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Ancestral Lands. Butaritari.

Mōne is said by the people of Butaritari and Makin to lie i-nano. This word has two meanings: either "down below", "in the depths", or "in the West" (where the sun goes into the depths).

The Makin people and the Gilberts generally apply i-nano to Mōne intending to signify that this land is in the depths, but it is significant to note that Mōne is not in the depths on the eastern side of any island; it is on the western side.

If we assume that Mōne is one of the ancestral lands in the west, we have in all the tales concerning "Mōne-in-the-depths" an illustration of Max Müller's hypothesis that myths are a disease of language. The sense of the word i-nano was lost; another meaning has been attached to it, and on this interpretation has been built up a whole series of mythical details concerning a land under the sea.

Ni Momati-ni-Mōne is the spirit on the western

side of the island who sets up the wall of invisibility (Kibena-ni-māta) which prevents people from seeing the spirits of Mōre. On the eastern side there is a spirit named Ni Terāmera who prevents departing shades from going east, saying "There is no land here."

Ni Mōre-ni-Mōre is the spirit on the western

Gilbertese Place names compared with East IndiesGilberteseIndonesian

Bankai (Butaritari)

Panay

Banka (Sumatra)

Banggai (Tabituea)

(Philippine)

Bangka (N. Celebes)

Banggai (Archipel. by E. Celebes)

Matang (every Gilb. Isd.)

Mattang (Sarawak)

Majang (Isle. S.W. Borneo)

Mutan (Celebes. N. of Unauna)

Matan (on R. Pawan, S.W. Borneo)

Medan (N.E. coast Sumatra lat. 3 1/2° North)

Midang (N.E. coast Sumatra, lat. 2° North) (close to Bangka)

Katabanga (general) Ketapan (S.W. coast Borneo, near Matan)

Ketapang (N. of E. end Java)

Baré (general) Paré Paré (S.W. Celebes)

Bali (E. end Java)

Bern

Berou (N.E. Borneo)

Berou (N.W. peninsula N. Guinea)

Biewan (Butaritari)

Palawan (Philippines)

Kuma (Butaritari)

Kumai (S.W. coast Borneo)

Jabanga (general) Jawaiti

Sabang (N. tip Sumatra)

Abaiti (But. Tarawa)

Sawali (Ceram)

Tarawa

Sarawak

Talowa (Celebes);

Salawati (N. tip N. Guinea)

Onin (N.W. New Guinea)

Bouru Island

Unauna I. (Celebes)

Onouna (But. Tar. Jab.)

(Bouru (Banaba)

Pulu Babi (N.W. Sumatra)

Onouna

{Mwaiku (Tarawa)
{Mwaiku (But. Mak.)

Waigin Id. (N. end of
N. Guinra)

Bikāti (Butaritari)

Bikāsa I (Marshalls)

Bikāsi (R. and District, Java)

Banaba (Id. also place name)

Palopa (Celebes. S. bay)

Betio (Tarawa) Pronounced

Bédjio

Pidjin (Lombok)

Kiboru (But.)

Upolu

Kota (Makin)

Kota Baru, Sumatra; Kota Baru, S. I. Borneo
Kota Baru, Malacca. (Kota = town)

Tarito (Makin, Noront)

Taliabo Id.

Terangeaba (= land of Teranga)

Serang (Ceram)

Krioro (But. Tar.)

Gilold

Mitukuk

Serei (Miri)

Obu (Makin)

Obi (Islands)

Manra (many Gilb. Is.)

Banta (Islands)

Bālo, Bāro (Makin)

Palu (Bay, Cape, Java)
N. Coast Celebs.

Manira

Manila (Philippines)

Miré (But.)

Miri (Borneo coast, Borneo)

Ancestral lands.

13.

Mangiree (Makin)

Mangeraai (W. end Flores)

Ancestral Lands.

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Makin land names.

Kamokamo	Kōta	Jeniba
Abatang	Rikoia	Nakirikiri
Baré	Jaraawa	Nansa
Tekima	Utiroa	Utibure
Jutara	Barumatan	Taariba
Beru	Utibure	Kana
Nonouti	Tanaboa	Onne
Auruaia	Karuruota	Baretaiti
Tanatan	Toanaura	Tanibaba
Namakua	Tebuatarawa	
Naawu	Neikokoa	
Bōwru	Traikaina	
Antene	Kakoriria	
Nantambai	Tabarimana	
Manra	Bakinikin	
Taban	Tabwean	
Arora	Taribo	
Kriatua	Anainano	
Rawaiai	Baaro*	
Manou	Mwean	
Kabiana	Uraiki	
Taabora	Tukure	
Kanitano	Tuati	
*Tonaieta	Biti	
Nauburabura	Maobuna	
Rawanawi	Banaba	
Karoiribia	Kabane	
Obu	Tekinibare	
Namororo	Tikobia	
Nuatabu	Naaitoa	

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Butantari Land Names.

Abantakoto	Abaras	Marube	Amakomama
Inaeriki	Tuta	Abaringa	Kabaho
Namokan	Renren	Onobaki	Kabahu
Maataata	Nukuan	Manga	Aibabei
Kaionobi	Ewana	Baaki	Kabale
Kotrāwa	Teukin	Taon	Tawa
Tontonna	Orawi	Kabinea	Kawana
Antukiana	Aboti	Bannake	Bakdiro
Bankenna	Nangira	Abaiang	Kabobi
Tebokiwai	Ota	Oretinge	Komol
Taurawa	Krawira	Kanabo	Komol
Taurata	Maraki	Tabokao	Komol
Muribenua	Kaitangiro	Bankai	Komol
Mabutang	Burubaka	Orawa	Komol
Biino	Namorara	Wikiki	Komol
Rarango	Tawaiti	Rotuma	Komol
Ranongana	Bikewa	Terang-abara	Komol
Bikou	Antimau	Taruho	Komol
Mire	Minantia	Momokirang	Komol
Mwake	Kamatas	Tutara	Komol
Keingongo	Tamoaita	Terabi	Komol
Teike	Marieta	Matang	Komol
Tineita	Nakiri	Rautu	Komol
Birewan*	Rama	Taiti	Komol
1 Jekeran	Korisa	Abate	Komol
Teere	Kmaia	Sabei	Komol
Uee	Mene	Mawukin	Komol
Mangirere	Telongiro	Waaki	Komol
Rotulma	Ano	Maata	Komol
Taabeifei	Kuria	Buot	Komol

Land names, classification. Butaritari.

1. Names derived from natural accidents:

Aonteba = On the bedrock

Temanoku = The light

Nanonterawa = The ocean passage

Tebokaboka = The swamp

Tabontenea = The place of the pumphis.

