

Death. Abemama. Orientation.

The only island in which (up to date) I have found extended burial with head North and feet South. On this particular island, any other orientation is exceptional, though sometimes the body is laid with head East & feet West - the commonest of all positions in other places.

Before burial, the body was treated on Abemama exactly as elsewhere. It is particularly to be noted that while still in the house, the body was kept with head East and feet West.

On Abemama is found the exceptional belief that the ghost, before going to the land of the departed, must first visit the goddess Titiraabine in a land called Matang-by-Samoa. Although it is not expressly believed that the disposition of the body with feet to South was to set the ghost on the southward path to Samoa, the existence of this exceptional method of disposal side by side with an exceptional belief as to the path of the ghost seems very significant of the real intention of this orientation.

Death.

Doze

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Burial: Butaritari.

- (1) There is an rite of Kuma, which habitually buries its dead at sea. For this rite there is a deep shaft-like hole in the reef which seems to connect by some subterranean passage with the sea. The dead body is dropped feet first, in a standing position into this hole, and is said to sink feet first. No weights are used. If the body floats to the surface after a few days, it is left to drift away. This rite is descended from an ancestor Na, who was a famous voyager. It is the rite also, connected with the calling of the porpoise.
- (2) An rite of Butaritari village-settlement buried its dead in a cave-like hollow under the shelf of rock that forms the base of the flagstaff at Government station. When the dead man was laid in the cave, its entrance was blocked with stones. The rising tide penetrated and filled this cave every day.

intimated : joined

(c) At Makin (Kiebu village) is a stone set up in gambakawade of rocks, which is called Beiamatekrai. Formerly, this stone had a rounded kaobi about the size and shape of a head. The neck and shoulders appeared above ground. The spot on which the stone stands is reputed to be the exact place where Beiamatekrai died: the stone itself is his real body, according to popular accounts. It was said to have been buried in a standing position.

Death (Banaba). Rewi of Uma.

Bodies were very seldom buried, as graves were frequently robbed for the sake of the large bones, which were used to make thatching tools and barbs of fish-hooks, etc.

Most frequently, body was kept after death inside the house where decease took place. The elder women (father's sisters and mother's sisters) of the deceased's family then took the sun-dried flesh of coconuts, and having thrown away the hard brown outersurface, used the oily parts that remained to rub over the body of the dead. This friction was kept up continuously day and night all through the period during which the corpse was decomposing. The body was practically rubbed to pieces, and as the fragments of it were worn away with friction they were thrown away in the sea. So at last the skeleton alone remained. Of this, the skull and smaller bones (fingers, toes, etc.) were collected and hung to the roof in a basket. They were occasionally anointed with oil and garlanded with flowers. The larger bones were kept by the son's of the deceased, for the manufacture of implements. No one else was allowed to use them.

The people of Uma and Tabiang particularly, and the Banabans in general, when they did bury a body, laid it with its feet to the West. Some however laid it with feet to North, and these had a perfectly definitely

North (Banda) River of the

Expressed belief that the reason for doing this was to set the feet of the departing spirit on the Northward road to Bowun, Land of Shades, which lay in the North.

Not frequently, but was left after death inside the house where he used to live. The older women (father's sister and mother's sister) of the deceased's family then took the same kind of food of coconut, but having them away the food was not prepared, and the old part that remained to and over the body of the dead. This picture was kept up continuously day and night all through the period during which the corpse was being prepared which the corpse was being prepared. The body was practically buried to pieces and on the fragments of it were some small pictures that were drawn on the wall. It was, the dead and smaller bones pictures, too etc.) were collected and hung to the roof in a basket. They were occasionally with the old and abandoned with them. The large bones were kept by the side of the deceased, for the manufacture of implements. No one else was allowed to see them. The people of this and other parts of the Banda in general, when they did bury a body, tried to put it into the hole. The first bone buried was the skull and the rest, and then a perfect body.

