FROM

TA'AROA

TO

'ORO

An Exploration of Themes in the Traditional Culture and History of the Leeward Society Islands.

BY

H.A.B. DRIESSEN

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is all my own work.

Hank A. H. Driessen

July 1991
ABSTRACT

That most studies of the Society Islands primarily deal with the windward group, is due to the post-contact history of the archipelago. From its discovery in 1767, Tahiti became the preferred anchorage for European ships in need of provisions. Missionaries and traders followed. Consequently, our sources are richest for the windward Society Islands.

The centre of the indigenous universe, however, was in the leeward Society Islands and these are the main focus of this study. Myths, traditions, symbolisms, genealogies, speech and language are analysed to uncover some of the culture’s fundamental themes and patterns and to gain insights into the indigenous ethos.

The first chapter deals with the origins of the people. Traditional beliefs in an ancient homeland were noted as early as 1769 and are consistent with vernacular texts recorded many decades later. The findings of linguistics and archaeology relating to the problem of origins and population dispersals are also examined. Interpretations of the latter evidence are at variance with the claims of Society Islands traditions.

Cosmogony is the subject of chapter two, which examines the traditional cosmic structure and the interaction between its binary polarities, Po and Ao. Concepts of time, place, origins and ultimate destination were shaped by the cosmic structure. The major event of the ritual calendar entailed a re-enactment of cosmogony. An analysis of original vernacular texts reveals a dialectic of the raw and the cooked. Excretal aspects of ritual and myth hitherto ignored by the culture studies of the region are given meaning. Contextual meanings of tapu, ra’a and noa are examined. Marae were places of ritual at the intersection of Po and Ao.

Chapter three further explores the Po-Ao theme. Chiefs were the intermediaries between the two realms and embodied society’s ora or well-being. Death was a return to the beginning and defined by loss of ora. The place of origin had a physical location in the leeward Society Islands, which was hedged with oral symbolisms consistent with perceptions of the body as pathways between Po and Ao.

Chapter four analyses genealogies and marae which together formed the heart of the culture, providing linkages between past and present. The only cosmogonic genealogy known for the archipelago is examined in detail. Changes and shifts in mythology are reflections of the increasing socio-political importance of certain marae.

In chapter five, cosmogony is traced to the first human ancestors and sacred chiefs of Raiatea and Borabora. The conflicting traditions of certain significant marae cannot now be resolved in the absence of other evidence. The 'Oro cult peculiar to the Society Islands may have originated in another archipelago. Genealogies and traditions reveal a historical Boraboran dominance over the sacred centre at Raiatea that possibly goes back to the introduction of 'Oro. The Boraboran warrior-chief Puni of Cook’s time, reasserted this traditional dominance.
During Puni’s reign rumours reached the Society Islands, concerning strange beings and wondrous vessels passing through the nearby Tuamotus. The likely immediate source of these rumours are examined in chapter six. They were translated into prophecies consistent with the traditional universe and the political situation in the leeward islands. The prophecies heralded the cultural changes to come with the discovery of Tahiti.
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REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

All footnote references are to shortened titles and the following abbreviations are used:

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That most studies of the Society Islands are primarily focused on Tahiti is a function of the post-contact history of the archipelago. During the thirty years between its discovery by Captain Wallis in 1767 and the arrival of the first English missionaries in 1797, European ships called at Tahiti no less than fifteen times. As the largest and most populous of the Society Islands, Tahiti became the place where needs for provisions, water and wood could be safely satisfied. A friendly relationship had been established by Cook with the chiefly family of the Pare-Arue districts whose protection and co-operation could be increasingly relied upon. Some of these early visitors stayed for several months and there were two episodes of a more sustained European presence. Spanish missionaries made the first bid for Tahitian souls during 1774-1775 and fifteen *Bounty* mutineers added to the political unrest on the island for almost three years between 1789 and 1791. Pork traders from Port Jackson began to call at Tahiti once the first mission station was established there. After 1800 the accounts of casual visitors became augmented by the letters and journals of the missionaries, some of whom gathered a large body of ethnographic data from the first generation of converts.

By contrast, few European ships called at the leeward Society Islands before the 1820s. The first known European sighting of these islands was in 1722 by Jacob Roggeveen who sailed past at a distance and mistook Maupiti and Borabora for Tefahi and Niuatobutabu of the northern Tongan group. In 1769 Cook, guided by the Raiatean chief-priest Tupa'ia exiled on Tahiti, discovered the leeward group and named them Society Islands because they "lay contiguous to one another". This name later came to include the windward islands also. After Cook's subsequent short visits in 1773-1774, the few ships known to have reached the

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leeward islands before 1800 made only brief stop-overs or simply sailed past. Apart from a valuable trader’s account in the early 1800s, the next substantial eyewitness reports were by the missionaries. Between November 1808 and October 1809 a party fleeing the civil war of Tahiti resided on Huahine. After 1818 mission stations became established on all the leeward islands except Maupiti. By that time the people had largely abandoned their ancient gods and religious practices.

Our sources are richest for the windward group and our historiography is biased accordingly. However, the centre of the indigenous universe lay in the leeward group, at Raiatea which was "the cradle of royalty and religion" for the whole of the Society Islands. A truly island-centred history or cultural study of the archipelago needs to take into account the significance of the leeward islands and come to grips with the available sources. This requires the acquisition of linguistic skills as much valuable information is extant only in the language of the region as recorded for or by some of the missionaries, or in imperfect translations.

The importance of developments and events in the leeward islands for the windward group has become evident particularly in one major theme in the post-contact history of Tahiti, viz. the intense status-rivalry between a number of intermarrying chiefly lineages. A more ancient hierarchy was disturbed by the relatively recent introduction of a new religious cult dedicated to the war-god 'Oro whose centre of worship was in the Opoa district of Raiatea. A close kin relationship with the Opoan chiefs sacred under 'Oro and concomitant rights to wear sacred feather girdles during certain high rituals now became the differentiae for the gradation of rank among the chiefly lineages of Tahiti. In 1774 Cook noted that the leading chiefly families of Tahiti, Moorea, Huahine, Borabora and Raiatea were all related to one another.

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6 Cook II, 411.
This study follows on from a B.A. Honours thesis submitted to the La Trobe University in 1978. That thesis concerned the introduction to Tahiti of an 'Oro idol and a sacred red-feather girdle from Raiatea in c.1760. It also examined consanguineal and other ties between chiefs of the two island groups, and the interplay of rank, power and authority at Opoa. The present work also has a primary focus on the leeward islands but is not confined by a narrow colligatory theme. It broadly explores a number of themes and issues relating to traditional beliefs about the cosmos and genesis (Po and Ao), and shifts in cultus (Ta’aroa to 'Oro). As an exploration of the symbolic world it draws on vernacular sources that required translating, or in some instances re-translating. An extended version of chapter six, dealing with certain prophecy traditions and their interpretations, has already been published.

This thesis has been made possible by a Commonwealth Post-Graduate Research Award which was augmented financially by the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University. The university also provided funding for fieldwork. I have incurred debts to many people of both a professional and personal nature. I would like to acknowledge the help from staff at the following institutions; in Tahiti, the Protestant Church Archives; in Hawaii, the Hawaiian Children’s Mission Library, the Bernice P. Bishop Museum and the Sinclair Library of the University of Hawaii; in England, the School of African and Oriental Studies at the University of London and the British Museum; in Paris, the Archives d’Outre-Mer; in Wellington, the Alexander Turnbull Library; in Sydney, the Mitchell Library and the State Archives of New South Wales; in Canberra, the National Library of Australia and the Menzies Library of the Australian National University. I had access to the Records Room of the Department of Pacific & S.E. Asian History. I shall never forget the hospitality and friendship of Bengt and Marie-Therese Danielsson and Paea who placed their entire research library and my disposal. I enjoyed many stimulated discussions on things linguistic with Ralph White who also provided excellent translations of some manuscripts. I received assistance also from Aurora Natua who examined

7 H. Driessen, Opoan Connexions.

8 H. A. H. Driessen, Outriggerless Canoes and glorious Beings, J.P.H. 17.
my genealogical reconstructions and filled some of the gaps. Pastor Schneider kindly allowed me unrestricted access to the church archives. In the leeward islands I am particularly indebted to Williamu Ching and family, and to Peta O'opa. On Hawaii I would like to specifically thank Jane Knight and Leila Goodell for their interest and friendship, and Kenneth Emory for his kind encouragement and for allowing me access to certain manuscripts. Thanks are due also to Ray Grover and Michael Hodder of the National Archives of New Zealand for their support in granting me the time needed to complete this work.

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CHAPTER ONE

[ORIGINS OF SOCIETY ISLANDERS: LINGUISTICS, ARCHAEOLOGY, TRADITIONS ETC.]

The people of the Society Islands traditionally held two types of belief concerning their origins. On the one hand their ancestors had come from the west and on the other, the first human beings were created at Raiatea and from there spread to the other islands in the archipelago. In mythology as well as tradition, Raiatea was the fons et origo of people, chiefs and gods for all the islands of the group. Remote origins whether genesis or immigration, were expressed as having been "fanau po or born in the night" meaning "wrapped in impenetrable gloom" or of such antiquity that "the mind is lost in the contemplation" (1).

The whence of Society Islanders has long been the subject of debate within the wider context of the gradual penetration of the Polynesian triangle by people moving in from western Oceania. Modern archaeology and linguistics have partly lifted the "impenetrable gloom" of Polynesian prehistory; a problem remains, however, in determining the point of entry into eastern Polynesia, the place where a period of isolation saw the development of certain unique traits. Following this postulated interval of cultural incubation, people then carried these traits as part of their cultural luggage further into the vast uninhabited island world. Such a "bottleneck" or region of "primary dispersal" is thought to be the best way of explaining why farflung eastern Polynesian islands share certain linguistic and ethnographic traits not found in western Polynesia, since these traits cannot reasonably be assumed to have developed several times (2).

(2) Peter Bellwood, Conquest, 127, 318.
It has long been the view that the Society Islands were the point of entry into eastern Polynesia and the primary dispersal centre where the basic eastern Polynesian culture developed and emanated but this has been challenged in recent decades by many prehistorians in favour of the Marquesas. The origins of the Society Islanders according to traditional beliefs are here compared with the findings of linguistics and archaeology.

According to the missionary William Ellis, stationed at Huahine, traditional claims were that the people originated "from a country in the direction of the setting sun". Several names were given to this western homeland but, paradoxically, none of these names were "remembered by the present inhabitants" of the Society Islands. In his opinion there was "little reason to suppose they can impart any valuable information as to the country whence the inhabitants originally came". Comparisons of language and customs showed affinities between Polynesians, Malays and Malagasy, but Ellis placed no value on traditions and thought that the trade winds blowing from east to west were a decisive barrier to western origins. Consequently he suggested that the Pacific and beyond was populated from the American continent, with the Hawaiian Islands as the springboard into Polynesia(3). Another missionary, John Davies, a long-time resident in these islands (1801-1855), placed greater store on indigenous claims. Davies concluded from "common tradition" and "affinity of language" that the islanders had originated from the west. He had questioned "the elderly intelligent people" still in touch with their traditional past who had "universally agreed" that although "old things are in the dark", all their ancestors had been "of the opinion that the first settlers of the islands came from the west". He was told that...........

the first people settled at Borabora, one of the most western of the Society Islands, and ... there the first marae (place of worship) was erected, and ... Opoa, a marae [sic: Taputapuatea in the Opoa district] in Raiatea was also

(3) Ellis II,42-49,52.
one of the oldest, from which gods and ceremonies were
brought up to Tahiti, and thence propagated to other islands(4).

This important information - which appears to have eluded
ethnohistorians - is not inconsistent with the pre-eminence of Raiatea
as the focus of the Ta'aroa and 'Oro cults, the abode of sacred chiefs
and the dispersal centre for the group. It accords also with some
chieflly genealogies of Raiatea, examined elsewhere, which commence with
ancestors bearing titles associated with marae located on Borabora and
its nearby dependency of Maupiti(5). Borabora is the logical place of
to entry into the archipelago for people coming from the west.

The French naval officer Edmond de Bovis who was stationed at Borabora
in the early 1850s, interviewed "several old men conversant with
tradition" who "decisively answered" his questions on the subject that
"the cradle of their ancestry was at the setting of the sun". If he
obtained a name for this western homeland he did not, apparently, record
it(6).

The missionary John Williams had concluded by 1837 that the
Polynesians originated from the Malay islands. Three major objections to
this theory he pointed out, did not apply. Although the distances
covered were immense, the population movement had been gradual with the
numerous islands serving as stepping stones in the push eastward.
Secondly, although the easterly trade-winds were prevalent, they were
not constant and during certain parts of the year it was possible to
sail from west to east. Lastly, traditional sailing vessels were indeed
capable of "some extraordinary voyages", by both design and accident(7).

Shortly before his death at Erromanga, in November 1839, Williams told

(4) J Davies,24 October 1835: J.D. Lang Papers 15
(5) See Chapter 4.
(6) E. de Bovis, Société Tahitienne,20,25.
(7) J Williams, Narrative,130ff. This popular work aroused the ire of the Rev. J.D.
Lang of Sydney who charged William Ellis with plagiarism, as being its true author
since Williams could not have written the book unaided, "he being an uneducated man
and a mere working blacksmith". Lang had proposed a migration route in the northern
hemisphere, from the Phillipines to the Hawaiian Islands and thence to other
Pacific islands, and even the American continent. J.D.Lang, Origin and Migrations,
25,32,74,298ff.
Horatio Hale, the philologist with the U.S. Exploring Expedition, "that he had long entertained the opinion that the Samoan Islands were the source of population to other groups". Hale, consequently, was one of the first ethnographers to propose a Samoan origin for the Society Islands. He learned that the ancient traditional name for Raiatea had been Havai'i and, aware of the island's position of eminence within the group, suggested that it was probably the first of the Society Islands to be settled by emigrants who named it "after the principal island of their country", i.e. Savai'i. Hale also speculated that these migrants may have been led by a chief named 'Oro, later deified as an ancestral war-god whose cult was based in the Opoa district of Raiatea (8).

Hale's theory of Samoan origin was subsequently taken up by the Frenchman A. de Quatrefages, among others, who had access to some of the early ethnographic and historical writings of several missionaries. From his understanding of these sources he asserted that 'Oro had been the first "king" of Raiatea, the leader of the "Samoan party" who, in accordance with a common Polynesian practice, "gave the settlement he founded the name of his mother land". As the only Raiatean genealogy among his sources omitted the name 'Oro and was headed by a chief named 'Uru, who thus appeared as "the founder of the dynasty", de Quatrefages suggested that this pedigree was incomplete. A number of earlier generations had "passed into mythology" but were omitted because the missionaries had probably asserted that deified ancestors were in reality "demons". The Frenchman was of the opinion that "everything tends to suggest that 'Oro was no more than a chief deified after his death" (9). Much of the same suggestion had been made by some of the missionaries who did not however associate the war-god with the first

(8) H. Hale Ethnography and Philology, 124-5
(9) A. de Quatrefages, Les Polynésiens, 149, 171, 183, 184 and passim. De Quatrefages thought that Tangaloa (Taraoa) was the leader of a migrating group originating from the now notorious prison-island of Buru in the Banda Sea, which he equated with the mythical homeland or paradise Purotu of the Fijians, Tongans and Samoans. Hale had made a very similar suggestion.
settlement of the islands (10). Genealogies and other traditional records do not support this speculation (11).

The earliest mention of Havai'i as the ancient homeland of the Society Islanders came from Tupa'ia, a Raiatean priest-chief living in exile on Tahiti where he joined Cook's *Endeavour* in 1769. From him Joseph Banks learned that it was "the place whence the [Society] Islanders ... derive their origins" (12). Cook, during his second expedition, also learned of Havai'i as the place from which came "hogs, dogs, fowls &c." (13), information reminiscent of a comment by Ellis many decades later "that pigs and dogs were brought from the west by the first inhabitants" (14).

Further evidence from Tupa'ia, who was a tahu'a or expert concerning things navigational, clearly refers to Samoa. A map drawn to his directions shows the islands of Savai'i, Upolu and Tutuila correctly arranged in a linear grouping. According to the naturalist J.R. Forster of Cook's second expedition, Tupa'ai had designated Havai'i, Savai'i in Samoan, as "the father of all the islands", an obvious metaphor of derivation (15). An island shown beyond Tutuila as "Mannua" may refer to either Manu'a-tele (Ta'u) or the Manu'a group of the Samoan archipelago, somewhat misplaced perhaps by the limits of the map. In addition, an island close by called Vava'u, perhaps was the northernmost of the main Tongan islands formerly within the Samoan sphere of influence (16).

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(10) Davies, op cit. Ellis, II, 194.
(11) De Quatrefages's deductions were later reiterated by his compatriot A.C.E. Caillot who briefly visited Polynesia in 1900. Caillot wrote that "Raitea was the first island of the Society Archipelago settled by immigrants from Havai'i who were led by a man named 'Uru". Caillot identified him with the war-god 'Oro. A.C.E. Caillot Histoire, 49, 50 and passim. For a more detailed discussion of migration theories see A. Howard "Polynesian Origins and Migration: A Review of Two Centuries of Speculation and Theory":in G.A. Highland et al, *Polynesian Culture History*, 45-101.
(14) Ellis II, 52.
(16) Recorded as Oovow on Tupa'ia's map, and Wouwou on Forster's later version. Forster, op. cit. 523 was told however that it was a small low island or atoll, uninhabited.
Most of the Samoan island names occur in the Leeward Society Islands. Havai'i was an ancient appellation for Raiatea as well as a place name on Maupiti and Huahine. Upolu, Savai'i's neighbour, appears as Uporu, a traditional name for Raiatea's sister-island of Tahaa. Borabora was anciently known as Vava'u. The name "Samoa" was first recorded in 1769 as "Hamo'a" for a river and valley on Raiatea's west coast.

Given the early date at which these island names were recorded, references to them in the traditonal literature written down many decades later cannot be readily dismissed as post-European contamination. Much of this traditional material has, however, a local rather than western reference. Thus for instance even though Ta'aroa was a creator god in both Samoa and the Society Islands, the phrase riro Havai'i e i fenua no te rahu a Ta'aroa "Havai'i became land by the incantation of Ta'aroa" refers to Raiatea as the first island created by Ta'aroa. Vava'u matahiapo, "Vava'u the first-born" was a common appellation for Borabora as the first island brought forth (fanau) by Havai'i-Raiatea. Similarly, Uporu utu'afare no te atua, "Uporu the abode of the gods", had a local religious context referring to Tahaa where the godly hosts assembled and lived before proceeding to the Opoa district of Raiatea for ceremonies in their honour.

However, not all names of possible Samoan origin can be assigned locally. Manu'a and Tutuira (Tutuila), also infrequently occur in the oral records of the Society Islands. The paucity of reference to these

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(17) G.S. Platt to U.W. Gill, Raiatea 10 May 1871. According to Platt, Raiatea-Havai'i and Tahaa-Uporu were "named after two of the Samoan Islands". See also T. Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, 95, 98, 99, 102 & passim. (All Henry references are to this work unless otherwise stated.) V. Brisson, Ms Notes on Maupiti. K.P. Emory, *Stone Remains*, 25, 167. Emory was told the Huahinean place name derived from some Hawaiians who lived there, hence the name may have been recently bestowed.

(18) H.A.H. Driessen, *Dramatis Personae of Society Islanders*, J P.H. 17, 232. T. Henry, Adoption of Names, quoted in S.P. Smith, *Notes on the Geographical Knowledge, Report of the Seventh Meeting of the Australasian Association*, 803. See also *Map in Paul Huguenin, Raiatea la Sacrée*. The Windward Islands also have geographical names found in Samoa. The Ha'apape district of Tahiti was formerly called Uporu, and its Mt Orohena is the equivalent of Olosenga in Samoa. The isthmus of Taravao was also known as Manua-tere or Manua-tele in Samoa. The bay of Pa'opao in Moorea is the Samoan Pangopango. F.W. Christian, *Eastern Pacific Lands*, 46, 59, 67. Teuira Henry, 74.

islands, if not due to an unrepresentative nature of the extant sources, may well be due to the lack of any local referent. Manu'a is usually paired with Vava'u. There is no evidence that any island in the group was ever known as Manu'a and thus this literary pairing suggests locations for both elsewhere (20). The persistent combination of the two names in oral literature may perhaps recall some ancient socio-political axis in the west. The following two examples were popular set-phrases or stanzas that occur, with minor grammatical variations, in a number of traditional chants. A song of the 'arioi society, an organisation dedicated to the war-god 'Oro and to the pursuit of earthly pleasures, ends with the injunction of banishment:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e ari'i tau Vava'u,} & \quad \text{let the chief alight on Vava'u,} \\
\text{e noho 'i Vava'u} & \quad \text{let him live at Vava'u} \\
\text{e ari'i tau Manu'a} & \quad \text{let the chief settle at Manu'a,} \\
\text{e noho 'i Manu'a} & \quad \text{let him dwell on Manu'a (21).}
\end{align*}
\]

The chief, ari'i, here appears to be a metaphor for "strife", exhorted to settle at places reputed to be seats (noho) of warfare. A war chant recorded a number of times over several decades, exhibits a complex set of interwoven metaphors. A stanza within the chant metaphorically likens warfare to the structure of a fare or dwelling, a figure of speech quite common in this class of literature. The two relevant lines here read:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e tuturu o Manu'a} & \quad \text{let the supporters [posts] be Manu'a} \\
\text{e autara'a o Vava'u} & \quad \text{let the umbrella-tree be Vava'u}
\end{align*}
\]

The last line entails a shift to the mythological, from tuturu or side-posts supporting the roof or cavity of a house, to autara'a, an umbrella-like tree (Terminalia glabrata) which propped up the sky-dome when heavens and earth were first being separated in the time of chaos. The missionary Orsmond, who recorded these chants, interpolated that

\[\text{(20) A possible candidate may be Manu-a'e, i.e. Putai or Scilly Island. However this is only a small uninhabited atoll, occasionally visited for pearls: oral literature refers to it as a stopping-place or landmark for travels elsewhere. Henry,105,400.}\]
\[\text{(21) J.M. Orsmond, Ms. Arioi, 45: my translation}\]
Manu'a was "a land of warriors" and "the courageous land", and Vava'u "an island famous for bloodshed". Borabora-Vava'u had a warlike reputation among its neighbours and thus could be the island of bloodshed. However, Manu'a has no local referent. Its description here agrees with information, obtained by Forster many decades earlier, that Manu'a was a high island where people "are ferocious, have wild and furious eyes, and eat men". The missionary Charles Barff, a long-time resident of Huahine, thought that the people of his island and their god Tane originally came from Manu'a in Samoa. The "proof" of this was found in ancient traditions and songs which "dovetailed" with information he obtained from "the old men" when visiting Manu'a in 1839(22).

It is significant that after leaving Raiatea in 1769 Tupa'ia wanted Cook to sail westward where, he claimed, they would find many islands (23). The Endeavour, however turned south and Tupa'ia, unfamiliar with European ships, may have become disorientated. He predicted that they would soon sight an island called Manu'a. This failed to eventuate so the Raiatean priest thought it had been by-passed and he told Banks they would next reach an island called Hiti-roa(24). Instead, the ship touched at Rurutu in the Austral Islands, which appears erroneously on Tupa'ia's map as due north of Raiatea. Here Tupa'ia told Cook that Manu'a lay to the north-east of Hiti-roa(25), a direction not inconsistent with the location of Manu'a, Samoa, in relation to the Fijian Islands. "Hiti-roa" in western Polynesia is "Fiti-loa" or or "Big Fiji", and the name may have been intended for Viti Levu. As a result of this confusion, Rurutu for many decades came to be called Hiti-roa by Europeans, and this identification also extended to the Hiti-roa in the oral literature of the Society Islands. John Davies,

(22) Orsmond, War,24,50: my translation. Forster,327,515. William Wyatt Gill,From Darkness, 64.
(24) Banks I,328-9
(25)Cook,I,156.
however, thought this identification doubtful and pointed out that the inhabitants of the island as well as their neighbours only knew it as Rurutu(26).

References to Tutuira are rare in the vernacular literature. The first Tahitian dictionary, published in 1851, but compiled upwards of a decade earlier, notes of Tutuila in Samoan, that it was "a name or word used in some of the old native songs"(27). Only one of these songs appears to be extant but was not recorded however until 1854 when any pre-contact knowledge of Samoa was probably modified by precise information recently acquired, particularly considering that since the 1830s, indigenous teachers from the Society Islands played a vital part in the conversion of Samoa. The chant is entitled "Tahitian Circuit of Navigation" and describes the travels of the culture hero and first priest Maui who is said to have sailed from Raiatea and called at Upolu, Savai'i, Tutuira and Vava'u, all of which appear on Tupa'ia's map(28).

No migration traditions akin to those known for the Maoris and Cook Islanders appear to have been recorded for the Society Islands, but a long-lost history of Tahiti written by Orsmond, if ever found, could be revealing(29). This lack of tradition may be indicative of a settlement in a past more remote than that of other eastern Polynesian islands. The Society Islanders appear to have had only a general traditional belief in an ancestral cradle towards the west, the setting sun, or from

(26) John Davies, Tahitian Mission, 282. Other references to Manu'a in early European sources are confused and contradictory, due to communication difficulties but also the uncertain quality of informants, none of whom appear to have been experts in nautical lore, as Tupa'ia seems to have been.

(27) J. Davies, Dictionary, 295.

(28) Henry, 464. Henry, quoted in Smith, 803. These are definitely differing versions; the discrepancies are clearly due to Henry's editorial hand. The chant was recorded by her grandfather, the missionary, J.M. Orsmond.

(29) de Bovis, 25. Henry, (I)
Havai'i, probably the Samoan Savai'i. This apparent lacunae in tradition stands in contrast to the rather remarkably precise geographical knowledge of the western islands recorded by Tupa'ia. However, geographical knowledge, as well as the evidence of traditional literature may have derived from post-settlement contacts with or from the western islands. These could have reinforced antecedent memories of origins from Havai'i, a name probably synonymous with the Samoan group in the same way as Tahiti frequently designates the Society Islands as a whole.

Post-settlement contacts from the west, resulting in a diffusion of geographical knowledge, also lack surviving traditions, except perhaps for one that concerns the arrival of the chief Te Fatu from Rotuma who established a new dynasty on Borabora(30). Rotuma also occurs on Tupa'ia'a map and has been identified by some researchers with the island west of Fiji(31). The name also occurs in several recorded chants that are hedged with allusions now obscure because of explanatory traditions no longer extant. The ceremonial seat of the sacred chief of Opoa by tradition came from Rotuma(32). One chant refers to two "teachers" who returned from Rotuma with a new mode of warfare(33). However, Rotuma was most likely an ancient name for one of the Cook Islands(34). Te Fatu is also said to have come from Rarotonga. In addition, one of the two high priests at Opoa - perhaps the two "teachers" - represented a part of the world that included the Cook Islands. After a murderous quarrel at Opoa he fled to his homeland which was called Rotuma(35).

(30) Henry,103,122; she here claims Rotuma was the island northwest of Tonga; see note 35 below.
(32) Williams, 132, who identified it with "Wallace Island", presumably Wallis.
(33) Orsmond, War,19.
(34) Henry,122
Given claims that the Marquesan islands were the point of entry into Polynesia and the immediate ancestral home of the Society Islanders, the latter's geographical knowledge of the Samoas vis-a-vis the Marquesas may be noted. The Samoan islands occur on Tupa'ia's map under the names given to them by their inhabitants but the several islands which likely refer to the Marquesas are designated as "Hiva", with various appendices. Perhaps only Hiva-roa may, with some certainty, be equated with Hivaoa. These Hiva also occur in the oral literature recorded many decades later and express typical concepts of opposition, as for instance, Hiva-roa, "Long Hiva" which is counter-balanced by Hiva-poto, "Short Hiva", a name not identifiable with any specific island in the Marquesas. Similarly, Hiva-tautau-mai, meaning Hiva leaning or floating towards (mai) the Society Islands, is opposed to Hiva-tautau-atu, known from oral literature only, meaning Hiva floating away (atu) from the Society Islands(36).

The Society Islanders evidently had little knowledge of the Marquesas Islands at the time of European contact, which is odd if they originated from that archipelago rather than the Samoan Islands. The Society Islands appear to have been better known in the Marquesas. From a list of islands culled from Marquesan songs and chants recorded by the missionary W.P. Crook in 1797-1799, Borabora, Huahine, Tetiaroa, Tahaa and more probable, Moorea and Maiao-iti may be identified. In addition Hiti-(or Fiti) nui perhaps refers to Tahiti for which this was another name in some islands. The Marquesans had recently learned of a "Tahiti" from Hitihiti, a Boraboran on board Cook's Endeavour in 1774 who in turn

(35) Henry, 21 Nov. 1848. Mss. Polynesian Society, 1187:261; Te Fatu came from Raratonga, Henry in response to a query from S. Percy Smith concerning traditional contacts with the Cook Islands. Also, Henry, 31 May 1897; the high priest representing the Cook Islands at Opoa fled back to his homeland, Rotuma. In her book, p. 126, this priest fled to an unnamed island southwest of Raiatea. Influenced by Smith, she had identified Rotuma as the island west of Fiji.

brought news of the Marquesas to his countrymen and was thus one of the earliest modifiers of geographic consciousness. According to Crook, the islands in his list "derived from tradition" and consequently "Tahiti" had not been incorporated in their "sacred songs". Raiatea is not identifiable under that name but perhaps "Uppouwa" is an uncertain spelling of Opoa, a name not familiar to the missionary at the time. Manu'a and Vava'u of the oral literature in the Society Islands occur in the Marquesan list as Mannuka and Vevau. Later the American sea-captain Porter recorded that Vavao was an ancestral homeland in Nukuhiva, which led Hale to suggest that perhaps the people of the northern Marquesan group originated from the Tongan Islands, and those of the southern islands from Savai'i, Samoa. Aided by Crook's manuscript lexicon of the Marquesan dialects, Hale perceived linguistic evidence in support of his thesis(37).

Havai'i particularly occurs widely as an ancestral homeland and outside of central Polynesia this was not always situated in the west. New Zealand traditions which find some support from archaeological evidence have Hawaiki located toward the north and this homeland probably refers to Raiatea-Havai'i(38).

In a tradition of Aitutaki, Cook Islands, a deified founding ancestor had climbed up from "Avaiki below" i.e. the west. Rarotonga was said to have been settled by two groups of ancestors, coming from "Manuka" in the west and from Tahiti(39).

(37) [Samuel Greatheed & W.P. Crook], ms An Account of the Marquesas Islands, 30-4 & ms. An Essay Toward a Dictionary and Grammar. Hale,127, had access to a later manuscript by Crook.
(39) Henry,436.
It seems significant that the traditions of three archipelagos, the Marquesas, Cook and Society Islands in the western rim of central eastern Polynesia, all refer to Savai'i, Manu'a and also to Vava'u as places of origin. Such traditions do not agree with the models of immigration and settlement proposed by archaeologists and linguists, some of whom however call on traditions only in so far as they support their explanatory schemes while ignoring traditional data in disharmony with their prehistoric dioramas. These traditions deny the concept of an oceanic barrier and a primary dispersal centre, both of which are evoked to explain the basic uniformity of eastern Polynesian culture and languages and their distinctiveness from western Polynesia.

**FIG. 1.**

*Migrations into central eastern Polynesia according to traditions of the Marquesas, Cook and Society Islands.*
In the early decades of this century, ethnographers and prehistorians argued that two waves of migrants, each bearing a distinct culture, had settled in Polynesia(40). For the Society Islands these two-strata theorists had several forerunners, notably the naturalist J.R. Forster who suggested that the generally darker-skinned lower-classes descended from the original inhabitants, later conquered by an endogamous lighter-skinned group who became the chiefly ruling class. The Frenchman Paul Huguenin, in the 1890s, offered a similar theory(41). The historical reconstruction proposed in the 1930s by the anthropologist E.S.C. Handy, represents the two-strata theory in its most developed form.

Handy argued that after their settlement by a population of agriculturalists who brought the names of Havai'i, Uporu and Vava'u, the Society Islands were invaded by a second group of maritime peoples whose immediate origins lay in the Tonga-Samoa region. Appropriating an ordinary indigenous term meaning class or category of chiefs, he named these invaders Hui Ari'i. They became the "ruling dynasty" and introduced a number of distinct "Ta'aroa traits", so-called after their deified ancestor. In the absence of explicit traditions concerning origins, Handy had to interpret some of the oral literature and mythology available to him at the time to accord with his hypothesis and thus ipso facto, the material could be seen to "reveal plainly the conquest of primitive Tahiti by the Hui Ari'i dynasty". His treatment of traditional material is manifest in the following example(41)(42).

(40) Bellwood, 306  
(42) E.S.C. Handy, History and Culture, 3-5,7,8,15,19,65. Handy's theory enjoyed a popularity it no longer has among current researchers, but during my fieldwork in the islands I met educated or well-read local people who generally accepted Handy's postulation regarding their past.
A legendary tale recorded by Orsmond in 1822 entitled "Tahiti the Fish" is primarily an aetiological account of how Tahiti came to occupy its location. A woman of Raiatea had broken a sacred fishing restriction at Opoa, "the home of the gods". The gods, then, in their consequent anger, separated a large tract of land from the side of the district which became like a fish, swimming eastward where it eventually settled. The various war-leaders inhabiting this land then "cut the sinews of the fish" to immobilise and shape the fish-island. Handy saw this tale as entailing an account of "the separation and departure for Tahiti of a branch of the Hui Ari'i then already in control of Raiatea and Tahaa(43).

This tradition however stresses that Tahiti, which "arrived like a ship" and "resembled a ship with a great figurehead", had no hui ari'i or chiefly families at that time and was therefore called Tahiti-manahune, being inhabited by manahune, people of non-chiefly blood or "plebeians" who were led by fatu toa or warrior leaders. In the image laden language of oral literature islands were often likened to "fish" and geographical features such as mountains, capes or contours of land compared with piscine parts(44). Handy's interpretation of the tale was based on a misunderstanding of the trope "fish" that resulted from his classification of "Old Tahitian" and "Hui Ari'i" cultural traits relating to warfare. Ignoring a possible meaning for "Ta'aroa" as "Long Jaw", Handy postulated that jawbones as trophies of war was a trait of the pre-ari'i "old Tahitian Culture" which was apparently adopted, later, by the "conquering descendants of Ta'aroa". Human sacrifices on the other hand, including victims of war, he ascribed to the post-invasion era. This was the much later "Taputaputea phase" of the Hui Ari'i culture, so named after the marae at Opoa of the war-god 'Oro who replaced Tu, the wargod of the agricultural first settlers. In the

(43) Handy,15,16,32. Henry,433-443.
(44) Henry,89-95,435,436,437,439. Handy,16. Handy was aware of the legend's emphasis on the absence of ari'i in the land that broke away but evidently did not see this to be a contradiction with his theory of conquest
class of literature pertaining to warfare, human sacrifices were often called *i'a* or *i'a avae roroa*, "fish" or "long-legged fish". A traditional prayer to Ta'aroa obtained from a former priest aptly illustrates the meaning and context of the metaphor.

E Ta'aroa-nui tuhi mate e  Oh Great Ta'aroa Curser-to-death
teie te i'a na 'oe  here is a fish for you
o te i'a i te aitea  the first fish caught
no roto i te vai o Tu.  from the water of Tu (45).

The figure of speech "water of Tu" refers to the "field of battle" named after the ancient war-god. There is an obvious close derivative association between the battlefield thus described and the victim(s) caught on it. If Tu was a god belonging to the agriculturalist first settlers and human sacrifices or "fish" to the much later 'Oro cult of the Hui Ari'i, the close conceptual integration of the two symbols is violated both historically and in classification.

Handy's interpretation of "Tahiti the fish" as "Tahiti the war-trophy" captured by the Hui Ari'i (46), is contradicted by his own trait classification of Tu, and therefore also of "fish", as belonging to the pre-ari'i first settlers. Given that the "fish" that broke away was called Tahiti-manahune, an interpretation of the legend as a conquest of Tahiti by the pre-ari'i first settlers of the Leeward Islands leaves its integrity intact.

Handy ignored an addendum to the legend. The war-leaders or *fatu-toa* of Tahiti-manahune in time became "warrior-kings" as their descendants "intermarried and became one with the royal family of Opoa". Temeharo, the deified ancestor of the Pomare family already mentioned (page 5) also claimed to be a Son of Tane (47). The tradition thus ascribes the gradual establishment of an 'ari'i class on Tahiti to ties of kinship with the sacred chiefs of Opoa.

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(45) J.M. Orsmond, Ms. Dict., 20; my translation. *Aitea*, a technical fishing term for "the first fish caught by a method called *auahd*" which was "a mode of fishing with a hook and a long line". *Aitea* metaphorically was "the first slain enemy whose body was obtained in time of war". Davies, Dict., 18, 24.

(46) Handy, 15, 17, 86-91.

(47) Henry, 443. Henry has "warrior-chiefs", presumably for *fatu toa*, "war lords" or warrior leaders. Her "warrior-kings" likely follows Orsmond's usual translation of *ari'i*, chief, as "king". Ellis II, 192.
Both Rarotonga and Raiatea had a tradition about the former having been a land attached to Opoa, until 'Oro in his anger over the killing of a priest, detached it and the land moved, or perhaps swam, to its present location. Thus, a Rarotongan told a Raiatean visiting his island with the missionary, John Williams in 1823. "You were separated and became strangers to us, and we became strangers to you"(47)[48]. This tradition recalled a time when the two islands united in the worship of 'Oro, during an alliance perhaps established by Te Fatu. Tahiti the "fish" that swam away probably entails a similar but more ancient memory of severed bonds.

Two of the earliest Tahitian traditions, recorded in 1774, are less legendary about the first settlement of that island by people from the Leeward group. In one, three couples and their offspring sailed from Raiatea for a nearby island but were driven by strong westerly winds to uninhabited Tahiti, where they remained to live. The other has it that a canoe from Raiatea was driven off course and swamped when it reached Tahiti, one man and his wife surviving. Their daughters later married Raiatean men. Further groups then arrived who had gained "some intelligence of Otahiti in the course of time", and from these "the teeming numbers of inhabitants who now people this place are descended". Although the two traditions varied, and no doubt there were others similar, Andia y Varela noted "that all agreed that Tahiti was first settled by people from Raiatea"(49).

One of Handy's Hui Ari'i traits may be significant in conjunction with Tupa'ia's knowledge of the islands in the west, namely the Ta'aroa religion. In eastern Polynesia generally Ta'aroa was an oceanic deity

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(48) Robert Bourne & John Williams Ms. Journal of a Voyage...1823, South Seas Journal (hereinafter S.S.J.)

(49) Corney,II,254,257. Both accounts are of accidental voyages of discovery, perhaps the single most common way in which many of the islands were first settled. Andia concluded that due to accidental voyages the Polynesians "may have passed from island to island from the West towards the East".
which led Handy to postulate a "maritime dynasty" and isolate "maritime traits"(50). In Tonga and Samoa he resided in the sky and the Ta'aroa mythology of the Society Islands shows that he was a sky god before he went to live in Po-below. The three archipelagos also had sacred chiefs, Tu'i Tonga, Tui Manua and Tamatoa, who claimed direct descent from the Creator Tangaloa-Ta'aroa(51). Throughout eastern Polynesia the same basic cosmogonic concepts occur, evidence of a common heritage. The primal parents of all creation were Te Papa, the Earth-stratum, and Atea (Vatea, Wakea, Rangi, Ra'i, Lani) a name denoting the distant vast expanse of the sky as much as the god's remoteness from the affairs of mortals. These were the parents of Ta'aroa and other gods(52). In the Society Islands however, Ta'aroa acquired the epithet Te Tumu-tahi, the First Cause or Foundation, and replaced his father to commence the chain of creation with Te Papa. Ta'aroa furthermore was somewhat polyonymous, indicative of a piling up of attributes as he came to absorb the functions of other deities. This led to some typological contradictions and curious "shifts" in the myths of other gods. One myth for example gives Atea an initial female form, later metamorphosed to a masculine nature as directed by Ta'aroa (53). Significantly, this form of religion was not known in the Marquesas, the homeland of the Society Islanders postulated by some prehistorians. It seems a reasonable conclusion that in the Society Islands the Ta'aroa religion was projected onto an older pan-eastern Polynesian mythology and was probably introduced from the west(54).

(54) E.S.C.Handy,Polynesian Religion,115-8, 324-5. In this later work Handy comments on the deity's sky aspects and a likely diffusion from the west. See also Torben Monberg, Ta'aroa in the creation myths of the Society Islands, J.P.S.65, 253-81 for a more detailed discussion.
It may represent a late dispersal associated with the Tongan conquest of most of the Samoan Islands, in the late 15th Century A.D., or perhaps earlier, with the time of growing Tongan influence in Samoa, c.1250 A.D.(55).

The appearance of the Ta'aroa religion cannot be associated with any specific feature of the material-culture sequences in the Society Islands. However one of Handy's so-called Hui Ari'i traits is of interest in view of current archaeological evidence, namely the fare pote'e or fare pota'a, the oval-ended houses known also in western Polynesia. This was the "more highly prized shape of the Tahitian houses", according to the missionary Orsmond who added that the "oblong" rectangular houses were more common because they were easier to erect(56). In Samoa ovaloid houses have been archaeologically associated with the late ceramic period in Upolu, c.300 B.C.(57). A radio-carbon date of c.1150 A.D. has been established for such a house from Molokai Island, Hawaii, and an earlier date of c.1050 A.D. has been proposed for Rurutu in the Austral Islands. Isolated Rapa has round-ended houses today, but the earliest floor plans uncovered there are rectangular. In the Marquesas, where the earliest carbon dates for a human presence occur so far in eastern Polynesia, rectangular houses only have been found in the earliest two strata dating from c. 300 A.D.(58). If the Marquesas were the point of entry and subsequent dispersal of human population for eastern Polynesia, oval-ended

(56) J.M. Orsmond, Ms. Reception of the Gospel.
(57) Handy, History, 9. R Green & J. Davidson, Archaeology in Western Samoa, Vols 1 & 2 interalia.
houseforms either were not built by the founding settlers or dropped out of the material culture inventory at a very early date. Significantly, the cultural assemblages of the oldest site so far uncovered in the Society Islands at Vaitootia in Huahine (c.350 A.D.) are "remarkable similar" to those of the early Marquesan sites, and here also the evidence thus far is for rectangular houses only(59). The earliest archaeological evidence for a fare pote'e in the Society Islands dates to c. 1250 A.D. in a settlement in Opunohu Valley, Moorea(60). On available evidence, round-ended houses appeared late in eastern Polynesia and, if not an independent development, argue for a secondary diffusion from the west. That the postulated isolation of eastern Polynesia from the west is over estimated, seems clear from the evidence for Rarotonga. According to tradition already mentioned an initial occupation, probably towards the end of the first millennium A.D. was followed by new arrivals from both Samoa and the Society Islands in the 13th or 14th centuries. Linguistic evidence does not contradict these traditions which find support from archaeological discoveries in the form of eastern Polynesian and Samoan adze types dating back respectively to c.1200 and 1400 A.D.(61).

To reiterate, it has been postulated that a Polynesian population from the west settled on one archipelago in the east where in time a distinct proto-east Polynesian language and culture evolved as the forebear of all the dialects and cultures in the eastern Pacific. This model best explains certain widespread shared cultural traits in eastern Polynesia that are absent in the west. Attempts have been made to identify the likely region where this parental culture developed and to establish the

(60) R.C. Green et al, Archaeology of Moorea, pt.2, 57.
(61) Peter Bellwood, Archaeological Research,201.
likely region where this parental culture developed and to establish the order in which the islands of eastern Polynesia first became populated by the use of lexicostatistical-glottochronological methods. The method is based on a lexicon, developed by the linguist Morris Swadish, that comprises essentially non-cultural terms making up the conservative core element of most languages, that is, words most resistant to change over time or to displacement by borrowing from other languages (62).

Vocabulary comparisons will confirm what is obvious also from morphological or structural analysis, i.e. the fact of genetic relationship, but in addition allow for the charting of phonetic changes which tend to operate in Polynesian languages with considerable consistency. This phenomenon of consistency in phonetic divergence allows for the classification of sub-groups and reveals how the languages or dialects are likely to have developed from a common parent language. In addition it enables a probable reconstruction of some of the vocabulary of that proto-language. Historical dialectical differentiation and even order of divergencies may be plotted by careful lexicon inspection. Vocabulary comparisons do not however answer the question as to when these divergencies took place without extraneous independent evidence.

The most notable application of the methodology has been by Emory who used a 100 basic word list compiled by Swadish with some minor adjustments to accommodate an island environment. Emory argued that the language spoken by the first settlers to establish themselves on an island or archipelago would predominate through time, and later arrivals were probably small groups of less than one hundred persons - one or two canoes - who were not likely to influence the core vocabulary. Emory had to retreat from this assumption of a relationship between numerical inferiority and limited linguistic influence, in the case of the

Hawaiian dialect which showed close affinities with Tahitian in terms of its percentage of shared proto-East Polynesian vocabulary (88%). From this it appeared that the Hawaiian Islands had only been relatively recently settled from the Society Islands. He pointed out, by way of explanation, that according to traditions the Tahitian chiefs who had arrived in Hawaii about the 12th and 14th centuries A.D. probably "brought about changes in the language" spoken by the descendants of the original settlers; now believed, primarily on archaeological grounds, to have originated from the Marquesas several centuries earlier(63).

Given such an historical reconstruction, several points may be stated. First, factors such as social status achieved by or granted to later arrivals may be reflected linguistically despite numerical inferiority. Second, a core vocabulary may well be less resistant to modifications if the intruding language is closely similar. Third, a secondary linguistic diffusion can falsify findings of lexicostatistics and perforce remain undetected in the absence of corrective information, such as traditions.

It follows from another theoretical assumption, that "any homeland is very likely to retain a larger percentage of original vocabulary" than its offshoots, that dialects or languages with the highest ratio of proto-Polynesian and proto-East Polynesian core vocabulary were likely to be spoken in the dispersal regions within and without eastern Polynesia. From the same assumption of linguistic conservatism, the modern language spoken in the eastern Polynesian archipelago first settled was likely to show the closest relationship with the current language of its ancestral homeland in the west(64). On these criteria criteria the vocabulary comparison confirms that the proto-Polynesian homeland was the Tonga-Samoa region. The Society Islands emerge as "the home-area for proto-East Polynesian", where "the major moulding of the uniqueness which East Polynesian languages hold in common took place".

(64) Emory, Vocabulary Agreements, 85,87.
since the dialect there retained the highest percentage of proto-East Polynesian (95%) and proto-Polynesian (76%) as well as modern Samoan (71.5%) core vocabulary(65).