Taoraereke = The narrow surface.

2. Names derived from historical associations and legendary associations: -

a. Events: TEMAUNINAOMATA = The putrefying of men
(After a battle fought on Butaritari).

Temauna tabu = The sacred hillock (After a tabu placed on a piece of rising ground by a Hea).

Tebukinibaana } legendary
Tetaeanibwe }

Tebora = The gift for tinaba (A gift of land given by the Hea to a woman's husband).

Tebuaka = a war.

Tenaaniboran

b. Other countries.

Nutirian = New Zealand

Waatiniston = Washington

Terine = Sydney

Biti = Fiji

Taamoia = Samoa

{ Onouua, Birawan, Matai, Baikai, Abaiti,
Kioro.

(c) Mythical associations.

Terarikiriki, Tebukiitake, Rostanikamara.

(d) Religio-mythical associations:-

Te Tabakea, Na-n-tabakea, Te aitabakea, Te-As-Kave-werewere,

(e) Religious associations:-

Te umanaki, Te Abanimete, Tebanota, Te Afiti.

(f) Ancestral lands:-

Onouua, Awaite, Matau, Birewan, Bowru, Mwaiki, Bern, Jaamoa, Mwibenua, Kiroro, Maura, Birewan, Jarawa, Bikara, Bankai, Banrai

Onouua, Birewan, Matau, Bankai, Awaite, Kiroro

Ancestral Lands.

ANCESTRAL LANDS.

Butaritari.

Mone is said by the people of Butaritari and Makin to lie i-nano. This word has two meanings: either "down below", "in the depths", or "in the West" (where the sun goes into the depths).

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ANCESTRAL LANDS.

Gilbertese Place names compared with East Indies.

<u>Gilbertese.</u>			<u>Indonesian.</u>
Bankai	(Butaritari)	Panay	Banaka (Sumatra)
Banggai	(Tabiteuea)	(Phillipines)	Bangka (N. Celebes)
			Banggai (Archipel. by E. Celebes)
Matang	(every Gilb. Isd.)		Matang (Sarawak)
	Mutan (Celebes. N. of		Majang (Isle. S.W. Borneo)
	Unauna).		Matan (on R. Pawan, S.W. Borneo)
			Medan (N.E. coast Sumatra)
			lat. $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ North
			Medang (N.E. coast Sumatra, lat.
			2° North)
			(close to Banka)
Katabanga (general)	Ketapan (S.W.		Ketapang (N. of E-end Java)
	coast Borneo		
	near Matan).		
Baré	(general) Paré Paré (S.W.		Bali (E-end Java)
	Celebes)		
Beru			Berou (N.E. Borneo)
			Berou (N.W. peninsula
			N. Guinea).
Birewan	(Butaritari)		Palawan (Philippines)
Kuma	(Butaritari)		Kunai (S.W. coast Borneo)
Tabanga	(general) Tawaiti		Sabang (N. tip Sumatra)

ANCESTRAL LANDS

Gilbertese.

Abaiti (But Tarawa)

Tarawa

Onouna (But Tar. Tab.)

Bouru (Banaba) Pulu Babi
(N.W. Sumatra)

Onouna

Mwaiku (Tarawa)

Mwaikiu (But Mak.)

Bikati (Butaritari)

Banaba (Id. also place name)

Betio (Tarawa) Pronounced Bedjio

Kiboru (But.)

Kota (Makin) Kota Baru, Sumatra; Kota Baru, S.E. Borneo. Kota Baru,
Malacca. (Kota - town)

Taribo (Makin Nonouti)

Teranga (Marakei)

Teranganaba (=land of Teranga)

Kiroro (But. Tar.)

Obu (Makin)

Manra (many Gilb. Is.)

Balo, Baro (Makin)

Indonesian.

Sawai (Ceram)

Talowa (Celebes);

Salawati (N tip. N. Guinea)

Onin (N.W. New Guinea)

Bouru Island

Unauna I. (Celebes)

Waigiui Id. (N. end of N. Guinea)

Bikasa I (Marshalls)

Bekasi (R. and District, Java)

Palopa (Celebes: S. bay)

Pidjiu (Lombok)

Upelu

Taliabo Id.

Serang (Ceram)

Gilolo

Obi (Islands)

Banda (Islands)

Palu (Bay, Cape, Town)

Coast Celebes.

ANCESTRAL LANDS.

Gilbertese.

Marira

Miré (But.)

Mangiree (Makin)

Indonesian.

Manila (Philippines)

Miri (Brunei coast, Borneo)

Mangerai (W.end Flores)

ANCESTRAL LANDS

Makin land names.

Kamokamo	Nauburabura	Baaro
Abatang	Rawanawi	Nweau
Baré	Karoiribia	Uriaki
Te Kima	Obu	Tukure
Tutara	Namororo	Tuati
Beru	Nuatabu	Biti
Nonouti	Kota	Maobuna
Auruaiia	Rikoia	Banaba
Tanatau	Taraawa	Kabaneï
Namakua	Utiroa	Tekiribare
Naauru	Barematan	Tikobia
Bouru	Utibure	Naaitoa
Antene	Tanaboa	Teniba
Nantaubai	Karuruota	Nakirikiri
Manra	Toanaura	Nanoa
Tabean	Tebuatarawa	Utibure
Arorae	Neikokoa	Taariba
Kiratua	Teaikaina	Kaua
Rawaeai	Kakoriria	Onne
Monon	Tabaranata	Baretaiti
Kabiaua	Bakinikin	Tanibaba
Taabora	Tabwean	
Kanitano	Taribo	
Tonsicta	Auainano	

ANCESTRAL LANDS

Butaritari Land Names.

Ubantakoto	Tekeran	Weinauti	Bankai	Onoikna
Tenasriki	Teere	Kamatao	Onawa	BoKiroro
Nanoka	Uee	Taruoieta	WiKiKi	Ninobi
Naataata	Mangirere	Marieta	Rotuma	
Kaionobi	Rotuma	Na Kiroro	Terang-aba	
Kotirawa	Taabeibei	Rama	Taribo	
Tontonna	Abarao	Koiroa	Momokirang	
AutiKia	Tuta	Uniaia-ataei	Teitara	
Bankema	Renren	Mone	Terabi	
Tebokiawai	Nukuan	Tebongiroio	Matang	
Tarnrawa	Ewena	Ano	Rauta	
Taunata	Teukin	Kuria	Taiti	
Muribemua	Orawi	Marube	Abatiku	
Mabutang	Abaoti	Abariringa	Tabei	
Biino	Nangiro	Onobaki	Mauriki	
Rarango	Otua	Manga	Waaki	
Ranongana	Arauri	Booaki	Maata	
Bikou	Marakei	Tiaon	Buota	
Mire	Kaitang	Kabinea	Abemama	
Mwake	Buriuaka	Benuake	Nenearo	
Neingongo	Namorara	Abaiang	Kiboru	
Teike	Tawaiti	Oretenge	Aonibei	
Teineita	Bikewa	Tarrabo	Marake	
Birewan	Antimai	Tabokeo	Triria	

ANCESTRAL Lands and Renga.

