

Sun Cult.      Maui-Bue-traditions.

1. The conception of the sun in the Maui tales of Polynesia and the Bue tales of the Gilberts is evidently animistic. The sun is himself personified; there is no suggestion that the sun is merely the House of a God. He procreates with a woman, both in Samoan & Gilbertese myth, in his own sunlike person. His body is noosed; he speaks in pain.
2. But the continuation of the stories evidently shows a progress of the tales towards the anthropomorphic idea. The fact that he does procreate children who, when they are grown up, themselves begin to show the characteristics and to perform the deeds of sun-gods; which are typical of the story of the Greek Apollo; which are accompanied by a westward travelling boat (at least in Gilbertese versions - the "Kuo-n-aine") that is typical of Egyptian mythology, ~~providing~~ and the tale of Beowulf; which are done with the magic staff that reminds us so forcibly of the sword of Arthur, Siegfried and Rurstan in folk tale - this fact at once arouses the idea that here we have two separate ideas of the sun-cult syncretised into a single tradition.
3. And the syncretism has taken place exactly as one would have expected it to take place. An animistic and an anthropomorphic idea of the sun are brought together by the impingement of race on race. The two

peoples, in the course of time, become a hybrid race, and their religious ideas, in the give and take of fusion, are compromised.

Neither side during the process of mixture will abandon its central idea of the sun; the only possible result is the incorporation of both ideas; and the only possible method of achieving this is to make one of the sun-gods the son of the other. Thus Bue in Gilbertese myth becomes the progeny of Taai, and Ti'iti'i or Mami in Polynesia the offspring of an amniotic sun-person.

4. Analyse the Gilbertese tale and one finds the essential details of the solar myth contained therein.

(a) Bue has a sun-birth: he is born of a mother whose gestation was in the sea. He rose from the water. He had a sister whose name may be interpreted "The little sun."

(b) Bue's gift from the sun is a magic staff, which protects its owner from perils at sea; this is the magic sword of solar folk-tale, the wondrous bow of Apollo, metamorphosed into a talisman most singularly suited to a race of sea-wanderers, who if they had ever seen the use of metal had long forgotten or lost it.

(c) Bue travels west in his magic craft, the Known-aine; this is the bark of Egyptian myth, the fiery chariot of Greece, the sun-boat of Beowulf, which is

- almost never absent from solar myths.
- (d) When Buei comes to mid-ocean, his craft is overturned; just as the sun is overturned in his course from east to west, at the zenith, the middle of his course. Even the offence for which he is overturned — the deed of incest with his sister — is intimately typical of the sun-cult. The Pharaohs, the children of the sun, the Incas, the descendants of the sun-god, had the unalterable custom of marrying their sisters. Buei's deed was stigmatised only by a later generation, by a race which had a social organisation forbidding incest, as an offence.
- (e) Buei plunges beneath the sea; he comes to the west. There he meets with the women who guard the winds. Whose winds are these? The sun's. Only by overhearing the repetition of these wind-spells at the sun's command does Buei succeed in learning them. Only by begging the sun in the east did he obtain these other wind-spells mentioned in the myth.
- The association of sun and wind in the solar-myths of agricultural races are inevitable.
- (f) In Polynesian myth the tale is continued with the person of Maui; in Gilbertese, the exploits of Buei cease at this point; a new character carries them forward. This is

Maarsan. He traverses the underworld; but it must be noted that in the Nui version of the story he is said to be "treading the path of Auriaria". We are to infer that Auriaria had gone this way before him and from what we have gathered of the status of Auriaria in Samoa and the Gilberts, we may believe that he was the original of the story.

The underworld is a dark place, full of rocks and monsters. One by one these have to be fought and conquered: they are the dangers and honors of the underworld which the sun-hero, the Apollo of Greek myth, the Beowulf of Saxon, the Indra of Hindu, the Horus of Egyptian, invariably has to conquer.

Here, but only here, our myth becomes unsatisfactory. Apollo conquered his final dragon, the Python; Hercules slew his Chimæra; Beowulf overcame his Grindel, and the dragon who guarded the western treasure. But Mani in the tales of Polynesia was swallowed in the womb of the hag of darkness; and Maarsan and Auriaria in the Gilbertese versions

ascended to the fumes of the rock built chamber at the end of his journeying thro' darkness, even as Arthur in the fight at Camelot was slain in the end. But even as Arthur did not perish, but was rapt away in the magic craft to Avalon, so we are expressly told did Niarsam not die, but went and lived in the coconut leaves to the east of every island - the highest points of the highest trees in the land, where first the rays of the rising sun would settle.

