Volume II

Society and Intellectual Culture.

I. Structure and Order of the State.

I. the Districts (Reiche) and their Principal Settlements.

In old times the whole island was supposed to have been under the rule of a single king. The last of these rulers, who was called Sau Telur, lies buried in Pankatira, where the place of the coronation of the Nanamariki of Matolenim now is. He belonged to the (still existing) sib Tip ulap, which still exists. The natives related the following about the end of his reign.

"Sau Telur\(^1\) was so presumptuous that he even called the god of thunder Nan Zapue to account, when the latter entered into an intrigue with the queen; but he let him free again when the god began to roar. Sau Telur demanded tribute from Isokalakal, the king of Gatau Kusa, The latter then went to Ponape in a big canoe with 333 men. Led by birds he came via Ngatik, Ant to Kiti, where he was festively received by the Saulik. In eternal memory of the landing a large heap of stone was set up, which partly remains even today. Meanwhile the tsamoro who lived in Zalapux in Kiti had informed the threatened Sau Telur of the arrival of the enemies. "Stop your arrogant behavior", he said to the king, "for I have heard from the spirits that people will come and want ot take Ponape from you." "You lie," said the king, "and you come only to eat; no tspeiti\(^2\) is more powerful than the Sau Telur." He gave him a large basket with food. The priest threw it away and broke the last coconut at the place where the enemies would later land in Kiti. Isokalakal landed in Kiti and then went through Palikir and Zokes, where two of his maternal aunts already lived, and on via U to Matolenim. Sau Telur with his followers first fled to the sea. He struck against Isokalakal on the land Tsap ue ruk, so that the latter had to flee. But finally the enemy was victorious and killed all the people of the Sau Telur. The latter pluned into a waterfall and became a fish. Now Isokalakal was the ruler in Ponape and founded the

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\(^1\) Sau Telur is a title, not a proper name.

\(^2\) Nobleman.
sib, Tip en pan mei, to which the tortoise is sacred. He created the rule of the tsopoiti in Kiti and in the other regions on Ponape....(p. 2)

Later the island is divided into five districts, of which Matolenim is the largest and most populated, and its Nanamariki the noblest ruler. These are:

Matolenim
Kiti -- Uona
U -- Auak

Zokes -- Palikir

The borders are exactly established, even on the highest mountains. 1

Until about 1870 Zokes and Not formed a single district. After the death of the king, which occurred at approximately that time, the chiefs of these districts declared themselves independent. They did not dare to take the royal title, Nanamariki, as do the rulers of Matolenim, Kiti and U. The ruler of Zokes calls himself "Uasai" and the one of Not "Lap en Not". Palikir is a vassal state of Zokes. 2

The History of how Tsokes and Not Untied. (p. 2-6).

(VMM: This part is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted.) Here follows the English translation of the German transcription.)

It used to be the case that one man always ruled in the state of Not, he had the title Lap en Not; he fell ill. Then came the Nanamariki en Tsokes and some chiefs to visit him and also some chiefs of Not appeared. Then the Lap en Not died. Then the Uarsai en Tsokes ordered the chiefs of Not to prepare the funeral repast for the Lap en Not. They did so; then they chose the titles and took the head wreath of the Lap en Not, hung it up and did not give it to any man in the tribe of Not. He then went into the house of the Lap en Not, at a place called Peile, and ordered the people to assemble there where he was on the next day, in order to celebrate a feast, the consecration of the title. That was done the next day. The tribes Not and Tsokes all came (p. 3) together; then the N Nanamariki, said, that formerly there had no longer been a Nanamariki in Tsokes, but now I am Nanamariki, for I rule over two states, Tsokes and Not. But a title bearer in the tribe of Not, named

1 Hahl Eth. Noti bl. II p. 4
2. Pereiro, p. 101
Nansai set en Not, gathered some people of the tribe of Not around himself, and they agreed to fight the Nanamariki of Tsokes.¹ All the rebellious people gathered on a small place called Tsou en tsin. But they could not carry out their intention, for there were too few of them; thus they remained on the spot and deliberated what they wanted to do. A man, the ruler of Auak, who had the title Tsaulik en Auak², gathered all his followers and went to the Nanamariki of Tsokes(to Peile) but did not notice the Nansai sit there in the assembly, for he had risen; now he went to him to advise him not to remain rebellious any longer, for he was only a small man and incapable of taking the fight. So he took the Nansai, led him to the Nanamariki in Not, and the two were reconciled to one another. Now the Nanamariki wanted to own a house, and he gave the order to the Not-people to build an assembly house, for he wanted to know whether they obeyed him or not. Then he betook himself to Tsokes. Now the Not-people prepared the building material for the house, until everything was in the one spot (same place). Then they informed the Nanamariki that he should come over to erect the house. He came, and now they assembled, erected the house, until it was to be covered. Then the Nanamariki took his knife, climbed up and cut down all the holders of the roof. Then he climbed down took several stones and threw them at the people. They were alarmed. They ran away. But Naneken stood up, and held the Nanamariki fast; but all the people looked for kava roots. Then they sat down together, and did no work on this day, until the Nanamariki was reasonable again. The next day they again began to mend the house, and completed it. They worked at it until it was quite finished. The Nanamariki now ordered them to make the preparations for the feast customarily held at the completion of the house (Richtfeier.). All assembled and prepared the feast. Until they had finished them, the Nanamariki went back to Tsokes and ordered them to care for the hearth and the haul. They did so. When they went to Tsokes, they sang and constantly blew horns all in this manner they came to the Nanamariki. When they entered the

¹ Since then the fourth Uarsai has moved up to the first place. About 50 years.
² Still living in 1910, a very old man.
tribal region, the Nanamariki gave the order for the State of Tsokes to prepare a festival, so that the people of Not should receive food. They did that; and many pigs and dogs were killed. When they had prepared the food, the Nanamariki gave the order that all the festival animals should be given to the people of Not, to (p.5) be eaten by them. They were given to them, and then they returned to Not. Then one day the Nanamariki again appeared in Not. The people of Not assembled, welcomed the Nanamariki and shot their guns; now the Nanamariki remained in Not. Then the Tsokes tribe agreed that all districts should celebrate the gaparumur festival; they therefore assembled in Not, and, singing and celebrating they betook themselves to the Nanamariki. The Nanamariki now ordered the Not people to assemble too and prepare a festival, so that the Tsokes people should be able to feast. So a great feast took place. And they also gave everything to the Tsokes people, who then returned home to Tsokes. And the two tribes formed only one and were subject to the Nanamariki. Then one day an American warship appeared in Ponape and went into the entrance of Tsumuninpuil. All people were invited and they went; they betook themselves to the captain. The captain was friendly with them, gave them clothes and said to the Nanamariki that he should rule in Ponape, for he was a good Nanamariki. Then he left Tsokes, and the ship went away. Now the Nanamariki of Kiti died. When the news of this was spread, he informed Not and Tsokes that they should prepare the canoes in order to travel to the funeral celebration to Kiti. All assembled in Tsokes and left (p.6) for Kiti. In Kiti, in a small place called Kap in pil lap, a great funeral celebration took place. They arranged a great feast. When it was over, the Nanamariki left, to go to Tsokes. And when he fell ill there, all assembled, waited on him, sacrificed kava and killed many dogs. But he did not get well; he was not capable of rising, for he was frail and did not get any better. Then he died. Then they chose one, who should become the Nanamariki of Tsokes. And when he died, the Not, people quickly
acted to prevent a new election, they appointed a Lap en Not and ennobled (promoted) him. Thus there was a Lap en Not; There was a returned to the old conditions, the two tribes separated; everything was again as before, when the state Not was separated from Tsokes.

The residence of the king of Matolenim at Pereiro's time was on the island of Nanue at Taman; of the king of Kiti in Aleniaang, about 1906 in Toletik. According to Berg's map, the original seat of the king is Uona in the south east of the country, in the interior. The king of Zokes xxx resided on the island of the same name or at Paipalap; the king of Not in Not; the king of U in Lebenes or at a place in U opposite the island of Tepek or Tamak.

2. The Old Castes.

O'Connell's account and Lütke's references show that in old times there were two peoples on the island, a Polynesian master race and a melanesian, or negroid population who were the serfs (litu or Nigurts) of the former (cf. Hambruch vol. I, pp. 366-367). At the beginning of the last century the separation of the two elements was very strictly observed. Intermarriages (p.7) did not occur and it was also difficult to imagine them in view of the pride of the masters' caste and the despised position, the undempt appearance, and the miserable and primitive standard of life of the subjagated caste.

O'Connell mentions only two castes: the nobility, Monsap, and the free people, Seriso, both belonging to the same light-colored masters' caste in contrast to which we have the dark subjagated people who exist as serfs, Nigurts, and who therefore live, as so to speak, outside the folk community. Marriages between Monsap, iese, the high nobility, to which the chiefs and their families belong, and the Seriso, the free people of the same caste, (Rasse) were frequent.

Hambruch found a somewhat different classification, on the basis of his notes; the social order had been decaying for decades, and had completely obliterated the originally strict separation of the castes. This clear and simple picture appears blurred; strict separations of the
castes no longer obtained (exist) and contradictions make themselves evident. According to Hahl, a distinction is made between the kings' families, noble families, and free people. According to the old classification, these are the Mantsap-Jopeiti, Seriso and the people, Jan liki.

When a Joeiti marries an aramas mual, the children are generally adopted by the Seriso (that is, by the paternal relatives of the Joeiti).

Hambruch makes the following distinctions:

I. Montsap (nobility) II. Aramas mual (commoners)
1. Tsopeiti 2. Seriso Sauliki, lesser nobles, Nigurts (litu)

The Seriso of O'Connell and the Aramas mual of Hambruch correspond to each other. Intermarriages of girls of this class with noblemen are frequent. Apparently there girls were readily taken as subordinate wives. Notwithstanding the prevailing system of matrilineal descent, the children of such mothers were adopted by the nobles' fathers or relatives, but obtained only low positions within the new class. Hambruch counts the Sauliki among the lesser nobles. They might correspond most closely to the vassals of the medieval feudal state. The Tsopeiti corresponding to the Montsap of O'Connell, are above the Seriso. In Hambruch's classification, however, the Seriso have a much bobler position than in O'Connell's, according to whom they could at best become sub-chiefs and must occasionally subordinate themselves to the great Montsap noblemen. The priests come from the Seriso class. Taken as a whole, the meaning of these shifts is that all the classes and castes have moved up in importance, and these changes contrive to make the former strict distinctions even less evident, symptoms which are typical of periods of decline. (p. 8).

3. The Form of Government.

Formerly Ponape was a very strictly-organized feudal state. This is evidently connected with the numerical superiority of the dark caste of the Nigurts, over whom the light-colored caste could rule only as long as

it enforced a strict division. All landed property, especially conquered territory, Kaudsap, belongs to the nobility collectively, the Montsap-Tsopeiti, who apportioned the high-ranking offices strictly among themselves according to class affiliation, which followed a matrilineal principle. The districts were independent of each other. Each formed a unit for itself. Today as in old times the king stands at the top, the Nanamariki, that is the Tsopeiti of the district who is highest in rank. He is only the first among equals, but the highest liege lord of all and always the last resort. But a counsel appears to exist beside him, and this too possesses a certain power. His position also depends on the strength of his personality. The Nanamariki of Matolenim is the highest of the kings. He alone has the title "Isipau."

All kaudsap-land (Jjh: conquered territory) is given away as fiefs. The single parts "pali en tsap," are administered by the high nobility, the Tsopeiti, who, according to Hahl, are chosen by the king from his sib, and as such have the title "sau mas." They are in the pali en tsap what the Nanamariki is in the district. They exercise jurisdiction and distribute the titles and small fiefs. Also the free people, the Seriso, have their tsap shares, and constitute small liege lords and have their vassals, the aramas mual of Hambruch or the Litu of O'Connell. Liege lords and vassals are loyal to one another.

The fiefs are given for life and may not be taken away without valid reasons, not even by the king. Every sau mas was free to give new fiefs to a follower; or to a favorite person. In particular he could socially raise the position of his children by fiefs, if they did not belong to his class, although they could receive only correspondingly low offices. Emancipation of serfs was unknown.

