowl of pudding carried to the **marae** from which the offerings to the gods (**taumafa o nga atua**) are set out. The large basket of mixed food which accompanies it was the specific offering to the Somosomo temple (**taumafa o te fare**) and

was known as the **tua popora**, so called because the basket was turned inside out (**ki tua**) to hold the package. At the **fakaoatea** of Pa Rarovi this basket was presented to the Ariki Kafika; at the **fakaoatea** of the Ariki on the following day the compliment was returned.

The midday oven was known as **te umu lasi**, the great oven. From it not only were the large baskets filled, but also the private baskets of the elders, which were then hung up to provide the food for the evening ritual. These were later replaced by food baskets from their private houses from which they ate in the night if so inclined. The kava was made to the **fakaotea** in the usual way. This time Pa Rarovi did not recite any invocation.

The remainder of the day was spent by the chief and his elders in sitting outside the canoe shed, yarning and rolling fish lines. In the evening the kava was again performed, but no ritual fish drive took place. People might arrange an excursion if they so wished, but tradition did not require it. A banana bunch, however, was again set up.

The next day was the **fakaoatea** of the Ariki Kafika, which followed the same procedure as that of Pa Rarovi. When the oven was opened the chief was invited to come and attend. As the bowl of pudding of the **fakaoatea** was being pounded it was "announced" to him.

The **fakaoatea** of sa Tavi on the following day followed almost the same order of events. A particular feature of this day was the display of a bunch of areca nut, which is associated with Tavi. The areca may be "set up" on other days also, but for Tavi it is a special obligation and privilege.

Part of this afternoon also was spent in collecting taro from all the cultivations of Te Roro to make a special **roi** for the final kava of the following morning. On this evening too the ritual fishing drive, the **Sa runga**, was again put into operation. Of the songs chanted by the returning fisherfolk one was especially appropriate to the occasion. This was the dirge .

Tafito: "Pu E ! kitekite i a fano
Kua purou ko tou nefu
Raka ifo tu ki Reani
Masara tou fonga fenua.
Masara te taofufu o Kafika ki te vaerangi.

Kupu: Ka fakarongorongo ko au fekau
Ka turoro
Turoro tou fonga fenua.

Safe: Raka ki Uta
Raka ifo ki tou Tafurufuru
Tuku ki te toi."

This is a song made to the Atua i Kafika by the former chief of the clan, Tarotu, known also as Singa-ki-te-tai. It describes the descent of the deity from the heavens, his path veiled in mist, his alighting on Reani, after the fashion of gods, who come down to earth on this peak and with a bound land on their respective temples for the "work" undertaken there. The Atua i Kafika is in particular notice since at the time of the ceremonial season his people hear the thunder of his trailing staff in the heavens. The implication of the song is that he is desired to attend eachof the spheres of interest of his worshippers - to spring to Uta, then finished there, to spring to the rites of the sacred canoe Tafurufuru in the **canoe-yard**, then again to go out to the sea and bring in his shark after the ceremonies; and, as always, to bring fine weather.

The reference to "the ridge pole of Kafika" is to Reani, for which the former is an old poetic expression.

Translation: "Ancestor! glance from side to side on
your way
Your mist has veiled.
Hasten down, stand on Reani;
Clear up the crown of the land;
Make clear the ridge pole of Kafika
to the skies.

We keep listening to your work.
Let there be calm,
Calm on your crown of the land.

Hasten to Uta;
Hasten down to your Tafurufuru,
Placed in the sea."

The fish from the **Sa runga** were again brought in, "announced" to the gods and then hung up in their baskets on a branch of a little tree by the lake side.[1]

The last day of the "work" saw the folk awakened at dawn by one of their number for the performance

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[1] See **Primitive Polynesian Economy**, 287, for a breach of this custom.

of the early morning kava. Some got up at once and went down to the lake to bathe in the half light, others, including the Ariki, lay sleepily in their bark cloth blankets for a while, since the air was still fresh and cool to a bare skin. The women and youths went and uncovered the roi in the oven and carried it over for the ceremony, the women in particular being careful not to enter the marae. The ritual took place as before, except that it was made to the roi instead of to the food of the "night oven" and that an orange cloth was spread by the Ariki Kafika to his premier deity before the recital of the formula began. In a few minutes the last offerings had been cast, and the "work" of Somosomo was over for another year.

The men returned to the house to gather up their few belongings, and the girls and women rolled up the bedding ready to be carried home.

After dispersing from Somosomo the preparations for the nuanga, the turmeric manufacture, began, and people went off to cut down palm stems to repair their aqueducts so as to provide an effective water supply. Attention was now concentrated on the turmeric, one of the most absorbing interests of the people at this season.

B. THE WORK OF FIORA

In point of time the ritual of Fiora actually preceded that of Somosomo, but for convenience the latter has been dealt with first. The general features of the Fiora ceremonies are similar to those already described for the other marae - the plaiting of sacred mats, the allocation of days to certain principal "houses" and the provision of food gifts from men who have married women of the clan. As Somosomo belongs to Kafika, so does Fiora belong to Tafua. The site of the ritual is a marae in Namo, just above the beach, on the narrow strip of sand which divides the lake from the ocean. Now, owing to the defection of the Ariki Tafua, the seasonal rites are no longer celebrated there and the place is overgrown with bushes.

Fiora, like Somosomo, derived its sacredness from a tutelary deity, but in this case attention was concentrated on a female, not a male atua. Known under a variety of names, but most commonly as Nau Fiora, she is a being of unpleasant characteristics, who is believed in and feared throughout Tikopia, even by the chief and clan who have abandoned her ceremonies. Most of my information on the Fiora ritual was obtained from the Ariki Tafua, in whose kava lists she plays an important part.

A reference to some of the beliefs connected with Nau Fiora will indicate the reasons for the respect in which she is held, and the importance of the "work" of Fiora in former days.

The origin of the ceremonies of Fiora liesin the marriage of Feke, the personified form of the octupus, who is also identified with the sun, to Faretapatapa, known as Pufine i Fiora, Nau Fiora, or Pufine laui. In those days the sacred rites were made in Resiake, which had the primacy as between Taumako and Tafua. The ariki Tafua said:

"As the 'work' was made first in Resiake there, and carried on, then Faretapatapa died. She caused herself to die, and indeed she was objecting that her 'work' might be carried to be performed in Matafenua (i.e. Namo). Thereupon it was lifted up: and being lifted up, thereupon she came back to life to perform the 'work'. Hence the Tafua work comes first, and in the rear comes the work of sa Taumako". This is an origin tale in which clan pride is evident; a different interpretation was given by the chief of Taumako in accounting for the absence of the presentation of roi at Resiake. But the desire of the goddess to attract the ritual to her own house and thereby give it prestige is a trait seen in the characters assigned to other atua of Tikopia.

It was said that Nau Fiora came originally from Tonga; the Ariki Tafua believed that he had confirmed the truth of this since years ago he found by comparing notes with castaways from Fiji or an adjacent group that a similar female deity was known there.

A peculiarity of Nau Fiora is that unlike other atua her body is white in colour. She is also very ferocious. In the evening when the sun was low she used to walk, in the nights of the trade wind, at the time when her ceremonies were being performed, along the sand strip of Namo. Namo was not slept in on those occasions; everyone went to Te Roro to spend the night. Only in Potu i Akitunu, on the other side of the lake exit, were people left. If by chance a man did dare to stay the night in his house he took all the dirty floor mats he could find and securely blocked the doorways, and then spreading a good new mat in the centre of the building, slept on that. The deity on her perambulations would smell only the reek of earth from within, and would pass on thinking the building untenanted. If she smelt a man she would break in, seize him, and carry him off to Fiora, there to devour him, in company with her following of spirit maidens. For, like a chieftainess, having instituted her ceremonies to Fiora, she provided herself with an

attendant band, who carried out her wishes. That this was no mere ancient tale was emphasised to me by the chief. He told me of a happening in recent times, when a man, Fakaakekava, son of Pa Retiare, was seized by the goddess from the interior of the house Nukurava, and dragged off to Fiora. There he recovered from his stupor and ran, escaping from her clutches, but with cruel gashes in his back, made by her claws, which are like knives. He did not die, but slowly recovered. He was an unmarried man, which is significant, as there is always the suggestion of the motive of sexual desire in these cases, female **atua** seizing men, and male **atua** women. I cannot vouch for the injury, but only for the firm credence given it by the narrator. The incident is evidently an attempt at concrete verification of a belief.

The deity was believed to appear among men at other times also. When people were going to Namo to pluck the frangipanni blossom, which was the ornamented flower of Fiora, they broke it off, and then did not turn back, or turn the head round, but proceeded straight on in the path for fear of seeing her. "One goes and goes, goes then ahead; if one returns, there she has appeared, there one looks upon her."

Nau Fiora among her various functions is an oven goddess of Tafua, and again is the guardian of Rangifaerere, the heavenly abode of women who die in child-birth. The death motif seems to be strongly associated with this deity, as it occurs in several other stories connected with her.

The work of Fiora took place only once a year, in the trade-wind; and began on the day after the carpeting of Tafua, as described by the Ariki Tafua and his son Pa Rangifuri. The programme will be given briefly here, since I did not see the ceremonies, and moreover they were similar in all essential respects to those of Somosomo. The major part of the ritual took five days, on each of which the usual series of kava rites was performed. It is of interest to note that in the morning kava the list of gods and ancestors was recited downwards from the highest deity; in the afternoon kava it was recited upwards beginning with the nearest ancestor. This is a technical difference, but one of significance to a Tikopia. The formulae of Fiora were the same as those for Tafua. The presentation of **roi** from "sacred children", and from men recently married to Tafua women was one of the features of the Fiora ceremony. On the first day the thatch of Fiora was pinned together, and **roi** was made in the evening. The food on this occasion was creamed banana; not grated into a pudding, but cooked whole. This was termed **te aso o te rau**, "the day of the thatch". The second day was **te aso o a tapakau**, "the day of floor mats". These were

plaited, and each principal person attending Fiora sat on his new mat. No one sat on the bare earth. One, two or even three mats might be plaited for one elder. The following day was that of the Tafua chief and his family - **te aso sa Tafua** - when the provision of the food of the fakaoatea was associated with them. This day was distinguished by the distribution of a special gift which was absent from the ritual of Somosomo - the **fakaariki**. Large baskets of food were sent out from **Fiora** by the Ariki Tafua to the other three chiefs, the basis of this present lying, as so often, in the sphere of the relations between clan deities. "Shares of the gods are given to the chiefs" was the description of it by the Ariki Tafua. On the next day, the fourth, these gifts were repaid by the chiefs to Fiora. This was the day on which Pa Saukirima, the principal elder of Tafua, made the **fakaoatea**, and it was known as **te aso sa Fusi** from his family name. On the following day a ceremony described as **Te otaota e aoao** took place,[1] that is, the rubbish which had accumulated during the past days was ritually gathered together (**ao**) and swept out. This was done on **te aso sa Rarupe**, the day of another "house" of importance in the Tafua clan, comprising among others the houses of Nukuofo and Rangitafuri. The head of this group was not a titled elder, but the vesting of the ritual of collecting the **otaota** in him was another indication of the way in which family pride was allowed expression in the exercise of specific traditional privileges by which for the moment the group took precedence of others of normally much greater rank.

This day was really the conclusion of the "work" of the **marae** of Fiora, and on the following day the manongi of Resiake was "sunned" (v. Chapter V). As the Ariki Tafua pointed out, the Tafua goddess was thus successful in having her "work" performed before that of Taumako. While Taumako carried out the ceremonies of Resiake, however, Tafua proceeded with subsidiary rites of Fiora, these being connected with the temple of that name, and not with the sacred **marae**. Thus on the sixth day the temple was recarpeted, and on the seventh the **fakaoatea** of the Ariki Tafua was made for the building. For this Pa Saukirima, the principal elder, was invited to come, and after the kava had been made the food was presented to him. On the following day the situation was reversed.

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1. According to Pa Ranaifuri the **fakaariki** distribution was made on this day, but this statement may have been a slip. Pa Ranaifuri also separated the 'Day of sa Rarupe', and the 'Sweeping out of the Rubbish', whereas according to his father they took place together. It is possible that this latter represented a curtailment of an earlier programme.

This was the **fakaoatea** of Pa Saukirima, who prepared the oven, carried the food to Fiora, and then in his turn invited the chief to attend and make the kava. When this was over the food was presented to the chief. This completed the final events in this place.

The ritual of Somosomo and Fiora can only be understood as part of the series of rites associated with all Tikopia temples. That of Somosomo in particular, considered in isolation, would seem to be devoid of meaning, consisting as it does essentially in spreading floor-mats on the site of a long-vanished building. Its functions would seem to lie, however, in providing yet another venue for workship of the principal gods of the Kafika clan, in giving an occasion for appeals for productivity and welfare in general, and in giving expression to some of the basic principles of the social structure such as the hierarchy of men of rank, allowing them the exercise of specific privileges by which their status is in part defined.

CHAPTER XII.

THE RITUAL EXTRACTION OF TURMERIC.

Turmeric is a vermilion pigment extracted from the root of a plant with large soft leaves, known generally as Curcuma longa, and allied with the Canna, which it somewhat resembles in appearance. The Tikopia prepare two extracts, one edible, the other used as a colouring material. The former is termed **tauo**, the latter **renga**, and it is this which is primarily sought. Mixed with coconut oil the **renga** is used for bodily decoration; mixed with water it is used for dyeing bark-cloth; and kept in solid form in bark-cloth wrappings it is a highly prized object of wealth. In this last form especially, it is known as "property of chiefs".[1] Application of turmeric to the body is more than simple adornment; it is a mark of ritual significance attaching to the person or occasion. (Cases of this have been given already in the Work of the Gods.) Part of its meaning here lies in the belief that it is "a perfume of the gods", attractive to them, and a stimulus to their favourable interest. In particular, the pigment is associated with the Atua i Kafika. He is held to have been responsible for its original extraction, in the neighbourhood of the spring at Somosomo, though there is no specific tale dealing with this. And bark-cloths dyed with turmeric are especially appropriate to him, hence gifts of food made to the Ariki Kafika by the other chiefs are normally topped by such cloth instead of white barkcloth. The Ariki Kafika said to me, "The basis of the turmeric extraction is the Atua i Kafika; the turmeric is called his perfume, the scent of the Atua. The name of the turmeric is the Akoako. When he lived, his desire was the turmeric; when a waistcloth is dyed red, it is his, his basis is in him; its name is the **marotafi**."

Several factors are thus associated together: the use of turmeric for ritual; the belief that it is primarily the property of the Atua i Kafika; the tapu surrounding its extraction; and the craft skill demanded.

The extraction of turmeric is an annual event, in the trade-wind season, at a definite period in the Work of the Gods. The operations are complex, occupying several days, and the cycle of production is termed the **nuanga**, a term which will be retained in the following account. Since the religious aspects of the activity are intimately bound up with the technological and economic processes, these latter must be described. My material on the processes and ritual

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[1] See Primitive Polynesian Economy, pp.218,230.

is drawn primarily from my participation in the nuanga of the Ariki Tafua, when at his request I observed all the rules and taboos of the work; the formulae quoted were obtained from the Ariki Tafua and the Ariki Kafika.

TURMERIC - PLANTING

The turmeric plant itself is termed **ango**. It is cultivated, and comes to maturity in about twelve months, being often planted for the next season when the roots for extraction of pigment are dug out. The planting falls outside the **nuanga** proper, and with ordinary folk is done without ritual. Small roots, or those faded at the tips by exposure to the sun, are simply set in little ledges dug out in the hillside, and covered over.

The planting of the turmeric of chiefs is a ritual affair. That of the Ariki Kafika takes precedence. On the day before the re-carpeting of the temple Mapusanga the Ariki Kafika plants a few roots in his cultivation. These are termed the **ango tapu**, or Te Akoako. Ordinarily this latter is the name of a shrub with aromatic leaves, much favoured for perfume and ornament; applied to the turmeric it indicates the "perfume" of the Atua i Kafika. The Ariki Kafika said, "The Akoako is made, is called the perfume of the Atua i Kafika; the turmeric of the (other) chiefs, each dedicates it only to his lesser deities." (Actually, this is not so.)