Emory briefly raised the possibility that modern Tahitian was closer than Marquesan (66% modern Samoan, 74% proto-Polynesian) to West Polynesian because the Marquesas were settled earlier and thus its dialect had more time to diverge than Tahitian. The latter's close affinity to the west was due to a later direct settlement from Samoa. This possibility accords with the traditional evidence of the Society Islands and the Marquesas and also conforms to another of Emory's theoretical assumptions, namely that the last group to break away from a common motherland is likely to retain a larger share of the ancestral vocabulary than any group separating earlier(66). This possibility, evoked to explain the order of dialectical differentiation within eastern Polynesia, was dismissed however since multiple migrations from the west contradict the perceived distinctiveness that all modern eastern Polynesian languages have in common when compared to western Polynesian languages. The dismissal entails a latent shift from the present to the past since the reconstruction of proto-vocabularies necessarily proceeds from empirical evidence and thus incorporates the general characteristics of modern language groups. The feasibility that the modern distinctiveness of all eastern Polynesian dialects could be a function of linguistic modifications in the Samoan language subsequent to the last departure of eastern Polynesian ancestors has not been given serious consideration. Emory also discounted a possibility that history may have repeated itself in that the dialect of the Society Islands evolved by descendants of the first settlers who hailed from Samoa may have been modified by later arrivals from the same region, on the grounds that "Tahiti's distance from Samoa should preclude serious

(65) Ibid., 85, 87.
(66) Ibid., 89. 66% is the corrected figure given by R. Green, "Linguistic Subgrouping within Polynesia", in J.P.S. 75, 12.
influence on its ancestral vocabulary from that direction" (67). This objection, if accepted, can be raised also to another possibility, that the closer affinity of Tahitian vis-a-vis Marquesan with modern Samoan and proto-Polynesian may be explained similarly to the evolution of the dialekt spoken in Hawaii, an archipelago for more remote from Tahiti than the latter is from Samoa, by a primary settlement from the Marquesas followed by later arrivals direct from Samoa who, like the Tahitian chiefs said to have landed in Hawaii, were able to influence the language of the Society Islands. Both of these possibilities undermine the dichomatic assumption that after the departure of the east Polynesian ancestral group(s), there were no further significant or modifying contacts between west and east Polynesia.

In a postscript, Emory reconsidered the conclusions of his lexicostatistical analysis shown in Fig. 2 below, in which the suggested dates of divergence are derived from limited radiocarbon-14 dating as at the time of his writing. Although on the whole his methodology revealed the Society Islands to be "the formative centre of the East Polynesian family of languages", this finding, he argued, had to be modified since archaeological discoveries favoured the Marquesas as the proto-East Polynesian homeland (68). The historical meaning of Tahiti's close vocabulary agreements with Samoan, proto-Polynesian and proto-East Polynesian is thus placed in limbo. To reiterate, the four possibilities may be summarised as follows:

1. The Society Islands were settled earlier than the Marquesas on the logical assumption that the first group to separate from a mother tongue retains a higher percentage of ancestral lexical items than subsequent, secondary branches. Here the Marquesan language derives from an earlier form of Tahitian. There is, to date, no archaeological evidence to show that the Society Islands were settled earlier than the Marquesas.

(67) Emory, Vocabulary Agreements, 88.
(68) Ibid, 96-100.
2. The Society Islands were settled later than the Marquesas but directly from Samoa, on the same assumption entailed in the first possibility, thus giving the Marquesas dialect more time to diverge from a common mother-tongue. This requires two migrations from Samoa and accords with the traditional claims regarding a western Savai'ia-Havai'i in both islands. It is not inconsistent with the earlier archaeological dates so far known for the Marquesas. The possibility is denied since multiple migrations cannot account for a perceived linguistic distinctiveness held to have evolved within eastern Polynesia.
3. The Society Islands were first settled from Samoa but a later diffusion from the same region led to deceptive lexical modifications. This explanation somewhat vindicates the cultural two-strata theories of Handy and others and is not inconsistent with possibilities 1 and 2. It is discounted by Emory on the grounds that Tahiti's distance from Samoa prohibits the likelihood of a later linguistic impact from that quarter.

4. The Society Islands were first settled from the Marquesas but a subsequent diffusion from Samoa is evident in the core vocabulary agreements. This, like no.3, finds support from the Ta'aroa religion and perhaps other aspects of the culture and accords with the earlier archaeological dates presently known for the Marquesas. An objection similar to that for no. 3 may be raised.

Recent years have seen a considerable revision of the classification of Polynesian language groups. The cultural dichotomy of West and East Polynesia once seen to be reflected in linguistic correlates, no longer conforms with the accepted ordering of languages in geographic western Polynesia. From a comparative morphological analysis, Pawley has shown in a pioneering work that the two major co-ordinate linguistic groupings of Polynesian are not West and East Polynesian, but Tongic, comprising Tongan and Niuean, and Nuclear Polynesian, consisting of all other languages and dialects in the Polynesian triangle. This conclusion derived from an examination of shared innovations in morphological markers, viz., words carrying grammatical meaning (definite articles, time-space interrogatives & indicators, demonstratives, 2nd person dual, etc.) as opposed to lexical meaning entailed by core vocabulary items (cognates or semantics, mainly nouns). Support of this reclassification also came from an earlier but essentially similar subgrouping suggested by Elbert on grounds of comparative phonology. Nuclear Polynesian is further divided into two sub-groups; Samoic comprising Samoan and most of the dialects spoken in the Polynesian outliers, and East Polynesian consisting of all other languages and dialects(69). That Samoan is

(69) A. Pawley, "Polynesian Languages: a Subgrouping based on shared innovations in morphology", J.P.S.75,41.
closer than Tongan to the languages of eastern Polynesia is shown also by the lexicostatistical findings of Emory and others, but nevertheless on phonological and morphological grounds the language is quite distinct from the eastern dialects(70).

Further modifications to the subgrouping of Eastern Polynesian dialects and some new suggestions regarding their order of differentiation were made by Green from the evidence of shared phonological and lexical innovations. Proto-East Polynesian, the ancestral language of all eastern dialects, became proto-Central Polynesian following an early separation of the dialect spoken in remote Easter Island where the proto-Polynesian glottal stop is interpreted as a retention, shared with no other living language except Tongan. Proto-Central Polynesian, Green suggested, then differentiated into proto-Marquesic and proto-Tahitic, the immediate ancestral languages of the two major modern East Polynesian sub-groups. The order of this differentiation and the islands where some of these several postulated proto-languages were spoken are linguistic as well as historical problems, related to the questions concerning the first archipelago(s) to be settled from Samoa and the location of the dispersal centre(s) from which all other islands of eastern Polynesia became gradually inhabited. From evidence found in the first published Marquesan dictionary (1904) and recent linguistic observations, Green postulated that proto-Marquesic divided into Mangarevan and proto-Marquesan, and that the latter differentiated into the modern North-western and South-eastern Marquesan dialects, a division approximately concomittant with the Leeward-Windward grouping of the islands. He also offered some evidence in support of a suggestion by Emory that Hawaiian was probably a split-off from S.E. Marquesan(71). In fact the missionary W.P. Crook who had resided on Tahuata and Nukuhiva before the turn of the
eighteenth century had commented in some detail on the Leeward-Windward
dialectical differentiations and provided a number of lexical items by
way of illustration(72). Crook's unpublished material appears to have
been ignored by linguists.

Green maintained the notion of an "overall isolation of the East
Polynesian area from West Polynesia", the cultural division being a
correlate of the split of Nuclear Polynesian into Samoic and East
Polynesian. Thus, whereas the lexical relationships evident in the
vocabulary agreements between Tonga-Samoa and Tahiti-Hawaii are
respectively explained as evidence for diffusion and a "secondary
decisive settlement", explanations for which there is some traditional
and archaeological evidence, that the same lexical phenomenon for the
language of the Society-Samoan Islands perhaps allows for a similar
historical solution is ignored. Green interpreted the lexicostatistical
comparisons by Emory and others as demonstrating that Marquesan
"preceeded Tahitian in differentiating from East Polynesian"(73), the
suggestion apparently being that the closer vocabulary agreements
between Tahitian and Samoan reflected the former intermediary position
of proto-East Polynesian. In regards to the lexical relationship between
Tahitian and Marquesan vis-a-vis proto-East Polynesian, the
interpretation accords with Emory's postulate already mentioned, that
the first language to branch off from a common mother tongue is likely
to show a greater divergence than subsequent fissions or
differentiations.

The geographical location of the proto-East Polynesian language
obviously relates to the archipelago in eastern Polynesia first

(72) Greathheed & Crook, Ms. An Account, 106b,113,114,115.
[W.P. Crook],Ms. A Marquesan and English Grammar, 2,5,10,14,15,17,18.
phonological as well as morphological innovations and noted several examples also of
considerable lexical differences in the two dialects.
(73) Green, Subgrouping,14,33. Ibid., 21,27,29-30. Ibid., 12,17.
settled from Samoa to become the primary dispersal centre. Green agreed that on linguistic evidence the Society Islands and the Marquesas appear to be the best candidates, with the latter having the better claim, presumably on archaeological grounds. He noted that the current state of

![Polynesian Linguistic Tree](image)

*FIG 3*

A Polynesian Linguistic Tree, following classifications proposed by Pawley and Green

Sources: B. Biggs, A. Salmond, R. Green.
Polynesian linguistics "does not permit us to be more precise"(74).

As noted, Emory abandoned his linguistic conclusion that the Society Islands were the likely formative homeland and dispersal point for the basic early East Polynesian culture, in favour of the Marquesas on archaeological grounds. It was necessary to integrate the findings of comparative linguistics and archaeology, and "each can act as a corrective in interpreting the results of the other"(75). For Green also the hard data of archaeology provides the historical interpretations for his phonological conclusions and this data pointed to the Marquesas "as the primary dispersal point in East Polynesia"(76).

It has been pointed out that geophysical conditions contribute to a higher probability of finding earlier evidence for a human presence in the Marquesas than in the Society or Cook Islands. There are no reefs or lagoons in the Marquesas, the islands have many narrow steep valleys and where these meet the coast, there are numerous cliff and rock shelters and deep sandy deposits. These coastal conditions promote linefishing with pearl shell hooks which may be found in the accumulation of deposits containing evidence of human activity. Compact settlement at the mouth of narrow valleys also leads to a build-up of stratified deposits. In the Society Islands, on the other hand, coastal cliffs and shelters are rare, these islands being girded by reefs and shallow islets which, in the main, yield surface or close-to-surface materials. Agricultural activity occurs here on coastal plains where the most ancient habitation sites were most probably situated and this tends to contaminate or destroy much of the early evidence. In addition, settlement patterns were more scattered, so that artifacts also are scattered and hard to find(77).

(74) Green, Subgrouping,25,26.
(75) Emory, Vocabularies, 96-100.
(76) Green, Subgrouping,15,34,35.
Evidence for the postulated primary centre must lie in the earliest strata of pre-history in eastern Polynesia. The cultural assemblages of these early sites should exhibit a continuity with the material culture in sites of comparable age in Samoa, the likely and generally accepted point of origin. The Marquesas have received considerable archaeological attention and not surprisingly, several early sites have been discovered. That at Hane, Uahaka, and possibly also Ha'atuatua, Nukuhiva, both in the northern group, contain the earliest evidence so far for a human presence in eastern Polynesia, dated from about 300 to 600 A.D., to which have been assigned the label Phase I - Initial Settlement. Other sites located in both Marquesan groups show a continuity in artifacts and belong to Phase II - Development Stage, 600-1300 A.D. and subsequent periods\(^\text{(78)}\). By contrast, the earliest materials in the Society Islands are known from two accidentally discovered sites in the Leeward Group, Pae'ao Motu in Maupiti and Vaitootia in Huahine. Both date from about 800 A.D. at the earliest with some, as yet unpublished, Huahine radio-carbon dates clustering around A.D. 900 and 1200 \(^\text{(79)}\). All other archaeological sites in this archipelago, with the possible exception of the Vaihi site in Raiatea, date several centuries later and it has not yet been possible to establish a framework of cultural sequences similar to that for the Marquesas. Emory, who argues strongly for the Marquesas as the point of entry into East Polynesia, found that the radio-carbon dates obtained for Vaitootia were later than might be expected\(^\text{(80)}\), given that a comparative analysis by Sinoto concluded that the Huahine materials were nearly identical to those found in the assemblages belonging to both the Marquesan Phases I and II \(^\text{(81)}\). In general the artifactual inventories of eastern Polynesia show a considerable coalescence of types and morphologies in the earliest pre-historic levels. This relative

\(^{(79)}\) Emory, Societies, 219. Sinoto & McCoy, 183.
\(^{(80)}\) Emory, Societies, 204.
\(^{(81)}\) Sinoto & McCoy, 158. Sinoto, Marquesas, 130.
homogeneity allows them to be grouped together in what Bellwood has called the Early Eastern Polynesian Culture which terminates about 1200 A.D. when regional differences became very evident(82). The close similarities that exist between the early artifacts of the Marquesas and the Leeward Society Islands entail important continuities between west and east Polynesia, as well as significant discontinuities comprising early items unique to east Polynesia, some of which clearly reflect gaps in the archaeological record.

The adzes found in the Leeward Island sites are clearly related to those of the temporally earlier Hane site of Phase I. In their cross-sections - rectangular, trapezoidal, triangular plane-covex and lenticular - these adze kits have their counterpoints in Samoa, Tonga and even Fiji(83). The first known examples of the typically East Polynesian tanged or gripped adzes also occur in the early Hane inventory. These and the chronologically later examples from the Leeward Society Islands are, unlike other adze types, formed by a pecking technique to achieve rounded ends. A few rare adzes showing incipient tangs are also reported for Tonga and Samoa but their archaeological relationship with those of the early east Polynesian inventories is uncertain, the Samoan examples being surface finds. Sinoto suggest that these rare Polynesian finds are related to those of the Marquesas and Society Islands in terms of morphological continuity. Bellwood, however, is critical of any firm assertion that the Hane Phase I Culture derives directly from the west and points out that the west Polynesian examples "can easily be explained as diffusion from drift voyagers from the east, since winds and currents trend from east to west"(84). Although in general the early Samoan adze inventory is "directly ancestral and very

(83) Emory, Adzes,152ff. Sinoto, Marquesas,1212.
similar to the early adze kits in the Marquesas and Society Islands", the appearance of the tanged adze and other artifacts unknown in the west can only mean that there must be earlier sites somewhere to allow time for development(85). The earliest human presence in eastern Polynesia claimed for the Marquesas has not yet been conclusively established. An analysis of the adze kit of the Leeward Society Islands by Emory shows a progressive development from tangless forms similar to those of western Polynesia to incipiently - fully tanged forms. The same progression however is also evident in the Marquesan adze inventory. None of the Hane Phase-I adzes have fully developed tangs, a small percentage of the finds showing "an incipient tang" (86). Thus the evidence is that the typically eastern Polynesian tanged adze developed in both the Society and Marquesan Islands. The temporal priority of the Marquesan evolution derives from the deeper stratification of the Hane site which has not yet been equalled in the Society Islands.

Some dozen undecorated Lapita or "Polynesia Plain Ware" sherds (87) have been found in the earliest strata on Nukuhiva and Uahaka. There is so far no evidence for pottery anywhere else in east Polynesia and the technique was apparently lost in the northern Marquesan group by the beginning of Phase-II. On current evidence it appears that localised productions of pottery came to an end in both Samoa and Tonga at the beginning of the Christian era or, on the basis of carbon-14 dating at Vailete, Samoa, by 100 A.D.. There is evidence to suggest that the pots seen by early European visitors to Tonga were imported from Fiji(88). As the Hane Phase-I (Initial Settlement) does not commence till 300 A.D. a the earliest, there is clearly a gap between the evidence for the west and for the east. Petrographic analysis and x-ray differentiation-pattern studies of a few Hane sherds strongly suggest a

(85) Bellwood, Conquest,315,323.
(86) Emory, Adzes, 157,160.
(87) J.M. Davidson, "Samoa and Tonga", in Jennings,89.
manufacture from local materials. It would appear that the pottery tradition survived several centuries in a "colony" after the technique was apparently lost in the Samoan homeland. If the technique of pottery manufacture came with the first peoples to enter the empty island world from the west, then clearly the Hane Phase-I site does not represent the initial settlement of eastern Polynesia which must have taken place several centuries earlier. A more recent reinterpretation of the petrographical analysis on the Marquesan sherds as well as a sherd from Tungua, Tonga, found quartzone temper sands in all the specimens. This finding suggests that they originated from the nearest known deposits of sands containing this mineral, namely Nasilai in the Rewa River delta of Viti Levu, Fiji(89). Bellwood's comment that this "absolutely astonishing possibility" made "a direct western origin for early Marquesan culture ... almost a certainty" must be treated cautiously however in view of his conclusion, shared by some other prehistorians, that there is a gap between the earliest Marquesan assemblages in which the sherds were found, and the culture's postulated homeland of Samoa(90). The dating of the Marquesan sherds and the origin suggested by the mineral content of the pottery's temper sands on current evidence is not inconsistent with the end of manufacturing in Tonga and Samoa; contact from the west, possibly Tonga, may have occurred after the Marquesas had already been settled from the west or elsewhere. The origin of the sherds is also consistent with the tradition mentioned above, that some Nukuhivans believed that their ancestors came from "Vavao", presumably Vava'u. A late diffusion may well explain why pottery in eastern Polynesia was apparently restricted to the northern Marquesas and only had a relatively short history there. The possibilities of a secondary diffusion from the west however weakens the view held by most prehistorians, that "a geographic barrier or open water not suited to extensive two-way voyaging lowered the amount of contact between East and West and served to maintain the cultural differentiantion between them, once it had developed"(91).

(87) J.M. Davidson, "Samoa and Tonga", in Jennings,89.
(88) Poulson,18-20, 23m. Davidson,88,89,90,91. Green has a Samoan pottery horizon from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.. Green, West Polynesian, 102. Bellwood, Dispersal Centres, 97.
(90) Bellwood, Conquest, 323, 326.. Davidson, 107.
(91) Green, West Polynesian, 106.
As Bellwood has pointed out, "the voyaging capabilities of Polynesians of two thousand years ago became rather dramatically enhanced" if the early Marquesan pottery did indeed originate, directly or indirectly, from Fiji(92). It needs to be stressed, however, that the western origin of the Hane pottery derives from a reinterpretation of the mineral content as shared with just one Tongan sherd, and that initial tests on pottery fragments from Hane and Ha'atuatua strongly indicated "local origins, despite the fact that the samples were extremely small"(93). Being mere fragments, it is difficult to evaluate the Marquesan pottery's relationship to other ceramic areas but Green perceived some morphological characteristics shared with late Samoan pottery and considers the Marquesan items as part of the general artifactual continuum expressing the settlement of eastern Polynesia from the west(94). This artifactual continuum which is evident in adze forms, certain types of fish-hooks, octopus lure-spinners, shell adzes, chisels, shell paring knives, tattooing chisels and other items(85) extends to both the Society and Marquesan Islands. Claims that the Marquesas were the point of entry and the primary dispersal centre are essentially based on the radio-carbon 14 dating established for one, possibly two, archaeological sites there with evidence for human occupation. These dates are the earliest dates for human occupation in eastern Polynesia (see Fig 2 page 15).

The artifacts of the Marquesas and Leeward Society Islands establish an ancient cultural affinity between the two archipelagos and define Bellwood's Early Eastern Polynesian Culture. This early culture extended as far as the Wairau Bar site on the South Island of New Zealand where the characteristic tanged adze also occurs. The inventory of this culture comprises materials which are either rare or absent in the west, or which display distinct morphological developments from west Polynesian artifacts. A few may be briefly mentioned. The harpoon made

(92) Bellwood, Conquest, 32.
(93) Sinoto, Assessment, 113.
(94) Green, West Polynesia, 103, 105.
(95) Bellwood, Conquest, 318
of a composite of bone, whale-tooth and pearl-shell appears to be an early east Polynesian invention; in the Marquesas, so far, it has only been found in the northern group as well as at Vaitootia, Wairau Bar and Mangareva. One-piece fish-hooks are rare in the western islands but occur from the beginning of Phase 1 at Hane where they are predominantly made of pearl-shell. Similar forms have been found in the Leeward Society Islands. Pearl-shell lure-shanks occur in Maupiti, Huahine and the earliest levels in the Marquesas. Bait hooks and so-called bonito lure-spinners are rare in the west where a few specimens in collections have no known archaeological context, but are widely distributed in early East Polynesia. Compound-shank hooks at Vaitootia are similar to those of the northern Marquesas. Whale-tooth pendants are known throughout Polynesia but modified or shaped whale-tooth pendants appear to be typical of eastern Polynesia and have been found in the earliest levels of the Marquesan sites, the Leeward Society Islands as well as the Wairau Bar. Like pottery, they apparently dropped out of the inventory in the northern Marquesas toward the end of Hane Phase II. The assemblages of the Marquesas and Leeward Society Islands evince an early ability to work shell successfully. Excavations in both archipelagos have recovered a number of pearl-shell artifacts such as breast-plates, pendants, small discs or "buttons" with extremely fine perforations, scrapers and spoons, some ground thin and smooth and beautifully worked. An early religious structure found deep in Hane Valley and probably belonging to the later Phase III, contained a tuff-stone image which is "unlike most Marquesan images ...(and) similar in style to the typical Tahitian"(96).

The Vaitootia habitation site near Fare on Huahine is situated on a low, flat coastal plain and was apparently abandoned because of a rapidly rising sea level, perhaps a flood, or the subsidence of the land. This led to the preservation of vegetal cultural materials which so far have not been found elsewhere. Given the similarities of non-

perishable artifacts, some of these may also have been part of the Marquesas culture. Vaitootia artifacts included a double-canoe of great importance to understanding Polynesian navigation hundreds of years before European contact. Items recovered and preserved include several canoe and dance paddles, tapa beaters, sword clubs, house-posts and, significant in view of non-perishable materials similar to those of early New Zealand, a number of whale-bone and wooden hand-clubs which bear a striking resemblance to the Maori *patu*. This type of weapon did not survive in the Society Islands. For Bellwood the similarities in artifacts from the Maupiti burial site and Wairau Bar make "a direct Society Island origin for the first settlers of New Zealand very likely"(97). The hand-clubs of Vaitootia reinforce the likelihood. (See Fig 2 page 25.)

The early cultures in the Leeward Society Islands and the Marquesas have a homogeneity in terms of shared traits not found in the islands of western Polynesia. This denotes either that one derived from the other or that both had an as yet unlocated source in common. Archaeology and linguistic analysis indicate that the two archipelagos became early dispersal centres whence people spread throughout eastern Polynesia, directly and indirectly, via intermediately-settled islands (see Fig. 2). East Polynesian traditions assign a leading role to the Society Islands as a region of diffusion, particularly Raiatea-Havai'i after that island became an important cult centre dedicated to Ta'aroa and, closer to European contact, 'Oro. Several prehistorians have pointed out that Raiatea's fame in central eastern Polynesia and beyond is related to its socio-religious function within an archipelago of well populated high islands situated in an area for which one and two-way voyages to other island groups are both possible and well authenticated. This location of centrality enabled new items of material culture and ideas coming into the region from the outside, or evolving locally, to be disseminated to other island groups(98). It may be pointed out, however, that this geographical factor serves equally well to explain the archipelago's role in the settlement of eastern Polynesia from the very beginning. A

(97) Bellwood, Conquest,324, & inter-alia Sinoto & McCoy,167,168. Emory,Societies,202-3.
(98) Green, Linguistic Subgrouping,15. Bellwood, Dispersal Centres,94.
clear post-European contact example of diffusion from the Society Islands is in Williams's account of his first visit to Rarotonga. He found that the inhabitants had learned of the missionaries and their god from a number of Society Islanders who had been blown off course several years earlier. A high chief of Rarotonga had built a place of worship to Jehova, the new god of healing (99). The general spread of Christianity in advance of the missionaries to islands in the vicinity of Tahiti is itself an example of the diffusional possibilities entailed by the geographically central position of the Society Islands.

The archaeological record as it stands presents two related problems in unravelling the strands of prehistory. One concerns the exact time and point of departure from the west, generally believed, rather than proved, to be the Samoas, the other regarding the point of entry into eastern Polynesia. Both problems arise from a gap in the archaeological evidence. Sinoto, who champions the Marquesas as the point of entry, notes that the line-fishing gear, ornaments and other items found there in the earliest levels, are unknown in archaeological contexts elsewhere in Oceania (100). This early discontinuity shows the "real gap" between the evidence from east and west Polynesia. As Davidson has pointed out, dendrogram models of likely linguistic relationships, an enduring belief that the first people originated from the west, and a minimal continuity evident in just "a handful of artifacts", rather than "firm archaeological evidence", is all there is to demonstrate a relationship between east and west Polynesia (101). For Bellwood, the early Marquesan artifacts indicate a prior development outside of Samoa "but whether this development took place in the Marquesas Islands themselves or some other island group we cannot really at present say". The "one major problem" yet to be resolved is to fill the "obvious gap" between the earliest culture in east Polynesia "and its presumed parent in

(99) Williams, Narrative, 28, 52.
(100) Sinoto, Marquesas, 132.
(101) Davidson, 107.
Specifically Samoan origins for the early eastern Polynesian culture can, according to some prehistorians, not be established on archaeological grounds. There are too many artifacts which have no known parallels elsewhere and consequently, as Sinoto notes of the Marquesas, there is a problem in determining "the land of origin". Davidson, a prehistorian of western Polynesia, is aware that present archaeological evidence does not allow for "the identification of a time or place, even in the most general terms, for the departure of colonists for East Polynesia". Golson is critical of Green's dichotomy between Tonga and Samoa in so far as it is based on the evidence of material culture. He points out that a few of the adzes found in the earliest strata at Hane are not known or very rare in Samoa but of interest, given the possible origin of the Marquesan pottery mentioned above, being identical to adze forms associated with early Lapita sites of Tonga and Fiji. Denying Green's conclusion that the early adze complex of the Marquesas most closely relates to that of Samoa, he maintains that in general, "from the standpoint of relationships with the early Marquesas and elsewhere, there is no great difference between early adze kits of Tonga and Samoa". Whereas Green argues that "archaeologically as well as linguistically" Samoa is closer than Tonga to east Polynesia, Golson points out that the only artifact shared between Samoa and east Polynesia to the exclusion of Tonga is the octopus-lure sinker but that in all other respects, Tonga and Samoa are "equally remote from East Polynesia". Thus, in the opinion of some cautious prehistorians, on the available evidence, a point of origin is difficult to establish with any certainty. The material inventory of the earliest levels in east Polynesia so far uncovered already shows a considerable divergence from western Oceania and, where certain artifacts such as adzes and pottery show a continuity from the west, this is so general that opting for any specific location becomes merely

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(102) Bellwood, *Conquest*, 323, 326.
(104) Davidson, 107.
an arbitrary choice, perhaps influenced by some extraneous theoretical position. Finally, and to reiterate, in the choice between the Society Islands and the Marquesas as the point of entry and the primary dispersal centre, archaeology allots a priority to the latter which is solely derived from the fact that those islands "have the earliest carbon date and the best conditions for preservation" (106).

The findings of neither linguistics nor archaeology are conclusive for determining the initial settlement pattern of eastern Polynesia and the traditional claims of the Society Islanders regarding their origins from a western Havai'i as first recorded during the earliest period of European contact, warrants reconsideration. The cosmological beliefs concerning their origins referred to above (page 1) are considered next.

(106) Bellwood, Conquest, 326.
Europeans with their conceptions of progressive, linear time with its succession of events and epochs strung together like beads on a string, were often perplexed by indigenous notions of the past. To the missionary Robert Thomson the islanders' understanding of their past seemed "very obscure". Everything held to be of ancient inception was deemed *fanau po* or "born in the night". The same expression however also designated "futurity". His colleague William Ellis also saw ambiguities in "po and its compounds"(1).

In its primary sense *po* means "night" or "darkness" but by semantic extension it also signifies the incomprehensible, the infinite, the hidden and unknown. Throughout Polynesia this concept stands in logical opposition to *ao*, "day" or "light" which, by similar amplification, refers to knowledge, insight, that which is clear(2). The significations of *po* and *ao* however, far exceed the approximating English metaphors of "being in the dark" as opposed to "seeing the light". Connotations of *po* not always explicable in translation, can be inferred from further implications attached to its antithesis. *Ao* means life, health, happiness and prosperity, and poetically designated "the good reign" of a chief(3). These binary symbols are frequently evoked in oral literature and their comprehension is important for an understanding of Polynesian ethos(4).

(1) Robert Thomson, *Ms History of Tahiti* I,2. William Ellis *Researches II*,11,413. All Ellis references are to this unless otherwise specified.
(2) Aarne A. Koskinen,*Kite*,50. John Davies, *Dictionary*, 199,204. All Davies references are to this work unless otherwise specified.
(3) Davies ,24,25.
In the pre-scientific Denkweise or "mode of thought", dreams have the same reality as conscious experience, qualities and emotions become substantialized and the subjective experience of nature personified and projected as concrete realities. In Polynesia "day" and "night", the observable rhythm of time and nature, were reified in terms of a cosmic architecture as Ao and Po, the two *piha* or "compartments" that comprised the cosmos. Po was the cosmic night, the Other-World of gods and spirits, the antithesis of Ao or Te-Ao-nei, literally, "this-here Ao" or "This World" which was the human realm.

The interaction between these two cosmic polarities was carefully controlled. Prior to warfare, for example, priests called up the gods of destruction from Po:

Haere mai i te Ao! Come here to Ao!

*e tama'i i tei te Ao.* to the war in This World(8).

The army of warriors was then likened to a net ensnaring its "fish" or victims, the net that separated "day (ao) from night (po)", i.e. life from death(9). When warfare ended, priests terminated the contact between the two realms by ritually reversing the intent of the opening ceremonies. They intoned "banish the miseries of war to Po", and recited a formula found with but little variation in most terminal rituals, urging the gods:

*e huri e to mate i te Po* turn your faces to Po

*eiaha e fariu mai i te Ao-nei!* do not turn towards Ao!(10)

Once the need for the potentially dangerous assistance from Po had passed, the deities were somewhat peremptorily urged to turn away from Ao(11). This pattern of invitation and dismissal regulating the opening

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(6) Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, 412. All Henry references are to this work unless otherwise specified.

(7) Ibid., 171, 353. Davies, 24, 204. Ellis II, 200, 201, 413.

(8) Henry, 303; my translation.


(10) Henry, 292; my translation.

(11) Ibid., 172-3. Ellis II, 509.
and closing of the interaction between the two piha or realms is evident in most rituals.

"The departed soul", wrote Thomson, "could be traced onwards till it came to Po, night, or to that state where the mind can follow no longer" (12). Death did not exist when Ta'aroa, the Creator who lived in Po, first "conjured forth" Ti'i and Hina, the precursors of the human race. Peace and harmony prevailed throughout the universe until discontent and strife arose among the gods and mankind. Ta'aroa, then placed a curse on his creation that caused all to fade. Hence one of his many epithets was Ta'aroa-nui-tuhi-mate, "Great Ta'aroa whose curse is death". Only the timely intervention of Hina, who out of compassion restored ora or "life" time and again, prevented the gradual extinction of creation. This aetiological myth explained the rhythms of nature, like the ebbing of the tides and the cyclic wet and dry seasons. However Ti'i, instructed by Ta'aroa, forbade his wife to apply her counter-measures to mankind(13).

This myth expresses notions of death and dying as a kind of weakening or fading of ora or "life" that is reflected also in the semantic content of terms for injury, ill-luck, sickness and death. Ma'i means illness or disease in the sense of withering and decay. Mate and pohe mean death as well as sickness and hurt, both physical and mental(14). These terms connote a diminishing or interference with the substance of life and well-being. Conversely, ora designated not simply "life", but also health, liberty, freedom, escape, deliverance and prosperity(15).

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(12) Thomson I,2.
(13) Teuira Henry, Tahitian Folklore, J.P.S. 37,52. Henry, 405 ff; here omits many details. An early account of the creation myth is by James Elder and Charles Wilson, Ms Journal 1803, S.S.J..
(14) Davies, 126,139,200
The pre-Christian treatment of the sick and dying also reflected such perceptions of life, death and illness. When appeals to the supernatural were unsuccessful, the ill were often mistreated and abandoned. They were removed from the family dwelling and left to die in a shelter lest their afflictions affect the healthy. They were already deemed *mate*, dead or "finished". A contempt for the aged and infirm, evident in their illtreatment and certain scornful maxims, derived from the same ethos that saw aging as a gradual extinction of *ora* (16). The boundary of life and death was thus placed differently from European conceptions as *mate* and *pohe* did not correspond to clinical death. Captain Cook in 1777, apparently hearing the term *mate* in reference to Amo, understood that this important chief had died. He was probably only ill because Amo died in battle in 1793 (17).

Once the *iho*, "essence" or "nature", of a person had slipped away, it became a *varua* or spirit (18). Spirits of the dead were generally of malevolent disposition and had to be coaxed from doing mischief to their *iho-iho-tupu* or "growing essences", i.e. their living relatives in Te Ao (19). The latter offered them food as *taumaha* or appeasement, saying "this is for you, do not covet what we are eating, be content to live in Po" (20). In the evening twilight, when the cry of crickets reverberated


(17) James Cook, Journals III, 226. James Morrison, Journal, 166. The Tahitians and other Polynesians added intensifiers *roa* or *rawa* to stress "completely finished" or clinically dead; see A.S. Atkinson, Notes, 58. *Mate* is a very stable term within Austronesian languages; *mati* in Indonesian dialects signifies "dead, finished, run dry, ended, extinguished, senseless" etc., all meanings akin to the Polynesian *mate*. E Pino and T Wittermans, Kamus Inggeris II, 99.

(18) *Varua*, variously, *verua*, *vairua*, *vaite*. Ellis II, 154, argues that *vaite* was the older form. Davies, 177, 307, 311; notes that "the old Tahitian form seems to have been *vairua*.


(20) Barff, 21.
through the darkening valleys, people grew uneasy lest these were the voices of varua that had returned to harm them. Fearing a relative returned from Po crying over his lost property, a family head would display the belongings and call out into the encroaching night:

E manava, a haere mai! Welcome, come here!
tei te tao'a na 'oe here are your belongings
'eiha e riri i te feti'i i be not angry with your family
i te Ao in Ao
e fariu 'oe i te Po. turn yourself toward Po.(21)

The significant core of island religion, affecting the daily affairs of people, was ancestor worship.

Men that had been renowned warriors, or had in some way or other obtained distinction during their life time...after their deaths were reckoned among the gods...They were supposed to dwell in Po, Hades or the dark unknown.(22).

The two "principal 'oromatua" or ancestral spirits of Huahine were the Raiatean chiefs Mauri and Puara'i who had established a new dynasty on the island(23). On Tahiti Temeharo was a god of the Pomares and as Te Varua

O Temeharo appears on the genealogies of that family(24).The aged warrior-chief Vehiatua of Tautira, Tahiti, met by Cook in 1769, was worshipped by his family and followers after his death(25). Perhaps 'Oro was one chief whose apotheosis elevated him beyond the confines of kith and kin to the status of an atua or god. According to one missionary, this war-god had been a warrior-chief of Opoa and his cult, which had spread throughout the Society Islands by 1769, was believed of recent

(21) Orsmond ,Dict.,31-3; my translation.
(22) John Davies,24 October 1835, Lang Papers. John Davies (ed.), Te Faaita Tahiti 6,66, a vernacular missionary magazine, reminded its readers that formerly they worshipped "the spirits of renowned men","notorious for theft,fornication and lewd behaviour"; my translation.
(25) Ms Parau no Vehiatua, in Ms. Papers of Captain Victor Brisson; translated by R.G.White, Tahiti. Thomson, Chapters 2 and 3, records the exploits of this chief.
Ancestral spirits were quick to take offence and were jealous of their relatives living in Ao. They wandered back from Po to "revenge transgressions [by]...eating the bowels" of those who had offended them(27). He'a-'oromatua or sickness (he'a) caused by an ancestor spirit, 'oromatua, was perceived as an act of aggressive consumption. The terms 'ai-ora or 'ai-ae, meaning "to eat life" or well-being, and to "eat health", designated disorder and death caused by ancestor spirits. An 'oromatua-nihoniho-roa or 'long-toothed ancestor spirit" was an ogre roaming the night in search of relatives to devour. An 'oromatua-'ai-aru was a spirit that ate ('ai) elderly relations (aru:wrinkled) (28). Protracted illnesses, inexplicable deaths and persistent misfortunes were all signs that a familiar spirit had turned hostile. Such an 'oromatua was eventually ritually banished from Ao for having become an 'ai-ta'ata or "man-eater". A more benevolent spirit was then sought from the family's genealogies and the end to evil confirmed that an 'oromatua-maita'i or "friendly spirit" had been found(29).

Consistent with a belief in the aggressive appetite of spirits and gods, healing involved the offering of placatory substitute foods, ranging from pigs to the symbolic banana shoot known as ta'ata-me'i'a-roa or "man long-banana" A man-devouring spirit was urged to eat instead "this man long-banana, squeeze him, let him be your food in Po". If all failed, relatives and friends offered themselves as "human pigs", hoping to soften the feelings of the angry ancestor. For sick high-chiefs, or in situations of severe social stress, substitute foods included real rather than symbolic "human pigs" or "man long-banana"(30).

(26) Davies, 24 October 1835, in Lang Papers.
(27) George Platt, 21 October 1828, S.S.L.
(28) Davies, 17, 100, 173. Henry, 202-3, has mistranscription 'oromatua-ia-aru with curious translation as "people in the woods"; she renders the correct form as "devouring ghosts in the dark".
(29) Henry, 178, 202, inter-alia.
Supernatural anthropophagy also entered thanatological beliefs. European visitors in 1777 were told that upon entering Po, souls were eaten by the gods as "a kind of necessary purification"(31). The missionaries later recorded that in Po the gods "devoured souls over and over in different forms"(32). Their dictionary preserves the term po-noni-'ai-'a-Ta'aroa, as "one of the names of Po, viz. Hades or the dark unknown state of the dead"(33). The literal meaning of the term refers to the eating ('ai) of small food parcels (noni) wrapped in leaves (rau'ai) to prevent burning in the earth ovens, by Ta'aroa in Po. It was believed that souls in Po were grated into a pulp as food for Ta'aroa and other denizens of the dark(34).

The consumption of souls by cannibal gods in Po has been recorded as a religious belief throughout the Austronesian island world but the theme has received little attention from scholars. Handy, in his still influential study of Polynesian religion, even dismissed it as mere missionary misunderstanding(35).

After a soul was devoured by a god it "came through him again among his excrements"(36). Excreta was specifically associated with a section of Po known as Rohutu-namu'a, somewhat coyly defined in the missionary dictionary as "a certain division of the Tahitian Hades, but not the

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(33) Davies,17,200,201. Andrews,95,135.
(35) E.S.Croighill Handy, Polynesian Religion,63,65-86. Douglas L.Oliver, Tahitian Society I, 524, has drawn together some of the evidence for Tahiti. The theme has been noted for example in the Cook and Hawaiian Islands, Tikopia and Indonesia. W.W.Gill, Myths and Songs,154,169,338. William Ellis Journal,262. Raymond Firth, Tikopia Ritual,338. A.Ijseldijk, De Toestand der Missie in de Kampongs Korring en Nito (Flores), and P.Been, Iets over Geneeskunde onder de Inlanders, both in B.M. O.I. 1895, 78 and 1919, 38.
(36) Elder and Wilson.,op cit.Their journal as published in Transactions II, 331 ff., omits references to excrement. See also Gill,164 for the Cooks.
The term namu'a is absent from the dictionary but was recorded in a 1777 lexicon as "stinking, ill-smelled". The missionaries briefly noted that Rohutu-namu'a was a "foul-smelling place" where "souls writhed about perpetually in the excrements of the gods". More detail was "too disgusting" to be recorded.

Relevant also to the fate of the soul after death is a designation for Po recorded in 1769 as "tayabu-reo-reo" and "taihaboo". The likely modern orthography for this term is t'-'ai' a-hopu ri'ori'o, meaning the place (ri'ori'o) where souls were bathed (hopu). This construction accords with a belief that after their repeated passages "through the laboratory of a god's cannibal stomach" souls were bathed before becoming immortal spirits.

Just as children newly born into Ao were ritually bathed in te vai-ora 'a Tane or "the Water-of-Life of (the god) Tane", so souls fanau po or "born into Po" were immersed in te vai-po 'a Ta'aroa, "the water-of-Darness -or Death- of Ta'aroa", which was the name of the river that flowed through the Netherworld.

(37) Davies,230.
(38) James Cook, Voyage...South Pole,348. Namunamu as "horribly smelly" has been recorded for the Cook Islands, Marquesas, Tonga and Samoa. In New Zealand the phrase po-namunamu-ki-tai-ao refers to "the night of the narrow passage by which man enters the world". The word does not appear as "stinking" for Maori, but the phrase, nevertheless, means "from stinking Po into Ao". Davies,131, notes manu'ai-'aih'a as "anything that eats human excrement"; manu manu'a, anything loathsome. Peter Hagerstein claimed in 1797 that there had once been a society on Tahiti whose members in their meetings always ate human excrement", a claim confirmed by Tahitians at that time. The term Rohutu in the above for the Hereafter appears to be unique to the Society Islands and the Vahitu dialect of the Tuamotus. It is a cognate of Purotu, the Other World of western Polynesia. C.M. Heeren-Palmer, Polynesisiche Migrations,12, notes rare references to Pulotu in the Tuamotus and Hawaii. Stephen Savage, Dictionary,56. R.I.Dordillon, Grammaire,195. C.Maxwell Churchward, Dictionary,374. George Pratt, Grammar,229. A.W. Reed, Treasure,18. F.J. Stimson and D.S. Marshall, Dictionary,460.
(39) Barff,23. John Williams, Samoan Journals,264. John Williams, Narrative,145
(41) Tyerman and Bennet 1,522. Elder and Wilson, 5 July 1803, S.S.J.Davies,109,170.
(42) Henry,178,184,200,inter-alia.
The Waters of Life and Death have affinities in many religions and can be found, for instance, in the Bible. The maternal signification is one of the clearest interpretations of water rituals found in the studies of mythology. They harken back to the archetypal antemundane waters that occur also in Society Islands mythology. Such waters precede every act and form of creation and are an unconscious symbolic equivalent of amniotic fluids. As birth symbolisms they ultimately derive their inspiration from the primordial pre-creation waters. Baptismal rituals have two universal functions in that they initiate new modes of being, whilst abolishing the old ones(43).

Concepts of birth and rebirth, of entrances and exits to different conditions or states of being, underlie the water rituals that marked the commencement and conclusion of a number of religious ceremonies(44). The supreme unconscious symbol of uterine fluids or the primordial waters was the ocean. To herald the ending of troubled times, priests sprinkled sea-water over the marae (place of worship), pronouncing all cleansed from spiritual and temporal defilement. Communal rituals saw people plunge into the ocean to wash away all their sins and pollutions after periods of great social stress, such as warfare. In other expurgatory rites "the crimes and sins of the nation when troubles and afflictions assailed them" were committed to the ocean(45).

The investiture ceremonies for the chiefs of Opoa, Raiatea, also show this dual function of water rituals and provide a possible meaning to excreta. These chiefs traced their descent from the Creator God Ta'a'aroa and bore the title of Tamatoa or "Warrior-Child"(46). They wore "the most sacred of all emblems", the maro 'ura or red-feather girdle which, by the time of European contact, had become associated with the cult of the war-god 'Oro(47). By the investiture with the maro 'ura a Tamatoa was "both deified and made a king", involving "ceremonies so detestable they

(44) Henry,132,137,161.
(45) Ibid.,143,198,320.
(46) Tyerman & Bennet I,526.
(47) Henry,190
cannot be named", wrote the missionaries(48).

The investiture opened with a great ceremonial fleet manned by naked male and female members of the 'arioi, the orgiastic society of the 'Oro cult, which took the chief to the Ava-moa or Sacred Passage in the reef. There Tamatoa immersed himself in the ocean, whilst the high-priest intoned a prayer "pronouncing him clean". This baptismal rite was then followed by the solemn ceremonies that endued the chief with a god-like status(49).

A very different scene marked the chief's exit from his sacred contagion. The "final homage" to the now "deified king" consisted of such "abominations", wrote the missionaries, that "a veil must be thrown over the vices with which the ceremonies concluded". The naked men and women of the 'arioi society "hailed him as the monarch of their persons, suiting actions to words in a language too primitive to be repeated"(50). The investiture ended with "scenes of a most shocking nature"

Completely naked men and women surrounded the king and strove to touch him with the various parts of their bodies, to the point where he could scarcely protect himself from the urine and excrement with which they sought to cover him(51).

Similar "heathenish ceremonies", but without faecal elements, were witnessed by the missionaries on Tahiti in 1802 at the conclusion of

(48) Transactions II,426.
(49) Henry,192.
(50) Ibid.,193,195. Ellis II,359. In 1769 Cook learned from the Raiatean priest Tupai'a that at the investiture of a high chief "much form and ceremony is used [...] after which everyone is at liberty to treat and play as many tricks with the new king as he pleaseth". Cook, Journals I,135.
(51) A. Moerenhout II, 27 ff; my translation. Cf. Oliver II, 1022 & n., 1023. Oliver admits his "perplexity" at the "gross indignity" and suggests it entailed a caveat that the sacred chief was still accountable for his actions to spirits and humans. Oliver's contention that semen was also spilt finds no support in the sources; as he notes, this was not a fertility rite. See Alan Dundes, Earth-Diver: Creation of the Mythopoic Male, in William A Lessa & Evin Z.Vogt (eds.), Comparative Religion, 178-185, for a discussion on cloacal and faecal myths. Dundes notes that few myths "dealing with excretory processes find their way into print", even though the theme is widespread.
(52) Transactions II,63,64.
some important marae ceremonies. The image of 'Oro and the red-feather-girdle chief sitting nearby, were surrounded by people exposing themselves in their direction whilst shouting "Maeva-ari'i", or "Hail to the Chief" (52).

Because of European sensitivities there is a hiatus in our information. The scenes can be explained as a ritual removal of tapu or supreme sacredness by means of somatic ara or pathways, a theme further explored below. The unpleasant situation of the sacred chief at the end of his investiture dictates that his exit from the state of sacredness would have required another water ritual. Just as a spirit in Po, after its excretic ordeal of re-birth, was "bathed in the waters of death", so a baptismal ritual would have removed the sacred chief's faecal membrane when he re-entered the social realm.

Eating and excreta in Polynesia generally were elements in the ritual removal of tapu, the potentially dangerous "ultra-human influence" that penetrated the Ao of mankind from the Po of the gods (53). Tapu has often been imposed upon the cultural and behavioural data for the Society Islands on the assumption that the term had pan-Polynesian meaning and application (54). When Europeans from the 1820s onward came to comment on tapu in the Society Islands, the old religion had already given way to Christianity. The term had, however, entered some European languages following contacts with other areas of Polynesia, as "taboo" meaning something sacred and forbidden. The term was subsequently adopted by philosophy, psychology, sociology and, above all, anthropology which gave it universal application (55). As a result, some commentaries on tapu by writers with a wider knowledge of the Pacific do not necessarily...

(53) Jean Smith, Tapu Removal, J.P.S. 83,6. Allan Hanson, Female Pollution, J.P.S. 91,344.
(54) e.g. Beaglehole in Cook, Journals I,clxxix,86n.; Corney II,265n.; Handy, History,36-8. Oliver I,66 has noted that tapu in the Society Islands entailed senses not known elsewhere.
reflect pre-Christian usage of the term in the Society Islands, and anthropological analyses of "taboo" often lack specific references to tapu in sources quoted (56).