Death. Butanitari. The Ghost.

A woman's shade at death was believed to go to Auriaria in the land of Matan and lie with him; a man's shade would lie with Titusabine. So real was this belief that men have been known to commit suicide when they saw their wives dying, in order that their spirits might be there to prevent Auriaria from enjoying their wives.

Death. Butaritari. Mummification.

On Makin and Butaritari only Heas and Chiefs were mummified by drying.

The brains remained in the head. Any fragments of skin and flesh, hair, etc., that fell from the head were buried apart in a hole dug by the Eastern shore.

The intestines of a man were drawn out through the rectum.

A woman's intestines were drawn through the rectum. Her generative organs were drawn through the vagina.

The intestines were also buried separately, while refuse from hands and arms, legs and feet, trunk and genitals, each had their distinct burial places.

Death. Butaritari.

Burial.

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At burial the body lay invariably from East (head) to West (feet). No other orientation was ever allowed.

The body was buried at any hour of the day, while it was still light.

On the day of the burial: -
just after sunset, when the last of the day had died, the ceremony of bomaki began.

Three times in succession the village was traversed by the people in line from South to North (as described in J.R.A.I.). All chanted together, addressing the spirit of the dead: -

Naako-o, naako-o!

Nako aba-m are i An-nang, ao Roro, ao Rabaraba-ni-Karawa!

It was a deadly insult to a member of the uta to bury the dead in his absence. Every member of the uta must look on the face of the dead for a final moment before burial. A man was considered justified in killing or making war upon those who offended him in this respect. Such a war would be called "Nini-mate".

Death. Butaritari. The body.

The body was not suffered to lie in peace. Even in its most advanced state of decay it was nursed and fondled by the male and female members of the utu.

Outside the house two fires were lit, one at the feet (west), the other at the head (east), and these were tended by an old man and an old woman of the utu. They were not suffered to die until either the body had been buried or the process of mummification was complete. No ember of these fires was allowed to be taken for lighting any domestic fire, nor was it permissible to kindle any stick in their flames.

Food was laid at the dead man's head as Kanoa-n wa-na (the contents of his canoe) to the land of shades. The food consisted of babai, pulled whole from the pit, with leaves entire, and an entire coconut tree with roots, stem and crown complete. This food was allowed to lie until the body was buried. If the babai was still eatable it was cut up, and cooked, and eaten by the utu. But no child was allowed to partake of this food.

If a Hea or member of a Hea's utu died and lay in state, the different parts of his body were allocated to the various classes of mourners. The Hea's utu sat at his head and shoulders and attended to them. The Chiefs sat about his middle, which was in their care. At his feet sat his slaves, whose business was to look after legs and feet.

If a King died and was laid in state
 only Hea and Banner could sit at head;
 only chiefs in middle; only slaves
 at feet. This custom was brought by
 Raiuaneana-te-huatani (see story of
 Kua at Tabiteneia).

Raiu uera te i-matang

(New Jew)

all incor-
 porated

Death: Laying in state of High Chief.

Etiological myths.
Death myths.

Makin

Name Bānneka had two wives one on land
 Nei Terāmira, and one at sea Nei Mamati-
 nimōne. Neither woman knew that
 the other existed. But once he was with
 his wife ashore, Nei Terāmira, and Nei
 Mamati nimōne called him away from
 her. So he left her hurriedly and
 went to Mōne under the sea, where his
 other wife called him. But Nei Terāmira
 was surprised that he left her so
 hurriedly, and so she followed him.
 And at last she found out that he
 had another wife. The two women
 quarrelled over the man, but at last
 they grew friendly, and decided together
 to punish him for his duplicity.

Then Nei Terāmira went East, and
 cast off the shoulder mat she wore, and
 set it up as an invisible barrier
 past which her husband could not
 penetrate. And Nei Mamati nimōne
 went back westward under the sea
 to Mōne and closed the door of it
 forever against the man. He grieved
 for a long time, but could never
 again find his wife: so at last he
 died for grief, and so death came
 into the world.