The Ariki Kafika goes alone to plant the Akoako, not because of its sacredness, but because of the trifling work involved. As he sets the tubers in the soil he says (according to his statement to me):

"Ia! Tou manu o tou manongi, Mapusia!
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tou manongi ka to atu i te aso nei
Ringi ko ou roro ki tou fonga fenua
Motumotu ko te vaerangi...."

Here! thy power of thy perfume, Mapusia!
I eat ten times thy excrement.
Thy perfume will be planted this day.
Pour thy calms on thy crest of the land,
Part the skies .... "

The formula may be continued at the discretion of the chief, with further appeals for fine weather, etc.

The following day the other chiefs plant their special turmeric, which, however, has not the importance of that of Kafika.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NUANGA

The extraction of the turmeric takes place in late July, or even August.[1] One token that the time has come is the appearance of the crimson blossoms of the **kalokalo** or **ngatae** (Erythrina sp.). Because of their colour this tree is designated the tree of the Atua i Kafika, and reference is made to it in the formulae of extraction; it is believed to exercise a sympathetic influence on the turmeric to produce roots of the requisite vivid hue. By this time the leaves of the turmeric plant have dried and withered. The **nuanga** season is also correlated with the movements of the Pleiades. This constellation, Matariki, appear on the eastern horizon before dawn at the opening of the trade-wind season. The Ariki Tafua said that when he saw it stand up directly over the shoulder of the mountain from his village of Matautu he knew that the turmeric was fit to dig. "Matariki, star of the **nuanga**" is a term for it. At this time, he said, the stars of the constellation appear to oscillate in towards one another (illustrating this by moving his fingers). I was also told that another token is given by the leaves of the **ngatae**; when they begin to change colour it is time for the Work of the Trade-Wind to start, and by the time they are fully red then is the time for the nuanga. But though I omitted to check this, I doubt its accuracy.

The process of turmeric extraction consists essentially in grating the roots of the plant, washing and filtering the grated material, decanting the filtrate after it has settled, and baking the residual pigment in wooden cylinders in an earth oven. Incidental to this is the separation of the edible material from the pigment proper.

The organisation of the **nuanga** is therefore governed to a large degree by the available water supply. There are no streams in Tikopia, and the springs which flow from the hillsides are utilized. The small flow from these debars participation of all producers as a single group, and several separate **nuanga** thus come into operation. These are headed by men of rank, the chiefs of Kafika, Tafua and Taumako each as-

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1. In early August, 1928, I took part in the **nuanga** of the Ariki Tafua. Since this chief no longer takes part in the rest of the Work of the Gods he has more latitude in time, and on this occasion had delayed the operations to allow the incision rites for Munakina, son of the Motlav Mission teacher, to take place first. In 1929, when I left on July 7th, the other chiefs were repairing their aqueducts, and I just missed the full performance.

suming responsibility for one, and having as partners a number of men of their own or of other clans. The division of producers along these lines is facilitated by the fact that each of these chiefs is acknowledged to have rights of ownership or control over an important spring. That of the Ariki Kafika is Vai Sukumarae; that of the Ariki Tafua, Vai Matautu; that of the Ariki Taumako, Vai Potu sa Taumako.(See Map in We, The Tikopia.) The Ariki Fangarere has no particular spring of his own; for this reason, it issaid, he holds no separate **nuanga**, but joins with the Ariki Kafika for the purpose. His partnership with the Ariki Kafika would seem, however,to be traditional and ritual rather than technological, since some of the remaining springs are open to anyone who wishes to set up his **nuanga** there. Others, by land ownership or adjacent residence, are used primarily by specific kinship groups or villages, and in addition to the **nuanga** of the chiefs there are usually several others, headed by commoners. But whereas such commoners do not normally produce turmeric every year, the chiefs do so because of their religious obligations.

Another important factor in the organization is the ownership of equipment, particularly of the large troughs used in the early stages of filtration. These are costly to make, and therefore tend to be owned only by the more wealthy groups. Lack of one does not bar a man from producing turmeric, but prevents him from acting as the nucleus of a manufacturing group.

The third important factor is technical skill. As compared with the other elements of the Work of the Gods the **nuanga** is much more of a directly practical economic activity; people of different clans mingle in the same group,and attention is concentrated on the immediate efficient production of the valued pigment rather than on the maintenance of a regular sequence of traditional performances, which serve as privileges for individuals and groups. In line with this, the direction of affairs in each **nuanga** is in the hands of an expert, the **tufunga**. Though often a chief or man of rank,he assumes or is invited to take the position primarily because of his skill in the craft. It will be seen that several of the processes do really need specialist skill, and much of the success of the **nuanga** depends on the **tufunga**. The Ariki Tafua is well-known as a **tufunga te renga**, and is versed in both the practical and esoteric aspects of the craft. There is no hereditary profession of turmeric expert, though a father usually hands on his knowledge to one or more of his sons.

The success of the **tufunga** is not believed to lie in his technical skill alone, but also in his command of

formulae; it is through his **atua** that he secures a good yield of turmeric as a whole, and an efficient separation of **tauo** from **renga**. Ordinary commoners have a particular ancestor to whom they appeal; elders use one of the deities of their kava; chiefs have specific deities who are guardians of the water, and others who are guardians of the turmeric oven, and in addition, perhaps, a particular ancestor. In Tafua, when I was there, Tereiteata, grandfather's brother of the then Ariki Tafua and bearer of the same personal name, was the ancestor specially invoked. In addition, the **nuanga** as a whole are under the dominion of the Atua i Kafika, to whom the Ariki Kafika addresses his main appeals. He is not invoked by the other chiefs except incidentally, and not at all by commoners. The **nuanga** has thus a spiritual organization parallel to that obtaining in the case of the sacred canoes (see Chapter III).

The basis of the **nuanga** organization is voluntary co-operation. There is no obligation upon anyone to join, nor on the other hand is a request to join normally refused. (Occasionally there may be some restriction. Thus in 1929 the Ariki Tafua requested the other chiefs to limit the number of entrants to their **nuanga** in order that the work might be soon over, and his planned **seru** take place betimes. They agreed, though his proposal was not popular.) Each nuanga group includes an expert, who may be the man who took the initiative in forming the group or not, and consists of a number of units. Each unit, termed **eke** or **kau eke**, is associated with a number of separate "lots" of turmeric roots, and is the working party of the owners of the "lots" being drawn from their kinsfolk and neighbours. All the **eke** combine as a single working group under the direction of the **tufunga**, but each "**lot**" of turmeric is processed separately.[1]

The Matautu nuanga of 1928 consisted of two units, representative of the "houses" of: Tafua (the chief's family) and Nukuofo; Fetauta and Nukutauriri. In the first there were the chief himself, who was also the expert for the work as a whole and the owner of the major equipment, four of his sons, two grandsons, and an "adhering child" from Tafua in Namo; with these were Pa Nukuofo and his son, who was married to the eldest daughter of the Ariki Tafua. In the second there were Pa Fetauta and his son Rakeitino; of Kafika clan, they were related to the Ariki Tafua through his wife, as well as being members of his village. With them there was only Kavaika, eldest son of Pa Nukutauriri, of Kafika clan, but a neighbour of the chief. Ties of kinship and residence thus were the determining factors in the composition of this nuanga, rather than ties of clanship. And since the division into units

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[1] Some details of the economics of turmeric production are given in Primitive Polynesian Economy, 111-2, 137-8, 276, 289-291.

depends largely upon the impossibility of putting the turmeric of every partner through the same stage on the same day, the relative size of each "lot" is one factor in deciding who shall be associated in one unit. The units of the Tafua nuanga were small owing, it was said, to the recent death of a grandson of the chief; people had plenty of turmeric ready, but because the period of mourning had not ended they were "ashamed" to appear. If the nuanga is large, then it consists of four or five units, each having three, four or five partners. But three units only are common. The number must be limited by the available equipment. "It is arranged in proportion; we are proportioned to troughs, which are few." Sometimes the units are spoken of as if they were individual enterprises. "There are three **eke**; they are called three **nuanga**."

The turmeric of each unit is begun on successive days, and the order is maintained throughout. The chief, in accordance with his rank and esoteric functions, is always leader of the first unit in his own **nuanga**. The units have titles to distinguish them. Those in Kafika, for instance, if three in number, are known as "The Akoako", "The Eke in the Middle", and "The Oven-Burying". The last is so called because after it the oven for baking the turmeric is filled in.

If there are many partners, or a large mass of material, the work of each unit is further split up, due again primarily to limitations of equipment. The initial product is termed the **Uruango**; the next the **Renga Tofua**, and the others the **Vaivai Nea**, the **Pai Nea**, the **Fakamatauo** and the **Rauwai**, in that order. These all produce **renga**, and after them comes the treatment of the **tauo**. In all cases the ritual is concentrated on the Uruango, the succeeding batches are regarded as of less importance, and if the turmeric of the **Uruango** turns out well, then it is thought the whole work will surely be successful. The pigment from this first batch is termed the **renga maori**, "the true turmeric". If the amount is large, say five or six cylinders per partner, then the expression is "the turmeric has **aso**". A distinction is further drawn between the first batch of a chief and those of the other partners in his unit; his is called **Te Uruango o Katea**, and theirs collectively **Te Uruango o Ama**. This description in terms of "starboard" and "port" brings in the concepts already discussed in the ritual of Somosomo. The "true turmeric" (from the **Uruango**) and that of the Renga Tofua are the most valuable. They are usually preserved entire as cylinders, for ceremonial presentation, though occasionally they are drawn upon to dye a piece of bark-cloth to give to a chief. Hung up in their wrappings to the rafters of a house, they are treasured property, kept for years. The succeeding batches provide pigment for dyeing ordinary bark-cloth, and smearing on the body. The **Rauwai** in particular, the last batch, is the "**nuanga** of

the women." In theory its product goes to the women of the households concerned, though in practice it seems to form part of the ordinary domestic supply.

In processing, the **Uruango** of the chief goes first, and then that of the other partners in his unit; the next day the **Uruango** of the second unit is begun; the third day that of the third unit, and so on. Then comes the **Renga Tofua** of the various units in succession, and so on for the other types. But the processing once begun is continuous for each batch, so that on the second day, when the **Uruango** of the second unit is begun, that of the first unit is going through stage two. And later on all the processes are in operation together, for different batches. As a rule, the quantity of turmeric is not enough to give rise to all the divisions mentioned earlier, and the **Uruango**, the **Renga Tofua** and perhaps the **Vaivai Nea** alone are separated, with the **tauo** at the end. If any partner has a remnant of roots, not enough to justify treating it as a separate batch, it can be processed with the **Rauwai**, the "womens' turmeric", if such is being extracted.

Clearly, the organization of a **nuanga**, even a small one, is a complex affair. One of the reasons for the complex division is the wish to preserve uniformity, so that every partner gets approximately equal treatment - though a chief is allowed to have the lead. Another reason is the ritual one, of singling out a portion of each man's turmeric for special treatment in relation to the gods on whom the prosperity of the whole is believed to depend.

PRELIMINARY RITES AND WORK

Before the extraction, several preparations of a ritual and of a practical nature have to be made: the turmeric has to be dug, a water supply assured, and a shed and enclosures built.

First comes the ritual digging of the sacred turmeric. After the morning kava at Somosomo, on the fifth day of these rites, the Ariki Kafika orders one of his kinsfolk to perform this task. I did not see it done, but in 1929 was present when he sent off his son and another youth to dig up the hillcock of turmeric he had planted in Maunga in the monsoon season. He said to them, "Bruise it to be pungent to the skies; it is the perfume of the Deity." According to him, the operator plunges his digging stick in beside the plant and levers it up. As he does so he says:

"Tarotaro mai, Pa,
Ki te manongi te Atua
Ka furi atu te aso nei."

"Recite hither, Father,
For the perfume of the Deity
Will be turned up on this day."

And at what he judges to be the appropriate time the chief himself says:

"Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae, Toku
Ariki Tapu.
Tou manongi ka furi atu
Ke kona atu ki te vaerangi."

"I eat ten times your excrement,
My Sacred Chief.
Your perfume will be turned up
To be odorous to the sky."

He gave me an alternative form of words also:

"Furi mano o tou manongi, Mapusia !
Tou manongi ka safi atu i te pongipongi
Ko atua a tangata ke soaki ki ei
Masara ko te vaerangi
Tou manongi ka sakasaka atu."

"Powerful turning of your perfume, Mapusia!
Your perfume will be cleansed in the morning.
Let gods and men assist at it.
Clear be the sky,
Your perfume will be prepared."

This rite is known as "te furi o Te Akoako", "the turning of the Akoako". The idea is that the scent of the roots, levered up, rises to the sky, apprises the Atua i Kafika of the beginning of the work and induces him to grant good weather for it. "The Akoako is turned to act on the sky to stand well; the nuanga is going to be made."

An essential job is to assure an adequate supply of fresh water. This is helped by having the nuanga in the trade-wind season, when the springs are not the mere trickle they often are during the monsoon. For ordinary domestic purposes the water is made available by aqueducts of split areca palm trunks, with most of the pith removed, supported on stakes several feet above the ground. For turmeric extraction these are cleaned out and repaired, and the overhaul is incorporated into the ritual scheme. In addition a new lead to the turmeric enclosure has often to be built. On the morning of the Turning of the Akoako people go to their cultivations and get new timbers. This is known as "te ta o te ofa","the felling

of the aqueduct". The cutting of the first timber for the aqueduct of a chief's **nuanga** is prefaced by a short formula.

"Ia ! te ofa o te vai.
Ta manu ko te ofa o te vai."

"Here! the aqueduct of the water.
Fell with power the aqueduct of the water."

The appeal here is to the particular atua of the **nuanga.** The process of overhaul is termed **fakapukenga vai,** "making the waters full", that is causing a steady stream to flow. Later a libation of kava is poured and an offering of food made, with the words (by the Ariki Kafika):

"Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae Toku Ariki Tapu
Tou nuanga ka sakasaka atu."

and "Ia! ou kai Pu.
Tou vai ku fakapukena te aso nei."

"I eat ten time your excrement, My Sacred Chief.
Your turmeric-making will be prepared!"

"Here! Your food, Ancestor.
Your water has been made full this day."

This is the initial kava of the **nuanga.**

Another technical operation is the erection of a shed to shelter the graters of the turmeric. It is termed the **fare kuku,** the "grating shed", and is a flimsy erection of sago thatch, supported on poles and open on all sides. For the shed of a chief a brief formula is repeated at the pinning of the first sheet of thatch, usually done by the chief himself.

"Ia! suki manu te kau rau te nuanga!"

"Here! pierce with power the thatch sheet of the turmeric-making."

Of more importance is the preparation of a filter-cloth, which is made or carefully supervised by the expert himself. It is made from **kaka,** the stiff porous material from the base of the coconut frond. Pieces are sewn together to form a sheet, with strips of hibiscus fibre (rivakai). In olden days the sewing was done with a long whalebone needle (te **sau**); nowadays European pack-needles are used, even by old men, their special merit in the eyes of the expert being that the eye does not break out. The expert

takes a pair of pieces of fibre at a time, and looks them over carefully for flaws. The fibre is extremely tough, and the left foot of the workman is set on the **sewn** material to keep it firm, while a second **man** often helps by turning in the edge in advance. The sewing frequently changes hands, owing to its difficulty. The completed article is a sheet about four feet square, slightly baggy in the centre owing to the tapering shape of the individual pieces and the curving seam of the join.

Another task is the collection of the raw turmeric. For several days after the Turning of the Akoako, people go and dig their turmeric and bring it back, often at the same time as the other work is proceeding. No ritual is connected with this digging and it is done by small parties, in the same way as ordinary agricultural labour.[1]

WASHING OF THE TURMERIC

When all the raw turmeric has been brought it is cleansed. About midday an oven is prepared, and a simple kava rite is performed; this is the **kava soronga ango**, the kava of the cleansing of the turmeric. As the sun goes down, women of the participant families in the **nuanga** come together on the grass on the beach. A large coconut leaf mat is laid down and turmeric roots piled on it. The material of each partner is kept separate, and that of a chief is always cleansed first. That of the other partners is usually done on later evenings. The women, clad in old skirts, kneel around the mat, the edge of which is lifted on to their laps; they are roughly grouped in two rows on opposite sides. Fresh water is too valuable to be used for the washing, and salt water is therefore carried up in bowls and canoe balers by children, who dash it over the pile of roots. A song is started, and to its accompaniment first one rank and then the other plunges forward with outstretched arms, hands open and together, so that their weight rolls over the heap of roots. Each side lunges and recovers alternately, keeping time to the song, rolling the turmeric backwards and forwards between them. Constantly drenched with water, the roots are thus soon freed of dirt and hair rootlets. The time taken to cleanse a batch of turmeric is less than an hour. The work is done with laughter and joking, and the women are soon thoroughly wet.