According to the old man Taakeuta of Marakei, the red food called te renga is the "food of ancestors" in the west. The redness of the sky every day at sunset is a memorial of the redness of the renga, and of the western land where it is eaten. There is a tradition in the utu of Taakeuta that the renga is not eaten alone, being always accompanied by the leaves of the tree called Tarakaimaiu. This tree, as we have seen in the death myths recorded elsewhere, is the marvellous tree universally believed to grow in the land of departed spirits -- either Bouru or Matang, according to the tradition recorded.

The old man Taam of Marakei, who is descended from a Beruan ancestor named Kaabwibwi, remembers a tradition of his utu relating how Kaabwibwi used in dreams to visit the west and eat renga in company with his atua Tabu-ariki; after death his ghost is believed to have gone to reside in the west with his ancestors, there to feast with them on the red food.

The traditions of renga, though universal in the Gilberts, are not usually so definite in their connection with known ancestors as the above. The account which finds acceptance on most islands is that the red food is the diet of the great atua of the race, Tabu-ariki, Tituaabine, Taburimai, and Auriaria. These beings live on the island of Matang, which is one of the lands whither the departed ghosts go after the death of the body. There is another very widespread belief that renga is the food of the departed ghost when it reaches its final resting place, but Bouru and not Matang is the land with which I have always heard this belief connected.

ANCESTRAL Lands and Renga.

Clearly all these accounts of renga have reference to a single set of ideas concerning the land of shades. In Taakeuta's account it is the "food of the ancestor's"; in Taam's the food of a specified ancestor in company with his forefathers and his atua; in a third and universal rendering, it is the diet of certain atua, whose names we have seen to be intimately connected with the ancestor cult; and in another version it is the food of ghosts when they reach their final bourne. A definite link is forged for us between Taakeuta's place of ancestors and Bouru, the usual home of the dead, by the mention of the tree Tarakaimaiu, which by Taakeuta is stated to supply an ingredient of the red food, and by the Bouru myth is shown to supply the food of the departed spirit. And Taam's specialised version brings the ideas of atua, ancestors, and the ghosts of the dead into the closest intimacy, by making all these beings foregather in a single place to eat the red food in company.

Since then these variants of the renga tradition are so intimately connected that they are fragments of a single story, and we may justifiably borrow from one the details lacking in another, to form one connected tale. We may add to Taakeuta's story the information that the land in the west, where renga was eaten by the ancestors, was called Bouru or Matang. Conversely, when we read an account of a land called Matang or Bouru, where atua and the ghosts of the dead feed upon a red food, we may assume that it was a land in the west.

A point of great interest and importance is involved in the description of the food called renga. Its redness reminds us at once of the habit of betel chewing, of which this colour is a salient feature. The western location of the place where this red food is said to be eaten is also

ANCESTRAL Lands and Renga.

significant, for it is in the archipelagoes to westward that the habit of betel chewing is pursued, and it was from the west that it spread into Melanesia and the western end of Micronesia. Geographically, therefore, our traditions are not at fault if they refer to this custom. And further, they seem to have preserved a certain amount of accuracy as to the method in which betel was chewed, for they definitely state that it was the leaf of a tree that was eaten; and although in actual practice there are three ingredients used by the betel chewer, and only two are postulated by Taakeuta's story, the fact that it was at least a composite substance seems to have been very well retained.

Standing alone, I consider that this evidence would justify an inference that the land of Matang, which was the ancestral land of at least one part of the Gilbertese race, was a land where betel-chewing was the practice. An examination of the culture of the race, with particular reference to its skull cult and its traditions of the importance of the heads of enemies in housebuilding, will establish the reasonableness of this opinion.

Land names, classification.

Butaritari.

1. Names derived from natural accidents:-

- Aonteba = On the bedrock
Temanoku = The bight
Nanonterawa = The ocean passage
Tebokaboka = The swamp
Tabontenea = The place of the pemplus
Teoraereke = The narrow surface.

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a. Events: Temauninaomata = The putrefying of men. (After a battle fought on Butaritari).

Temaunatabu = The sacred hillock (After a tabu placed on a piece of rising ground by a Uea.

Tebukinibana }
Tetaenibwe } Legendary.

Tebora = The gift for tinaba (A gift of land given by the Uea to a woman's husband).

Tebuaka = a war

Tenaaniborau

b. Other countries.

- Nutiran = New Zealand
Waatinon = Washington
Terine = Sydney
Biti = Fiji
Taamoas = Samoa

Land names, classification.

Onouna, Birewan, Matan, Bankai, Abaiti, Kiroro.

C. Mythical associations.

Terarikiriki, Tebukintake, Toutanikarawa.

d. Religio-mythical associations:-

Te Tabakea, Na-n-tabakea, Te aitabakea, Te-ai-kare-werewere.

e. Religious associations:-

Te umananti, te Abanimate, Tebanota, Tekauti.

f. Ancestral lands:-

Onouna, Abaiti, Matan, Birewan, Bouru, Mwaiki, Beru, Taamoā, Muribenua,
Kiroro, Manra, Birewan, Tarawa, Bikara, Bankai, Bannai.

Southern lands

Tamoa, Tawai, Uboru
Nuku-maroro (AKA-manono-aba)
Butuna
Tonga
Rotoma
Nanumea, Nuku-betan, and eight islands
to South of Abariranga.

Eastern lands

Maiawa
Maakaiao. Nangiro (N.E. of Banaba).

Western lands

Isongiroro, the "line of Western islands,"
which included —

From the Teana of Beela

From

(Ni Traria)
Banaba

{
Matairango
Bike-n-onioniki
Kabi-n-tongo
Tanabai
Roro (South West)
Waituru
Nabanaba

(Na Ateke)
Butaritari

{
Bikaara
Kabi-n-tongo
Maiawa
Talo-n-noto
Baa-n-tongo
Aba-naora
Katatake-i-eta

Ranga-aba;
Teranga-aba

Tabenna
Bu-Kiroro or Kiroro
Onouna
Taiiki
Matang
Ruanuna
Benuaa-Kura
Mone
Baree
Aba-iti; Aba-tiku
Aba-toa
Baban
Mao
Kiita

(sea) Manra
Böwru
Neineaba
Marira
Mwaihu

Lands of departed spirits, but also mentioned
in song of Moira.