Every liege lord, however large or small his fief may be, by passing on his tsap shares, gains the right to receive tribute from his vassals. It must be noted that this tribute has the character of a gift and its amount is determined by the giver. The gifts consisted of pigs, poultry, poultry, poultry.

\[1\] Hahl, Eth. Notizblatt II p. 5.
dogs, agricultural products, mats, etc. Their transmission took place during certain festivals, the "Kamatip." There are six regular and two special festivals.

On these days the chief distributes the tribute to all participants, including women and children. He keeps the best share for himself and his family. In (p. 9), more recent times the tribute also includes a share of the monetary wages of the former vassal. The duty of the vassals consisted of faithful military service as well as assistance at all possible occasions, for example in journeys and festivals.

The maintenance of the king must be supplied by the chief of the place in which he and his followers and his family are staying. Just as in the Middle Ages the emperors went from Palatinate to Palatinate, so the Nanamariki transferred his court from one part of the district to another, so that the entire population would share the burden. He generally visited all places once in the course of a year. The chief of the visited place rose in rank for the duration of the king's stay. The king stayed in a special house the "Imun en takai," generally near the assembly house. It was the custom for the king and the Nanekin, whose importance must be discussed later, to give each other special festivals from time to time, to which the chiefs of the district were invited.

4. The Chiefs.

The chiefs follow the Nanamariki in a rank order, which is strictly observed. According to Pereiro, those next to him are the Uachai, Nancreren and Tok, according to Hambruch Uasai, Tauk and Nos. They belong to the tsopeiti lapalap, the great chiefs. A special position is held by the Nanekin. He is the "speaker," justice and vice-regent for the king, that is, the resident and often the real ruler, while the Nanamariki enjoys the glory. According to Hambruch, beside the Nanekin the Uasai also has the function as speaker; the Not, however, acts as a supervisor for the carrying out of the royal decrees. At the great festivals the Nanamariki occupies the vacated positions of the tsopeiti nobility, the
Nanekin the fiefs owed to the Seriso. It is strange that, according to Hambruch, the Nanekin is a title of the Seriso class. If this is not an confusion and distortion of former conditions, it would follow that the serido who, at O'Connell's time, could hold only low chief-offices had risen to the important office of a Nanekin, and that the office of the king is filled by the high nobility, while that of his representatives is filled by the free people. A peculiar democratic feature in the otherwise purely oligarchical constitution of this island.

Aside from a number of chiefs whose titles will be mentioned later, Pereiro distinguishes another group which he compares to counsellors lacking jurisdiction and holding a purely advisory capacity. These would be the Nanepei, Nos and Nanchao-rirrin. (p,10).

The order of titles and rank is extraordinarily complicated. It always seems to have been of the greatest importance for the social life of the natives. Offences against this order and particularly against the strict ceremonial connected with it are detestable crimes and punished accordingly.

About the Tribe of Ponape. (p.10-11).

There are four districts and four Nanamariki in the land of Ponape. The state of Matolenim is the largest of all; the Nanamariki of Matolenim also has the title Isobau, the Nanamariki of U is also called Isobau, but the state of Kit and Tsokes have no Isobau, for they are smaller than Matolenim and U. Thus the Isobau is higher in rank than the Nanamariki, and the Uasai comes after the Nanamariki, under the former stands Tauk, after him comes Nos, and Nanaua, and Nanpe'i, and Nan kerou en pon take, Nauit lapalap, Nalik lapalap, Sau tel and Lampoi lapalap and Auntol en Main and Nanta.

It is the family branches of the Nanamariki which is invested with these titles, in order that they may then rise to rank of the Nanamariki.
Following are the titles of the family members, of the seriso, whose fathers are the chief: Naneken comes in rank precedes the Nalaim, the latter is followed by Nanapaz, Nan sau Rerin, Nan matau en Itet, Lap en Rerin, Au' Rerin; these are the titles for the family of the seriso the highest of which is Naneken.

There are four sibs in Ponape from which the chiefs are drawn: Tip(p.11) en pan mei, Lazialap, Tip en man, Sau en Kauat and four sibs, from which come the seriso:: Lipitan, Tip en nai, Tip en Luk, Tip i lap; the other sibs represent the common people.

(Typist: Copy insert from P. 11, 12, and 13 here.)

(p. 13) Every Tsopeiti, Seriso and according to Hambruch even members of the Aramas mual class, has a title suitable to his class, the high titles are held only by the Tsopeiti, the very small ones by the Aramas mual. It is customary to address every person by his title, never by his name. Even in O'Connell's days it was difficult to recognize where there was a title in the narrow sense of the word, for every bearer of a land fief, however small it might have been, used to call himself after his hide of land his tsap-share. The size and fertility of the copyhold is supposed to correspond to the size and fertility of the rank of the title. In former times all great Montsap people were called "Aroche lapalap" (Ariki lapalap — lofty chief). The members of low Montsap rank and the higher Seriso were called Aroche ticatic (small chief). According to Hambruch, nowadays all better Aramas mual are "Sau tiki" or liki, i.e., small noblemen, which demonstrates how the high titles have been reduced. — Superior chiefs add to their names only the name of the region under them connected with a particle; which suffices to designate their rank.

The high titles, the titles of the Tsopeiti lapalap, are Nanamariki, Uasai, Tauk and Nos; low titles however, are Nanekin, Nalik lapalap, Naumatautet, Tsaulik and Kron, which are followed by some others. According to Hambruch, the natives distinguish two completely separate
List of the titles in the tribes of Kiti, Matolenim and U

I. Al en tsopeti

Men

II. Nanamariki

Secondary titles in Kiti: Tsokisa, Rosa.

Secondary titles in U: Isibau, Matolenim: Isibau, Sanoro, Uasa lapalap.

2. Uasai (Na Putak) Nan Nop (Na Li Putak)

(Typist, please fill in list)

6. Nanpei

9.
10. Greeted as iso or main
11.
12.
13.
Secondary titles in U: Isibau...

Matolenim: Isibau,
Sanoro, Uasa lapalap.

2. Uasai (Nan Putak) Nan Nop (Na li putak)

(Typist, please fill in list)

6. Nanpei

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

2. Pali en Naneken

1.

2. Helpers of the Naneken

3.

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1 In Kiti has risen in rank from the Tip en Luk through the influence of the father. In influence he far surpasses the Nanamariki.
The children of tsopeiti receive their titular names from Naneken rank. If these are all occupied they are titled according to their dwelling place and later, following the death of a Naneken member receive a vacated title.

Titles in Zokes

al en tsopeiti
a) pali en nanamariki

Men

Women

(Typist: please fill in all the titles on page 12 and 13 up to number 12 on Page 13.)

(Typist: fill in the remaining titles on page 13).
lines of titles: the titles of the tsopeiti and the titles of the Seriso. He believes that the ennoblement of the Seriso is to be traced back to the following: members of the nobility, that is Montsap or Tsopeiti, desired to raise the children born to them by their Seriso wives the children, belonging to the class of the mother, did not get the title of the father's class and the rights connected with it. They therefore created new titles and privileges for their children. At the great official festivals great stress is laid on the seating arrangement, which is always strictly determined by the rank of each participant.

The highest Tsopeiti is followed by the highest Seriso, then follows the second highest Tsopeiti and the second highest Seriso, etc. The order of the rank of a Tsopeiti is, however, valid only in his native state.

Following is the order of the posts of honor (Reihenfolge der Würden) in the state of Matolenim:

I. Tsopeiti:  
II. Seriso:

(The enumeration of the posts of honor has not been transcribed.) (p. 15)  
(Typist: See insert P. 14-15 of Text.)

After these come the holders of the priests' offices:

III.

Saun and Aulik, both kotito and konet. At last the posts of honor must be mentioned which may be given to any person as a token of distinction:

IV. (Enumeration of posts of honor not transcribed.)

The seating arrangements at festivals of tribute and consecration distinctly express the social ranking of the districts and have therefore been carefully recorded. First follows the seating arrangement at the festival "Garisi mei" in Toloniar on April 11, 1910. As in olden times the important guests are on the gallery, lun pantan, which rises in the shape of a horseshoe round the lower middle area, naras, in which the kava is prepared, and in which the Nigurts were then required to remain. The right wing of the gallery is for the men; the women sit on the left. Of the approximately fifty participants, the persons with the numbers 29-50 came later and sat down according to their
Following is the rank order of the offices in the district of Matolenim:

I. Tsopeiti: III Seriso:

(Typist: please copy names in parallel columns on pp 14 and 15)

1. konet and kotito

2. apeto and Sak

Following him come the occupants of the priestly offices.

III.

Saun and Aulik, are both kotito and konet. Finally it is necessary to mention the offices which may be bestowed upon favored persons as distinctions:

IV.

Nanpas, Sapatan, Saumaka, Sapuen, Saupan, Kos, Isoa, collectively the "apetoW (see above) and the offices of Luonmar, Otik, Nanaeiso, Seor, Isu tikitik, Setin, etc.
Members of Tsopeiti rank are indicated by (†); those of Seriso rank with (‡). Relatives of the Tsopeiti are indicated by a (*); those of the Seriso by a (+). Those names without any indication belong to the aramas mual, common people.

1. Lap en Not (†)
2. Tsaulik en Tolesei from Matolenim
3. Louan en Tarapap
4. Nanmatau en Pelan (‡)
5. Keroun en Tarapap (†)
6. Nantsou en Not (‡)
7. Nanmatau en Kipar (†)
8. Nalam en Matolenim

Following is the rank order in the district of Palikir:

Tsopeiti Rank.

1. Lap en Palikir
2. Kerou en uen, brother of No. 1
3. Aumont en Palikir, nephew of No. 1, about 20-25 years old.
4. Nansau en Lauat
5. Nan kerou en Man, nephew of the Lap en Palikir.
6. Marakap
7. Kaneki en Lautik

Seriso Rank

1. Nos, Married to a daughter of the old Lap en Palikir.
2. Tsou uen en Paniap (Wife; Emin en Paniap)
3. Nanaua en Palikir (Wife; Naloio en Paniap)
4. Matau (Wife; Ina matau)
5. Nalik en Palikir (Wife; Nalikiei en Palikir).
rank between the numbers six and fifteen and twenty-three and twenty-eight. (The diagram of the seating arrangements and the explanations for it have not been transcribed) (p. 16).

(Typist: insert p. 15 a text here.)

(p.16) Lap en Not, Nansou and Tsoukon (Lap en Lanar) belong into the Tsopeiti line, Keroujn Roi and Nan matau en Sokes(?) into the Seriso line. The Matau en Roi, Nan matau en Kipar and Loara are assistants to the Tsopeiti chiefs, while ... the Lap en Not is the superior chief of this district (JJH: matolenim) who administers justice calls in the assemblages and celebrates the festivals. His successor in office after his death will be the Nansou. For the time being he has to see that the orders given by the Lap en Not are carried out and to receive the complaints in his stead. His assistant in this is the Tsoukon.

(Typist: Insert p. 16 of text here.)

(The order of rank in Palikir has not been transcribed.)

The seating arrangement in the Nas of the Uasai of Uona is similar to that obtaining at the festival in Toloniar: A "guard" stands at every side of the gallery. The Nanamariki and the priest (Tsamemo) sit in the middle, alongside the Nanamariki (p.17) is the seat of the Nanekin. In his absence this is occupied by the Nalaim. The Nos has no special place as he must supervise the people.

E.C. Ant Two seating arrangements have been recorded for the island of Ant, evidently for different occasions and places of houses. Both places are divided into two parts by a path. Each half has its own large kava stones. All the places (JJH: in fig. 3)(not transcribed) are occupied by priests...

(Sketches and notes about the seating arrangements in the Nas of the Uasai at Uona, fig. 2, and arrangement of the seating stones in the Pei en par on Ant, fig.3, have not been transcribed.)