The songs during the work are usually dance chants. At Matautu in 1928, however, dirges were sung since the village was in mourning for the grandson of the chief, lost at sea some months before. The words of the song need bear no reference to the work in hand or to the **nuanga**. One of the songs at the cleansing of the turmeric of the Ariki Tafua was from a **seru**, and in praise of him.

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[1] An account of a working party digging turmeric for the nuanga has been given in **We, The Tikopia**.

Tafito: Toku tomofo lasi i a Pa
Ne muna ke sau mai
Kau repea te muakai te futi reu.

Kupu : Tou kava e sauni mai i te roki.
Tatou oro ka kai ko ki oi.

Safe : Taku Pa nofo i Motuapi
Tou soro ki oi.

"My great food portion from Father
Who said to give it to me
That I might consume the first fruits,
the ripe banana.

Your kava is prepared here in the west.
We go and shall eat from it.

My Father, dwelling in Motuapi,
Let us flock to him." [1]

Batches of turmeric after the first do not always have a song accompaniment. The women may simply give a loud grunt, for amusement, as they plunge forward. This provokes great laughter among the spectators. Petty friction also sometimes occurs. "Why don't you rub properly instead of merely groping?" was one complaint.

The turmeric roots come up in clusters, and the parent root (tafito) of each cluster, covered with rootlets, is not included in the heap. These parent roots are sorted out into a basket and scraped with a small knife - in former times with a sharp shell. When the main heap is judged to have been rolled over enough the turmeric roots are put into close-woven baskets and immersed for a few minutes in the sea by boys and girls. One hand holds the basket, in water up to the breast, the other rubs the turmeric to and fro in order to remove the last remnants of dirt. At the same time the troughs, bowls and graters for the later stages of the work are usually washed in the sea too.

Finally the baskets are taken to the house of the chief partner to stand (or "sleep" as it is also termed) on the mata paito side of the floor. There fresh water is poured over them. "The turmeric is doused (fakapa)."

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[1] The implications of the **muakai** are discussed in **Primitive Polynesian Economy**, 213-214.

REGULATIONS OF THE NUANGA

The next day the **nuanga** proper begins. From this point a number of rules or taboos limit the freedom of the workers. These are distinctly onerous, involving restrain in matters of food, sleep, physical relaxation, social and sexual intercourse. Their manifest object is to secure the final product in the proper state.

It will be convenient to describe first the rules governing relations with people not engaged in the nuanga; second, those which refer primarily to relations between the sexes within the **nuanga**; and third, the rules relating to food.

From the evening of the day on which the turmeric is first grated a segregation of the **nuanga** workers begins. Those who have been merely helping with the grating go home, but they do not return. The partners, with their wives and any kinsfolk or neighbours they may have engaged, remain, to sleep in houses close by the scene. An intangible barrier now separates them from the rest of the village; they are "within the **nuanga**", or "living in the nuanga", and the rest are "the crowd without (**te faoa i nga uta**)", or simply "those at the back (**sa tua**)". Limited conversation is permitted between the two groups, but they may not sit or eat together, and though the former may go outside the barrier, and do so for necessary purposes, as to get food, the latter should not come in. The question "You are living in the **nuanga** ?" and the reply "I am living in the middle" are sufficient to keep people apart when they meet outside. Relations between them are defined by the concept of "cold food" examined later.

Within the **nuanga** group there is also a division, on a sex basis. At night, or for rest during the day, men and women separate into two parties, the men to the house of the chief, and the women to another house vacated for them. One of the most stringent rules is this segregation of the sexes away from work. The primary basis for this is the fear lest the intrusion of sex matters affect either the turmeric or the health of the people. The anthropologist can see in this a restriction of some value for the efficient conduct of the work. But the Tikopia explain it in terms of what to us are non-rational connections.

There is a very strong prohibition on sexual intercourse during the **nuanga** (only by those "dwelling within"). If a man should lie with his wife before it is over it is believed that the turmeric will turn out soft instead of hard, and swarms of little flies (nono) will be gathered around it, attracted by its peculiar odour. The associations here are obvious, Moreover, if the breach of taboo occurs at an early stage it is thought that it will be detected by the

expert from indications in the turmeric liquid itself. "If a man goes to a woman, we see there in the bottom of the trough the marriage-tokens that he has gone and made with the woman." Observing what looks like a deposit of semen in the trough, the expert mentions it quietly to the others, and may make a joke at the expense of the man whose turmeric it is. "One comes in and finds the **nuanga** laughing silently; and there! it is oneself they are laughing at, and one does not know. But the expert has related it ..... No doings of the turmeric- making can be hidden."

Other rules deal with positions of rest in the house. Only the floor mats must be used to sit on; no one, not even the chief, is allowed a stool or block of wood, and when I attended the **nuanga** I had to comply with this as with the other rules. Again, even on the mats, only certain positions are allowed. One may sit with crossed legs, or recline with the legs straight out in front, but not squat with the knees hunched up. This would spoil the turmeric. In sleeping, men must not lie on the face, but on the back; women on the other hand, must sleep face downwards. These rules appear to be direct extensions of that debarring sexual intercourse, since that which is forbidden is more or less directly suggestive of exposure or the sexual act.

We now come to the rules about food.

In the first place, the texture of foods taken is important. Semi-liquid foods and soft mushy fruits are prohibited; such are the papaya, and ripe bananas. Nowadays sugar is included in the proscribed list. The Ariki Tafua was very careful to get my proposed meals before admitting me to the **nuanga**. Dry biscuit he approved, and hot tea was allowed, but I had to promise not to take sugar with it, or eat jam. (As a matter of fact I lived almost wholly on the native food during my period of seclusion there.) The reason given for these prohibitions is of the sympathetic order-lest the final pigment lose its firmness, and turn out watery (sosolo).

Again, all food must be theoretically "hot"(**kai vera**); nothing "cold" should be taken (**kai makariri**). The main meals during the day consisted of hot breadfruit, baked whole on the oven stones, with green or ripe coconuts, taken about mid-morning; and a hot pudding of breadfruit, taro or green bananas eaten in the late afternoon. If the work took longer than expected this latter was sometimes cold by the time it was eaten. This was immaterial; it was "hot food" (**kai vera**) from the ritual point of view. As such it was opposed to"cold food". This seems illogical. But the explanation is that these two terms have a symbolic meaning extending beyond their literal one. They apply not simply to food of different temperature, but

in this context to the place of preparation. Even more figuratively, these terms are extended to the two groups of persons within and outside the nuanga. Persons within are "hot", those outside are "cold" food. The central feature of the distinction is that "cold food" shall not come into contact with "hot food", that those outside shall not contaminate those within - if they do, then the turmeric will be spoiled. Hence no cooked food from outside may be brought into the nuanga circle, and no person from outside may enter the more sacred places where the work is being carried on.

The basis of this distinction in terms lies in the fact that normally the first meal of the Tikopia day, just after sunrise, consists of cold taro or other remnants from the oven of the afternoon before. In the nuanga itself the same food is eaten too, at two small meals at night, and in the early morning before work begins. But in this case the meals are taken in the dark. As such they are regarded as a prolongation of the earlier "hot food"; since a new day has not dawned on the land they have not lost their theoretical warmth. Once dawn has broken they become "cold food" and may not be eaten. Being a thrifty folk the Tikopia do not throw the food away, but pass it on to households outside the nuanga. Here it is eaten, particularly by children, who thus become "cold food" par excellence. As such they are warned to keep clear of anyone who is living in the nuanga; they themselves would not be harmed by contact, but they are contamination for him and the turmeric. (This was one of the few occasions, I noted, on which they obeyed a command to keep out of the way.)

One of the results of eating "cold food" is said to be that a man's turmeric, when ready for decanting, "sleeps lightly", that is, it will not settle properly. This again can be noted by the expert. A case of alleged contamination by "cold food" came under my own observation. When the turmeric of the second unit at Matautu was "blown" from its wooden cylinders, it was seen that the batch of Pa Fetauta had "come down badly"; it was soft, like porridge, instead of being a hard mass. The owner at once suspected a breach of rule about "cold food" and made inquiries. It was learned from some women that they had seen Tekarima, a member of the group of Pa Fetauta, but outside the nuanga, go into the house where food for the nuanga workers was cooking. "He had eaten cold food, yet he came to the oven of Pa Fetauta; that's why the turmeric is bad. It is not proper!" said one of the group to me, and they talked to one another indignantly in similar terms. When taxed, Tekarima - who had heard of the mischance - denied that he had eaten "cold food", but he was not believed, and Pa Fetauta gave him a good tongue - lashing. The native view was that the guilt or innocence of the man was to be judged not by weighing statements, but by

the phenomenon observed. As they put it to me, Pa Fetauta knew that Tekarima had eaten "cold food" because the turmeric was bad. In order to test the firmness of the native belief I suggested that the reason for the failure was the presence of too much water or oil in the mixture, or too short a baking. This was not accepted for a moment. "The turmeric was good; it was the 'cold food' that acted on it."

There are rules also for other types of behaviour. One concerns excretion. During the **nuanga** one should excrete in the sea, or at least out on the reef; one should not do so in the undergrowth. "In the **nuanga** it is good to go and excrete in the shore waters, not to excrete inland; it will become breakable". It is held that the turmeric will be crumbly, not firm when turned out if this is disregarded. And when transferring it from one bowl to another it will not move smoothly, but will fall in broken lumps. Here again is an association between bodily process and natural process. Theft within the **nuanga** would seem to be rare. But a sanction against it is provided by the belief that if a man misappropriates turmeric, then his own will not settle properly.

These rules and observances are termed a **tukutukunga te nuanga** - "things laid down in the turmeric-making". They are in a different category from the ritual to be described later in that firstly they are primarily of a negative, prohibitory order; and secondly, that a breach of them is believed to manifest itself directly, and not through the operation of any ancestors or gods. Moreover, the ritual tends to vary according to the precise stage of the technical operations, whereas these prohibitions run fairly evenly throughout the whole process.

We may now proceed further with the technical and ritual aspects of the activity (See Plan IV.)

GRATING THE TURMERIC ROOTS

The **nuanga** shows a distinct division of labour along sex lines. Though men and women dig up the roots, the building of sheds and aqueducts is done by the men, and the cleansing of the roots is the work of the women, assisted by young boys as water-carriers. Grating the roots is done by the women also, though a few men assist. The later processes of filtering are done primarily by men, though a few women may help once the most important product, that of the Ariki, has been put through. But the final stage, that of baking the turmeric, is done entirely by men. The broad principle is that the less skilled operations are allotted to the women, while those demanding more skill and technical knowledge are the domain of men; the latter also receive much greater ritual emphasis.

The roots are grated in a shed (**fare kuku**)erected for the purpose. The grating implement is a stave(**tama kuku ango**), shaped somewhat like a slender paddle, about five feet long and four inches by half-an-inch at the widest part of the blade. It is made of **poumuri** or other light wood. The lower part of the stave is closely bound for about two feet with a sinnet cord, plaited and then chain-knotted to give a triangular section. It is on this, the stave-cord (**uku tama**), that the turmeric is grated. Coconut fronds are laid on the floor of the shed, wooden bowls are set out, and in each bowl is set one or more staves, with their upper ends firmly lashed to the rafters. The grating cord has been arranged in each case at kneeling height. Kneeling down, the operator takes a few roots of turmeric in the palm of the hand, and clasping it round the narrow back of the stave, rubs briskly up and down the cord.The grated material falls into the bowl. Considerable pressure is used, and the people say "Great is the labour". When the work is at its height the shed is full of people, and most staves are occupied by two persons. (A man and a woman may be seen grating opposite each other). When there are not enough staves ordinary taro graters, of wire spikes set in wood, and held horizontally,are also used. Early in the day, in the shed of the Ariki Tafua, there were five small bowls, one large bowl, and three troughs in use; sixteen staves and four taro graters were set in them; and twenty-five women and two men were occupied in grating. An hour afterwards, at full pressure,there were twenty-eight women and five men, with one extra stave, and two boys were employed in carrying round baskets of fresh turmeric as required. The shed was full of the noise of the grating and of talk; there was much betel-chewing and smoking; and a little chewing of the turmeric itself; there was a strong smell of turmeric, and the workers were spattered with the yellow juice.

For the **nuanga** of Kafika, I was told, the first grating of the turmeric is a ritual matter. The wife of the chief, termedfor this purpose "the woman of the Akoako", sets up her stave and begins to grate; the other women watch her silently, and only when the process is well under way do theyfollow suit and the real work starts.

FILTERING THE GRATED TURMERIC

A few yards from the grating shed is an area about twenty yards square, screened in by stakes, coconut and sago fronds so that the work inside cannot be seen by people who pass by. This is the **tafatafa**, the enclosure where the filtration takes place. It is floored with coconut fronds, and on one side stands a trough, collecting water from the aqueduct. The hull of a canoe, stripped of its outrigger, isoften used for this purpose. Several other troughs (**nafa**) are essential to the filtration. They are from six to ten feet long,

and are made specially for the extraction of turmeric and sago. For the **nuanga** of the Ariki Tafua four **nafa** were used. Two were his own property, one belonged to Pa Fetauta, and one was borrowed from a kinsman of the Ariki. Generically, these troughs are wooden bowls of a giant type; at succeeding stages of the work bowls of decreasing size are employed. All are of a different shape from bowls used in preparing food.

The most striking object in the **tafatafa** is the filterstand (**kaumafuta**). It is illustrated in Plates II and IV of my Primitive Polynesian Economy. To make it, three **pole**s are set up in the form of a tripod, a circlet of coconut leaf is girt about this, and leaves of banana are bent over the circlet. A couple of leaves of the umbrella palm are added inside, with their tops pointings downwards; the corrugations in the leaves will serve as runnels for the liquid when the filtration begins. The mass of leaves is gathered in at the bottom and lashed tightly with a diamond network of strips of bark, thus forming an inverted cone. At the point of the cone a leaf of **rau tea** is set, and a pole thrust down the centre pierces the point and converts the cone into a funnel. Any extra leafage at the point is cut away, and water poured down to test for leaks. The completed erection stands about six feet high. I was struck by the ingenuity and speed with which an efficient piece of apparatus was made out of such simple materials. For the **nuanga** of Tafua two funnels were built; for a larger group even more may be used.

Now that the **tafatafa** was ready, a tall pole was set up at the entrance. This was "the barrier of the women" - the sign of ritual exclusion. But though the enclosure was said to be **tapu** to women and children, I noticed that only a scolding was given to a child who strayed in before the work began. The taboo was mild compared with that, for instance, of the sacred canoes.

Meanwhile preparations were going on for feeding the graters of turmeric. During the morning the women in the grating shed were given sugar cane and coconuts, both green and sprouting; they ate in the shed. The men had coconuts alone, and ate in the chief's house. Other kinsfolk of the chief were cooking food in the oven-house. On this day all the food provided was supplied by the chief and his kin. The custom is for the feeding of the **nuanga** group to be undertaken daily by each partner in turn, with help of supplies and labour from his kin.

The coconuts eaten by the men were called "causing to chew betel of the turmeric", a term of depreciation. Before drinking, each partner of the group pierced the eye of a nut and poured out a libation to the ancestor or deity to whom

his turmeric was dedicated. The Ariki Tafua said to me, "They are not ashamed in the presence of the chief sitting here!" He meant that though normally ritual of this kind is left to a chief in public, it was proper on this occasion for each partner to secure any supernatural assistance he could, since the products were for the benefit of individuals.