The Maori myth of New Zealand does not end so satisfactorily for the argument, because it has apparently been confused with a totally different kind of tale at this point. For the record of the death of Maori is expressly an attempt to explain why death came among men. And I think it is obvious that the Gilbertese myth of Bue with its continuation of Auriaria is a better preserved version of the whole tradition.

Arguing from this, and from the array of extraordinarily close associations which it presents with Greek, Egyptian, Saxon, and Hindu solar myths, and from its obvious and patent connection with the sun, we cannot in my mind

possibly avoid the inference that a sun-cult was practised among the people who originated it. In fact we cannot possibly avoid the inference that this myth is the same myth, and had the same source as the Egyptian and Greek and derivative myths with which it has been compared. It is as Prof. Elliot Smith would argue, absolutely impossible to conceive that a Pacific race, isolated in the wastes of Oceania, would be psychologically so similar to those western races, and materially so equally affected by the accidents of history, as to evolve item for item and detail for detail the tale of a sun-hero possessing such astonishing similarities of character and action. If we are driven to such a conclusion about the myth, we cannot escape the further conclusion that it was brought into the Pacific by migrations from those western homes. You cannot have a myth without people to bring it; nor can you have a myth so well

established over a wide, a vast, area of scattered archipelagoes, unless the people who brought it were numerous. It matters not whether it was brought to Oceania by the original conveyors, or whether it was planted among the forefathers of the Oceanic peoples while they were still in their home among the continental islands of S. E. Asia.

Whenever these people first received this heritage of myth, it must have been a powerful influence that was exerted upon them for they, from the nature of their migration into the Pacific, must themselves have been a mighty swarm.

Could such a myth have been planted among such a folk as a simple tale, with no attendant ritual to fix its details in the memory of the race? It is impossible to conceive.

Remember how the Polynesian races are split up among multitudinous islands and archipelagoes; remember that in spite of this, in spite of continuous

segregation from one another for many centuries or end, the various branches of the race have remembered this tale, and the details of this tale, with a pertinacity and a coherence that can be applied to no other series of traditions now to be found throughout Oceania.

Is it possible that this could have taken place merely because of some liveliness or superficial interest contained in the story as a story? I claim that it is impossible. There are plenty of lively stories, equally vivid in detail, to be found in any Group of Polynesia: some of them are obviously ancient. Why are these also not remembered with the same universality as the Maui-cycle? Clearly because they do not possess a vital principle of some sort that is inherent in the Maui-traditions. And this vital principle, I claim, can be no other than the religious principle. The Maui myth was a cult-myth, and that is why its minute details are



still fixed in the mind of the Oceanic races from Hawaii to the opposite limits of Polynesia. It was planted among the ancestors of the Oceanic peoples by the folk who originated it, or helped to develop it, in its Western home, and it was accompanied naturally, by the ritual of the sun-cult which we know to have been the cult of Egypt and the Mediterranean littoral, and the civilizations that grew out of the empire of Egyptian culture in the West.

Magic Sun <sup>Lookem for kindness</sup> Te Kaanangiraori (Takenta of Marakei)

If a native wishes to be received with special favour by his fellows, & to be loved by the other sex, or to be treated with generosity by his kin, he performs the following magic:

Uris-ai, waka ai;	neanea-ai, ako-ai!	Bo no
Descend for me; mount to me;	care for me, behind to me!	For it appears
maia akoua, ngai	ais to boingai	Takenta?
whence kindness to me!	here, only indeed!	Takenta?
be no mai nanon	wi-n	I bate te
for it appears from within	the mouth of	50-and-50
mau aon anga-in	neinne <sup>20</sup>	u-man, gakoai.
from upon shoulder-of	that woman!	crowd-hitter; behind to me.

At the last words ~~for~~ cross your hands on your breast and rub yourself with oil which has already been spread on your palms.

This is done facing east on any day of the month just before sunrise.

\* Neinne, that woman refers to the sun as it (or she, for the Gilbertese) rises.