(Over)

(2) A second myth from Makin explains the ^{feasting} presence of death as follows:—

Te-bongi-ma-tengania lived with all his sons and daughters on Makin. As yet death was unknown among them. But one day the father said to his children, "Prepare food for a feast; bring great plenty of babai, and fish, and coconut." So they prepared the feast, and he said, "I am about to die tomorrow morning, so make a merry feast tonight, and when I am dead continue to feast."

The next morning, as they were still eating and laughing, he died. They buried him and continued with their feast.

Therefore people feast to this day when a man dies.

(3) A third death myth is as follows:—

Nau Kinenei lived on Makin. He heard a rumour that people were going to be visited by death; so he went to the land of spirits to ask what this new thing was. They told him; he asked them to give him some of their food to eat, by which he might be rendered deathless; and so they gave him some of their food, "te atimäata"; but they said, "This will only render you deathless if you abstain from your wife when you return." He said he would abstain, but when he got home

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he was unable to contain his desire. He lay with his wife. Shortly afterwards, he died, and all people have been subject to death ever since.

(4) Nakaa was a man of Makin who attempted to count the waves of the sea, as they broke on the northern end of the land. His tongue fell out after a time, because it had no rest. Its end split into two ribbons and it became a rock that can now be seen by the islet of Naantambai. Nakaa died. He was the first man to die. His ghost went and was caught in the strand of the Gatekeeper of the Land of Shades. If a man can avoid this net, he may return to his body.

(5) Te Tabanon (Aniaria) loved a girl. He died for love of her, and the coconut grew from his body. His face may be seen in the end of the nut when it is husked.

Death.

Abaiang, Tarawa.

(Tautam, from father
Tevalake aged 80 odd).

On third day after death the ceremony of tabeatu (lifting of the head) was performed. Its object was to straighten the path of the ghost to land of shades, and secure it a good reception there, in order that it might not return and eat the younger members of its utu.

The tabeatu magic & ritual was the possession of the clan of Ababou. Only men might perform it.

The performer sat on left side of corpse, which lay with head to east. For this rite, the right arm of corpse was bent and the hand (folded) placed with fingers upmost under the nape of dead man's neck.

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The left arm was stretched straight out to side of corpse. The performer of the ceremonial sat on it, and inserted his right knee into the armpit of dead man.

Performer brought with him an amulet of red shell called te nta, on a necklet of bark, stripped from the Kanawa-tree. This necklet was called te rimarainai. He also brought a wreath of any sort of flowers.

Sitting in position described he thrust his right hand under occiput of dead man ~~anuse~~; he held the amulet + wreath in his ~~right~~ left hand with fingers loosely closed over them. Bringing his ~~right~~ left hand to his face, he rubbed his brow gently with what it held, + then with the back of the same hand, knocked gently

and repeatedly upon the brow
of the dead, with the following
softly muttered words: -

N Nangi tiba tabek-ia, Kaetria, Kawai-n
I am about to just lift-it, straighten-it, path-of

Ten Naewa, ba e nangi nako aba-na
So-and-So, for he is about to go to his land

ba Innang, ma Roro, ma Bōuru, ma
even Innang, with Roro, with Bōuru, with

M'arira. Ao Ko na toua M'anra;
M'arira. And thou shalt tread M'anra;

ma Kanoa ni wa-m te ungira ma
and contents of thy canoe the ?? and

te taitai; Kanoa ni bungibung; beibeti
the tattoo; contents of ? ? float

i-aani Matang, ^{ma Abaiti} ma Atria rikiam
underlee of Matang, and Atria thy land of birth
^{and Abaiti}

aaroa; te okiokiri m'atanga-m
that; the returning to thy-vitals

ma nota-m te nako n aki oki;
with thy burden the going to not return

ma ti a Kabo n te-tannangi-na
so farewell for a season,

ma na-tannang, te-oiaki-na ma
and two seasons; a year ^{month?} ^{year?}

na-oiaki, ma Ko aki bibitaki
two months; and then not changed

Naewa, ba e a tau-o-o!
So-tso; for it is good-o-o!