Migrations.

People from West.

There is a tradition of Onotoa that formerly, before the coming of the people from Samoa, the island had one inhabitant whose name was Teboi. When he had lived there for some time a canoe came from a land in the West with two men in it, named Taakekea and Kaibebeku. On arrival at Onotoa their canoe capsized: the name of this canoe was Teraanga, and so the place near which it capsized is called Teraanga-aba. Taakekea and Kaibebeku settled on Onotoa, and brought a wife named Nei Karabung from Nikunau to live with them. They had many children who lived on the island until the arrival of the people of Samoa.

The name of the canoe and the land called after it at once calls to mind the name of the land next to Borneo in Indonesia - Serang. If this is a memory of an old land called Serang or Franga, we have here a good illustration of Müller's hypothesis that myths is a disease of language. The word ranga happens in Gilbertese to signify "capsize". The name having been applied to a district in Onotoa as a memory of an ancient land name, its true significance was lost: a myth of the capsizing of a canoe was then invented to explain the meaning of the word.

ANCESTRAL LANDS.

~~Butaritari~~ Locality of Mone

Butaritari

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due to spue
← has two meanings: either "down below", "in the depths", or "in the ^{west}"
← (where the sun goes into the depths).

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The Makin people and the Gilbertese generally apply i-nano to Mone intending to signify that this land is in the depths, but it is significant to note that Mone is not in the depths on the eastern side of any island; it is on the western side.

Extd. to Moya

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If we assume that Mone is one of the ancestral lands in the west, we have in all the tales concerning "Mone-in-the-depths" an illustration of Max Müller's hypothesis that myths are a disease of language. The sense of the word i-nano was lost; another meaning has been attached to it, and on this interpretation has been built up a whole series of mythical details concerning a land under the sea.

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Extd. to Moya
Nei Momatie-ni-Mone is the spirit on the westernside of the island who sets up the wall of invisibility (kibena-ni-maka) which prevents people from seeing the spirits of Mone. On the eastern side there is a spirit named Nei Teramera who prevents departing shades from going east, saying "There is no land here".

INDONESIAN ISLANDS.

Gilbertese ^h Place names compared with ^{the} East Indies.

<u>Gilbertese</u> →		<u>Indonesian</u>
Bankai	(Butaritari) Butaritari	Bangka (Sumatra)
Bangpai	(Tabiteuea) (Tabiteuea)	Bangka (N. Celebes)
Matang	(^{general} every Gilb. Ind.)	Banggai (Archipel. by E. Celebes)
	Mutan (Celebes, N. of Unauna)	Matang (Sarawak)
		Majang (Isl ^d . S.W. Borneo)
		Matan (on the Penan S.W. Borneo)
		Medan (N.E. coast Sumatra)
		lat. 3 1/2° North
		Medang (N.E. coast Sumatra) lat.
		29 North
		(presente Bangka)
Katabanga (general)	Ketapan (^{Isl^d.} ^{near} metan, coast Borneo, near Matani)	Ketapang (N. of Java Java)
Baré (general)	Paré Paré (S.W. Celebes)	Bali ^{Island} (Java Java)
Beru		Berou (N.E. Borneo)
		Berou (^{new Guinea} N. of peninsula N. Guinea)
Birewan	(Butaritari)	Palawan (Philippines)
Kuma	(Butaritari)	Kunai (S.W. coast Borneo)
Tabanga	(general) Tabiteuea	Sabang (N. of Sumatra)

<u>Gilbertese</u>		<u>Indonesian</u>
Abaiti, ^{Tawaiti} (But Tarawa) ^(Butaritari, Tarawa)		Sawai (Ceram)
Tarawa		Talowa (Celebes);
Onouna ^(Butaritari, Tarawa, Tokelau) (But Tar. Tok.)		Salawati (N tip. N Guinea)
Bouru (Banaba) Pulu Babi		Onin (N.W. New Guinea)
	(N.W. Sumatra) →	Bouru Island
Onouna		Unauna Is (Celebes)
Mwaiku (Tarawa)		Waigiu Is (N. end of N Guinea)
Mwaikiu ^{Butaritari, Makin} (But Tar.)		Bikasa Is (Marshalls)
Bikati (Butaritari)		Bekasi (Koran District Java)
Banaba (Id. also place name)		Palopa (Celebes Islands)
Betio (Tarawa Is , Pronounced Bedjio)		Pidjiu (Lombok)
Kiboru (Butaritari)		Upolu
Kota (Makin)	Kota Baru, Sumatra; Kota Baru, S.E. Borneo. Kota Baru, Malacca. (Kota - town)	
Taribo (Makin, Nonouti)		Taliabo Island
Teranga (Marakei)		↑
Terangaba (=land of Teranga)		Serang (Ceram)
Kiroro ^{Bahidi, Tarawa} (But Tar.)		Gilolo
Obu (Makin)		Obi Islands (Islands)
Manra ^{etc lands} (many Gilb Is)		Banda Islands (Islands)
Balo, Baro (Makin)		Palu (Bay, Cape, Town) Coast (Celebes)

ANCESTRAL LANDS

- 3 -

Gilbertese →

Marira

Miré (But ~~astar~~)

Mangiree (Makin)

Indonesian

Manila (Philippines)

Miri (~~Sumatra~~ Borneo)

Mangerai (W. ~~Sumatra~~ Flores)

~~ANDESRIAL LINDS~~

Butaritari Land Names

Ubantakoto	Tekeran ^w	Neinauti	Bankai	Onoi ^u kna
Tenaeriki	Teere	Kamatao	Onawa	Bo ^k kiroro
Namoka	Uee	Taruoaieta	Wi ^k ki ^k	Ninobi
Naataata	Mangirere	Marieta	Rotuma	
Kaionobi	Rotuma	Na ^k kiroro	Terang-aba	
Kotirawa	Ta ^a beibei	Rama	Taribo	
Tontonna	Abarao	Koiroa	Momokirang	
Auti ^k ia	Tuta	U ^m aia-ataei	Te ^w itara	
Bankenna	Renren	Mone	Terabi	
Tebokiawai	Nukuan	Tebongirofo	Matang	
Ta ^v nrawa	Ewena	Ano	Rauta	
Taunata	Teukin	Kuria	Taiti	
Muribenua	Orawi	Marube	Abatiku	
Mabutang	Abaoti	Abariringa	Tabei	
Bi ^p no	Nangiro	Onobaki	Mauriki	
Rarango	Otua	Manga	Wa ^k ki	
Ranongana	Arauri	Booaki	Ma ^a ta	
Bikou	Marakei	Tiaon	Buota	
Mire	Kaitang	Kabinea	Abemama	
Mwake	Bu ⁿ uaka	Benuake	Nenearo	
Neingongo	Namorara	Abaiang	Kiboru	
Teike	Tawaiti	Oretenge	Aonibei	
Teineita	Bikewa	Ta ⁿ rabo	Marake	
Birewan	Antimai	Tabokao	Tu ⁿ eia Triria	