After the brief meal came the filtration of the first batch of turmeric. The filter-cloth was drenched with water and hung over the filter-stand, supported on a pair of crossed sticks; and all troughs but one were filled with water. The empty one was set under the filter-stand, and a leaf of **rautea** was tied at the bottom of the funnel to serve as a lead. From a large bowl of grated turmeric - known now as pauango - a smaller bowl was filled, and then emptied on to the filter-cloth. Water was poured on to it, and the grated mass kneaded by a pair of men. The water running down the funnel into the trough carried with it the yellow dye of the turmeric, leaving behind the waste fibres. The kneading of the **pauango** was termed **foa**. From time to time handfuls of the exhausted residue were removed, to be thrown away over the fence, and fresh material and water added. The filtering was done quickly, with little talk, and the Ariki Tafua, as expert, kept a close watch on all that was done. From time to time he was asked for advice, or proffered instruction. The impression created was one of solemnity. Each filter stand had usually four men at work, two kneading the turmeric, one feeding it in and removing the residue, and another carrying water. Other men were busy washing bowls and troughs, shifting the filter-stand from one trough to another, and making sago-leaf thatch covers for the troughs when full.

"FISHING FOR SUCCESS"

Since the yield of turmeric depends on proper filtration and a good flow of dye at this stage, one is not surprised to find that one of the most important rites takes place at this point. At the moment when the man holding the first bowl of grated material was about to tip it into the filtercloth he looked over to where the chief was seated, caught his eye, murmured "Ia!" and emptied in the bowl. The chief then began to recite under his breath a formula, known as the **Raufangota Manu**, Fishing for Success. Its essential theme is to secure the assistance of the spirits in getting as much turmeric pigment as possible. There are three ways by which it is thought this can be done: by facilitating proper precipitation of the filtrate; by turning some of the less valuable edible **tauo** into **renga** pigment; and by raiding alien supplies at the same time as the home supplies are protected from theft. The "theft" here is not conceived as abstraction by human beings, but by spirits.

I received several variants of this basic formula, from the Ariki Tafua and the Ariki Kafika, differing only in a few phrases. One version will be sufficient here to show the form. It is from the Ariki Tafua.

Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae, Te Ariki
    Vai, E !
Tafuri ki tou rau fetau
Tu ke mau tou Kauao Mera ma tou Kau Suku
    Mera;
Manongi Te Atua tenei e fai nei.
Taomia ki raro ko te tauo
Furisia ke renga
Ke maua se tusi mou ma tou Kau Suku Mera
Ke moe ngiti ko te renga
Tatanakina se sua renga mo tatou
Mai Rotuma, ma Anuta
A fenua o te nuanga e fai i ei.
Na kalokalo toto, na kava pi toto,
    na ti toto,

Na ika toto, na ika mero
Ke furisia ke renga.
Karo atu ke ki a sanasana e fai mai na
Kapukaputia mai na ko na sua renga
Akuakufia mai ko sua renga mai a nuanga e
    fai nei
Tatanakina mai na ki Fiora
Ke maueina se tusi mou ma nga atua."

I eat ten times your excrement, The Chief
    of the Waters, E!
Turn to your **fetau** leaf
Stand firm your Rosy Cloud and your Rosy-Tail-
    ed Following
Perfume of the God is this being made here.
Be pressed down below the **tauo**
And turned to become **renga**
That a mark may be secured for you and your
    Rosy-Tailed Following
May the **renga** sleep solidly
Be gathered together a turmeric liquid
    for us
From Rotuma, from Anuta,
Lands where the **nuanga** takes place.
Its blood-red **kalokalo**, its blood-red **kava pi**,
    its blood-red Cordyline,
Its blood-red fish, its red fish,
Be turned to become **renga**.
Glance aside, you, to the affairs being
    done there,

Be scooped up hither turmeric liquid from
nuanga being made there
Be gathered hither to Fiora
That a mark may be secured for you and the
gods."

This formula is addressed to the Eel-God, Tuna, who is the controller of the fresh water on the island, and hence of great importance for the **nuanga**. He is imagined to have as attendants a train of lesser spirits, only known by collective titles; that these titles involve the idea of redness is in line with the colour associations given later in the appeal. The "perfume of the God" is a reference to the role of the Atua i Kafika, explained earlier. (This deity, though controller of the turmeric, was said by the Ariki Tafua to be amenable to the influence of the Eel-God, since he was the "cleansed son" - **tama furu** - of the latter by a rite performed in the spirit-world.) The **fetau** leaf referred to is the sumbolic name given to a scrap of **kaka** fibre used later in a subsequent filtration (in the rotoa). The appeal for conversion of **tauo** to **renga** shows how the final proportions between them are believed to be not simply a physical relation, but one governed by spirit action. The stimulation of the gods by reference to a "mark" refers to a later rite of celebration of the end of the **nuanga**; it is a further appeal to their love of prestige and recognition by men. Citation of red plants and fish is regarded as a stimulus to the brilliance of the colour of the turmeric; other natural objects are to be drained of their redness to amplify that of the pigment. And the theory of invisible abstraction of material is seen in the request that other lands where turmeric is made may have it filched from them, and even the **nuanga** of his fellow-chiefs be raided. For this, the Ariki Tafua relies primarily on the female deity, the Atua of Fiora, who is believed to have long nails particularly useful for this. The expressions **kapuka-putia** etc. also suggest the movements of a woman's hand-net, used in a scooping manner.

Variant phrases in another formula given by the Ariki Tafua appeal to the Eel-God to

"Stand firmly in your **tafatafa**,
With eyes clear and light for the
wanderers,
Looking that your mark be not snatched
away."

Here the emphasis is on the protective functions of the deity; the "wanderers" are held to be unnamed spirits of earth and woods , alert to steal turmeric; they were described somewhat indignantly as "thieving **atua**" - with delightful inconsistency,

considering other portions of the formula!

This intangible thieving of turmeric pigment is firmly believed in by the Tikopia. The Ariki Kafika said to me on this point, "We go out in the morning and find the level in the bowl has sunk down; we look at our **renga** which has been taken away completely." The statement, in this exaggerated form, was common to all turmeric producers. But in the native morality a distinction is drawn between stealing turmeric from foreign lands and taking it from one's fellow islanders. The Ariki Kafika denied strongly that he asked his deities to rob the other chiefs, and said that it was the Ariki Tafua alone who did so. There is a definite parallel here with the situation of the **faunga vaka** described earlier, where the personal idiosyncrasies of the Ariki Tafua have seemed to affect his formulae. The Ariki Kafika concentrates on the abstraction of turmeric from abroad. A section of the formula he gave me runs.

"Go you to fish from the direction above
(North and East)
That a mark may be secured for you
(From) Samoa, and Rotuma and Anuta,
Lands in which the **nuanga** is made."

This formula here analysed is termed Raufangota **Manu** as a whole because in essence is it an appeal for **manu**, for the efficacy or success of the operations. It is used not only as a preliminary to filtration, but also in the subsequent processes of decantation in the sacred enclosure known as the **rotoa**.

We may now return to the proceedings of the Tafua **nuanga**.

"BINDING OF THE WATER"

After reciting the formula for the initial filtration the Ariki Tafua returned to his house and made offerings to his deities and ancestors. (In olden days he would have performed the full kava ritual.) This over, he came back and performed another rite over the necessary element in the process - the water supply. This rite is termed Te Noa o Te **Vai**, The Binding of the Water. The procedure, which was the same for other **nuanga**, I was told, was to tie a bunch of leaves, symbolic of the deity in control of the water supply, to a tree near by. In this case the tree stood in the **tafatafa** enclosure, and the leaves used were of the **tafatafa** a Tuna plant, of the cane-grass type. As its name suggests, it is a symbol of Tuna, Eel God and ruler of fresh water. The formula used by the chief was given me by him as follows:

"Tafuri ki tou noa ku fakatu atu
KeTupua tau nuanga
Raufangota manu ke se tusi ke maua mou
Fangota mai mai te atu runga
A fenua o te renga e fai i ei.
Tatanakina mai na sua renga ki Matautu
Na kalokalo toto, na ti toto, na sarisari toto,
Na ika toto, na ika mero,
Furisia te sua vai ke renga
Ranga ko te renga me me matoru
Kae taomia ki raro te tauo
Fakangitia ona mata ke me ngiti."

"Turn to your tie which has been set up,
You, deity of the **nuanga.**
Fish for success that a mark may be secured for you,
Fish hither from the direction above,
Lands where the turmeric pigment is made
Be gathered together here their turmeric liquid to Matautu.
Its blood-red **kalokalo**, its blood-red Cordyline, its blood-red ginger,
Its blood-red fish, its red fish.
Turned be the liquid to turmeric,
Raised be the turmeric to sleep thickly
And be pressed down below the **tauo**
Squeezed tightly be its eyes to sleep tightly."

The close resemblance of this formula to that used for the filtration is obvious, and the expression **raufangota manu** is even employed in it. The point is that as the Tikopia say, "There is only one **tarotaro** (formula) in turmeric-making, that is, the **raufangota manu.**" This is true in the sense that essentially the same set of phrases is drawn upon for all the early processes, with variation or omission according to the particular stage reached. Here the appeal is to the Eel-God under the title of tutelary deity of the **nuanga**, thus linking him once more with the operations. Two other points of interest are the introduction of a new item of colour association, the wild ginger, one variety of which has a crimson flower; and the sustained imagery of the turmeric "sleeping" with tightly shut eyes, in other words, solidly precipitated. It will be seen later how important this is.

It is a custom in the **nuanga** of chiefs or elders to take down certain sacred objects of the group and place them in association with the turmeric making. These are usually weapons of famous ancestors which by their sa-

credness help to give **manu** to the operations. At Matautu a long spear (tao), formerly the property of Pu Tafua lasi, namesake and familiar spirit of the present Ariki Tafua, was brought down from the house and stuck in ground in the **tafatafa** enclosure. I was told that in other **nuanga** the **rotoa** was usually the spot selected. The object of this custom is to bring ancestors and deities still further into direct relation with the work.

A couple of hours after midday the oven was ready and men and women had a meal in their respective houses. The food was of good quality, in this case **poke taro**, a delicacy of mashed taro with coconut oil and coconut sugar. Afterwards work was continued till darkness fell. In the late afternoon a second lot of turmeric roots was cleaned by women and girls.

The meal was termed **te osoango o te ariki**; in former days it would have been prefaced by a brief kava rite, but on this occasion libations only were poured.

POURING OFF THE WATER

The next morning the work of decanting off the water from the settled turmeric began. But first an additional enclosure, the rotoa, had to be built. The purpose of this was to hold the bowls of turmeric while they were being allowed to settle before the separation of **renga** from **tauo** - a process known as **fakame te renga**, "causing the turmeric to sleep". For this work the inmates of the men's house were awakened before dawn, and after a hasty meal of last night's remnants went off to the work. The rotoa was quickly made. It was a circular erection of poles and rails, with a row of sago thatch at the bottom and ordinary floor mats hung over the top, with coconut fronds laid on the ground. It was about twenty feet in diameter, with the fence about five feet high, enough to protect the work inside from prying eyes. The men then went to the **tafatafa**.

This had been closed during the night by fronds of coconut, to prevent unlawful access. The process of extraction of turmeric depends essentially upon an adequate separation first of the material in suspension in the water from the bulk of this, and second, of the lighter **renga** from the heavier **tauo**. The success of the operations of decanting depends upon the firmness of the layers of pigment, and this of course means absence of disturbance. Hence the pains to exclude all other people than the workers. Moreover, the need for a settled mass of pigment is the reason for the constant appeals for the turmeric to "be pressed down", "settled firmly", "sleep tightly," etc.

When all was ready the chief, as expert, rubbed his hands well with some of the residue thrown away the day before. This seemed to be a technical rather than a ritual procedure. One of the troughs was then uncovered, and a light yellow scum (**koa**) which had formed on the top of the liquid was cleared off with the edge of the hand. Then a number of men gathered at one end of the trough, and the chief at the other. At his signal they lifted, pouring out the water on to the ground. The expert bent down with both hands cupped at the lip of the trough, stemming the outflow. When he saw that the deposit at the bottom was beginning to stir he called "Leave it ! Leave it!", and while he blocked the lip with his hands the assistants lowered their end.This was repeated with each trough in turn.

The deposit of turmeric was then kneaded up with the remaining water, and transferred from the troughs to medium sized bowls, which were carried off to settle in the **rotoa.** The bowls are termed **kumete fakame tofua.**The transference was done with great care. The chief sat over the bowl with a small piece of **kaka** fibre - the "**fetau** leaf" referred to in the formula quoted. An assistant filled a coconut-shell cup with the liquid, and allowed it to dribble through the **fibre** into the bowl; thus a second filtration took place. The operation was termed **fakatere,** "making it run". A little water was added to thin down the liquid when necessary, and the last dregs were removed from the trough, with a little leaf cup.

Two instances will show the care exercised by the expert. One of his sons was about to throw to one side a small cover of which a corner had dipped in the liquid; he was rebuked by his father and made to wash off the infinitesimal amount of turmeric into a bowl. Another son in carrying his end of a bowl to the **rotoa** let it dip, and a few drops splashed on the ground; this provided an indignant outburst from the old man.

When the turmeric of one **eke** had been decanted, that of the other began to be filtered.

SEPARATION OF RENGA AND TAUO

In the late afternoon, the chief, accompanied only by a couple of assistants, went down to the **rotoa.** This enclosure is the most sacred spot in all the **nuanga,** and all men squat down at once when they have finished any piece of work there. Talk is only in whispers, or at the most in very low tones. A prominent feature there is a low stone pillar, upright in the earth. This is the **fatu tunga nuanga,** the stone of the **nuanga** stand, marking the site of the chief's

rotoa from one generation to another. It is not highly sacred, but has some tapu by being a link with ancestors, and the site of the **rotoa** when this is not in being.

Because of the sanctity of the **rotoa**, and its function as the spot where the secrets of the expert are practised to the full, it was said to be the custom of chiefs formerly not to admit commoners to the enclosure, but have members of their own family as their assistants. This rule was broken by the present Ariki Kafika, according to his own account. He said that once in Te Roro he issued an invitation to the commoners who were his partners to enter and see the operations for themselves, that they might know they were not being cheated of their turmeric. Apparently this caused a great stir. The chief said to me, "I turned the **nuanga** upside down. I said 'Come hither you, that each may look upon his property.'" One result of this was that Pa Kanava, one of the commoners concerned, composed a dance song of the **mako rima** type, embodying his sensations. I give the translation of it, only, to save space.

Tafito: We two depart for the **nuanga**
Chiefly brother, thou art tapu
Chiefly brother proceeding with thy deity.

Kupu: I sit and gaze upon whom ?
I sit and gaze upon whom ?
The **renga** here will separate
And the **tofua** will descend.

Safe : I awoke with a start
At thy nuanga which is made. O!
Why not sacralize it to be sacred ?

This depicts his astonishment at seeing for the first time the separation of **renga** and **tauo** (**tofua**), his praise of the chief, and the rhetorical question as to why the innovation was made.

The actual process of separation is done as before, but with even more precautions. The scum of **koa** is swept off before the pouring starts, but one danger is from the light filmy suspended matter known as **toao** or **soro**. This is apt to veil the **renga**, so that if it has not set properly some of it is poured off with the water, unseen by the expert. He has to be very alert, with thumb ever-ready to check the flow immediately he sees the colour of **renga** beneath the **toao** film. It is with this critical situation in particular that the tapu of the rotoa and its silence are correlated.

Once the expert sees that the turmeric has in fact settled firmly at the bottom he orders the bowl to be tipped up and the water poured completely off. The **renga** then appears as a dark red slime. The expert scrapes this out with his fingers into a small bowl held below; it comes away fairly cleanly, revealing beneath a yellow deposit of **tauo**. This is left untouched for the time, though a couple of cups of fresh water are run over its surface to wash down the last traces of **renga**. As each of the larger bowls is relieved of its **renga** into the smaller bowls, these are set as closely as possible round the marking stone of the **rotoa**. In this neighbourhood, presumably, the **manu** is strongest. They are placed carefully on little mats specially plaited from coconut frond, wedged firm with pebbles, and covered over. There are two sets of these small bowls, one containing the bulk of the **renga**, the other the small amount of pigment held in the water with which the **tauo** was washed down. The **renga** is so precious that no trace of it is wasted; this is a ritual as well as technical precaution, since the deities would be offended at anything savouring of carelessness. The small bowls, **kumete fai renga**, are about two feet long by nine inches deep, and 25 or 30 of them are necessary for the work. Before use they are thoroughly washed out with salt water, and then with fresh, and then rubbed inside and out with the **pauango** residue.