The seating arrangement in fig.4 in the Pei en pak near the passage at the Karanuao stone indicates the seats of the chiefs and priests. It is worthy of note that spirits also have their sitting stone. The district heads sit apart at one side of the place, some of the (p.18) priests opposite them. The second half of the place is reserved fo

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1 The holy stone lies south of the passage, above the path. (fig.4).
The Conferring to Titles. (p. 18-19.)

A title is conferred thus: when a nobleman (monsap or seriso) is about to die the nobles assemble to bury the deceased. Then they take his title and give it to the man they like. Then they go home, and the chosen man now undertakes all the preparations for celebrating the festival of the conferring of the title.

In this the whole sib helps the man. They assemble to deliberate how the festival should be celebrated. If the man is rich and there are many members of the sib, perhaps a thousand and more yams are dug and twenty to thirty animals killed; if the people are less wealthy, a hundred to two hundred yams are dug out and ten pigs or dogs are slaughtered. When the preparations for the feast have been concluded, the nobles appear on the spot and inspect everything. They rejoice and distribute all the things. Then they go home and wait to see if person in question will die, then they take this title and give it to the man, because he (p. 19) has previously given so great festival. Thus the Ponape people had to pay for their titles. But some nobles are wicked and ignore their duty to pay for the titles; they even take these titles from others without any reason and give them to others. These people are not comfortable with them and are ashamed before the others.

In old times the great chiefs had, as a symbol of power, the stone or shell axe, after their death was put into their graves with them. The taro plant... mole, was regarded as the chief's pennant. While everybody could decorate his head with a wreath of flowers, only the great chiefs were allowed to wind this plant around their foreheads. When a chief desired to do special honor to another person, he removed his wreath and placed it on the head of the other. Chiefs wore their hair long and carried a long stick, in their hand.

High nobleman and chiefs kept more of less numerous servants for their personal service. They had their exactly fixed places in the house and here they awaited orders.

The wives of tslopeiti and chiefs have the female form of their husbands' titles and have the right to the same respect. Formerly, during the day, they were seen only with covered faces. Generally they had themselves carried to their own bathing places, to look at them was strictly forbidden. It was in accordance with the powerful position of the chiefs that no girl might be refused to them whatever caste she belonged to. The woman was permanently ennobled by marriage with a man of high standing; After his death the widow was not allowed to marry anyone but a nobleman, and mistresses of, or women divorced from chiefs could not follow any man they chose, but were generally given to a relative.

All property of the tslopeiti and chiefs is considered sacred and violations of any kind against their property are regarded as serious crimes.

With regard to the powers and rights of the chiefs and high tslopeiti...(something had to be anticipated to characterize the feudal system.) The power is quite patriarchal, especially where the chief is the head of the sib at the same time. He holds the great fief in his district, has the highest power, and supervises and administrates everything. Free fiefs are given by him to those whom he deems worthy or suitable of it. The small liege lord, Sau mas, exercises the same rights in a small sphere of power which is exercised with regard to the aramas mual; but only the superior chief can raise an aramas mual to a sau mas.

As far as small quarrels and complaints are concerned, the judicial power is in the hands of the sau mas (JH: liege lord.) all important matters must be brought before the Nanekin who administers justice for the Nanamariki. (Besides the latter allegedly asks his Nanekin about the kind and amount of punishment, when he himself wants to determine the punishment for once in a while.) If occasionally the latter chooses to exercise the determination of punishment himself, he is said to consult his Nanekin as far as the type and severity of the punishment is concerned.
Formerly the liege lord (sau mas) could also kill his vassal, but he could never sell or pawn him. For valid reasons he was, however, permitted to confiscate the fief. From that time on the man lived with people of his sib of with his family went to another district where he was taken in and invested in a fief. But the vassal was not completely unprotected and at the mercy of tyranny. It was possible for him to complain about his master to the Nanekin, who, as the representative of the Seriso class, represented the rights of the people and played the role of tribunal. In such an event a proper lawsuit was instituted. But powerful sibs could forestall him and protect the culprit.¹

As the master over the working capacity of his vassals the chief of Tsopeiti also had an influence on marriage. His consent was absolutely necessary for the conclusion of a marriage and he could institute a divorce if he saw that a wife was lazy. In recent times his consent was required for all special occasions, for instance, for baptism.

A peculiarity privilege of the Nanekin is to give the order, or to permit, the slaughtering of dogs, this custom may be understood only from the ritual significance of this animal and its value, as a delicacy for the feast table of the natives.

The most important duty of every liege lord and chief is to protect his people from foreign wrongs and encroachments. Just as "generosity" (milde) was one of the principle virtues of the mediæval ruler, so there is no greater praise for the Ponape noble than that he is generous. Every Nanamariki exerts himself to the utmost in order to get this reputation. Avarice is regarded as shameful. (p. 21).

At his accession to office, the Nanamariki must know a number of secret things, places, stones and prayers, and must also be familiar with the old language. Hardly anything is known about these things, except that they exist and are very important for the natives.

Not only for the single classes of the people, but for every grade of rank, a strictly observed ceremonial has existed since olden times; violation

in this regard according to seriousness formerly meant certain death or other punishments, and were often the cause of wars between the states. Nanamariki and Nanekin enjoy the highest honors. In the assembly house, the nas, they have special entrances. It was considered wise and honorable to call on them in the morning and ask their wishes.

Chamm to win the Affection of the Savoereign.

(JJH: This part is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted.)

I dedicate my prayer to the sovereign, my little prayer;
I dedicate my prayer to the sovereign, my great prayer;
For I wish, I would like to be, raised in rank;
I want to be near to the heart of the sovereign,
Near to the Nanamariki;
Near also to the sovereign lady.
Only speak, you shall not give me any names,
Only speak, you shall not tell me anything
That I do not know afterwards, I so not know;
All my thoughts are with you only!

(Nankei en Sokes.)

Moreover one was certain of a present as the result of such a morning visit to the chief, such a present not only desired for its value, but also for the honor. When the king of a person related to him is ill, the people of all, or nearly all, parts of a district hurriedly, and beginning early in the morning prepare choko and food. They know that there is a constant coming and going for four, five or more days, the people coming one after the other and at many hours. This is considered a kind of pilgrimage (p.22) and plea (Bittgang) for the recovery of the invalid. Nobody is allowed to look at or even touch a chief, particularly not the Nanamariki and the Nanekin. All food and drink must be offered to the Nanamariki with averted face. (turned away.) The greatest offense is to touch the loincloth (schürze). A common man likewise does not allow this to pass unpunished. Direct or loud address is also forbidden. In the presence of the high chiefs one whispers only

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1 Pereio p. 115.
addressing them with honorific words, using the third person, and employing only the high language. Low class people may not negotiate with the superior chief except through the Nanekin.

Those of lower rank must move with bowed bodies and their hands on their backs, in front of superior persons. At the same time the legs must be at right angle to the body. Everyone must pass the Nanamariki as well as his house in this bowed position. Nobody is allowed to stand in the presence of the superior chief. Everyone must immediately sit or squat.

The ceremonial at table and at the kava festivals will be dealt with later. Only this may be said here that the food and beverages must be offered first to the person of the highest rank. He distributes to the others. When the animals (roast pig or dog) are cut up and offered, the head must point to the superior chief.

There are special regulations governing boat traffic and fishing. The chief's canoe always proceeds at a certain speed. If it meets other boats, Tuori, or these pass the house of the Nanamariki, they must lower sail immediately and stop. Everybody must squat in the boat. Should by chance someone be on the platform, he too must quickly return into the canoe. The fishing Nigurts must interrupt their work and bend low and cross their arms. If they have already caught something they must follow the chief and offer him an opportunity to choose from the catch.

In greeting the rank of those present is taken into account: Those highest in rank are by everybody greeted first. With regard to this the natives told the following to Hambruch:

When sailing past the house of the Nanamariki, one must stop and hold the poles and the paddles obliquely. (Stosstangen) The Nanamariki then sends a man to the shore, this man squats down and makes a half circle with his right arm, oleta. Then he rises and the canoe may go on.

Those who pass (JJH: the house of the Nanamariki) on foot must squat down outside, sakaral, until he sends out a man who says to them: "Pass!" When one has squatted down in front of the chief to
greet him, one must not get up until he says: ... "Rise!"—(p. 23) The Uasai and Nanekin are greeted just as solemnly as the Nanamariki, but the words are different.

Violations of the laws of politeness arouse the chiefs' wrath. As lower persons must never resist higher ones, it was dangerous to arouse their anger: to throw club or stones was formerly their usual way of venting their wrath. When the ruler was bad-tempered he called for stones; that was the signal for all present to quickly leave.

The water for the Nanamariki must daily be fetched anew. It is handed to him by a certain woman who must also anoint him. After that she must wash her hands.

Customs of the Ponape People.

(This part is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted.)

In old times the Ponape people used to reverence the chiefs as shown in the following customs, nobody was allowed to enter the chief's house; nobody could look at the wife of the chief; when somebody met a chief's wife on the path, he was required to hide, for he was not permitted to show himself to the woman. When somebody met a chief on the way, he had to sit down on the ground, until the chief had passed; only then was he allowed to rise and proceed. When the chief was in his house and somebody desired to pass, the person had to bow until he had passed the house; then he was permitted to again stand erect. When the chief called somebody, the answer had to be given in a low voice, thereby honoring the chief; and when the chief gave something to somebody, the person in question had to bow, kneel down and in this way take the object from the chief or offer it to him. When the chief was angry, much kava had to be brought to him and atonement done. (p. 24). When the chief was very angry, he took a stone and threw it at the person in question, who then had to run quickly and fetch kava and again offer atonement until the chief was satisfied. Nobody was allowed to eat large fish, or large pigs or dogs; during the harvesting time when all trees had fruits, nobody was allowed to eat breadfruit before having given some to the chief; he was allowed to eat after the chief.
The law of inheritance, gatautak, includes also the system of feudal succession, and the transmission of rank and the title. All these are connected with one other. The copyhold, which has become free by death, falls back to the Tsopeiti class (Gemeinschaft) and the Nanamariki again bestows it, but only in the sense that he confirms the successor provided by ūm the functioning of the system of inheritance. This successor will be the person of highest rank; the Nanamariki is followed by the Uasai. The position of the Uasai goes to the man who comes next in rank and so on, so that the death of the Nanamariki results in a general promotion for the holders of rank and titles. The post of honor which is last to become vacated is usually given to the oldest son of the dead Nanamariki, but only if his mother is a member of the high nobility, since the principle of matrilineral succession prevails and the children of Seriso women cannot occupy the positions of the high nobility.

If the mother is of lower rank, the office falls to some younger son, one who is the oldest son of the dead chief and a Tsopeiti wife. If there are no such sons, the post of honor is given to a member of the family of the new Nanamariki. The statements of the natives with regard to this are very contradictory; thus it is said that not the oldest son of a Tsopeiti wife, but rather the sister's son of the last Nanamariki is frequently next in line for succession to the lowest post of honor.

According to some informants the son of a Tsopeiti could never obtain a Tsopeiti post, as Tsopeiti were allowed to marry only women form the Seriso sib (JJH: class?) so that there was a constant alteration in the power of the classes and the grandson could never obtain a position occupied by his grandfather. This appears to be an exaggeration, for nowhere else is any mention made of a rule which a Tsopeiti could marry only a Seriso daughter. Although such marriages were numerous, they have hardly become law. What is evidently meant is the interchange of royal and noble rank between families "according to our view." ... The royal family in Kiti is called Tipuneman, the noble family (p.25) Lipetan. Marriages of equal rank can be concluded only between the members of these families. The sons of the royal
family (tsopeiti) begot in though a marriage with a daughter of the noble family (seriso) belong to the latter; the sons of the Lipetan (that is sons of serisos with Tsopeiti wives) become Tipuneman. A Tipuneman can never receive a title of the order of the Lipetan and vice versa. ... The Uasai follows the Nanamariki only when he belongs to the same kainak, the same sib, just as an attempt is also made to keep all vacated copyholds (which have become free) within the same sib. It seems that a real choice is made, when the membership in different sibs upsets the usual order of succession.