Land names; classification

Butaritari

1. Names derived from natural accidents:

- Aonteba = On the bedrock.
Temanoku = The bight.
Nanonterawa = The ocean passage.
Tebokaboka = The swamp.
Tabontene^a_λ = The place of the pemp^klus.
Teaoraereke = The narrow surface.

2. Names derived from historical associations and legendary associations:

(a) Events } Temaun^s_λinaomata = The putrefying of men. (After a battle fought on Butaritari).

Temaun^s_λatabu = The sacred hillock (After a tabu placed on a piece of rising ground by a^λ Uea).

Tebukinibana^s_λ }
Tetaenibwe } } Legendary.

Tebora = The gift for tinaba (A gift of land given by the Uea to a woman's husband).

Tebuaka = a war

Tena^λniborau

(b) Other countries

Nutiran = New Zealand

Wa^λtiniton = Washington

Terine = Sydney

Biti = Fiji

Ta^λmoa = Samoa

Onoua (etc. as well)

Land names, classification.

~~Onouna, Birewan, Matan^g, Bankai, Abaiti, Kiroro.~~

(c) Mythical associations:

Terarikiriki, Tebukintake, ~~Te Terarikiriki~~ Rota.

(d) Religio-mythical associations:

Te Tabakea, Naⁿ-ⁿ-ⁿTabakea, Te ^Aitabakea, Te ^Aaiⁿ-ⁿkareⁿ-ⁿwerewere.

(e) Religious associations:

Te Umananti, te Abanimate, Teban^gota, Tekauti.

(f) Ancestral lands:

Onouna, Abaiti, Matan^g, Birewan, Bouru, Mwaik^u, Beru, Ta^umoa, Muribenua,
Kiroro, Manra, Birewan, Tarawa, Bikara, Bankai^g, Bangai.

~~ANCESTRAL LAAPS~~

Makin land names,

Kamokamo	Nauburabura	Baaro
Abatang	Rawanawi	^M Nweau
Barē	Karoiribia	Uriaki
Te ^h Kima	Obu	Tukure
Tutara	Namororo	Tuati
Beru	Nuatabu	Biti
Nonouti	Kota	Maobuna
Auruaiā	Rikoia	Banaba
Tanata ^g _Λ u	Tara ^h awa	Kabanei
Namakua	Utiroa	Tekiribare
Na ^h uru	Barematang	Tikobia
Bouru	Utibure	Na ^h itoa
Antene	Tanaboā	Teniba
Nantaubai	Karuruota	Nakirikiri
Manra	Toanaura	Nanoa
Tabean	Tebuatara	Utibure
Arorae	Neikokoa	Ta ^h riba
Kiratua	Teaikaina	Kaua
Rawaeai	Kakoriria	Onne
M ^a non	Tabaranata	Baretaiti
Kabiaua	Bakinikin	Tanibaba
Ta ^h bora	Tabwean	
Ka ^g _Λ nitano	Taribo	
Tonaieta	Auainano	

Lands mentioned in Gilbertese oral tradition

(1) Southern lands

Tamoā; Tawai; Uboru.

Nukumaroro (Aka-manono-aba).

Butuna; Tonga; Rotima.

Nanumea; Nuku-betau; and eight islands to the south of Abariringa.

(2) Eastern lands

Maiawa; Makaiāo; Nangiō (N.E. of Banaba).

(3) Western lands

Tebongiroro, the 'line of western islands', including, according to Nei Tearia of Banaba:

Matairango; Bike-n-onioniki; Kabi-n-tongo;

Tanabai; Roro (south-west of Banaba);

Waituru; Nabanaba.

And according to Na Ateke of Butaritari:

Bikara; Kabi-n-tongo; Maiawa; Tabo-n-noto;

Ba-n-tongo; Aba-oraora; Katatake-i-eta.

Tabeuna;

Ranga-aba or Teranga-aba;

Bu-Kiroro or Kiroro;

Onouna;

Taiki;

Matang;

Ruanuna;

Benua-kura;

Mone;

Bare;

Aba-iti or Aba-tiku;

Aba-toa;

Baban;

Mao;

Kiita.

Lands of the departed spirits,
also mentioned in the Song of Moiwa:

Manra;

Bouru;

Neineaba;

Marira;

Mwaiku.

There is a tradition of Onotoa that formerly, before the coming of the people from Samoa, the island had one inhabitant whose name was Teboi. When he had lived there for some time a canoe came from a land in the west with two men in it, named Takeakea and Kaibebeku. On arrival at Onotoa their canoe capsized: the name of the canoe was Teranga, and so the place near which it capsized is called Teranga-aba. Takeakea and Kaibebeku settled on Onotoa and brought a wife named Nei Karabung from Nikunau to live with them. They bred many children, who lived on the island until the arrival of the people of Samoa.

The name of the canoe and the land called after it at once calls to mind the name of the land next to Bouru in Indonesia: Serang. If this is a memory of an old land called Serang or Teranga, we have here a good illustration of Muller's hypothesis that myth is a disease of language. The word ranga happens in Gilbertese to signify 'capsize'. The name having been applied to a district in Onotoa as a memory of an ancient land name, its true significance was lost: a myth of the capsizing of a canoe was then invented to explain the meaning of the word.

The Story of Obaia-te-buraerae

A Butaritari version of this story, which is similar in all salient points to the Tarawa version, gives an interesting list of the lands in the west over which Obaia was blown by his brother Tabuariki-the-Wind before he found a foothold on Onouna.

According to this version: 'The wind beat him westward over Banaba, and over Onaoru (Nauru) also. He wished to settle there, but his feet found no hold. Indeed, he was beaten westward by the wind over the island of Tebuariki also, and Baribari, and Tabukin-anti. He wished to settle there but his feet found no hold. He was beaten westward again by the wind. Then he stretched out his feet to settle on the island of Ruaniwa (Lieueniua), but they found no hold for the wind carried him over to the west. And again he saw a land below him; and lo, he floated above it, for the wind abated; and he found foothold there. The name of that land was Onouna; it was very far to the west.