The **rotoa** also has its ritual. Formulae of the **Raufangota Manu** type are recited, particularly with phrases to keep **renga** and **tauo** apart, and to make the yield of the former large. The Ariki Tafua told me that before beginning the separation he muttered

"Tefea ke ?
Sosoa mai ke
Ki a kuou ka anga atu ki toku uruango
Tau nea ka fakatonu ki a ke
Ma tau tupua na."

"Where art thou ?
Draw hither thou
To me who will face my **uruango**
Thy thing will be confirmed by thee
And thy deity there."

Then, he said, "one grasps the bowl and pours." Another form of words he gave me as permissible to use was as follows (I omit the original to save space):

"Where art thou ?
Draw hither.
Thy thing has been little, but be it enlarged by thee.
Be pressed down the **tauo** to sleep tightly,
And rise only the **renga** to sleep thickly above."

These appeals are directed to an ancestor, his familiar spirit. Under the title of "Name" (his personal name being borne by the chief) he can be addressed more fully as follows:

"Tefea ke, Ingoa, E !
Puke ke mau ko te sua renga
Kae taotao ifo ki raro ko te isu kumete
Kae fakarere ki a kuou ko te toao ke to
Ke na fakameriaina mai
Anea o faoa ku o mai ku pe sora ki a ko taua
Fai mai ki te taranga laui mou mo taua
Ke tangi fakaue mou."

"Where art thou, Name, O!
Grasp firmly the **renga** liquid
And press down below the nose of the bowl
And cause to run to me the **toao** to fall
That we be not laughed at.
Property of the folk who have come has been handed over utterly to us two,
Act so that there is a good word for thyself and us two,
That a cry of thanks may be for thee."

This formula is reminiscent of the attitude of the Ariki Tafua in the canoe and fishing rites: an appeal to the amour propre of the ancestor. But it also shows the sense of responsibility of the expert for the turmeric entrusted to his charge by his partners.

According to the Ariki Tafua, when the **tauo** comes up with the **renga** this is the doing of the atua; but when the expert observes that the layers are solid, he knows that the deities are with him. He calls "Lift it up", and the water is poured without fear.

The formulae used by the Ariki Kafika are of the same general type as those quoted, but he makes more play with such phrases as "Sleep firmly your perfume ....", in reference to the special controlling role of the Atua i Kafika.

After the **renga** had been dealt with the golden **tauo** was scraped out from the various bowls into a single bowl and kneaded up with water (e natu).

The rest of this day's work consisted of the processing of the turmeric of the second **eke** in the **tafatafa**. In this work women were brought in to help, since the tapu of the enclosure applied only while the turmeric of the chief was being handled there. But the women were given the more mechanical tasks, as the carrying of the grated turmeric and feed-

ing the filters with water.

On the following day the **renga** of the chief was finally extracted in the rotoa, and the separation of **renga** and **tauo** of the second **eke** made.

BAKING THE TURMERIC

The final operation in the manufacture of the turmeric pigment is the baking. This is done by putting a thick mixture of **renga** and water, with a little coconut oil, into a wooden cylinder and cooking it for many hours in an earth oven. This oven is of a similar type to that used for preparing food, but is of less diameter and deeper, and is reserved for baking turmeric alone. The wooden cylinders, known as **taonga** (**tao** meaning to bake in an oven) or simply as **umu** (ovens) are highly valued. Each is carved from a single block of wood, nowadays with mallet and sharpened spike nail, and the interior is carefully smoothed. The exterior is frequently roughly ornamented in simple geometrical designs. The wood used is usually **fetau**, a hard timber used also for canoes, but sometimes **poumuri**, a softer wood is employed. The range of their dimensions can be seen from the following series of measurements of six specimens (now in the collection of the Australian National Research Council in Sydney):

Total Height	Interior Depth	Thickness of Wall at Mouth	Interior Diameter at Mouth
Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches
13½	11½	9/16	4⅞
13¼	11½	½	4¾
11	9½	⅜	4
12½	10½	7/16	4⅜
9	8	⅜	3½
6½	5⅜	5/16	2⅝

Greater value is attached to some cylinders than to others. Not only are the larger ones more prized, but those are deemed the best which have thin walls and a bore which is almost cylindrical, not greatly tapering. These are of course the most difficult to make. Their virtue is that they are **umu kave renga**, "ovens carrying turmeric", or **umu kave riu**, "ovens carrying interior" - they will hold a large quantity. A cylinder with a small tapering bore is umu

kave penu, "an oven carrying husk". Though these **taonga** are conveniently referred to as "cylinders" they are only approximately so; in all cases they are slightly tapered from the open end. The closed end is perforated, the hole being used to blow air through to expel the cooked turmeric, and to take a cord for hanging up the cylinder when it is not in use. The cylinders are usually kept slung together in pairs over a beam.

Large cylinders are especially appropriate for providing the turmeric of chiefs - size being here as elsewhere a correlate of rank. Such cylinders often have titles of their own, either commemorating the name of the maker, or his fancy. In Tafua, one large cylinder is known as Fongarunga, "Crest Above"; its fellow Fongarēnga, "Turmeric Crest", broke and was thrown away. These larger cylinders are handed down as heirlooms, and the names of the makers are remembered from one generation to another.

The decoration applied to cylinders has no ritual meaning; it is similar in style to that applied to dance-bats, betel-mortars and clubs.

On the day of turmeric-baking in Tafua the cylinders were taken down and looked over for flaws; they were then washed. The hole in the base of each was stopped with a small screw of bark-cloth, te **umuti**, the plug. One of the larger ones was filled to the brim with water, which was emptied into a bowl, to estimate its capacity, especially with reference to the amount of dilution of the turmeric with water needed in cooking. "The water is poured in to observe from it how great is the size of the cylinder; proportionate to the turmeric which will be brought to be mixed with water."

Attention was then turned to the earth oven. This was at one end of the chief's house, Motuapi. The first operation was to put up a wind-shelter (**saisai**) round it, made of poles and sheets of thatch, and for easy access some of the end thatch of the building itself was removed.

The oven is an important ritual object. It has its own tutelary deities, the most prominent being female, since the tending of ovens is largely women's work. The **atua tau umu** of Kafika are Pu Fafine, who controls the bottom(tolo) of the oven; Pufine i Ravenga under the name of Raupenapena on one side, and Te Atua i te Uruao, under the name of Tupuasei, on the other. The two former are female deities. The principal guardian of the oven of Tafua is Pufine i Fiora. She is believed to assist the expert in a practical way by making the level of turmeric rise in the cylinder while it is baking,

that is, giving a bigger yield. Of such an oven it is said **e manutia,** it is endowed with efficacy. To the oven of Tafua also come Feke the Octopus God, husband of Pufine i Fiora, and their son Tufaretai, one of the special deities of Fusi house.

At the end of each **nuanga** the oven is filled in. It has therefore to be dug out again afresh each season. This is a ritual operation, prefaced by an appropriate formula. As the stake of the digger is driven into the soil he calls to the chief "Here, the oven!" The chief then appeals to the oven gods. The formula given me by the Ariki Tafua for this was

"Tafuri ke Pufine
Ki tau umu ka penapena atu
Tikona veronga renga ke sopo
Ke tu pe se kafi alili."

Turn you, Ancestress
To your oven about to be prepared
Excrete upon the poured-in turmeric
to jump over
To stand like the flesh of the sea-snail".

The appeal is for an increase of turmeric, the metaphor of excretion coming in again, as discussed in Chapter X. The simile of the sea-snail was explained as due to an analogy between the opening of the turmeric cylinder and that of the snail's shell. The pigment is desired to creep up in the cylinder and overflow just as the foot of the snail spreads out from the shell.

The Ariki Kafiki told me that he himself drove in the stick first, and recited

"Soka manu ko totou umu
Pu ma tau umu
Tupuasei ma Pufafine ma Raupenapena."

"Pierce with efficacy your oven
Ancestral guardians of the oven
Tupuasei and Pufafine and Raupenapena."

The oven was then cleared to a depth of about three feet, the fire was started and stones were piled over it to heat.

The next operation was the preparation of the pigment. The bowls were brought from the **rotoa,** and the turmeric kneaded up with the water, more water being added if required. On the correct consistency of the liquid depends much of the uccess of the baking to differences in this, in con-

junction with fluctuations in the temperature of the oven are probably due most of the failures of the finished product which the Tikopia attribute to the influence of **atua** or broken tapu. Great care was used at this stage. As the chief was kneading the mass he said to the people around "Look here first of all." Those watching said "But what is going to be done? Why not yourself look after your own turmeric, act according to your own wish, to your thought!" This was largely politeness. "It is constantly done in the **eke** as they proceed", I was told. The rest of the people did not interfere, and proferred little advice. There are three stages of viscosity recognised at this stage:

Te renga e soko - it is still thick, falling in blobs. It is **suasuamatu** - thinner, but still not flowing freely. It is **tere** - of a proper thin consistency, running freely from the fingers. In this last it is in a fit state for the oven.

A small amount of coconut oil is also needed in baking; this is poured into the cylinder first, the correct measure being that it just covers the finger-nail of the expert when he touches the bottom. This is **sinu o te renga**. According to the Ariki Kafika the expert may also repeat a formula at this point:

"Look to the valuables of your turmeric to sleep properly".

The filling of the wooden cylinder is a highly ritual affair. The Ariki Tafua wound a new bark-cloth round his waist, and kneeling, elevated the bowl of liquid in formal fashion, orienting it towards the cylinder, which was held by an assistant. In this position he recited a formula, which he gave me later, as follows :

"Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae Matapula!
Tau uruango ka vero atu
Verovero manu ko te uruango."

"I eat ten times your excrement, Matapula!
Your **uruango** is to be poured out
Pour out with efficacy the **uruango**".

He appealed to the Atua i Kafika here, since this was one of the most critical moments of the **nuanga**. The Ariki Kafika gave me a formula which was closely akin to a portion of the **Raufangota Manu**, its main stress being an appeal to prestige.

"Turn you to your **nuanga**
And to your perfume, to turn out well,
To be secured a mark for you.
Stand firmly in your **nuanga**
Nor lead away a rumour to other **nuanga**
That our **nuanga** has been bad
Lest you be laughed at here."

"It is recited only for the turmeric to be good," said the chief in comment on this formula. The formula at this stage is termed the Veronga Renga, from the action of levelling the bowl.

The turmeric liquid was then poured into the cylinder, and at the same time the Ariki Tafua said

"Tiko tiko tiko, tiko, tiko,
Solo ke pi, solo ke sa."

This was one of the very few formulae that were recited aloud. It is difficult to render the meaning of this in a form both concise and exact. It is essentially the same motif of excretion representing metaphorically productivity. **Tiko** is the ordinary word for excretion, and **solo** is an adjunct descriptive of diarrhoetic faeces. What is demanded is that the turmeric shall rise above its natural level so that the cylinder is brim-full (**pi**) and the material appears (**sa**) over the edge. Another variant of the formula given me by the Ariki Kafika was

"Tiko ke, Pu E, ki te taonga
Ke pi ke maua ko tou tusi".
"Excrete, Ancestor, into the cylinder
To fill it that your mark may be secure".

In another variant the turmeric is required to "jump" - over the edge of the vessel. This formula is termed "the taurangi of the turmeric which will appear". While the formula of the **veronga renga** was being repeated the people present bowed their heads, and no one might look, but when they heard the **taurangi** they all looked up to see the liquid rise in the cylinder.

The liquid was stirred with a thin rod cut from the midrib of a cocnut frond; this was called "the paddle". The expert told his assistant to stir "pulling the liquid upwards", so that an even mixture was assured. The other cylinders were filled without ceremony. Half-a-dozen were baked at the one time.

The oven was prepared by spreading the glowing stones to get an even heat, and a thick lining of leaves was

put in to prevent the cylinders from being burnt. As each type of leaf was put in it was announced - by implication to the invisible deities. "Ia! te ravai." "Ia ! te valu." "Ia! te repa." The cylinders were then set upright in the pit and wedged firmly. As the first of them was lifted the formulae just mentioned were repeated, backed by another:

"Tikona e a kotou Sa-te-umu E!
Ke sopo".
"Be excreted by you, People of the Oven,
To jump over".

To protect the surface of the liquid from the oven coverings, small bars (oka) of cocnut midrib were laid crosswise on top of each cylinder. Here again a formula was recited :

"Ia! tou oka ne ta mai i te uru o Reani,
Peia ke pa i te uru o Tumuaki.
Ia! tou oka ne ta i te uru o Korofau,
Peia ke pa i te uru o Tafaronga."

"Here! Your bar which was cut on the top of
Reani,
Be it thrown to thud on the top of Tumuaki.
Here ! your bar which was cut on the top of
Korofau,
Be it thrown to thud on the top of Tafaronga."

A variant of this was given me by the Ariki Kafika:

"Ia! te oka.
Tou oka ne ta i Te Urufenua,
Seua ke pa i Tumuaki."

"Here! the bar.
Your bar was cut on the Head of the Land,
Be it glanced aside to thud on Tumuaki."

The proper names mentioned are those of hill-tops on the island (See map in We, The Tikopia.) The Head of the Land is a metaphor for Reani, the highest peak. The demand is purely figurative - that a bar cut from a palm growing on one peak should be pushed up with such force by the rising turmeric that it will be hurled on to another peak a mile away ! Moreover, it is not at all necessary that the bar should have come from the spot mentioned, and in this case they certainly did not. And all that is wanted is that the turmeric shall swell in cooking enough to fill the cylinder.

The oven was then closed with thick pads of

leaves, and left for four hours or so. No formulae were directed towards the turmeric in this period, but in former days, I was told, a kava rite of the **veronga renga** was performed on the first day, when the turmeric of the chief was being baked. On subsequent occasions the "kava" of the turmeric oven was done, with libations only. When I was there, it was made with coconut milk.

When it was judged that the pigment was baked the oven was uncovered. Mats were spread for the oven deities, and a cylinder set up on each, with food from the ordinary oven as offerings. In Motuapi one mat by the lip of the oven was for Nau Fiora and Feke, and another, by one of the posts on the south side of the house, for Tufaretai. Wrappings for the pigment were prepared from strips of bark-cloth, two for each cylinder, and carefully measured against it to leave room for tying. These are termed **kuru**.

Then came the most anxious moment of the whole **nuanga**. The turmeric was to be turned out, and it would be seen whether the operations had been successful. The method of removal was ingenious. The bark-cloth wrappings were laid on the floor, and the wooden cylinder set mouth down in the centre. The plug was removed from the base of the cylinder - often by the teeth of the assistant - and handed to the expert, who tested it with his finger-tip to see if the turmeric was dry. It was so. The assistant then bent over, applied his lips to the hole and blew with all his force. When the turmeric began to move he gently raised his hands, still blowing, until he was able to lift off the cylinder, and reveal a red shining pillar of pigment. This met with the admiration of all. The pigment was immediately wrapped up with extreme gentleness.

As this moment is so critical, formulae are recited to promote a safe delivery. The Ariki Tafua said that used the following:

"Ifoifo laui, ifo
Ki ou koroa ku fora atu".

"Descend properly, descend
On to your property which has been spread out."

The "property" is the bark-cloth wrapping, spoken of in this honorific way as a kind of flattery to the turmeric. The Ariki Kafika said that he appealed to the Atua i Kafika in the following words:

"Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae Pu E !
Toto laui tou manongi."

"I eat ten times your excrement, Ancestor !
Fall properly your perfume."