This is repeated three times.
After which the wreath is put on
brow and the charm bound
around neck to another formula.

Performer's work is then done,
she goes.

Death. Abaiang, Tarawa, N.G. generally.
(The fatale of Abaiang; aged 80 odd).

The spell to which the amulet of Karawa-bark was bound about the neck of the dead was as follows:-

I ti nama namatia buna-n Naewa te
I only knot-it amulet-of So-and-so the

mane, be a tau ana bong ba te anggi-
man; for it is fitting his day even the winds

-mainiker, Ao Ko ri-a-o-ni Karawa, Ko
- east . And thou goest over heaven, thou

toua Matang ma Neineaba ririki, Ko
treadest Matang and Neineaba, thou

Kabira am bong te oiaki ma te tanibeabe,
goest to meet thy day the moon-change and the dead-calm

Ko moa Nakaa ma Nii Aibong. Karoa ni
thou visitest Nakaa and Nii Aibong. Contents of

bongi-ra ma bongibuaka; tari-u manawana
day-what? and evil day; my brother wise,

tai okirikaki ba raom te nu ma
do not come back again for thy companion the shadows and

ningonigo, ma aba-m Roro ma Inuanga
the cricket, and thy land Roro and Inuanga

ma Rabaraba-mi-Karawa as ko aki
and the side of heaven and then not,

bibitaki ma n rairaki - o!
changed or to be turned back - o!

The phrase "thy companion the shade and the cricket" has a special meaning. It signifies a desire that if the ghost returns it shall return by day, when the sun casts shades, + not by night; and that it shall make itself known to relations not in evil dreams but by crying like a cricket. If it does this, it gives the living to understand that it has reached its ghostly bourne safely and has not returned to trouble them, but simply for the sake of their company.

Death Magic. Tarawa. (For persons of high birth).

Tabaitu.

When the dead man has lain three days, a necklet is made for him of sinnet and human hair, on which is threaded a porpoise tooth. This is tied about his neck to the following charm:-

O namata ni m'aeana, o Ten Naewa!
O Knottling of his garland, o So-and-So!

Ai-e te buangi te taberaitiai ni m'aeana-o
This the porpoise tooth the seven-pointed of the garland-of

Ten Naewa. Ko a nako Ten Naewa-o, Ko
So-and-So. Thou shalt go So-and-So, thou

11 ^{shalt} ^{carry it} a notia te butu ma te manim te raoi
^{shalt} with the gutters the peace

ma te tabomoa. Es! anti n rabaraba ni
with the excellence. Es! spirits of the side of

Karawa-miang, a na notia te nikira te
heaven - north ^ they shall carry it, the gift of food, the

amarake. Es! anti n rabaraba ni Karawa-
food. Es! spirits of side of heaven

marake, a na notia te nikira te amarake.
south ^ they shall carry it the gift of food the food.

Es! anti n rabaraba ni Karawa-maeao, Nri
Es! Spirits of side of heaven - west, Nri

Tituabine, butimaea-o Ten Naewa;
Tituabine, meet him So-and-So;

Kairua nakon te maneaba-ia uea, ma
lead him to the their-manaba Kings and

antimas - ma-o-o!
spirits - ma-o-o!

Three knots are tied to secure the necklet on the neck, and at each successive knot the charm is repeated.

Death. Burial, extended.

A necklet of string and hair was tied round the neck of the dead. On this was threaded a buangi — porpoise tooth.

all incorporated

Death: burial. Sitting position

On Abaiang Island sitting interment was commonly resorted to by the various utu when the dead person was a ta-wani, i.e. a sorcerer.