After this the story coincides with the Tarawa account, but gives the extra detail that the name of Nei Katura's father was Terabanga.

Nei Tituabine was indeed an inhabitant of Matang, in the west, and there was also a certain inhabitant of Matang, her brother, whose name was Auriaria, and his wife was Nei Tevenei. That company went on living in Matang; and the manner of them was that they were High Chiefs.

Auriaria was of exceeding beauty, he was red-skinned and of a giant's stature, and he was courted by the women of that land.

Auriaria went abroad on a day, and he met with Nei Tituabine. She was a woman of unequalled beauty, for she also was red-skinned, and the pupils of her eyes flashed, even as it were the lightning in heaven.

That man went towards her, and when he came to her he said thus: 'Woman, how great in me is the love of thee'. As for her, she answered saying thus: 'Sir, I also indeed love thee'.

And behold! Auriaria committed incest with that sister of his, Nei Tituabine.

And Nei Tevenei, the wife of Auriaria, was angry when she heard, for she was jealous; and so she ran away from her husband. She mounted on her canoe, she travelled eastwards, she came to Tarawa. She stayed a while at Tarawa, and again she set forth to Maiana: she settled on that land, and she named the place where she settled Arinnanona.

And Auriaria did not cease to make love with Nei Tituabine, but he begot no children upon her. And behold! Nei Tituabine fell ill: she felt her death approaching and she spoke to that man, saying: 'How sad it is now that I am about to die, and there is no child of mine to remain with thee as the comforter of thy sorrow! But come, still thy heart, for there is a thing which shall grow as a memorial of me with thee. When I die, thou shalt bury me, and thou shalt await the tree which shall grow over me; and if any (tree) grow, thou shalt care for it.'

She died, and Auriaria buried her. A while passed, and a tree grew from the top of her head, even the coconut. And a second tree grew from her navel, the almond; and the third grew from her heels, the pandanus. These were the things that grew from within the body of Nei Tituabine, and they remained after her as the comforters of Auriaria's sorrow; for when he drank a coconut he rubbed noses with her; and when he was wrapped in his sleeping-mat he met her body; and his food, the first-fruits of the pandanus and the almond, was also the body of that woman.

And those trees, indeed, were carried by Auriaria wherever he voyaged, as a memorial of Nei Tituabine forever.

We can recognise the western land of Matang pictured in this myth as the place populated by the betel-chewing, fair-skinned ancestral deities of the renqa-Paradise traditions,¹ and as the ancient fatherland of the head-hunting Tree-folk - the tawny-skinned Breed of Matang - identified, with their

¹ Grinble 1933: 55-9

A

deities Auriaria and Nei Titua¹bine, ~~in Section 12.~~ It is convenient now to ~~record~~ ^{assemble} such other fragments of information or belief concerning this storied country as popular memory still preserves.

According to one set of tales, concerned chiefly with the voyages and adventures of Auriaria, Matang is a foursquare island, peopled by "old gods (anti n ikawai)", unattainable by human beings because, when approached, it either "flies to heaven" or "sinks beneath the sea".¹⁰ This Matang is believed by some chroniclers to lie near Samoa, but is placed by others next to the Land of Bouru in the west - an association which we have already seen confirmed in the renga-Paradise traditions. The "old gods" who rule the land are Tangaroa with his brothers Timirau,

Footnote 5. ¹¹⁰ Compare with this account of Matang the Polynesian account of Motu Tapu, the magic floating and sinking island, where dwelt the fish-god Timirau. S. Percy Smith, Hawaiki,

¹ Grunle 1933: 71

Taubareroa, Rabaraba, Teborata, and Bwebwe-n-renga. All these are the "fathers" of the heroine, Nei Tituaabine, whose picture (precisely as in paragraph 3 of the above text) is that of a beautiful red-skinned girl with eyes as bright as lightning.

This association of Nei Tituaabine with lightning is not merely figurative. We have already seen how the red lightning of the westerly storm-clouds is sometimes called "the renga of Nei Tituaabine"; both in the Matang stories and in general tradition her appearance upon the scene is commonly pictured as being heralded by a lightning flash; and the lightning is said by some to take vengeance upon those who disturb her totem-creature at sea, the Giant Ray, while - on the other hand - any

⁽¹¹²⁾ Footnote 6. See Section 11(b) ante.

⁽¹¹²⁾ Footnote 7. All kinds of Ray are associated with Nei Tituaabine, but the Giant Ray is the variety used as a totem by the clan of Keaki, whose other totem is the Tropic Bird (vide Section 12(d) ante)

person (whatever his totem-group may be) who consistently abstains from molesting this creature is believed to be safe from the lightning flash if any kind of Ray appear in his vicinity during a storm. These facts, read together, leave us with little doubt that, although Nei Tituaabine is no longer recognised as a "departmental" deity of lightning, she once

W. J. G. 1933

Grille 1933: 56

occupied that position in the Pantheon of the Gilbertese forefathers; and this serves to stress her family likeness to all those other gods sprung from the Ancestral Tree - the red-skinned eaters of renga in the land of Matang - whose astronomical and meteorological associations are so plainly marked: Nei Teveneï, the Meteor; Riiki, the Milky Way; Tabu^uariki, the Thunderer; and, above all, her brother-paramour, the presiding spirit of the Tree, Auriaria, whom the evidence shortly to be recorded will identify as a Sun-god.

The tradition of redness, or fairness of skin, which has been seen to cling so closely to the people and gods of Matang, is well supported in paragraphs 12 and 30 of our myth, and is further emphasized by two useful pieces of social evidence hitherto unrecorded. The first is, that the tedious bleaching process called te ko,⁸¹¹³ to which Gilbertese girls of high rank were once subjected, was undertaken with the avowed

Footnote 8.¹¹³ I have described the bleaching process in a paper entitled From Birth to Death

intention of reproducing the ancient fairness of the Matang people; and the second is, that when Europeans first appeared in the Gilbert Group, they were immediately called, because of their fair complexion, I-Matang (Inhabitants-of-Matang), a name which they bear today.