Given the centrality of tapu in the analyses of Polynesian religion generally, references to it are remarkably rare in sources for the Society Islands. The term was not recorded there in the relevant religious sense in any of the extensive lexicons and journals of early visitors. Tapu came to the attention of Europeans only during Cook's last voyage, in 1777, at Tonga and Hawaii rather than Tahiti. Its first use as an English verb, however, appears to have been at Tahiti when King wrote that a certain marker on a tree indicated that "things are tabooed or forbid" (57, but this was after having learned of tapu at Tonga. This is perhaps the earliest example of a tendency, based on perceived cultural-linguistic homogeniety, to transpose the concepts of one region to another. The missionaries later noted that such markers indicated a rahui or prohibition. They commented, significantly, that elsewhere in Polynesia this was called a tapu (58).

The first unambiguous reference to tapu in the Society Islands was also made in 1777. Anderson commented on having heard the word there only once, as ta’ata-tapu for "human sacrifice". He noted that whereas in Tonga, tapu applied to all cases "where things are not to be touched", on Tahiti the word ra’a "served the same purpose and is full as extensive in its meaning" (59). Indeed, observers before the 1820s rarely mention tapu but often comment on ra’a and, less frequently, moa. According to Orsmond these two terms had similar meanings, viz. "sacredness" and "prohibition", and were "in their application the

(56) e.g. R. Williams, Religion, and Handy, History, refer to taboo-tapu in the Society Islands where their sources mention ra’a.
(57) Cook, Journals III, 129, 146, 624, 1032, inter alia..
(59) Cook, Journals III, 982. See also William Ellis, Authentic Voyage II, 482..
greatest burden on Tahiti", causing "infernal sufferings, afflictions and murder" (60). The missionary dictionary notes that tapu was "nearly obsolete in Tahiti, although retained in other [Polynesian] dialects" where it was "much used" (61). Given this evidence it appears that tapu in the Society Islands had a more specific or narrow meaning or context.

The next mention of tapu came in 1798 when one of Bligh's men tore a branch from a tree growing inside a marae or temple and attached it to a dwelling. All the islanders promptly left the premises. The hut, Bligh reported, was "tabboo, which I understand to signify interdicted, and .... none might approach it till the tabboo is taken off" by ritual (62). The mutineer Morrison learned that anything touching the grounds of marae became sacred and nothing could be removed from them onto "unhallow'd Ground" (63). European thoughtlessness in regard to marae evoked responses ranging from fear to violence. In 1769 one of the Endeavour crew plucked a flower growing inside a marae and was promptly attacked by a Tahitian (64). The Spaniards were particularly persistent perpetrators of marae desecration. "Whenever anything belonging to a marae is taken away", wrote Rodriguez, "their gods grow angry and they die". The introduced diseases that took the lives of several leading chiefs at the time were seen as supernatural retribution for Spanish sacrilege (65).

Marae as points of contact between Po and Ao were vahi-tapu or "sacred places" (66). It was here that ta'ata-tapu or "consecrated men" were offered to a god who became "gratified by eating the Soul of the Victim

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(61) Davies, 252.
(62) William Bligh, Ms. Bounty Log 10 January 1789
(63) Morrison, 183.
(64) Joseph Banks, Endeavour Journal I, 290, 292.
(65) Corney II, 140ff. & III, 30, 60, 100, 103, 109, 197, 198.
(66) Ellis, Journal, 278.
as he does of those who die" (67). Tapu attached to everything and everyone associated with the major marae and the ceremonies held there. Marae walls were ahu-tapu, the bathing water of the gods was vai-tapu, the canoes of the gods stored there were va'a-tapu, the priestly vestments were 'ahu-tapu and the fire that consumed disused ritual articles was ahi-tapu (68). At the conclusion of rituals held there, priests urged the gods to "turn your faces to, Po, turn your backs to Ao" and prayed that tapu would be confined to the marae (69).

Tapu, as a somatic sacredness, attached to high-ranking and sacred chiefs whose extensive genealogies reached to "the highest class of gods in Po". They were deemed as "gods incarnate", and as a class were known as ari'i-tapu (ari'i: chief) (70). Their first-born children, and sometimes also later offspring, were tapu at birth and carried on men's shoulders well into their teens. This custom had the same basis as the tapu transference reported by Bligh, viz. any ground touched or dwelling entered by them became tapu and prohibited to others. They could move freely within the confines of their own domains because these were, like marae, sacred grounds. Anyone entering the domain of a sacred scion was provided with special clothing, similar to the 'ahu-tapu or sacred clothing worn exclusively within marae precincts. And just as people "lowered their clothes from their shoulders to their waists as homage to the gods" when passing marae, so they bared their upper bodies when passing the residence of sacred chiefs or upon entering into their presence (71). Everything to the least degree associated with such sacred

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(67) Morrison, 183.
(69) Henry, 173, 174, 177.
(70) Davies, iv. Tyerman & Bennet I, 526. Ellis II, 341. Ellis, Journal, 279. Almost all chiefly genealogies for the region are shorn of their most mythical links with the high gods, as this basis for their authority ceased to be valid under Christianity. Links with deified ancestors however were genealogically maintained as information vital to the land inheritance system that did not change under the new religion.
children, even the syllables that comprised their names, became sacred and prohibited to common usage on account of their "sacredness of person" (72).

Such contagious sacredness was not exclusively a function of descent from a distant high god ancestor. Bligh learned that "the first-born Son or the one that becomes Heir to the Crown" was deemed conceived by "the inspiration" of a god (73). Pomare II of Tahiti was called an atua-ra'a or "sacred god" because his mother had been visited in her sleep by the god Tane. Her son was "declar'd to be the offspring of the Deity and [was] rever'd as something supernatural". Temeharo, the deified ancestor of the Pomare family already mentioned, was also claimed to be a son of Tane (74). Tahitoe, a son of the sacred chief U'uru of Raiatea met by Cook in 1773, was believed conceived "through the power of the god Ta'aroa" (75). Ta'aroa in recent mythology was said to have been the father of "the great man-god 'Oro" whose earthly or "adoptive father" was still recalled as Tai'au (76). Consistent with beliefs in supernatural conception, a child born into an ari'i-tapu family was called a tama-aitu or "child-god" in baptismal chants and hailed as "a god who has flown hither" (77).

Tapu inherited by divine conception or distant descent was gradually reduced by a series of amo'a or "removal" rites. The last of these was the to'ira'a or "severing" of the remaining vestiges of tapu and required a ta'ata-tapu or human sacrifice (78). This was an important rite of passage, a "coming of age" ceremony when a young chief entered the social realm and "for the first time appeared officially among the dignitaries of the land" (79).
The missionary dictionary offers similar definitions for tapu and ra'a viz. "sacred" and "consecrated", but notes that the former in addition denoted a "restriction"(80). In the words of Ellis, tapu "expressed a connexion with the gods" in Po as well as "a separation from ordinary purposes"(81). Tapu belonged exclusively to the services of the gods in Po and the ritual field, and affected everything and everyone brought into contact or association with it. Unlike ra'a, it had to be contained, controlled and separated from the social realm. It was, ideally at least, temporary and periodic, confined to marae as places of interaction between Po and Ao. Unlike tapu, as a somatic sacredness ra'a was an existential condition of all males. It was a pre-requisite for tapu and hence only males could become ta'ata-tapu, "consecrated men" or human sacrifices. Women escaped this fate because they were, in general, deemed to be noa or ordinary(82). Being noa, women's participation in ritual was limited and their presence on the marae generally confined to the periphery.

As existential states, ra'a and noa were essential elements in the cultural definition of manhood and womanhood. Gender differentiations thus embodied a modal code for distinctions held to be crucial in communicating with the divine. There was apparently no overtly religious basis for this dichotomy because, as Banks was told, "the gods have nothing to do with it"(83). Ra'a and noa divided the social realm into men's and women's spheres and shaped the social relations between the sexes particularly in regard to food. Fishing nets and canoes were ra'a or noa, depending on whether they were used by men or women. There were ra'a and noa cooking sheds where food was separately prepared for men and women. Men's food was ma'a ra'a or "sacred food" prohibited to women.

(81) Ellis, Journal, 27, 279.
(82) Orsmond, Dict., 39ff. Women were occasionally offered to To'imata, the daughter of the war-god 'Oro.
(83) Banks, I, 348.
who, in general, ate apart from men in their own fare noa or "ordinary houses"(84). These and other customs deriving from the distinction appeared "unsocial" to early European observers and to the later missionaries were seen as the antithesis of Christian family life. The islanders for their part expressed their "disgust" when learning that European men and women ate together from the same food and utensils(85).

Cultural suppositions led early observers to equate noa and ra'a with Biblical notions of female uncleanliness and male ritual purity(86). Later anthropological analyses for Polynesia generally also became nesciently rooted in Judaeo-Christian concepts of female pollution and male purity, thus evoking gender tensions of a kind not evident from sources reflecting an indigenous ethos(87). Vernacular texts by former priests of the traditional religion in the Society Islands generally ascribe defilement of sacredness not to acts of women specifically but to errors and interruptions in ritual performances(88).

A recent re-examination of evidence, mainly for New Zealand, has refuted the "repellant thesis" of anthropology that noa women were agents of pollution who drove sacredness away. Instead, an "affinity thesis" has been proposed which has it that women attracted rather than repelled sacredness, and repatriated it to Po through their vaginas(89). This thesis is consistent with the pan-Polynesian leitmotif explored below, of the body as an ara or pathway, and with a view of the female body, derived from its birth-giving function, as a natural channel between Ao and Po.

(85) Banks I,348. Ellis I,221f.
(86) Thomas Haweis, Appendix to James Wilson, Voyage,333,353. Ellis I,221f.
(87) Viz. Handy Religion,47, inter-alia, & Williamson, Religion,131, inter-alia.
(88) Some 17-odd informants named by Orsmond and Henry can be identified as former priests. Their statements on ritual pollution do not specifically relate to women.
(89) Hanson,344-7,363-8.
Other female orifices could also remove sacredness. The "mouth" of the
vagina and the mouth that eats were functional equivalents, a notion
underlying the male-female separation in regard to food and cooking. The
ability of female openings to remove sacredness is shown in the Tahitian
saw that a man selected as a sacrifice could be "saved by the mouth of
his wife". If bitten by a woman, a man became noa and the priest could
no longer place a tapu or sacred restriction on him. It was enough for a
woman to merely gape in the direction of the man she wished to save from
sacrificial death(90).

Earliest linguistic records for the region support the later
missionary dictionary that noa conveyed "some negative idea". Parkinson,
in 1769, noted that noa as a verbal suffix signified that "the action is
natural...without any teaching or force". He instanced 'ite-noa as "the
natural bent or inclination or genius", i.e. untaught ability or
knowledge. His shipmate Solander recorded tupu-noa as "to grow of
itself, without planting"(91). For all Polynesian languages noa
translates as:- common, ordinary, normal, freely, merely, simply,
unrestricted, unaltered, and the like, or as the suffix, -less. The
underlying notion appears to be one of a natural unaffected state or
condition, the absence of some modifying factor. As a gender marker noa
signified the absence of ra'a and is therefore perhaps best understood
as "non-sacred" or "secular"(92).

Banks in 1769 recorded that women considered their food "polluted" if
touched by men and that the content of a woman's food vessel was thrown
away when "inadvertently defil'd" by a member of the Endeavour crew.

(91) Davies, 155. Sydney Parkinson, Ms. Vocabulary. Solander, op. cit.
(92) A.W. Reed & A.E. Brougham, Concise Maori, 204. H.P. Judd, Hawaiian, 108. Reed and Judd
define noa as "the absence of limitations" and "free from tapu". Oliver I, 67,
suggests noa as "common... profane" and "secular"; the latter is his preferred
sense.
Similarly, a male member of the 'arioi society would rub the most sacred part of his body, his head, against the belongings of a woman he was courting, thereby "making these things sacred in her honour". This was a costly compliment, however, as she could no longer make use of her own property thus made sacred. It was not noa but ra'a that was, in a sense, "polluting", that by transference could change all things "ordinary" or "normal" (93).

Te Ao-nei, "This World" of "light" that constituted the social, human pihā or compartment of the cosmos, was thus divided into spheres of sacred men and secular women. As women's bodies were conduits for the removal of sacredness, their roles in ritual appears to have been very limited (94). Ritual interaction with Po, the dark divine realm of gods and spirits that comprised the sacred pihā of the cosmic structure, was the prerogative of ra'a males.

Ultimate human destiny or death as fanau po or "birth into darkness" (95) represented a regression to Po as the dark cosmic womb whence, according to island mythology, all existence originated (96). Death as a reversed birth is a recurrent motif from the universal, storehouse of archetypes. The universality of the theme is grounded in the inescapable givens of human existence. Physiology and anatomy are about the same the world over and the stock of body imagery is limited. Styles of symbolic expression are culturally derived but the underlying physical and psychological experience transcends cultural differences (97). Jung, in his studies of mythology and dreams, found that symbolic womb regression is universal and derives from a deep-seated drive to return to the ultra-uterine, pre-natal and perhaps pre-sexual condition. Returns to the primordial womb, he noted, are typically effected "not through natural channels but through the mouth, through being devoured

(94) The sources on ritual do not assign roles to women.
(95) Page 41 above.
(96) Elsdon Best, Maori Religion I,59, inter-alia, for Po as Womb. Also Jones I,137-8, for psychological perspectives.
(97) Clyde Kluckhohn, Recurrent Themes in Myths and Mythmaking, in Alan Dundes (ed.), Folklore, 158ff.
and swallowed" (98). Other studies of body symbolism show that physical pathways are passages of both arrival and departure (99).

In Polynesia generally, birth was "a descent along a path;", with ara, path, being a metaphor for vagina. In New Zealand "the narrow passage by which man enters the world" was te ara namunamu ki tai Ao (100), literally "the stinking path into Ao". That the digestion of souls in Po was a metaphor for gestation is explicit in the term for dying, fanau-po, or "birth into darkness", and in the baptism with the Water-of-Death that followed supernatural anthropophagy. In the schema of death as a birth reversal or anal re-birth, the passage of transition between Ao and Po was an alimentary canal. Ara-poa, "mouth-path" or throat, was the symbolic equivalent of the devouring female organ, and excreta the symbolic displacement of placenta.

Notions of returning to Po as the primordial Cosmic Womb underpinned the major events of the ritual calendar, the Pa'i-atua (Wrapping of the Gods) and Vaere'a-marae (Temple Weeding) ceremonies. During the former, the wrappings of the god images were renewed and the latter was a ritual refurbishing of the marae. The two appear to have taken place sequentially. Concepts already noted, of ma'i or sickness as a decay of

(98) ...Jung, Symbols, 419. I do not subscribe to Jung's metaphysical "collective unconsciousness". The universality of archetypes derives from the common experiences of mankind. That intra-uterine sensations, traumas of birth and early post-natal experiences have psychological consequences is made clear by recent child development studies. Eli Sagan, Cannibalism, 75, 127, states that symbolic cannibalism evolves from a displacement of ambivalent feelings towards the providers of sustenance and security, specially mothers who are an object of both affection and anger. Dorothy Bloch, So the Witch Won't Eat Me, inter-alia, concludes from her child development studies over many decades that children feel threatened by parental powers over life and death because they can harm as well as protect. Ambivalent emotions are displaced onto fantasy figures who often eat children. In the Society Islands infanticide was a common practice, as was adoption and all that that entails in terms of parental rejection. Such customs may well have provided a deep psychological foundation for the symbolic cannibalism of gods and deceased kin. See also Robert I. Levy, Tahitian Adoption as a Psychological Message, in Vern Carroll (ed.) Adoption; Levy's tentative findings are supported by Bloch's research.

(99) Mary Douglas, Natural Symbols, 70ff.
(100) Aarne A. Koskinen, Linking of Symbols I, 68ff. A.W. Reed, Treasure, 18. See note 38
ora, "life" or wellbeing in Ao, are also evident in these rites which took place every three moons, at times of great social stress or the serious illness of high-ranking chiefs. They also preceded other important rites such as the investiture of sacred chiefs with the red-feather girdle. The intent of these rituals is clear from the priestly chants at their conclusions:

Ia ora te fenua ..... May the land live (ora)  
"Ua-ora te ma'i o te marae ..... restored (ora) is the decay of the temple  
"ua-ora te ma'i o te unu ..... restored is the decay of the carvings  
"ua-ora te ma'i o te utufare o te atua ..... restored is the decay (ma'i) of the god's house  
"ua-ora te ma'i o te ari'i e o te va'a-mata'eina'a ..... restored is the decay of the chief and of the clans(101)

Extensive rahui, prohibitions or restrictions, were enforced during these solemn ceremonies when Te Ao became impregnated with tapu that extended beyond the confines of the marae, engulfing the whole of a district. When the beat of the chief's drum ushered in the sacred period, all cooking fires throughout the district were extinguished(102).

All the inhabitants .... continued indoors. None must go abroad and walk, get food, pull his canoe, catch a fish or light a fire on any pretense, on pain of death. The earth and the sea were unpassable during the ceremony. Even a king dared not light his fire, however powerful and painful the pinchings of hunger(103).

(101) Henry,175; my translation  
(102) Henry,198,199.  
(103) Orsmond, Dict.,38ff.
During extended rahui the aged and infirm, women and children journeyed to the interior mountains where the cooking restrictions could be broken, taking with them all their domestic animals (104). On the cultivated coastal plains below, now given over to the service of the gods, silence reigned and all talked in hushed voices, especially in the vicinity of the marae.

e vahi hahano rahī e te hau rahī te marae ...
place of great dread and great silences were the temples,
e vahi ra'a te marae, sacred places were the marae,
e vahi hahano ... places of awe

e vahi turuma ta'a e roa, e refuse, places fearful and vahi amiami e te hauriria .. terrifying (105).

In preparation for these solemn rites "the priests consecrated themselves at their homes". They avoided all contact with family and friends, bathed frequently and began to eat sparingly. They particularly refrained from taute or tauteute, "domestic work" in the sense of food preparation and cooking (106). It was a "mortal sin" for priests in tapu condition to engage in taute, punishable by death as supernatural.

(105) Henry, 123, 131, 137, 150, 156. My translation. There are layers of meaning difficult to extract. The line vahi turuma ta'a e roa is translated by Henry, 150, as, "places of stupendous silence". My translation as "totally separated places for refuse" is closer to the Tahitian. Turuma were refuse pits, places extremely sacred and dangerous. The reference to human and animal carcasses as "refuse" is common; viz. tu'ura'a-turuma for "a place where the bodies of the dead were placed to be looked at" literally meaning "putting up [for display] refuse". Davies, 292, 296. The same term applied to nail parings, excrement and hair clippings; thus anything without ora of "life".
(106) Henry, 176, 177, 198. She consistently gives taute, tauteute as "domestic" and "domestic work". Orsmond, Dict., 39, 40 offers "eating of viands". In Maori taute is "to prepare food for cooking", but in Samoan it is a vocabulary item in the formal high-chief language, meaning "to eat". H.H. Williams, Dictionary, 404. Pratt, 289.
retribution(107). Several days later, at the onset of the sacred period, the priests repaired to the marae where they embarked upon a total fast for the duration of the ritual(108). Their waistgirdles were tightly wound around their loins to induce manava-huhui, "intestines-filled-with-emotions"(108) but literally "throbbing bowels"(110). In island somatology, the bowels were the location of emotions and thought(111). During the long vigil when the gods were called from Po, priests wore minimal clothing in order to be wet with dew and shivering with cold when the supernaturals arrived at the marae(112). On the numerous wooden platforms and altars in the marae courtyard, awaiting the arrival of the gods, were huge quantities of raw provisions, "the best food that land and sea could produce"(113).

The exit from the sacred period, and return to social normality, was inaugurated by a series of steps that undid the ritual conditions and curtailed tapu to the marae. When the priests had exhausted their pure 'iri-anu or "cold-skinned prayers", and hunger became pressing after several days, the first fire was lit on the marae grounds. This was the ahi-ha'apena or "ominous fire" over which a newly strangled hog was singed of its hair(114). At the same time a freshly killed human sacrifice was placed next to the fire, perhaps to lend it sanctity, later to be buried in the store-house of the god images. The pua'a-ha'apena or "prognostic pig", besmeared with its own blood, was then placed on its knees, "as if alive". From its appearance the priest, predicted the outcome of future events. The animal was then placed on an altar as raw food for the gods(115). The viscera of the animal, removed earlier, was slightly roasted on the fire and offered "as a sweet morsel

(107) Henry, 198.
(108) Ibid., 158, 159.
(109) Ibid., 152.
(110) Huibui, reduplicative of hui, to throb. Davies, 130, has manava-huihui as "to be so affected as not to be able to eat".
(113) Henry, 125, 132, 156, 160 ff., 190.
(114) Ibid., 125.
(115) Henry, 162, 190. Orsmond, Dict., 38, 40, 41, has ha'apena as "to seek an omen. Hence ahi-pua'a-ha'apena, a fire on which to prepare an ominous hog". Henry, 172, translates ahi-ha'apena as "sacred fire"; see note 117 below.
for the gods". This food however was later consumed by the resident priest who was allowed to partake of anything offered to the gods(116).

If the "ominous fire" was anticipated with fear because of the human victim that was required, the hungry population eagerly awaited the smoke of the second fire to arise from the marae grounds because it heralded the end of their fast. This was the ahi-fai or "concluding fire" with which the chiefs and priests baked their food(117).

In a short time the whole district was enveloped in a cloud of smoke arising from the multiplied fires newly alighted, the awful death-like silence was broken, the fishing canoes were launched people ran in search of food, while some stood with their mouths open for the moment when each would receive their share(118).

The restrictions over the district were now lifted for the inhabitants, but not for the worshippers at the marae who remained "sanctified" and had further rituals to witness and perform. These included, significantly for the theme of these ceremonies, a priestly recitation of the Creation Chant, followed by a petition to the gods to grant ora, life and well-being, to the generations of people. Several more animals were singed over the fire and offered to the gods(119).

(116) Orsmond, Dict., 41-3
(117) Ibid., 37, 38, 40, 42. My construction of these rituals derives from Orsmond's mss. which state clearly that the ahi-ha'apena was the first and ahi-fai the second fire. Henry,125,168,172,302,303, confuses the two fires. Her claim that the pua'a-tapena (a variant of ha'apena) was "slightly roasted" and "slightly cooked", instead of singed to remove hair, obscures a vital distinction between raw and cooked food offerings. We have an eye-witness account of this ceremony by Bligh in 1792 which corroborates Orsmond's writings that the pig was "scorched" to remove hair. William Bligh, ms. Providence Log I, 283. Much of Henry's book is selectively pieced together from various sections of Orsmond's mss., with passages deemed offensive removed. In letters to S.Percy Smith she explained her procedure in compiling her book."As Grandfather's work is all in Dictionary form, I am continuously striking upon bits of information that I join wherever they fit". The ms Dictionary was compiled over some forty years and "during that time he was constantly adding words and items in between and striking old ones out here and there...". Henry,27 August & 24 October 1894, Mss. Polynesian Society.
(118) Orsmond, Dict., 38.
Towards noon the first Parima or Dismissal ceremony took place. The congregation sought to be released from their participation and intoned:

Parima-nui fa'anoa noa! ....Great Dismissal to make us ordinary!(120)
Tapu atu na, noa mai nei . tapu stays here, noa is with us(121)
e haere matou i muri e we are going back to use our hands,
e ha'aha'a e tauteute to become humble and to do domestic work

Next the priests withdrew from their duties. They prayed to Great Ta'aroa-Unique Source and his "tribe of godly children" to fill the space above the marae with their presence, whilst the people would remain "below on the soil of Te-Ao-nei". The good and evil spirits from Po were urged to confine themselves to the marae. They asked to "let tapu remain here" and "let noa be with us"(123).

The marae drums and conch-shell trumpets then announced that the food could be served from the earth-ovens. The populace brought huge quantities of cooked provisions for the gods and priests and then took their final farewells of the deities(124). The high priest in typical imperative style chanted:

(120) Noa here as normal or ordinary, in relation to tapu; men remained ra'a as their normal condition.
(121) Translation of verbal directives atu, "here" but away from the speaker, and mai nei, with or close to the speaker.
(122) Henry,172; my translation. Orsmond, Dict.,39-40, has a chant that appears to be Henry's source; she typically omitted lines thought offensive. Orsmond freely rendered ha'aha'a as "to do anything servile", in the ecclesiastical sense of doing menial work forbidden during Sabbath, in relation to teuteute or "domestic work" forbidden during these rituals. Davies,88, has ha'aha'a as "lowness, humble", and thus also James 4:6 God gives "grace to the humble" was translated as te ma'ata'i i te fei'a ha'aha'a in Te Biblia Moa,96, one of the earliest complete Bibles in Tahitian. Henry,172, misunderstood her grandfather's transliteration and rendered ha'aha'a as "to become vile" - instead of servile - and this has been accepted by scholars and has entered the French translation of her book. Oliver I,67. ↑ Henry, Tahiti aux Temps Anciens,180.
(123) Henry,173; my translation.
(124) Ibid.,173,-4.
No hi'o i te ma  
Behold the cleansing

a ma no aia'ai  
clean of crimes

a ma uta, a ma i tai  
clean inland, clean seaward

a ma i ni'a a, a ma i raro  
clean above, clean below

a ma te Po, a ma te Ao  
clean Po, clean Ao

a ma te marae, a ma te opure  
clean the marae, clean the
worshippers

a ma fei'a noa  
clean the common people

a ma te huia 'atoa  
clean all the families(125).

The gods were next informed that all the people were now going home to 
eat, but that the body of priests would stay to "eat in awe" with them(126).

After the people had left the priests partook of the cooked food that 
had been brought for the gods, with a dignity and self-control that was 
"difficult for men famished with hunger". Their requests to take some of 
the food home for their families was invariably granted(127).

Only the high priest now remained to close the sacred period. He 
chanted:

Tapu atu ra noa mai nei...  
tapu remains here, noa is with us

te ho'i na matou utuafare  
we are returning to our homes

e tomo i te ahu noa(128)  
to put on normal clothing

e tauteute...  
and to do domestic work

e fa'anoa noa...  
and become ordinary

fariu i to mata i te Po  
turn your faces to Po

fariu i to tua i te Ao  
turn your backs to Ao

Te vaiho atu nei matou i  
we are leaving the sacredness

te ra'a...  
here...(129)

(125) Ibid.,175; my translation. The whole passage is in the imperative not evident from 
Henry's translation.

(126) Ibid.,175-6.

(127) Ibid.,176.

(128) Henry, 176, has ao's sacred, but clearly noa is intended.

(129) Ibid.,176-7; my translation.
The final lines of a functionally identical prayer tersely stressed the disconnection now desired:

\[
\begin{align*}
e \text{ ona 'oe} & \quad \text{we are leaving you} \\
\text{moti pari atu na} & \quad \text{separate you from us} \\
\text{moti pari mai nei} & \quad \text{and us from you (130)}
\end{align*}
\]

The marae now was deserted. The people at home began their feasting at which "women and children ate apart from the men, boys and girls sat in separate groups"(131).

The Vaere'amarae and Pa'iatua rituals were dramatic representations of divine myth. According to mythology Te Ao, or the human realm, came into existence when the gods lifted the sky from the earth. Henceforth "Po was for the hosts of gods, Ao for men"(132). The separateness of the two realms was later enhanced when mankind discovered the art of making fire. Darkness was now further banished to Po and "to the marae here on Havai'i"; a likely reference to Taputapuatea or its predecessor. The discovery also put an end to the eating of raw viands as people's "digestive organs derived comfort from the warmth of cooked food"(133). The rituals clearly recapitulated the conditions of that ano po or "dark epoch" when "there was no fire upon the earth's surface", when people knew not warming flames and "ate only raw food that caused their bellies to ache"(134). With their recitations of the Creation mythology, the Pa'iatua and Vaere'amarae rituals reiterated cosmogony, the sacred history of the universe; they returned to the conditions of the beginning, before Ta'aroa's deadly curse and the discovery of fire.

\((130)\) Orsmond, Dict., 38, 41. The sense of "you to us" and "us to you" in Orsmond's translation derives from the directives atu and mai. The sense of "separation" is from the verbal form of moti, a boundary or limit.

\((131)\) Henry, 177.

\((132)\) Henry, 412.

\((133)\) Ibid., 428, 429.

\((134)\) Ibid., 427; my translation. Orsmond, Dict., 25, 26. Christia Bausch, Po & Ao. Analysis of an ideological conflict in Polynesia, J.S.O. 34, 168-85. She notes that Pai'atua recreated the "po-atmosphere", offers no explanation and asserts that in Polynesia "birth cannot have served as an analogy" of rituals and myths. She appears unaware also of the negative aspect in indigenous perception of po-Po.
From the concluding chants quoted above, it is evident that these were cathartic rites intended to restore ora, or "life", to a decaying Ao and to purge the land and community from the taints of sin (135). Periodic regenerations of the human realm were thus sought by means of a powerful analogy, that is, by reconstituting the primordial Po as the dark Cosmic Womb that engendered anew in the face of entropy.

Comments by missionaries and others on the ambiguities in island concepts of Po and time (136) were indicative of a meeting of two greatly varying world views. The European idea of vectoral time, and therefore also history, ultimately derived from an eschatology of salvation that separated Beginnings from a Second Coming or End Times. The consequent concept of time as linear and irreversible was incompatible with an island cosmology shaped by a pervasive principle of balanced opposition. The island sense of salvation, explored below, was based on notions of a static universe locked into a complex binary polarity. Po and Ao were concrete spatial referents in the island cosmography, the fundamental co-ordinates on the "mental maps" by which the universe was apprehended. This structural relationship enabled repeated regenerations of Ao by returning to Po as the Cosmic Womb, by revisiting the Beginnings. Po was an ahistorical time-space, co-existent with Te Ao-nei. It represented a circular time of eternal renewal, both primordial and recoverable. Po was at once Alpha and Omega, fons et origo and futurity.

The ritual mediation between the two realms clearly articulated a dialectic of the raw and cooked (137) because this tension was inherent in the cosmic myth being enacted. The conjunction and disjunction of the binary polarities were respectively demarcated by fasting and feasting, the extinction and relighting of fires, the suspension and resumption of taute or "domestic work", and the induction and release from states of shivering coldness and stomach pains; these were all elements in the myth and developments of the dialectic.

(136) See p. 41 above.
(137) This section benefits from some of the insights of Luc de Heusch, Sacrifice in Africa.
Sanctification of the district amounted to a disintegration of the community. In the myth, after the raising of the sky, mankind wished to "drive away the darkness of the night" (po) (138) and to end the "abhorrent" (riaria) need to eat raw food that caused painful stomachs (139). Fire and cooking established man in his own status but at a distance from the primordial gods. The knowledge of fire was the island equivalent of the Fall. Close communication with the deities therefore required a suspension of the cooking that separated mankind from the gods. Concomitant with this humanizing activity, the culinary offerings awaiting the divine visitors arriving in the dead of the night, were raw. Even the roasted viscera offered toward the end of the rituals was only partly "cooked" and belonged to the "raw" category of food. (140); human provisions were preferably cooked in earth ovens.

The gods were "most pleased" to find the priest shivering with cold and with painful bellies (141) as this indicated that they had transcended their human condition by re-assimilating with the fire-less divine realm. Their secular mode of existence had been abolished and they had re-entered into the sacred "rawness" of the primordial darkness.

The widespread restrictions enforced during the resuscitation of Ao caused a dehumanization of the settled coastal regions. The non-human otherness of the primordial realm now imitated, was reinforced by the deadly silence that hung over the district. Fasting and silence underscored the suspension of social bonds. The prohibition on verbal communication and movement even applied to domesticated food animals. The mouths of dogs, pigs and poultry were tied up and fowls placed under baskets with cloth wound over their eyes (142).

(138) Henry, 427.
(139) Orsmond, Dict., 21, 26.
(140) de Heusch, 84. The writing of Claude Lévi-Strauss including TheRaw and the Cooked, guide de Heusche's detailed analyses of sacrificial practices in Africa.
(141) Henry, 152, 162.
(142) Ellis, Journal, 279. This book is an account of Ellis's visit to Hawaii but contains much information on the Society Islands where he was stationed.
It is significant that the prohibitions did not extend to the uninhabited wild mountain regions. Here the weaker parts of society sought relief from the stresses of prolonged rahui and could light their cooking fires "during such times as the whole coast was sacred"(143). Evidently the mist-clad mountains were beyond the boundaries of human space as defined by domestication, fishing and cultivation; all activities suppressed during the sacred period. The common denominator of such human occupations, hidden as it were from the divine visitors, was the conversion of "raw" nature to human food.

Conversely, desacralization amounted to a reintegration of society, heralded by the ahi-fai lit on the marae to cook food for the presiding priests and chiefs(144) which signalled to the hungry population that the restrictions were now being lifted. The final distancing of the divine was thus as of old, in the myth, by a fire that banished darkness from Ao and enabled the cooking of food. The gods were peremptorily informed that everything was now becoming noa or normal again(145). People and priests would move about freely, do "domestic work", eat everything, use their hands in humbling works, wear flowers and paint their bodies, resume sexual relations and friendships, blow to get fires going, fish and farm(146). The gods were requested not to look upon people in anger for resuming these and other activities(147).

The ritual progression from raw to cooked food was a dialectical process of rehumanization that affirmed the essential incompatibility of the two realms(148). Once the price of renewed life had been ritually extracted, the interaction between the divine and human habitats was terminated by a repeat of their original alienation. Fire and cooking were symbols of human culture antipathetical to the "rawness" of nature; a perception underlying the designation 'aiota or "rawness" for

(144) Orsmond, Dict.,37,38,41. Orsmond,War,72.
(145) Henry,176.
(146) Ibid.,172,176. Orsmond,Dict.,39,40,41.
(147) Henry,172.
(148) de Heusch,84.
antisocial or culturally deviant behaviour(149). The Cosmic Womb was the point of articulation between nature and culture. The existential paradox typically expressed in dyadic terms was that Po, as the source of life and means for its regeneration, also imposed conditions inimical to man as a social and cultural being living in Ao.

Given the necessity of having to attract and then repell the divine in order to extract and expend the gift of renewed life, it is not surprising perhaps that a certain guile entered into the ritual mediation between the two realms. The dissonance of the situation also explains the curious mixture of submission and assertion, humility and hubris, that marked the successive phases of a ritual procedure and which, ultimately, placed the divine at a distance, enabling man to appropriate nature for his own ends(150).

Having pronounced everything cleansed of sin, restored of decay, removed of evil and renewed with life(151), the deities were commanded, "Give us food on the land, give us food in the sea, give us numerous offspring"(152). But the ritual enumerations of activities to be resumed as a normalization of life were hedged with appeals to the gods to turn away, to look elsewhere, to separate themselves, not to be angry and not to strangle people. The same sense of perilous predicament in the passage from the sacred to the secular emerges from the terminating rituals. A not unlikely meaning for ahi-fai, the fire lit on the marae to cook food for the priests and chiefs that signalled the ending of the restrictions, is "fire (ahi) to deceive (fai)"(153). The jeopardy in the repast that followed is evident from the prayer of the priests:

(149) Davies,17; 'aiota as disagreeable in speech, & Orsmond, Arioi,13, as ill-mannered behaviour.
(151) Henry,172,173,175.
(152) Ibid.,175.
(153) Orsmond, Dict.,37, provides no translation for ahi-fai. Henry,168, has improbable "magical fire". Davies,80, offers fai as "to deceive...by apparent friendship", "a curse or imprecation", and "the offering which the priests used to eat in the marae".
This was clearly something other than an alimentary communion between gods and men, an amicable sharing of food. The meal represented a hazardous situation, hedged with the strictest of decorum, any breach of which was a "mortal sin" inviting divine retribution upon offenders as well as people and the land (155).

The evident predicament arose from implications attached to taute or "domestic work", the suspension and resumption of which clearly defined the entrance to and exit from the ritual period. The missionary dictionary states that the term applied to "a person not allowed to eat with men because of his cooking for his wife" (156). Such a man lost his sacredness (ra'a) and became "ordinary" (noa). In relation to tapu the consequences of taute were more severe. Normally a person in tapu condition was not allowed to cook nor touch food and had to be hand-fed. A priest engaged in ritual activities committed "mortal sin" by doing "domestic work" because it was a "violation of sanctity" (157). He was suspended from the priesthood and generally shunned because of the divine wrath hanging over him, until such time as a colleague performed a purification ritual. This priest would pray:

(154) Henry, 175; my translation.
(155) Henry, 176, 198, 199.
(156) Davies, 261. Note also duplicative teuteute as "a large collection of different kinds of food" presumably cooked.
(157) Henry, 198.
Tahiti'a mai, e te atua e!....
fa'ati'ama i to tahu'a i hara nei,
ia ma te taute....
ia ma te mahuruhuru,
te hara o to tahu'a nei.
Fa'aho'i mai i te mo'a no'na,...
Tahiti'a mai, e te atua e!

Have mercy, oh god!....
release your priest who sinned,
that the "domestic defilement" be cleansed,....
that the debasement be cleansed,
this sin of your priest.
Restore his holiness,...
Have mercy, oh god! (158)

Taute or domestic work was not intrinsically polluting but became mahuruhuru, debasing or defiling when interacting between the gender categories defined by ra'a and no'a, or between the human and divine realms with their interplay of tapu. Domestic duties on the marae were the responsibility of the 'opu-nui or big-bellies, a special body of male servants chosen from the laity, who kept the sacred grounds in repair and free from vermin. These "servants of the gods" were permitted to cook their meals on the premises when on duty (159). It was particularly cooking that constituted the potentially contaminating aspects of taute.

The terminating ritual was a desanctification by means of cooked food, recognised throughout Polynesia as notoriously polluting when brought into contact or association with the sacred, perhaps because cooking extracted nature's reproductive capacities (160), or ora, "life". The ritual re-assertion of the social personae under the sign of cooked food therefore amounted to a deliberate pollution of the sacred. In a universe in which the life-giving and life-restoring powers imposed

(158) Ibid.,199: my translation
(159) Davies,126: mahuruhuru, to become vile, be debased. cf. mahuru, suckling child. The connotation is "soiled", as a baby.
conditions hostile to human existence, men were in the end compelled to secure their survival by subduing or overcoming the primordial gods that raw nature might be safely transformed and consumed. The suspension and resumption of cooking thus regulated and controlled the contact between Po and Ao to man's own end. The final distancing of the divine was by acts of deliberate but necessary pollution. Under the guise of an ostensibly social occasion, food cooked by the district, was offered as a shared meal with the divine visitors in propitiation. In the myth it was fire and cooking that had separated men from the divine.

The word *taute* may perhaps explain Henry's somewhat mystifying classification of *marae* as "public" and "domestic", a nomenclature for which indigenous terms are not provided. She consistently translated *taute* as "domestic" or "domestic work" and thus perhaps *marae taute* may have been in the Tahitian text now missing (161).

Foremost among the *marae taute* were the *marae tupuna* or ancestral shrines belonging to *feti'i* or extended families. The typical family group lived

for the most part ... altogether in one house called a fetii, ... the Grand Sire, the families of the daughter and of the son, their children and their families, all in one house, or if it be too small, two or three houses all in one cluster for the same family (162)

The bilocal residency entailed by this description was probably a function of the relative availability of land owned by either spouse's family. Residential clusters and *marae* were located on the land

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(161) Henry,119. Oliver II,623: "why Henry should label these "domestic" is not clear".  
belonging to the family. The head of the household as the principal link between living and deceased generations, officiated at his family's marae which was "devoted to the veneration of the spirits of some relations ... for benevolent objects" (163). The ambiguous relationship between ancestral spirits and their living descendants has already been noted. According to the missionaries, 'oromatua or ancestor spirits were "of malevolent disposition and therefore prayers were addressed to them to coax them from doing mischief". The islanders however also knew 'oromatua maita'i or "good" ancestors which were their familiar spirits (164). Consistent with the head as the seat of sacredness, ancestral skulls, also called 'oromatua, were carefully preserved as part of a family's ritual paraphernalia (165).

Among the domestic marae were also those of the va'a-mata'eina'a, the va'a or "clans" (literally "canoes") of the mata'eina'a or districts. Henry dubbed these "social" marae that belonged to "little communities". They were dedicated to gods like Ta'aroa, Tane, Ra'a and Hau rather than ancestor spirits. The implication that territorial contiguity rather than kinship was the primary criterion for congregational membership (166) is supported by the lack of genealogies associated with marae of this nature. The va'a was not a clan in the strict anthropological sense of a unilineal descent group. Cognatic descent and biolocal residency were the norm and thus members of feti'i had probably closer bonds of kinship outside the va'a. Local solidarity based on co-residency was probably strengthened by the fact that the feti'i comprising the va'a shared common derivations from an apical ancestor, i.e. they shared "vertical" rather than "horizontal" kinship ties (167).

(163) Evangelical Magazine, January 1818.
(166) Henry, 144. cf. Oliver II, 653ff., 976.
(167) As illustrated in Fig. 5. on page 77.
There were no villages before the missionary settlements and the va's appears to have been a neighbourhood organisation in which a number of feti'i located contiguously united in ritual and other communal activities.

The final group of "domestic" marae were those of the various guild associations such as canoe builders, carvers, fishermen and healers, which were dedicated to their patron deities(168). From the little evidence extant for "domestic" marae it does not appear that their upkeep and the care of their sacred regalia were assigned to any special group. They were probably therefore "domestic" marae in that these tasks were undertaken by the congregations themselves. The designation of "public" for three further classes of marae implies that these attracted more complex congregations, not confined to kin, clans or crafts.(169).

The first of these were the "local" marae mata'eina'a or district marae. These were the "domestic" marae of the feti'i writ large but still devoted to ancestors in Po. Marae mata'eina'a belonged to "the wealthy gentry of the land" and to them were "attached the titles and genealogies of the chieftain families or nobility of the land"(170). These were, most likely, the marae of the matahiapo, the "first-born" or senior families of the ra'atira, the class of land-owning chieftains(171).

(169) Oliver II, 621-29, for an analysis of congregational composition that differs from mine on several points.
(170) Henry, 139; she calls these both "local marae" and "ancestral marae".
(171) Henry does not specifically mention ra'atira, but it seems clear from her description that this is the class referred to.
Ancestors of the Chiefs of Tarahoi

f. VAIAPU - ATUA

of Fenua'ura, Te Muhu the land,
Vaiapu the large marae, Ahiti-te
ra the council platform, Fenua­
'ura the marae, Pa'aahu the spring,
A'aramoana-o-Manunu the house

m. TU - MAU - ARI'I

of marae Tarahoi, Papafenua
the large district; Tatafana,
Tuava-uri-ri'i & Fatua-Pare
the three small districts.
Tautipa was the land, Fare-tea
the cape, Vairaota the assembly
ground, Pu'oro the river,
Muhapare the pavement, Pou-ma-
riorio the house.

1.f.Vaiapu, at Fenua'ura
2.m.Te Pua
3.f.Tara-atua at Tarahoi
4.f.Tuiaia
5.m.Tu-ahmou
6.m.Arura-nui
7.m.Te Tinae-tai
8.m.Te Tinae-uta(twins)
9.f.Tahiti-tinirau-ta-mano

"To these descendants came marae Tarahoi on the land Te Muhu in the
district Vaiapu, Ahurua-nui the small district. They became as one
family of lords over these lands within the district of Vaiapu, of one
land, one marae, one parentage, one council platform, one house and
their names became the names of smaller districts within,eight in
all. These are the names of the small districts: o Te Pua, o Te
Tara-atua, o Te Tinae-tai o Tuiaia, o Tuahumou, o Te Tinae-uta, o Te
Arahura-nui, o Tahiti-tinirau-te-mano (sic)." [My translation]

These are the apical-eponymous ancestors of the chiefs of the district
of Vaiapu, Tahiti, and its sub-divisions. Vaiapu was named after a
founding ancestress apparently worshipped by her descendants as an
atua. Genealogical recitations typically opened with the names and
details of the founding ancestors with all their descent groupslisted
as "children". The above table heads the genealogy of the matahiapo,
"first-born" or senior lineage, through the daughter, also called
Vaiapu. She married chief Ra'aua'a'ama of Vaian and from her descended
the chiefs of the Punaru and Punaauia districts. Such genealogical
headings correspond to a "rammage", a term coined by Firth for the
process of fission and its ramifications for kinship and landownership
typical of Polynesian descent groups. Sahlins has extended the term to
the system as a whole, with all local kin-groups ranked according to
their seniority of descent from a common apical ancestor(172).

(172) Sir Robert Peel, op.cit. Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-atau, op.cit. Raymond Firth, A Note on
Descent Groups, in A Veyda (ed.), Peoples and Cultures, 209-213. Roger M. Keesing,
Kin Groups, 151.
The kinship requirement for congregational membership here covered a number of feti'i sharing apical ancestors. Cognatic descent groups in Polynesia generally were susceptible to segmentation, a process of fission expressed in the Society Islands in terms of marae relationships. The branch of a family separating from its ancestral stock built a new marae on its inherited share of land, founded with a stone taken from the ancestral or "source" marae. Transferred to the offshoot were genealogies that served as a charter of ownership of the land. The extended families of the cadet branches united for "annual ceremonies and local religious rites" (173) at the marae belonging to the senior branch (174). Some mata'eina'a were independent districts, but most were part of a wider socio-political grouping "under the subjection of a king", i.e. an ari'i or chief (175).

The most elaborate of all were the marae o te fenua, the "national or royal marae" of the "kingdoms" (176). These were the political and religious focus for a number of mata'eina'a that formed a fenua or country under the hegemony of an ari'i. Marae of this class were not associated with inheritance of land or access to resources and their congregations transcended the narrow limits of kinship and descent groups. They were dedicated to atua or gods rather than 'oromatua or ancestor spirits. Chiefs had both family marae that related to the control and ownership of their lands, and "national" marae that served as a separate focus for their semi-divine status and authority over the districts of their realms. The two structures were often located in

(173) Henry, 139, 142.
(174) This conforms with the findings of Captain James Wilson in 1769 on the composition and nature of mata'eina'a. Wilson learned it was "a principal house distinguished either by a degree or rank in its ancient or present owner, or by the portion of land attached to it". A mata'eina'a also had "other houses", or cadet branches, which "had the privilege to worship the tees", i.e. tī'ī or tutelar images, in the marae mata'eina'a. This "privilege" derived from shared genealogical ties with apical-eponymous ancestors. James Wilson, Voyage, 186-215.
(175) Henry, 139. Henry followed Orsmond in consistently calling ari'i "kings".
close proximity. The various ceremonies for ari‘i children, such as the burial of the the afterbirth and the umbilical cord, baptism and the bestowing of names and titles, superincision and weddings, all took place on the marae tupuna in the presence of living and deceased relatives. These rituals were essentially the same as those that took place on the family marae of all classes (177), but parallel ceremonies were performed on the marae o te fenua on such occasions. At the superincision ritual for a matahiapo or first-born ari‘i child, for instance, the several districts united to offer one or more human sacrifices at a ceremony on the "national" marae. And after a "royal heir" had been baptised and received the chiefly title on the ancestral marae, the child was carried to the marae o te fenua where the high priest performed a "simple ceremony to assert the rank of the child god above all there" (178).