The definitely expressed intention of such a burial was to "prevent the dead man from returning and working his sorceries on the living."

The position was the characteristic native sitting position, with one foot and tibia superimposed on the other, and thighs on ground.

It is argued elsewhere that the "wani" was ~~the~~ characteristic of the culture of the Natanean-folk, and that this folk practised the dual system.

We may safely therefore assume that this form of sitting interment was part of their culture.

Rivers's hypothesis that sitting interment was practised to prevent return of dead is definitely corroborated by this evidence.

There is an utu of Marakei whose custom it has been "ever since the first ancestor grew", to bury its dead males in the sitting position.

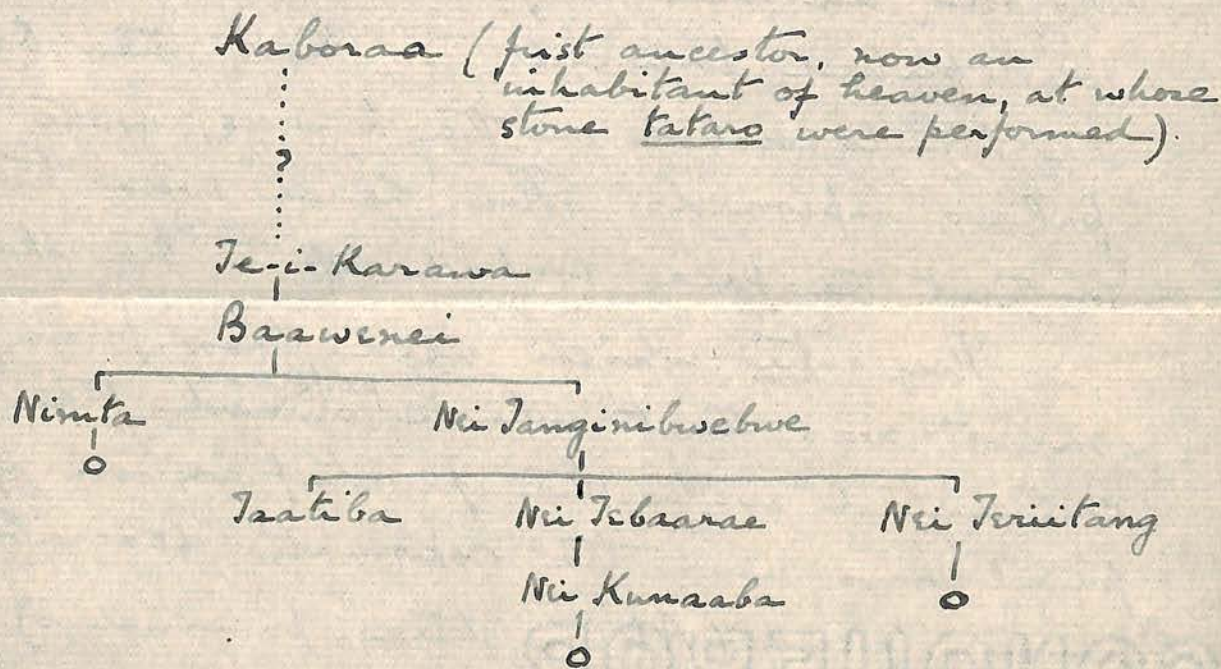
The land of the utu, called Tawaama, where the interments have invariably been made, is situated on the eastern side of the island. At burial the dead man's face was turned towards oti n Taai — the rising of the sun. As the corpse sat, its legs were stretched straight forward, the heels being closed and the toes allowed to fall outwards. The arms were pulled forwards, so that the backs of the hands rested on the knees, with the open palms upwards. The head was turned up so that the face looked ~~up~~ to the skies.