Magic. Cock fighting

If you want your cock to be a good fighter, hold the bird to your left breast in the crook of your left arm; with your right hand strike it gently and continuously as you repeat:—

Nan Tebu Nan Tebu Nan Te make Nan Te make  
Sir Cowardliness, Sir Cowardliness: Sir Fear, Sir Fear,  
nako Nan te bu! nako Nan Te make! nako man te  
go Sir Cowardliness, go Sir Fear! Come here  
un, nako man te tan, nako man te mauri  
anger, come here seemliness, come here safety.

Three times. No orientation. When finished, throw down the bird.

MAGIC: COCKFIGHTING

If you want your cock to be a good fighter, hold the bird to your left breast in the crook of your left arm: with your right hand strike it gently and continuously as you repeat:-

Nan Tebu, Nan Tebu, Nan Temaku, Nan Temaku-na.  
Nako Nan Tebu, Nako Nan Temaku.  
Nakomai te un, nakomai te tau,  
Nakomai te mauri!

Weakling, weakling, coward, coward.

Go away weakling, go away coward.

Come back fighting, come back on top,

Come back to me alive and well!

- (1) If a burning of skin over fracture it is a pain caused by the flesh and the blood
- (2) If an itching and starting pain, it is caused by flesh and vein
- (3) If a maraki ae waewaerake it is a pain of bone and flesh.

Magic. Protective.  
Promotions

To protect yourself against waves. Take a coconut shell  
full of fresh water and sprinkle over your head to  
following (or else you may take a <sup>paddle</sup> ~~stick~~ and stab the air):

Tabeke te bue, Karooa te bue "I am batukutuki  
Left the paddle hold up the paddle of my ancestor

"I am batukutuki, ba a manganga anti n aban  
of my ancestor for they set forth spirits of my land

ba a manganga ba N mangi nako, ba N mangi sasa  
for they take me for I am about to go, for I am about to stab

te wai aei aro. Ma tau tetetei ma tau ngongonga  
this wave here. But do not sting, but do not stink

ma tau nibangutu ngutu nkami at rami rami  
but do not (jabber)? you those people

ma kam na inguis, ma kamina <sup>bo</sup> ~~na~~, ma kam  
but you shall stir, but you shall be struck, but you

na mate ma kam na tabue. Tabaingina ma  
shall die, but you shall be rent apart. Tatabaingina with

Naaingunno, bobo i tau ma bobo i anna. Sewa  
Naaingunno, meet at sea and meet ashore. Throat

i atina kororobung me a ma: Sewa i atina  
on its stone ? ? so it stirs. Thrust it on its stone

Kororobung me a tiweraua.  
? ? so it is split apart.

3. times. No special time. No orientation.

## Immigration: effect upon social outlook

In the guarding of clan-traditions concerning ancestors and origins the degree of secrecy preserved by Karongoa-n-nea as compared with that sustained by other clans is very arresting. The assertion of the members of this social group is that their secretiveness is intended as a protection against imposture. They say that everyone would like to belong to their clan if he could, since its prestige in the maneaba gives it a special place in the regard of all islanders. If the clan-traditions were not concealed, strangers from other islands might dishonestly use them both to impose upon the hospitality of a local branch, and to usurp privileges not belonging to them by right of birth.

But the same explanation is given by members of other clans, of their unwillingness to divulge the traditions of their ancestry. They also do not wish to be hoodwinked into entertaining a stranger not entitled by birth to their hospitality; and they have enough of clan-pride to resent the thought of sharing their minor privileges in the maneaba with an outsider. Yet the secrecy of their traditions is infinitely less than privacy with sorcery those of Karongoa-n-nea.

I think the <sup>true</sup> explanation of the special secrecy of Karongoa-n-nea is suggested by the concealment of the clan-traditions even from the majority of its own members. Elsewhere, I have shown that certain aspects of loti organisation <sup>marriage</sup> and totemism could best be explained by supposing that when the

Karongoa-n-nea people invaded the Group from Samoa, they found in possession of the islands a folk having fundamentally the same social system as themselves. They found, in fact, people of their own clan and ancestry. These, as a consequence of the immigration, became a subject community, and it was not compatible with the pride of the conquerors to receive them on the footing of clan-brotherhood which might otherwise have been expected. I have shown that this set of conditions was probably at the root of the ability of clans having the same totems and ancestors to intermarry. I suggest now that it also caused the extra sensitiveness of the Karongoa-n-nea people concerning their origins and ancestors. Although the autochthones found by them in occupation possessed the same original traditions as themselves, they had not lived in Samoa and therefore lacked a knowledge of the Samoan generations. The Samoa tradition was therefore made the standard of Karongoa-n-nea membership by the immigrants, and all who failed to qualify by that test were excluded from clan-brotherhood. Scarcely as to the <sup>Samoan</sup> traditions, it follows, would have been the first precaution taken to keep the exclusion permanent.