Finally, "public" marae also comprised "international" marae, a designation for which no indigenous term is known. They appear to have been extended versions of "national" marae, that is, they were the religious centre of chiefdoms but also attracted worshippers and priests from many fenua and islands. At the time of European contact these included at least the two marae dedicated to the war-god 'Oro and called Taputapuatea, located at Opoa, Raiatea and Tautira, Tahiti. These two marae had regular ritual exchanges of titi ta’a or "strings of jawbones" extracted from warriors slain in battle (179).

The "national" marae of ari‘i were "palaces presented to the gods" and "totally terrifying places of pain to the priests, the owners and all the people" (180). Standing at the tapu intersection of the cosmic structure, they were the location and focus of chiefly sacredness and status.

(177) Henry,182-88.
(178) Tu-nui-e-a‘i-te-atua,op.cit. Henry,187-191. Henry has "circumcision", but see Davies,263: Solander,op.cit. recorded "circumcision - by them performed by a longitudinal side cut".
(180) Henry,150.
Ari'i status extended beyond the confines of segmented descent groups and districts, and derived from high gods rather than ancestral deities. Their genealogies which traced descent from the gods in Po, as already noted (1), were the basis for their "supreme authority"(2). A chief or close kin performed priestly duties in his marae o te fenua and it appeared, to close observers such as the missionaries, that "the power of the gods seemed only exercised to establish the authority of the king" who was "head of both Church and State"(3). Supernatural sanctions were an important ingredient in a chief's hau or rule beyond the kinship network. When people perceived their misfortunes or illnesses as due to the anger of an offended ari'i they offered him gifts for "atonement" that included the symbolic "man long-banana" and pua'a-tara'e-hara, literally "pigs to disentangle transgressions"(4). An early observer noted that "when a chief or powerful Man" offended an ari'i, a mere banana-shoot or pig was insufficient and, as in the case of offence against the gods, the guilty party was "oblig'd to seek forgiveness" by offering human sacrifices(5). Any man on whom fell the displeasure of an ari'i was in danger of becoming a sacrificial victim(6). According to the missionaries, "the dread of this murderous end kept the natives in obedient fear of their chiefs"(7).

Human sacrifices marked the various stages in a chief's life, particularly that of a matahiapo or "first-born" child in whom a family's title, property and authority was to be vested. His birth,

(1) See page 45 above.
(7) J.M. Orsmond, ms. Dictionary, 42.
first official appearance before his subjects, superincision rite, investiture, the launching of his state canoe, his illness and death, all required "fish" or human sacrifices(8). In addition, the ritual calendar entailed occasions demanding this price(9). However, too capricious or indiscriminate a demand for human sacrifices as a negative sanction, i.e. to maintain or assert social and coercive control, could lead to rebellion and civil war(10). An important element of ari'i rule was the general acquiescence or consensus that underpinned his authority.

The chieftainship ideology is evident from the symbols, rituals and customs that hedged the role of an ari'i. Hau denotes rule or government but with an inseparable semantic content of harmony and tranquility. The god of peace and healing was named Hau(11). Typically, the pervasive symbolism of food and eating was the predominant vehicle for the expression of this ideology, clustered around two polarities of 'ai-hau and 'ai-tama'i. The former, literally "to eat the government", meant to enjoy the fruits of harmony and peace; the latter, "to eat strife", meant to endure or cause troubles, social tensions and fighting(12). The pre-eminent symbol of government that expressed the ideals of chieftainship in promoting peace and harmony was the humaha pua'a or "thigh of a pig", an animal generally reserved for ari'i consumption or distribution. To "eat the thigh of pig" was synonymous with "to conduct the government"(13) and it was ceremoniously presented to an ari'i by

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(8) J.M.Orsmond, ms. War, 60,71. Davies,199. Transactions II,276. T.Henry, Ancient Tahiti,182-89,197-8. (All unsourced Henry refs. are to this.)
(9) Henry,172, claims a banana shoot was offered at Pai'atua rites in lieu of a man. Orsmond, Dict.,40,42,43, describes human sacrifices. Missionary eyewitnesses also mention human victims for Pai'atua rites; John Davies,7 March & 27 April 1806, S.S.J.
(13) Pee, Séance de l'Assemblée Générale, in mss. R.P. Many of these documents were printed in G.B.I.. The latter appears closer to the spirit of the original Tahitian, but contains numerous misspellings and occasional vital omissions; scholars should consult both sources. George Platt, in G.B.I. II,669.
the districts agreeing to his hau over them(14). The people's orator would say:

This is the humaha pua'a for you. Eat this thigh of pig until you are old in holding the government of this land, But if you become guilty, if you illtreat people and commit murder, we will take the humaha pua'a away from you and give it to some other person-beware!

(15)

An ari'i was admonished that if he ate humaha ta'ata or "the thigh of men", meaning that if he "mistreated people, killed them and made war", he would be deposed and the emblem given to another contender(16). Chiefs who became despotic and disliked could be removed and humiliated, and told to "go eat the thighbone of pig covered in excrement"(17).

"Something totally awesome were the marae of the chiefly class, their ancestral marae and marae of the land", states an ancient Chant of Marae(18).

The ancestral marae (tupuna) was also the senior marae of a chief's mata'eina'a, a term that designated both "district" and its inhabitants(19). This marae was the seat of a chief's status within his own district and provided part of his economic base through the inheritance of rights to resources lodged there. At the marae o te fenua a chief was established and confirmed as ruler over all the districts of his fenua, a wider status that further contributed to his economic

(15) Mare, in G.B.I. III,57: my translation.
(16) Mai et al., Document fourni par Mai, in R.P.
(17) Henry,195,479: see legend of Rata, the hero thus degraded by his own mother for indiscriminately killing people.
(18) Henry,150: my translation
(19) Davies,136.
powers through customary contributions of food and goods. In both marae he fulfilled a priestly function as the intermediary and link between living and deceased ancestors and gods in Po, a role that gave him supernatural sanctions to back his authority. To the missionaries it appeared that an ari'i "was raised not only to the head of government, but also he was... a sort of vicegerent to the supernatural powers presiding over the invisible world"(20). However, an account of the Pa'iatua rites at Huahine's megalithic national marae of Manunu shows that even supernatural approval was an inadequate ingredient for the maintenance of a chief's hau without the assent of the lower ranks.

The central core of the Pa'iatua rituals was the renewal of the wrappings (pa'i) of the god images (atua). The images from all the social, guild, family and district marae were brought to the marae o te fenua of the chief. Before the wrappings were replaced with new ones, the images were also refurbished with bunches of 'ura or red feathers - the sacred colour and a potent talisman - that had been stored in the cavity of the marae's tutelar deity. This ritual procedure added "new powers" from the greater god to the lesser ones"(21). The ritual thus clearly expressed the role of the national marae vis-a-vis all the other marae of the land, and reinforced the sacred supremacy and status of its chief priest, the ari'i, over all the congregations of his realm.

At marae Manunu the exchange of red feathers was immediately followed by another ceremony that conformed with the renewal theme of the Pa'iatua rites. This was the renewal of the hau or government of the current incumbent to the title of Teri'i Tari'a (The Carried Chief)

(20) Ellis II, 353, 377.
(21) Henry, 167-69
which was the "hereditary name of the king or highest chief" (22). All
the men from the various congregations lined up according to their
districts, armed with clubs! The priest took a 'ava leaf (Piper
methysticum) from inside the image of Tane, the patron of the ruling
chiefly house and the island's tutelar deity. With this he
pointed out Teriitaria only as our ruler. If all were satisfied with
this choice of the god, Teriitaria was the ruler elect. If part of the
districts were dissatisfied with the supposed choice of the god, it
was a very serious matter. Fighting commenced there and then and
some lives would be lost and all thrown into confusion (23)

Thus on Huahine at least even the sanctified renewal of the rule of the
high chief could be void without the concensus of the island's
districts (24).

Socio-political reality encompassed two potentially antagonistic
elements that had their loci in two different stone structures. These
are mentioned in traditional fa'ataratara, the formulistic eulogies
recited by way of introduction during ceremonies (25). The one for Teri'i
Tari'a of Huahine is one of the few such chants known for the Leeward
Islands, as recited by Atae, the head of the local 'arioi society:

(22) Ellis I,323, who here misspells and mistranslates Teri'i Tari'a and Manunu.
(23) C. Barff, ms. Mythology of Huahine, 10f.
(24) This aspect of the Pa'iatua rituals is absent from Henry's account and the available
Orsmond manuscripts. Presumably it was part of the rituals everywhere. Tyerman,
Bennet, Ellis and Barff learned of it when visiting Manunu in 1822. D.Tyerman &
(25) Davies 74. J.M.Orsmond, ms. Arioi,22-8, has the "boasting chants" of the Windward
Islands. The enumeration of districts' landmarks in Henry, 70-95, follow the formula
of these traditional chants which are similar to the Samoan fa'alupega.
It is I, the 'arioi Atae!
My mountain above is Mount Tapu,
My assembly court below is Tamapua
My cape into the sea is Manunu,
My chief is Teri'i Tari'a! (26)

With few exceptions, the cape designated the seat of the chief's spiritual authority, as the site of his ancestral and national marae (27). This was counterbalanced by the tahua, the paved assembly court where he met with the heads of the ra'atira and other chieftains and warriors in his domain, to consider "questions respecting peace and war, or other great public concerns" (28). Chiefly rule involved a careful balancing between marae and tahua, between religion and polity.

The ari'i was an expanded version of a ra'atira. Ra'atira chieftains in their respective mata'eina'a occupied positions of descent-based rank, played ritual roles, and gathered tribute (29), in all respects parallel to an ari'i. The form of religion of moment for the daily affairs of extended families was focussed on 'oromatua or ancestors (30). Avenues of remedial appeal to the high gods on a day to day basis probably existed in the marae of the va'a or neighbourhood "clan".

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(26) I have reconstructed the muddle in Ellis I,322. Between Mount Tapu and cape or marae Manunu is a structure now known as "Marae" Fare Toa, although it is clearly a tahua or council platform, as Emory also noted in his survey. He identified it with the Tahua Umu Pua'a mentioned by Chesneau, a source that bears close scrutiny. Emory mentioned Tamapua from references by Ellis and Henry, but did not identify it with any structure at Maeva. I believe the present so-called marae Fare Toa to be the ancient tahua Tamapua. Henry,101f. Kenneth P. Emory, Stone Remains,37,127,130. Henri Chesneau, Souvenirs,9. Personal observations at Maeva.

(27) Henry,150.
(28) Tyerman & Bennet I,280
(29) Ellis II,347.
(30) John Davies,24 October 1835, Lang Papers 15.
Political action was necessarily kinship action and such ties were strongest within the mata'eina'a. In their respective districts chieftains held "power greater than that which [an ari'i]... exercised over the whole"(31). The descent system, with its primogenital preference, supported both the ari'i and the ra'atira chieftain; in the absence of any significant factors of differentiation on which an overriding political authority could be founded, an assertion of power beyond the prescribed role of the former could only be at the expense of the latter. "So great was the influence of the raatira that any measure of importance...was seldom undertaken without them being first consulted by convening a public council", wrote one missionary observer, because "the approval and aid of a number of this nobility of the country [were]... essential to carry it into effect" (32). Ra'atira could withhold or withdraw their support for a chief's hau, thus effectively limiting ari'i authority to the ritual field at the national marae, whilst the hau was conducted by someone else. In the final analysis, political power lay in the hands of those with the widest control over resources, an economic base that provided ra'atira with many followers and attendants. Although an ari'i counted warriors among his kinsmen and entourage, it was the ra'atira who "furnished the strength of their armies in periods of war" (33). The political situation was thus one of checks and balances. Ari'i had to be careful when advancing their own interests in any undertaking that these should be seen as being identifiable with those of the majority of the ra'atira in the various mata'eina'a of their fenua(34). When those interests were at variance, coercion by way of applying supernatural sanctions or resorting to force, became an alternative (35), but such options had inherent dangers. If, in the exercise of authority and power, an ari'i

(31) Ellis II,368.
(32) Ibid.,363,364,367.
(33) Ibid.,345,366.
(34) Ibid.,I,363.
(35) J.M. Orsmond, 1 January 1828, Lang Papers 15.
persistently exceeded the limits defined for his role by custom and tradition whilst, at the same time, failing to create or sustain an aura of legitimacy for his actions by drawing sufficient concensus around himself, he stood to lose his *hau*. When unfulfilled expectations entailed by the meaning of *hau* as peace and harmony could no longer be sustained, an *ari'i* could be deprived of his office (36) and replaced despite his ritual legitimacy at the national *marae* or his descent from the gods in Po.

The cultural values embedded in the meaning of *hau*, the stressing of this meaning as a role description when *ari'i* were invested with office, and the regular reiteration of these values at public and religious occasions, reflected the constant possibility of conflict. The emphasis on consensus and unity underscores the proximity of disjunction, of *tama'i* or collapse into violence and social chaos. There were tensions between the ideal of cognatic solidarity and the tendency of the descent system toward segmentation with its attendant fragmentation of land. Pressures on resources were a constant source of conflict. Typically, a person infringing on, or taking by force, land claimed by others was an *'ai-fenua* or "land-eater" and there were "continual strifes" concerning "little pieces and strips of land". Such disputes, if unresolved by a *ra'atira* chieftain, were for the *ari'i* to settle as the final arbiter of conflict (37). There were tensions also between the divisive self-interests of an *ari'i* and his lineage and the interests of similarly constituted descent groups in his *fenua*. The cognatic descent system that provided order and hierarchy within and between kin-groups and classes, was however supernaturally grounded, legitimized by origins from and connections to Po, the realm of gods and ancestors (38). Society thus being divinely fixed, insurmountable conflicts were

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(38) Henry, 403 inter-alia.
ultimately resolved by changing the role players, leaving institutions and structures intact. Gods and ancestor spirits in Po as well as their vicegerents in Ao could be removed for neglecting their obligations, for being ineffective or for having become 'ai-ta'ata or "man-eaters" when their reign became too costly in human lives and social unrests (39), to be replaced by more benevolent deities or near relatives having greater leadership qualities. Their sacredness placed gods and ari'i outside the realm of everyday life as being potentially dangerous (i.e. tapu), but their potency was firmly harnessed to the needs of society. Appeals to the supernatural were not to establish a continuing fellowship; gods were beckoned to the marae when needed and subsequently dismissed. Rather than communion, appeals were a matter of remedy. The role and function of chiefs were similarly remedial; their hau was to further the well-being of their people and to resolve their problems. Consistent with the pragmatic this-worldly orientations of island ethos, gods and chiefs both served in the acquisition and maintenance of society's ora, life unburdened by violence, chaos or decay and conversely, marked by prosperity, health and wellbeing. Politics and religion were interwoven (40) and united towards the same societal ends of harmony, order and the good life in the face of threatening possibilities of decay and social chaos. The Pa'iatua with its prominent theme of regeneration and renewal, was a ritual resolution to this end.

Ora, as already noted, was not simply "life" but existence in Ao unencumbered by negative influences; anything less was ma'i or mate, sickness or decay and death. The missionaries in transmitting the tenets of their religion took ora to carry the theological load of Christian

(39) Ellis II, 222, 281.
(40) John Davies, 6 November 1817, S.S.J.
"salvation"(41) but the two concepts were at variance in regard to meaning and primary location within the cosmological structure. Christian "salvation" was spiritual and related to existence in the Hereafter, whereas ora was physical and mental wellbeing, success and prosperity in Te Ao-nei or This World. Supernatural anthropophagy, as noted, removed it from this world and the Pa'iatua regenerative rites restore it to a rundown human world(42). Different ontological orientations are clearly manifest in missionary complaints that the islanders did not understand "spiritual salvation" because they took "salvation", i.e. ora as "to be saved from sickness and to abide in this world" i.e. Ao-nei. In 1803, when many suffered from introduced diseases people responded to the message of Christian "salvation" with some incredulity. "You tell us of salvation, and behold we are dying". Told that the target of salvation was their souls, they objected "we want no other salvation than to live in this world"(43).

This confrontation between an existential-somatic and eschatological-spiritual ethos extended also to concepts for sin, atonement and absolution. The missionaries found the Tahitian language "barren in theological terms" and lacking words expressing "spiritual ideas"(44). Christian doctrines met with ridicule at a time when cultural confidence was still strong. The islanders did not understand the "sinfulness of Sin" and thus "the very fundamental principles of

(41) vide Te Biblia Moa, 890,945, inter-alia. Davies,171.
(42) Prytz Johansen, The Maori,Ch.2, for the same notion of ora in New Zealand. A similar non-Polynesian concept is noted by Jan Vesina et al., Religious Movements in Central Africa, Comparative Studies 18, 468ff: karamo, a pivotal religious concept meaning good health, prosperity, good life, success and this-worldly salvation.
Christianity" were lost on them. Island notions of "sinning" were ethologically very different(45). Hara, "sin" or transgression and crime, had implications of causing unequalness, unevenness, crookedness or irregularity in ideally "smooth" relationships, by deviating from prescribed custom or rules of social interaction. Hara meant to be defective in social behaviour and correct ritual method(46). It defined transgressions and offences in relationships with both living and deceased relatives and in the obligations and rights that pertained between rank and common people. As such hara specified what were essentially "social" rather than "moral" sins. Hara entailed risks of retributions from gods and ancestors with a continued interest in the affairs of their kin in Te Ao-nei. Illness, death and misfortune, if not due to sorcery, were the totally this-worldly penalties for hara, and delayed punishment in some future existence was an unfamiliar idea(47).

As hara implied "unevenness", the islanders sought fa'aore or "annulment" of its consequences by restoring faite or "evenness"(48). Former friends amended their broken relationships by exchanging food as a faite-ra'a or "equalizing", and the party defeated in war presented manu-faite or "gifts to make even" to the victor(49). Fa'aore and faite became translations respectively for Christian "forgiveness" and "reconciliation"(50).

Priests were called tahu'a, a general term for experts and craftsmen that applied also, for example, to canoe and house builders(51). They were technical experts in divine matters, who used

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(48) Davies,72,80.
(49) Henry,198,317.
(50) vide Te Biblia Moa,832,889,895,924,inter-alia.
(51) A perceptive Solander,op.cit., noted in 1769 that tahu'a was "a carpenter", but also "all good handi-craft Men & other cunning people,e.g. Priests". Davies,243.
ritual as a tool. This is reflected in a cluster of symbols representing a theme for organising abstract thought that was entirely consistent with a stone age technology. A vital component of the technical inventory was 'aha, the braided cordage or sennit made of coconut husks. This was a source of pervasive symbols and metaphors of social interaction, analogically conveyed in terms of (un-)tying, (un-)braiding, (un-)lashing, (un-)plaiting and the like(52). 'Aha was also a potent symbol by the projection of these functions upon the ritual field as well as conceptions of sin, punishment and atonement.

'Aha-tatai or "tightly bound sennit" was a "binding" covenant, a sense that included all the obligations of ritual technicians in their interaction between Po and Ao. Thus 'aha-marae or "marae sennit" referred to rituals and 'aha-matarau or "sennit of many parts" to the "multifarious duties of the priest in the service of the gods". Ritual as 'aha or "sennit" was used aggressively, to entangle or tie up an enemy. An 'aha-ta'ata or "sennit man" was the body of a warrior slain in battle, whose head was ritually bound with 'aha-mata-iti or "face-reducing sennit", and penis with ure-mau-'aha or "penis-gripping sennit", whilst the priest said a prayer called 'aha-tu or "sennit erect". This ritual was aimed to extinguish the warrior's family, thus preventing "their future acts of war"(53). Victims of aggressive ritual were said to be 'aha-hia, "sennit-ed", nati-hia, "tied up" and fifi-hia or "entangled"(54).

(52) Many examples can be noted; the following should suffice to illustrate the theme. 'Aha-firi-tuatau, sennit plaited with roughest and strongest fibres, thus fig. "a turbulent refractory fellow", a "rough" person. Firi, to plait; also an agreement between to parties. Taratara-hiro, to unravel or untie, fig. to examine closely. Fofau, to tie or bind together, hence an agreement or plot. Hono, to splice or join pieces of wood with sennit, fig. to make agreement or contract. Orsmond, Dict., inter-alia. Davies, inter-alia.
(53) Pegs were driven through the ears and crown of the head. These were bound with sennit until all facial features were hidden. The penis was next bound whilst the priest prayed. If urine flowed it was a sure sign the victim's family would perish. Orsmond Dict., 13-15, 20. Henry, 310, for a sanitized account.
(54) Davies, 151,289, also notes nanati, to tie up, a ritual causing death
The sense of fifi or "entanglement" was central to island notions of hara or transgressions in relationships with kin past and present, with chiefs in Ao and gods in Po, and in social obligations generally (55). Consanguinity, affinity, friendship pacts and obligations; all were typically expressed in terms of sennit, cords and ropes that tied people together (56). A dangerous form of "entangling" these "cords" was pa-hara-'ai'a'i or "mortal sins" (57). These included errors and interference with rituals, the consequences of which were all the more serious since they went beyond the individual culprit. Thus when a child interrupted a priest in his 'aha, the sennit or ritual binding him to the supernatural, the tahu'a would exclaim, "he has entangled (fifi) my prayers ('aha)", and ordered the offender's death lest the land, the clan and the chief would "die by the anger of the god". Priests who made errors in their incantations committed hara or sin for "entangling" (fifi) the ritual ('aha) (58). Conceptions of prayer as a "sennit", a tool that could "entangle" the user if incorrectly employed, clearly lay behind some of the "trivial" questions asked of the missionaries. Recent converts wanted to know "whether God would be angry if they should use incorrect expressions in their prayers", and what they should do when interrupted in worship. One man with great anxiety confessed to having made errors in his prayers and wanted to know if this was a sin. The missionary's comment that "you would have thought from the man's appearance &c that he had some very important business", does not do justice to the force of the question (59).

Semantically consistent with sin as actions or omissions entangling social, ritual and kinship bonds, restitutional rituals were called taratara-ra'a-hara, literally "untangling transgressions". When bonds of amity had become fenu motu, a broken or twisted cord, friends exchanged

(55) Fifi, to entangle, enslave, involve in difficulties. Tafifi, person causing entanglement. Fa'afifi, to entangle, hinder, tie-up, perplex. Davies,64,87,240.
(56) See Chapter Four on genealogies.
(57) Orsmond, Dict.,35, notes pa-hara as "crime", but Davies,180, as "judgement or punishment". Davies,14, 'ai'a'i as "crime or fault". Five of the six "mortal sins" listed in Henry,171,198, involve cooking and eating.
(58) Orsmond, Dict.,2,5; also 4,6,17,20 for similar expressions.
(59) John Williams, 4 September 1819, S.S.P. Ellis II,156.
gifts of food as *tara’e-hara* or "disentangling of sin" to restore their relationship(60). To appease an offended chief, the *taratara’e-hara* consisted of a pig and "man long-banana", or a young chicken and banana shoot for a *ra’atira* (61). To "disentangle" serious transgressions towards an *ari’i* or god however, required human sacrifices(62). A healer in examining the cause of his patient’s distress or illness enquired scrupulously into possible social or ritual transgressions and then prayed for the offended god or ancestor to "disentangle the sin" and transfer it to the "man long-banana" offered as substitute food(63). People insisted to the early missionaries that "the true atonement for sin... was hogs", i.e. the expiatory *pu a’a-tara’e-hara* or "pigs to disentangle transgressions" that were customarily offered to the gods and chiefs(64). Indigenous symbolism and notions were carried into the new religion when *tara’e-hara* and *taratara-hara* became the translation for Christian "atonement" (65).

Chiefly people were living symbols of *ora*, of prosperity, fecundity and well-being. As an endogamous class they tended to be physically large or, as Cook put it, "fatt and lusty [with] ... none that could be call’d Meagre" (66). Members of the chiefly classes, particularly women, customarily indulged in bouts of gluttony whilst staying out of the sun, in order to become *amo’o*, pale and *pori’a*, fleshy or "in good condition". To be fat and fair was deemed beautiful and excellent, the

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(61) Transactions I, 54.
(63) Henry, 173, 211. There was also a functional equivalent of the Biblical scapegoat, the goat set free after the sins of the people had been placed on it. This was the *tu’ura’a va’a uta hara*, "sending off a canoe bearing sins". A small canoe with images of men was sent into the ocean, carrying away sin and sickness. Davies, 13. Henry, 319, calls this ritual unique, but an identical rite has been noted for Sulawesi, by A.J. Hasselbergs, De Blissoe of heidensche Toovenaars van Zuid Celebes, in B. N. O. I. 1896, 15f.
(64) Also called *pu’a-fa’ati’aaa*, "pig to set free". Henry, 168, 196, 199. Henry Nott, January 1802, S.S.J.
(65) Te Biblia Moa, 951, 963, 965, inter-alia. Davies, 254.
(66) Cook, Journals II, 374. Ellis II, 16f.
hallmark for people of status and rank (67). Chiefs regularly received "the fat of the land" (pori'a) as tribute (68). In accordance with a general prerogative of ari'i to be associated with the first and foremost of anything - such as the first to enter a new marae or, later, chapels - they received the first crops of the breadfruit season, the first yields of all gardens from individual cultivators, the first of all newly planted food presented by the whole of each district, the first fish caught in a new net as well as the biggest of any such haul. There were numerous other forms of tribute from individuals, families and districts offered to a chief as "a token of his power" (69). Large scale tribute such as the 'euea 'opuroa "food baked for the big-bellies", were "a symbol of the power of the king" [ari'i]. The massive tava'u, canoe fleets laden with produce and goods from all the districts acknowledged the exalted and divine status of an ari'i. Huge amounts of food and goods were displayed on such occasions whilst the orators recited the names of the donor districts and stressed the relationship between a chief's good conduct of government and "the prosperity of the land" (70). Furthermore, a chief's stewards or servants could demand the food and property necessary to maintain his establishment with its retinue of servants and dependents or for his guests, since his own resources were not always adequate to meet the chiefly needs of reciprocity, hospitality and generosity (71).

To withhold a chief's tribute was tantamount to denying him his hau (72). Cultivators and fishermen who enjoyed the fruits of their labours without first supplying chiefs with the customary shares therefore risked being expelled from their lands or becoming the next


(68) Mare, Explications in G.B.I. III, 48.

(69) Mare, in G.B.I. III, 49 & Mai et al., 53ff; for fullest account of chiefly tribute: other informants in G.B.I and R.T.P. also gave significant details. See also Davies, II, 62, 63, 103, 114, 116 for numerous contributions to chiefly establishments.


(71) Ellis II, 367.

(72) Davies, 263.
sacrificial victims(73). Severe chiefly sanctions however entailed risks because, as the Spaniards noted in 1774, they could result in plots "to place the government in another's hands" and bloody rebellions(74). Resistance to exorbitant demands for goods and labour was "one of the causes of their frequent wars". Indigenous sources speak of open warfare (tama'i) resulting from "the great evil doings of the chiefly class" in sending their servants "to rob the people of their property, freely taking fowls, dogs, pigs, houses and canoes". Extortionate demands "greatly heated the hearts of the to'ofa and ra'atira who began to fight", causing "the sinking of the hau". Eventually, "the ari'i did not receive the hau from the people"(75). There were clearly limits to what could be extracted by an ari'i whose authority and power were constrained by the need to maintain the support of the lesser chiefs (to'ofa) and particularly the large ra'atira class of hereditary landowners that included many powerful and wealthy families.

The flow of produce and goods however was not exclusively in one direction. Although critical of the "rapacious" demands of the ari'i, the missionaries nevertheless noted that a great deal of property acquired by chiefs ended up in the hands of their followers and the lower ranks(76). It is perhaps doubtful that the poorer ra'atira and manahune - those without hereditary rights to land - shared in much more than the honour of providing their chiefs with the trappings of rank, but nevertheless chiefs were expected to be generous as a virtue that came with office. By the dictates of custom, large scale food presentations to chiefs and gods were followed by a redistribution and communal feastings(77). The island definition of a "good chief" was one who redistributed much of what he received and rarely refused anything

(74) B.G.Corney, Quest II,266 & III,27.
(75) Orsmond, War,4,5: my translation
(76) Ellis II,374.
asked of him (78). Indeed, "the meanness of chiefs" could lead to conflict and one of the causes of an ari'i losing office was his "lack of generosity in giving property to the ra'ai'tia" (79). As keepers of the hau or "government" with its connotations of peace and harmony, chiefs embodied the ora, "life" in the sense of wellbeing and prosperity, of their land and were the conduits of its fecundity.

Given this symbolic content of chieftainship, the institutionalised violence that often followed the death of an ari'i underscored the dangers inherent in the removal of hau. It appears as if hau was not abstracted to the degree of having reality entirely independent of its living symbol; each successive ari'i was a separate embodiment of it (80). Death is invariably a problem for society because it undermines the given assumption of order on which it is based (81). Death is an antimony, opposed to the perceived nomos or order of the universe and its denial, as a natural phenomenon, is implied by the explanation of it in virtually all religions as a post-creation intrusion (82). Such a death-denial in the Society Islands was entailed by the creation mythology of Ta'aroa-who-curses-to-death, who imposed it on the universe after having forged cosmos from chaos. The benevolent interference by Hina, as we have seen, explained nature's rhythmic patterns. Nature continually renewed itself by pulling back from the brink of chaos or entropy by ever repeating cycles. Each full moon was a triumph over extinction, each sunrise a victory over darkness, the arrival of the rains defeated the dry season, and the return of the migratory fish and the first breadfruit crops ended periods of scarcity (83). Man actively participated in such cycles by the Pa'iatau rituals, the regenerative functions of which extended to hau or social order and ora or wellbeing, as embodied in the person of an ari'i. The death of a chief ended a cycle or phase in the existence of society; each chief's rule was one episode of hau, followed by ritualised chaos.

(78) Ellis II, 374.
(79) Orsom, War, 4: my translation.
(80) H. Frankfort et al., Before Philosophy, 17, 23 ff, on concrete nature of symbols.
(81) Peter L. Berger, Social Reality, 32ff. passim
(82) Franz Borkenau, End and Beginning, 64-95, spec. 71-6 on death denial.
(83) Frankfort et al., 17, 21 ff.
as a break. A close relative dressed in a most elaborate funerary costume that represented the spirit of the deceased (84). He was surrounded by a gang of near-naked, armed youths - both male and female - whose blackened bodies were covered in red and white designs. Together they roamed the district in search of unwary victims whom they beat, maimed or even killed without fear of retribution (85). These gangs were termed nevaneva, meaning bewildered or bereft of senses, and they were believed to be "inspired by the spirit of the deceased" to revenge unresolved insults (86). As funerary rites were performed to expedite a soul's speedy exit to the Other World, the gangs were apparently completing unfinished business in order to reduce reasons for a spirit's later return to harm the living. Those in disfavour with the gang were the most likely to suffer merciless beatings (87). This reign of terror lasted for an indefinite period, depending on how long a dead chief's family were prepared to feed the youths. If the disruption to people's lives went on too long however, the gangs were overpowered in a fight that could escalate to full-blown combat as various parties joined the fracas. "Sometimes whole districts were involved, many being killed before chiefs interposed" (88).

In addition there were "mock" battles that took place on the very day a ruling chief died. The body was surrounded by armed relatives and friends awaiting the arrival of allies from other districts. The visitors came similarly armed and formally asked permission to mourn over the deceased in the traditional manner of lacerating their bodies and heads. This was refused, upon which a "mock" battle ensued that often erupted into warfare costing several lives, before the parties made peace and united in mourning over the body on the bier (89).

(84) Cook, Journals II,392. Cook obtained one such costume
(85) Morrison,233. J.Banks, Endeavour Journal 1, 288f.,378: Banks joined a nevaneva gang in a sedate raid..
(86) Ellis I,533.
(87) Henry,294.
(88) Moerenhout I,549ff. Banks I,378: Banks was told the gangs roamed for five moons during which time the raids gradually declined. Henry,294.
(89) Moerenhout I,550. Corney II,45ff. & III,189ff. The Spaniards witnessed the arrival of an armed party when Chief Vehiatue of Tautira died. They caught the mourners unprepared and no fight took place, partly perhaps because of the Spanish presence. On Huhine the missionaries witnessed a "sacred lamentation" resulting in fights and deaths. John Davies, 12 October 1809 S.S.J.
Death's removal of the symbol of society's nomos was thus marked by considerable institutional violence of a kind not ordinarily tolerated even from chiefly persons. Whatever the explicit reasons for such practices, they demonstrated the consequences for society were it to be permanently without hau. Just as nature's slide toward entropy came to a halt with the beginning of a new cycle, so the anarchy upon a chief's death eventually abated. The Pa'iatua rituals that mirrored the regenerative cycles in nature were a part also of the ceremonies that invested a new ari'i with his hau. The idea that the inauguration of a new chief or king amounted to a regeneration or rebirth of the world can be found in many societies(90).

Although the chiefs derived their status and sacredness from the gods in Po, the symbolisms of office were an apparent antithesis to the dark realm. "Ao" was an honorific title of "chiefly or divine dignity" and a poetical reference to "the good reign" of an ari'i. Ao carried meanings, already noted, of happiness, blessedness and prosperity and was thus semantically akin to ora. "Ra'i" or Sky was a form of address "to the highest chief or king", and ari'i regalia or property bore names referring to stars, clouds, red skies, rainbows and the aurora. Ao-ra'i was the traditional name for a chief's home(91). The missionary Ellis commented on the "confusion" in the islanders' use of the term po:

They usually, but not invariably, spoke of the region of the night as i raro or below ... In describing the highest heaven as the region of purest light, they spoke of it also as the po ... They describe the tenth ... as te rai haamama a Tane etc., the opening or unfolding of the po, or perpetual darkness.

He concluded that the island cosmos was enclosed by Po, the darkness that prevailed a below the foundations of the earth and above the skies(92).

(92) Ellis II,413f.
The tenth sky or heaven of the indigenous universe was indeed called *te ra'a ha'amama a Tane*, meaning "the open (or gaping) sky of (the god) Tane". This celestial region was also known as Ao-roa or "Great-light", most likely the "pure light" of Ellis in the above. It was, however, a night sky. Through it flowed *te vai ora a Tane* or the River of Life of Tane, the poetic name for the Milky Way and the baptismal waters for children born into the world (93). The confusion derives from the semantic density of *ao*, and Tane's residence Ao-roa should be understood as "Great Happiness" or "Blessedness" (94).

Society Island mythology of the god Tane tells how he and Maui pried the earth and firmament apart, thus causing light to emerge in the space henceforth reserved for man (95). Next Tane, assisted by Ra'itupua, set the chaotic skies in order and established ten celestial strata. Some of the gods then lived in the upper Po with Tane in the highest level of Great Blessedness, whilst others resided in the nether Po, among them the creator Ta'aroa-who-curses-to-death (96).

Early European visitors learned how this structure of Po was reflected in human society. "Hell" or the place where souls were devoured and then washed, was the destiny for "the lower sorts" or "inferior people". "Heaven" they recorded as "Evirua t'Erai", i.e. e vairua i te ra'i or "spirit in the sky", and "Touroo a t'Erai", i.e. te 'aururu a te ra'i or "assembly of the sky". This was reserved for "good people - cf. People of Rank" and "rich people". Banks wrote it was a place of "Great Happiness"

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(94) Little is known from available sources about the other nine celestial strata. The ninth level was called *te ra'i taura a Hiro*, Hiro's sky of prophets. Henry, 356. See also Gill, 153, for the ten-strata heavens of Mangaia. The Tuamotuan heavens have been discussed in several articles by Kenneth P Emory, in *J.P.S* 1938, 1-39, 1940, 569-78 & 1943, 19-21.
(95) Henry, 410-413.
(96) Henry, 336-415. Mare, Ms. Taaroa 1st of the gods, in C.F. Lavaud, Documents Ethnologiques.
probably upon hearing the term Ao-roa(97). A later missionary on Huahine where Tane was the tutelar god, recorded that Ao was "a Mahommedan Paradise with all its voluptuous pleasures"(98). The celestial bodies were associated with the departed spirits of chiefly persons. Some of the stars were named after and inhabited by the souls of "distinguished men"(99). The red carved boards (unu) that stood on marae platforms represented major stars and commemorated departed chiefs. These stars were also referred to as ana or caves in the sky(100). According to Jung, caves are a typical womb symbolism, belonging to the archetypal images of darkness that are part of the "collective conscious"(101).

The counterpart to Rohutu-namu'a, the stinking excremental Netherworld, was the celestial Rohutu-noanoa or "sweet-smelling" Rohutu. This was a "superior place" in the "Hades" of Tahiti, according to the missionary dictionary, but Ellis noted that it was "the heaven most familiar...in the leeward islands"(102). The latter's regional specificity is significant because it appears that the tenets concerning Rohutu were peculiar to the 'Oro cult and its 'arioi society which originated in the leeward archipelago. There Rohutu-noanoa floated invisibly high over Te Mehani, the mountain ridge that longitudinally dissects Raiatea. It was a place:

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(97) Solander, op cit. Banks, Vocabularies. Banks I,328 &n; Beaglehole transcribed the term as tairua l'orai and thus found "meaning..hard to extract". J.R.Forster, Observations,552.
(98) Barff,22.
(99) Ellis II,359.
(100.) Henry,134,343,361ff.
(101) Jung, Symbols,341,408.
(102) Davies, 230. Ellis I,517.
...most lovely and enchanting in appearance, adorned with flowers of every form and hue, and perfumed with odours of every fragrance ... Every species to which the Areois and other favoured classes had been accustomed on earth, was to be participated there. Rich viands and delicious fruits were supposed to be furnished in abundance ... Handsome youths and women thronged the place.

The sexual licence of this paradise is only hinted at in the predominantly missionary sources.

Rohutu-noanoa too was exclusively reserved for "the privileged orders" of 'arioi and chiefs "who could afford to pay the priests for the passport hither". It was not only barred to ordinary people because of the prohibitive cost of entry, but also because the class distinctions in Te Ao-nei were expected to continue in the future state. Wealthy families, which generally meant the upper chiefly classes, could ensure that their dearly departed reached Rohutu-noanoa by employing a specialist priest of the 'arioi society called Romatane after the god who guarded the gateway to this heaven. This was an expensive affair however, requiring so much property that few commoners made the attempt. The best ordinary people could hope for, it seems, was to try to avoid the ordeal of having their souls devoured after death. The missionary dictionary preserves the term manuhoa, meaning "emblem of friendship". This was a bunch of red feathers tied to the long finger of the right hand of a person deceased, to prevent the god from eating.

(103) Ellis I,327,517.
(104) Williams, Narrative,145.
(105) Ellis I,327.
(106) Barff,22. Henry,241. Banks I,381. Moerenhout I,434, states that such priests had the power to even transfer a soul from the nether Po to Rohutu-noanoa. Much of Moerenhout's information appears to have been obtained from Orsmond. Ellis II,218, mentions in passing that souls could be released from Po below to ascend to Rohutu-noanoa, presumably upon appropriate payment. Henry,202ff has a sanitized section on "ideas of a future state" in which her own theosophical beliefs intrude. In this she states that some ari'i at least went to the lower Po where their rank was not respected.
his soul or spirit in Po" (107). "The spirits of ranking 'arioi and some priests, on the other hand, were not eaten by the gods after the death of their bodies" (108). Presumably the same was true also for ari'i in Rohutu-noanoa.

The fate of souls after death thus mirrored society on Te Ao-nei also in regard to ora; prosperity and wellbeing continued to be enjoyed in expanded fashion by the same segments of society which had access to the best of everything when living on earth. The consumption of lower class souls in Po probably removed the last vestiges of their ora. This appears to be indicated by the fact that still-born children, without ora, were referred to as "excrement of the gods" (109). As noted above, jealous and malevolent 'oromatua causing sickness and death engaged in 'ai-ora, the eating of their kinfolk's ora.

A further enlightenment can now be offered concerning the islanders' initial reaction to Christian "salvation". There is no exact equivalent of the English "to be" in any Polynesian language, therefore, "I am" is only approximately translated as tei vai nei au. Vai means "to exist, live, to find oneself in a certain state, to be there, to be in a state of", plus the particles tei and nei which indicate that vai occurs in proximity to au, "I" (110). Vai means, approximately, "to live" in a strictly neutral sense (111) and is not abstracted as "life", unlike the positive sensate and physical experiences of "living" that are conceptualised and projected as ora, as a substance of living. Perhaps this is to be explained in that "living" has no projectable content.

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(107) Davies, 131.
(108) Ellis, Journal, 265. Ellis here calls the 'arioi heaven Miru; see also Pol.Res. Nothing specific is known concerning Miru in the Society Islands. It was a name for the After-World or a horrible soul-devouring hag residing therein, known in New Zealand, the Cook and Hawaiian Islands. Given the distribution of Miru, it belongs to an older strata of Polynesian beliefs. See Best, 130, passim; Ellis, Journal, 262, passim; Gill, 161, passim.
(109) Davies, 268, tutea-atua.
(111) Vernier & Drolet, 30.
apart from the somatic and sensate experiences it entails. Thus pohe, death or dying, was not in opposition to vai, the neutral sense of "living", but to "ora", the positive aspects in the experience of "living" (112). As already noted, in island conceptions, people were "dead" or "finished", pohe or mate, even before their souls had departed (113); they had lost their ora even though, in a strictly neutral sense, they still "lived", vai. The islanders taunted missionaries that Christian "salvation" was "false" because it did not cure their diseases, i.e. did not restore ora. The explanation that "salvation" referred to the saving of souls from the wrath of God in the Hereafter (114) was alien to an island understanding of the cosmos in which a continuation of ora after death was a privilege of the upper classes and not related to any "moral prerequisite" (115). "Sin" or hara was an entanglement of social and ritual bonds that invited punishment here and now, in Te Ao-nei, rather than in some future state. The missionaries countered objections by explaining that their "salvation" did not mean "to escape death" (116), as the islanders understood ora. In this interaction the bringers of a new religion evidently took pohe or mate as a physical death, whereas the islanders understood it as a loss of ora. An acceptance of Christianity could only be facilitated by a general loss of faith in the explanatory powers of the indigenous cosmos.

Having departed from the body, the soul travelled the spirit road to the island of Raiatea. There were a number of stations or staging posts

(112) Davies, 171, notes ora "to live, or alive, in opposition to pohe, dead".
(113) See page 44 above.
(115) Williams, Narrative, 145. Ellis I, 517.
for spirits on their journey, known variously as 'ofa'i ara ri'ori'o or "rock path for spirits", 'ofa'i rei ri'ori'o or "rock for dried-up spirits"(?), and 'ofa'i mauera'a or "rock for flying off". The locations of these stations from which souls fled to the Mehani mountain in Raiatea are not now known, but Mt Tata'a of Tahiti and the Vairi district of Moorea both had a pair of rocks known as 'ofa'i ora and 'ofa'i pohe, rocks of "life" and "death". Souls landing on the former were allowed to return and resume life but those alighting on the latter had to continue their journey(117). At Mount Te Mehani the spirit road branched at a point guarded by the god Tu-taho-roa who directed the traffic by sending souls either into the Apo'o-nui or Big Hole, a volcanic vent held to be the centre of the earth and the entrance to the nether Po, or allowing them to ascend to Rohutu-noanoa floating invisibly above the island's mountainous spine(118).

Another point of departure was Mt. Rotui (Soul Despatching) on Moorea (119). A poetical designation for this peak was "the upper jaw of Te Mehani"(120). The common directional designations "upper" and "lower", or "above" and "below", referred to the rising and setting of the sun which in this region also broadly corresponded to the direction of the most prominent winds, blowing from east (above) to west (below). Thus Borabora and Maupiti were "below" or "down", and Tahiti and Moorea, as well as Huahine, were "up" or "above" in relation to Raiatea. Hence Moorea's Mt. Rotui was a symbolic "upper" jaw to the entrance into the Other World on Mt Te Mehani. Given the general symmetry of island symbolism, there was probably also a "lower" jaw on one of the islands westward of Raiatea.

(118) Henry,96,201,373,378.
(119) Henry,201.
(120) W.D. Alexander,Specimens of Ancient Tahitian Poetry, J.P.S. 1893,56.A song recorded by Orsmond on Raiatea in 1824.
Marae also were symbolic "jaws". The marae platform (ahu) was poetically called ahu-ta'a, mound of jaws, or compared to an 'auae, a chin or lower jaw ever ready to "strike and consume". The stone uprights built into marae walls as backrests for the owner worshippers were termed the niho or teeth of the jawbone (121).

The "jaw" motif belongs to the mythology of Ta'aroa. When shaping the earth, Ta'aroa donated various parts of his body. His spine became a mountain ridge - Mt Te Mehani perhaps -, his ribs the slopes, his flesh the "fatness" (pori) of the land and so on. When the land was peopled, his hollow body became the first fare atua or god's house - in which the idols were kept - for the first marae which was built at Opoa in Havai'i. This marae was dedicated to Ta'aroa by the first priest, Maui (122). A creation chant of Ta'aroa has it that:

Ahuta'a-i-te-ra'i, oia Fareita'i
    Ahuta'a-in-the-sky, that is marae Fareita'i,
    is the lower jaw of Ta'aroa.
Te ta'a raro o Ta'aroa
    The upper jaw is marae Tahu'ea-i-te-turatura
    [marae] Tahu'ea-the-exalted
    that is, To'erauroa (Huahine).
'To'erauroa (Huahine)
Tahu'ea'-i-te-turatura
    Stomach and throat
'Opu e te 'ara-poa
    that is, Te Tumu (Opoa)
'oia te Tumu (Opoa)
'i rira ai ei fenua atua
    became a land of gods (123).

(123) Tati Salmon, Ms. Notes; translation based on Kenneth P. Emory, Ms. Traditional History of Maraes in the Society Islands, (hereinafter Marae Traditions) 13. The chant appears in Tati Salmon, History, 3f., a work published privately c. 1904. This booklet contains many typographical errors, corrected in the above. In the published chant, Salmon reverses the location indicators, as he was concerned to show that his family branch in Borabora was "of the highest rank", and thus belonged to the "upper" jaw!. The booklet was dedicated to the Salmons' adoptive brother, American historian Henry Adams, who visited Tahiti in 1891. Adams stimulated both Salmon and especially his sister Mares Taaroa, into researching and writing the history of their family. For some evaluation of their contribution to Tahitian historiography, see Niel Gunson, Note, in J.P.S. 1962, 416.
The two marae mentioned in the chant, Ahuta'a or Faretai and Tahu'ea, occur in the genealogies and traditions of Borabora and Huahine respectively, but their locations are now uncertain which perhaps attests to the age of the chant (124). Two different marae-cum-jaws are mentioned in a chant of a later period:

Ta’aroa cried out!
My lower jaw I lay on [marae] Vai'otaha
My upper jaw on [marae] Mata'ire'a,
On Nu'u-te-vao-tapu I lay my belly,
at Nu'u-te-vao-tapu I will eat my offerings (125).

Nu'u-te-vao-tapu, the location of Ta'aroa's belly, was an ancient name for the valley of Opoa at marae Vae'ara'i, a shrine now reduced to a few stones along the Haumo'o River. It was the "original marae at Opoa in Havai'i", meaning before Taputapuatea was built for 'Oro. Vae'ara'i was built on the spot where Ta'aroa placed his feet (vae) when he broke through the sky ('ara'i) after he created earth (126). The two "jaws" here were the leading marae respectively of Borabora and Huahine at the time of European contact.