In the domain of material culture, the name of Matang is found attached to the weapon known as te koro-matang, a heavy cigar-shaped throwing stick, pointed at both ends, formerly much used in war. As a land-name, it is ubiquitous, there being no Gilbert Island without its Matang. As a plant name, it belongs to a variety of pandanus tree, te Ara-matang, still cultivated in the Gilbert Group. ⁷¹¹⁴ It is such small

Footnote 2. ¹¹⁴ Bouru, that other renga-Paradise associated with Matang, has also given its name to a pandanus tree, te Ara-bouru. A third variety of the plant to be called after a western fatherland is te An-nabanaba. The name of Nabanaba has already been seen attached to a form of cooking oven (section 2), and also to a variety of Malay custard-apple (section 6, Emergency Diet).

concrete facts which, linking themselves with the evidence of tradition, help to set the original Matang, as I have observed earlier, within the category of material realities.

[Handwritten scribble]

33

A comparison of our myth with the text of the Keaki tradition ¹ ~~examined in Section 12(d)~~ throws further light upon the manner in which myth-material can suffer mutilation at the hands of the native historian. Setting aside the almond tree (which is peculiar to Baanaba, and has thus naturally disappeared from the annals of other Gilbertese-speaking communities), the myth with which we are dealing is ^a ~~the~~ plain tale of the growth of coconut and pandanus from the head and heels of Nei Tituaabine, as the result of her incestuous union with Auriaria. Certain essentials of this story are obviously alluded to in the Keaki tradition, but in what garbled form! As far as the pandanus is concerned, the chief reasons for such mutilation have been explained: the pandanus has special genealogical and religious associations, which inhibit its free discussion. No such limitations, however, apply to the coconut; nevertheless, we find the Keaki historian juggling with his material in an amazing manner. He causes the coconut to grow, not from the head of the goddess, but from the grave of her totem-creature. He throws a sop to accuracy by recording indeed, that it was at the head of the Tropic Bird that the tree grew; and

¹ Grumble 1933: 73-80

he keeps the goddess personally in the picture by making her the planter of the seed-nut; but this he does merely because it fits in conveniently with his tale. The rest of the myth, the brother-sister love of Auriaria and Nei Titua~~bine~~, he completely ignores, because it does not fit in. We shall observe examples of such licence in other traditions that will come up for analysis. The native historian likes to use the earlier stages of his clan's pedigree as a vehicle for conveying, not only a series of genealogical and geographical facts, but also a tincture of the natural philosophy peculiar to his social group. In other words, he takes a base of historical material as the warp across which he may weave a weft of mythical strands. But in adopting this course, he never loses sight of his main object - the telling of history^{if} - and to this end he makes his myth-matter subservient, taking often the colour rather than the form of it to embellish or illustrate his account of facts, permitting himself the utmost freedom of selection, rejection or, if need be, distortion, and preferring at all times to be allusive rather than outspoken. It ^{is} will be well to bear this in mind when ^{analysing Gilbertese} ~~other~~ texts have to be analysed.

Endnotes

Note the sudden transition, in this paragraph, from myth to history. The chronicler uses the dramatic opportunity offered by the quarrel of Nei Teveneï with her husband to introduce the sketch of a migration out of Matang into the Gilbert Group.

The allusion is to the 'face' of the coconut, which is believed to be the face of Nei Tituabine, and from which a man (though not a woman) is obliged to drink. The rubbing of noses - or rather nostrils - is the love-greeting in the Gilbert Islands.

All Gilbertese sleeping-mats are manufactured of pandanus leaf.

The offering of pandanus first-fruits to Auriaria (in company with the Sun and Moon) is described ^{on p. 11...} elsewhere. The first-fruits of the almond on Banaba were offered not to Auriaria, but to Nei Tituabine; nevertheless they were indeed the 'food' of Auriaria, in the sense that one of his totem-creatures, the Rat, invariably consumed the offering left at the boua (stone pillar) of Nei Tituabine.

Compare with this account of Matang the Polynesian account of Motu Tapu, the magic floating and sinking island, where dwelt the fish-god Timirau. - Smith 1910: (?).

All kinds of Ray are associated with Nei Tituabine, but the Giant Ray is the variety used as a totem by the clan of Keaki, whose other totem is the Tropic Bird; - *Grumble 1933: Table facing 20; 72.*

Bouru, that other renqa-Paradise associated with Matang, has also given its name to a pandanus tree, te Arabouru. A third variety of the plant to be called after a western fatherland is te Annabanaba. The name of Nabanaba has also been seen attached to a form of cooking oven and to a variety of Malay custard-apple; - *Grumble 1933: 9, 29.*

Mōne.

all
inscribed in
locality of base

Mōne the land in the depths could not be reached by going east, only by going west. Nei Terāmera a spirit prevents one from going East. Nei Mōm'atimimōne is in west.

Death Nei Aibōā is in the west.

an old woman constantly kept it
alight, until buried or dry.

Entire family was collected, no
exception, beside corpse

Food was laid at dead man's head
(babai with roots & leaves entire) as
"Ramoan wana" to land of shades.

Also an entire full grown coconut
tree with roots. These were called
"Maki-n-te mate".

After burial the babai was cut
and unumaki; no child might
eat it.

Mythology.

Tale of Obai-a-ta-buraerae.

Butantari.

A Butantari version of this tale, which is similar in all salient points to the Tarawa tale exhibited (see Myth file), gives an interesting list of the lands in the West over which Obai-a was blown by his brother Tabuaniki-the-Wind before he found a foothold on Onouma. Says this version: "The wind beat him westward over Banaba, and over Onāorua (Nauru) also. He wished to settle there, but his feet found no hold. Indeed, he was beaten westward by the wind over the island of Tebuariki also, and Baribari, and Tabukim-anti. He wished to settle there but his feet found no hold. He was beaten westward again by the wind. Then he stretched out his feet to settle on the land of Ruaniwa (Niue), but they found no hold for the wind carried him over to the west. And again he saw a land below him; and lo, he floated above it, for the wind abated; and he found foothold there. The name of that land was Onouma; it was very far to the west."

After this the story coincides with the Tarawa account, but gives the extra detail, that the name of Nui Katura's father was Turābanga.

ANCESTRAL Lands and Renga.

According to the old man Taakeuta of Marakei, the red food called te renga is the "food of ancestors" in the west. The redness of the sky every day at sunset is a memorial of the redness of the renga, and of the western land where it is eaten. There is a tradition in the utu of Taakeuta that the renga is not eaten alone, being always accompanied by the leaves of the tree called Tarakaimaiu. This tree, as we have seen in the death myths recorded elsewhere, is the marvellous tree universally believed to grow in the land of departed spirits — either Bouru or Matang, according to the tradition recorded.

The old man Taam of Marakei, who is descended from a Beruan ancestor named Kaabwibwi, remembers a tradition of his utu relating how Kaabwibwi used in dreams to visit the west and eat renga in company with his atua Tabu-ariki; after death his ghost is believed to have gone to reside in the west with his ancestors, there to feast with them on the red food.