The utu which used this form of interment was that which ^{performed} ~~observed~~ the ^{rite} ~~magic~~ connected with the purification of the pandanus and the coconut, described in another place (Agriculture: pandanus). This sitting method of interring the dead ~~described~~ was directly connected with this function of the utu, for the position of the dead man's hands, head and legs was commemorative of the attitude assumed by him when praying for a good pandanus-crop.

As ~~remembrance~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~is~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~ancestors~~ ~~of~~ ~~this~~ ~~utu~~ ~~could~~ ~~inherit~~ ~~the~~ ~~power~~ ~~of~~ ~~purifying~~ ~~the~~ ~~pandanus~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~coconut~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~ancestors~~ ~~actually~~ ~~performed~~ ~~the~~ ~~rites~~ ~~connected~~ ~~with~~ ~~this~~ ~~act~~, ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~connected~~ ~~with~~ ~~this~~ ~~act~~.

It is worthy of particular notice that the women of this ute ⁶³ were considered incapable of performing this magic and were therefore not buried in the sitting position, but in the usual extended position, the exceptional disposition of the body being reserved for men only.

The genealogy of this ute is ~~very~~ imperfectly kept, its members being now very few, and those who have cared to remember anything at all of its history very old. The following is the genealogy collected by me from the old man Taatiba, aged 70 or more, and an ancient woman named Nii Tanginibwebwe of perhaps 86 or 88.



The last member of this failing ute to be buried in the sitting position was the elder brother of Nii Tanginibwebwe, the man Nimta. He died before the coming of the Flag in 1892 at an advanced age. Of him it was related to me by his ancient sister that when he was dying he said to those about him, "I am about to die. Make me sit when you bury me over there at Tawana. Turn my face to the sun. If you do this you will have always good pandanus crops."

The day after my death you will see in the eastern sky a star with a tail (i.e. a comet) and you will say "That is Nunita."

According to the account of the old woman, it happened as her brother had predicted, but this was not confirmed by her son, who must have been an adult at his uncle's death. I think there can be no doubt that the tradition of a comet belongs to a period in the history of the utu far more distant than Nunita's, and that the old woman was relating as an experience that which she had inherited as a tradition of her forefathers. That the comet-idea is one of the ancient family traditions is ^{made} practically certain by the fact that all the ancestors of the utu are called Kaxi-ni-Karawa, inhabitants of heaven, which in the minds of all the Gilbertese people, and indeed most of the Oceanic races, would immediately connect them with the stars.

The appellation "inhabitants of heaven" is applied to the ancestors of this utu, because ~~it is believed~~ ^{after death} that all of them went ~~to~~ to the skies. My informant, Nei Tangini-bwelve, who has never been converted to Christianity, herself confidently ^{expects} ~~believes~~ that the heaven above Marakei is the ultimate destination of her ghost. This belief in connection with sitting interment is in sharp contrast with the tradition of the northward and westward destination of the

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ghost to Boman, Mone or Matang, which we have found connected with ~~the~~ interment in the extended position.

There were other special features in the ^{practices.} ~~ceremonials~~ connected with the dead of this tribe. The body was kept only for a single night after death, being buried at sunrise the next day: in ~~the~~ extended interment, the period that elapsed between death and burial was never less than three days. ¹ Again, while it was the universal habit among those who extended their dead to remove the skull from the grave at a later date, for the purposes of the ancestral cult, this was strictly prohibited among the sitting-interment people, who left the grave untouched as soon as it had been filled with earth. So definite was this rule with them that they would never even reopen a grave for the sake of interring a son or other close relation of the deceased near his bones, which was a common practice in connection with extended burial. Lastly, there seems to have been no idea among the sitting interment folk of supplying food for the journey of the ghost to the land of shades; nor was the customary pair of shrimelled coconuts placed in his hands at burial.

The ceremony of bomaki already described elsewhere was performed on the return of the people from the grave, for three nights.

Death

Burial.

Sitting.

(The Croch... (Marakci))

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A necklet of knotted sinnet was tied round neck of dead, on which was threaded te nta, a red shell, or te ntabo an orange coloured shell.