All reference to Ta'aroa is lost however in another chant of a later date, belonging clearly to the dominant 'Oro cult. The relevant lines are as follows:

(124) According to Salmon,3f., Marae Faretai was at Mautau Point, Borabora, and Tahu'ea was the same as Huahine's Mata'ire'a.
(125) I have restored the chant to its original form. Handy, History,88, quoted it from Marau Taaroa, Ms. Memoirs, in which Marau reversed the "upper" and "lower" designations. Handy, thus, was able to argue that Vai'otaha was supreme because it was the "upper" jaw, of some importance for his curious theory on an hui ari'i invasion in the 7th century. Marau's daughter, Takau Pomare, has since published her mother's manuscripts. The chant reappears in the published work, with the line referring to Vai'otaha omitted but with Huahine's marae Mata'ire'a correctly as the "upper" jaw. Takau Pomare, Mémoirs, 51.
(126) Handy, History,84. Salmon, History,4. Vae-'a-ra'i or "Foot-from-Sky. Henry,122, has Vae'a-ra'i, Sky-Division, Sky-Dividing.
Mata'ire'a te ta'a ni'a... [marae] Mata'ire'a is the jaw above....

Vai'otaha te ta'a raro.... [marae] Vai'otaha is the jaw below....

Taputapuatea te 'ara-poa... [marae] Taputapuatea is the throat...

(127)

The symbolic meanings seem obvious. A likely etymology for Taputapuatea is "human sacrifices (taputapu) for afar (atea)", and the marae was likened to a voracious throat, swallowing everything that entered its "jaws" at Huahine and Borabora. Jaws were emblemic of warfare under the 'Oro cult and they were wrenched from victims in war, tied together in long strings and taken to Taputapuatea. The first European visitors to the marae at Opoa found the place festooned with these trophies of war (128).

There are several further personal and geographical names that have a thematic affinity with this jaw symbolism. One of these is the name of the district. First recorded in 1769 as Te Poa, te being the article, its more common designation Opoa has been translated as "Indented". The translation apparently derives from 'o, the demonstrative article "it is", and po'a, "to dent". However, the common meaning of po'a is mouth or throat, as for instance in the compound term 'ara-poa in the chants above, literally "mouth-path" (129).

The god's name 'Oro has been rendered as "Warrior" but this is clearly a metaphorical meaning, as for example in the compound term 'oro-hea for "a person of a most voracious appetite" and thus, figuratively, also "a warrior, one not satiated with fighting". Etymologically the term comprises 'oro, throat, and hea, a term "vaguely used of various internal disorders", including the mouth and throat disease thrush (130).

(127) Paul Huguenin, Raiatea la Sacrée, 242 f; my translation.
(128) Banks 1,318f. Sydney Parkinson Journal,73. Marae Tainu'u in the Te Vaitoa district west side of the island, was similarly decorated, and thus may have been an 'Oro marae.
(130) Henry,124,374,inter-alia. Davies,190f, records 'oro only in compound forms.Andrews,173, notes it as "throat". Reed & Brougham,190, koro, "throat" in Maori.
A related possible etymology for 'oro-matua suggests itself as "ancestral throat". These meanings are congruent with the aggressive appetites of ancestors and wargod.

The jaw motif may well have evolved from an original meaning for the name of the Creator God. Ta'aroa has been translated as the "Unique One" derived from roa, "very" or "thoroughly", and ta'a, "separate", "sever", or "cut-off". An uncomplicated translation of the name however is "Long Jaw". The first possibility appears somewhat contrived, but neither meaning can be obtained from the languages of western Polynesia where Ta'aroa-Tangaroa is also the Creator. Perhaps the meaning of ta'a-tanga as "jaw" has been lost in the west, but it has a limited distribution even in eastern Polynesia. It may just be possible that Ta'aroa as a Creator God in the west was introduced from the Society Islands.

That Raiatea, the destination of souls or spirits on their way to Po, was surrounded by symbols of ingestion and absorption is consistent with the thanatological beliefs already mentioned. Raiatea-Havai'i was "the centre of creation", the first land "conjured up" by Ta'aroa in the dark period, and from it "sprung forth" (fanau'a) all the other islands. At Raiatea Ta'aroa created and fashioned the universe and all its inhabitants. The island was consequently eulogized as "Havai'i the birthplace of land, Havai'i the birthplace of gods, Havai'i the birthplace of chiefs, Havai'i the birthplace of man", an order of creation that established and sanctified the social structure. The island was thus the place of origins, the centre of the indigenous universe and the home of the sacred chiefs who traced their descent from the Creator. In common with many such centres the world over, it was the gateway between the two cosmic zones, between Po and Ao. In the mythology of the discovery of fire, po or darkness was "carried away" but it remained "at the marae of Havai'i". The area of land on which stood the most venerated marae of the sacred chiefs at Opoa - dedicated to 'Oro, but to Ta'aroa earlier - was called Te Po until recent times.

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(131) Henry,107,196. Davies,237. Stephen Savage Dictionary,346, notes tangaroa as "prominent or protruding chin" in Rarotonga. Stimson, Kiho, J.A.S. 4, 48, notes Rapanui taga as "sock, alimentary canal"; this meaning however belongs to West Polynesian languages. Stimson, Tahitian Names, J.P.S.37,341; Ta'aroa as "long-jaw".

whilst the rest of the island was known as Te Ao (133).

Death was a return to the centre of origins, to Po as the Cosmic Womb, in spatial as well as temporal terms. "Jaws" are common tropes in the universal repertoire of thanatological symbols. In mythology and religious beliefs the return to the Cosmic Womb is often achieved by passing through a gateway of jaws and it is not uncommon for such metaphysical gates to be projected on to the physical landscape. Passing through the jaws is the equivalent of being devoured by Mother Earth or by supernatural spirits. Given that passages of transformation, the passing from one state of being into another, express a reversal of the experience of birth, Eliade has aptly named such portals *vagina dentata* (134). The "jaws of death", mountain-peaks and *marae*, also accord with Jung's contention already noted, that returns to the Cosmic Womb often involve oral entrances (135).

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(134) M. Eliade, *Rites*, 51, 63, 65, passim.
(135) Jung, *Symbols*, 419.
Beliefs in a universe unfolding as a chain of causality that commenced with in initiatory coupling of Sky and Earth have been noted for cultures widely distributed in time and space, for peoples as diverse as the Jacarilla Apache, Bantu, Egyptians and Greeks of old. In the Pacific also cosmogony was generally imagined as analogous to human reproduction, beginning with the union of Atea, (Vatea, Wakea, Rangi, Ra'i) the Sky Father, and Papa the Earth Mother and their numerous supernatural offspring. Over countless aeons the universe developed like a giant genealogy that connected cosmic forces, earth, sky gods and mankind in an all-embracing kinship network. The origins of the human race was indelibly part of the sacred history of the universe and could be traced to the primal parents in Po. In the Society Islands "the primary gods and every custom of great antiquity were fanau po or born in the night"(1).

Cosmogonic genealogies were modelled on the pedigrees of the lineages and their constituent members which traced descent from apical and/or eponymous ancestors. The islanders had "a most scrupulous, obstinate, inflexible regard to the hereditary descent of families", one missionary observed, and "profess to trace their relatives through many generations"(2). Kinship was likened to 'aha or sennit that tied people

(1) Robert Thomson, Ms. History of Tahiti I,2.
(2) J.M. Orsmond, Ms. Reception of the Gospel.
together. Genealogies were 'aufau-feti'i, the cords that bound (fau) ancestors ('au) to living kin (feti'i - family). Genealogical recitations were taratara-feti'i, an "untangling of kinship" to show the various 'ave'ave-feti'i or "family strands". Among the subjects taught at special schools for "savants" of chiefly families was firifiri-'aufau, literally "to plait" the various strands of ancestry. Some of the genealogical-cum-historical information "plaited together" was probably in the nature of "king-lists" or enumerations of past ari'i title-holders without specifying precise kinship connections. A few such lists are extant(3).

Genealogies and marae were intimately connected and together constituted the very heart of the culture. Family pedigrees were primarily the equivalent of the deeds to land, oral documents that traced descent from the ancestors in whom were established the rights of a descent group or individual to resources. Such genealogies specified the 'oromatua or ancestral spirits who had left their names as "title names" or "family names" to their descendant kin-congregations that united at family marae. Rights to 'ai'a-fenua, "land for eating" or inheritance, were "lodged" at family marae because genealogies were attached to the tuturi, stone uprights that served as leaning or kneeling posts for chiefs and household heads representing their people there in worship. The name of the marae, the stone post(s) and the family name(s) attached to them, variously served as identifying genealogical introductions that "located" the oral record in time and place. This contextual information was a means also for truncating a family pedigree when not all of it needed revealing(4).


(4) See Pages 74-79 above for marae classification. Henry, 134,139,141,150; 263 for genealogy of marae Marotetini as an example of a genealogical introduction, beginning with a list of the eight chiefly titles attached to marae seats.
Pedigrees frequently identify affinal connections by naming the *marae* to which a person marrying into a family belonged, sometimes with additional information such as the name of a parent or other near relative of note, a land or district name. Such annotations make it possible to trace affinal connections between chiefly families going back many generations.

Genealogies on both parents' sides were carefully preserved because despite a person's primary affiliation as defined by residency, rights to resources could be claimed or inherited through either parent should need or opportunity arise. A woman residing with her husband's family retained some rights in parental property that could be inherited by her children(5). At birth a child received a "family name" belonging to a *marae* of either parent. This name determined the eventual affiliation because the land that came with the name belonging to that *marae* became the property of the child. Family names and accompanying land rights could be inherited from both parents and in several districts or even islands. Unlike personal names which could be changed several times in a person's life, inherited family names were permanent until bequeathed to the next generation. Family names or "title names" were an integral part of the genealogical proof of ownership and the *marae* or stone therein had to be specified in land disputes. Such *marae* were known as *vavau i'oa* or "name containers"(6), and genealogies were always identified as belonging to specific *marae*. As one missionary observed:

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(5) Henry,141. John Williams, *Narrative*,56. James Hayward, Communications to Queries, S.S.L. Douglas L.Oliver, *Ancient II*, 625; notes every person had "demand rights" subject to "limitations quite legitimately exercised by other persons". The missionary dictionary preserves a number of terms reflecting the inheritance system: 'a'au-rua, lit. "two-stemmed", for a person with parents from two districts who could inherit from both; hua'a-rua, person of two descent groups or lineages: patu-rua, person belonging to two patu or territorial divisions: utuafarefare-rua, lit. "many dwellings", a person of uncertain residency, with many homes. Davies, 5,15,111,192,215,306.

Parents ... are very careful to teach their children the 'aufau-feti'i that they may trace back their ancestors as far as possible. When a dispute arises respecting land, each party repeats the list of his ancestors who have been proprietors of the said land, and the person who can trace farthest back into past ages, and give the most consistent account of his pedigree, is allowed to have just claim to the disputed land. All such genealogies were committed to memory; and when reference was made to them in land disputes, the parties trusted entirely to it(7).

Family names or titles, names of 'oromatua and especially pedigrees, were surrounded by secrecy as a safeguard against claims on resources by outsiders(8). It is probable that less obscurity attached to the genealogical information of the district marae belonging to ra'atira chieftains. Some of the details at least would have been known to a senior family's cadet branches who traced their descent from ancestor(s) held in common(9).

Ari'i or chiefs also had their resource-based pedigrees lodged at their family marae, but, in addition, had what may be termed "status genealogies" which were attached to their marae o te fenua or "national marae ". These were the pedigrees on which ari'i "found their claims to supreme authority". They were held to be "more correct" than those of the lower classes and were much longer, extending back to "the first ages of ... traditional history" or beyond, "to the highest class of gods in Po"(10). Status genealogies incorporated cosmogonic and/or mythological sections that preceded the appearance of the first semi-divine and human ancestors. Ari'i status pedigrees must have been substantially public knowledge in order to serve as a charter for authority, and in addition were at least partly recited during certain public occasions, such as formal meetings with chiefs of other countries(11).

(7) Davies, iv.
(8) Henry, 141 F.
(9) See Page 77 above (on fission).
(10) Davies, iv. William Ellis, Polynesian Researches II, 341.
(11) Orsmond, Dictionary, 12. John Jefferson, 3 April 1801, S.S.J. Davies, iv. Henry, 74f., 154, esp. 327; "they reckoned long periods bu u' i or generations. The names of their kings and queens vaguely marked the succession of u' i".
Lengthy cosmogonic sections of chiefly status genealogies are known for several Polynesian islands. These often reach beyond the initiatory coupling of Earth and Sky, as enumerations of primal forces traced back to the original state of the universe. Each successive "generation" was "born" from the mating of male and female personifications of cosmic elements or forces of nature(12).

The missionary William Ellis of Huahine learned of such cosmogonic genealogies during a visit to Hawaii in 1822-23, and thought that by comparison Society Island pedigrees and "chronological traditions" were less well preserved. Hawaiian chiefly genealogies were "tolerably correct" for about thirty generations, "though they go back one hundred generations". However, his colleague John Williams on Raiatea observed that about thirty generations were covered by "a genealogical account of the reigning family" on his island, i.e. the Tamatoa lineage at Opoa. On Tahiti the longest genealogy known to Robert Thomson extended to thirty-three generations and comparing it with the English "king list" he thought it probably went back to the time of Stephen or 1135. Longer Tahitian genealogies of human ancestors have since come to light, covering forty-four generations prior to c. 1840. Edmond de Bovis on Borabora in the 1850s found a general agreement among the older people he questioned on "the number of twenty generations for their kings", beyond which one entered "mythological times" with the father of Hiro(13). The latter was the pan-Pacific culture-hero and demi-god who was an ancestor also of the Raiatean Tamatoa lineage cited by Williams(14). These comments on the genealogies of the Society Islanders came after they became the first Polynesians to convert to Christianity. It seems likely that the effect of the new religion was to exorcise the cosmogonic and most overtly mythological sections from chiefly genealogies.

One chiefly genealogy with a lengthy cosmogonic section has, however, come to light and is the only one known to go back to the gods. It is a pedigree for the Boraboran marae of Vai'otaha, Faretai, Ritua and Otahauamea. Only the location of the first one named is known with certainty. Now totally destroyed, Vai'otaha was an ancient "national" marae in the Vaitape locale. The human section of the pedigree reveals the intermarriages between the chiefly families of the marae named (15). The cosmogonic section has been recorded as a list of single names. It seems evident however that although these are not of copulating male-female entities from whom "sprang forth" (fanau'a) the next generation, they should nevertheless be arranged in pairs in accordance with the genealogical format. A dyadic structuring is typical of Polynesian oral literature as a compositional device for expressing contrasts as well as affinities between and within pairs of entities, ideas and objects. Po and Ao are perhaps the prime example of the binary perceptions that ordered the Polynesian universe. Some of the pairs, were probably mnemonic devices for reciting cosmogonic chants. The section is unique for what it enumerates but the pattern is typical for Polynesia where cosmogonic genealogies show great variability, expressing differing ideas about the Cosmos or the Chaos that preceded its evolution. References and allusions now difficult to elucidate would have been well understood by the pre-Christian listeners to the "oral performance".

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(15) Genealogy of Maraes Vaiotaha, Faretai, Ritua and Otahauamea of Borabora, in Kenneth P. Emory, Ms. The Traditional History of Maraes in the Society Islands, 109 ff. (Hereinafter Marae Traditions). Part of the genealogy appears in Emory's The Bishop Museum's Polynesian Pedigrees, in Papers of The World Conference on Records and Genealogical Seminar. The original source was a manuscript belonging to Te Uira, a Vaiari chief described by Emory as "one of the last sages of Tahiti". Armand Leverd made a copy of it which came into the possession of J.Frank Stimson which in turn was copied by Emory in the 1930s. Leverd quoted parts of the genealogy in an unpublished article entitled, The Period of Hiro, submitted to the Polynesian Society in Wellington. Leverd's genealogy was supplemented by additional sources including Tati Salmon's History which, on internal evidence, also drew on Te Uira's genealogy.
The pedigree presents the apical "parents" as Vavau-te-Po and Vavau-te-Ao, combining the ancient name for Borabora that harkens back to the west, with the two great cosmic polarities. The juxtaposition is for effect, to lend mystery, power and sanctity to both the pedigree and its recitation(16). (See Table 1).

### TABLE 1

**GENEALOGY OF MARAE VAI'OTAHA, FARSTAI & OTAHAUAMEA, BORABORA**

**Cosmogonic Section: Annotations added.**

1. Vavau-te-Po
   - Vavau-te-Ao
2. Te Po-i-te-atau [sic:-atu]
   - The Darkness Behind
   - Te Po-i-te-aro
   - The Darkness in Front
3. Te Po-mui-a-'uvi'uvi
   - Great Night of Sighing Winds
   - Te Po-mui-ma''iri-'avai
   - Great Night of Warning Gusts

**Source:**
Kenneth P. Emory, Ms. Marae Traditions, & Polynesian Pedigree Collection
Possible correction in brackets.

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(16) Emory, Polynesian Pedigree, 8.
These are followed by two pairs of po names. The first, Po-behind and Po-in-front, are typical binary oppositions used as rhetorical and symmetrical devices in oral compositions. Some others are: land-sea, inland-shore, above-below, near-afar, light-dark, waxing-waning, long-short, within-without and small-big. A few of these occur in this pedigree. The two Great Po that follow, of Sighing and Waning Winds, introduce the theme of the next dyadic group. (See Table 2)

This comprises a series of wind names. The first pair are moderate cooling breezes, followed by six pairs of destructive storms. These are arranged in a pattern of alternating northern and southern pairs. Many were metaphoric for the destruction of warfare (17) and thus perhaps expressed the chaos of an as yet unsettled universe. The tag ari'i to some of the names is a poetic convention that can be left untranslated. It is a metaphoric equivalent for ra'i or sky. In poetic and formal language, chiefs were often addressed as ra'i in the sense of being the highest. The tag does not, therefore, indicate human chiefly ancestors. The northern and southern storms are followed by Ra'ipo'ia, the gloomy and cloudy skies, and Rapati'a, the cloud-laden western gales unleashed by the god Ra'a of Vai'otaha marae when he becomes angry (18). This pair thus introduces the theme of the next block of names.

Not all of the cloud designations that follow are explicable, perhaps due to an archaic terminology. "The Lightning Clouds" are matched with the "sky-signs (niu) of Ominous Clouds" (19). The two names that follow are perhaps terms for specific portentous cloud formations, relating to coming times of starvation.

Clouds, in turn, introduce an evocation of the ancient god Ro'o and some of the moon-phases named after him. Ro'o-mua or First Ro'o was a god of agriculture and rain known throughout eastern Rîynesia (Rongo, Lono). Clouds were his favourite form of transport. His counterpart,

(17) Orsomond, Ms. War, 39. Davies, 251.
(18) Henry, 357, 394.
### TABLE 2
(CONTINUED FROM TABLE 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ti'ihopu [sic:Tahupe ?] (1)</td>
<td>Cool night winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tae-hau-mata'i, no Toareva</td>
<td>Coming Peaceful-breezes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rock of the Deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Buatau ari'i</td>
<td>Strong north winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuturu-a-pua ari'i</td>
<td>Supports-blown-down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>To'a ari'i (2)</td>
<td>Boisterous south winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muri-'e ari'i (3)</td>
<td>Swelling behind.Southerly winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Mother of all winds</td>
<td>&quot;The Rock that rages countries&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tiu (4)</td>
<td>Strong north winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parapu</td>
<td>Northerly winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Destructive poisonous wind&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The Wind that ravages countries&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Bauma</td>
<td>Cool south wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tapatapahi-'aha</td>
<td>Chopping-to-pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Wind that devastates states&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The Wind that devastates states&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burihuri-'ato'a</td>
<td>&quot;Overturning tempest&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Tumu-taua</td>
<td>&quot;Source-of-war&quot; Southerly gales. fig.&quot;lasting strife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tapato'a</td>
<td>Impetuous southern winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fig. &quot;impetuosity of victors in war&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Impetuosity of victors in war&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Te Ra'i-po'ia</td>
<td>Dark cloudy skies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te Rapati'a</td>
<td>&quot;Steady-blowing&quot; westerly gales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Te Ata-uiira ari'i</td>
<td>The Lightning Clouds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te Niu Rae-ari'i[sic: ra'ari'i]</td>
<td>The Sky-sign Ominous Clouds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Ahe-mata-uri</td>
<td>Hungry-dark-face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahe-mata-pau [sic:pia?]</td>
<td>Hungry-thin-face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Ro'o-mua</td>
<td>First- Ro'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ro'o-muri</td>
<td>Second-Ro'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Po-'e-mua</td>
<td>First-waxing-night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ro'o-mauri</td>
<td>The 29th moon, almost set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Ro'o-'ura-i-te-ata</td>
<td>Red-Ro'o-in-the-clouds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peu'oha [?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(1) Tati Salmon, History, 4, has these two names as "sons" of mythical primal ancestors Vaveu & Ari-o-te-ra'i.
(2) Douglas Oliver, Ancient Tahitian Society I, 215, notes that sources are inconsistent in the direction of the wind. Orsmond, Ms. War, calls to'a a north wind. Given the pattern in the above, I have opted for south, as Davies, 275, also has it.
(3) Tokau Pomare, Memoirs, 44, claims Te Muri was a Raiatean term for Pafa'aite, the west or north-west wind. Gilbert Cuzent, Archipel, 150, has Te Muri as south wind.
(4) William Ellis, Researches II, 417, notes that northerly winds were very stormy.
Ro'o-muri or Second Ro'o, was a god of light and peace (20). "The First Waxing Night" was likely a phase of the moon, antithetical to its partner Ro'o-mauri which was the name for the twenty-ninth moon when it had nearly set. The islanders reckoned the passing of time by moons rather than days (21).

Red Ro'o-in-the-clouds and Peu'ohe, the pair that follow were, perhaps, cloud omens. Red clouds were one of Ro'o's fleecy vehicles (22). Ro'o probably evoked the next dyadic block of names because of the god's association with "the confined skies", as illustrated by a popular mythopoetic refrain in a war-chant. The song deals with the epoch when the earth and sky had not yet been separated, a situation that served as an allegory of confinement or warfare from which there was no escape.

A iti-iti-Ro'o (23)
  i te taua i te ra'i piri
A una-una Ro'o
  i te taua i te ra'i piri
A rutu-rutu-Ro'o
  i te taua i te ra'i piri

..............................
A fa'i' te io'a o Ro'o
  e tumu taua

Let Ro'o feel sharp pain in the war of the confined sky.
Let Ro'o be pinched (24) in the war of the confined sky
Let Ro'o rage in the war of the confined sky.
[several lines with the same rhythm]
Mention the name of Ro'o and the origin of war. (25).

(22) Henry, 370.
(23) Ibid, 370; a chant with the line a iti-iti o Ro'o i te ata, "Ro'o causes sharp pains in the clouds", according to Henry.
(24) Una-uma, a private sign, such as a pinch; to make some sacred sign, to pinch. Davies, 299. There is a sense here not uncovered.
(25) J.M. Orsmond, Ms. War, 27, 50; my translation.
### TABLE 3
(CONTINUED FROM TABLE 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Te Piri</td>
<td>The Confinement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Te Manu-o-ho'ata</td>
<td>The Birds-of-mirth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Te Manu-e-taha-i-uta</td>
<td>The Inland Birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Vai Te Pau-tae ari'i</td>
<td>Water The Coming Splash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Rairai-fenua</td>
<td>Flat-land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last line entails a punning reference to Te Tumu, an epithet of Ta'aroa who caused the war between heavens and earth during the aeon of confinement, when Tane and his messenger Ro'o, as gods of peace and reconciliation, sided with the earth (26).

Te Piri and Te Mau, the next pair, were perhaps mnemonic for a recitation of the cosmogonic "Chant of the Chaotic Period" (See Table 3) which opens with the lines: *Te Piri, te piri te fenua. Te Mau, a mau te fenua*, "Confined, confined was the land. Held down, held down was the land". The chant concerns the state of the universe when the sky rested on the earth, held down by the giant octopus whose name terminates this section of the genealogy(27).