When the pigment proves refractory, as I saw on subsequent occasions, both practical and ritual measures are used to coax it out. The expert takes over, and strokes down the outside of the cylinder gently. This must be regarded as a sympathetic movement, but the Tikopia give a practical reason for not being more firm; they say if the cylinder be tapped, the pillar of turmeric inside will crack, which seems reasonable. At the same time the expert speaks:

"Fenaifo ki raro ke kofu atu ke ki ou koroa"
"Come down below to be wrapped up in your property" -

or some similar form of words. If the turmeric is still unresponsive, a little oil is poured into the plug-hole, and the cylinder allowed to stand for a few minutes. It is then stroked again, with soothing sounds of "Down, down ..." and blown again. This seems to be always successful. The blowing of the first cylinder after the failure of the turmeric of Pa Fetauta was a matter of great concern. The blower made all kinds of small adjustments nervously before beginning; as the cylinder began to move the heads of the chief and his son bent anxiously down to see if the pigment showed any signs of being too soft, and I heard the chief whisper "Fall properly" to it. But all was well; it came out smoothly, but hard. All were elated. The chief chuckled with delight, and the blower gave a broad wink and a smile around. They told me they were glad this cylinder had turned out well since it showed that the effects of the breach of tapu by Tekarima had passed off. Moreover, it was clear that the chief was pleased because he had been successful in producing good turmeric for his partner. The blowing of the turmeric of the Akoako of the Ariki Kafika is a matter of more than domestic concern; the Ariki Kafika is a day in advance of all others, and if his pigment turns out well it is believed that this is a good augury for all the rest. People say "There, it has fallen properly; now our **nuanga** will be well." The Ariki Kafika himself, imbued with his responsibility, said that he recited formulae not for his turmeric alone, but that the **nuanga** of the whole land might be successful.

Sometimes, as in the case of Pa Fetauta noted, the pigment does turn out badly. This is a source of shame as well as vexation to the owner, since it implies either that he or his people have broken a tapu, or that his **atua** are inefficient. I was told that sometimes a man, seeing his **renga** emerge in bad condition, smashes it up in anger and goes off to his home, to wail a dirge for his misfortune. But this must be an over-statement. When I asked if the turmeric was

thrown away, the Matautu people laughed at the idea; that of Pa Fetauta was at once worked up again in a bowl and baked again. In no circumstances is **renga** which is not of a good colour ever used as food, as Rivers alleges. (**History of Melanesian Society**, I, 328). His statement is due to a confusion between **renga** and **tauo**.

The partners of the **nuanga** work together till the turmeric of all has been properly extracted;no one leaves when his own is through. This co-operation is expressed thus "We make our things, and have finished; if we have gone identically, then are we finished."

RITES OF COMPLETION

Since the rites of the turmeric centre primarily on the various **Uruango**, the celebration of the first successful baking is known as **Fakatutu Uruango** - Setting Up the Uruango. It is a kava rite performed outside the house in the early morning. Its object is a formal acknowledgement to the guardian deities. The kava bowl only is used,but the importance of the occasion is shown by the preparation of roi the evening before. Separate lots of this are made for men and women, that of the latter being eaten in the oven-house. Another feature of importance is the offering of bark-cloth to his ancestors or deities by each partner. When the chief has laid out his cloth, each other partner follows suit, with the words "That is thy **maro**, Male Ancestor." Though the Ariki did not in 1928 perform the kava, he set out his offerings, as follows:

To - The Atua i Kafika, an orange cloth
Te Atua i te Vai , an orange cloth
Pusi Uri (Atua i te Tai), a white cloth
Te Atua i Tafua , a white cloth
Pu Tafua lasi (ancestor), an orange cloth
Pu i Tai , a white cloth
Feke , a white cloth
Nau Fiora , a white bark-cloth square.

Some of these **maro** are set out singly, others are in bundles of two - as those of Te Atua i Vai and Te Atua i Te tai; and Pu i Tai and his father Feke. The formulae recited are of the same general type as those already recorded. An extract from one given by the Ariki Kafika is

"Totou kava tena atua tau nuanga ma Putangata ma.
Ku laui ko totou fekau.
Ku maua ko totou tusi.
Kau kaina fakaangafuri otou tae."

"That is your kava, Guardian Deities of the
nuanga and Male Ancestors.
Your work has been well.
Your mark has been secured.
I eat ten times your excrement".

After this rite the rest of the work proceeds until the whole of the turmeric of each unit has been successfully baked. When this is over the concluding rite of the **nuanga** proper takes place. It is a de- acralising of the oven, accompanied, as in the case of the canoe-rites, by driving off the guardian deities.

The rite of Tafua took place in the early morning, and was prefaced by a meal that for the first time since the work began, was eaten in full daylight. The chief took a water-bottle filled at the flume of the tafatafa and sprinkled the water freely over the oven. This was the **fakatanga** rite. Calling upon the deities by name the chief said

"Tau umu, Pufine, ka fi atu i te pongipongi nei,
Ke fakaranu mou tupua na,
Ke fakamavae ma tau umu."

"Your oven, Ancestress, is being sprinkled
this morning,
To be washed with your deities there,
To part you from your oven". ..... and so
on for the others.

This lustration was believed to render the oven and its vicinity innocuous to human beings now. The pit was then filled in, this giving the name of "Bury Oven" to the concluding **eke** of the season, though its members do not necessarily perform this task.

The sprinkling of the oven was followed by another rite of separation, the **Fakarere Nga Atua**, the "Causing the Gods to Fly". No formulae were repeated, but a plain indication was given that their presence was no longer required. Buttresses of the Tahitian chestnut were beaten with staves, old canoe hulls and bowls were banged, shrieks of **Iefu! Iefu!** split the air. The Ariki Tafua said to me, "The guardian deities of the **nuanga** are invited to go." It seems an ignominious reward, but the Tikopia do not see it thus. The function of the rite was wider, also. It marked the formal conclusion of the time of tapu; restrictions on food, posture, social and sexual intercourse were now removed, and in actual fact as distinct from spirit theory it was really a celebration of freedom regained.

The **tauo**, which had meanwhile been lying in a bowl in the **rotoa**, now came into the proceedings again. It was put into a bag of **kaka** fibre, where it slowly dried into a yellow powder this was drawn upon for food as required. But on the final day of the **nuanga** a special dish was prepared, in which **tauo** was the principal ingredient. This was **sua tauo**, a kind of sago pudding made by bringing a mixture of sago, coconut cream and **tauo** to the boil in a bowl, with hot stones. This pleasant yellow pudding made a kind of parting feast for the members of the **nuanga** before they left for their homes.

MARKING OF THE TURMERIC

The turmeric ritual does not end with the **nuanga**. By way of epilogue comes the imprinting of the sacred pigment in the temples of the gods. Owing to the defection of the Ariki Tafua I saw only the fragments of this ritual, and the account here is given from what I was told by him, the Ariki Kafika, and some other men, of what used to take place.

Nowadays, after the **nuanga**, the turmeric pillars are unwrapped, worked up with oil till they are of the consistency of stiff putty, then rolled up in a banana leaf and in bark-cloth. After a few months, when hard, they are re-wrapped and bound round with sinnet cord, to hang up undisturbed from the roof, perhaps for years.

In former times, a few days after the "blowing" the turmeric "was conveyed to Uta". The way was led by the Akoako of Kafika, in accordance with its importance as the perfume of the presiding deity, and this gave the signal for the turmeric of the other chiefs and their elders to be taken also. Their turn came the next day. The turmeric packages were carried on long sticks, on men's shoulders, to the temples of their clan whichever it might be. There, the **renga** of the whole clan were ranged in line, before the chief, and the rite began. From the simplest point of view the rite consisted only in rubbing a succession of strokes with the turmeric-covered finger-tip on various structural portions of the building. It significance was, however, much more than that. Each mark of the **renga** was a stroke made as an offering to an **atua** as a recognition of the part he had played in the extraction of the turmeric. And it will be remembered that various timbers of the building are regarded as sacred to specific deities, and even as embodiments of them. The marking is then a form of decoration of the god, akin to the putting of bands of turmeric on the body and arms of a spirit medium.

The procedure was for the chief to open each package in turn, rub his finger on the top of it, and then smear the appropriate post or rafter. The mark, termed **tusi**

(the word being used nowadays for European writing) was about an inch in length.

The tusi, as so many other rites, had its definite order of precedence. On the first day the Ariki Kafika made the marks in Kafika temple; on the next the Ariki Taumako did likewise in Taumako temple. The Ariki Tafua, who came next, took three days or longer, and the Ariki Fangarere completed the ritual with a day for Nukuora.

But there was a still further order prescribed. In each case the **tusi** were not made haphazard, but in a definite sequence. Thus in Kafika temple the order was:

Pu Ma (two strokes, one each for Tafaki and Karisi);
Futi o te Kere (Atua i Raropuka)
Te Ariki Tapu (Atua i Kafika)
Raki-te-ua (Atua i Tafua)
Sakura (Atua i Taumako)
The Kau firifiri (chiefly ancestors, each one stroke).

Each time the chief said, "That is your mark ...." calling the name of the deity or ancestor concerned. Then kava was performed with the **raurau kumete**, and the usual libations poured.

Events in the case of Tafua were more complex. The chief went first to Tafua temple, and made a set of markings for the benefit of his ancestors on the end of the house to the north. Then he went to the small temple known as Te Toka, or Te Fare Fiti, since its guardian deity was the Atua Fiti. A tree was cut down - a sapling of paper mulberry- and tied up horizontally at one end of the house. The chief then spread a number of bark-cloths on this beam, so that they hung down to the ground. On one side the cloth of the Atua i Tafua was hung, and that of the Eel God; on the other that of Meteua, the Atua Fiti. The filter-cloth from the **nuanga**, a tapu object, was also hung up there. Then a **tusi** was made for the principal deities of the clan, one to a rafter. The order here was: Te Atua i Tafua; Tuna toto; Pusi; Te Atua Fiti; Nga Ariki (i.e. Pu Ma) - the last on a single rafter. The kava was then made in the usual way.

On the following day the chief went to Tafua temple, and the marking was done on the inland side of the building. Here the order was: Te Atua i Tafua; Te Atua Lasi; Te Atua i Sao; Te Atua i Fusi; Pu Tafua Lasi. On the third day the **tusi** were made on the south side of the house, to Te Ariki Vai and Pusi toto. It will have been noted that marks had already been made for these two Eel Gods in the small temple, under other names. This was explained by the chief as

due to the fact that the former were their names for the sacred adzes, while the latter were their names for the **nuanga.**

The general function of the **tusi** rite was thus in directly linking up the turmeric extraction, an external activity with primarily an economic object, to the religious system of gods, ancestors and temples which was focussed upon Uta. By this means the nuanga was made to form an integral part of the whole season of the Work of the Gods.

Each evening the **roi** was prepared and the kava performed the next morning. On the final day a variation was made in the presentation of the kava stem. Instead of having its leaves removed, as usual, the bush had its leaves tied up, was dug up and removed entire to the temple. This is a peculiarity for which no explanation could be given by my informants. But its function probably lies simply in giving an individuality to this Tafua rite; such small differences are common in Tikopia, giving a touch of privilege to an otherwise uniform rite.

Some time after, at no fixed interval, the Ariki Tafua made his **tusi** in Motuapi in Faea. (I saw these marks when I attended his **nuanga**, and they first drew my attention to this phase of the ritual, which I had imagined to be finished.) Here the order of precedence of the deities differs somewhat from that in Uta, and some different ones are included. In Motuapi the first is the Atua i Tafua. A formula is recited asking him for general benefits:

"Here! Your mark, Raki-te-ua
Turn to your mark
Which is being marked on this morning.
It is marked for welfare,
That a calm may fall,
To lay down the leaf of the wind."

Next follows a stroke to his "Mother", whose name is unknown. "The mark of your Mother there !" On the adjoining timber a mark is made to the Ariki Vai, and beside it one to Matapula (the Atua i Kafika), and then one to Pu Tafua Lasi. These are all at the northern end of the building. At the southern end **tusi** are then made to: Sa Tai (including Tufaretai); Toki Tai te kere and Tarikotu (together); Pu Tau Fiti; Te Arafonu (Pu Kafika Lasi); Pu Veterei and Tangata o Namo (together); Foki-mainiteni. Here several marks are made for spirits who do not figure in the direct ancestral line, but who were related to Tafua through their mothers and were men of **manu** in their lifetime.

The rite at Motuapi does not fall within the

actual sequence of the Work of the Gods. The end of the **tusi** in Tafua is the signal for the Ariki Fangarere to go to Nukuora. That same evening **roi** is made for Marae, and the ground is cleared for the ritual dances there of the following day. The proceedings at Tafua often used to be a source of vexation to the other chiefs. Three days was the normal span, but no interference was possible if the Ariki Tafua extended the period. The other chiefs complained bitterly that in the time of Pukenga, the preceding chief, three or four days at the most sufficed him; but that the present chief, before he gave up the visit to Uta, delayed greatly. He would **tusi** one day, then rest for a day or two, **tusi** again, and rest again, while the other chiefs were fretting (**talali**) to proceed to the Dance. The other side of the matter was given by the Ariki Tafua himself. He said, "It is good for a young man to go daily to make the marks, but for an old man - he becomes sick of it. It is good if he is living in Namo and can come over by canoe, but if he is living in Faea he becomes very tired." This illustration reinforces a general point that underlies much of the Work of the Gods - that conformity to ritual is not an automatic affair, the easiest way of behaving; it demands a sacrifice in time and energy.

DANCE SONGS OF TURMERIC-EXTRACTION

The work and ritual of turmeric extraction are now over. But the activity has repercussions on the social life of the people afterwards, which must be briefly mentioned. The yield of pigment of the different **nuanga**, the skill of experts and incidents in the **nuanga** group are topics of conversation for months afterwards. Specifically, they become enshrined in more permanent form by being used as themes for dance songs. I recorded nine of these songs, and there were doubtless many more that I could have secured by further inquiry. One of their most noticeable characteristics is their preoccupation with the purely technical details of the process of extraction. It seems clear that this is a correlate of the interest taken in the process, and the value attached to the skill of the expert. Translations of two songs will serve to illustrate this. The first, an ancient song of the **ngore** type, deals with the early stages of extraction:

Tafito: "Sleep for the turmeric
Which will be grated there.
Plait mats
For depositing it, O !
Bring it hither, pour it in front of the house.

Kupu : Divide it among the turmeric-separating filters;
Its filter-cloths have been prepared, O !
The experts go and divide it among the bowls."

The second song was composed by Pu Torokinga, father of the present elder of that name. This refers to the preparations for baking the pigment.

Tafito : "Bring it hither, and pour, pour
Its oil first,
First into the cylinder.
Let the **renga** rise
And stand up like a pudding of coconut cream.

Kupu . The expert handling the **renga** is busy, is busy;
Are busy, are busy his hands
With things of the land."

The phrase "things of the land" conveys the idea of the value and interest of the product to all the people.It will be noted that in both songs reference is made to the expert, deemed to be a crucial factor in the productive process. Four out of the nine songs refer specifically to the expert by title, and three others to his functions.

One of these songs is of peculiar interest inthat it refers to an archaic type of **nuanga**. This is known as the **nuanga nunu**, as distinct from the **nuanga sanasana** of today. The difference is one of technical procedure, not of ritual and organization. The exact nature of the **nuanga nunu** process is not very clear to me, since it seems to have died out about fifty years before I was in Tikopia, and no old men then living had seen it. Those of the generation immediately before them, as the mother's brother of the present Ariki Kafika, and the father of Pa Torokinga, were said to have participated in it. Its distinguishing features appears to have been a differential decantation of **renga** and **tauo**, with the turmeric in suspension, not settled as a deposit at the bottom of the bowl. The old men said that the **pauango** was filtered with the filter-fibre not in a funnel, but held on a kind of ladder; after the filtrate had stood for a time it was transferred to smaller bowls, and the separation of **renga** and tauo was then made directly. The expert stirred up the **renga** with his hand, and then let it run out over his fingers,judging by its colour when it was time to stop and divert the **tauo** into another bowl. It was said that the expert needed a strong wrist, as his hand was liable to be "gripped" by the tauo and held. It was said also that the **nuanga nunu** required more skill than the **nuanga sanasana**, so that whilenowadays every expert, good or indifferent, gets some yield, formerly some got a yield and others got none at all. It appears in fact to have been a less efficient process than that of the present time.

The old type of **nuanga**, like the present type,

was believed to have originated at Somosomo, on the initiative of the Atua i Kafika. The stone which now stands in Somosomo marks the site of the old **nuanga nunu.** Another name for this technique was **te rafu,** or **rarafu,** rendered poetically as **rorofu.**

The song mentioned commemorates an incident which befel Pu Saukirima while he was helping the expert. His hand was held in the **tauo** (as in sodden sand) and he had to call for aid.

Tafito: "Popokio te tauo na
Te nafa e ta e tangi moi i rorofu.

Kupu : Ka popo ka paku
Ka popo ka pipiki
Rere ki runga
'Ni vai, ni vai
Ke vave ifo ki oku rima.'"