Magic. Sun. Given by Takenta (about 70) of Marakei

If a native wished to be raised with special favour by his fellows, or to be loved by the other sex, or to be treated with generosity by his relatives, or in fact to be popular, he used the following formula:-

Māuna matamihabi-ee ! \* Māuna mataj-<sup>riker</sup>ee !  
Out-of-sight edge of shoal - ee ! Out of sight edge-of-shoal !

Namata-ia Taburimai ma Auriaria ; ba a nangi nako  
tying of knots-their Taburimai and Auriaria ; for they about to go

namata-u, ba a nang rimoa-u nakea? Nako-ia  
tying of knots-my, for they about to precede-me whither? To-them

tabo-u roro-u, I rimwi-ia, Ke! I rimoa-ia, Ke!  
of my own generation I follow-them, Ke! I precede-them, Ke!

I tekateka i taubuki ni bata-ia ma tekateka-u  
I sit on ridgepole of houses-their with my sitting

ma kakanangabo-u i-aon te aba aio. Ia?  
with my-gloriousness upon this land. Where?

Marakei! ε-ε, I ringa Jāi! ε-ε, I babakoa  
Marakei! ε-ε, I touch Sun! ε-ε, I clasp

Namakaina! ε-ε, te mawi naba ngai-o-o!  
Moon! εε, the blessed withal I - oh!

The "tying of knots" in the second line refers to the threefold knotting of a young coconut pinnule held in the hands of the performer. A single knot was tied for each of the three repetitions of the formula. The place for this ritual was on the ocean beach, on the eastern shore, clear of all trees. The orientation eastward; the position sitting. The time, the hour of sunrise; the day, when the moon was seen on the meridian at sunrise.

When the names of Sun and Moon were named, the finger was pointed first at one, then at the other.

Takenta was unable to tell me what bearing the opening allusion to the edge of the ~~reef~~ <sup>shoal</sup> has upon the subject or object of the formula.

(Given by Tu'itoni of Marakei, aged 36;  
obtained by him from his own  
mother Nāi Kākana aged about 70  
at her death, 1920).

Magic: Sun and Moon.

If your wife leaves you in anger and refuses to return in spite of your entreaties, you invoke the Sun and Moon to help you and to bring her back. You fill a binobino or oribua with fresh water and holding it in the right hand sprinkle the water on your head with a clockwise sweep, intoning:—

Taai, Mamakaina, niomai nakonai nakon  
natinii aio, Heikoin ma Nei Kamventi, Ko na  
nako, Ko na rimwi-n te ara-n aine tūanna  
tūanna ma tangaria O neiuna, Katika  
baina, Karikaakia, Katikia ma un-na  
ma butona, Kaona, Katānga, Kaaeaeae  
naron au Kāinga ikao.

You perform this ceremony once at sunrise, facing the rising sun; once at noon; and once at sunset. At the end of each incantation you throw your binobino a short distance away from you; it ought to stop rolling with its aperture away from you (i.e. pointing east) in the morning; at noon it should point either north or south, i.e. neither towards nor away from you.

At sunset you face the setting sun. Your coconut shell should point towards you when thrown away.

If the shell falls in the above positions, it is a sign of good success.

(Note. At noon you must look up at the sun).

The singular and striking difference between this and the majority of Gilbertese incantations is that it is not hummed or intoned in a low voice, but chanted aloud. It has a well defined tune, similar to that of an ordinary ruoa chant. This is also a special mark of the dancing charms, in which Sun and Moon are also addressed, given in another note. The ceremony is public — or at any rate, no special effort is made to hide it.

Magic: Sun. (Nai Jauve of Marakei: between 50 and 60).

If a fisherman has bad luck, he takes the hook with which he is fishing between both palms, presses the radial sides of his hands against his breast, and as he sits on the canoe turns his face towards the Sun (at any hour of daylight) and repeats the following:-

Taai-é, Taai-o! I butii-Ko, Ngai! Ko ata-ai ngke!  
Sun-é, Sun-o! I beg-thee, I! Thou knewest-me when

I Kabubura<sup>2</sup>, Ngai!  
I failed to catch, I!