The three pairs of names that follow remain inexplicable in the absence of a known mythological context, but the meaning of the final pair in this section appears clear. Rairai-fenua or "Flat Land" describes the earth when the sky-shell Rumia was still pressed down on it by the monster octopus Tumu-ra'i-fenua, "Sky-land-foundation", during the dark period(28). The *fe'e* or octopus Tumu-ra'i-fenua was a popular mythopoetic figure for the island of Raiatea which lay compressed beneath the confining skies. The trope occurs in the following lines from the chant of Ro'o quoted above:

```
e fe'e-nui e tere     the great octopus swims [Raiatea]
e vau 'avei o te fe'e    eight tentacles has the octopus [districts]
e iva te pu              ninth is the head [Opoa]
e 'ahurū i te 'oropito and the tenth is its belly [Taputaputa?] (29).
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*Te iva i te fe'e-tere* or "the nine of the swimming octopus" was a poetic designation for Raiatea with its nine districts, Opoa included, that harkened back to the epoch of confinement(30).

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(27) Ibid., 340; my translation.
(28) Ibid., 201,357,405-7
(29) Orsmond, War,28, 51; my translation.
(30) See E.S. Craighill Handy, History, 86-7. Marau Ta'a'roa informed Handy that Te Iva-i-te-fe'e-tere was one of her ancestors, although she could not clearly identify him "due to the confusion in the genealogies". It was an attempt to merge one ancestor, Te 'Iva with a glottal stop, meaning "Sombreness" - with a mythical figure whose name - without a glottal stop - refers to "nine".
The "pedigree" from this point evokes the names, epithets and attributes of major deities of the pantheon and recalls venerated ancient *marae* that survived in the memory of oral literature even if their physical location was forgotten.

The first pair of names are epithetical of the Creator God. Ta'aroa-nui-tu-ava-ava or Great-Ta'aroa-standing-over-the-reef-passages, evokes the mythological episode concerning the god pushing through the sky-dome that encapsulated him, to plant his feet on the earth over the reef passages at Opoa. (See Table 4). One of his feet came down on the spot where a Ta'aroa *marae* called Vae'ara'i or "Foot-from-the-sky" was built, a few kilometres into the valley at Opoa. This was at the ancient *marae* of the original ruling chiefs of Ra'iatea, before *marae* Tapuatapuatae at Matahira Point overtook it in importance several generations later(31). Ta'aroa apparently also broke the reef to cause the pass and the epithet is reminiscent of what appears to have been a popular refrain of the prayer chants: *E Ta'aroa e, fati ava, e fati ava, e fati ava nei*, "Oh Ta'aroa, breaking through the pass, breaking through the pass, breaking through this pass"(32).

The second epithet for the Creator was widely known, as far as the Cook Islands. Ta'aroa-nui-mai-tura'i is a possible etymology for Great Ta'aroa-pushing-through-the-sky. However, a creation chant likens Ta'aroa as Te Tumu in his union with Te Papa, to *te 'uri faro Maitura'i*, "the copulating dog Maitura'i", which suggests a possible morphology as *ma'i tu ra'i* or "with erection filling the sky"(33).

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(32) J. Doom, Ms. E. Puta Tupuna, 6,12,44, passim; translation R.G. White, Tahiti. J.M. Orsmond, Ms. War, 71. Henry, 150, has a chant with a similar opening but unaware of the context, she took *ava*, reef passages, as 'ava, the narcotic drink of chiefs, rendering her translation unintelligible.

# Table 4
(Continued from Table 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name in English</th>
<th>Name in Rarotongan (1)</th>
<th>Name in Rarotongan (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Ta'aroa-mui-tu-ava-ava</td>
<td>Ta'aroa-mui-mai-tura'i</td>
<td>Great Ta'aroa-breaking-the-sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Puna-o-te-moana</td>
<td>Puna-o-te-ra'i</td>
<td>Source-of-the-sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Papa-ua-rea-o-rua-e-ari'i</td>
<td>Papa-'a-o-Fenua'ura</td>
<td>Coral-rock-of-red-land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Ra'i-te-To'oara'i</td>
<td>Ra'i-te-tini-manomano</td>
<td>Sky-of-th-tens-of-thousands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Tane-ua-roa ari'i</td>
<td>Tane-ua-poto</td>
<td>Tane-of-short-rains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Bau-nu'u</td>
<td>Bau-ra'a-atua</td>
<td>Peaceful-sacredness-of-gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>'Oro-matau-tua</td>
<td>'Oro-ma-ahu-ra'i</td>
<td>'Oro-with-the-sky-altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Rua-te-fa'atumu</td>
<td>Rua-te-fa'atoa</td>
<td>Rua-the-brave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Unu-marai-hau</td>
<td>Unu-marai-tapu</td>
<td>Beautiful-board-of-sacredness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Ra'i-te-tumu</td>
<td>Ra'i-te-papa</td>
<td>Sky-the-stratum-rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Ahu-ta'a-i-te-ra'i</td>
<td>Naunau-i-te-ra'i</td>
<td>Desire-in-the-sky</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***

1. The text here has Ta'aroa-mui-taivaiva, meaning Great Ta'aroa-belonging-to-dismal-gloom. This is not a known epithet for the god and probably a mistranscription. See Henry, 336, for Ta'aroa's attributes.

2. This is a popular epithet for Ta'aroa, known also in the Cook Islands. Its translation and context is problematical. Tura'i, to push, shove, batter-down, perhaps in reference to the god's breaking through the sky-dome. Henry, 336, has a mistranscription Ta'aroa-ma-tu-ra'i, as "Ta'aroa-of-the-clear-sky", which seems a dubious translation.

3. Puna, spring, source; also abundance, prolific.

4. Unu, the red-coloured carved boards on the walls of the marae, representing the stars. Marai here taken to be the ancient term for handsome, beautiful.

5. Henry, 247, has Ra'i-te-papa as "Sky-the-prop". The pair of names however entail reference to Te Tumu and Te Papa, The Foundation, who was Ta'aroa, and The Stratum-Rock, the original progenitors of the indigenous cosmogony.

6. Naunau, deeply desired, lingering desire; also elegant, properly, suave. This pair are names of marae.
The next two designations, "Source-of-the Ocean" and "Source-of-the Sky" were, perhaps, attributes of Ta'aroa. Of the two "rock names" that follow, only the first can be identified from extant traditions. Te Papa-ua-mea or Rock-of-red-rain is labelled as o ru'ea e ari'i, "for the investiture of chiefs", and this almost certainly refers to the massive upright slab standing near marae Hauviri, adjoining marae Tapuatapuatea at Cape Matahira-i-te-ra'i, Opoa. (See Map 1, p. 127.) Hauviri was the family marae of the Tamatoa lineage, and Taputapuatea its "national", or more correctly "international" marae that drew pilgrims and offerings from all the adjacent islands. The 3 metre high pillar was also known as Te Papa-tea-o-ru'ea or White-rock-of-investiture. At the foot of this slab the Tamatoa were engirdled with their sacred maro 'ura, or red-feather belt, before being elevated to the top of it to be hailed as god-chiefs by the multitudes. According to tradition, "the rock of investiture was brought by Hiro to establish the sacredness of the chiefs of Raiatea". To Hiro, the culture-hero of this archipelago, was attributed many inventions and fabulous deeds. "Red rain" may have been a euphemism for blood. Red was the sacred colour of Ta'aroa who, in the creation mythology, donated his intestines and blood for the broad floating clouds and the redness of skies and rainbows. The Creator-god was known as Ta'aroa-mea or Ta'aroa-the-red, not only in the Society Islands but also in Mangareva and distant Easter Island where, as at Opoa, high chiefs traced their descent from the deity.

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(35) Henry,120,190,193.
(36) Tati Salmon, Ms. Notes; my translation.
(37) Pomare, 69f.
(38) Henry, 339.
(39) J.M. Orsmond, Ms. War, 47. Alfred Metraux, Easter Island, 310.
Nothing is known concerning the "Coral Rock of Red-land". The designation does not, however, refer to Fenua-'ura or Red-land in Oropa'a, Tahiti. Rather, "Coral-rock" points to the atoll of Fenua'ura, better known as Manuae or Scilly Island, to the west of Raiatea(40).

The next pair are "sky" names of uncertain meaning and contexts. "Sky-for-the-Sky-raiser" perhaps entails reference to the god Ru. After the monstrous spotted octopus Tumu-ra'i-fenua had been killed by the magic of the god Rua-tupua-nui, its dead weight kept the sky compressed to earth despite the efforts of the gods to separate them. Ru succeeded at last in drawing up the sky a little, till it rested on the hills of Borabora and Raiatea, propped up by certain flat-topped trees and shrubs. Ru, in consequence, was known as Ru-te-to'oara'i or Ru-the-Skyraiser. The second appellation, "Sky-for-the-tens-of-thousands" perhaps alludes to the space that came into existence for the multitudes of gods when the task of separating sky from earth was completed by the god Tane, whose epithets follow next(41).

Tane, as the pluvial deity of fertility is designated "of long rains" and "of short rains". "Peaceful-hosts "and "Peaceful-sacredness-of-gods" which come come next perhaps refer to Hau, the god of peace and healing, but more probably refers to the harmony established by Tane when the gods of the sky and earth were at war in the period of darkness(42).

Tane, the god of beauty and peace, is followed by his opposite, 'Oro, the god of war. The juxtaposition is significant. The two deities represented opposing forces in the dynastic struggles on Huahine, Tahiti, Moorea and perhaps also Tahaa, in the history of these islands. As the 'Oro cult spread from Raiatea - promoted by missionaries, the 'arioi society, conquests and marriages to members of Opoa's sacred family -

(40) Henry, 81. Robert Langdon (ed.), American Whalers Pt. VI, 15. J.R. Forster, Observations, 520; in 1773 the Tahitians travelled to Fenua'ura or "the Land of red feathers" a ten day journey by their sailing canoes to trap birds for their crimson plumage, "a most valuable article of commerce".
(41) Henry, 405,410,412f., 465.
(42) Ibid., 145,354.
ancient marae and shrines dedicated to Tane - and others - were converted to the worship of the more recent war-god(43). The disputes witnessed on Tahiti in the early 1800s between the two gods speaking through their priests(44) mirrored the socio-political tensions that arose when the Pomares laid claim to the maro 'ura and supreme status under 'Oro(45). Tane, the father of the Pomare ancestor Temeharo and in 1791 the asserted parent also of the second Pomare, lost his primacy as the family's tutelar deity to the god from Opoa(46). Mythology began to reflect the changes in the political landscape. A refashioned theogony

(43) Henry, 99, 129; Ahuroa, the "national" marae of Tahaa, belonged to Tane. Edmond de Bovis, 50; Ahuroa was later dedicated to 'Oro. On Moorea a number of shrines to Tane were reconsecrated to 'Oro in the early 1800s. Transactions II, 135. Henry Bicknell & William Henry, Journal Eimeo, 1805, S.S.J.

(44) John Davies, Tahitian Mission, 52 [Unspecified Davies references are to his Dictionary.] Thomson II, 77.

(45) See Colin Newbury, Te Hau Pahu Rahi, J.P.S. 76, 477-514, for an analysis of the rise of the Pomare lineage

displaced Tane as the favoured first son of Ta'aroa with 'Oro(47). On Tahiti new mythologies were being evolved around the war-god that absorbed some of the themes in the myths of Tane and other gods(48). 'Oro's prominence on Borabora was more ancient as the island's tutelar deity; his centre of worship was at marae Vai'otaha, Vaitape, whence the 'arioi society originated and where the paramount chiefs wore the maro tea or yellow feather girdle. The earlier tutelar god of the island may have been Ra'a whose marae Farerua was "the second great national temple" of the island(49). The political history of the island appears to have been largely shaped by the contests between the chiefly lineages of the two marae. This genealogy of marae Vai'otaha and Faretai, has two appellations for the war-god: 'Oro-matau-tua, 'Oro "accustomed to the sea"(50) and 'Oro-ma-ahu-ra'i, 'Oro "of the marae platform (ahu) in the sky". Under the latter form he was reckoned the divine ancestor of the chiefs of Vai'otaha. "'Oro-m'ahu-ra'i slept with the woman Hiu, born of them was Borabora-i-te-fanau-tahi from which came the name for Borabora"(51). The mythology of Ta'aroa however offers a different explanation for the origin of the epithet.

The "pedigree" next has the god Rua or "Abyss", as Rua-the Establisher or Founder, and Rua-the-brave. This was the god of physical strength and patron of cockfighting whose "voice from the valleys was an ominous sign for the warrior"(52). He is followed by what appear to be names for

(47) Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-atua, E. Parau no Ta'aroa, in ms. Puta Tupuna; a translation by Emory, Tahitian Creation by Mare, J.P.S. 57, inadvertently omits Tane as the second son after 'Oro. See also [Mare], Documents Ethnologiques, B.S.E.O.17, 548; this is the same comogony by Mare obtained by C.F.Lavaud in 1849, and published by Paul Roussier (see footnote 53).

(48) L. Jacolliot, Une Genese Tahitienne, in B.S.E.O.9, 307-312. Judge Jacolliot obtained this mythology in the 1860s from the chief Roura whose father had been an 'Oro priest. The mythology describes the sibling rivalry between Tane & 'Oro, the sons of Ta'aroa. Henry, 72,73 notes Roura was the chiefly title of the flahaena district..


(50) Henry, 192, has 'Oro-matau-tua as "Oro-inured-to-the-sea". Orsmond, Ms. Dict., 18 & Ms. War, 69, translated the designation as "Oro-of-successive-seasons". Henry's appears the least problematical translation.

(51) Alain Gerbault, Points d'Histoire, B.S.E.O. 5, 73; my translation.

(52) Henry, 376, 384.
the red coloured carved boards that decorated the *ahu* or *masae* platforms.

The recitation next reverts to the beginning of time, with the primal pair Te Tumu and Te Papa already mentioned. The former was an attribute of Ta'aroa who in the Society Islands had displaced the pan-eastern Polynesian Vatea-Atea, as the Sky-Father, husband to the latter, Te Papa, the Earth-Mother. Parentless Ta'aroa was Tahi-tumu, the First Cause or Foundation who inhabited the shell or egg Rumia that floated through the darkness of the empty void. After countless aeons Ta'aroa-tahi-tumu broke his shell which became the foundation of the earth and the dome of the sky. Te Tumu's phallus, Te Apo'i-ra'i or The Curved Sky, reached to Te Papa-raharaha or Rock Stratum and the first of their unions produced the red sands that clothed the earth. Te Tumu also created by calling things into existence, a unique ability in the creation mythologies of eastern Polynesia. Thus Raiatea as "Havai'i became land by the incantation of Ta'aroa". From Havai'i in turn, "sprung forth" Vavau or Borabora which consequently was known epithetically as Vavau-matahiapo or Vavau- (Borabora) - fanau-tahi, both meaning "first-born" land from Raiatea(53).

Although Ta'aroa-Te Tumu came to reside along the River of Darkness or Death, the Polynesian Styx(54), his original form was clearly that of sky god, as he was also known in Tonga and Samoa. The Society Islands

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(54) See pages 48, 49.
lay at the centre of a vast trading and voyaging network that encompassed the southern Cooks, Australs and most of the Tuamotus. Archaeology, linguistics, ethnography and traditions argue for a single central Polynesian culture covering this vast area and extending back to the first millennium A.D. (55). The Ta’aroa Mythology spread to other islands in this region, places where the god retained his celestial form long after he had become a chthonic deity at the centre of the diffusion. Even in distant New Zealand where Tangaroa retained his proto-form as an oceanic deity, a mythology for the South Island elevated him to the status of the first husband of the primordial Te Papa. He was a celestial creator in the Austral Islands (56). In Mangaia, Cook Islands, Tangaroa-the-red, "the scarcely worshipped god of the day", resided in the tenth heaven and the rainbow was his girdle, but Vatea there remained the primal husband of Te Papa (57). In Rarotonga also the archaic god of the sea became "Great Tangaroa of the multiplane heavens", but here "he created the heavens, earth and all things" (58). Rarotongan traditions assign the introduction of Tangaroa as the Creator to the deified culture hero and ancestor Tangi’ia who had been expelled from his homeland Tahiti in a bitter feud with his brother or cousin Tutapu. Tangi'ia first fled to the Leeward Islands and after a lengthy sojourn there he sailed for the Cook Islands with a large fleet of settlers and adventurers that included a chief named Pa from Borabora. Pa was indeed a chiefly title on that island, at marae Farerua in Fa'anui Valley, as Ta'ihia, the Tahitian form of Tangi'ia, was a chiefly title in the Punaauia district of Tahiti (59). According to Rarotongan

(55) Peter S. Bellwood, Archaeological Research, 203.
(57) William Wyatt Gill, Myths and Songs, 12,18,44,78,79,131.
(59) Tati Salmon, Ms.Notes. Tu-nui-e-a'a'i-te-atau, Te Mau Ioa o te Hui Ari'i, op.cit. Te Hui Tupuna o Pomare i Tarahoi nei, in ms. Na Sir Robert Peel. These are genealogies of Punaauia; Ta'ihia whose father was 'Aua occurs at 24 generations before 1800 - counting from the death of Teu in 1803. Allowing for the generally accepted 25 years per generation, this Ta'ihia lived at a time commensurate with the arrival of Tangi'ia in Rarotonga, where the latter's father is recalled as Kaua-nui. The Rarotongan tradition as first recorded by John Williams, Narrative, 51, states the chief came from the Fa'a'a district. See Maretu, 33-7, for what is probably the second recording of the tradition.
genealogical reckoning, Tangi'ia and his band of followers arrived about 1250 A.D.(60). The influx of a new population on that island shows in the archaeological record by the sudden appearance of eastern Polynesian assemblages of adzes and pearlshell fishing gear that is dated to about 1200 A.D.(61).

It was customary for new settlers in the island to build *marae* dedicated to their ancestral gods and name geographical features and lands after those of their homeland.(62). On Rarotonga Tangi'ia is credited with having built a *marae* named Taputapuatea. It may have been dedicated to Koro but if so, this deity does not appear to have gained the same importance as 'Oro at *marae* Taputapuatea of Raiatea. The building of an important Tangaroa *marae* called Vae-rota is also assigned to Tangi'ia, as is the introduction of "the *maro kura* of Tangaroa", the red-feather girdle for the investiture of paramount chiefs at the god's *marae*(63).

The evidence from the traditions of Rarotonga suggest that in the mid-thirteenth century Ta'aroa-Te Tumu was still a sky god in the Society Islands, worshipped at *marae* Vae-ara'i in Opoa where his *maro 'ura* had not yet been usurped by the 'Oro cult at *marae* Taputapuatea. The latter may have been built by the time Tangi'ia left but in the manner of culture heroes everywhere, the Rarotongan ancestor may have been credited with buildings and inventions of later dates. Traditions

(60) Alphons M.J. Kloosterman, Discoverers,44, notes a date range from c.1200 to 1250.
(61) Bellwood, 201.
(62) Savage, 143.
(63) Savage, 120,335. Maretu, 34-8,60,198; Koro is not among the many gods named by Maretu who took an active part in the destruction of many *marae*, including Taputapuatea. Savage, 94, has a curious tradition I have been unable to verify against other sources. A Samoan colonizer named Ka'ukura (in Cook Island maori; 'Ahu'ura in Tahitian) at an unspecified time landed at Raiatea where he established a "royal court" which he named Taputapuatea. At the same time he landed "Tamatoa, the son of Tangaroa, and his clans".
of both Rarotonga and Raiatea tell of a religious alliance between two islands centred on the 'Oro cult at Opoa's Taputapuatea which perhaps had its counterpoint in Rarotonga, but this was long after Tangi'ia had passed into legendary history. Rarotonga's *marae* may date from the time of the allegiance. On the other hand, Tangi'ia was a chief of Tahiti where the traditional deities held out against the new god 'Oro from Raiatea and where the *maro 'ura* remained the sacred symbol of Ta'aroa-Te Tumu until the middle of the eighteenth century and later(64).

Thunder is universally deemed an expression of the procreative powers of male sky gods, or of the divine kings that are their earthly representatives. God-Thunder-Father is a common triad in mythography (65). In Samoa thunder was a sign of Tangaroa(66), as it was also in the Society Islands. The phallus of the creator Ta'aaroa-metua or Father Ta'aroa was termed Harurupapa or Thunder-rock. When he distributed parts of his feather-clad body to furnish the earth and skies, his rumbling belly came to rest in Opoa's valley of Nu'u-te-vao-tapu and was called Haruru or Thunder(67).

In a mythopoeic chant already quoted, Ta'aroa also distributed his jaws to become *marae* at islands "below" and "above" his throat and belly at Opoa (see page 106). Ta'aroa's lower or western jaw became Ahu-ta'a-i-te-ra'i, "Jawbone-wall (or: *marae* platform) in the sky". This is the first of the two *marae* names next recited in the cosmogonic section of the pedigree. Its counterpart is Naunau - of uncertain meaning - and both are often named together in the titles or headings of Borabora genealogies, indicating that the *ari'i* families of these *marae* were closely related by descent and marriage. The two appellations are ancient and perhaps honorifics, and genealogies give their more recent names respectively as Faretai and Vai'otaha. The latter was dedicated to

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(64) Pomare, 53, 69-71, 167, inter-alia. It seems clear from the traditions and legends compiled by Pomare's mother Maraau Taaroa that the *mara-o 'ura* worn by the chiefs of Vaieri and later Punasauia -Ta'ihia's district- evolved from an ancient connection with *marae Vaeaera'i*, Opoa, before 'Oro gained prominence.


'Oro and perhaps Naunau was its name when still a marae for Ta'aroa(68), as it is usually named in association with Ta'aroa in the traditional records. According to one strand of tradition, in the early days of the 'Oro cult, all marae dedicated to the war-god were named Vai'otaha, including Taputapuatea at Opoa which was the source marae for the Boraboran shrine, meaning that the latter belonged to an offshoot or junior branch of the Raiatean chiefly family(69).

The Opoan derivation of the Boraboran marae appears clearly indicated also by the introduction to another version of this genealogy. It represents the primary progenitors as Papa-ua-me'a, female, and Haruru-[i3-te-Vaotapu, male(70). As already shown, the former, Red-rain Rock, was the investiture column at the Hauviru-Taputapuatea complex on the cape at Opoa, and the latter was Ta'aroa's belly, Thunder, which came to rest at or near his ancient marae Vae'ara'i in Vaotapu - or Nu'u-vaotapu - valley of Opoa. Their "offspring" were Fare'tai-Ahuta'a-i-te-ra'i, male, and Naunau-Vai'otaha, female; i.e. the two Boraboran marae. These two, in turn, were the "ancestors" of a line of chiefs whose names or titles all commence with Ra'i or Sky, a line which is the main stemma also of this genealogy, and others as shown below.

Naunau-Vai'otaha's location is still known as having been in Vaitape. However, neither of the names Ahu-ta'a-i-te-ra'i or Fare'tai appears known today on Borabora and the marae's location cannot be established.

(68) Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, 12,13, suggests that Naunau may have been yet another name for the marae that later became Taputaputea under 'Oro at Opoa, the sequence being Naunau-Vai'otaha-Taputaputea. However, the genealogical material seems unambiguous in identifying Naunau as the Boraboran Vai'otaha. See aso Pomare, 51, and n. below. Emory's unpublished Marae Traditions contains much information obtained by Handy from Marau Taaroa. Her daughter, Takau Pomare has since published her mother's manuscripts as Memoirs; some of the information in this work is at odds with that given to Handy and used by Emory.

(69) Henry, 120-21.

(70) A Parau Tupuna no Vaiotaha, no Fare'tai, in Winnifred Brander ms. Society Island Genealogies; there misspelt as "Hanunu te Vaitapu no Opoa". Salmon. History, 3. Pomare, 51.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Raro-ata-i-te-ra'i</td>
<td>Twilight-below-in-the-sky (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Teri'i Auta-i-te-ra'i (2)</td>
<td>Chief Superincision-in-the-sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tu Te Po</td>
<td>Stability the Night/Darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Puna-ari'i</td>
<td>Prolific Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Puna-ari'oa</td>
<td>Puna-Black-Abyss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes:

1. *raro*, downward, westward; *ata*, twilight, also clouds.
2. Salmon, ms. Notes, has this as one of the gods of the *ta'a-raro* or "jaw below", presumably *marae* Faretai-Ahura'a-i-te-ra'i.
3. Ibid., Te Ari-o-te-ra'i as the wife of the mystical "ancestor" Vavau; she gave birth to Ti'ihopu & Taehau-matai (see Table 2.) This information also in his History, 4-5
4. Puna, perhaps the fish god; *puna*, prolific, also fishing ground. Davies, 209, *puna-ari'i*, of speedy growth, a bulky person.
5. Handy, History, 35; Puna was a chiefly title at Borabora and Tutuila, Samoa.
6. Matari'i "Small Eyes" or the Pleiades. See Henry, 332.

from the scant genealogical information. There was, however, a *marae* named Faretai on Maupiti, an island independent "from time immemorial" (71).

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(71) Salmon, *History*, 3, claims Faretai was at Pt. Mautau, Fa'anui. Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, 36, notes that although Ahuta'aite're'i-Faretai occurs in the earliest sections of Boraboran genealogies, nothing is known concerning it. Emory did not include it in his reconstruction of *marae* relationships, since published by Douglas L. Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society* II, 662. Emory notes Marau Taaroa placed Faretai in the Anau district in a list given to Handy. Marau's *Mémoirs* merely note Faretai was one of the oldest *marae* of Borabora. Pomare, 76.
until it fell under the hegemony of the Borabora's "last reigning family" (72). Maupiti also lies "below" Opoa, and thus qualifies as a "lower jaw" of Ta'aroa.

In what appear to be more recent versions of the chant Ta'aroa's "jaw below" Opoa unequivocally is Vai'otaha (73), indicating a loss of tradition concerning Faretai, or perhaps a new socio-political dominance by paramount chiefs at Vai'otaha under 'Oro.

Not all the meanings of the six pairs of designations that follow the Boraboran marae names are clear (see Table 5). One of them, Auta-i-te-ra'i, is said to have been one of the gods of "the jaw below", i.e. of marae Ahu-ta'a-i-te-ra'i or Faretai (74). The same perhaps is true for its accompaniment, "Tu-roa at The Abyss of the Sky", which perhaps entails reference to the place where Ta'aroa pushed through the sky, the dark region near the Southern Cross (75). With the last name in this section, Puna-atu-tau-Matari'i, the pedigree assumes the standard formula of copulating male-female entities, but remains in the realm of the supernatural and esoteric.

Puna-atu-tau-Matari'i (Prolific-from-the-season-of-Pleiades) by his "wife" Hoahoa-i-te-ra'i (Flashings-from-the-sky) engendered Great Ta'aroa and Tane-fenua-roa (Tane-of-distant-lands). The parental sky-referents perhaps indicate an esoteric meaning of context not now known for this "birth" of parentless Ta'aroa (76) and his favourite son Tane. The relationship between these two deities is of interest.

Comments by observers last century that in Samoa and some of the Cook Islands the celestial creator Tangaloa-Tangaroa was scarcely a subject of worship (77) accords with the general phenomenon noted for many religions, that such deities at best have a minor role in everyday cultus. After their initial creative efforts, they become

(72) Henry, 104. Emory, Stone Remains, 170.
(73) See page 106
(74) Tati Salmon, ms. Notes.
(75) Pomare, 49.
(76) Ellis II, 191.
(77) Gill, 18. John Williams, Samoan Journals, 265, inter-alia; Samoans prayed to Tangaloa, but the god had no priests or temples. The general absence of a cultus made the Samoans appear godless to other Polynesians.
deus absconditus if not quite deus otiosus. Mythology retires them to the vault of the sky, a location expressive of their remoteness from the daily affairs of men. Creator Sky-gods invariably abandon mankind to

### TABLE 6

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>f. Te Ra'i = m Puna-atu-tau-Matari'i = f. Hoahoa-i-te-ra'i, of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>m. Te Tumu o Ta'aroa = f. Papa-ua-mea o m. Ta'aroa-nui m. Tane-no Rohutu-i-te-Po, raea, te tumu o te mau marae atoa (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i te Vaotapu, i Te Toa-nui (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>f. Naunau = m. Te Tumu f. Ahu-ta'a-i-te-ra'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>m. Ra'i-te-tumu m. Te Pou-nui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The Sky & Puna-from-season-Matari'i "copulated on the nights Motu, Tireo Turu and Ra'au". Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, 116. Motu, "Severed", the 31st night of the moon, when it has set. Tireo, "Breaking Forth", the 1st night of the new moon. Turu, "Commotion", the 17th moon when "beautiful children are conceived". There were several moons called Ra'au, "Plant", viz. "First", "Middle", and "Last Plant", for the 18th, 19th and 30th nights of the moon. See next note.

(2) Puna and Hoahoa copulated on the nights Hiro-hiti and Hoata. Certain nights of conception or birth influenced the personality of offspring. Hiro-hiti and Hoata nights produced brave warriors. Hiro-hiti was the night the culture-hero and god Hiro was born. Henry, 331,332. Orsmond's annotation to Apo, Huahinean War Chant, in Roussier, Documents Ethnologiques. Hoahoa-i-te-ra'i was the daughter of Te Ari-o-te-ra'i; (see Table 5).

(3) "The Foundation of Ta'aroa, from Rohutu-i-te-Po, at Vaotapu (valley), at Te To'a-nui or The Big Rock".

(4) "The Rock-of-red-rain of Investiture, the source/foundation of all the marae".
the care of lower deities, demiurgic gods, demi-gods or civilizing culture heroes(78).

In the Society Islands the Creator of life became Ta'aroa-tuhi-mate, Ta'aroa-who-curses-to-death, and mythology allotted him residency in the Nether Po, as already noted. In these islands also "Ta'aroa the father of the gods and men was hardly an object of worship though he was always acknowledged the god of existence"(79). He was deemed "too great to be troubled with human affairs and consequently [they] worshipped numerous other gods... the greatest among them was Tane"(80). In the Nether World, Ta'aroa's abode was along the Vai-po or River-of-Darkness, as already noted, which had its typical binary counterpart in the Vai-ora or River-of-Life of Tane. The latter occupied the highest strata of the heavens and he was therefore known as Tane-i-te-ra'i-tua-tini, Tane of the Tenth-level Sky(81). It was Tane rather than Ta'aroa who played an active part in the affairs of mankind. As the god of beauty and perfection, the divine craftsman who had separated the sky from the earth and established order in a chaotic heavens, he was the particular god of artisans, appealed to also by fishermen and long-distance travellers(82). Tane's elevation, or conversely the withdrawal of Ta'aroa was explained mythologically. "Ta'aroa gave Tane his great powers" and "placed Tane in the tenth skies"(83). A mythology obtained from two high priests of Tahiti tells how Te Tumu-Ta'aroa exalted Tane:

| e marae iti tei ia Te Tumu | Te Tumu had little marae |
| e marae nui tei ia Tane | Tane had big marae |
| e tahu'a iti tei ia Te Tumu | Te Tumu had few priests |
| e tahu'a rahi tei ia Tane | Tane had many priests |
| [long enumeration, including drums, altars, red feathers, pillars] | All Tane's power came from Ta'aroa |
| e no roto ana'e ia Ta'aroa | Ta'aroa (84). |

(78) Mircea Eliade, Zalmoxis, 88 & Patterns, 46ff. E.G. Parrinder, Gods in Africa, in Joseph Kitagawa, Myths and Symbols, 112: notes a deus absconditus does not mean a deus otiosus, the latter term coined by Eliade for irrelevant deities.
(80) Henry, 368.
(81) Henry, 368.
(82) Ibid., 179, 146, 180, 368. Orsmond, Dictionary, 16, 46.
(83) Henry, 369,455.
(84) Ibid., 398-9.
Tane fought his own father, Ta'aroa-Te-Tumu, in order to expel evil, gloom and self-destruction from Te Ao-nei, and against his own mother Atea when she obstructed him in putting the skies in order. Ta'aroa's personal artisan gave Tane the necessary skills for the latter task. Ta'aroa also assisted his son in effecting a change of gender between Atea and her husband(85). The peculiar transmutation of Atea, the pan-eastern Polynesian male sky-god, as an initial female deity, reflects the displacements in mythology when Ta'aroa-Te-Tumu became the Creator god.

Apart from Vae'ara'i, no other marae in the Leeward Islands are known to have had an exclusive dedication to Ta'aroa that continued till recent pre-contact times. In the Windward Islands, the Tahitian marae Farepua and perhaps To'oara'i (Outurau) of Vaiai and Papara, as well as Pure-ora of Tautira, remained dedicated to Ta'aroa and this was probably a reflection of the preeminent status of their ari'i that derived from ancient kinship connections with Opoan chiefs that went back to pre-'Oro times(86). Mata'ire'a, the national marae of Huahine, as well as the important marae Manunu, belonged to Tane as did the "national marae" of Tahaa, Ahuroa, before it was rededicated to 'Oro. Tahaa was considered the earthly abode of Tane-fenua-roa from which he was fetched to attend Pa'iatua rituals. Before the advent of 'Oro, Tane "ruled supreme" over many gods at Tahaa, Huahine, Mo'orea and Tahiti(87).

The former reign of Tane as a god of peace and harmony was recalled on Tahiti with a nostalgia that probably stemmed from the increase in human sacrifices and warfare that came with the advent of the 'Oro cult. "All Tane's work was beautiful. He did not slay man in former times." In time however the god did, "develop a taste for flesh and became warlike", but only "in a small degree". Tane began to receive "the homage of human sacrifices", but these however "were not numerous"(88), presumably

(86) Ibid., 128,144. Po'ura of Mai'ao atoll was also a Ta'aroa marae. Oliver II, 883. Pomare, 64-5. Salmon, History, 3, 4; his claims, that Taputapuatea of Opoa and Vai'otaha of Borabora were for Ta'aroa worship, can be dismissed as a reluctance by Papara historians to acknowledge a god who undermined their own status under Ta'aroa.
(88) Ibid., 128, 129, 398.
compared to this form of "homage" under 'Oro.

The period alluded to, when Tane became an 'ai-ta'ata or "man-eater" on Tahiti, was perhaps preserved in a tradition of Mangaia in the Cook Islands. There a priest named Ue arrived from Tahiti's Taiarapu peninsular in the latter half of the seventeenth century, in search of his god Tane. The god had acquired "man-devouring propensities" and "great numbers of persons wasted away in consequence of his anger" (89). As a result "a strong feeling of opposition [arose] ... to the worship of Tane at Tahiti". The priest expelled the god by placing his "shrine" in an empty coconut shell, setting it adrift on the ocean whilst "adjuring Tane to seek a new home in a distant land". Shortly afterwards Ue set out in search of his god, perhaps expelled himself(90).

The "shrine" of Tane in the Mangaian tradition was "the sacred sennit or finely-plaited cocoanut fibre". This type of cordage was indeed deemed sacred to Tane in the Society Islands. Figures of men plaited from this 'aha or sennit were placed on the outriggers of fishing canoes "to give satisfaction to Tane, the god of beauty". The fishermen then prayed "Oh Tane, by whom fish were painted various colours, give abundance of fish". The "various colours" of the fish perhaps "matched" the many-coloured sennit that was probably used. There was a fine, high-quality cordage known as 'aha-mata-tini-a Tane or "many-coloured (literally "many-faced") sennit of Tane" which was used also to ritually bind the first "fish" caught in the "waters of Tu" or battlefield (see page 91 above). Another type of sennit was also dedicated to the god, 'aha-mata-iti a Tane or "small-faced sennit of Tane", which was also of many hues. But this was "peculiarly the sacred possession of "Oro, the god of greatest renown". It was "Oro's "external skin", plaited over the encasement that contained his image. Before this "skin" of the god Tane was placed over 'Oro, a human sacrifice was required. The priest prayed:

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E tupai i te i'a
no te aha-mata-iti a Tane
tu'u mai tona aiai ia 'Oro nei
tu'u mai tona mana ia Tane nei
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Beat the brains of a fish (men)
For the many-coloured sennit [of Tane]
give the beauty of Tane to 'Oro
give the power of 'Oro to Tane(91)

(89) Given that European ships had entered the nearby Tuamotus, perhaps new diseases had reached Tahiti.
(90) William Wyatt Gill, Darkness, 56 ff.
The source of Tane's power had become the war-god 'Oro(92).

In 1769, at Tahiti, Banks learned that Ta'aroa-Tahi-tumu was the great procreator, but "his son Tane was however much more generally called upon as the supposed more active deity". Twenty years later, at the same location, Bligh learned that the Pomares had changed their primary alliance to "the great god Oro" who was "begot they say by Taroah and Heooha-ntyery (? Feufeu-maitera'i (92)], but no others were before him". Ta'aroa was "equally great with Oro, but it is to Oro they make their offerings and prayers"(93). As Henry recorded "'Oro became the tutelar god in later times in Raiatea, Tahiti and Borabora, while Tane remained supreme at Huahine"(94).

The genealogy continues with the offspring of Te Ra'i (The Sky) who was another wife of Puna-atu-tau-matari'i. Her "daughter" was Papa-ua-me-o-ruea, the "Red-rain Rock of Investiture" already mentioned. A gloss states that this was "the source of all the marae", meaning that the chiefly families of leading marae elsewhere traced their descent from the sacred chiefs invested at this column. Given that the maro 'ura (red feather girdle) was anciently part of the sacred regalia under Ta'aroa, the investiture column here also related to the pre-‘Oro period. The "husband" of the Investiture Rock was the creator Te Tumu o Ta'aroa, which can be translated as "The Trunk of Ta'aroa" and as such had a phallic meaning. In the cosmogonic chant already quoted, Ta'aroa's throat and belly as well as his te tumu came to rest at or near his marae at a location in Vaiotapu valley known as Te Poa-mi'o, meaning "The Stinking Throat" — reference perhaps to the putrid smell of

(91) Orsmond, Dictionary, 5,6,16.
(92) The mythology of 'Oro was by no means uniform, a sign perhaps that his exalted position in the pantheon was recent. Bligh's orthography is uncertain, but Ellis II, 192, records 'Oro's mother as Feufeu-maitera'i. Henry, 231-2, has the name as Tu-feueu-maitera'i, but as the wife of 'Oro.
(94) Henry, 189.
rotting bodies brought there as human sacrifices(95). Another gloss has it that Te Tumu o Ta’aroa was "of Rohutu-i-te-Po, at Te Vaotapu, at To’a-nui". These appear to be all geographical references. Vao is the term for the back of a valley, here deemed tapu or sacred. At the back of Vaotapu valley stands a dike chimney called Rohutu, a landmark visible from the marae complex at the cape(96). The cape region was traditionally known as Te Po and perhaps in former times this designation may have extended to the whole of Vaotapu valley. The claims of paramount chiefs in the Society Islands to be descended from the gods in Po thus has both metaphysical and geophysical meanings. The dike chimney Rohutu-in-Te-Po perhaps was another staging post, for the souls of sacrificial victims travelling to Rohutu, the After-World already analysed, the entrance to which was in the Mehani mountain range. Relevant to this perhaps is the name of the mountain at the back of the valleys, recited in the traditional fa’ataratara or eulogising chant for Opoa as Te A’etapu, meaning The Sacred Climb, to the entrance of the Afterworld, higher up in the mountains(97). The last reference, Te To’a-nui or Big Rock, is not now identifiable. Dike chimneys, found throughout these islands, are phallic in appearance and the name may be a euphemism for Te Tumu, perhaps another landmark at the back of the sacred valley.

A shift from Raiatea to Borabora is indicated by the next generations, shown as a "son" and "daughter" respectively named Te Tumu and Ahu-ta’a-i-Te-ra‘i. The former in turn "marries" Naunau. It is likely that this "son" is a post-Christian introduction to conceal what was originally presented as a "brother-sister marriage" between the two marae as shown above. What is claimed in genealogical form is that the

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(95) Te Poa-am’io; poa, throat or mouth; asi’io, stench. Vaotapu or Nu’u-te-vao-tapu has been read to mean "the valley where an aray (nu’u) of mountain dwellers (vao) were taken for sacrifice (vao)" Marau Taaroa in E.S. Craighill Handy, History, 88. Vao, the back of a valley and by extension its inhabitants, considered "rustics" or lower social orders most likely to become sacrificial victims. Tapu, sacred to the gods, by extension a human sacrifice.

(96) Esoey, Stone Remains, 146.

(97) Henry, 95, 194, translates as "the Pervading Sacredness". R.S. White’s translation in J. Doon, ms. Paraü Tupura, 28 inter-alia, as "the Sacred Climb" is more accurate. Esoey, Stone Remains, 149, has Tuatapu, perhaps Te ‘Ela-tapu or "the Sacred Path", a form which appears also on some official French maps. The name however is Te A’s-tapu in all the traditional material.
Boraboran marae Ahu-ta'a-i-te-ra'i (Faretai) and Naunau (Vai'otaha) were closely related and that their chiefs derived their ultimate origins from Opoa; probably in the pre-'Oro period. As already noted, given the absence of information concerning the location of the marae called Faretai on Borabora, it remains possible that the Maupiti marae of that name is the one referred to.

The "sons" of Te Tumu and Naunau were Ra'i-te-tumu (Sky The Foundation) and Te Pou-nui (The Big Post). The later is designated as "the chief at Ahu-ta'a-i-te-ra'i". This should probably be read as a statement that Pou-nui was the chiefly title at the marae. The pedigree continues through Ra'i-te-tumu who heads the stemma comprising Ra'i and Moe names that leads to clearly discernible human ancestors. This is a descent line traced also by the Raiatean genealogy claimed by the Pomare family of Tahiti by rights of its consanguinal ties to the Tamatoa kingroup at Opoa. The opening generations of the latter pedigree to this point are considered next (Table 7).

| m. Uru Head | = f. Hina-tumu-ro'o [-tumu-roro] Hina-famous-source |
| m. 'Iri-te-'apura'i Skin-the-concave-sky | = f. Te Heheu [Te Fefel] The Unfolding |
| m. Te Vae-ari'i The Chiefly Distribution | = f. Te Tapu The Sacredness |
| m. 'Imi-toa Rock-seeker | = f. Te Peva-nua The Supremacy Above |
| m. Marama-i-te-atua Moon-of-the-gods | = f. Noho-ae Be Seated |
| m. Tuitui String together | = f. Roro-fai Stingray-brain |

m. RA'I-TE-TUMU

Source: T. Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*. Brackets contain variations known from other sources. Descent is through the male line.
The "Genealogy of the Kings of Raiatea" as obtained from Mare, the Pomare family genealogist (98), is clearly shorn of its most mythological section. However, an unpublished copy from the same source names the first ancestor as 'Uru of Ta'aroa (99) who can thus be identified as the son of Ti'i and Hina, the first humans created by Ta'aroa-Te-Tumu. According to mythology the children of Ti'i and Hina "became the high chiefs of the maro 'ura, as descendants from the gods in Po" (100). Their first child was a son called Uru-o-te-oo-ti'a, a name said to mean "Head of the House of High Chiefs" (101).

Recorded traditions are silent on the first generations following Uru and there are no genealogical glosses to provide clues. Their names cannot be readily associated with any known body of mythology, although given the semantic density of the language some interpretation in that vein is possible. The names do not constitute chiefly titles now known as such or that can be identified from other genealogies. Therefore, the section from 'Iri-te-'apura'i to Tuitui may well be of the first five chiefs remembered at Opoa's marae Vae'ara'i. The section however appears quite different from the stemma that follows both Tuitui and Te Tumu which has all the hallmarks of a literary composition (Table 8). It seems likely therefore that the Uru to Tuitui section has been grafted on to a preferred descent line.

The succession of "chiefs" named Ra'i or Sky have "wives" called Hina,

(98) The earliest known version of the genealogy was "taken from Mare's copy, 27 November 1846, from Raiatea, by the Rev. J.M. Orsmond", according to Percy Smith who published a copy received from Teuira Henry in 1893. The latter included it in her book published in 1928 but updated with information from several sources, including Marau Taaroa and Charlotte Platt, Henry's aunt from Raiatea. The next copy also came from Mare, obtained by Adairal Lavaud on 16 July 1849. This was first published by L. Gaussin, Le Tour du Monde in 1860, followed by E. de Quatrefages, Les Polynesiens, in 1866, and Paul Roussier, Revue d'Ethnographie in 1928. 5 Percy Smith, The Genealogy of the Pomare Family of Tahiti, J.P.S. 1893.

(99) E Pareu Tupuna no te hui ari'i i Ra'iatea e Atupi'i, in Tu-nui-e-s'a-i-te-atau, ms. Putu Tupuna. This is the genealogy book of Queen Pomare and thus likely contains the version recorded by Mare, the family's genealogist. Esmery made a copy from a copy in the possession of Frank J. Stimson in 1929.

(100) Henry, 403; my translation.

(101) According to Henry, Oa-ti'a as "house of high chiefs" is not in the dictionary. Uru means "inspired" or "possessed", but also "head", as she translated the name for the genealogy, p. 247. Ti'i and Uru as the first human ancestors occur in genealogies for Hawaii, Chatham Islands and New Zealand.
TABLE 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TE TUMU</th>
<th>TUITUI</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. Ra'i-te-tumu = f. Hina-te-umu</td>
<td>Sky The Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Ra'i-te-papa = f. Hina-te-ama-ari = m. Borabora fanau-tahi (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Ra'i-te-meremere = f. Hina-tua-uta f. Teri'i Puea</td>
<td>Sky the Yearning Hins-standing-inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Ra'i-te-hotahota = f. Hina-tua-tai</td>
<td>Sky The Coughing Hina-standing-seaward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Ra'i-e-mate-i-te-niu-ha'amea-'a-Tane = f. Mautu</td>
<td>Sky of death by reddening spear of Tane Hold-standing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| m. MOE-'ITI'ITI |

1. Puna'ai-ari "established the government on Borabora". Her husband was of the Vaitapu district. His parents were 'Oro-ma-ahu-ra'i and Hi'u, see above.

2. U'uvi "was fetched by the chief Ruahē'e (Twice Banished) to be chief of the name Fa'anui, and the Fa'anui government". He was "the ari'i of Fa'anui, the source of the Fa'anui family, marae Farera-Marotetini".


meaning Seed or Posterity, a designation often allotted in mythology and legend to female gods and semi-divine women. The two "wives" called Hina-tua-uta (inland) and Hina-tua-tai (seaward) were minor goddesses dwelling with the deity Te Fatu and his wife Fa'ahotu; the first Hina was the mother of 'Oro(102). Hina-inland and Hina-seaward show the familiar pattern of binary composition, as do Hina-te-unu — named after

(102) Henry, 373, 375.
the carved boards (unu) on the marae platforms, which were crimson coloured — and Hina-tea. Light or Yellow Hina. The first two Ra'i have epithets now familiar; Te Tumu and Te Papa after the primal parents. The last one is Ra'i-e-mate-i-te-niu-ha'arnea-ā-Tane, meaning "Sky of death by the reddening spear of Tane". This mythological reference is to the niu or coconut spear of Tane, a weapon that he used when enraged even against his own mother Atea when setting the skies in order. The "long" or "reddening" spear of Tane was a popular trope in the traditional war chants. Poetically one of the "dark streaks that still remain along the Vai-ora (Milky Way) in the sky" was Tane's spear(103).

Some chiefly genealogies show a shortened form of Tane's weapon; Te Niu Ha'amea a Tane. As such it appears together with Te Tumu and Te Papa in the earliest geographical records for the region, viz. the chart and list of island names obtained from the Raiatean priest-navigator Tupa'ia in 1769. Tupa'ia's chart is a "mental map" and he clearly drew on cosmogony when describing the world he knew(104).

Following "the bloody spear of Tane", the genealogy of Borabora's marae Vai'otaha and Fareitai — which belonged in parts also to the chiefly families on Raiatea, Huahine and Tahiti — emerges from Po, the realm of gods, and enters Te Ao-nei, the world of human ancestors. Genealogical chronology was one of the traditional methods for retaining and ordering the events of the past. The early human history of the islands however is still fanau po or hedged with obscurity. Many of the extant genealogical glosses that apparently served as mnemonics cannot now be explained as the relevant traditions are no longer known. Mythology is a reflection of socio-political realities and the theme of descending and ascending deities as expression of political evolution that is examined next.

(103) Ibid., 368, 458. Orsmond, Ms. War, 24, 41, 51.
(104) R.A. Skelton (ed.), Charts and Views, map IX, as "Tenewhaeatahane". J.R. Forster, Observations, 513, for a secondary version. Only the latter has "O-Toomoo-papa", perhaps from Pickersgill's now lost version of the chart. However, an unpublished list of island names from Tupa'ia recorded by Molyneux, has Otoomooopapa as well as "Ineekaewheatahane". Robert Molyneux, Ms. Master's Log, Adm. 55/39. [NB: AJCP Reel 1580]
CHAPTER FIVE

The predominant theme discernible in the pre-contact history of the Society Islands is the emergence of a new religious cult at the traditional centre of the universe. This cult had political implications for the surrounding islands in that it introduced a new factor in existing situations of status rivalry between the local ari'i kinship units, viz. consanguineal and affinal links with the chiefly lineage sacred under 'Oro at Opoa as a determinant for differentiating the relative ranking of chiefly lineages(1).

At the place where Po and Ao converged the sacred chiefs continued to trace their descent from Ta'aroa, as of old(2), but now apparently through the Creator's new "first born son" 'Oro; although there are no explicit genealogical claims to this effect. A change in mythology reflected a change at the ancient socio-political source of rank for chiefs on other islands. The change at the religious centre involved a transfer of sacred regalia from the divine parent to his war-god son and to the latters' earthly representative whose title, at least in recent pre-contact times, was Tamatoa or Warrior-child. Foremost among the sacred regalia was the maro 'ura or red-feather girdle. It retained the name it had under Ta’aroa-mea or Red Ta’aroa, viz. Ra’i-pua-tata or Sky-of-Reed-blossoms, after the pua’ura or "red blossoms" that appeared in the sky above the horizon as "flowers" on the "reeds" that held up the dome of the sky(3). The introduction to Tahiti of what was probably a representative girdle from Opoa led to the protracted warfare between rival chiefly lineages witnessed by early European visitors and missionaries.

(1) See Colin Newbury, Te Hau Pahu Rahi, J.P.S 76, esp. 477-81.
(2) Daniel Tyerman & George Bennet, Voyages 1,526
(3) Teuira Henry, Ancient Tahiti, 193, 413, (Unspecified Henry refs. are to this).
Varying and contradictory strands of traditions and mythology have been recorded concerning the god and his cultus. The missionary John Davies, a long-time resident (1801-1855) who knew the pre-conversion society, thought that 'Oro had been one of the many renowned warriors to be deified after death. His dictionary preserves the name Tai’au (Ocean Current) as "a god, the father of 'Oro"(4).

The name is known from two other sources. A traditional song of Tahiti’s Papara district refers to 'Oro as "being with Tai’au", a name explained by the wargod’s mythology. Hina-tua-uta (Hina-standing-inland) was "overshadowed" by Ta’aroa, as a result of which she gave birth to 'Oro. But Tai’au was Hina’s husband and he became the metua fa’a-amu, "feeding parent" or foster father of 'Oro(5). No other deity appears to have been honoured with an adoptive parent. With his stepson Tai’au shares an absence from chiefly genealogies but possibly the oral literature retained some memory of 'Oro’s human origins.

A tradition recorded at Raiatea in 1886 from "one of the last old scholars capable of giving it", relates that "at a very remote period, before 'Oro was born at Opoa", the first Ta’aroa marae was built by "the first royal family who sprang from the gods". They called it Tini-rau-hu’i-mata-te-papa-o-Feoro, said to mean "Myriads who engraved the rocks of Feoro"; a somewhat mystifying translation. To the right of the marae stood eight ofa’i manava (memorial stones) "placed there in the dim past, to record the reign of eight successive kings of Opoa and they have stood there to the end of monarchy as symbols of royalty"(6).

(4) John Davies, 24 October 1835: Lang Papers 15. John Davies, Dictionary, 244.
(5) Henry, 81, 375
(6) I give here the tradition as first published by Teuira Henry. A rather more elaborated version appeared in her book published subsequently which reveals her source as the Raiatean chiefess Tu’au (Mrs Platt) who had in turn obtained it from her aged grandfather Tainoa. In the expanded version Henry claimed that the eight memorial stones provided the names for the sacred regalia worn at Taputapatea. However, there are only seven pieces of insignia, all carrying lofty names. The eight item, the investiture column, is only known descriptively as "the rock of investiture" One of the stones carried the name of Te 'Iva, not know as an item of sacred apparel, but it is a chiefly title at Borabora, as Henry also notes. Teuira Henry, The Tahitian Version, J.P.S 82, 77-8. Henry, 120-1.
Upon the demise of the last ruler the warrior-god 'Oro was born of Ta’aroa and Hina. In a manner reminiscent of Ta’aroa’s bounty to Tane, he gave 'Oro "as his dominion, the air and earth, and the great marae as his home". Apparently Ta’aroa kept the ocean form himself. The marae was then renamed Vai’otaha, because the man-of-war bird (’otaha) was the "shadow" or messenger of 'Oro; vai or water being a euphemism for blood. 'Oro soon became a powerful god who delighted in human sacrifices and in decorating his marae with the skulls of slain foes. The Borabora marae Vai’otaha was later founded with a stone taken from 'Oro’s shrine at Opa.

The above tradition as it stands finds no support from any other known source. Mythology and traditions record the first Ta’aroa marae as Vae’ara’i, already mentioned. Tini-rau-hu’i-mata-te-papa-o-Feoro is however mentioned in an unpublished genealogy most likely obtained from the same informant and this is analyzed next for the clues it provides to the possible origins of 'Oro and his cult(7).

The genealogy is entitled Aufau Ari’i no Opoa, "The Chiefly Ancestors of Opoa" and it appears to be a succession list comprising single names (see Table 1). The first three names are described in a gloss as te ari’i teie i mua i te ra’i, "these are the first chiefs in the sky", but they are in fact oceanic deities of the pan-eastern Polynesia pantheon, viz. Ta’aroa-mea, Tupua-te-moana and Ro’o-ma-Ruahatu; the latter combining the names of two separate gods. Their "sky" designation is honorific, expressing their foremost or exalted status. The sequence of names appears to be according to a set formula, as seen for instance in the following war chant recorded in 1825 which has the names in the same order:

(7) The genealogy is found in Henry’s ms. papers held by the Mitchell Library. An almost identical version is in Tati Salmon’s ms. Notes in the Bishop Museum. From Henry’s correspondence with the Polynesian Society held at the Turnbull Library, and from Salmon’s ms. Notes, it is clear that the two shared some information. Salmon’s copy is differently titled, as Parau Arii no Opoa, "Concerning the chiefs of Opoa", and by comparison appears incomplete. T. Henry, ms. Notes on Tahiti and Hawaii. Tati Salmon, ms. Notes. From Henry’s annotations it appears clear that she attempted an identification of the first chiefs with the first 9 generations following Uru on the Opoan genealogy of the Pomares. Salmon’s copy has some additional information that appears absent from Henry’s notes which are very faint.
### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Fatu-moana, Ta’aroa-mea</td>
<td>1) Ruddy Ta’aroa, Lord of the Deep; and epithet also applied to other deities, including Tane and Tino-rua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupua-te-moana</td>
<td>2) Tupua-te-moana, Growth-of-the-deep; one of the first oceanic gods called into existence by Ta’aroa, from his own essence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ro’o-ma-Ruafatu</td>
<td>3) Ro’o, god of clouds and rain, often attached to (ma) Rua-hatu (or:-fatu), another oceanic god &quot;conjured forth&quot; by Ta’aroa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taumata-i-te-ra’i</td>
<td>4) &quot;Eye-shade of the Sky&quot;. (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ava-aitu, Ava-aitu-arau</td>
<td>5) &quot;Reef-entrance of the gods&quot;; aro, long billow or wave. Allowing for hiatus, perhaps ava’aaitu, enclosure or receptacle for a god; a meaning associated perhaps with next name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TINI-RAU-HU’I-MATA, te papa o Feoro</td>
<td>6) The form as recorded in both mss. Salmon has &quot;te papa ia o Heoro&quot; (f/h inter-change). Henry in her book presents it as one long name, for a marae of ’Oro. Tini-rau-hu’i-mata, the name of a sea god, and &quot;the rock of Feoro&quot;, allusion to his abode?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Mata’i</td>
<td>7) The Wind/Breeze.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ro’o-mea</td>
<td>8) Red or Ruddy Ro’o: mintranscription perhaps for Ro’o-mua, First Ro’o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are the persons causing war:
The Lord of the Ocean, Red Ta’aroa
The Lord of Blackness, the blackness of the coral in the deep
Tupua (Growth) of the house of coral
Red Ta’aroa, you caused the growing essence of the deep
with Ro’o-and-Ruahatu (8)

This and other chants, as well as the succession list of chiefs at Opoa, place Ta’aroa in his ancient context as a god of the ocean. This is partly due, perhaps, to the inherent conservatism of oral literary composition which drew on a fixed or popular stock of tropes, allegories and phrases. However, as the Creator-god, Ta’aroa remained The Lord of the Ocean - an appellation also used for other deities - because he "conjured forth" all the major sea gods from his own essence. Of interest among these is the god of fishermen, Ruahatu (Fruitful Source) who was also known under a number of other names. These included Ruahatu-Tinirau (Source of Fruitful Myriads) and Tinirau-ma-aro-e-rua or Tini-rau-of-two-aspects, in reference to his dual form as both man and fish. He lived in the Moana-urifa or Rank-smelling Ocean to the west, between the Society and Cook Islands.(9). Ruahatu clearly amalgamated with another oceanic deity, namely Tinirau. The latter is not evident as such in the recorded mythology for the archipelago. It is therefore curious that his name appears as a distinct entity and appropriately with other sea gods on a chiefly succession list for Opoa, and that he is incorporated in the reputed name of marae said to have been dedicated to Ta’aroa. The manuscript record however splits the claimed marae name in two, as Tinirau-hu’i-mata and te papa o feoro, "the rock(s) of Feoro". The former appears a proper name, the latter a location; perhaps for the god’s abode. The nearest source for Tinirau is the Cook Islands.

(8) J M Orsmond, ms. War, 47; following Orsmond’s translation, Warfare is likened to the destructive ocean, urged to grow or spring up and destroy all in its path.
(9) Henry, 148, 358, 448.
