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planted over the grave a young coconut palm,
and when this was done, went with all
the people to ^{dance in} the maneaba.

There came a night, after many days of
rejoicing, when the inmates of the maneaba
were astonished and terrified to see a
red light glowing in the eastern side of the
building. They saw that it was a man
of gigantic stature, whose body and hair
glowed out this meata. ^{They tried to catch him, but he} ~~ran away~~ ran away.

After this had happened several nights in
succession, they chased the visitor, and found
that he lived with a host of brothers in the
branches of the tree where the Tropic Bird
had dwelt. He told them that he and all
his brood had grown from the head of the
bird, when it was buried. They took him
to the maneaba, ~~with~~ where the goddess
Tituaabine named him Koura^①, at the same
time giving names to his brothers - Koura-iti,
Iti-ni-Koura, Rube-ni-Koura, Koura-mue,
Koura-Taamoa, Koura-n-te-taake, Koura-n-
Tarawa. All these were ribo-ura (red in
complexion).

It was found later that a race of women had
also grown from the young coconut palm planted by
Tituaabine over the grave of the Tropic Bird. Their
names were Nei Riki, Nei Temarewe, Nei Tebaarae,
Nei Nowi, and Nei Tarabainang. With these women
the red people married + procreated.

Koura was made Hea of the island, and
in commemoration of this, the old maneaba

① The meata is the name of the dull copper (not crimson) glow
just as the last sun goes.

② Ko-thou; ura = ura burn.

standing on I-maunga-tabu - the holy hill -
 was destroyed and a new one of immense size
 erected in the same spot. The tale reports it
 to have been "more than ~~one~~ hundred fathoms
 long and more than fifty fathoms wide!"

The new building was called Koua's
maneaba, and had the special name of
Makua-n-te-rara (the high tide-of-blood), in
 reminiscence of the Tropic Bird's slaughter of
 the inhabitants. By this name the style is
 known at the present day.

Thus far, the tradition accounts for the establish-
 -ment of the type of building now used on
 the two islands. According to the evidence, the
 inhabitants of Makin already had some sort of
maneaba before the arrival of the Tropic Bird
 from Samoa. From the account of the doings of
 this creature, we are obviously to understand
 that the island was invaded by a party of
 immigrants from Samoa, whose totem and
 ancestor was the Red Tailed Tropic Bird, and
 whose skin was of a red or copper colour.

The link between the original inhabitants and
 the immigrants seems to have been ~~was~~ a
 common cult of the goddess Tituaabine. This
 is at least suggested by the friendly relations
 of the deity with both parties.

The immigrants gained the ascendancy over
 the aboriginals; their chief, Koua, became
Uea; and a new maneaba, in the style of the
 invaders, was erected on the site of the old
 one. Thus, it is the maneaba of the people
~~subsequently~~ from Samoa, which we see today
 on the two islands.

It was Koua according to the account, who
 brought to form both of

allocated these quarters to the four different grades of society, as delineated in the previous section.

In the light of this tradition, it seems possible to discern the mechanism by which these four groupings came into being. The disposition of the boti appears to have been the logical result of the conquest of Makin and Butaritari by the immigrant population. Clearly, the boti-n-nea (see diagram) was taken by the chief of the immigrants, Koma, and his circle; and it is again explicitly stated that the third boti, Tranikabadi, was given to those "who were conquered"; a phrase which must refer to the original inhabitants of the island. The intermediate boti of Tabokororo was allocated to the toka (chiefs), who with very little doubt may be supposed to have been immigrant warriors not qualifying for a seat among the royal group. The fourth division, for strangers, would be the natural outcome of a later desire to provide a place for peaceful comers, who would otherwise be excluded from the social scheme by a strict adherence to the original plan.

If the evidence of tradition has led us to the right conclusion, we are faced with a serious difficulty, which is to explain why the invasion of the Gilbert Islands by a people from Samoa resulted in so simple a scheme of social divisions on Butaritari and Makin, while on the more southerly islands it had no such effects. The multiplicity of the boti of the southern manaeaba is in strong contrast with the simplicity of the Makin plan.

If the immigration into Makin and Butaritari was part of a general, contemporaneous swarming into the Group from Samoa, it would seem that only the members of a single social group out of the whole swarm — the Tropic Bird group — reached these two most northerly islands. It is possible that this affords the explanation of the simple organisation of society according to grade. The basic division into an upper + a lower class would be a result of a war of conquest. And a pre-existing tendency among the upper class to sub-grouping in the maneaba would easily lead to the separation of the leading chief and his nearest kin from the group of immigrants who were not of his kin. Thus the three clans may have originated; the strangers' clan ^{would follow}.