Taai-é, Taai-o! I butii-Ko, Ngai! Ko ata-ai ngke.  
Sun-é, Sun-o! I beg-thee, I! Thou knewest-me when

I wairaa<sup>3</sup>, Ngai.  
I was unlucky, I.

Taai-é, Taai-o! I butii-Ko, Ngai! Ko ata-ai ngke  
Sun-é, Sun-o! I beg-thee, I! Thou knewest-me when

I beeva<sup>4</sup>, Ngai, I marierie-<sup>5</sup>!  
I was perplexed, I, I was faint-hearted-o!

After three repetitions the fisherman resumes his fishing with the same hook.

1. Ngke = when, in reference to past time only, as German als or French lorsque.
2. Kabubura. This word is popularly used in reference to the hook or the bait, not the fisherman himself. I have heard a fisherman say to a crowd of children, "Don't come staring at my fishing tackle, or you will cause it to be Kabubura (i.e. in a condition to fail of its catch)." Bubura means bulky: the idea seems to be that if the bait or tackle is stared at, it will seem large to the fish, and will therefore frighten them away.
3. Wairaa = unlucky in consequence of hostile magic. The maniwairaa is a particular kind of magic intended to bring ill-fortune to the enterprise of an enemy.
4. Beeva is allied to beo, which means tangled. The latter word is more usually applied to objects, the former to ideas.
5. Marierie. The meaning of this is doubtful. I am assuming that it is either a corruption or an obsolete allied form of the word matiketike. Matiketike is applied to a rope that is not hauled taut. It is also used as a term of reproach to a fisherman who fails to catch, or a man whose lands are ill-cared for: it signifies faintness of effort, or half-heartedness.

Magic. To Kauti. For making a man brave and strong  
in war. At the dark before dawn, on the eastern beach.  
You take any weapon of war with you. Sit facing east  
on the beach, and wait for sunrise. Hold weapon  
in right hand together with three pinnales plucked  
from the crest of a coconut tree, growing on the eastern  
shore. As the sun rises, beat the weapon and  
pinnales against your breast chanting:—

Boa ni manawa-u aio!      Tabwena ni ngaina  
Striking of my breast, here!      Breaking of light

mairiiku.      Ba I aarakinna tera?      Ba I aarakinna  
in the east.      For what do I approach?      For I approach

te un.      Ba I aarakinna tera?      Ba I aarakinna te tau.      Ba  
anger.      For what do I approach?      For I approach <sup>readiness</sup>.      For

I aarakinna te ba are e rōwhēwhē warikini  
~~whāwhā~~ I approach the thunder which rattles at the side of  
<sub>rolls</sub> <sub>on</sub>

Karawa mairiiku.      Ba I aki hūhū, ba I aki  
heaven in the east.      For I am not cowardly, for I am not

rawarawa, ba I aki mamas ma un-ēē, te un,  
unwilling,      for I am not slow in war, but angry:      anga,

te tau, te mawiri!  
<sup>readiness</sup>  
~~readiness~~, safety!

Magic. Te Kairua (Te Rakumene).

If you want to know whether a girl loves you or not you do the Kairua or divination of Te Rakumene. You pick a couple of pinnules of coconut leaf and tearing a strip about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad from the side of one, but not yet separating it from the base of the pinnule, you hold it between finger and thumb of right hand and compressing these fingers gently draw them away from you along the length of the strip. Repeating this action again and again, you whisper the following charms:-

Teera, <sup>1</sup>ua, <sup>2</sup>ten, <sup>3</sup>a, <sup>4</sup>niim, <sup>5</sup>ono, <sup>6</sup>iti, <sup>7</sup>vaan, <sup>8</sup>oia, <sup>9</sup>tuangai  
<sub>one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, talk up</sub>  
nhoē Te Rakumene Ke e taarai Niirei as.....; <sup>10</sup>tuangai  
<sub>from Rakumene may she desire that woman.....; talk up</sub>  
Ke e ribarai; tuangai Ke e tangirai Niirei as.....  
<sub>may she hate me; talk up may she love me that woman.....</sub>  
tuangai, as tuangai, as tuangai.  
<sub>talk up + talk up + talk up</sub>

Repeat this three times. There is no special time of the day or night for this; nor is there any particular orientation.

When this is done, detach the strip from the base of the pinnule by tearing end off straight.

Measure 3 fingers' (index, mid and ring) from one end of strip and make a crease by folding.