In the Cook Islands Tinirau was the half-fish half-man tutelary deity of fishes and, according to some mythologies, his father was "Tangaroa, the Lord of the Ocean". Tinirau and 'Ina (Hina in Tahitian) were lovers famed throughout Polynesia, from Tonga to New Zealand and Hawaii. Their trials and tribulations were told by fabulous legends and folktales everywhere. (10) - except in the Society Islands. Tinirau and 'Ina had a son name Koro, or 'Oro in Tahitian, who was fond of entertainment and dancing. In Mangaia "he instructed the inhabitants on the mystery of dancing"(11). Traditions concerning Koro are known only for Mangaia. Both 'Oro and Koro thus had limited distribution. That Koro the god of dancing may have had an influence at least on the development of 'Oro, the patron of the 'arioi society that specialised in entertainment and dancing, is suggested by other parts of the succession list, many generations later.

The succession list remains in the realm of the supernatural and esoteric for another five "generations" after Tinirau. One of these generations is a reference to marae Te Paora of Maupiti where the chiefly title was Tu-nui-paia(12). (See table 2) The list then enters the human sphere with the culture hero Hiro, at which point it runs parallel with the genealogies of Borabora and Raiatea. To reiterate, the stemma headed by Hiro and his parents represented the preferred status descent line for high chiefs throughout the archipelago at the time of European contact.

TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Succession List: Opoa</th>
<th>Genealogies marae Vai‘o taha-Faretai, Taputapuatae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tu-nui-paia-i-te-paora</td>
<td>m. Moe-iti-iti = f. Fa’a-haranui-‘oe-hau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Fetu o tairo</td>
<td>m. Moe-re‘are’a = f. Ti’ara’a-‘ura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ro’omua hoatoa</td>
<td>m. Moe-te-ra‘uri = f. Faimano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiro</td>
<td>m. Hiro = f. Vaitumarie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marama</td>
<td>m. Marama = f. Ma’apu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoata</td>
<td>m. Fa’aniti = f. Vairumati, te vahine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To’imata atua ia ’Oro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa’aniti</td>
<td>m. Hoata-tama = f. Ha’amahea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The succession list transposes Fa’aniti/Hoata-tama

The Boraboran genealogy states that it was Hiro’s grandfather who founded that island’s marae Vai’otaha with a stone taken from the marae at Opa. An accompanying genealogical gloss reads that Moetere‘are’a “built the original marae for the eight children and bestowed the name Naunau. This is the meaning of the separation: Naunau, it is Vai’otaha”(13). This claim, if true, would mean that the Vai’otaha marae at Opoa was already established, assuming that the marae sequence there was Vae‘arai’i (for Ta’aroa) - Vai’otaha (for ’Oro) - Taputapuatae (for ’Oro). By genealogical count, Moe-te-re‘are’a lived 19 generations before 1800, or c.1325.

The claim that he founded the Boraboran Naunau-Vai’otaha finds some support from the traditions of Hiro which are consistent in describing his father as a high chief of Borabora rather than Raiatea.

The claim runs aground however on two counts. The genealogy provides details of the various chiefly titles at the new marae and the names of the stone uprights or leaning posts. Some of the latter entail clear reference to Opoa rather

(13) Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, 116
than Borabora. (see table 3). In addition, there is one strand of tradition which ascribes the founding of the Borabora marae to Hiro's great-grandson, Hoata-tama, as we shall see. Although the information is contained in a Borabora genealogy, to which it can reasonably be expected to belong, Emory at least concludes from the names of the marae posts that Moe-te-re'are'a established Vai'otaha at Opoa rather than Borabora (14).

Similar details concerning marae seats for Vae'ara'i, the original Ta'aroa marae in Vaotapu Valley, are contained in the introductory section of a pedigree for Borabora's marae Fare-ahu-rahi which traced its origins to Opoa. (see table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLES AND STONES AT MARAE VAI'OTAHA</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHIEFLY TITLE</th>
<th>NAME OF STONE</th>
<th>POSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moe-te-ra-'uri</td>
<td>'Opu-tane-rua</td>
<td><em>e ha'ai</em>: principal seat, centre seat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mara'a-ari'i</td>
<td>Te Tini-o-te-ra'i,or Maro-te-tini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ave-ari'i</td>
<td>Te Pu-maro-'ura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Atea-nu'u</td>
<td>Te Pua-ia-matari'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo'ari'i</td>
<td>Nu'u-tapu-io-te-hau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu-Pana-atua</td>
<td>Tuhua-itio-ana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te A'arehu</td>
<td>Nu'u-hiva-i-te-ata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Iho-ari'i</td>
<td>Te Pua-pe-i-Hauviri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second stone, Maro-te-tini, is clearly a Borabora reference. Marae Marotetini is said to have been established with a stone taken from Borabora's Vai'otaha. The third stone is pu-maro-'ura, meaning "source of the red girdle", and this can only be an Opoa reference, because the high chiefs of Borabora wore the maro tea or yellow girdle. The last stone translates as "the crumbling slab at (marae) Hauviri" which is the name given to great limestone slab half emersed in water at Opoa, where Emory saw it in the 1930s.

Sources: Emory, ms. Marae Traditions. Pomare, Memoirs, 51.

(14) Ibid., 14. K P Emory, Stone Remains, 146
### TABLE 4

**MARAE SEATS AT VAE'ARA'I, OPOA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Stone</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ra'i-tua-tini (1) no Tamatoa ia, no Taputapuatea ia, e ari'i hume maro 'ura</td>
<td>ha'ai: principal, centre seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Tua-ma-'opu-ma-Ho'ata (2) tei Vai'otahu ia, e ari'i maro tea</td>
<td>to the right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Fatu-turi 'i papa (3) no Mai ia</td>
<td>to the right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Tua o te Fatu-huru (4) te ta'ata ia tei Fa'atai ia. O ia i parauhia ra e, ua-ahu i te marae o ari'i Rata i Fa'atai</td>
<td>to the left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ata-ro'i ari'i (5)</td>
<td>to the left</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) The name is that of Tane's tenth sky, the god's abode. The notation reads: "of Tamatoa of Taputapuatea, the chief wearing the red feather girdle". This does not confirm that Taputapuatea or the Tamatoa title existed at this time; it merely notes both originated from this stone at marae Vae'ara'i.

2) Notation reads: "for marae Vai'otaha, the yellow feather girdle chief". The stone name translates approximately as "the back and belly (or mind) of Ho'ata".

3) The claim is made that this stone "was of Mai"; i.e. the Mai family, chiefs of Borabora, traced their descent to this tone, that is, the original family it represented.

4) Notation reads: "He was the person at Fa'atai, said to have built the marae of ari'i Rata at Fa'atai".

5) This stone founded marae Fare-ahu-rahi of Borabora. The pedigree traces descent through ari'i Ataro'i.

**Sources:**

E Parau Tupuna no Taputapuatea, o Vaearai te marae, Opoa te mataeinaa, in Winnifred Brander, ms. Society Islands Genealogies. Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, 4-5, 16-20.
This pedigree has a brief mythological introduction beginning with Ta’aroa-tahi-tumu (Ta’a-roa-unique-foundation) and his "son" Te Anuanua (The Rainbow). The latter’s "grandson" was Te Ra’i-hoahoa (The Perplexed Sky) whose wife was Te ‘Anoi-fenua (The Confused lands). The sibgroup that comprised their five "sons" were the names of the leaning stones representing the chiefly families that owned marae Vae’ara’i (Table 4).

The pedigree gives Te Ra’ihoahoa’s alternative name as Tane-manava-nu’u, "Tane Welcoming Fleets", i.e. the god Tane who was Ta’aroa’s favourite son before the advent of ‘Oro. Among Tane’s many epithets and appellations were Te Fatu-nu’u, The Lord of the Fleet. Poetically stars were va’a or canoes sailing along te apo o te ra’i, "the concave skieys". The god was known as Tane-hoe-nu’u or "friend of the fleet". As already mentioned, his home was Te Ra’i-tua-tini or Tenth-level Sky and this also was the name of ha’ai or principal centre seat or stone of marae Vae’arai (Table 4). A gloss here notes that the Tamatoa title and marae Taputapuatae originated from this stone (16).

Another gloss for the stone seat second in prestige at Vae’ara’i claims it was used to establish marae Vai’otaha of Borabora and that chiefs there wore the maro tea or yellow feather girdle. The stone was called Te Tua-ma-’opu-ma-Ho’ata, "The Back and Belly of Ho’ata (17). This annotation is supported by a tradition that Ho’ata-tama, the great-grandson of Hiro (Table 2), established marae Vai’otaha of Borabora and there initiated the maro tea as a symbol of his independence from Opoa (18). Ho’ata-tama stands at 14 generations before 1800 or c.1450.

(16) Marau Ta’aroa apparently recorded in her unpublished "Memoirs" that the ha’ai Te Ra’i-tuatini was taken by Te Iva to build marae Taputapuatae. In her published Memoirs however the stone becomes a tarahu, the first stone on the right of the ha’ai and of lesser prestige. Also, the stone was used to establish marae Te Ra’iveteta at Opoa, an early offshoot of the Vae’ara’i family, and there "the chief wore the maro ‘ura and took the name of Teri’i Marotea (sic)". Handy, 86. Pomare, Memoirs, 51. Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, 14-18. (see note 17.)

(17) Marau Taaroa’s unpublished "Memoirs" supported that this was indeed the first stone to the right of the ha’ai or centre stone, and that it was taken by the chief that occupied it to establish Borabora’s marae Vai’otaha. In the published Memoirs it became the prestigious centre stone. Handy, 86. Pomare, 51.

(18) Edmond de Bovis, Etat de la Societe, 23; he calls "Ohatatama" a "son" of Hiro. Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, also notes de Bovis’s supporting evidence.
This combined evidence appears to confirm that Vaiʻotaha, Borabora, was an offshoot of Taʻaroa’s marae Vaeʻaraʻi at Opoa. If this was so, sacred feather girdles, red or yellow, may not have been regalia in the service of ‘Oro rituals at that time. This contradicts claims supposedly derived from tradition, that all marae named Vaiʻotaha were dedicated to ‘Oro, and that Borabora marae was an offshoot of a Vaiʻotaha at Opoa. The latter, it is claimed, later became Taputapuatea during a period of religious expansion (19).

At the time of European arrival the Boraboran marae Vaiʻotaha was dedicated to ‘Oro (20), but this may not have been the case when it was first founded and known, apparently, as Naunau. The possibility remains that there never was a marae Vaiʻotaha at Opoa (21).

If the marae founded earlier by Moe-te-reʻareʻa as Naunau-Vaiʻotaha (Table 3) was at Opoa, it may be noted that none of its seats relate to information known for its source, Vaeʻaraʻi (Table 4). Its second stone name, Maro-te-tini, argues for a Borabora location because the important marae Marotetini is said to have been founded with a stone taken from Vaiʻotaha on Borabora (22). The reference to maro ‘ura in the name of the third stone is not decisive either way, as the term was also used generically to refer to all feather girdles. The last stone name is clearly an Opoa reference, but it could commemorate an incident concerning the half-emerged coral slab there, which may have fallen of the raft that transported it, rather than the slab itself. The problem remains that the stone said to have established Vaiʻotaha on Borabora - bypassing an intermediary Vaiʻotaha at Opoa - does not relate to any information for Naunau-Vaiʻotaha. The evidence from marae traditions appears irreconcilable. Perhaps one of the two founding claims related to the establishment of Ahu-taʻa-i-te-raʻi, Taaroa’s "lower jaw" that later became Fareitai. The lack of information regarding the latter is explainable perhaps by a possibility of fusion rather than fission, i.e. the amalgamation of chiefly kinship units sharing a ceremonial centre in which the subsequent greater fame of Vaiʻotaha overshadowed Fareitai.

(19) Henry, 120-21: she appears the only source claiming a Vaiʻotaha for Opoa. Her information here did not come from her grandfather’s manuscripts.

(20) Faaite, evidence in Doc.11, in R.T.P., Fonds Oceanie: “Vaitape was a sacred place of gods and Oro, one of their gods, was called King of Vaitape”.

(21) Handy, 98, argues for Vaiʻotaha from the beginning, and that it antedated ‘Oro at Opoa. He was apparently unaware of Naunau as an earlier designation for Vaiʻotaha, Borabora. Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, inter-alia, interprets the conflicting sources in the light of there having been a Vaiʻotaha at Opoa.

(22) Pomare, 51
A possible identification for Tini-rau-hu'i-mata-te-papa-o-Feoro is suggested by two of the earliest myths recorded in these islands. The missionary Orsmond on a visit to Borabora in 1818 wrote down a lengthy chant from an old woman concerning the Birth of the Heavenly Bodies. This named most of the major marae in the archipelago as moti or "borders" for the stars. Curiously, the only one named for Raiatea was a marae called Tahu'ea, "Saving Magical-rite". A myth recorded in 1822 concerning the Deluge, when the earth was swamped by the ocean, states that the marae was the property of the ocean god Ruahatu-Tinirau. The name of the marae is brought into association with 'Oro in the baptismal chant recited when a Tamatoa was invested with his maro 'ura at Opoa. It contains the command to "fetch the 'ura (feathers) from Tahu'ea marae". This chant was recorded from a very old man in 1887 and enquiries made at that time proved fruitless (23). There is a tantalising gap in the records.

Evidence for the 'Oro cult at Opoa is clearest in the traditions of the ancestor and culture hero Hiro. He is said to have built marae Taputapuatea (24). However, an anachronism, typical of culture heroes carrying the loads of retrospective invention, is likely if marae Vai'otaha said to have been established by his great-grandson Ho'ata-tama on Borabora, was named after its source marae at Opoa, in accordance with stated custom. Thus, Taputapuatea as such could have come into existence at a later date.

The figure of Hiro, a deified ancestor, appears to have become fused with that of Hiro, the god of thieves known in varying guises in other parts of Polynesia also (25). The missionary Ellis thought Hiro to be at least partially an oceanic deity and called him "the son of 'Oro" (26). As already noted, claims for divine conception were not unusual. In accordance with a general custom of preserving the

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(23) Henry, 191,363,452,454; she has added an extra stanza to The Birth of the Heavenly Bodies that mentions Taputapuatea; this belongs to another chant and is not in the original recorded by her grandfather, which is in the ms. Pinart Papers.
(24) de Bovis, 29.
(25) Tyerman & Bennet 11,235
(26) William Ellis, Researches 11,195,359,371
skulls of 'oromatua or family spirits as part of a kingroup's ritual paraphernalia, Hiro's skull was said to have been kept at Opoa (27), perhaps at the small shrine dedicated to him that was situated in the vicinity of marae Taputapuatea (28).

The marae known as Taputapuatea at the time of European arrival was clearly "the marae of Hiro and the chiefs who succeeded him in the so-called Tamatoa dynasty" (29). Hiro stands at the apex of multiple descent lines traced from him or through his descendants by many of the paramount chiefs of the Society Islands at point of contact, by virtue of their kinship connections with the Tamatoa lineage. Given the significance of the Tamatoa title, as being of the sacred chief at the centre of the indigenous universe, genealogical evidence for it is rather surprising. Virtually all known chiefly pedigrees are consistent in identifying the first chief to carry the Tamatoa title at Opoa as having lived c.13 generations after Hiro, or four to five generations before 1800 (Table 5). (30).

The succession list of chiefs of Opoa is consistent with the descent line followed by the Raiatean genealogies up to the time of the first Tamatoa's grandfather, Tu. At this point the succession list of chiefs at Opoa diverges to a line of ari'i beginning with Te Petipeti that can be identified as being of the Borabora marae of Farerua (Table 6) and it is this lineage that is considered next.

When Captain Cook first arrived in the Leeward Islands in 1769, the name for the island of Raiatea was consistently recorded as Uri-e-tea, meaning Dark/Black-and-Yellow/White (31). The explanation of this is to be found in a

(27) Tyerman & Bennet 11, 254-5.
(28) de Bovis, 29. Emory, Stone, 148
(29) Emory, ms. Marae Traditions, 2.
(30) Henry, 248, appears the only genealogy to identify the first Tamatoa as Fa'aniti. This version was brought up to date with information received from contemporaries. It was first published in 1893, from a manuscript of Orsmond's who obtained it from Mare, the Pomare family genealogist, in 1846. This does not make the identification, and neither does the copy obtained from Mare by Lavaud in 1849. The Pomare family mss. Genealogy book which has Mare's original names the first Tamatoa as shown in Table 5.
tradition concerning an "international" "Friendly Alliance", called Te Hau-fa'atau-
'aroha, centred around the 'Oro cult at Opoa. It is said to have been established
however by a chief called Te Fatu who married into the Boraboran chiefly family
of marae Farerua but who hailed from an island called Rotuma (32).

Rotuma occurs on the map and list of islands obtained from Tupa'ia in 1769
and has been identified by some scholars as being the island north of Fiji (33).
Significant in view of Te Fatu's alleged origins, "the celebrated old seat Reua"
which was part of Tamatoa's ceremonial regalia, was said to have come from
Rotuma which the missionary John Williams thought was Wallis Island (34).
Rotuma is mentioned in several war chants as having been the origin of a new mode
of warfare brought to the Society Islands by "the two teachers". Orsmond thought
it was somewhere to the west of Raiatea (35) and this is consistent with its location
as being one of the Cook Islands. According to Henry, Te Fatu who established the
Friendly Alliance under 'Oro at Opoa came from Rarotonga "with a marae stone
from his island home" with which he established a new marae called Farerua or
"Two Houses". He was "welcomed by the royal family of the yellow 'ura girdle"
[i.e. the maro tea] and married a chiefess called Te Uira - or Te 'Ura in the
published version of the tradition which, through the influence of Percy Smith,
identified Rotuma as the island north of Fiji (36).

(33) e.g. J C Beaglehole in Cook 1,294. Horation Hale United States Expedition,124
(34) John Williams, Narrative, 131,132 & n.
(35) J M Orsmond, Ms War 19, inter-alia
(36) T Henry to Smith, 21 November 1898, in papers of Polynesian Society. From her
correspondence with Smith, Henry was persuaded that Rotuma lay north of Fiji and thus it
appeared in the traditions published subsequently; see 32 above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Succession List: Opoa</th>
<th>Genealogies Marae Taputapuatea, Vai'otaha Etc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miru-Fata</td>
<td>m. Fata = f. 'Utī'utī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m. Ro'o = f. Vaipu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m. Ho'a = f. Vaitea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta'ahue</td>
<td>m. Ta'ahue = f. Motu-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru'utia</td>
<td>m. Ru'utia = f. Vaitura'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu'ui</td>
<td>m. Hu'ui = f. Tupu-heiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'ata-tama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra'a-uri</td>
<td>m. Ra'a-uri = f. Are-te-moe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Petipeti</td>
<td>m. Tu = f. Pupa'ura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tairepa</td>
<td>m. Tautu = Te Unuaeha'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Hau-roa</td>
<td>m. Tamatoa 1 = Te Aoinania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Hau-poto</td>
<td>m. Rofai - f. Marama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ro'o-metua</td>
<td>m. Tamatoa = Te Maihea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu-Taumata</td>
<td>f. Te Tupaia = m. Teu (died 1803)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, Rotuma was a location on Mangaia Island, the only island, as mentioned, for which a legend has been recorded concerning Tinirau's son Koro (37). A Cook Islands' origin for Te Fatu makes his arrival with a stone from his own marae acceptable as these structures are not known on the Fijian Rotuma.

The tradition claims that Te Fatu’s Friendly Alliance under 'Oro divided the world into two parts. All islands east of Havai‘i-Raiatea were called Te Ao-uri or The Dark World, and all those to the west Te Ao-tea or The Light World. Raiatea itself was divided similarly as being uri on its eastern side, and tea on the other side of Te Mehena mountain range (38), hence the name Uri-e-tea as recorded by Cook and others.

(37) W W Gill, Myths and Songs, 166
(38) Henry, 116
It is consistent with this division of the universe that Borabora’s sacred girdle should be the maro tea, as belonging to that part of the world. A sense of balance requires a maro uri for Huahine, but few records are extant for that island and there is no mention of it, explicitly, in the sources, with one possible exception. A chant recorded on Raiatea in c.1902 has the following concerning the now familiar “jaw-bone” marae of Ta’aaroa:

O Matai’re’a te ta’a nia Matairea [marae] is the upper jawbone [Huahine]
Teri’i Mao’ur i te Ar’i’i Chief Black-feather-girdle is the ari’i
A Hau Mo’orere te Hau and Hau Mo’orere is the Government.
O Vaiotaha te ta’a raro Vai’otaha [marae] is the lower jawbone
O teri’i Maro-tea te arii Chief Yellow-girdle is the chief
O taputapuatea te arapoa Taputapuatea is the throat
e Teri’i Maro’ura te arii And Chief Red-feather-girdle the chief (39)

The Hau Mo’orere (Government of Leaping Lizard) of Huahine in the above chant was established by Opoan chiefs named Puara’i and his father Te Mauri; they were “the principal ’oromatua” worshipped on Huahine and the Hau Mo’orere was still in place when Cook arrived (40). Traditions have it that this occurred when the chiefs of Huahine failed to agree on a successor to be paramount over them. They decided to go to the “high priest of ’Oro” at Opoa and “request the maro ‘ura” to be chief over them. A lengthy tradition, a pretty tale, relates how Puara’i from Opoa, a relative of the sacred chief, came over and by trickery won himself the hau of Huahine (41). (see Table 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHIEFS ESTABLISHING HAU MO’ORERE, HUAHINE</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. Ena of Huahine = Te Ehu-e-tu of marae Vaiotaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Mauri of Vaiotaha = Te Upo’o-huitua, of marae Tainuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Vaitoa district, Raiatea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Puara’i = f. Te Upo’o-rautoa, ancestor of Te Ha’apapa 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Teri’i Taumihau = Te Roro’aitara’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Te Iho-tu—mata-nevaneva = Te Puaetua of marae Taianapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Puni, Te Iho-tu-mata-roa who conquered Raiatea: died c.1775.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Salmon, ms Notes. Brander, ms. Society Island Genealogies.

(39) Paul Huguenin, Raiatea La Sacree, 243
(41) J Chesneau, Histoire de Huahine; based on traditions obtained by Marcantonio who had married into the chiefly family of Huahine. Chesneau misidentifies Te Puara’i as Mato, a warrior-chief living closer to the European period.
The 'Oro alliance Te Fatu from Rotuma, probably Mangaia, established is claimed to have incorporated the Cook Islands. When John Williams arrived at Rarotonga in 1823 people recalled how formerly Raiatea and Rarotonga had been united until the gods in their anger over the killing of a high priest at Opoa, had separated the two islands and they drifted apart. Williams recorded he knew of a similar tradition from Raiatea. The Rarotongans enquired after Tangoroa and Koro at Opoa, and some claimed that these two "and all the great gods of Raiatea were from Rarotonga" (42).

Te Fatu cannot be identified clearly from available genealogies but a pedigree of the Boraboran marae Farerua he is claimed to have established with his stone from Rotuma has an ancestor called Te Ari‘i-mai-rotuma, literally "The Chief from Rotuma". It is his descendants who are on the succession list of Opoa at the point where it diverges from the Raiatean genealogies. A genealogical gloss for Te Petipeti (see Table 7) has it that he aere te hau o Tahaa-nui-ma-Raiatea, "Held the Government of Great Tahaa-with-Raiatea". Another gloss claims he "united Raiatea and Tahaa into one kingdom" (43).

These genealogical glosses are substantiated by one other source. John Williams reported on the content of a traditional oration on Raiatea in 1829 which served to remind chiefs at their investiture of the ideal of hau or rulership, as exemplified by their predecessors. It spoke of a chief named Tautu-opiri who established his rule over Opoa during which "the food of peace was eaten". The benevolent rule was continued by his son Te Hau-roa or Long reign, and in turn by his son, Te Petipeti "when delightfull was the peace enjoyed between Great Tahaa and Raiatea". This continued during the next rule, of "Light Heart". This long rule over Opoa ended with the birth of the twins Tautu and Taumata who began to wage war and thus ended the peace established by Tautu-opiri (44). It is likely that the Tautu mentioned was the father of the first Tamatoa. This Tautu’s genealogical

(42) John Williams, Journal of a Voyage to Rarotonga 1823, S.S.J.
(43) John Williams, Narrative, 14. Henry 126
(44) Henry, 261,262. Tu-nui-e-a’a-i-te-atua, Parau note hui ari’i i Farerua, ms. Puta Tupuna
(45) Williams, Narrative, 61
gloss has it that he "fought many battles and brought all the districts of Raiatea under one king" (45). Tautu evidently broke away from the Borabora overlordship based at 

_marae_ Farerua to establish his independence from Hau Tahaa-nui-ma-Raiatea. Taumata also occurs on the succession list and apparently he was a contemporary of Tautu for whom no brothers have been recorded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENEALOGY OF MARAE FARERUA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Mehau = Taputu-ari'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Te Rupe m. Varua-au m. Varuatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the next chief to take over the line is not part of this sib)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. TE ARI'I MAI ROTUMA = To'i-mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Te Pounui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Te Roro-feiapua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Aivarua = Teri'i Mana of Tahaa, <em>marae</em> Ahuroa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. TE HAU ROA = Tamata of Onetari <em>marae</em>, Tahaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. TE PETIPETI m. TAUREPA f. TAURUA = Te Papararahaha Arii Marotea of Vaiotaha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidently long tradition, or at least precedent, of Farerua overlordship at Opoa that may have begun with the establishment of the 'Oro alliance at Opoa by a chief from Rotuma - or Mangaia where Koro was known - was re-established by another Boraboran chief based at _marae_ Farerua. This was the feared warrior Puni who reconquered Raiatea and Tahaa as the possessions of his forefathers, according to tradition (46), and who died c. 1778.(see Table 6) But during his reign strange rumours of outriggerless canoes and weird beings had reached the Society Islands. The traditional cosmos of Po and Ao was about to change.

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(45) Henry, 248
(46) Salmon, History,
In the Pacific, reports of Europeans often preceded their arrival by many decades. The inhabitants of Rarotonga, for instance, obtained information from Society Islanders blown off course concerning "a race ... entirely different from themselves who were quite white and were called Tute or Cook". The strangers had vessels "immensely large" which did not overturn despite having no outriggers. The "Cookees", i.e. men of Captain Cook, had been followed by "the servants of Jehovah" who possessed "sharp things ... with which they could cut down (trees) with"
the greatest facility". These later arrivals had tools with which "they could effect their work with far greater ease" than the Tahitians with their stone and bone implements. A high chief of Rarotonga consequently called his children Jehovah and Jesus Christ after the gods of the whites and a place of worship was built dedicated to Jehovah "to which persons afflicted with all manner of disease were brought to be healed". The Rarotongans prayed to their god Tangaroa to send the whites "to our island, to give us nails, and iron, and axes; let us see these outriggerless canoes"(4).

At some islands, advance rumours of Europeans and the sighting of their ships from a distance led to prophetic conjecture, notably at Mangareva(5), and at Mangaia people speculated that the whites were "the long-lost fair children of [the god] Tangaroa"(6). In the Society Islands where, as in Polynesia generally, "the inspiration of prophets was ...the main pillar of religion"(7), professional oracles delivered predictions regarding Europeans that expressed a curiosity over a rumoured alien technology; a preoccupation reflected also in the later reports of the Tahitians and the Rarotongans. These prophecies were said to have occurred shortly before Captain Wallis of the *Dolphin* discovered Tahiti in June 1767.

One of the earliest recorded prophecy traditions was obtained by J.M. Orsmond in 1823 during his three year residence on the island of Borabora(8). His colleague Robert Thomson who came to the archipelago in 1839 recorded some further details in his unpublished History of Tahiti(9). A more evolved prophecy tradition was published in 1829 by William Ellis who had been stationed on Huahine between 1817 and 1823(10).

(7) J. Davies, *Journal 10th December 1808*, S.S.J.
(10) W. Ellis, *Researches II*, 53, 54.
The predictions appear to have originated from two renowned centres of learning, the districts of Opoa on the island of Raiatea and Haapape on Tahiti. Ellis noted that Opoa was "the seat of their oracle and the abode of those priests whose predictions for many generations regulated the expectations of the nation" (11). According to tradition, the school at Haapape was founded by the Opoan chiefess Toa-te-manava at the time when the cult of the war-god 'Oro was first introduced from Raiatea. It was second in reputation to that of Opoa and among the subjects taught to its aristocratic students was "the folklore of the motherland Raiatea" (12). The interaction between the two centres is reflected by the similarities of their prophetic messages concerning the coming of Europeans.

Thomson's information concerning pre- and early post-contact Tahiti came from people who remembered the arrival of Wallis in 1767 and who recalled "events which have happened in their own days, and ... circumstances which they remember having heard from their fathers". In addition he drew on the writings of his older colleagues, notably his father-in-law Charles Barff of Huahine (13). Ellis, likewise drew on unnamed indigenous informants as well as the knowledge of his fellow missionaries (14). Of all the L.M.S. evangelists, Orsmond was by far the best ethnographer and his early efforts to master "the idiom, the soul of the Tahitian language" and to gather "the old traditionary tales" were greatly encouraged by several of the chiefs. Soon after his arrival in the islands, King Pomare directed him to interview the keepers of oral traditions whose knowledge was to be "written down for your keeping" (15). Orsmond's history of Tahiti was based on "the records as they fell from the lips of priests and bards and other learned natives" (16). He habitually recorded the names and often the status of his informants, together with the date and location of his note-taking, and consequently his informants for the Raiatean prediction, Vai-au and Auna-iti or Auna, can be identified with some confidence of authenticity.

(11) Ibid., 13.
(12) Henry, 75, 129, 130.
(13) Thomson, 1, 12, 14.
(14) Ellis I, 4.
(16) Henry, (1).
Both men are described as former high priests of Borabora but this appears to be in error and presumably derived from an assumption by Orsmond's grand-daughter, Teuira Henry, that as the information came from two ex-priests on Borabora, they were priests of that island.(17). An unpublished Orsmond manuscript reveals that Vai-au was in fact "an old priest of Raiatea" who had written down a number of traditions for him when Orsmond was still living at Tainu'u in the Tevaitoa district on the west coast of Raiatea, prior to his departure for Borabora(18). Elsewhere Orsmond described this informant as a former priest of Tamatoa, the sacred chief of the Opoa district(19). In the early days following the mass conversions to Christianity, several missionaries acquired a personal following who often accompanied them as they moved to other districts or islands. When Orsmond crossed to Borabora to establish the mission settlement at Vaitape, Vai-au apparently followed and, like several other former ritual experts, was elected by popular vote as one of the deacons of the new church on the island in October 1822(20).

Orsmond's other informant, Auna-iti, had once lived near the sacred fare atua or god's house at Opoa's great Marae or ceremonial complex of Taputapuatea(21) and thus had been an important priest of the war-god 'Oro in this district renowned for its prophecies. He may have been the father of another Aunu who was also a former priest of 'Oro at Taputapuatea and one of the first deacons of the church at Huahine and who, in 1823, when Orsmond obtained the prophecy tradition on Borabora was in Hawaii(22). Important offices were usually inherited within one family and a consanguinal relationship between the two former priests of 'Oro at Opoa having the same name seems highly probable. The deacon's father had been a priest of 'Oro(23) and had taught his son the 'long prayers and legendary tales" which were essential to prepare for

(19) Henry, 427.
(20) Orsmond, Journal, 2nd October 1882, S.S.J.
(21) Orsmond, Arioi, 9.
(22) H.E. Haude, The Raiatean chief Auna, J.P.H. VIII, 188-91.
(23) J. Davies, E Paraú no Auna, Te Faaité Tahiti, 25.
office(24). Before his conversion the deacon had in fact been the highest ranking priest of 'Oro at Opoa where, as the head of the 'arisi society, he held the title of Teramanini(25).

Thus Orsmond's informants for the Opoan prophecy were probably well acquainted with the traditions of a holy shrine, widely acknowledged as "the most celebrated of oracles", in the archipelago and the abode of priestly augurs(26).

The omen that stimulated the prophecy was a strong whirlwind that destroyed a venerated old tamanu tree growing within the precincts of the marae Taputapuatea, leaving only the tumu or bare trunk standing. A priest named Vaita became inspired to interpret this in terms of the coming of Europeans(27). A version recorded by Thomson however gives what appears to be an account of a slightly different omen. An unnamed enemy conquered the district of Opoa and "cut down a venerable and sacred tree which overshadowed the marae of their god", leading a priest to predict the imminent arrival of European ships(28). This discrepancy was more apparent than real.

As Orsmond noted, the islanders were "very figurative in their conversation. To a person but superficially acquainted with the language, the natives speak mysteries."(29) This is particularly evident in the traditional pehi tama' i or war songs in which the phenomena of nature such as thunder, lightning and storms were metaphors for battle and destruction. A brave warrior refusing to give way was likened to a fau, "a tree that resists all winds". The island of Huahine, probably in reference to its persistent repulsions of invasions from Borabora, was called a purau "a tree standing on a high hill, resisting every storm". Before going into battle warriors were urged to be as fierce as the puahiohio, the whirlwind that destroyed all in its path(30).

(24) C. Barff, as. Brief Memoir of Auna, 1; a slightly expanded and varied translation of Davies, n23. above.
(25) Ellis I, 315.
(26) Ibid. II, 54, 234.
(27) Henry, 4.
(29) Orsmond, Journal 8 Jan. 1821, S.S.J.
(30) Orsmond, War, 9, 21, 23, 36, 39-42.
Orsmond's aged informants in 1823 probably knew of the allegorical significance of the whirlwind that destroyed Opoa's sacred tree. The tradition was an oral record of events preceding the arrival of Europeans, couched in a sustained allegory employing two distinct figures or tropes - whirlwind, *tumu* or trunk - and Orsmond may not have understood its true meaning. Historical events as conveyed in the highly metaphoric language of oral tradition become obscure or lost in the chain of transmission when unintelligible to outsiders or no longer correctly understood even by indigenous informants. When, decades later, Teuira Henry edited her grandfather's manuscripts, she published a part of the prophecy text without explanation. It seems clear however that the whirlwind wreaking havoc at Opoa was an allegorical reference to the actions of enemy warriors, as Thomson's account of the same event has it. The reduction of a sacred tree to its bare trunk or *tumu* is further allegory. To chop off the branches of a tree and cut out its top, leaving only the trunk standing, was figurative for killing the warriors, counsellors and family of a chief (31). Thus the tradition of a whirlwind that stripped a sacred tree at Opoa was an account of enemy warriors who had killed and driven off the supporters of the sacred chief, leaving him like a bare trunk or *tumu*.

This interpretation of the events at Opoa in fact describes the political situation on Raiatea as recorded in the journals of the Cook expeditions. The island had been conquered by warriors from Borabora who had left Vete'arai U'uru, the sacred chief of Opoa, little more than the bare title and his own district (32). The naturalist of the Resolution, Anders Sparrman, recorded that "the old king of Raiatea" was maintained as "viceroy and chief of the Opoa district" by Puni, the warrior-chief of the invaders whose Borabora appointees effectively ruled the island (33). Many Raiateans had fled their homeland and, as nearby Huahine also had been temporarily conquered by the Boraborans, had found shelter in the Windward Islands (34). Although the sacred chief of Opoa

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(31) Ibid., 50, 51.
(33) A Sparrman, *A Voyage*, 82.
(34) James Burney, *Private Journal* 72. [J. M. G. M. Journal of a Voyage, 62, 63. At the time of contact Huahine had regained an uneasy independence]
had retained his social position. Raiatea and its sister island Tahaa, after three years of intermittent warfare, had fallen under the hegemony of the Hau Fa'anui, the Government or Rule (hau) named after the leading district of Borabora(35).

All but the prophecy tradition recorded by Ellis state that very little time passed between deliverance and fulfilment. Omai or Mai, a Raiatean living in exile on Tahiti, who was taken to England by Cook's second expedition, told Dr. Solander in 1774 that the invasion had taken place "about twelve years ago"(36). A similar date was obtained by Robert Thomson from enquiries into an important political consequence of this invasion, the arrival on Tahiti of a sacred red-feather girdle and an image of the war-god 'Oro from Opoa, the possession and control of which led to decades of protracted warfare in the Windward Islands. Thomson deduced that these sacred objects had been introduced "probably around the year 1760"(37). Evidently news of Europeans had reached the Society Islands by 1760 and something of the nature of the reports may be gleaned from the content of the predictions.

Tena mai te fanau'a 'una'una na Te Tumu
E haere mai e hi'o i teie uru ra'au i Taputapuatea nei.
E tino 'e to ratou ho'e ana'e ra huru no Te Tumu
E e riro teie nei fenua ia ratou
E mou teie ha'apaora'a tahito nei
E e tae mai ho'i te manu mo'a

The glorious offspring of Te Tumu (The Trunk) will come and see this forest at Taputapuatea.
Their body is different (we are) one species only from Te Tumu.
And this land will be taken by them.
The old rules (customs) will be destroyed.
And sacred birds of the land and the sea

(35) Barff I. Magra], 62. Fa'anui, the name of the Borabora district, also designated the island as a whole.
(36) Cook, 949.
(37) Thomson, 17.
There is considerable play on words between the allegorical story and the prophecy around the "lopped tree", the trope tumu or trunk which in the prediction shades into a specific reference to Te Tumu, a member of the Tahitian pantheon, whose glorious offspring would arrive in an outriggerless canoe. Apart from The Trunk, Te Tumu can be variously translated as The Cause, The Origin, The Source, The Root or The Foundation(39).

The same metaphysical referents occur also in the Tahitian predictions for which the sources do not provide a causal event. Orsmond and Thomson recorded merely that the prophecy was delivered by a man named Pau'e and that what he predicted soon came to pass(40). Orsmond noted two versions and the following occurs in an unpublished manuscript:

No Haapape o Pau'e                                   Of Haapape [district] was Pau'e
              te ta'ata i parau maira                      the person who declared
                       e tera mai te pahi ama 'ore               there will come an outriggerless  
                                                          canoe
                       e te fanau'a 'una'una                   and the glorious offspring
               no Te Tumu                                of Te Tumu (41).

(40) Thomson, 32. Orsmond, Dictionary, 12.
(41) Orsmond, Dictionary, 12; my translation. Orsmond has "Pau'e was of Haapape. He predicted before any foreign ship had visited Tahiti, that soon a large canoe without an outrigger will come to Tahiti.
A published and much expanded version of the same prophecy omits the reference to Te Tumu and designated the being(s) in the outriggerless canoes as *te tamari*i a tetua 'una'una, "the child(ren) of the glorious chiefess". In addition Pau'e predicted that the stranger(s) would be *te vehi hia mai te upo'o e tae roa i te 'avae* "completely covered from head to foot" (42), a reference perhaps to European clothing. This version also contains some post-contact elements characterized by an absence of ambiguity and which are transparently descriptive of recent social, economic and political developments. The Tahitian prophet allegedly foretold that

there will come a new king to whom this government will be given and new manners will be adopted in the land; the *tapa* [bark cloth] and cloth bearing mallet will go out of use in Tahiti, and the people will wear different, foreign clothing (43).

This passage clearly refers to the emergence of the Pomare dynasty as the supreme rulers of the Windward Islands, the adoption of new habits with the acceptance of Christianity and the gradual reduction in the manufacture of *tapa* as European textiles became increasingly available from ships. These additions probably represent an inventive response to new circumstances. By forging retrospective links with an exclusively indigenous past, some hereditary proprietorship or claim was asserted over a changing world, in relation perhaps to the perceived superiority of alien agents who brought the new religion, laws, technology, material goods and customs and ideas generally. The new political order on Tahiti, that evolved in conjunction with and was greatly aided by the visits of European ships, was legitimized by the expanded prophecy as having been pre-ordained in the past. By incorporating post-contact

(42) Henry, 9.
(43) Ibid., 10. Henry noted one additional prophecy, perhaps from Ormond although her book contains much extraneous material. A Raiatean priest named Teitei predicted a time when "the restrictions on food for women would cease and they would be free to eat turtle and other food sacred to the gods and men". This was verified with the introduction of Christianity. Ibid., 4.
knowledge, prophecy traditions became techniques of adjustment, attempts to harmonize or unite the old with the new by a generation of people whose lives were radically affected by the processes of change. The traumas of change and the inescapable need to adjust traditional world views would have been diminished by asserting claims of antecedent expectations concerning the potentially disturbing present.

A further function of adjustment seems evident in a version recorded by Ellis which contains no causal event nor any supernatural referents and which has all the hallmarks of a general folktale. From the little information supplied by Ellis, it appears to be a corruption of the Raiatean prophecy recorded by Orsmond. A Raiatean prophet named Maui, after the legendary first prophet-priest,(44) had not only predicted the arrival of a va’a ama ‘ore or outriggerless canoe, but also a va’a taura ‘ore, "a canoe or vessel without ropes or cordage". The missionary commented that

I have often thought, when contemplating the little use of rigging on board our steam vessels, that should a specimen of this modern invention ever reach the South Seas Islands ... [they] would at once declare that the second prediction of Maui was accomplished and the vessel without rigging or cordage had arrived(45).

No steamship had as yet called at the archipelago but reports of such a vessel may have come from visitors or the numerous islanders who had travelled in trading and whaling ships to the American coast, the near

(44) Ellis II, 53, 56, 56. Ellis was unable "to ascertain the period of their history during which this prediction was delivered" but noted that "amongst the native prophets of former times there appear to have been several of the name of Maui". The first Maui, "the founder of religious rites", was clearly a model for subsequent priests and prophets, some of whom were likened to and named after their famous predecessor. One of Poware's ancestors for instance was named Maui "after the first priest". Henry, 430, 431. Henry asserted that Ellis's Maui was the legendary priest.

(45) Ellis II, 56.
East and even Europe. The incorporation of this post-contact element in a prophecy reputedly made before European discovery was probably facilitated by the descriptive similarity of the two types of vessels, one being a conceptual-linguistic extension of the other. Ellis wrote that because the prophecy concerning outriggerless canoes had come true despite strong scepticism at the possibility of such a vessel at the time the prediction was made, the plausibility of the second prediction being fulfilled was admitted by many, even though they could not imagine how "the masts should be sustained, the sails attached or the vessel worked, without ropes or cordage". The same theme was also present in Orsmond's prophecy tradition. The suspension of disbelief in post-contact rumours was enhanced because, given the backing of reworked tradition, in the initial contact experience the original prophecy - based on reports that had some veracity - had come true. Outriggerless canoes manned by strange, though not supernatural, beings had arrived. Ellis noted that a number of other speculations attached to prophecy traditions were circulating the islands during the immediate post-conversion period which seemed even "less circumstantial or probable" than the one concerning vessels without cables. One of the functions of traditions of prophecy in a period of rapid and drastic change is thus suggested: that the absorption of rumours of a miraculous technology and other imponderables lacking the tangibility of actual experience induces a socio-psychological preparedness that may cushion the impact of future events.

Confronted with momentous socio-political events at Opoa, "the metropolis of idolatry" for the Society Archipelago and "the residence of kings [who] ... enjoyed divine honours", and faced analytical bafflement over circulating rumours concerning strange beings in technologically impossible vessels, a prophet-priest delivered a unifying prognostic interpretation of the disturbing phenomena in terms of the supernatural. The identification of the three metaphysical epithets - Te Tuma or The Cause, fanau’a 'una’una or glorious offspring,

(46) The Sophia Jane was the first steam vessel to reach Sydney from London in May 1831. I H. Nicholson, Shipping Arrivals and Departures Sydney 1825-1840, 64. Ellis II, 163.
(47) Ellis II, 56.
and fetua 'una'una or glorious chiefess(49) - provides the key to the predictions.

Te Tumu, The Cause or Origin, occurs in the recorded creation mythologies of many parts of Polynesia and designated the male generative powers of nature whose union with Te Papa, The Rock, his female counterpart, initiated the chain of creation. In the Society Islands however, Te Tumu was identified with Ta'aroa, the Great god of Creation who began the indigenous genesis by command and impregnation(50). Ta'aroa-tumu-tahi or Ta'aroa-the-First-cause was "the cause and origin of the world". He had "neither father nor mother" and since the beginning of time lived in a void in which there was "neither land nor sea". He then formed the vault of heaven and the terrestrial foundation "out of the shell in which his person was enclosed"(51). Although this local evolution of Ta'aroa as a pre-existing god of creation suggests Christian influences, (52) information obtained by Captain Cook in 1774 concerning Tahitian religious beliefs shows that the identification of Ta'aroa as the God of Creation with Te Tumu was an indigenous development. Cook wrote that "the original cause of things [was known] by many names", including Ta'aroa-tahi-tumu, Ta'aroa-the-first-cause(53). Joseph Banks, during Cook's first voyage, recorded that Ta'aroa-tahi-tumu was the "procreator of all things"(54). As the personification of nature's creative powers he was Ta'aroa-metua, Father Ta'aroa, and te metua o te mau atua, the Father of all the Gods(55). The "glorious offspring of Te Tumu" was thus one of the deities created by Ta'aroa.

(49) Fetua, "a girl or young woman, a title given to those of the chief families". 'Una'una,"splendour, glory, neat, decorated, ornamented; splendid, glorious"; sometimes simply translated as "handsome", which seems inadequate. Ellis has "glory or brightness". Davies, Dictionary, 30, 265. Orsmond, Dictionary, 12. Ellis II, 531.

(50) In Mangai and New Zealand Te Tumu is equated with Watea and Rangi. T. Monberg, Creation Myths, J.P.S. LXV, 268-270. Emory, Creation, J.P.S. XLVII, 52, 53.

(51) Mare, Ta'aroa, Document ethnologiques de Lavaud, A.O.M.

(52) Ellis II, 38,39.


(55) Henry, 147, 166, 178.
The tetau 'una'una, glorious chiefess or noble woman, of the Tahitian prediction was probably the goddess Atea, designated as ari'i vahine, "female chief" or chiefess in the religious texts. According to mythology, when this deity was first called into being by Ta'aroa-Te-Tumu it was in female form, and this also is a local departure from the creation myths of other parts of Polynesia. She later exchanged her huru vahine or femininity for the masculinity of the flat-chested goddess Fa'ahotu and subsequently became the male parent of other deities. Prior to this metamorphosis the genealogies of the gods provide two names for her husband, Rua-tupua-nui or Source-of-great-growth, and Papa-tu-'oi meaning Sharp-standing-rock. As Cook noted, Ta'aroa-Te Tumu was known by many names and both of these appear to have alternative spelling appellations for his generative and phallic aspects. As Rua-tupua-nui for instance, Ta'aroa-Te Tumu was invoked by warriors in their paha tama'i or warsongs. All the heavenly bodies Cook recorded as having been created by Ta'aroa occur in the mythologies obtained by the missionaries as the issue of Rua-tupua-nui Te Tumu, Source-of-great-growth, The Cause, and his wife Atea. Thus rumours of alien beings in canoes without outriggers appear to have led to prognostic speculations concerning the offspring of Ta'aroa-Te Tumu and his daughter-wife Atea.

According to the creation mythology of these islands, Atea gave birth to a son who came into the world as a shapeless pu fenue, literally "clod of earth", meaning placenta. After several fruitless attempts by the

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(57) Ibid., 356, 359.
(58) Ibid., 80fn.
(60) Ibid., 364. Henry's footnote states this mythology came from Mahine, an important chief of Huahine, in 1840. Mahine however had died in February 1838. Pu fenue is a pan-Polynesian motif that entails a sense of loathing at the origins of the beings thus designated, in this case incest. The culture-hero Hono'ura for instance who was also born as a pu-fenue an imperfect placenta, was called ri'i'ri'a or disgusting. Beginning life as "aborted or miscarried fetuses", meaning the produce of misalliances, they invariably became "heroic figures". C. Barff, ms. Brief Memoir of Mahine, 2, 56. Davies, 208. Henry, 409. Andrews, 125. B.F. Kirtley, A Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives, 34, 464-67. P.Huguenin, Raiatea la Sacrée, 230. D.L.Oliver, Ancient Tahitian Society I, 412; II, 617.
artisans of various deities, Ta'aroa's spirit finally caused this "shapeless nothing" to assume the form of a "perfectly handsome man". The creator god then gave his son all "the qualities to make him a great god" and bestowed upon him more places of worship, priests, ceremonies and religious paraphernalia on earth than even he himself possessed. The name of this powerful deity in human form was Tane or Man whose exclusive epithet was te fanau'a 'una'una a Ta'aroa, the glorious offspring of Ta'aroa (61).

The prophecy traditions stress that the most controversial component of the prediction was the description of the vessels as pahi or va'a ama 'ore, canoes without outriggers (62). Vaita was reminded by his fellow priests that "men have learned to build [vessels] ... from Hiro", the famed culture-hero, and that "they always have outriggers or they would upset, [so] ... how can what you say be true?" Vaita, Pau'e and Maui are said to have demonstrated the plausibility of such a technically impossible vessel by placing some stones as ballast in a 'umete or wooden bowl which they set afloat on the water (63). The prophetic interpretation of the scanty pre-contact knowledge of Europeans and their vessels by reference to Tane rather than to any other god of the crowded pantheon can be understood in the light of that god's role in the affairs of men. He was patron deity of the tabu'a, the artisans, craftsmen and expert knowers-of-things (64), and was invoked by "people of every class, [who] vied with each other in endeavouring to become the most perfect in handicraft and all manner of work" (65). Especially he was the god of the tahu'a va'a or expert canoe builders who, in their

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(61) Henry, 333, 338, 365-67, 398, 399. In the mythology of the nearby Tuamotu Islands, however, it was Atea who was born as a "shapeless nothing" and who begat "handsome sons and daughters who were called fanau'a 'una'una o Atea". Ibid., 349.

(62) Henry, 4, Ellis II, 55. Thomson, 32. Pahi designated ocean-sailing vessels constructed from sewn boards and va'a canoes generally made from hollowed logs to which side boards and bow and end pieces were added. E.S.C. Handy, Houses, Boats and Fishing in the Society Islands. 40, 41.

(63) Henry, 4, 9.

(64) Tahu'a, "an artificer, a mechanic", according to the missionary dictionary. As Banks noted however, the term signified "a Man of Knowledge", an expert on any subject, a class including priests as ritual experts. Banks I, 381. Davies, Dictionary, 243. Henry, 153, 287, 319.
various ceremonies attending the building and launching of canoes, appealed for his assistance. Their tools were bound with 'aha mata tini a Tane, the multicoloured sennit pleasing to their patron deity so that the god might guide the sacred adzes to perform work of perfection(66).

As the god of artisans and technological perfection, Tane was also te atua no te purotu and no te mea purotu, the god of beauty and all things beautiful. It was said that "All Tane's work was beautiful" and among his handiwork when the universe changed from chaos to cosmos, he settled the heavenly bodies in their fixed positions and beautified the skies with the rainbow, the halo and the coloured layers of cloud. He then lived in the 10th and highest heaven through which flowed Te Vai-ora a Tane, The Living-waters or The Water-of-life of Tane, the name for the Milky Way(67).

The missionary James Fleet Cover, who resided on Tahiti between March 1797 and March 1798, published an account "which the natives give of the arrival of the Dolphin" in June 1767. When the ship fired its guns, they fled in terror, crying out 'e Atua haare mai, It's the god that's come. Fearing their country would be laid waste, "they deemed it necessary to appease the anger of this terrific unknown being, or of the men who had the command, or were under its protection"(68). Ellis wrote that upon the first sighting of the ship they thought that it was a floating island inhabited by a supernatural order of beings at whose direction the lightnings flashed, the thunder roared, and the destroying demon slew, with instantaneous but invisible strokes, the most daring and valiant of warriors.

When they realized that the strange apparition was in fact a sailing vessel they "declared that the prediction of Maui was accomplished". The

(67) Henry, 353, 368, 399, 418, 550. See also Ch 3, page 99 & fn 272, above.
(68) W.H. Gunson, Cover's Notes on the Tahitians, 1802, J.P.S. XV, 217, 220.
recognition of prophetic fulfilment was particularly reinforced when they saw the ship's boats, which closest matched the predictions of va'a ama 'ore or outriggerless canoes. "These being simple in their structure, and approaching their own canoes in size ... confirmed their convictions that Maui was a prophet"(69).

The prophesies were based on rumours of fact and consequently there was some agreement between their content and the eventual contact experience. Furthermore, the strange beings manning the outriggerless canoes and those later following in their wake did have superior technological skills and material goods. The decision of the Missionary Society, later London Missionary Society, to send out "godly artisans" to propagate the Christian message of salvation coincided with the precontact expectations concerning the nature of Europeans in terms of superior technological abilities. The early promoters of Christianity comprised trained wheelwrights, gardeners, stonemasons, coopers, blacksmiths, sawyers, carpenters, shipwrights and boatbuilders and thus in the context of island values and perceptions, they were clearly classified as tahu'a(70). In indigenous religion Tane was the god of the tahu'a, the patron deity of all "those who hewed out canoes, those who built houses [and] those who erected temples", and these were precisely the significant activities that occupied early missionaries(71). Writing in 1825, about a decade after the mass conversions, Orsmond complained that "Missionaries have more need to be mechanical than Classical" and "a Missionary who cannot, or will not, help the people forward in arts ... is called a (Oromedua upaupa ore) teacher without customs", meaning a person of little interest(72).

Island conceptions of salvation or ora were this worldly as was discussed fully in chapter two (see pages 88 & 102 above), but after the mass conversions some of the Biblical metaphors of salvation struck respondent chords with the language of the traditional religion. The

(69) Ellis II, 54,55. Thomson, 27.
(70) W.H. Gunson, Messengers of Grace, 31, 47,345.
(71) Henry, 368, 369.
(72) Orsmond, Journal 28 Mar. 1825. The primary meaning of 'upa'upa is "play, diversion, music and dancing; any sort of amusement". Davies, Dictionary, 302