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Death.

Burial. Abaiang

People who were buried with head to South were not treated by magic. There was no takatu + no "straightening of the path" for the ghost. A cross was drawn on the face with burned coconut-husk — a line across the brow just above eyebrows and a vertical line down forehead to nose-bridge.

The ceremony of to-maki was performed as usual.

The ghost went to the usual place, Bouru.

This method was called to Ruanrara — the Grave of Blood. The method of burying with head East was called to Ruannea — the Grave of Kings: so named because it was the method of burying chiefs and securing the welcome of their ghosts among dead chiefs.

Cremation was used by conquerors in war, who always burned the bodies of the defeated.

Note. It is given as a fact that a corpse was buried with head to South whenever the family was ignorant of the magic accompanying Eastward orientation.

Eastward orientation: this disposition of body with head East was in order that ghost should arise facing West, whither it went to be met by Ni Aibong + ghosts of chiefs, + Ni Karamakuna

South orientation: the ghost arose + went North, to Naka, without meeting Ni Karamakuna.

Death. (Abdianang and N. Gilberts generally.)

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If a small sudden shower of rain ~~passed~~^{came} over a village, it was believed that a soul had just passed. The shower was called wa-n te mate, the canoe of the dead. If such a shower came when a man lay dying, and passed on leaving him still alive, the people beside him would say to each other, "Ai Kāwa-ra nke e aki oa
How unfortunate when he not catch
wa-na." And if another cloud was expected ^{his canoe} to arrive soon, the sick man would be encouraged to release his ghost quickly, so that it might pass easily with the rain.

A concrete example of this came to my attention in Tarawa early in 1916. We had just completed the gruesome office of hanging a murderer. As we quitted the gallows chamber, a tiny shower passed over the building. One

of the native officials, who had been particularly depressed by the distressing business, immediately recovered his spirits and said cheerfully,

"Ake te bai iai, be bon roko-raoi wa-na".

"It's quite all-right, for it certainly arrives-well his canoe"

Death. Abaiang, Tarawa and Gilberts generally.

If the dead were buried without the preliminary ceremony of Tabu-ate (lifting of the head) it was believed that, the path of the ghost not being "made clear" before him, ~~and could be made by the magic of enemies to return~~ he would often return, especially in dreams, to strangle the members of his family and to terrify them with evil thoughts. A cure for this was effected by the formula called Bongria, which banished the ghost to its proper home. These were the words:-

Bongria-ia, bongria-ia; bongrio-ia, bongrio-ia!
Darken-him, darken-him; darken-him, darken-him!

ba I bongirara-ia ^{nako-ia} ~~nakoia~~ anti ni
For I darken-him towards-these spirits of

wawi nako maikoa-n te banna; ba I
Sorcery in succession on this side of the corpse; for I

bongirara-iko ^{nako-ia} ~~nako~~ te anti ni Karake;
darken - these towards-these spirits of raising ghosts;

ba Nnangi nako, ba N nangi Karabaraba-ko
for I am about to go; for I am about to make-these-hide

i-aa-ni bai-n Auriaria ma Tabuariki.
under hand of Auriaria and Tabuariki.

Ko a ti zweewe i-sta-n au Kāinga ikai?
Thou hast why started-up above my homeplace here?

Ma buki, ma baka, ma Kakarabino
And so stumble, +so fall; +so roll down

ni mate i-nanoa. E nake ia? E nake
to die within below. He rises where? He rises

i-aa-ni bongiraa-n; ba I a Keiakin-ai
under my-darkening of him; for I exert-myself

ba I baka. Taai, Namakaina-o! Ai
for I fall. Sun, Moon - oh! just

ngkoe

~~ukoe~~ anue - o! Ai ngai aiei - o! E-e'
thou thee - oh! just I here - o! E-e'

N na Kan̄gi ra-ia? N na Kan̄gi-ia
I shall eat their-what? I shall eat them

ma anti-ia ma aia wawi ma a
with their spirits with their sorcery and so they

bane. Bongria riki, bongria naba,
un-finished. Darkening more, darkening withal,

bongria n tabo! Ko nako!
darkening of places! Thou goest!