"The tauo there is touched
The trough when struck rings hither in
turmeric-getting.

When touched it will resound,
When touched it will grip,
Starting up,
'Some water, some water
To (run) down quickly on to my hands'."

CHAPTER XIII

THE FINAL RITES

Like the Work of the Monsoon, that of the Trade-Wind has as its climax dancing of a religious order, but the time occupied is much less. The focus of interest in the Work of the Trade-Wind is undoubtedly the extraction of turmeric, and the later rites are regarded as being really an appendage to this. The name of these succeeding rites, the **Ururenga**, literally "Turmeric Head", bears this out. They are divided into two sets: the **Ururenga** of Marae, which is the counterpart of the **Taomatangi** of the monsoon season; and the **Ururenga Nga Vaka**, which represents the canoe rites of the monsoon season. Both are curtailed considerably from their counterparts, and no really new features are introduced, so that a very brief description of them will suffice.

The **Ururenga** of Marae begins when the "marking" of the temple of Nukuora is over. The Marae is cleared, the little temples of Matangi-aso and Rarofiroki are re-carpeted, the **epa** mat is spread, the fare kava set up and dismantled, and the dancing takes place. The people dance for two days only, with performance of **vetu**, and **sore** in the evening, and apportionment of areca-nut, but without any women on the inland border of the sacred place. For expedience the clans pair off, Kafika and Fangarere combined on the first day, and Tafua and Taumako on the second. There is no ritual at night corresponding to the Dance of the Flaming Fire. On the following morning Marae is de-sacralised by the rite of "clapping in the spaces between the houses" (see Chapter IX) and the people disperse.

Then comes the **Ururenga** of the Canoes, which is really a celebration of the **Fainga Vaka** type. The main question of interest at first is whether Vakamanongi shall "fall singly" or whether the other most sacred canoes shall be also celebrated on the same day. (The only rite of the **Ururenga** which I attended, about a month after my arrival in Tikopia, was that performed by the Ariki Taumako, over his canoes Tukupasia and Te Rurua. At that time I had no conception of the huge systematic ritual structure of which this formed a part.) After the celebration of these most sacred canoes the Ariki Kafika goes to Takarito and re-carpets it, and then at intervals one or other of the remaining sacred vessels has the **Ururenga** performed for it, in the manner described in Volume I. There is no fixed time for these rites; it rests at the wish of each canoe-owner and the convenience of his chief. In these intermittent canoe celebrations, then, the Work of the Gods of the trade-wind season comes to an end.

CONCLUSION

My account of this elaborate dual seasonal cycle of Tikopia religious rites is now finished. To use the words of the people themselves in speaking of the completion of their ritual - " **Ku fakasiki Te Raranga a Nga Atua**","The Plaiting of the Gods has been ornamented."

This long account is primarily an empirical record of field-observation and information imparted, with theoretical interpretation introduced when necessary only to explain. In the study of Polynesian religion so much has been re-construction, so little the result of the actual observation of rites that a statement of the facts, in detail, has seemed to me to be the most imperative need. This citation of detail, though intricate, makes clear two important points. First, it shows that small differences in procedure are vital to the natives - they give just that individuality and personal touch in each case to the relations with the unseen world which is the essence of a living cult. Secondly, it shows the fallacy of interpreting differences in a type of formula used on a certain occasion as simply deviants or corruptions of an originally "pure" text. Failures in memory and in individual transmission do occur, but of more sociological importance is the examination of variant formulae in relation to differences in rank, social standing, individual interests and even character and personality.

In the Work of the Gods it is clear that we have a tremendous mass of detail which is not irrelevant to the main theme, but is the very stuff of religious reality to the Tikopia; it is co-ordinated, woven together into a significant pattern by a scheme of beliefs closely integrated with the particular native social structure. All the ritual procedure, in its minute variants, has a self-consistency and a reality, once granted the premises of the Tikopia themselves.

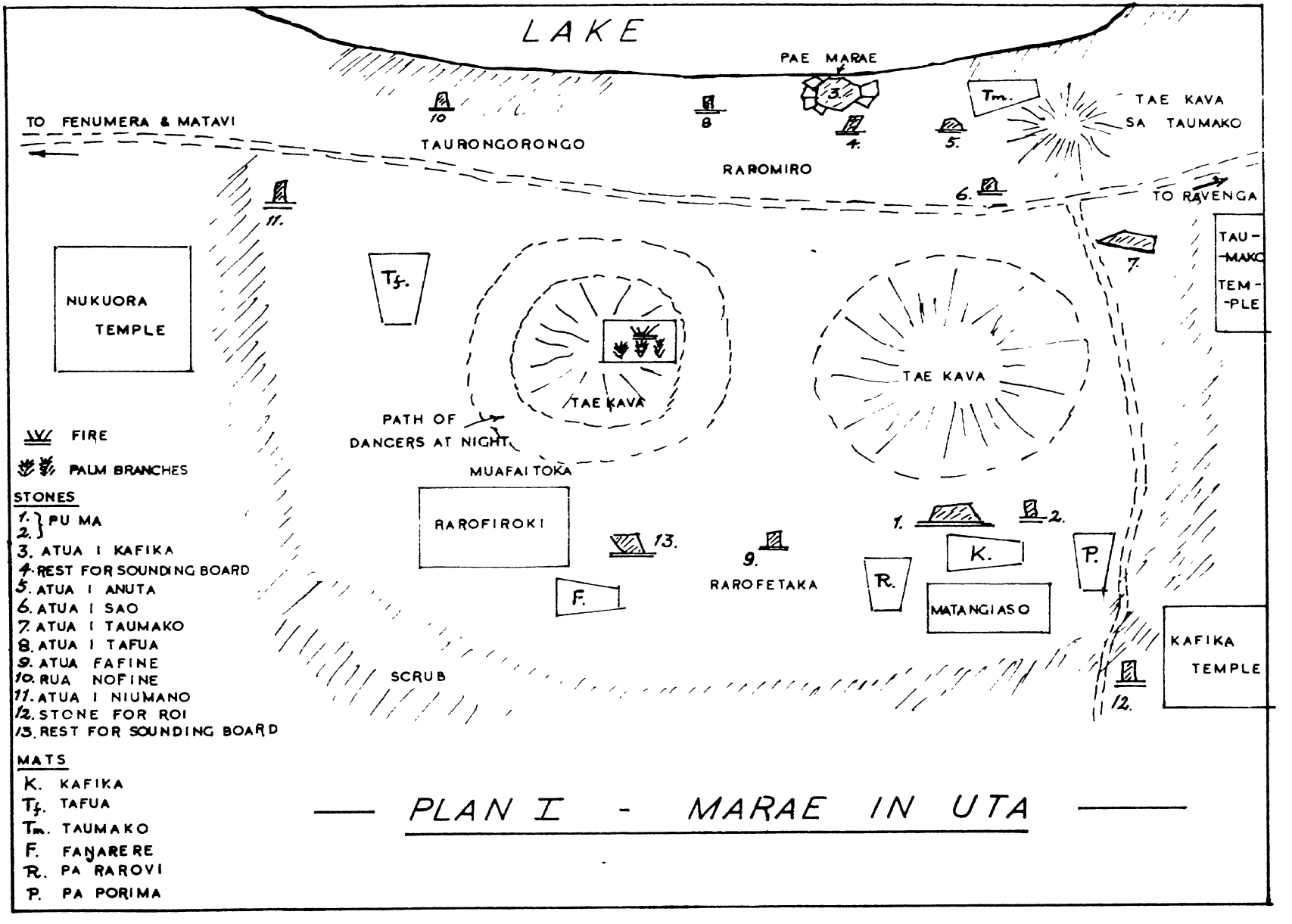
The broad character of these premises has emerged in the course of this book. The most fundamental is the existence of a set of invisible beings, ancestors and spirits who may be called deities, known by the generic term of **atua**. These beings too are co-ordinated; they have a social organization parallel to that of the Tikopia, and from our point of view essentially an imaginative and emotional projection of this. With powers greater than those of men these beings nevertheless have human attitudes - they respond like men to the appeals of flattery, gifts, cajolery, pity; they can be shamed into action, and they can be swayed by involving their prestige. In brief, they have a moral responsibility, though this is not to be defined in terms of European notions of good and evil. They are not the personifications of chance, or of

blind fate; they are bound by rules, and their essential role is to afford help to men who know and keep these rules. But they are not to be controlled by all men indiscriminately; it is necessary to have prior links with them in terms of the social structure.

A second basic premise is that the activity of these invisible beings shows itself in visible, material results. This situation is crystallized in the term manu equivalent to the **mana** of other Polynesian communities.) This **manu** is not the figment of anthropological theory, a vague concept of impersonal power; nor is it simply the mainspring of magic, as opposed to religion. It is an idea more concrete than the one, and more general than the other. In its broadest form it is the correlate of any belief that human efforts, unaided, are insufficient for success; that there is an unknown factor in the equation between man and nature. But it is not the principle of success in abstract form; it is the concrete manifestation of the results.

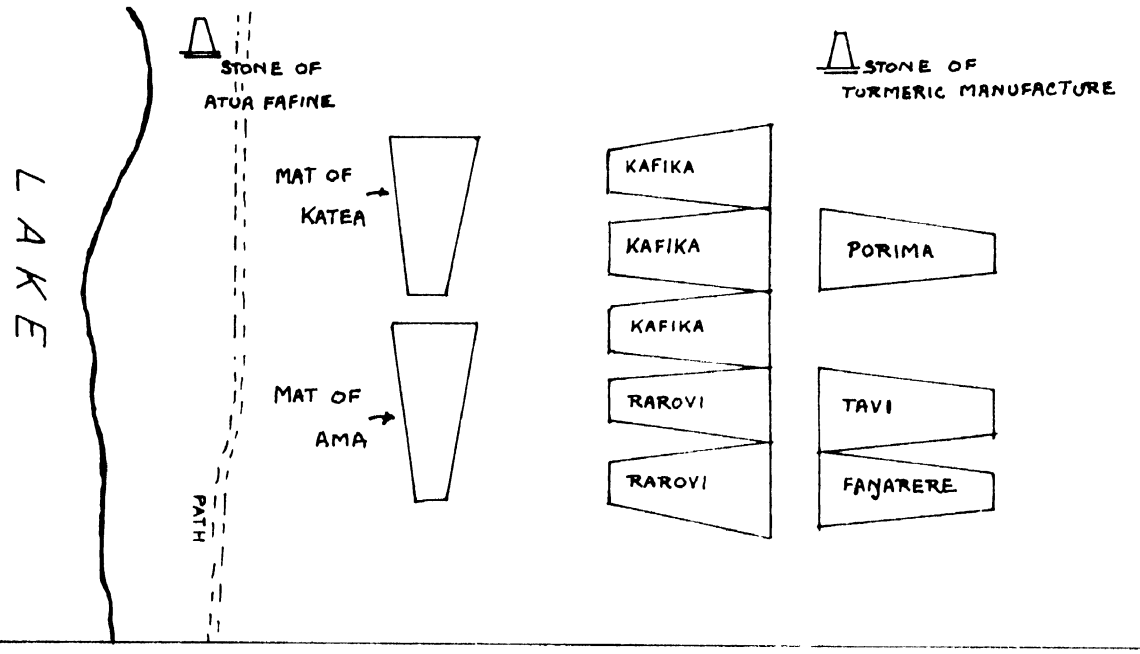
I cannot enter here into other theoretical problems raised by this material - the analysis of Tikopia formulae and their imagery; the inadequacy of commonly accepted criteria for drawing a distinction between magic and religion; or the relation between past and present which is expressed in myths, formulae and rites. But it will be clear that in this Tikopia seasonal cycle we have not only a cult of nature, but also the high point of a richly ornamented religious system which grips technology and human artefacts into an integrated scheme of belief, which provides a periodic means of expression of social differences and re-affirmation of the social structure; which idealizes the past and uses it as a tool in the processes of the present; and which while seeming to cater for the satisfaction of immediate material wants in reality exemplifies for this community a set of values far transcending their own conceptions of what they need.