When the bearer of a title dies, the holders of all positions of honor under him rise, and thus the sons of a Nanamariki may come nearer to his post even during his lifetime. If the family of a Nanamariki is not large enough to occupy the posts due to it, the family next in rank helps out. When rising to a new position, the bearer usually loses all the rights and the title to the position which he has until the occupied and takes only the title of the new position. This general change in the large copyhold usually results in unpleasant consequences for the small vassals, as every new lord brings with him a number of people who are personally devoted to him, and whom he feels obliged to reward and care for. This he can do only at the expense of the former usufructuaries of the copyhold, the people enfeoffed by his predecessor. In this procedure hardships and severities cannot be avoided.

The Bestowing of the Title. The title is bestowed by presenting a bowl of kava; usually this is not accepted; instead kava is sent in refusal of the title which one is nevertheless desirous of keeping; but it is not proper to show this desire outwardly. Finally the kava is accepted. Great festivities are connected with this.

These festivals were formerly used by some Nanamariki to get many festivals by bestowing great titles.

At the death of the Nanamariki the Uasai betakes himself to the former's residence and there begins to keep court. Generally he builds a new house for himself, as the house of his predecessor is occupied by the latter family who are not driven out.

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1 According to Hahl, II, p. 7 and 8. 2 Pereiro, p. 102.
The names of the sibs follow:

1. Sau en Imuniak (only two men still living.)
2. Sau en Pak (most strongly represented)
3. Sau en iap (consisting of only a few old people.)

(Footnote: The * following the name of a sib indicates that the history has been recorded.)

12. Lipetan (sib of the Nakekin
    in Uona?)
13. Letak (sib of the Nalaim en Tsokes.)
14.  
15.  
16.  
17.  
18.  
19.  
20.  
21.  
22.  
23.  

already vanished prior to the small-pox epidemic).

(Footnote: The third volume contains the history of this sib.)
5. The Sibs.

The population, originally (JJH.?) without including the Nigurts, is divided into twenty-three sibs, which are distributed throughout all five states, and including the old Tsopeiti and Seriso classes. Every sib, trip, consists (p.26.) of several branches, kainak, with special names, and has its own totems and deities, generally deified ancestors who are regarded as its founders. They are strictly exogamous, but the identity of the totemic animal plays no part in this exogamy. The dead are also included in the trip. The sib affairs are administered by the head, meseni, of the sib. The single family, peneine, takes its name from the father, in spite of the fact of matrilineal succession, e.g., peneine en Loare, peneine en Etekar.

The trip en lap considers itself indigenous (bodenständ im).

Some of the old sibs had died out even before the epidemic of smallpox (1854), others are now at the point of dying out. (Enumeration of the names of the sibs.) (Typist: Insert p. 26 of text here (see separate sheet))

Four of the sibs have acquire overlordship. They form the group of the high Tsopeiti. But they enjoy this high respect only in their native state. These privileged sibs are the

- Tip en pan mei in Matolenim
- Tip eni man tontol in Kiti
- Lazialap in U
- Sau en Kauat in Not and Zokes

(A translation of a native text about the great families (p.27), further enumeration of families, and names of the Nanekin in Kiti, who all belong to the same sib.)

(The histories of these families are partly very old and still alive in the tradition of the natives. They give a lively picture of the past warlike time and the old notions and customs.)

(The following parts, p.28-70, are accompanied by native texts which have not been transcribed.)
The following are leading sibs (Grossfamilien) found in Ponape: Tip en man, the leading family of the district of Kiti; Tip en pan mei, prevailing in the district of Matolenim; Lazialap', (p. 27), in the district U, and Sau en Kauat, in the district of Tsokes.

And following are the seriso famiibli(sibs): Lipitan, in Kiti; Tip en uai, in Matolenim; Tip en Luk, in U, and Tip en Lap, in Tsokes.

The Nanamariki are derived from the sibs Tip en man, Tip en pan mei, Lazialap and Sau en Kauat. The Naneken are derived from the sibs Lipitan, Tip en uai, Tip en Luk and Tip en lap. If some of the other families become related to the tsopeiti by marriage, they are regarded as seriso.
The leading family of the district of Not is the Sau en Kauat; less important are the tip en uai, tip u lap, tip en man, tip en pepe, Letak, tip en Luk, lazialalap, tip en pan mei, Sau en palë en pil and Lipetan.

In Tsokes the leading sibs are Sau en Kauat, tip en lap, Letak, tip en man, tip en pan mei, Sau en Somaka, Naniak, tip en uai, Lazialalap, Sau palë en pil, tip en pepe, and tip en luk. Of these sibs the tip en pepe is said to have no totem.

In the district of Kiti the Lipetan sib has furnished the Nanekin for generations. Eight names are known in the Traditions:

1. Luk en Tamas
2. Luk en Rakim (legal expert; maternal grandfather of the Nanpei)
3. Luk en Tsakau
4. Luk en Lansir; also called Iso ani. Father of the Nanpei
5. Nanaua en Mutok (the name of a dead person which he has given Himself)
6. Luk en Tsakau
7. Retsin en Palap
8. Nanekin.

Sibs represented in Lanar and Param are the following; tip en uai, Sau en kauat, tip u lap, tip en luk, letak, tip en man, Sau en pik, Sau en Somaka.

The histories of these sibs (Familien) are in some cases extremely old, but still alive in the traditions of the natives. They provide a vivid picture of the warlike times and the ancient attitudes and customs which have now disappeared.
History of the Tip en uai.

(JJH: History is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted.)

This is the story of the Tip en uai. The tip en uai had its' origin in a country which lies in the south, in Langina. A fish, Likandenkap, created them, the ray. And when he multiplied, he bore men and fish. Thus they became very numerous; a fish Naretin; stayed with them; he gave birth, and obtained a woman called Lien til. Thsi woman was very beautiful. Tau Katau came down from heaven and married Li en til; he took her with him and carried her into heaven. Li en til became pregnant and bore Tau Katau three girls, they were called Liput, Lipotikilan and Lipaut. Nan Dzapue married all three women, and in addition one from the sib of the Tip en man. Now the women wanted to work for Nan Dzapue; the wife from the Tip en man made a belt and the Tip en uai wives procured themselves a lot of pandanus leaves in order to braid sailing mats from them. While they were occupied with the work, Nan Dzapue one day left the wife from the Tip en man and betook himself to the wives from the Tip en uai. He went into their house and sat down. Then the thorns of the pandanus leaves pricked Nan Dzapue's thighs. Nan Dzapue became angry, he took the rolls of pandanus leaves and threw them out of the house. They fell out of heaven and fell down on Selata. The two wives, however, wept for their rolls of pandanus leaves. The next morning they called the other wife and told her that they wanted to go to the earth to look for their pandanus leaves. So they left and betook themselves to Selata. There they found their pandanus leaves. They deliberated where they should go. Lipotikilan said to the others they would do well to go to the district of Not and finish the work there. The others did not agree to; they proposed to go to Matolenim. The other wife left, and the others also went. The woman who went to Not settled on Langer and there made a sail called I en Langer; and the two others went to Matolenim. They came into the mountains to Nana; from there they could see the sea; but when they looked round they no longer saw any places to which they could have gone. So they went on into the mountains to the Tolotom; again both looked out to the sea and described a small which was situated outside
of Matolenim. They thought that they should now go there; therefore they left the mountains; they came to Tamuroi, to the small place of Nikauat. They wandered on to Tsamuin and landed at the shore of Sakar en Na. And on they went out to the reef. On the way the big one said to the small one, that she wanted to drink some water. Something seemed to stick in her throat. And so the big one thought that they should give the name Kapintau esok to the place. They wandered on and on, until they were far away. Then the little one began to weep, for a wound on her foot caused her great pain. And the big one said, then we shall call the place here Nin san en aip. Here they sat down and rested. Now the big one conjured a place (statte). And the place appeared. They set foot on it, wandered about in it and found the ancestor of their mother who had remained here after Tau Katau had married her daughter Li en til and had taken her to heaven with him. And the woman, who was called Naretin had wept continuously because she loved her daughter so strongly. Therefore she had left Langina and had finally found a small place which lay outside of Ponape; here she had remained. Now when the women appeared before her, she asked who was their mother. The two answered that Li en til was their mother. Then Naretin rejoiced and said: "And I am the mother of your mother!" And they rejoiced together and went on to live together. Now they made a love charm for Nan Dzapue. Then Nan Dzapue again loved the two and followed them. And so he remained with them. And he gave the name Mesiel to the place where they lived. And so he remained with them on Mesiel. One day it was very hot, and he asked them whether there was any fresh water, as he would like to bathe. Naretin told him that she knew a bathing place, but it was very small. Then he said that she should take him there. Nan Dzapue went there, it was excellent. Then he told the little one to tell Naretin that she should not be startled for he wanted to speak. The little

1. A black basalt stone on the reef near Na.
2. The island of Na in Matolenim.
one told this to her ancestor. And Naretin said to Nan Dzapue, he should speak by all means. Then Nan Dzapue spoke, and there was violent thunder. And a violent rain came down. Thus the river at the place originated;¹ Nan Dzapue jumped into it and bathed. When Nan Dzapue came out again, he said to Naretin that the water was now better. And so he remained with them until his wives became pregnant. Then he said to the women that he wanted to return to heaven. He also told to them that they would now have children; they would give birth to two boys; he would tell them the names; one should be called Auntuol en Langina, the other Nanit en Langina. He also told them that they should how watch how he enlarged the place. He thudered and half of Selata came off and formed Na; and he called the place Pali a Selata ean, therefore these places are still in the possession of the Tip en uai tribe. Now Nan Dzapue wanted to return to heaven again. Later the women bore two boys; and they gave them the names which Nan Dzapue had determined for them. Then they went back to their work and(p.32) made a sail, which they called I en ni Kopun.

When the sail was finished, they tried to sail with it; they sailed over to Tip en meterane and sailed on to Imuin take mau;¹ They had no boat in which to go, but used only the sail, which stood upright on the reef water; thus they went ot and fro. Now some people had remained to sail(beim Segeln geblieben?). And after a long time they wanted to rest, they wanted to draw water at the Tolopuaip, from the brock Pil en peison. When they again betook themselves to Na and buried the sail, for they did not want the Matolenim people to know their secret. Some days later they dug it out again and wanted to sail into the entrance with its This time they wanted to drink water in Sapuerak. When they appeared all people were astonished when they saw a sail which stood upright on the water and lacked a canoe,(with it), a sail with which they again left for Na. There they again hid it, and nobody knew who had

1 (p.31.) Pil en Mesiel.
1 (p.32.) Top of Napali.
made the sail. And thus a divine servide is since held in Matolenim; all tip en uai members take part in it, for they are Serisos in Matolenim, because the two boys made the beginning and their father was Nan Dzapue. Thus the Tip en uai had its beginning; Naneken i Matolenim and all other people alone understood the making of sails; and they taught it to the other man. Now all could make sails. And this is the history of the tip em uai.

Family History of the Tip en uai.

(JJH: The history is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted.)

The sib of the Tip en uai had its beginning in Langina. This place lies also in the south near Irek, the place, where the Tip en man had its beginning. Both left Langina and betook themselves to heaven. The Tip en uai had two wives, called Lupur and Luput. Nan Zapue took both for his wives. Then Isobau also betook himself heaven to the (p.33) Nan Zapue, and again took the two women down. They came to Ponape. Nan Zapue followed them. Then the women had children. Isobau distributed them everywhere and gave a name to every sib branch; he called pme Sau en Matol, one Merekerek, one Uputanit, one Sau liets and one Sau en Tauak. One woman, however, Inaselam, was expelled from their community by them, she went into the water, stayed there and became a ray.

Report of the Tip en Uai;

(JJH: The following note is accompanied by a native text which has not been trascribed)

The branches of the Tip en uai are very ramified. The names of the branches of the Tip en uai are:
Marekerek, Uputanut, Uputanpaini, Sau en pon tau, Sau en matol and Sau'n liets: These are the branches of the Tip en uai.