Biblical message was translated by the missionaries with the assistance of King Pomare and others. Orsmond, when writing to Tamatoa - the formerly sacred chief of Opoa and king of Raiatea - borrowed, perhaps unwittingly, from traditional mythology when he expressed his sorrow for those "who have not yet swallowed the water of life" (73). Shortly after his arrival on Borabora which was the last of the Leeward Islands to receive a resident missionary, Orsmond withheld baptism from an old woman "from prudential reasons". She became hysterical, bewailing that "the water of life" was denied her (74). The missionaries were aware that traditionally rituals were techniques of temporal efficacy that merely required prescribed behavioural observances and consequently stressed that the new ritual of baptism did not entail "any prospect of distinction or temporal advantage". Although they insisted on a "regeneration of heart" as a necessary prerequisite for Christian baptism, many of the first converts "introduced a new distinction" into its meaning by assuming that the ritual "must confer some temporal or spiritual advantage on those who received it" (75). The Biblical "water of life", and similar phrases for salvation, translated as pape or vai-ora - the metaphor of the Tane mythology for water that was "swallowed" by the gods in highest heaven. The new ritual of baptism furthermore had its counterpart in the ceremonies attending the birth of chiefly children who were ritually bathed in re vai-ora a Tane "the water-of-life of Tane". Tane, being a god who, like Jesus Christ, was given human form by a father-creator god (76).

Not surprisingly perhaps, after the conversions the metaphorical language of the people at times expressed associations between the new ritual experts and the god of the old pantheon. Orsmond reported that upon receiving a copy of the New Testament in his own language, one man clasped the precious book to his bosom and exclaimed "I have obtained a great pearl from a deep cavern, given by Scarlet Birds that flew from

(73) Orsmond to Tamatoa, Sept 1820, J.M. Orsmond Letter Book. The metaphor "water of life" and similar phrases occur in Jeremiah 2:13, and 17:13, Proverbs 14:27, Psalms 36:9 and Revelation 22:1,17. Jeremiah and Revelation were translated as te pape ora, the water of life, and Proverbs and Psalms as te tuau o te ora, the foundation or origin of life. Te Biblia Moa ra, 472, 527, 596, 661, 983.
(75) Ellis II, 144, 252, 257.
(76) Henry, 184.
foreign lands across the vast ocean!" Orsmond explained that red or scarlet was formerly a sacred colour and that the birds were the missionaries(77). The traditional deities had their ata or "shadows" that represented them, or served as their vehicles, in the world of mankind. Red birds that roamed across vast oceans however were exclusively the messengers of Tane. His was the far-roaming and "fabulous red sea bird" named Tane-manu (Tane's bird) that "lived in the water of life and Tane"(78).

The interpretation of perceptions evolves from an interaction between new information and an already existing structure of knowledge and beliefs. Consequently no dependency of causality necessarily holds between the pre-contact prophecies and the early perceptions of the missionaries by a generation of people still in touch with their traditional beliefs. The indigenous worldview and belief-system was the underlying framework of reference that yielded the most likely explanation for both the pre-contact rumours and the activities of the missionaries; giving rise to the metaphorical likening of the missionaries to the exclusive messengers of the god of artisans and such technologically impossible vessels as outriggerless canoes.

The problem to be resolved concerns the origins of rumours and reports which led to the prophecies at the time of the Boraboran conquest of Raiatea around 1760. The last known European expedition in the vicinity of the Society Islands before this date was that of Jacob Roggeveen which passed through the Tuamotu atolls to the northwest in 1722. John Byron followed a similar route in 1765 and is of interest because local evidence for his expedition indicates how news of Roggeveen's ships probably reached the Society Islands.

Roggeveen's three ships reached the atolls of Takapoto and Takaroa in May 1722. One, De Africaansche Galey, was wrecked on the windward side

(77) Orsmond, Journal, 29 Nov. 1829, 5.S.J.
(78) Henry, 180, 192, 369, 540. Tane's bird is identified by one text as ruru, translated as "albatross". Davies defined the word as "the name of a large aquatic bird, probably the same as the albatross", a species however which is not red. In some Polynesian dialects ruru denotes "owl", a species apparently absent from the Society Islands. Davies, Dictionary, 236.
of Takapoto. The ensuing rescue operation proceeded from the lee side of the island and involved dragging a sloop across the small strip of land into the lagoon and then sailing it to collect the crew and a few of their belongings. The sloop and boat from the wreck were not taken by the rescuers. As the last of the crew were taken off, five men chose to stay behind on the atoll. Roggeveen commented that these deserters were "driven by drunkenness and wanton lust to have intercourse with the women of the Indians" and were unlikely to see their homeland again(79).

Leaving Takapoto, the Dutch expedition sighted what was probably Manihi, sailed past Apataki, Arutea and Rangiroa and reached the uplifted atoll of Makatea in the southern rim of the Tuamotu chain. Here Roggeveen decided to obtain fresh provisions for his scurvey-ridden crew and sent two well-armed sloops ashore. After some initial apparent hostility on the part of the islanders, the Europeans were received with signs of friendship. The young women and girls "very inquisitively touched the whitest and best-made" of the sailors "all over the bare body". One of the men "let his breeches down and showed what he was made in sex" whereupon the women reciprocated. Understanding that if they climbed to the village women would be available to them, the whites followed a steep path in single file, only to be met with a shower of stones which slightly wounded two of them. In retaliation the Dutchmen fired a volley which wounded or killed eight or nine of the attackers.

The expedition then sailed out of the Tuamotuan archipelago and on 6 June sighted two high islands from a considerable distance. Roggeveen took them for Tafahi and Niuatoputapu of the Tongan group which he

(79) J. Roggeveen, The Journal of Jacob Roggeveen, 120-124. Reports of the shipwreck spread widely throughout the Tuamotus and were long recalled. The naturalist Samuel Stutchbury at distant Hao in May 1826 was told of a European shipwreck at "Tapoto" island to the northwest. His informants asserted that the ship had been thrown on the reef "without a single man on board" but others claimed that the crew were eaten by the cannibals inhabiting the island. The merchant J.A. Moerenhout at Takapoto in 1830 saw some cannon on the reef from a ship wrecked there "a very long time ago". These cannon have recently been sighted near the probable location of the remains of De Afrikanische Galey, a dark patch in the water visible during calm weather. S. Stutchbury, ms. Observations, 126-129. J. Moerenhout, Voyages I, 204, 205. J.M. Chazine, Prospections Archéologiques à Takapoto, J.S.O. iii, 195, 197, 198.
understood from the reports of their discoverer, his fellow countryman, Schouten, to be without water. Consequently he chose to sail on. In fact the islands were Borabora and Maupiti, but considering the distance at which they were sighted it is unlikely that the ships were noticed by the inhabitants (80).

The expedition of John Byron reached the scene of Roggeveen's disaster 43 years later in June 1765. An attempted landing at Takaroa was resisted and in the Melée that followed three of the islanders were shot. The Europeans came across a hastily abandoned settlement and here Byron found the carved head of a Dutch longboat's rudder, a piece of hammered iron and some well worn tools. At Takapoto Byron decided not to land after a sailor swimming ashore was divested of most of his clothing and had to beat a hasty retreat. Byron noted that the inhabitants seemed "prodigiously fond" of iron, a fondness that apparently even preceeded Roggeveen's sojourn as similar comments were made when La Maire and Schouten were at these islands in 1616 (81). Byron then sailed out of the archipelago, sighting Rangiroa on the way (32).

News of Byron's brief visit to the northern edge of the Tuamotu's in 1765 soon disseminated to Tahiti. There Spaniard Juan de Hervé was told in 1773 of events which clearly referred to the Byron expedition although the Tahitians placed them at closer quarters. Hervé learned of a large European ship which had visited Makatea where strangers had killed three men. Three long nails also had come to Tahiti from that island. Hervé was able to establish that the incident had taken place either in 1764 or in 1765, the latter being the year when Byron's men shot three islanders at Takaroa (83).

This locational displacement can be explained by the traditional trading contacts between Tahiti and the atolls to the far northwest. The Tahitians obtained "most of their pearls from Makatea", an atoll situated within two days sailing distance from the high island (84).

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(80) Roggeveen, 148, 149 fn.
(81) R. Langdon, The Lost Caravel, 74.
(82) J. Byron, Byron's Journal, 95-104.
(83) B.S. Corney, The Quest I, 354.
(84) Ibid. II, 189, 300.
Evidently they assigned their knowledge of Byron's expedition at Takapoto and Takaroa to the source of their information, Makatea. Given this local evidence for Byron's brief sojourn, it seems unlikely that the Society Islanders did not similarly learn of Roggeveen's expedition which had, furthermore, also called at Makatea which was in regular contact with the high islands.

The interval between the Dutch expedition in the Tuamotus and the Opoan prophecy was approximately 40 years; but information supplied by the islanders suggest that during this time events intimately associated with but subsequent to Roggeveen's visit may have provided a more immediate stimulus to the prediction made around 1760 concerning outriggerless canoes manned by strange beings.

Between 1772 and 1775 a number of Tuamotuan canoes were blown off course to the Society Islands. Among the arrivals were some people from Rangiroa atoll who had been on their way to a nearby island "to barter their wares". Two of them were questioned by Nicolas de Toledo of the Spanish frigate *Agüila* at Tahiti in 1775, concerning their knowledge of any European vessels that might have been in the vicinity of their island. They claimed that a ship had called at Rangiroa and had entered by the Eastern passage through the reef and anchored, but remained only one day. When the natives beheld her they retired into the bush; they attributed her sudden departure to nervousness on the part of the strangers(85).

Byron in 1765 and Roggeveen in 1722 had merely sailed past this island. The expedition of Le Maire and Schouten had called at Rangiroa in 1616 but had not entered the lagoon and the brief description recorded by Toledo clearly was not of that contact(86).

Rangiroa, the largest of the Tuamotuan Islands, was the only atoll having two passes which could indeed have accommodated European vessels. This, however, was not known at that time and in 1775, when the two Rangiroans were interviewed, no European explorer had dared to

(86) Langdon, 75.
risk his ship by attempting a passage into the lagoon of any atoll so far discovered. Then, as now, Tiputa, the easternmost of the two passes, presented the least problems as far as tidal streams were concerned (87). If the Rangiroan tale were true, somebody on board the European vessel was familiar with the local conditions.

Toledo wrote that this had been the "only visit of a ship like ours to their island" but it is not clear from the report of the interview if the comparison was made explicitly by the Rangiroans or inferred by the Spaniards. Given the problems of communication, both linguistically and conceptually, no reference to size seems necessarily implied. The vernacular terminology, pahi for an ocean-going vessel and va'a or vaka for canoes generally, coupled with some qualifier expressing its non-indigenous construction, need not necessarily have referred to a European ship but could have been a foreign vessel, pahi or va'a of any dimension.

That this visit was a relatively recent event seems indicated by the assumption of the Rangiroans, when learning from the Tahitians of Cook's travels, that the vessel entering their lagoon had been one of the English ships (88). A possible explanation for the Rangiroan account of a European vessel in their lagoon is that all or some of Roggeveen's five deserters had managed to secure one or both boats of De Africaansche Galey before the rescue, or had subsequently salvaged and repaired the sloop and, taking on board some islander(s) familiar with sailing conditions and geography, had crossed to Rangiroa, a distance of approximately 180 kilometres. Their probable subsequent fate is suggested by an incident, discussed below, recorded for another atoll in the vicinity of the Society Islands, some time before Wallis's discovery of Tahiti.

The exact route taken by Roggeveen remained unclear for many decades and consequently persistent claims by Tahitians that a European pahi or va'a had run aground at an island close to Tahiti before 1767 led to assumptions concerning the location of the wreck of De Africaansch Galey. The naturalist J.R. Forster, on Cook's second expedition for

(88) Corney II, 388.
instance, was led to postulate that the remains of the Dutch longboat and iron tools found by Byron at Takaroa had been brought there from the true site of the wreck elsewhere (89). The first mention of a mysterious shipwreck close to Tahiti was made by Robert Molyneux, the master of the Endurance in 1769, who recorded that although enquiries on this point made by Joseph Banks revealed that the Dolphin in 1767 was the first European ship seen at Tahiti, the islanders had nevertheless seen white men before. The Englishmen were told that a European vessel had been stranded

some years ago upon a Reef belonging to a small Island adjacent [,] the crew defending themselves bravely for some time but being either wearied of Starv'd out or their ammunition failing [,] they were at last overpowered & Kill'd every man of them[,] a Canoe coming soon after with two dead men & some Iron Bolts from the Wreck to this Island [i.e.Tahiti] where they [the crew] were so well received that they never since returned Home & I saw two of them some days ago.(90)

Molyneux unfortunately did not record the name of this island but a further record of Cook's first expedition gives its probable location. The source was a Raiatean tahu'a named Tupa'ia who was well-versed in the navigational and geographical knowledge of his people. About 10 years before fleeing to Tahiti, where the Europeans first met him, he had been wounded in a battle against the Boraborans, fighting on the side of Opoa's sacred chiefly family(91). He had apparently been a person of considerable influence in the Leeward Islands where his kinship connections extended to the chiefly families of four of the most prominent marae(92). Under Tupa'ia's direction a map had been drawn of many of the islands he knew of, most of which were unknown to the Europeans at the time. This map contained drawings of three European ships with notations in garbled Tahitian. The gloss accompanying one of the ships when rendered in current orthography reads Tupa'ia ta'ata no pahi mate, meaning "Tupa'ia (said) the men of the vessel (pahi:canoe)"
were killed (93). This had taken place at Anaa, approximately three hundred and fifty Kilometres from Tahiti and situated on the southwestern edge of the Tuamotu chain of atolls.

Molyneaux's journal and Tupâ'ia's map appear to contain the only references to the killing of Europeans at this island. The Bounty mutineer James Morison who lived on Tahiti between 1789 and 1791 also learned of a shipwreck from people who could still recall when the reports first reached them. He recorded that his informants "could form no Idea" of this vessel "but from the description of the Natives of Tapoohoe" [Tapoohoe: Anaa]. Morrison, like others, assumed that this was "where the African Galley, one of Commodore Roggeveen's Squadron was lost", and he noted that "from this island the first iron was imported to Taheita" (94). In the Society Islands the inhabitants of Anaa had a reputation for being fearless and fierce warriors and the atoll was, by all accounts, a singularly bad place to be wrecked (95).

Between Roggeveen in 1722 and Byron in 1765, neither of whom came near Anaa, no Europeans are known to have visited the northwestern region of the Tuamotus. In the absence of any evidence that might account for a European presence in the area a few years prior to Wallis's discovery of Tahiti in 1767, it seems possible that some if not all of Roggeveen's deserters at Takapoto, having perhaps learned of the high islands which had more to recommend them than atolls, set out in search of them in the hope of being eventually rescued. Sailing from Rangiroa, where their brief visit was not unnoticed, they eventually reached Anaa where they met their end.

A Spanish expedition on its way to Tahiti called at Anaa in November 1774. Lieutenant Thomas Gayangos, exploring the shoreline in a boat, observed some evidence of a former European presence not recorded by Cook and Boenecha who had also touched there in 1769 and 1772.

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(93) J.C. Beaglehole & R.A. Skelton, Charts and Views, viii. Beaglehole translated pahi as "ship" and suggested the notation referred to Roggeveen's clash at Nākatāea. Roggeveen's translated journal however reveals that no Europeans were killed at that island. Cf. R. Langdon, The European Ships of Tupâ'ia's chart, J.P.S. XV, 231.


(95) W. Blish, Log of H.M.S. Bounty, 27 Feb.1789. Davies, History, 269. Corney, II, 117
caught sight of a wooden cross, standing on a sandy beach on the inner side of the reef ... It was of moderate size, regular in all its proportions and showed signs of having been erected a long time ago.

The location of this cross on the northwestern side of the atoll is consistent with an approach from the direction of Rangiroa (96). According to Molyneux's information some time lapsed between the wrecking of the ship and the killing of the Europeans (97). The cross may have marked the grave of one or more of the Dutch deserters, buried during this time (98). The evidence for the shipwreck at Anaa shows that this took place not too long before Wallis discovered Tahiti in 1767. Molyneux in 1769 learned that it happened "some years ago" and saw the islanders reputed to have brought the bodies and iron to Tahiti. In 1789 Morrison's Tahitian informants could still recall news of the shipwreck together with some iron reaching their island.

Molyneux's journal appears to be the only source for the possibility that two dead Dutchmen reached Tahiti before the discovery of that island. As that information did not enter the journal of Joseph Banks who had initiated the enquiries regarding European ships before Wallis, Molyneux may have misunderstood. On the other hand Banks's surviving notebooks show that much of his information gathered in these islands was not recorded in his official journal (99). The arrival of the bodies, and the killing of the Europeans at Anaa, which is also recorded on Tupa'ia's map, may have been omitted from the account given to Morrison for fear of European retaliation.

(96) Corney II, 112.
(97) Molyneux, 557.
(98) The cross of Anaa was long thought to have been evidence for Quiros's expedition of 1606, which did not however touch at this island. R.A. Langdon has more recently suggested that the cross is evidence of the San Lesees, a Spanish caravel that disappeared "in the eastern South Pacific in the first half of the sixteenth century". Corney II, 112fn. Langdon, 23, 128, 129. H.E. Maude, Of Islands and Men, 67, 68.
(99) This is evident from even a casual perusal of Banks's notebook and linguistic notes. Banks, ms. Observations.
The timing implied by the sources suggests that after Roggeveen's visit to the Tuamotus in 1722, a shipwreck at Anaa provided the immediate stimulus for a prophecy made around 1760 concerning outriggerless canoes and strange beings covered from head to foot.

Although the islanders interviewed by Banks and Molyneux claimed that the *Dolphin* had been the first European ship to reach Tahiti, contrary assertions were made by others at that time and in later years. The first was made by Tupa'ia, whose map, as well as the foreign vessel at Anaa, contained two additional drawings of ships with associated annotations, plus two glosses which, being without drawings apparently did not entail any claims regarding European vessels(100).

Tupa'ia's map has a European ship at Tahiti with the caption *metua no te tupuna no Tupa'ia pahi toa*, which meant to convey, according to Forster's information, that "Tupa'ia mentioned that in the lifetime of his great grandfather a hostile ship had been there"(101). This mysterious *pahi* was mentioned again several decades later by two of the missionaries. Cover was told in 1797 that "a great many moons" before Wallis "a hostile ship came into the bay on the south-east part of the island", presumably at or near Tairapu peninsular. Cover noted that although an account of this ship had been handed down "by their fathers", no one knew why the ship was designated as hostile; a curious absence of detail. Although the Tahitians claimed a European ship had been at their island before Wallis, they nevertheless initially mistook Wallis's ship for a floating island manned or controlled by supernatural beings. Cover held the view first proposed by Dalrymple, that Quiros's island of Sagitaria, discovered in 1606 was Tahiti and thus the Tahitian claims as to location where the hostile ship had made its landfall coincided with the account the Spanish discoverer gave "as to the part of the island he touched at"(102). Samuel Greatheed doubted Dalrymple's identification of Sagitaria with Tahiti but noted nevertheless that "the place where the Spaniards landed, argues well with the isthmus of Tahiti", i.e. Taravao which connects the main land with the Taiarapu peninsular(103). The missionary John Davies also believed Quiros was the true discoverer of

(100) Cf. Langdon, "The European Ships...", 231.
(101) Forster, 516.
(102) Gunson, Cover's Notes ..., 218 fn 220.
(103) [T. Haweis, ed.], A Missionary Voyage...commanded by Captain James Wilson, viii.
Tahiti and later presented this information to the islanders in his vernacular didactic publication Te Faaite Tahiti, The Tahitian Teacher, which contained a section on European explorers (104). Forster, when confronted with the evidence of Tupa'ia's map, also had supposed that the hostile ship at Tahiti was probably a reference to Quiros (105). Given that some Europeans believed that Quiros was the discoverer of Tahiti, positive feedback seems entirely possible. An example of this process occurs in the Spanish journals. In 1774 Andia y Varela was given considerable detail of Cook's recent travels to New Zealand and other islands by an informant in Spanish employ named Orometua whose information ultimately came from Hitihiti, a Tahitian on board the Resolution. Upon hearing the mention of Byron's name, Orometua asserted that the English explorer had also called at Tahiti "a long time ago". When Andia asked for evidence "in order to put his veracity to the test", his informant supplied convincing and accurate details which could only have come from Cook's people (106).

Robert Thomson argued convincingly against the probability of Sagitaria being Tahiti on the grounds that the details of Quiros's journal were at variance with geographical realities but also because his enquiries into traditions had revealed no collective memories of the visit of a ship about that period... which, as some of the islanders had visited the ship and received presents, is more than probable would have been the case had this been the island visited by Quiros.

The Tahitians nevertheless did have a tradition concerning a ship before Wallis. Thomson wrote that

It is spoken of as the ship Tinoharotini, some individuals say that this was the name of the Capt'n, others that it was the name of the king of the country whence the ship came.

Like Cover before him, the missionary noted that very little was known of this visit. Although Tupa'ia, who was Raiatean, had claimed that the

(104) J Davies (ed.) Te Faaite Tahite, 54
(105) Forster, 514
(106) Corney II, 292-3, 295-6 and fn.
ship touched at Tahiti in the time of his great-grandfather, the information obtained by Thomson from the Tahitians of his day led him to conclude that the event belonged to "the early part of the last century". As Thomson pointed out, the only known European ships in the vicinity around the time were Roggeveen's expedition and according to his informants, news of the Dutch at Makatea had reached Tahiti soon after. He wrote that as a consequence it seemed probable that the claim of a ship at Tahiti was "a corrupted tradition of the visit of the Dutch vessel at Mataea [Makatea] about that period". He also suggested that Pau'e's prediction of outriggerless canoes had been stimulated by the reports from Makatea(107).

As already noted, by 1773 the Tahitians were aware that Byron's expedition had been in the Tuamotus in 1765 but wrongly believed that the scene of the visit had been Makatea, the probable source of their information. Both the Dutch and the English expeditions resulted in the killing of several island people and thus were hostile ships. Although Makatea occurs on Tupa'ia's map under the traditional name of Papatea, no European vessel is assigned to it. This strongly suggests that the hostile ship at Tahiti, about which peculiarly little seems to have been remembered locally, is in fact wrongly placed.(108).

The last European ship on Tupa'ia's map was at Raiatea, with the notation tupuna no Tupa'ia pahi taio which, according to Forster, meant that in the lifetime of Tupa'is's grandfather (tupuna,) a "friendly ship (pahi taio) had been there". Forster noted that no European ships were known to have been in the region at the time "unless one of the ships ofRoggeveen came near this island,"(109). The Dutchmen's actions at Makatea, within easy sailing distance from the Society Islands, cannot however be described as friendly. Unlike the European ship at Tahiti, claims regarding a foreign vessel at Raiatea come from Tupa'iaonly. No traditions appear to have been recorded later of such a memorable event.

(107) Thomson, 29-33. If spelled correctly, the concise meaning of the name Tinoharotini seems problematical. Tino ordinarily refers to the human body but can also designate a person possessed by spirits. Ini, signifies numerous, very many. Recorded meanings of haro are "to smooth the hair", "to skim over water, a certain tattoo marking" and "tight, taut". Davies, Dictionary, 98, 99. Andrews, 57.
(109) Forster, 516. Although tupuna can mean "a grandfather", its primary meaning is "ancestor". Langdon, 229, 231. Davies, Dictionary, 291.
Apparently, unbeknown to Forster, Tupa'ia had given a different story regarding this European vessel to the midshipman James Magra. He had claimed that "in the lifetime of his grandfather "a ship had been completely wrecked at Raiatea. Although the caption on the chart designated this vessel as friendly, Tupa'ia told Magra that, "the few of her crew who were not drowned were killed by the inhabitants". In addition, "the first iron which they had ever seen among them" had come from this wreck(110). All the components of this version - the shipwreck, the killing of the crew and the introduction of iron - correspond to details recorded by Molyneux, Morrison and Tupa'ia's own map for the recent incident at Anaa atoll. Tupa'ia apparently told Magra this shortly after the Endeavour had left the Society Islands. Possibly when the map was later drawn, Tupa'ia was reminded of his earlier claims about a European ship at his home island and, having already correctly assigned his knowledge of the shipwreck to Anaa, felt compelled to affirm his previous assertion(111).

The initial perception of Wallis's ship as a floating island indicated that the Tahitians had no verbal-cognitive ability to classify the phenomenon, which seems inconsistent with the claimed traditions of previous European vessels at the island. The supernatural identification of the prophecies also argues against any previous remembered interaction between Europeans and the people of the Society Islands. The claims of the Tahitians interviewed by Banks and Molyneux in 1769 "that the Dolphin was the first Ship ever anchor'd...or seen at this Island"(112) support the view that the prophecies were inspired by reports of a shipwreck near Anaa sometime before 1760. These reports probably added to speculation on rumours which, given the contacts between the Tuamotus and the Society islands, may even have preceded Roggeveen's 1722 expedition. The interpretation of these rumours was cast in the prophetic language of the Tane mythology, as the appearance of "the glorious offspring of Te Tumu" and thus anticipated the "godly artisans" the missionaries whose teachings contained parallels with the religion of the artisan god.

(110) [Magra], 65,66.
(111) Cf. Langdon, 231.
(112) Molyneux, 557.
CONCLUSION

This thesis broadly explores a number of issues and themes in the traditional culture and history of the Leeward Society Islands which contained the centre of the indigenous universe. As noted, the region has by-and-large remained unchartered territory due to the importance of the Windward Islands in the post-contact history of the archipelago. The thesis therefore contains much that is new to our knowledge of the Society Islands as well as our general understanding of Polynesian culture. The main emphasis of the thesis is on traditional beliefs about the cosmos (Po and Ao) and the shift in cultus at Opoa (Ta’aroa to ‘Oro). In this conclusion the implications of the latter evolution for the political landscape of the region are further examined.

In eastern Polynesia Ta’aroa as the Creator God was confined to the Society and Cook Islands, and some others that lay within the vast trading and sailing network that surrounded these two archipelagos. Elsewhere in east Polynesia the god retained his archaic form as an oceanic deity. Tangaloa was the Creator also in western Polynesia - Tonga, Samoa - and thus a diffusion, perhaps in the post-settlement era, seems clear, either direct from the west or through the Cook Islands (1).

It is noteworthy that in the East Polynesian languages the name Tangaloa has no incontrovertible, unambiguous or uncontrived meaning, whereas in West Polynesian languages one clear meaning of Ta’aroa is Long Jaws. As such, the name connects semantically with that of ‘Oro as meaning "throat" (2). As this thesis shows, the sacred centre of the universe at Opoa was surrounded with symbols of orality and ingestion (stomach, throat, jaws), concentrated around the passage between Po, the Dark Womb or Other-World of the gods, and Ao, the realm of mankind. This

1. See above, 17-19, 128-9, 134
2. Above, 107
dense mythography appears to have been unique for Polynesia, but is known for other parts of the world. Within the indigenous mythological context, 'Oro (Throat) could have evolved from Ta’aroa (Long Jaws) as related symbolisms associated with marae where human sacrifices were offered as food for the gods (3).

Some of the early missionaries however thought that 'Oro, the god of warriors, might have been a deified warrior chief of Opoa (4). His apotheosis as Ta’aroa’s favourite son thus could have been a mythological reflection of a socio-political change at the sacred centre, viz. a new chiefly dynasty with an oromataua or ancestral family god named 'Oro. An example of this is known for Huahine where the two founders of a new chiefly-dynasty - originating from Opoa - became the tutelar deities of the island (5). A possible basis for posthumous deification of a warrior chief also was the general belief that the first-born children of chiefly families were engendered by the gods (6). Such a possibility for 'Oro’s origins as a god at Opoa is suggested by references in the extant traditional literature to the god’s "feeding parent" (foster parent) named Taiau, his "real" parents being Ta’aroa and the demi-goddess Hina (7). Nothing further is known concerning Tai’au and no other gods appear to have been furnished with such a provider.

A dynastic change at Opoa is suggested by some of the extant mythology and traditions. Before 'Oro was born at Opoa - i.e. before the rise of a new chiefly dynasty - eight "kings" based at Ta’aroa’s marae reigned over the land. These chiefs were represented by eight leaning stones, the names of which were later transferred to 'Oro’s sacred regalia, including that of the maro 'ura which, as we have seen, was originally Ta’aroa’s sacred belt (8). The name of the marae was Tini-rau-hui-mata-te-papa-o-Feoro. A traditional context is not know known for this

3. Above, 45-7, 60, 104-5, 131-4
4. Above, 45, 46
5. Above, 45
6. Above, 55
7. Above, 55, 146
8. Above, 130
name, but it incorporates that of the sea god Tinirau and probably entails reference to a location, The Rocks of Feoro. Ta’aroa gave his marae to 'Oro - a transfer of power or rank, who soon waxed great as his fame spread to the surrounding islands. With this growth in prestige came a name change for the marae, to Vai’otaha. This became the name for all 'Oro marae that were its offshoots, through the process of fission (9). That of Borabora is said to have been the first established in this way (10).

The oceanic god Tinirau is widely distributed throughout Polynesia but is known for the Society Islands only as an epithet of another sea god, as Ruahatu-tinirau. A manuscript succession list purported to be of chiefs at Opoa has the marae - or god’s - name among the introductory oceanic deities which include Te Fatu Moana Ta’aroa-mea, The Lord of the Ocean Ruddy-Ta’aroa. This is the archaic form of Ta’aroa as a god of the sea to whom all red fish were dedicated (11).

The nearest source in east Polynesia for Tinirau was his earthly abode, the island of Mangaia. As noted, the mythology of the island provided him with a son named Koro - 'Oro in Tahitian - and a part of the island was known as "the land of Koro". Tinirau and his family resided on Motu-tapu, Sacred Island, one of the reef islands. The Mangaian mythology has it that Koro was a "dancing master", an attribute most befitting the Leeward Islands' 'Oro as the founder of the 'arioi society.

Traditions have it that the 'Oro cult had its widest influence during a "Friendly Alliance" that encompassed all the surrounding islands including the Cooks. During this period human sacrifices were brought to 'Oro’s marae at Opoa from many islands, and priests gathered there for annual religious ceremonies. Associated with this Alliance was a division of the universe, unique in Polynesia, according to a triadic colour scheme. Red, the pan-Polynesian colour of sacredness, was the colour

9. Above, 112
10. T Henry, Ancient Tahiti, 120-1
11. Above, 147ff
for Opoa as the sacred centre of the universe where the chief of 'Oro wore the red-feather girdle during high rituals such as the Pai'atua (12). The spinal mountain range of Raiatea divided the rest of the universe into two halves; to the west was Ao-tea, the 'Light-coloured World' and to the east was Ao-uri, the "Dark-coloured World". Chiefs at Borabora's Vai'otaha accordingly wore the maro tea or yellow-feather girdle. The thesis argues that the paramount chiefs of Huahine appropriately wore a maro uri or black-feather girdle (13). The Friendly Alliance broke up when a high-priest from the Aotea region was killed in a dispute at Opoa by a chief from Aouri. The existence of this religious alliance was confirmed at Rarotonga when the missionary John Williams first arrived there in 1823. Significantly, the Rarotongans at that time claimed that Ta'aroa, 'Oro and "all the great gods of Raiatea" had come from their own archipelago (14).

This Friendly Alliance is said to have been established by a chief foreign to the Society Islands. His name was Te Fatu, the Lord, and he hailed from an island called Rotuma. When the Alliance broke up the Aotea party fled back whence they had come, to Rotuma (15). There was a location by that name on Mangaia, "the land of Koro". The Borabora islet of Motu-tapu, a name found throughout Polynesia, is said to have been thus called "after the Friendly Alliance" (16), an explanation lacking significance without reference to the abode of Tinirau and Koro on Mangaia mentioned above. The conclusion that 'Oro was introduced by a chief from Mangaia appears undeniable. 'Oro as a son of Ta'aroa and Hina is known only for the Society Islands; on Mangaia Koro was the son of Tinirau and Hina.

Te Fatu married into one of the chiefly families at marae Farerua which under the Friendly Alliance he established became "the second great national temple" of Borabora, after Vai'otaha. The Fatu is also said to have introduced a new chiefly

12. Henry, 122ff
13. Above, 159-161
14. Above, 10, 158, 161
15. Above, 11
16. Henry, 103 W W Gill, Myths and Songs, 104
Neither Te Fatu nor his Farerua wife Te 'Ura can be identified on the several genealogies known for that marae. It is therefore not possible to assign a place to Te Fatu from Rotuma, or his Friendly Alliance, on any genealogical framework that might suggest an approximate period for this important episode in the evolution of the 'Oro cult. Genealogies and traditions combined throw some light however on its likely diffusion to some of the Society Islands.

The displacement of Tane and other gods by 'Oro as the favourite son of Ta'aaroa was a process beginning to take place in the Windward Islands at the time when Europeans first arrived in 1767 (18). The missionary Thomson associated the arrival of the cult with the introduction of the 'arioi society which he believed took place during the lifetime of the first Pomare's grandfather, or as recent as 1730 or 1740. To fulfill a deathbed wish of the chief of the 'arioi society at Opoa, his friend Mahi introduced the "strolling players" to Tahiti (19). John Davies thought the 'Oro cult itself arose at Opoa during the 17th century and arrived on Tahiti during the latter half of the 17th century or early 18th century (20). Henry, from her grandfather's manuscripts, published two traditions concerning the introduction of the 'Oro cult to the Windward Islands. In the first, a party of 'Oro priests were sent by Tamatoa as missionaries from Opoa with a stone from marae Taputapuatea with which to establish a marae on Tahiti. This attempt failed, but a later party of 'Oro "zealots" succeeded in getting a foothold with marae Taputapuatea on Taiarapu peninsula. In the other tradition, the first Tamatoa, as 'Oro's incarnation and the first 'arioi on this earth, charged his friend Mahi to introduce the 'arioi society to the Windward Islands. In this Mahi succeeded (21). As noted in the thesis, only

17. Henry, 122
18. Above, 125-7, 138, 145
Henry identifies the first Tamatoa with Fa’aniti, a grandson of the culture hero Hiro. All other sources name the first Tamatoa as the son of the Opoan chief Tautu who is said to have united Raiatea under him (22). Tamatoa, the son of Tautu, according to all genealogies lived four generations from Teu, the father of Pomare 1 who died in 1803. The time thus indicated, c.1650-1700, is consistent with the missionary sources (Table 1).

Perhaps 'Oro’s arrival in the Windward Islands represented a renewed expansionary "Tamatoa phase", associated with the establishment of Tamatoa as a new sacred title at Opoa, following Tautu’s unification of Raiatea. The Windward islands were probably not part of Te Fatu’s Friendly Alliance. As noted, the intense status rivalry witnessed by Europeans on Tahiti resulted from the relatively recent introduction of a maro’ura of 'Oro. This disturbed a more ancient hierarchy in which the rights to a sacred red feather girdle derived from connections with Ta’aroa’s marae Vaeara’i at Opoa, before the emergence of 'Oro (23).

The probable introduction of the 'Oro cult to Huahine can be established from available genealogies and traditions. A traditional chant that enumerates the various "jaw-bone" marae in the Leeward Islands has it that the "upper jaw" of Ta’aroa rested on marae Mataire’a, where the Hau Mo’orere was the government and its chiefs wore the maro’uri or black-feather girdle. As noted, this is the only source now known for a sacred girdle at Huahine, but the hue is consistent with the "colour-coding" of the universe already mentioned (24). The hau Mo’orere was established at a time when an earlier government dissolved into contesting factions. At last the chiefs decided to send to Opoa and ask the highpriest of 'Oro for a "maro’ura to be chief over them". A chief named Puara’i was one of two chiefs related to the sacred family at Opoa who came across and he won the contest by stealth (25). Puara’i and Te Mauri were the 'oromatua or ancestral tutelar deities on

22. See above, 157. The tradition concerning Mahi survives in J M Orsmond, ms. Arioi, 4-9: it simply refers to the first Tamatoa.
23. See above, IV, 131
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<th>TAMATOA GENEALOGY</th>
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<th>FARERUA GENEALOGY</th>
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<td>'AIVARUA = TERI'I-A-MANA of TAHAA</td>
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<td>HU'UI</td>
<td>3. HOATATAMA</td>
<td>TE PETIPETI &amp; TA'ERAPA (brothers)</td>
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<td>TAUTU</td>
<td>11. TAUMATA</td>
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Huahine (26). Genealogies reveal that the two were father and son. Te Mauri, the father, is variously called a chief of Vai’otaha (Borabora), Tainu’u (Raiatea), Tahuea and Mataire’a (Huahine). Indeed, his kinship connections extended to all these marae. He was also connected with the hau that was being replaced, as a son of Ena, the daughter or descendant of the chiefess Hotuhiva who had established this government after she married a chief of Huahine (27). Puara’i and his father occur on genealogies four and five generations respectively from Puni - a direct descendant who died an old man in 1786. The introduction of the sacred ‘Oro girdle on Huahine therefore can be approximately dated as having occurred in the first half of the 17th century (c. 1600-1650).

The Huahinean historical traditions concerning the founding of the hau Mo’orere and the associated introduction of a sacred black-feather girdle cannot be easily reconciled with the more legendary account of the Friendly Alliance by Te Fatu of Rotuma.

As noted, Te Fatu cannot be identified genealogically but a pedigree of marae Farerua has an ancestor designated as Ari’i-mai-Rotuma, literally "The Chief from Rotuma", whose descendants appear to have dominated the sacred centre of Opoa for many generations, in a hau called Taha-a-nui-ma-Raiatea. This genealogy, as well as other of marae Farerua, contains the name or title of Tari’oe, said to have been introduced by Te Fatu. The founder of this hau, Tautu-opiri, and his descendants are known also from an Opoan eulogy expressing the ideals of chiefly rule, and from the succession list of chiefs at Opoa already mentioned as naming Tinirau in its mythological introduction. (28) In the Opoan eulogy the government of Tautu opiri was continued by his son Te Hauroa. The genealogy of marae

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26. Above, 45.
27. Genealogy of the Marotetini Family in Capt., W. Brander, ms. Genealogies of the Society Islands. Hotuhiva, in Tati Salmon, ms. Notes. Genealogy of maraes Vaiotaha, Faretai, Ritua and Otahauamea, in Kenneth P. Emory, ms. Traditional History of Maraes. Hotuhiva came from Puatiriura, in the version recorded in John Davies, Dictionary, iv. This was in fact a location on Maupiti. The hau she established was called Te Pau-i-hau-roa. See Henry, 101, for one version of the tradition.
28. See above, 147ff, 151, 157, 159, 161
Farerua however gives the latter's father as Teri'i-a-mana (Chief Be-Powerful) of marae Ahuroa, the national marae of Tahaa (29). The connection with marae Farerua was through the wife of Teri'i-a-mana (Tautu-opiri), Te Vahine-nui 'Aivarua (The Great Lady Spirit-eater). Significantly for the identification of Teri'i-a-mana with Tautu-opiri, her sister was named Tahaa-nui-ma-Raiatea (30), perhaps to commemorate the establishment of the hau. They were the great-granddaughters of Ari'i Mai Rotuma, the "Chief from Rotuma" of marae Farerua (31). Their grandfather, Te Po-nui-o-reihana, a son of Ari'i Mai Rotuma, had married into the chiefly family of marae Onetari, also on Tahaa. Te Hauroa's wife too was of this Tahaa marae (32). Thus the hau that extended for several generations over both Raiatea and Tahaa appears to have been held by what amounted to a Tahaa branch of a powerful chiefly family from marae Farerua, Borabora. The name, with its emphasis on an island socially inferior to Raiatea, expressed the location of the government's political hegemony.

The chiefs of this hau do not fit into the genealogical framework provided by the chiefly pedigrees now known for the Leeward Islands, in the absence of identifiable or acceptable claims of kinship connections with other chiefly lineages (33). The succession list inserts the names of Tautu-opiri's descendants in a descent line that otherwise follows that of the Tamatoa genealogy adopted by the Pomares of Tahiti by virtue of their close kinship connections with the sacred chiefs of Opoa (Table 1).

An historical time frame is however provided by the eulogy's disclosure that the benign nature of the hau Tahaa-hui-ma-Raiatea changed after the birth of the twins Tautu and Taumata when "jealousy began and desperate war was waged" (34). The

29. E parau no te hui ari'i i marae Farerua, in Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-atua, Ms. Puta Tupuna Henry, 262. See Table 1.
30. Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-atua, op. cit. Henry, 262
31. See above, 161
32. Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-atua, op. cit. Above, 162
33. The Farerua genealogy claims that Te Hauroa's grandmother was the wife of Tautu and mother of Tamatoa, an impossible connection perhaps derived from a similarity of names. Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-atua, op. cit. T. Henry, 262.
34. John Williams, Narrative, 61 See above, 161
eulogy, as recorded, does not state that the twin brothers were descendants of Tautu-opiri. Tautu can be identified as a chief of the Tamatoa lineage but the relevant genealogy omits Taumata who is recalled only by the eulogy and succession list (Table 1). In the implied sibling rivalry Tautu emerged the victor and his genealogical gloss reveals that he fought many battles and united Raiatea under his rule (35). Tautu is placed at five generations before 1800. The hau Great Tahaa-with-Raiatea therefore was established by Tautu-opiri several generations before c.1650, perhaps as early as 1550.

The evidence considered suggests that up to the time of Tautu (c.1675) there may have existed a system of parallel chieftainship (Table 1) that separated the sacred authority of the ari'i maro 'ura or red-feather girdle chiefs from the secular rulership held by Tautu-opiri and his descendants who conducted the government of Great Tahaa-with-Raiatea. A similar development is known for Tonga where the Tu'i Tonga lineage came to represent the sacred aspects of chiefly office whilst secular power was held by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua lineage of the hau or ruling chiefs (36). Unlike Tonga however, there is no evidence that at Opoa such an arrangement became institutionalised by customary intermarriages between the two lineages.

Tautu's conquest of Raiatea did not end the hau established by Tautu-opiri. A body of traditions has it that his struggles succeeded because of an alliance with a different chiefly family of marae Farerua. The two allies shared the government, with Tautu ruling over Raiatea and his Boraboran supporters controlling Tahaa. The political hegemony in this arrangement however remained with Tahaa (37). That this alliance may have been sealed by marriage is suggested by Tautu's wife being of both marae Farerua, Borabora, and marae Onetari, Tahaa (38). A war chant refers to his son

35. Above, 162.
36. N. Rutherford, Oral Traditions and Prehistory, in N Rutherford (ed), Friendly Islands, 35
37. Traditions compiled in P Marcentoni Souvenirs, 27-29. Marcentoni - or his editor Pere Chesneau - claims Tautu's ally was Puni of Farerua. Alain Gerbault, Quelques Points, B.S.E.O. V,719-22, has numerous doubts about Marcentoni's reconstruction and notes, correctly, that Puni lived at least four generations after Tautu.
Tamatoa - the sacred title at Opoa - as belonging to the hau Tahaa-nui-ma-Raiatea (39). Tautu’s unification of Raiatea apparently amounted to an adjustment of the traditional hau that gave him greater powers, rather than complete independence from an ancient Borabora hegemony exercised from a kinship-derived powerbase on Tahaa.

The hau Tahaa-nui-ma-Raiatea had come to an end however by 1769 when Cook found Raiatea and Tahaa under the yoke of Boraboran hau Faanui. U’uru, the sacred chief of Opoa, retained his sacred regalia and district, but the effective ruler of both islands was the aged Boraboran warrior Puni. (40) Significantly Puni’s residence was on Tahaa from whence he provided Cook with fresh provisions and a high chief of Tahaa acted as his deputy and was destined to marry his daughter (41). Puni was closely related to the chiefs at the Tahaa marae of Onetari and Taianapa (42). Boraboran traditions tell that Puni’s grandfather, or great-grandfather, Taumihau had to reconquer his ancestral possessions which had revolted under Raiatean leadership (43). This ancestor was a contemporary of Tautu and the tradition probably relates to the time of strife initiated by the Raiatean chief. Puni’s father, Te Ihotu-mata-nevaneva, also waged war to retain his possessions on Raiatea notably at Te Vaitoa (44), a district on Raiatea’s west coast where he had kinship ties at the megalithic marae Tainuu (45). Whilst there, warfare broke out on Borabora between the priests and chiefs of marae Farerua and Vai’otaha. Te Ihotu-mata-nevaneva lost his life fighting the Farerua faction in a battle of Faanui. The

39. Untitled song concerning the War of Ni’ufi, Tahiti, in Salmon, op. cit.
40. See 162, 168, 169 above.
43. Above 162. Grandfather, according to T Salmon, History, 25. Brander, op. cit. has Taumihau for both Puni’s grandfather and great-grandfather. Salmon and Brander - who were relatives - identify Puni with the genealogical Ihotu-mata-roa. Gerbaut, op. cit. states that Puni was the son of Ihotu-mata-roa. Only Henry, 269, has the form Ihotu mata-aroaro.
44. Salmon, History, 26, has Teraitoa, one of many misprints.
45. Through his grandfather Taumihau. See note 43.
victorious party took the principal leaning stones - representing chiefly families (46) - from Vai’otaha and incorporated them in Farerua where henceforth the sacred chiefs were to be installed (47). This tradition represents a rare instance of marae fusion instead of fission (48). The son of the fallen chief, Te Ihotu-mata-roa, who was living in exile on Tahaa, was eventually recalled by the victors. They installed him with the title of Puni as the ari’i maro tea (yellow-feather girdle chief) at marae Farerua, instead of Vai’otaha as of old (49). Puni, with the assistance of his kinsmen on Tahaa, reconquered Raiatea which he dominated till his death in 1786 (50).

Boraboran warrior-chiefs continued to hold sway over Raiatea and its sacred centre from Tahaa for another four decades after the arrival of Europeans. During the turbulent reign of Puni’s daughter, who had the ari’i maro tea title of Maenarua (51), the hau Faanui disintegrated. The two factions appear to have been as before, centred at Farerua and Vai’otaha (52). A chief named Tapoa of the Nunue district who had married into the influential Pa family of Farerua (53), wrested control over Raiatea and Tahaa. He was closely related to the sacred family of Opoa; his paternal aunts Rereao and Te Roro were the wives of U’uru (54). Tapoa’s party comprised two of the six “walls” (districts) that had supported the hau Faanui of Puni and they united with the Raiateans in expelling their enemies from Tahaa. Upon their return home the refugees formed the hau Mahatape (“Four Fragments”) and fiercely resisted Tapoa’s attempts to extend his power over Borabora (55).

46. Above, 111.
47. Salmon, History, 26-28. Vai’otaha marae was the seat of the ari’i maro tea. Above, 154.
48. Above, 77.
50. William Bligh, ms. Bounty Log. Captain King’s journal in Cook 111, pt. 2 1389, has some of the details. Raiatea and Tahaa once were as “brothers together”, a reference to the hau Tahaa-nui-ma-Raiatea. Tahaa then sided with Puni in the conquest of Raiatea. After several battles that also involved Huahine, Puni emerged the victor.
51. Te Faora, op. cit.
52. See above, 127.
54. E Parau no te hui ari’i i Raiatea, in Tu-nui-e-a’a-i-te-atua, op. cit.
55. George Platt, undated letter 1831, S.S.L.
Based on Tahaa, Tapoa by 1802 had installed a cousin, one of the sons of his aunt Rereao, as the next Tamatoa at Opoa. A European observer that year noted that Tapoa had more prestige and power than the "king" (sacred chief) and effectively ruled both islands. (56).

In his several attempts to regain his homeland Tapoa received European weapons from Pomare 11 of Tahiti (57). In late 1803 the warrior-chief gathered a large force of allies that again included Tahitians with European weapons and made another assault on Borabora. This time he drove his enemies to their mountain stronghold, in a battle recalled as the Huri Aua ("Overturned Walls"), from which they sued for peace (58). Only Huahine, which had been divided along kinship lines with Borabora during these wars (59) retained an uneasy independence. The paramount title of Maevarua now devolved to Tapoa's daughter Taitaru who became "the acknowledged chief of Tahaa and Borabora". Tapoa probably became her regent, in accordance with custom. She died in 1809, at a time when Pomare 11 of Tahiti urgently sought assistance from his allies and kin in the Leeward Islands, to quell the rebellion that had erupted because of his arbitrary rule (60). Tapoa's ambitions now extended to the Windward Islands. He adopted Tamatoa's daughter Te Tupaia - also known as Te Rito-o-te-ra'i and Tere-moemoe - and gave her the name of his late daughter Taitaru (61). Toward the end of 1810 he took her to Tahiti, together with his warriors, the high-priest of 'Oro and that god's sacred regalia. There he proposed a marriage alliance by offering his adopted daughter to Pomare, at the same time acknowledging the latter's superior rank (62). This was accepted even though another marriage had been earlier arranged by Pomare's ambitious mother.

56. Ibid. Te Faora, op.cit. John Turnbull, A Voyage, 126, inter-alia.
59. C Barff, ms. Mythology of Huahine, Ch. IV.
61. Mai, op.cit.
'Itia with Teri'i Taria, the paramount chiefess of Huahine who was a sister of Tapoa's adopted daughter (63).

An uneasy truce prevailed in the Windward Island and Tapoa's lust for battle was curtailed by Pomare who had abandoned the 'Oro religion for Christianity. Tapoa died on Tahiti in late 1812, his ambitions for the Windward Islands thwarted to the end (64). His Tahaa-based hau in the Leeward Islands ended with his death.

In the absence of traditions it is impossible to know if Te Fatu (The Lord) of Rotuma (Mangaia) who married into a Farerua family is the same as Ari'i Mai Rotuma (The Chief from Rotuma) of Farerua. Possibly the latter may have been a descendant of Te Fatu.

There is an implication in the story of the Friendly Alliances that Te Fatu had a political hegemony over the sacred centre at Opoa during the Friendly Alliance he established. Such a hegemony is consistent with the socio-political system of Mangaia where the hau was held by competing warrior chiefs as "temporal lords" while "kingly authority" was hereditary and represented the religious or sacred (65).

The evidence as presented here strongly suggests that the legendary Te Fatu may have introduced 'Oro at Opoa where the new god became absorbed by an existing Ta'aaroa religion as the "son" of the Creator. The 'Oro Alliance, which was recalled even in distant Rarotonga, does not appear to have encompassed the Windward Islands where the Opoan god was clearly a recent introduction. The Huahine traditions concerning the founding of the hau Mo'orere genealogically fits the period of the hau Tahaa-nui-ma-Raiatea at the time it was established by Tautu-opiri who, to repeat, was a descendant of Ari'i Mai Rotuma.

63. Thomson, ch. 3,22.
64. Pomare, undated letter 1812, S.S.L.
65. Gill, 293ff
However, that under the Friendly Alliance marae Farerua became "the second great national temple of Borabora" (66) clearly implies that Vai’otaha already occupied a superior position and, as we have seen, Vai’otaha was the name for all 'Oro marae before the "Taputapuatea phase" of the Friendly Alliance. The various traditions as we have them cannot be reconciled. Important for understanding the political landscape of the Leeward Islands however is that the sacred centre at Opoa was dominated by warrior chiefs of marae Farerua who exercised their hau from a kinship-derived powerbase on Tahaa. This tradition of secular overlordship may have been established by the legendary Te Fatu.

66. Henry, 122
The following abbreviations are used

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Institution/Archival Collection etc</th>
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<tr>
<td>A.A.A.S.</td>
<td>Australasian Association for the</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Advancement of Science.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.N.S.W.</td>
<td>Archives of New South Wales, Sydney</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.O.M.</td>
<td>Archives d’Outre-Mer, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.T.L.</td>
<td>Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.L.</td>
<td>Bancroft Library Univ. of Berkeley,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>California.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.P.B.M.</td>
<td>Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.W.M.</td>
<td>Council for World Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.B.I.</td>
<td>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.M.S.</td>
<td>London Missionary Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>M.L.</td>
<td>Mitchell Library, Sydney</td>
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<td>N.L.A.</td>
<td>National Library of Australia, Canberra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pac.Hist.</td>
<td>Department of Pacific and Asian</td>
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<td></td>
<td>History, Australian National</td>
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<td>University, Canberra.</td>
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<td>R.P.</td>
<td>South Seas Journals (L.M.S.)</td>
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<td>S.S.J.</td>
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<td>S.S.P.</td>
<td>South Seas Missions (M.L.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.O.A.S.</td>
<td>School of Oriental &amp; African Studies</td>
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<td>Library, University of London</td>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>A.J.C.P.</td>
<td>Australian Joint Copying Project, microfilms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.P.A.M.N.H.</td>
<td>Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.A.I.M.</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Auckland Institute &amp; Museum</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.N.O.I.</td>
<td>Berichten uit Nederlandsch Oost-Indië</td>
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<td>B.P.B.M.B.</td>
<td>Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.S.E.O.</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Société d’études Océaniennes</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.S.M.S.</td>
<td>Finnish Society for Missionary Research</td>
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<td>J.A.S.</td>
<td>Journal of Austronesian Studies</td>
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