Another solution may be that the migration from Samoa to Makin was not a part of the general invasion of the Group, but a separate movement. In this case, while the possession of the maneaba and the boti-scheme stamps the culture of the Tropic Bird folk as a probable ally of that introduced by the immigrants into the southern islands, it is possible that its social organisation was in a different stage of development. Thus again might be explained the difference of character between the social groupings of the south and those of the two northern islands. At present, I must set aside the discussion of the two possibilities suggested for a future chapter, with the remark that evidence of

other kinds seems to indicate that the Tropic-Bird folk were members of an ~~different~~ immigration distinct from that onto the southern islands.

The tradition of the Tropic-Bird maneaba proceeds: When Kouva had apportioned sitting-rooms to all the four classes of people, it was decided to make a voyage to southward. Kouva's son and namesake, with a host of other Kouvas and their wives launched their canoe, called "Te buki-ni-bene" (the tip of a coconut leaf) and set out. Butaritari was settled and the maneaba erected there. Missing Maraki, Abaiang and Tarawa, these people then ~~erected their~~ ^{visited} ~~came to~~ all the six islands southward as far as Bern: everywhere, they landed, procreated and left a maneaba. On Bern they stayed: ~~at the permission of the ruling chief Tavena the First, who lived about 22 generations ago, according to the genealogical chain elsewhere.~~ They ^{they} built their maneaba on the north end of the island, and therein they exalted (neboa) their brother Kouva. The process of exaltation

seems to have been materially manifested, if the tradition is reliable. Koura was seated upon a square platform, slung by ropes from the ridge-pole of the maneaba, high above the heads of his people.

After a residence of unknown duration upon Bem, the peace of the Tropic Bird folk was broken by the immigration of another race of people from Samoa. The leader of this swarm is given the name of Mata-warewe — Broad-face or Wide-eye — and he was accompanied by many others. Apparently, some sort of peaceful settlement was arranged, for we are told that Koura and his people continued to ~~live~~ live in their maneaba until the son of Matawarewe, Tane-n-toa the First, ruled in his father's stead. Then discussion broke out. It is related that the insolence of the Tropic Bird folk grew beyond the endurance of Tane-n-toa. The story relates that Koura the Chief would sit upon his raised platform (bwia) and break wind before the people, at which they would say, "E tūgiting Koura; e rebwersibw ki ni Kowia." This custom they forbore not to pursue, even when Tane-toa and his brothers came as guests to

^{Koua's}
 visited ~~the~~ maneaba; which caused such
 offence that Tanentoa appointed the dest-
 ruction of ~~the~~ the visitors. This was achieved
 by burning them all in their maneaba.
 Everyone was killed, except Koua-iti,
 who was saved alive by one of the
 Bermans, and adopted as his child.

There was now, tradition says, no
maneaba on Bern. Therefore Tanentoa
 the King ordained that a large one
 should be built at the place called
 Tabontabike, in honour of his Grandfather
 Matawarebwe (Broad-face), who had led
 the Samoan immigrants into that island.
 With the help of two spirits, Bou-riki and
 Bou-tabo, called especially from Samoa, the
 edifice was erected, and straightway the
 allocation of sitting-places was begun.

Matawarebwe and Tanentoa took the boti
 of Karongoa-n-nea. Tabuariki was placed
 at Te Bakoa. Te-i-mone was given Te Wiwi; and
 so on, until all the ancestors knew their
 sitting-rooms. There remained Koua-iti, the
 stranger from Butaritari & Makin, who had
 been saved alive from the Killing of the Tropic

Bird people: he was given the boti of Keaki
 in the S.E. corner, and there his descendants
 remain until the present day. It seems
 therefore that the social group sitting at
 Keaki is a representative of the submigration
 of the Tropic Bird folk from the northern
 islands to Bern, ~~after their first immigration~~
~~from Samoa.~~

From the traditions reviewed, we can assume with some certainty that the maneaba called Tabou-te-bike, a foursquare building, was brought to Bern by the folk who came from Samoa under the lead of Mata-warbwe, or Brod-face. Mata-warbwe was of the Karongoa clan; analysis of the tales of the coming from Samoa, made elsewhere, shows that Karongoa-people must, at the period of Mata-warbwe, have poured from the South into nearly every island of the Gilberts. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the foursquare maneaba was introduced almost universally throughout the Group at about this time.