And now I want to relate of the one Tip en uai branch, the Marekerek which I know. The ancestor mother of the Marekerek bore two women, they were twins. The one was called Likinkinpue and the other Kitontorepue. From Likinkinpue descend the Tip en uai, one poriton of which lives in Matolenim, another in U and Not; from Xkirx Litontorepue descend all Palikir people.
Family History of the Tip en man.

(JJH: This history is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted.)

Thus the Tip en man began; it originated in the lagoon of Paras. The lagoon of Paras lies in the south. At that place there was something that (p.34) created the Tip en man sib, two branches, that of the white bird and that of the black bird. Then all men flew away. Thus arose the Tip en man sib. They multiplied in a land which is called Irek. First the Tip en man botobot ruled; and the Tip en man tontol served. One day they celebrated a great festival. The princes looked round to see what the Tip en man tontol had produced. This was not satisfactory, for the inhabitants of a country called Lamâına belonged to a foreign sib. And these always appeared and destroyed their work. But when the foreign sib came, some Tip en man botobot people said to some Tip en man tontol people: "Come here and sit down on the gallery," For now they wanted to go into the naras court and serve the others; therefore the Tip en man tontol has the power today.

A branch of the Tip en man sib has the name Sau en Eir. For two women left Eir and came to Ponape; they were called Li en nep and Ina tār. Now a man called Nān el lap lived in the place of Lanpuak. And he had ordered a woman called Inalō to bring the women to Ponape. Thus the two women came; the one (Li en nep) settled in Kiti, and the other (Ina tār) in Matolenim. The Matolenim woman conceived and bore a woman and a man; the man was called Lameînä (Lamei'ut?) and the woman Li matoara.(p.35).

Li matoara wanted to eat bananas and ripe cocoanuts, for she was pregnant. Now there was nobody except the brother in this place. Therefore the woman cut off her hand and threw it away. She said: "Go away, hand, go away; for you do not give me anything to eat." The hand flew through the air to her brother, stole bananas and nuts from the house and carried them to the woman. Then it again fixed itself to the arm and now the woman ate. And again the hand stole into the house of Laméînä, stole bananas and nuts and took them to the woman. But one day Laméînä hid and seized the hand. Then the woman's arm hurt very much; the rumor got to Laméînä that the woman was ill and her arm hurt her. Laméînä took the hand, put it into a basket and betook himself to the woman. He asked her: "What illness
have you?" The woman replied that her arm hurt her. Lameinut said: "Give me your arm that I may look at it." The woman showed him her right arm: then he said again: "Show me the other, that I may look at it." Then the woman let him see the other; then he noticed that this arm had no hand. Then he took the hand and threw it up in the house and said: "Here is your hand; but if it again goes away to somebody and I seize it, you must die." When leaving he said to the woman: "When you give birth, you will bear two children, one is called Tumunmam and one Kakenut." Then (p. 36) the woman gave birth and bore two children and gave them the names which the man had given. The boys grew up. Both ran away, and their also mother went with them. They got to Razak. There they multiplied and became a hundred. Now Lameinut sought them. And finally he came to the place where they stayed. The woman told her people, who were a hundred, that they should hide, only they and the two boys remained. The woman had the boys bring drinking nuts; with these they refreshed the man. The man, however, took some ripe cocoanuts and broke them; they became a hundred and three small nuts; he asked the woman: "How many children have you?" The woman replied that she had only two children; then the man said: "No, there are very many!" Then the woman ordered them to assemble. They came and took a hundred small drinking nuts away; they were enough for the children and three remained for the woman and the two grown up youths.

Family History of the Tip en man II.

Li en nep lived on the Tol en Kiti. There she bore many children. She distributed them over all islands and thus created many family branches; one received the name Sau en Kiti. There it remained. Later they quarrelled, then they separated; some betook themselves on to the Tol en Samakâ; they founded the Sau on en Samake; others betook themselves to Pan takai and Bi tik. They got on well together, until one day there was a mighty high tide. Then they could no longer meet and bring their food together. Now they called each other and some said: "You are the Sau en
Names of the family branches of the Tip en man.
The names of the Tip en man follow:

--- eel, ---
--- " ---
--- " ---
--- shark ---
--- " ---
--- ? ---
--- species of fish ---
--- shark ---
--- ? ?
--- ? ---

Typist: please copy the ten native terms on page 38 here.
pali en pil and we are the Lap en pil!" Some left and remained in Pok; that is the Sau en Pok; others remained in Uona, are of the Tip en man tontol and are also called Uputenpaini; they rule in the state of Uona and have the title of Saukisa.

Now two women lived in Uona, the one was called Liets en pel and the other Lisekel. Lisekel lived in Neiyas and Liets en pel in Panais. The children of Lisekel ruled in Uona; Liets en pel had four sons; their names are: Lomots, Ramots, Ponai and Uailik. And the Uputenpaini were always intent on playing them nasty tricks.

So Poponai and Uailik went at night to listen to their conversations. Then the two heard that on the next day they wanted to come and slay them. The two went away and informed the others. They answered them: "Bring (fetch) kava!" They fetched kava. They pounded it during the night. They put up a sleeping mat. There they put a bowl with kava. Then Isobau appeared and sat down on the mat and took the bowl; he said to the people: "Let us set out tomorrow. And the next (p.38) day they fought against the others. Some youths proceeded to a small place called Paseit, and Isobau remained in Salili; and he cried Uuuuu; then the people of Narolan were greatly startled: they jumped up, threw away their things, abandoned their children, and fled to Matolenim. And Isobau had led them; now he gave them the titles; he called the oldest Tsau kisa, the other Sau Uona, another Matau (Matau), one Tsu matau en Pon tsa; and Isobau gave them the name of Sau maka en Ne; now they ruled in Uona; therefore they are called Inan uéias.

(Typist: Insert Page 38 of text, alist of the family branches of the Tip en man page 38)

Family History of the Tip en pepe.

A very long time ago the family of the Tip en pepe came from Paiti; when they came to (p.39) Ponape, they did not travel in canoes, but they came swimming. They appeared outside of Kiti and went into the entrance of Pelan. They landed in Pelan; they went into the bush and remained on the mountains of Pelan. But they multiplied greatly on the mountains. They also
chose one of them who commanded them. Two people, however, left the high mountains and betook themselves to the district of Pelan, to watch over the people of Pelan, to see what they did. Then it came about that they agreed to make war on the people of Pelan. Now there was a family called Puton (also Putum) who had owned Pelan for a long time. They had always been in Pelan and did not know that there was a great number of people who had come from abroad, lived on the mountains and who were prepared to take their country from them. They united, and went down into the district to make war on the Pelan people. They went down into the land in great numbers, singing songs to make it known that the war against them was quite near. Then they appeared and killed them. But some could flee to the people of U where they settled. They, however, stayed in the land of Pelan and took possession of it. Then it happened that they also thought of fighting the district of Kiti. The Nanamariki of Kiti always lived in his palace Tsapue takai from where he ruled Kiti. Secretly they entered the country. They sent one of (p.40) them who was to make inquiries about the district. The man went and stayed with the Nanamariki. Not all of his people were with him. Then he appeared, took some shellhorns, then they came and slew the Nanamariki. Then they chose one as Nanamariki and took possession of the district of Kiti. Then all Tip en man people assembled in Uona; they agreed to continue the fight against them. So they fought them in the district of Kiti. They took them captive and drove them away again form the district of Kiti.

Tale from Old Times.

A great number of people proceeded from an island in the south in the land of **Paiizi** (abroad); they swam in the sea and did not use anything else; they were very numerous; they landed in Pelan, and lived for a long time in the mountains.

Two of their people went away from them and went into the dwelling land, they inquired about the people in the settled land, then they returned and informed the others what they used to do in the dwelling land; one day they left the mountains in great numbers and fought the people in
the dwelling land; they caught and killed the inhabitants; then they
begot children and multiplied immensely, right into this time. That is
the reason why the Pelan people look different from all Ponape people
for they are of smaller stature and also their voice is different from
that of all other Ponape people. (p.41.)

Family History of the Sau en Kauat.

(JJH: The history is accompanied by a native text which has
been omitted.)

At the beginning of the Sau en Kauat stands a ghost woman called
Inas en Gatau; this woman originated on Kusae; she founded the Sau en
Kauat and bore children, until it had numerous members. These spread
and also multiplied in Pei bobs; that is a small spot in the island
group of Maraki, a group in the Pitt Islands. They multiplied in this
place(spot). Some lived at the shore, others on a hill. Once these
went fishing. The people of the hill had quickly finished it and made
sakumor. Then they heard of Ponape, and they learned that Ponape is a
very great land in which their sib did not exist; there were only three
tribes there, but no Sau en Kauat. So they agreed to go to Ponape and
demand their place on Ponape. Men and women united and left swimming
without going in canoes. They got into the entrance of Tumu en puil and
pointed to the high mountains where they wanted to remain, the mount-
ains of Nan Kauat. They went into the country and got to Kamar; thus
they got to the place to which they had pointed. They settled at the
spot and there made an immense cave in which they lived and multiplied,
for they married among each other; finally they left the cave (p.42),
built their houses in front of it and remained in them. The woman
Inas in Kusae had given them magical powers and sent two ghost women to
them, Inas and Li mot en lan, who were to help the individual family
branches of the Sau en Kauat and help them in fighting. Therefore they
prepared their armors, for they thought of fighting the Ponape people.

---they-prepared-their-armors-for-they-thought-of-fighting---
They made their weapons of special trees, of the Kosop palm, the Katiu
tree and the Katiel. Afterwards they celebrated the

1 Bilbert Islands.

2. Some people remain at the shore; the fish are given to these, who
then quickly take to the king.
consecration of arms, a festival which is called um en atiet. They assembled and hunted many rats, which they carried together and roasted. Their um en atiet festival lasted for four days. Then they prepared to begin their war, and considered with what they should clothe themselves, for there were only the leaves of cocoanut and Os palms. But as these leaves were too hard, they chose the leaves of the wild banana, they tied them in a bundle and clothed themselves with these. There was a violent cloudburst which caused a torrent. With this stream and their water they went down to the valley. They halted in Kamar. They conquered this first, then they took the region of Sapalap and took all people prisoner. Then they wanted to go on and take the district of Not. They conquered it as well. They made one of them the head of the tribe and gave him the title of Lap en Not; they also agreed to make war on the district of U (p.43) But a man with the title of Kerou en Toropap did not want this. So they desisted and wanted to fight later. They started again to fight Tsokes which belonged to the sib of the Tip en Man, who had taken it from the sib of Lazialap, for the Lazialap had owned the land from U to Tsokes. The Sau en Kauat wrested(conquered) Not from the Lazialap, then made war on Tsokes and won it from the Tip en man. It also made one of its members the Nanamariki of Tsokes. Thus the Sau en Kauat had taken possession of the two districts of Not and Tsokes. The rest of the sib of the Sau en Kauat remained in Nan Kauat; they intended to mix with the other men and to multiply. Some also wandered over the mountains and got to matolenim and there created the terrain of Senipein; there they multiplied. And the Nanamariki of Matolenim supported and esteemed them, he gave them the name of al en muan. 1 So goes the story. For he was a friend of the Sau en Kauat. Some also went to Kiti and to Tsalapuk; here they remained and immensely multiplied in the district of Kiti. The Nanamriki of Kiti and the Nanamariki of Matolenim esteemed them highly and made them the guards for the place of the mountains. Thus the Sau en Kauat wandered over the mountains, not their protective spirits, as they eat all their totems, they are no "pelin kats nana," for the Sau en

1 "My head band??"
Kauat on this side, for the Sau en Kauat beyond the mountains (eat?) their protective spirits.

Family History of the Sau en Kauat.
(JJH: The History is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted.)