Lay the creased end of strip across the palmar aspect of the same three fingers, so that the crease comes to the radial side of the index. Take then three turns of the rest of the strip round fingers and tear the strip off short at the point where it completes the third turn.

Split the strip into two tongues by tearing it down the middle as far as the crease you first made by the base.

Make a series of four knots (see diagram) in one of the tongues and a fifth at the end.

Repeat for second tongue. If the knots at the ends of the tongues are level with one another

it is a sign that the lady does not favour you; if one projects beyond the other, she loves you.

Repeat the process with another strip. This time it is a favourable sign if the knots at the tips are level, and unfavourable if they are unequal

Magia. Te Kairua (Te Rakumene).

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Teira, <sup>1</sup>ia, <sup>2</sup>ten, <sup>3</sup>a, <sup>4</sup>niim, <sup>5</sup>ono, <sup>6</sup>iti, <sup>7</sup>viam, <sup>8</sup>raa, <sup>9</sup>tuangai  
nhoē Te Rakumene, ke e tangirai Neirei as... tuangai  
may she love me, tell me may she love me that woman... tell me  
ke e ribarai; tuangai ke e tangirai Neirei as...  
may she hate me, tell me may she love me that woman...  
tuangai, as tuangai, as tuangai.

Repeat this three times. There is no special time of the day or night for this; nor is there any particular orientation.

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Split the strip into two tongues by tearing it down the middle as far as the crease you first made by the base.

Make a series of four knots of the string in one of the tongues and a fifth at the end.

Repeat for second tongue. If the knots at the ends of the tongues are level with one another

It is a sign that the lady does not favour you: if one projects beyond the other, she loves you.

Repeat the process with another strip. This time it is a favourable sign if the knots at the tips are level, and unfavourable if they are unequal.

Magic: Sun.

(young coconut female)

If you fear the magic of an enemy, your strongest protector is the sun.

You go to the eastern shore just before dawn and pluck a Kakoko from the crest of one of the coconut trees that grow there.

You say the following charm over it:—

Ko na ingingi bonotaa-u, ko na kaakangi bonotaa-u; ko na uigingi bonotaa-u, ko na kaakangi bonotaa-u.  
Buabua ni manga, buabua ni manga. E uig, e uwa, e tabuena.

Thrice repeated: You then await the sunrise. When half the disc is above the sea you hold your Kakoko with its tip towards the sun looking down its length as down the barrel of a gun. Then you put your fingers in its loop and keeping the Kakoko taut, revolve your hands round each other to following charm:—

Anao riria i aon waia Kantairua,  
mai mate buabua, e wati, e tabuena.  
Te ririki maeao uboaria, uboariake.  
Taai-o-o, tei iaou ikai: Kaakangi  
oraorai, ko na kana te wawi, <sup>ma</sup> ko na  
kana te wa-n Tonga, ma ko na kana  
te Kabetiniako, ma ko na kana te bobona  
n wai naba, ko na kana te anti te  
aomata, bu-u baer, e a mate Komu  
ba te aomata. After thrice

repeating this you wear the Rakoko on your head. You do not eat until noon. When you take your meal, you lay the head-dress aside and resume it when you have finished. In evening, the same.

If you awake at night you do not eat; you do not lie with a woman for three days; which is the duration during which you perform ceremony.

The magic is done fasting.



I think this translation is inaccurate; perhaps you could  
make me sense of it?

Magic. At sea.

If you are travelling between islands and see a  
rereba swimming by your canoe, you know it  
has been sent from Mone, to warn you of the  
approach of violence from the spirits of undersea.  
You charm yourself as follows:—

Na rereba tabariban-o! Wairio, wairio-o, tuangia  
O Rereba, the striped one O! Go west, go west, till then

Uea-n aoni Mone la ntaia laaweswe tabuna  
the Kings of Mone, thus: ~~Uea-n~~ Come, do not .? .? .? ... the holiness of

Karawa tabuna mone. Nako i muri ma nako  
heaven, the holiness of mone. Go after them, and go before

i mox ma ee! E isia na n te anti a!  
them, e-e-e! At sails (way) the lords of spirits ah!

This is said, leaning over and looking down

at the fish, three times,

## Sun cult.

(1) The question to decide is whether the ancient sun cult was open or secret. The tremendous balance of possibility is that it was open at least to the race which brought it here. The ceremony of tratching the maneaba before all people, the entirely public address to sun and moon of the poet, and the more or less public consecration of a chief, together with the audible swiging voice in which the incantations were chanted, all point to the fact that the ceremonial was of an overt nature.