It remains now to discuss the origins of the narrow Tabiang style, and the intermediate Maunga-tabu type. Evidently the name Maunga-tabu (holy hill) seems to be taken from the spot in Makin where the Tropic Bird settled, and so it seems probable that the Koura people spread it through the northerly islands of the Group as they migrated from Makin to Bern. But although I believe this to be the case, we cannot, on the traditions thus far adduced, attribute it with certainty to the Tropic Bird folk, since we are told that the aboriginal inhabitants of Makin already had a maneaba at Maunga-tabu before the arrival of the Tropic Bird. The doubtful point seems to be settled by the evidence of the traditions connected with a man named Towatu-of-Matang.

When the Tropic Bird came to Makin,

many of the inhabitants fled, for fear of being eaten. According to a tradition of Tarawa and Nonouti, Towatu was one of these refugees. He fled to Tabiteuea, and, settling in the district called Te-ati-rababa (the Broad Stone), married a wife, Nei Te-bai-bunna-ni-Karawa. By her he had a son named Tautua, who quarrelled with his parents, and sailed away in anger to a land in the west, called Matang. In Matang, he married Nei Abunaba, the daughter of Rake and Nei Touna. She bore him a child, whom they named Towatu-of-Matang.

When Towatu of Matang was a man, his parents died. He buried them and took their skulls as drinking vessels. Then he set forth on his canoe "Kaibo" to eastward. He made land at Bern, and going ashore at Teirio, in the middle of the island, started to make war on the people and to eat the flesh of his victims. This happened in the time of Tanentoa the First.

So Tane-n-toa sent a messenger to Towatu, asking him to go to his maneaba. Towatu went, but as he entered the building a dog belonging to the man Teikake flew at him and bit his leg. Picking up the dog, he tore it apart and with the bleeding remains turned to smite the owner. But Tanentoa stayed him, saying, "Smite him not. He shall be your slave. Take the seat in the South gable: it shall be your loti, and its name Karumae-ta. Your food

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shall be the tail of the porpoise, for you are late for the feast, and the people of Tabiang have already eaten the head."

Thus Towatu of Matang took the clan-place of Karumaetoa in the Tabon-ti-bike maneaba. But after a while he began to desire a maneaba of his own; and he proposed to Janc-n-toa the King that he should build one in his own fashion. The King allowed it to be done, and so was erected at Tabiang, the north end of Bern, Towatu's maneaba in the style called Tabiang to this day.

It seems therefore reasonably certain that the narrow maneaba named Tabiang was introduced into the Southern Gilberts by the man Towatu and his immigrant party, who came from a land in the west traditionally called Matang. In this case, we are faced with two possibilities: either the Tabiang maneaba was a style of building known to Towatu's ancestor and namesake, who had been driven out of Makin by the Tropic Bird folk; or else it was an entirely new type of building, acquired by Towatu in the western land called Matang, & freshly imported thence into Bern.

If the Tabiang style was that of Towatu's Makin ancestor, it was obviously the type of building used on that island before the invasion of the Tropic Bird folk — ~~imported~~ the edifice which stood ~~at~~ the holy hill, at the north end of the land, ^{until the period} when the fierce bird ~~began to eat~~ ^{began to eat} the people of the place. If, on the other hand, the Tabiang maneaba was a new import from Matang, there should be islands in the neighbourhood of Melanesia where this type of building is seen today.

In favour, perhaps, of the view that the building

- style

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Brought by Towatu was that of his Makin ancestors, is the circumstance that he chose as a site for his maneaba the northern end of Bern, a surprising choice in view of the fact that he owned no land there; for the property which he had acquired by his invasion was all in the centre of the island. It may be that, in this northern site of the Tabiang maneaba, we have a link with the building which stood on the northern tip of Makin, and that Towatu's rather surprising choice of a site on Bern was influenced by some tradition connected with this style of building, which dictated that it should always stand in the north. What is quite certain, is that until recently no native would dream of erecting a maneaba of the Tabiang style anywhere save towards the northern extremity of the island. But the tradition of the first building on Bern might be enough to account for this.

We have now seen that traditions connected with the various styles of maneaba in the Group are definite on these points:— (a) That the Tabontelike style was introduced by the Karongoa group of people, represented by the names of Mata-waebwe and Jane-n-toa, who invaded Bern from Samoa some 20-25 generations ago; (b) That the Tabiang style was imported by the man Towatu, whose clan was Karumaetoa, and whose ancestors were pre-Samoan inhabitants of Makin.

As for the third type of maneaba, called Maungatabu, it has appeared probable that this may be attributed to the Tropic Bird invaders from Samoa, who carried their maneaba with them to Bern when they migrated ^{thither} ~~thence~~ from Makin. The only