How the Sau en Kauat took its beginning in Nan Kauat. A woman (p. 44) called Inas was no human being, but (an indigenous spirit) who stayed in Nan Kauat; there it had originated and multiplied. When they (the children) had become very numerous, they prepared to make war on the tribes in Not and Tsokes. Now Inas is supposed to have married a man who belonged to the sib of the Tip en lap; this man lived in Kamar, where he married Inas; she gave birth to the Sau en Kauat. The family became very numerous and quickly settled Kamar. But when the crowd became too great, they agreed to make war on the people of Not and Tsokes. Before going to war they held a festival, the Umun atiet, which lasted for four days. When they celebrated the festival, they distributed, some went into the bush from one tribe to the other, to hunt many rats; they carried them home, roasted them in the fire and ate them. After the festival there was a mighty rain. A mighty torrent arose; the people jumped in and came down the mountains with the torrent; they landed at the three places of Kamar, Lireka (Eireka) and Méitsik. They made war on the tribes settled there, killed them in their places and remained the masters. Then they went on against Not, conquered it and made one of themseves the Lap en Not to rule the district. After Not was conquered, they also marched against Tsokes and made war on it and conquered it. When they had taken possession of it, (p. 45) they also chose one of them who was to lead the state, and gave him the title of Nanamariki of Tsokes. The tribe of the Tip en man who had owned the district of Tsokes and the tribe of the sib Lazialap who had ruled over Not, these two sibs weree overcome by the Sau en Kauat in Not and Tsokes.

(The next three parts. p. 45-47 are not accompanied by a native tex

A woman called Inas lived in Nan Kauat. There she founded the family of the Sau en Kauat. The lived in a house. She had many children. When
(VMM: When they are ripe, bananas) "... are picked, carried home and hung up for additional ripening (Nachreifen). Then they are cooked and eaten."

1 For three days; plantains (Planten?) are buried.

(VMM: For a charm win the affection of the sovereign see source: 1005 Hambruch and Eilers 21.)
these no longer had sufficient space in Nan Kauat, they came down from the mountains to Eireka, Meitsik and Kamar, three places which they wrested (took away) from the tribe of the Sau lezialap. Later they went on to Not and there built houses to live in.

Later they went into the land of Sokes and fought against the tribe of the Tip en man; they wrested the land from the later and also settled there. They went on to Palikir and Tomara; but soon returned because they did not want to live there. They remained, for the time being, in Sokes; from there they made raids on U and fought there. They took land away from them. Finally the inhabitants of Matolenim helped the people of U, and they drove the intruders out of Not. These went to Mesenien over the Tau en Tsokola, and there remained for four nights. Then they went back to Not. They again began to fight; this time the people of the Sau en Kauat were victorious, and the people of the other tribes were put to flight.

Then they conquered Taram and Lanar, which they took away from the Sau Lazialap. At that time there was a man in the tribe of the Sau en Kauat, whose totemic name is Luk en Keirak (later Lap en Not), the great leader. After him no such great fights and invasions took place.

(Tsoumatau in Tsapalap.)

History of the Tsau en tsamaka sib (Tsokes) (D.28.)

Formerly the trepang lived on the mountain Nan tol en saumaki. There he had many children. When they were grown up, they distributed themselves over the country. The oldest with his family formed the Tsau en tsamaka sib; the second the Tip en man sib and a third the Tsau en kauat sib. The Tsau en tsamaka remained on the mountain Tol en saumaki. The mountain was very high and yearly reached to the sky. One day kava was pounded. The noise disturbed the Tau Katau, and because he did not want to have it near him, he trampled the mountain with his feet, so that it became much lower. (p.46) The Tsau en tsamaka now also had to come down from its height. From now on it had no head, but all were equal to each other: the former chief was equal to his follow sib (other) members.

This made the trepang and his children angry, he emigrated,
entered the sea and remained there. (Kaneki en Tomaroii.)

The History of the Sau iap. Not (D.$.)

Once there lived a man in Jap named Sau iap, who had a Kutor bird. He sent this bird to Ponape. The bird got to Tsokes and settled on the mountain Ton toliap. He remained there and observed at the people of Tsokes, who were just then busy clearing and smoothing a bit of land. The bird was hungry, and he therefore fell upon them and ate them. He did the same in Mesenieh, where he also ate all people.

At that time a man called Saum en kapin pil lived in Nan tsokola, who came from Merertil. He went to Meseniefi, and killing the bird with a club, cooked it and ate it.

Sau iap waited for his bird; he was to return and tell him about the mighty Saum en Kapin pil. And when it did not come, Sau iap himself went to Ponape. He went to Nan tsokola and there met Saum en Kapin pil. He asked him for some kava which he desired to drink. But he received the answer that name was in the house. Sau iap put the handle of his hatchet upon into the soil and when he took it out again, it had the most beautiful kava root. Now they pounded the kava and drank of it.

And Sau iap asked the other about the bird; he learnt that he had slain and eaten it. "Why have you done that? Then you must pay for it!" Saum en Kapin pil went out and made a new bird from a stone, he called it tirou. And he gave it to the Sau iap. This one had become drunk through the unwonted partaking of kava, and he asked the host; "How do I get home?" Just sit down on this bird, it can fly and will take you home. But do not touch its neck, should you do so, it will kill you."

Now the bird flew up with Sau iap and in the direction of the great lel ton iap waterfall. Sau iap was afraid for he thought that they would fly right into the waterfall. But the bird flew on the mountain Tola Kap and then on to the Tamatam en sakir; the bird spread its wings wide (holte mit den Flügeln weit aus), because Sau iap clung to it very firmly, and thereby knocked a large piece, the matap en Kutor, out of the mountain. Then (p.47) it got to Jap; it remained there and acquired so loud voice that

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1 Not the island Yap is to be understood by Jap, but altogether the world.
Sau en Kapinpêl, when he heard it, fell over with fright and died.

(Nanaua en Tolakap.)

The Origin of the Lazialap Sib.

(JJH: This part is accompanied by a parallel native text which has been omitted.)

Thus began our sib Lazialap. An eel created our Lazialap. He lived in the brook Lenpuis. And Luk Nan iapue went to him and wanted to marry him. But the woman did not wish to; then he made a love-charm. Here to the love-charm which he stoke for the wreath of flower;

"I tie a wreath of flowers to soften your hear,
You shall love me, light shall break in you,
For Luk ties the wreath for you;
And like the wreath, the woman now belongs to me!"

Then she could suffer(liked) him; she became pregnant and bore twin girls.

One went to Kiti, the other to Nalan(Heaven). And the Kiti people worshipped the one, also the people in U. And the one was called Ilake en Pikitak, and the other Ilake en Sonup. (Sonuo?) And thus the history is of heavenly origin.

Family History of the Lazialap sib(stamm). (Tsokes.)

(Not native text, p.47-48.)

A great eel is the ancestor mother of the Lazialap sib which is divided into different sibs, of which the Tsau Letau is the oldest. This eel lived in Tsapalap in Matolenim and ate men. It ate nearly all men, so that there were hardly any men left in Tsapalap. The people did not know how to get rid of it. And one day they took a lot of cocoanut shells; they cut holes into them and threw them into the river, where the eel was. The wind became caught in the shells and there (p.48) a humming sound ensued. The eel wanted to know what was the matter; it asked, but nobody answered. So it followed the sound. When it saw the shells float on the sea, a large shark swam up; it seized the eel and wanted to eat it. It began with the tail and slowly ate on. When it got near the belly the eel cried: "Be careful, I have a child in my body," Then the shark let the eel go and did not harm it any more.
The eel went to Kufain and there bore a number of children. There were men and they are called Tsau en pazouei. Then it again went to Ponape, swam through the large northeast entrance and reached Not, where it formed the long peninsula. It again became pregnant and bore men who later formed the following sibs: Tsau en pasato, Tsau li pön tiak, Tsau en Not and Laziakauat.

Family History of the Lazialap. (Native text.)
(The following in accompanied by a native text which has been omitted, JJH:)

In former times a woman once went fishing in front of Kiti and found a small stone; she picked it up and put it into her fishing basket. Then she went home and hung it on a foof lath of the house. Then she fetched water. And every day she had to look where the small stone became more and more beautiful and glossy. One day when she again looked at the stone, it broke, and a very small eel was in it. She wanted to bring up this eel. She told her husband. Both fed it until it was grown up. One night they arranged to eat it. (discussed) But the eel had crept into the soil under the house of the couple and heard what they discussed. The next morning the couple went out to the reef in order to fish. Their daughter had remained in the house. The eel appeared. He turned to the girl and said: "What did you talk about last night?" (p.49) The girl answered: "About nothing." Then the eel said: "Did you not talk about eating me?" The girl said yes. Now the eel said again to the girl: "When you have killed me, take my head, bury it in a hill." Then the eel left the girl. The couple came home from the sea. Both washed in the river. When they looked into the water, they also saw the eel in the water. And when they looked up, they saw the eel above them on a tree. The two were frightened. They ran away. The eel pursued the couple, for he wanted to eat the two. When he pursued the two into the high mountains he met a man called Kerou Mant. This man had caught many eels and had them with him and sought still more. Then the eel became afraid and hid. He crept into the ground in the little place of Sau en Lipontak. And here originates the sib of the Lazialap. Then he again followed the

1 In Selatax
couple and hunted them up en their hiding-place under the crag of Tinitini. The couple sat under the crag. The eel climbed up the crag. Then it broke it into two halves; when it looked down on the two water came out of its mouth and dripped on the two. They looked upwards and noticed the eel. Then the two became frightened and hurried off. The (p.50.) eel followed them, caught them and ate them. Then it went on and remained at the Tau en Letau in the little place of Mualinrot in the district of Etiénlan(Étienlan ?). Now it ate up all people of Tsapalap. The head ate the people in the boat, and the tail all the people on the land. Then it became pregnant, gave birth and bore the woman Liasir. With this woman begins the branch Tsau en Letau of the sib Lazialap. Now the people of Tsapalap considered what they should do, for only a few people still remained. Therefore they built a dance and put in coconut bottles and gourd-bottles, also triton's horns; and when a strong stream and wind came down from the mountains, sent it out towards evening. The canoe floated and the bottles clattered. The eel asked: "How many are you?" But nothing stirred, for there were no men in the canoe. Again he asked: "How many are you?" Again it did not get an answer. Quickly the canoe floated past and down the stream. It grew angry. It began to move to follow the canoe. And it pursued the canoe out into the sea. Then the sharks gathered and bit it, and when they wanted to bite its belly, it cried loudly: "Woe, my children." Now the sharks did not bite any more. But it reached to the land of Kusae. Here it made the following branches of the sib of Lazialap originate: the Sau en Pasouei and Lazialap Gatau. Then is again set out and (p.51) returned to Ponape. It went straight to the state of U and there founded the region of Not. Here too it founded two family branches: the Sau en paseto and the Sau en Not. Then the eil created(ausbaven)Not; it created the region of Not. And thus the sib of Lazialap spread and multiplied in the states of U and Matolenim.

Now when Isokalakal once appeared in Ponape, he conquered the state of Matolenim. There he founded the line of the Nanamariki of Matolenim. Where he married a woman from the sib of Lazialap called Likand a Kalakal.

2 A rock projecting 8-10 m.
Likand a Kalakal gave life to a boy, Nalepi en ien. With him began the Naneken line in Matolenim. The sister of Nalepi en ien, also bore a boy, Nan Kapuei. He became Naneken after Nalepi en ien, but later he went to the state of U and there founded the line of the Nanamariki in the state of U. Then it happened that his sister Likand ani followed him. She settled in the state of U, multiplied and founded the Sau en pei en kon. (Sau en pei en kon). From this the Nanamariki in the state of U have come until the present day.

Tale of a SB-family of the Lazialpp Sib.

(JJH; following tale is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted.)

A family of the Lazialap is called Sau en Tamoroi; it did not live at the shore of the sea; we are like the shoots of the Kemalele grass which, widely ramified, creeps in to the bush; like the reed stalks we grew up and formed the tribe of U, we did not emigrate from Kusae with the others. But neither did we have any kings; for Tau Katau had used force on a noble woman, Likand ani. So we also call ourselves Kanan en merup. And formerly the Nanamariki of U were taken from our midst, for we originated and always remained in Ponape and did not emigrate from Kusae. And Tau Katau founded our Sau en Tamoroi with Likand ani. It became the nobility in U; later the Sau en Tamoroi received the name of Sau en pei en Kon, from which the Nanamariki of U have been drawn until the present day.

Family History of the Lipetan.