Further, it must not be forgotten that the natural tendency of the native in his present state of psychological evolution in magico-religious matters is all on the side of secrecy. The immense majority of magico-religious ceremonial in the Gilberts is still secret. It is difficult to imagine why, with this predominant tendency to secrecy, any ritual at all had ever been allowed to <sup>assume even a semi-</sup> ~~unconsciously~~ public character, unless in the beginning it was public.

On the other hand, it is not in the least difficult to explain the elements of secrecy which <sup>now</sup> permeate the sun rituals ~~whereas~~ if we assume that it was once entirely public. Granted that the cult of the sun decayed to the extent that it lost its priestcraft, it is easy to follow its probable later history. Once the guiding and centralising force was gone the cult lost its place as a tribal affair. The prayers once offered by priests were retained by individuals, who

were also under the influence of the secret system of magic. It is highly probable that this system of magic, in its blending with the religion of the Sun-people, was <sup>itself</sup> primarily responsible for the decay of the sun-cult. The fragments of prayers left in the hands of individuals at the decay of the cult were thus brought into close contact with the magic practiced by the same people. In the course of time, though they continued still to preserve the special features which we are still able to remark in them even now, they naturally became modified by the prevailing magical attitude of mind; they came to be regarded as the peculiar heritage of the individual instead of the tribe; they were guarded and hoarded as the tabernacles were guarded and hoarded; and conditions of secrecy before unknown to them were imposed upon them as the generations went by.

Comparison of traditions connected with Maui-tikitiki  
in Polynesia and Naarean the Younger in Gilberts.

1. Maui's alternative name in Polynesia was Tikitiki or Tiiti'i. His character was portrayed in tradition as full of resource and trickiness. ("That daring, mischievous, cheeky demon, so much appreciated by Polynesians: Hawaiki, p. 51).
  1. Titles of Naarean the Younger throughout the Group are Kikinto, Kikitea and Kitekite, which means "Trickster." The last form Kitekite used on Niue, is apparently the same word as Tikitiki of Polynesia. The exploits of Naarean are chiefly admired in the Gilberts for their trickiness.
2. Maui lifted the sky, according to Polynesian myth.
  2. Naarean lifted the sky — or rather supervised its lifting — in Gilbertese tradition.
3. Maui passed through the underworld, and eventually met his death in the womb of the Great-Mother-of-Night (Hine-mi-te-po)
  3. Naarean passed through the underworld called the "Path of Au-ria-ria," and eventually met his death in the dark, rocky chamber.
4. In Maori and Rarotonga tradition Maui is said to be the son of Tangaroa by the wife of another man, named Ataranga or Taranga. (Hawaiki p. 143)
  4. In the Naarean story (p. ....), he is shown as the seducer of the wife of a man named Taranga
5. In Maori tradition Maui's grandmother (mother's mother) is said to have introduced the ifi, or chestnut, as a food. (Hawaiki p. 145)
  5. In Gilbertese tradition the ifi <sup>(ibi)</sup> is <sup>mentioned as</sup> one of the totem-plants of Naarean's father Tabakea, though the chestnut does not grow in the Gilberts.
6. In various Polynesian traditions Maui is said to have fished up land from the sea — Manihiki, N. Island New Zealand, and so on.
  6. In Gilbertese tradition (p. ....) Naarean's son fished up the island of Tawai.
7. In a Rarotongian genealogy published in "Hawaiki", the wife of Maui-tikitiki is shown as Ina, and his brother + brother's son respectively as Te Tarava and Te Tarava-enua (the land of Tarava)
  7. In Gilbertese tradition Naarean's wife was Ko-bine, of which last syllable = Ina, if Ina = Hine, a woman. This wife he stole from Taranga on the land of Tarawa.

8. In Maori-Rarotongan story Māni's father Tangaroa is in conflict with a fierce creature called Moko-roa-i-ata or Mango-roi-ata, which is supposed to be an alligator. This was eventually conquered by Māni.

9. In the Rarotongan account of Māni's travels, he is said to have visited a land called U-beru.

8. In Gilbertese myth the favourite animal of Na Apean's father Tabakea was a creature called Te Kekenu, of which the description says that it was like a huge lizard, with a "long mouth", obviously a sawian.

9. There is a Gilbert island named Bern.

Māni - Na Apean  
Companion