DIAGRAMS AND PLATES

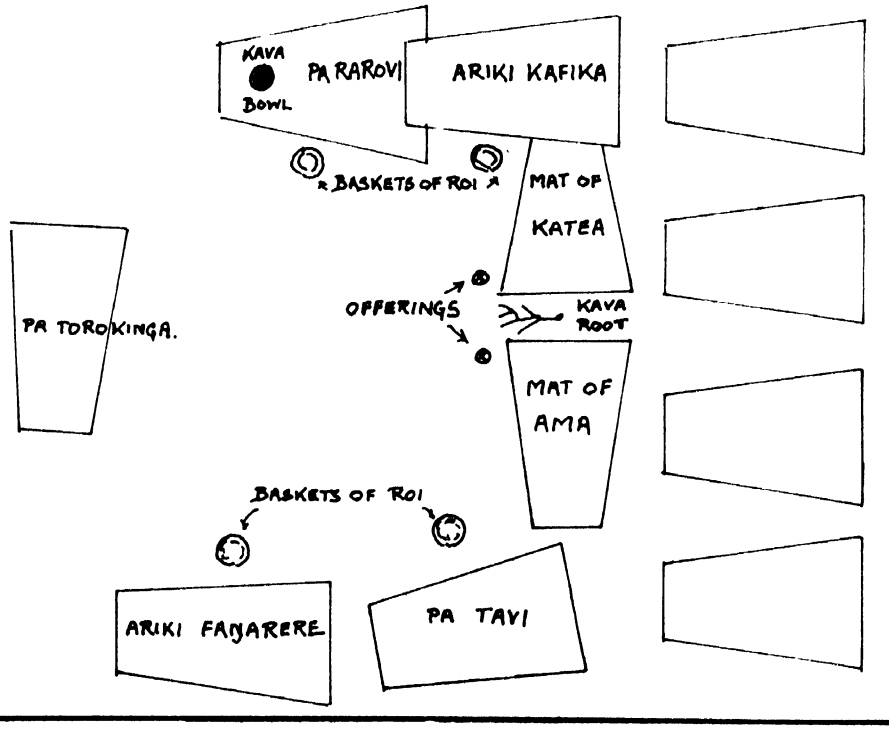


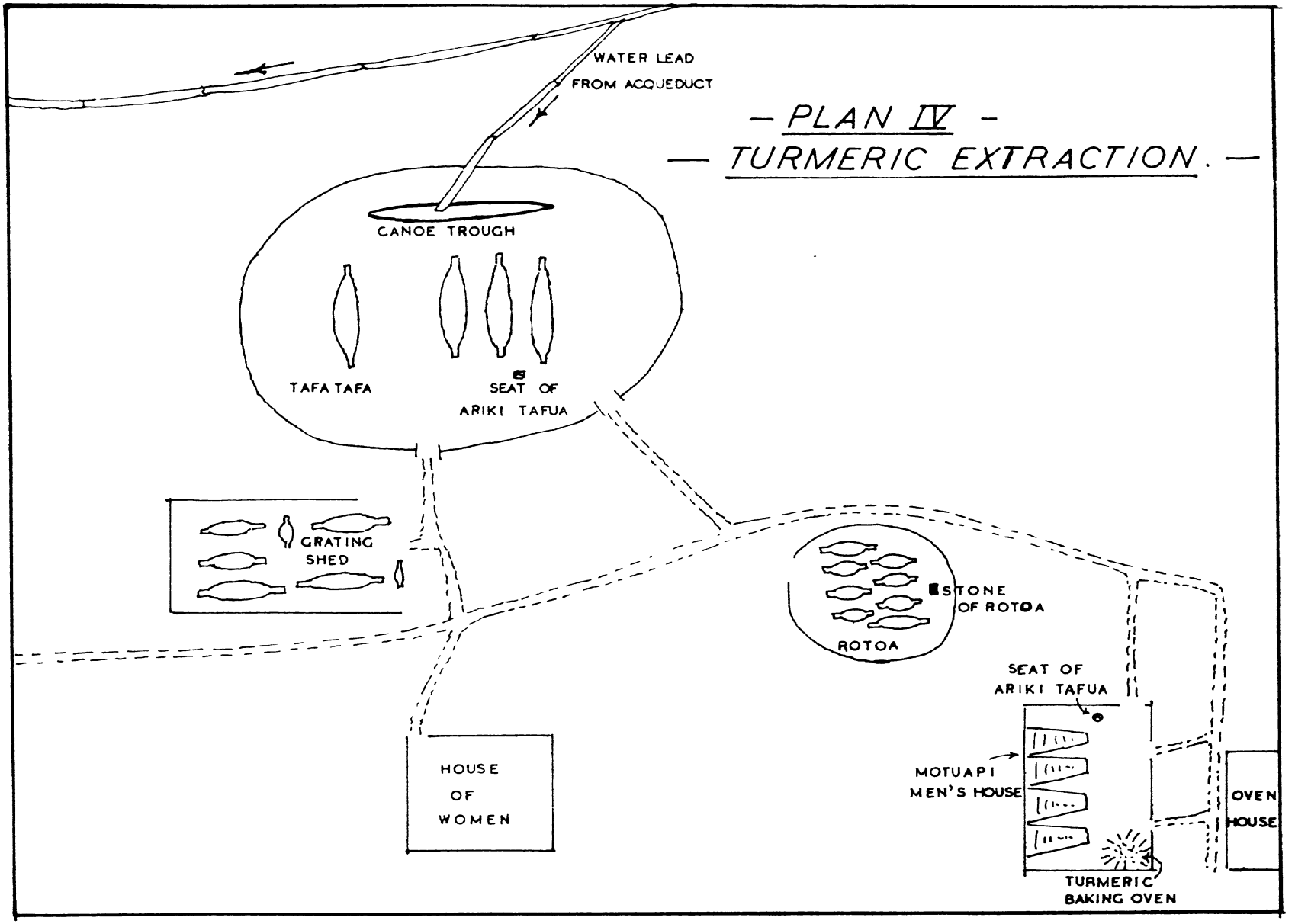
PLAN I - MARAE IN UTA

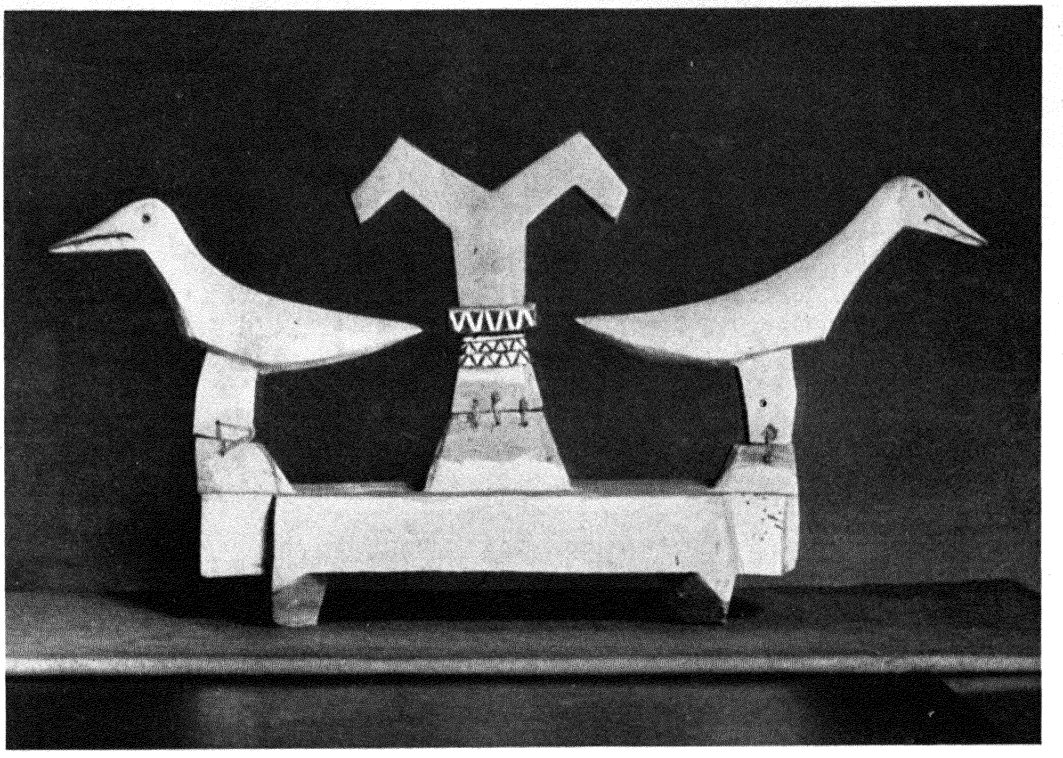
PLAN II — SPREADING OF MATS AT SOMOSOMO



PLAN III — EVENING KAVA AT SOMOSOMO




WATER LEAD
FROM ACQUEDUCT
— PLAN IV —
— TURMERIC EXTRACTION. —
CANOE TROUGH
TAFA TAFA
SEAT OF
ARIKI TAFUA
GRATING
SHED
STONE
OF ROTOA
ROTOA
SEAT OF
ARIKI TAFUA
MOTUAPI
MEN'S HOUSE
OVEN
HOUSE
HOUSE
OF
WOMEN
TURMERIC
BAKING OVEN



Frontispiece.
Manu Tapu and Turi as Canoe Ornaments.

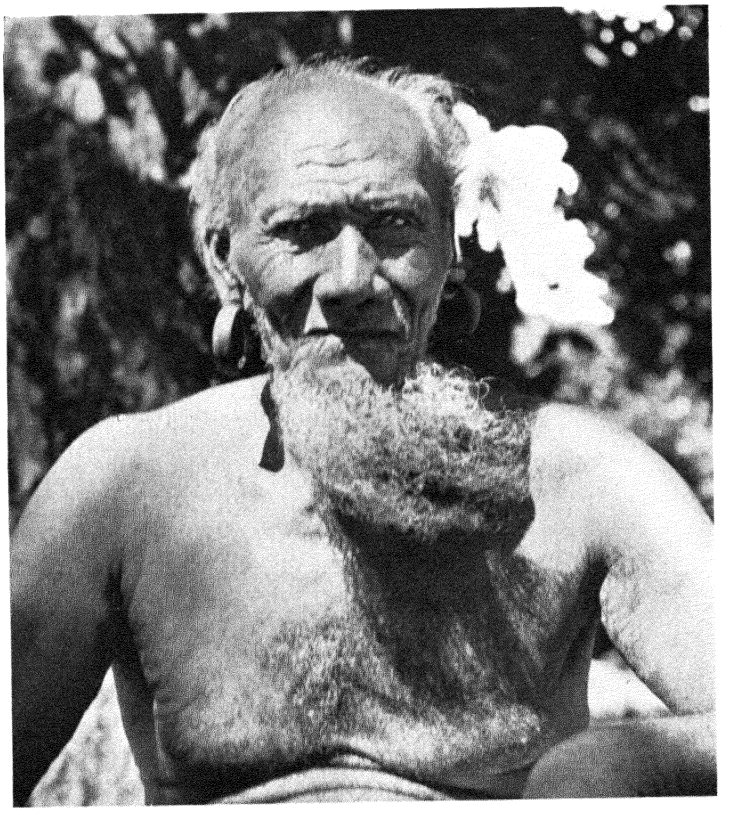


Plate I.
The Ariki Tafua.



Plate II(a).
Rarofiroki Temple in the over-grown Marae.

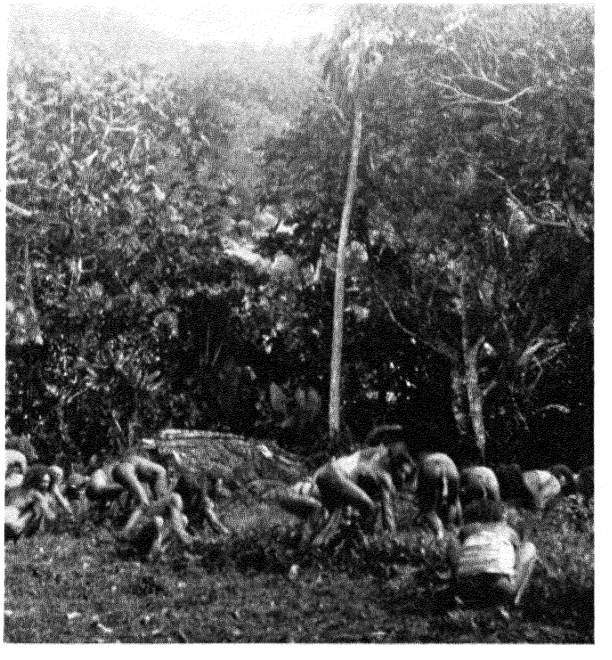


Plate II(b).
The Clearing of Marae. (Ariki Kafika with back to camera. Rarofiroki temple and firoki palm in distance.)

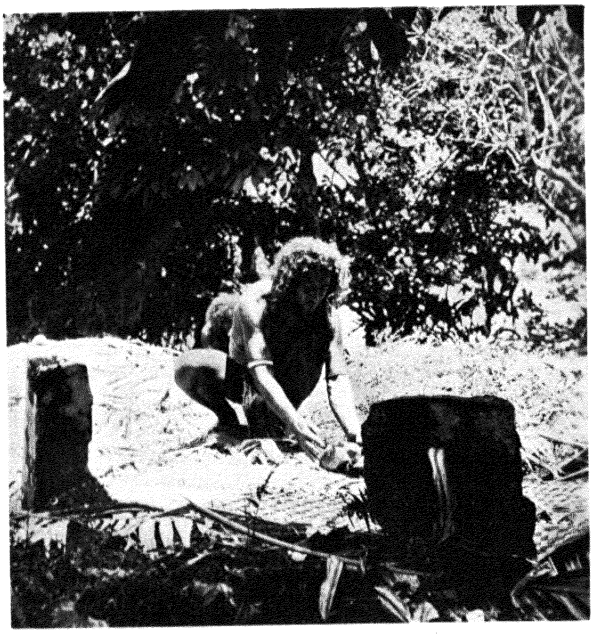


Plate III(a).
Laying Offerings before the Stones of Pu Ma.



Plate III(b).
The Sounding-Board in Marae. (Matangi-aso Temple just behind.)

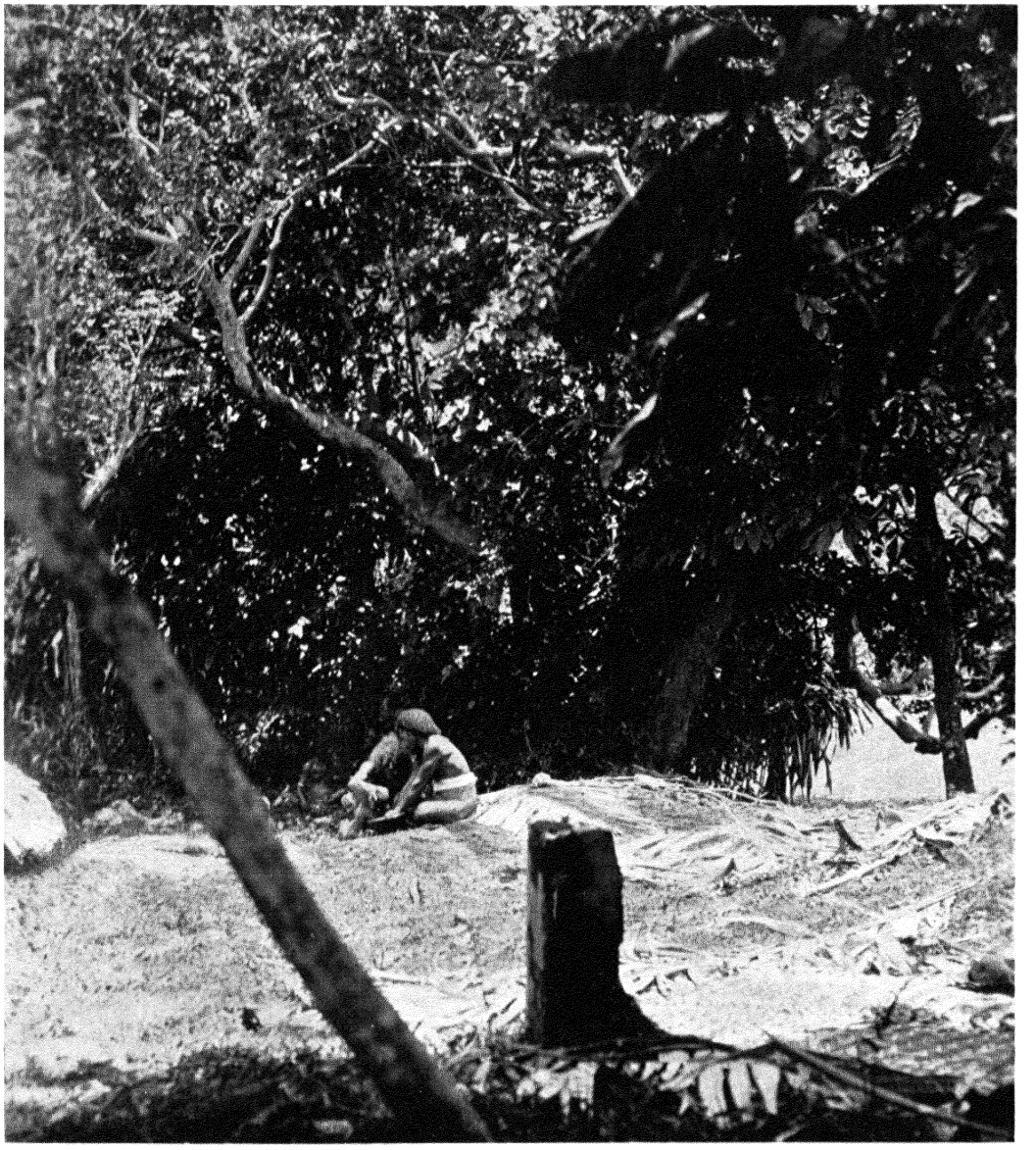


Plate IV(a).
Preparing the Kava of Marae.



Plate IV(b).
The Ariki Fangarere retiring backwards from Muafaitoka.



Plate V(a).
The Kava of Somosomo. "Clapping" the Kava.

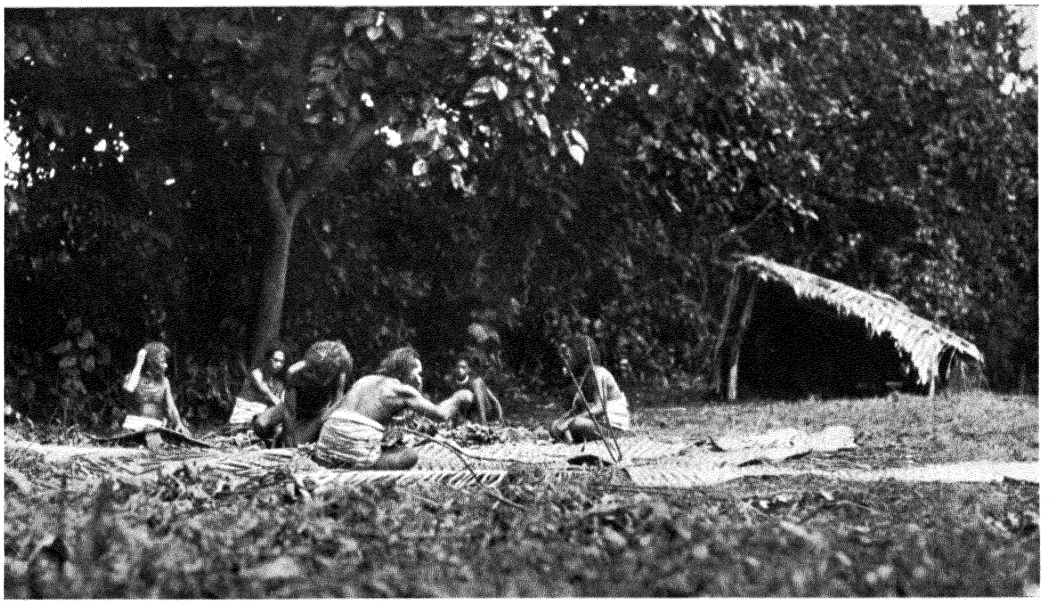


Plate V(b).
The Ariki Kafika Pours a Libation.



Plate V(c).
Setting out Food Offerings.



Plate V(d).
Pa Rarovi Plucking an Areca-Nut.