(JJH; Following history is accompanied by a native text which has been omitted here.)

The first Lipetan are said to have come to Ponape like this. A long time ago Lipetan left the island group of Ratak (Marshal Islands). They came to Kusae, remained there and multiplied. There they frequently heard that an island was situated in the west which was more beautiful than Kusae. Thus four people agreed to investigate the place of which they had heard. They pushed a canoe into the water. Then they paddled and started.

They were two men and two women, the one named Akau, the other Merak; they did not know the names of the women. When they got to Ponape they thought the Ponape people would give names to the women.

1 Tau Katau is a member of the Lazialap.
Thus the one woman received the name Li pe tato and the other, the name Li pei sah Gatau. Now came the day when they wanted to start, to leave Kusae; they gathered lipuoi snails as provisions for the canoe voyage; the men also fetched water to moisten their throats. Then the women covered their heads with branches; these were from the Kamuse tree. When they had navigated half of the stretch in the sea, the sea became rough, and a wave filled the canoe with water. Merak took fright; he shouted loudly. The drinking water ran out of his mouth. Then they went to Pomape in to the entrance called Kap in Pilap. They tried to get over the reef; that was not possible, for the canoe was too heavy. Now they made it lighter; they threw their voyage provisions overboard before Tol e tik; that is the reason why there are so many lipuoi snails just before Tol e tik up to the present day. Now they went ashore; they got to the stony shore of the region of Sōi'n uär called Sakar en tu. Now they left the boat; then Akau spit his drinking water out, this became the river Pil en Nān sunāip; and the women planted the tree branches at the place, when they climbed ashore. The canoe and also the trees exist still in this place.

One of the women now married the Uasai en Kiti; she bore him a boy. Then the woman got angry and carried the boy off; she betook herself to Uona to the place of Tsapuilap in the region of Polōti. When the woman had come to Uona, she met a man in the place of Naleur in the region of Porosap. The man now brought the news to a small prince who had the title of Lip en matau en Onō samuei (JJH; sic! Native text has Lep.) and was at the head of the small region Rōlan. And the man said to the Lep en matau; "Sir, I met a woman on the way, the woman is beautiful, she has a beautiful face, large feet and large arms, a slender hip and a mighty seat! She carries a child on her back, he puts his feet on her seat and holds himself at his mother's head, for her hair is very long." Lep en matau asked: "Well, who is this woman?"

1 Kiti harbor 2 A large stone 3 appears āgamnon p. 55.
The man answered and told him: "I do not know, sir, I could not look into her face!" Lap en Matau jumped out of the house, seized the woman, carried her back and pushed her into a corner of the room, where he copulated with her. But he had two wives of his own, they belonged to the sib of the Tip en pepe. Both were absent, but were on the small place of Nalukop'. The man, however, who had met the woman wandered on to tell the two wives that Lep en matau had copulated with a woman. But he said he did not know her; and so the two wives, some of their sib and the man set out and betook themselves to the house to beat the woman; when they appeared the woman sat down on the threshold (p.55) to wait for them. When the wives wanted to attack and beat her she tore their mouths apart, and when the man also came, she tore his loin-cloth. Lep en matau, however, rose and gave them the advice not to beat each other any more, for he wanted to marry all of them together; they got on with each other and were friendly with each other; they no longer beat each other and all married the one man. They all had children and became friends; the woman, however, became the ancestral mother of the Lipetan in Uona.

Now when the boy grew big Sau Kisa had all the people assemble, for they wanted to make war on the district of Kiti, because Nan matau en pelan had conquered the district of Kiti, the Tip en man no longer ruled, but in his place the Tip en pepe, who had conquered the district and ruled it. So all people of the district of Uona met to begin the war. Now the boy told his father that he also wanted to go to war. The boy stuck up in front of the very great crowd and spoke to the Sau Kisa: "I want to go to war. I take to two titles of a Naneken and a Nalik lapalap." Then all began to march against Kiti. They got to Tsapuetakai. There a terrible fight began. Many people were killed. The boy who fought very bravely took the Nan sau set en Pelan prisoner; he was braver than all others. Now when the Nanamariki had been killed his people ran (p.56.) away. But they stopped again and chose a new Nanamariki of Kiti and gave the title of Naneken to the son of the Sau Kisa; and they also gave the title of the Nalik lapalap.\(^\text{1}\) to

\(^{\text{1}}\) In addition a title of the tsopeiti line.
his brother. Thus the title of a Naneken en Kiti was created; he lived in Roi en Kiti until his death; then they gave him the title of a Luk en Tamas; thus the Naneken title was acquired by the Lipetan sib in the district of Kiti; up to the present day, from Luk en Tamas to the present Naneken, there have been six bearers of the title.

**Tale of Two Boys.**

*(Origin of the Lipetan Tribe.)*

The story is accompanied by a parallel native text, which has been omitted here.

Once upon a time there were two boys, they lived in Kusae a very long time ago. Both were orphans; their fathers and mothers were dead. They thought of leaving Kusae, for they no longer had any family. They launched a canoe into the water and in it went north of Kusae. When they were far away in the open sea, they saw a rock, which appeared out of the sea. These two boys were called Senia and Monia. When they left Kusae, they took three shells with them, the Likin suan, Nan suan, and Nan tan suan; only one single one remained in Kusae, the suan. Now both began to jump up on the rock. Senia jumped on the rock first, but he slid on the rock; his face was scratched by the stone. (p. 57) Monia said and spoke: "Now I want to jump on it." He fetched Senia and carried him into the canoe. Then he took the Likin suan shell; now he again jumped on the rock and knocked a bit off the top. Then he could get a foothold. Thus he got to the top of the rock. Monia climbed up first, and Senia took their paddles; he climbed after him. So the two strode along, until they were on top. There they found some taro which grew on top there, and also a fish-container. In it were sera; both had never before seen fish like this before. They wanted to eat them; they now made a fire with the wood of their paddles. Then they fetched taro and fish; they cooked and ate them. When they had eaten the one side of the fish during the meal, they turned round to eat also the other side; but the other side became meat again, and the same happened with the taro. When they both were satisfied they took the rest of the taro and threw it away; it grew again; they also threw the rest of the fish into the fish-container. It also became alive and swam away. They opened wide their (made big)

2 Until 1910; the present Naneken is already 60. 3 Since 1852 four of them.
eyes and were astonished that they were so close to heaven. But they could not turn back. Now they looked down; they saw a land; but it was very difficult to get there, for they were too high. Now they both wanted to jump. The big one was afraid; so the little one jumped first. When jumping he became caught in the branches of a tree, which grew out of the rock. He rested and waited for his older brother. The big one jumped after him; when he arrived below he died. The little one took him into his arm, massaged him, and he became alive again. Now they had to jump three more times; at the fourth time they reached the land. Both looked around, for it was a beautiful land and had beautiful trees. They also saw a small house, it was only one fathom long; they wanted to enter, but there was nothing in the house; they noticed another house quite near. That was two fathoms long; when they wanted to visit this one, again nothing was in it. They saw one a little farther off, which was larger, so they went on until they got to the hundredth house. They went to the largest house. They entered and asked the (Platz-orakel) oracle of the place, where they should hide. They discovered that there was a good place in the binding material. They hid there. Evening came. In the night both heard something that made a noise outside and then appeared in the house. It was the head of a ghost, and after it a whole group of ghosts appeared, about a hundred heads. Thus the house was soon full. They now began to dance round dances. The house was still quite dark. Then a light appeared from the hole of the hearth, the "light of the chorus leader." When the light had appeared Monia said to Sênia that this place was really wonderful (that (p.59) their affair looked very promising). Sênia said to his brother that he wanted to fetch it. But Monia said: "Do not go, lest you should fare as yesterday." And Monia said: "I want to fetch it." He jumped down, took the light (the torch) and put it over his shoulder. All ghost heads were astonished, became afraid and fled. Both now left the house and got into another house where they found a woman who lived in there. The woman was called Li sa saum Gatau. They now learnt that she was their ancestral mother. The woman gave a fish to both;
fish which was exactly like the fish which they had eaten on the mountain. Now when they had eaten half of the fish, they both looked up and noticed that only half of their ancestral mother was still flesh. Both said: "What is this, mother?" The ancestral mother answered: "I, I am the fish which you ate on the mountain yesterday!" Then they were astonished and wept. But their ancestral mother said: "You shall worship the fish as a spirit and at all times!" That is the beginning of the Lipetan sib; the sera has remained their protective spirit until the present day. Then the woman said to the two: "And now bring back the "light of the chorus leader," for it is your uncle and is called Sauipuil. Both now asked her, why and where he stayed here; the woman answered that he lived in nauniap. They shouldered the torch and left the place. When they left the place they saw that the leaves (p.60.) of all trees moved a little in the wind; and they found a man who slept and the breath from his nose moved all trees. They jumped down on the sleeping man. They wakened him; he woke and saw that the two children carried his torch on their shoulders. He did not know them; therefore he had a woman come called Li kaka' Ili aramas (woman who is able to see men), she was to tell him who the two were. She came and told him that they were his sister's children. Then he rose, took up the one, put him into his hand, stretched his hand south and then swung his hand round his head so that the child should see all places. Then he put him on the ground, took the other and did the same with him; then he gave them everything they should possess, the places, the house, the dance and the torch. So they remained in the country until they were grown up and died. But Monia intended to return home to Kusae.

So he set out and told all the sibs that Sauipuil was their great protective spirit to whom they gave the title of Iso Kaneki, and a fish, the sera, their totem animal.

Family History of the Letak.

(JJH; This history is accompanied by a parallel native text which has been omitted.)

Thus the sib of Letak once had its beginning in Ponape. A woman called Inatitipel came from Kusae. It was related that she did not come to Ponape in the

1 Totem: zapake, sau6.
canoe, nor did she come over the (p.61) water, but wandered on a reef which stretched from Kusae as far as south of Na; it is called Koko en Kissetik.¹ The woman had two kava shrubs with her, which she had perhaps stolen. She landed in Na; she planted the two shrubs at a little place on Na, which is called Tsalata. One day she deliberated whether she wanted to stay there. She wandered about and came to the place of Tape². She liked this place for the wood was beautiful, the water good, and so she remained here. Then she bore a girl called Lime³ en Kiti; altogether she bore a hundred children. Another woman of her sib called Luanenam came afterwards; she also got to Na and followed her to Tape; both remained there and bore many many children, about a thousand. So the place became too small for them, and they could no longer stay there. In addition a woman came who gave birth in Samoi;³ the woman died there. A son of the Sau Telur followed them and fetched them back to Matolenim; a woman, however, had remained in Tsokes; she had children there; therefore members of the Letok sib have lived in Tsokes until the present day.

Family History of the Putum Sib.

(JJH; This history is accompanied by a parallel native text which has been omitted.)

Thus did the Putum sib take its beginning in Ponape in olden times. An eel created it, but its members were not born out of the body, but out of the mouth, therefore they are called (p.62) Putum sālam.¹ They spread over the region of Pelan. Now the sib of the Tip en pepe had left Paithi a long time before; they had settled on the high mountains of Pelan. After some time they went down to the lower land and observed the customs and habits of the men. One night they had a fight with the Putum people and killed many. The Putum people did not fight with the them but were suddenly surprised.(were fallen upon). The rest fled; they settled in the district of U. There they remained for a long time, until the U people too treated them badly. Then they entered the canoes, went to Kusae and remained there. But it happened that, after Isokalakal had subjagated Matolenim, that one of them

1. p.61 Reef of the small rats 2 In the mangroves. 3 At Anenein
1. p.62 Those born through the mouth.
founded the line of the Nanamiiki in U. When he arrived, the people in U did not know the charm Kapiniarana' en Mailap'. He asked the U people about it: "Who knows it?" They replied that a sib knew it which had once emigrated from U to Kusae. Then the prince had to return; he betook himself to Matolenim and went in a canoe to Kusae where he found two women called Katin nam and Li Keitam. The women taught him the charm. Both women said (told) to the prince that he should go back to the state of U, and they would follow him. So the prince went there and began the line of the Naneken in the district of U. The two women appeared later, married and received the title of Likand pau. They had children by the Nanamariki. They bore many children and extended the Putum sib. Therefore the Putum sib supplies the Naneken in the district of U.