The traditions of renga, though universal in the Gilberts, are not usually so definite in their connection with known ancestors as the above. The account which finds acceptance on most islands is that the red food is the diet of the great atua of the race, Tabu-ariki, Tituaabine, Taburimai, and Auriaria. These beings live on the island of Matang, which is one of the lands whither the departed ghosts go after the death of the body. There is another very widespread belief that renga is the food of the departed ghost when it reaches its final resting place, but Bouru and not Matang is the land with which I have always heard this belief connected.

ANCESTRAL Lands and Renga.

Clearly all these accounts of renga have reference to a single set of ideas concerning the land of shades. In Taakeuta's account it is the "food of the ancestor's"; in Taam's the food of a specified ancestor in company with his forefathers and his atua; in a third and universal rendering, it is the diet of certain atua, whose names we have seen to be intimately connected with the ancestor cult; and in another version it is the food of ghosts when they reach their final bourne. A definite link is forged for us between Taakeuta's place of ancestors and Bouru, the usual home of the dead, by the mention of the tree Tarakaimaiu, which by Taakeuta is stated to supply an ingredient of the red food, and by the Bouru myth is shown to supply the food of the departed spirit. And Taam's specialised version brings the ideas of atua, ancestors, and the ghosts of the dead into the closest intimacy, by making all these beings foregather in a single place to eat the red food in company.

Since then these variants of the renga tradition are so intimately connected that they are fragments of a single story, and we may justifiably borrow from one the details lacking in another, to form one connected tale. We may add to Taakeuta's story the information that the land in the west, where renga was eaten by the ancestors, was called Bouru or Matang. Conversely, when we read an account of a land called Matang or Bouru, where atua and the ghosts of the dead feed upon a red food, we may assume that it was a land in the west.

A point of great interest and importance is involved in the description of the food called renga. Its redness reminds us at once of the habit of betel chewing, of which this colour is a salient feature. The western location of the place where this red food is said to be eaten is also

ANCESTRAL Lands and Renga.

significant, for it is in the archipelagoes to westward that the habit of betel chewing is pursued, and it was from the west that it spread into Melanesia and the western end of Micronesia. Geographically, therefore, our traditions are not at fault if they refer to this custom. And further, they seem to have preserved a certain amount of accuracy as to the method in which betel was chewed, for they definitely state that it was the leaf of a tree that was eaten; and although in actual practice there are three ingredients used by the betel chewer, and only two are postulated by Taakeuta's story, the fact that it was at least a composite substance seems to have been very well retained.

Standing alone, I consider that this evidence would justify an inference that the land of Matang, which was the ancestral land of at least one part of the Gilbertese race, was a land where betel-chewing was the practice. An examination of the culture of the race, with particular reference to its skull cult and its traditions of the importance of the heads of enemies in housebuilding, will establish the reasonableness of this opinion.

Ancestral Lands and Renga

According to the old man Taakenta of Marakei, the red food called te ranga was the "food of ancestors" in the west. The redness of the sky every day at sunset is a memorial of the redness of the ranga, and of the western land where it ~~is~~ eaten. There is a tradition in the utu of Taakenta that the ranga is not eaten alone, being always accompanied by the leaves of the tree called Tarakaimain. This tree, as we have seen in the death myths recorded elsewhere, is the marvellous tree universally believed to grow in the land of departed spirits—either Bouru or Matang, according to the tradition recorded.

The old man Taam of Marakei, who is descended from a Berman ancestor named Kaabwibwi, remembers a tradition of his utu relating how Kaabwibwi used in dreams to visit the west and eat ranga in company with his atua Tabu-ariki; after death his ghost is believed to have gone to reside in the west with his ancestors, there to feast with them on the red food.

The traditions of ranga, though universal in the Gilberts, are not usually so definite in their connection with known ancestors as the above. The account which finds acceptance on most islands is that the red food is the diet of the great atua of the race, Tabu-ariki, Tituaabine, Taburimari, and Awiraris. These beings live on the island of Matang, which is one of the lands whither the departed ghosts go after the death of the body. There is another very widespread belief that ranga is the food of the departed ghost

when it reaches its final resting place, but Bourn and not Matang is the land with which I have always heard this belief connected.

Clearly all these accounts of runga have reference to a single set of ideas concerning the land of shades. In Taakenta's account it is the "food of the ancestor's"; in Taam's the food of a specified ancestor in company with his forefathers and his atua; in a ^{third} and universal rendering, it is the diet of certain atua, whose names we have seen to be intimately connected with the ancestor cult; and in another version it is the food of ghosts when they reach their final bourne. A definite link is forged for us between Taakenta's place of ancestors and Bourn, the usual home of the dead, by the mention of the tree Taakaimain, which by Taakenta is stated to supply an ingredient of the red food, and by the Bourn myth is shown to supply the food of the departed spirit. And Taam's specialised version brings the ideas of atua, ancestors, and the ghosts of the dead into the closest intimacy, by making all these beings foregather in a single place to eat the red food in company.

Since then these variants of the runga tradition are so intimately connected with each other, we may assume that they are fragments of a single story, and we may justifiably borrow from one the details lacking in another, to form one connected story tale. We may add to Taakenta's story the information that the land in the west,

where ruga was eaten by the ancestors, was called Bown or Matang. Conversely, when we read an account of a land called Matang or Bown, where atua and the ghosts of the dead feed upon a red food, we may assume that it was a land in the west.

A point of great interest and importance is involved in the description of the food called ruga. Its redness reminds us at once of the habit of betel chewing, of which this colour is a salient feature. The western location of the place where this red food is ^{said to be} eaten is also significant, for it is in the archipelagoes to westward that the habit of betel chewing is pursued, and it was from the west that it spread into Melanesia and the western end of Micronesia. Geographically, therefore, our traditions are not at fault if they refer to this custom. And further, they seem to have preserved a certain amount of accuracy as to the method in which betel was ~~chewed~~ ^{chewed}, for they definitely state that it was the leaf of a tree that was eaten; and although in actual practice there are three ingredients ^{used} by the betel chewer, and only two are postulated by Taakenta's story, the fact that it was at least a composite substance seems to have been very well

ntained.

Standing alone, I consider that this evidence would justify an inference that the land of Matang, which was the ancestral land of at least one part of the Gilbertese race, was a land where betel-chewing was the practice. An examination of the culture of the race, with particular reference to its skull cult and its traditions of the importance of the heads of enemies, in housebuilding, will establish the reasonableness of this opinion.