This ceremony was performed at the point of dawn, facing east in any place. But preferably by the burial place of the dead man whose ghost was causing the trouble. The formula was repeated three times, while fresh water from a coconut shell was sprinkled over the head and shoulders with a circular sweep of the right arm, counter-clockwise in relation to a dial facing downwards.

Death. Abaiang: Gilberts generally.

If a cricket (ningonigo) sang continually by a man's house, it was believed that the ghost of a dead relative was speaking to the inmates. Small pieces of food would be thrown, without any magic formula, towards the sound, and in later days whiffs of tobacco smoke would be puffed in the same direction. The ghost, usually thought to be that of the latest deceased in the utu, would be addressed with familiar and affectionate words, and it would be thanked for returning to visit its people by day and not during the night, and begged to come again in the same manner. Its return during the hours of daylight was taken as a sign that the taka-utu (lifting

of the head) ceremony had successfully "straightened
its path" to the land of the departed, and as
an assurance that it was pleased, and would not
visit them in evil dreams or strangle their children.

Sitting, interment and box

Sun-cult.

The ritual connected with the fructification of the pandanus and the coconut by the utu of Kaboraa, as described elsewhere (Agriculture), is in itself suggestive of a sun-cult agricultural in character.

The hour chosen was noon; the performer of the ritual must sit clear of all shade, so that the sun covered his whole body; he turned his palms and his eyes straight up to the sky, and used a form of words that was obviously a prayer and not magic. However, the external evidence is not conclusive; his prayer was addressed to the ancestor Kaboraa and it may have been with the idea of getting an uninterrupted view of heaven, where Kaboraa lived, that he sat clear of all shade. Nevertheless, it is still difficult to explain why the sun should necessarily stand at noon when he spoke to his ancestor. Our sense feeling that the sun played a leading part in the fructification and rites connected with fructification persists, and seems to be justified when we examine the singular sitting-interment practised by this utu. This mode of burial has been examined elsewhere;

it has been seen that the attitude of the dead man was precisely similar to that of the living "crop-maker" while performing his ritual under the noon day sun. And it has seemed natural to assume that the care which was taken not to disturb the remains arose from a desire that the continuity of this prayerful attitude should not be broken. But we have still to find an explanation for the orientation of the body ^{with feet to east} in this sitting interment. In the vast majority of cases, the Gilbertese dead were buried with feet west and head east. In some few other cases it has been seen that the feet were laid south or north, but in all these cases there has been found a definite reason for the exception, invariably connected with the migrations of the race. On one point every man in the Gilberts is agreed, that it is an impossible thing to bury a man in the extended position with feet east and head west. Yet if what I am assuming about the origin of this sitting burial is correct, ~~it was evolved by~~ ^{it was evolved by} ~~the practices of a people with the same social group within the very community which~~ ^{the practices of a people with the same social group within the very community which}

used extended burial. It must have been some very strong reason indeed which induced this branch to override the race-prejudice in favour of the orientation with feet west, head east. Only two kinds of reason suggest themselves as important enough to work such a revolution — the first connected with migration the second with religion. The first we may leave out of the question: there ~~is~~ ^{is} no ~~possibility~~ ^{likelihood} of any migration from the east having come to the Gilbert Islands. The only religious reason which could ~~compel~~ ^{affect} the orientation of the dead with face and feet to the east would be necessarily of a sort connected with the sun. The words of the dying Nunta, (reported elsewhere) to his family, "Make me to sit when you bury me. Turn my face to the sun. Then you will have good pandanus crops, etc." are in themselves pretty good evidence of the theory exposed.