Tale of Guardian Spirit of the Li Ār Katau sib.

(JJM; the following tale is accompanied by a parallel native tale which has been omitted.)

Now follows the tale of the spirit of the sib Li Ār Katau, called Sau Āni. This spirit stayed on Takaiu, so that he should be able to help the sib of Li Ār Katau, for he lived in this spot in the district of U. The spirit helped it greatly; at night he appeared in the small place of Niapei in the shape of a torch, when he was dissatisfied. Then Tsou matau en Takaiu had to rise during the night, go off and dig kava; he then had to take it to the place where the spirit was. Then the spirit was satisfied. When one of them was ill and dying, they brought him gifts of atonement of kava. Tsou matau en Takaiu then took a beaker with kava, prayed and gave it to Sau Āni. Then the people became well again. When they went to the reefs and caught a flying fish, they had to throw it away, for the spirit did not approve of this. If somebody took it onto the land, he quickly died the next day. But there were other fish which the spirit permitted them to eat; nobody was allowed to go out in the canoe, unless he had previously informed the Tsou matau en Takiau, 1 (p.64) for if he had not

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1 Tsoumatau is the head of the sib of the Li Ār Matau; in him lives the spirit, the Sau Āni; pigeon, Plante, and flying fish are consecrated to him and therefore taboo; in Niapei stand the sacred Calophillum trees which sometimes shine like fires at night.
previously informed the Tsou matau that he wanted to go out by boat, he fell ill. And one other thing. Nobody is allowed to eat the two-fruited Planten. (JJH: German word) neither touch nor eat them. Formerly the people of Takaiu offered baskets with food. They put them in front of the house of the Tsou matau; they did not touch them, for the spirit sent the muroi fish, which then eats the contents of the food baskets and disappears again, the rest is then distributed. That is what I still know.

Family History of the Li ar Katau Sib.
(JJH: Following history is accompanied by a parallel native text which has been here omitted.)

Thus did the Li ar Katau sib take its beginning. There was once a Koto tree. It had a fruit, which fell down and broke apart. Two women emerged, the one was called Li en Katau tik and the other Li en Katau lap. Both multiplied and populated Kusae. Li en Katau lap bore a boy called Nānuai, and a bird, the owl. Liren Katau tik also multiplied; those in ponape who descend from her have remained here to the present day.

When they were on Kusae, Isokalakal went on an expedition against Ponape to make war on Matolenim. Nānuai also with his sib took part in it, and followed Isokalakal, for it was Nan paratak, his uncle, who had formerly come with Isokalakal. So they came. And the war came to an end. They settled on Ponape. When they a ppeered before Ponape, they entered the entrance of Au en Kap', there they found many fish. They caught them by using (p.65) thair arms and legs as weirs. They selected the largest fish. He scraped it's scales off with his finger nail. Then he swallowed the fish raw and betook himself to the Isokalakal in Pan Katra. He stayed with him. Then he had the idea of going round Ponape to seek strong kava, for he liked to drink dava. But he did not get drunk. So he set out to sail round Ponape. But he did not find any kava which makes drunk. Finally he got to the place of Aikap in Matolenim. Here he pounded kava and drank. Then he became drunk. He fell asleep. The Ponape people did not like Nānuai, because he boasted that he did not have to obey the Nanamariki. Therefore they instigated some people from the sib of Nānuai to take him out into the sea and throw him overboard. Two men carried him sleeping into the canoe. Then they went out into the sea. They got to a small spot in the sea which
was very dangerous, to Molelap. Nanuai woke up and noticed where he was. He rose and killed the people. Then he jumped on the trees, for there were many trees there at that time. An he jumped from one tree to the other, until there were no more. Then, however, he sank in the sea. His sister, however, the bird, had remained on the Paipalap and looked out on to the sea. She saw the Nanuai on Molelap. She flew there to help him. When she was near Nanuai he sank. The bird wanted to seize him with its beak to get hold of him. But it was impossible, it seized only the wreath of taro leaves. Then it returned home to the Paipalap. And there weeps and wails.

Family History of the Tip en Luk.

Thus began the Tip en Luk sib; a woman Li emin Not founded the Tip en Luk in old times. The woman lived in Palikir. She was the sister of the man who ruled Palikir and had the title of Lapen Palikir. The two committed incest together. The people in Palikir disapproved of this and killed the woman. Then they threw her into the sea. She floated about in the water until she was decayed. But a part of her intestines remained. This floated to the shore. One day the Lap en Palikir had to ease nature. The part of the intestines swam up, climbed up and pushed itself over the penis of the Lap en Palikir. The man was astonished at this, he took the part of the intestines, threw it away, and it fell on a piece of wood and on this wood floated to Ant. It remained lying on the beach and became a woman who continued living in this spot. She became pregnant and gave birth to a girl called Li en Maipun; multiplying she then created the family branch of Sau en Ant.

When Li amin Not was still alive she had made the Naliam fish, then the Ioma fish and later the shark. These multiplied in Palikir, later they spread over the whole of Pohnape and (p.67) founded three family branches, they are called Naliam, Iomo, and Sau en Ant. 2

1 Iomo is wide spread in Matolenim.
2 The natives assert that a shark does no harm to a member of the Sau en Ant. Sau en Ant is spread in Kiti.
Family History of the Naniak Sib.

(JJH: Following history is accompanied by a parallel native text which has been ommitted.)

Thus did the Naniak sib begin in old times. A woman Liauenta lived in the place of Mesir\(^3\) which lies in the Ratak. Liauenta became pregnant and bore two girls; the one was called Liumualan and the other Litsenmualan. Both were a pair of twins; they multiplied immensely; then they intended to set out to seek a country where they could stay. They reached Kusae. There they settled. Here to they multiplied until the days when Isokalakal set out against Ponape and made war on Matolenim. A man, the most respected man in the sib of Naniak, was Nān esen. He followed Isokalakal. They made war on the district of Matolenim. They caught and killed Sau Telur. Isokalakal took his place and ruled over Matolenim, as the Nanamariki. His rule lasted very long, then Isokalakal died. Now there was no other Nanamariki except the nephew of Isokalakal, who was still small. Nān esen therefore had a canoe prepared and went to Kusae to inform Isokalakal's mother that Isokalakal had kied; who was to (p.68) follow, as his nephew was still a small boy? The woman sent the canoe back and sent word to the Nān esen that he himself should, for the time being, take over Isokalakal's rule, until the boy was grown up. Then Nan esen took the place of the Nanamariki: he ruled district of Matolenim. He ordered some women of his sib from Kusae to come to Ponape. There they multiplied. Then when the boy was grown up, Nan esen put him on the shield.\(^1\) He now ruled as Nanamarik in Matolenim, and he himself was like a priest. He could do as he pleased in Matolenim. When he died the chiefs showed that they really liked him; they wept and did not bury him until four days later, then they buried him in the bush;\(^1\) we do not know where they buried him. Some chiefs had married the Naniak women. They had children by them; and thus they became seriso in the district of Matolenim.

A long time passed, then appeared a ship\(^2\) which cast anchor outside of Matolenim. The captain and his people betook themselves to Napali and re-

\(^{3}\) p.67 Majuro in the Ratak Group (Marshall Islands).
\(^{1}\) P. 68 In one of the stone enclosures.
\(^{2}\) about eight years ago.
mained there. Nanana en Matolenim slew the captain and the crew. Later two ships went into the entrance of Matolenim. They made inquiries; Uasai Matolenim came to the ships' aid. Thus they fought the Nanamariki and his people. They fled from Matolenim (p.69) with their wives and children. The Nanamariki was killed, also Nanaua who was hanged at the mast. Uasai was put on the shield so that he should become the Nanamariki of Matolenim. Thus there are no more Naniak people in Matolenim; they emigrated to Kiti with their parents and did not reappear in Matolenim.

Origin of the Sib of Tsau en Paipalap (Tsokes). (D.22)(No Native text.)

Along time ago two women came from Jap to Ponape. They were called Limau en Tutrand and limau u Jap. They had baskets in which were many mushrooms. When they got to Tsokes, these became too heavy for them. And therefore they scattered them everywhere where they became stones which are today spread over the whole of Tsokes.

They remained in Tsokes, and each had a child; the one a boy; the other a girl, from whom later the sib of the Naneken en Tsokes later arose, the Tsau en Paipalap.

Of the Saum en Kapin pil (Not). D.18 (No Native text.)

Saum en Kapin pil lived in Tsokola. Another man was called Saum en iap, he lived in Jap. Both were great sorcerers and hostile to each other. Saum en Kapin en iap with it. Saum en iap, however, took of the taro and distributed it over all islands in the west. For it he sent mangroves by them to Ponape to ruin the island. But Saum en Kapin pil took them and distributed them around Ponape. Thus the island of Taketik was formed from the rest. Then he returned to Tsokola and there made a great river, the Tau en Tsokola. Great streams arose in this which were to flow as far as Jap and destroy it. One day he threw a cocoanut into the stream, and ordered it: "Tell the Saum en iap, I shall never allow him to come to Ponape."

(Katali en Lanar.)
A Tale from Satuan. (Native text. 7#5)

(JJH: Following tale is accompanied by a parallel native text which has been omitted.)

Thus originated the sib of Saupuenepik. A fish created it, that was the muraena. The muraena lived (p.70) with the men in the top of a banana tree. It made a man called Muanit. Then it climbed down from the tree. Now there was an entrance in Satuan between Satauan and Bati Kes. The Lukunor people visited it daily to fetch fish. And the people became angry because they came daily and took away their fish. One of the chiefs in Satauan called Papalap therefore said to his people: "When I die, throw me into the entrance!" Now he died. They carried him away and buried him in the entrance. Then the entrance grew high. A reef arose, that closed the entrance. Thus there was no more entrance.

II. Family.

I. General.

The importance of the family is small as compared with that of the sib. The head, mes en eni (mes en eni), of the extended family is represented among the members and small families living outside the district. In general in small groups the oldest has (holds) this post of honor. He rules over the whole bib branch, kainak, which generally corresponds to the extended family. The mightier and more numerous the kainak, the greater is the importance and authority of the mes en eni. He must be brave and obliging and must guard his own and his family's good name. He is liable for the offenses of the members of the family and must revenge or sue for offenses and violations of the position and possession of the family of the individual.

Although the children follow only the mother's sib and take their titles with reference to her class, their own father and their husband exercise full paternal power over them. But it seems (p.71) that the mother's brother is looked upon as the head, whose influence becomes apparent in marriage and other occasions. With regard to this the statements of the natives are contradictory, and everywhere we find change and the loosening of old

1 O'Connell.
customs and institutions, which apparently began even before the interference of the Europeans.


Marriage laws: Exogamy is the rule (unlimited). Sib membership alone is important, not the totem, for different sibs have the same totem, and this is no barrier to marriage, soi. The formerly prohibited intermarriage of Tzopeiti-Seriso and Nigurts was already referred to. Moreover the marriage between brother and sister, and between the children of two brothers, two sisters, between uncle and niece and aunt and nephew were also forbidden. The same is true of children nursed by the same woman, Kilikilono juit. Infringements of these laws are considered as incest, and are punished by death. A marriage was valid only when the chief had given his consent. The same was true of the marriages of bondsmen with regard to the master. No girl could be refused to a member of the high nobility, and every woman had to be put at the disposal of the Nanamariki when he so ordered. The husband, however, retained his rights and earned great praise from the other people. As a sign he sent oil to the chosen woman. The superior chiefs and noblemen could also order marriages of their bondsmen. Of diseases, ringworm, kil en uei, is said to be considered an obstacle to marriage, which is remarkable because of the relative harmlessness of the disease, the more so as nothing could be discovered regarding such far more dangerous diseases as syphilis and leprosy. -- The women of the high nobility are also said to have sexual intercourse with members of their own sib as they choose. (according to their own choice.)

Polygyny: Polygyny has prevailed on Ponape up to the present time, although to a lesser extent than formerly. Formerly the great chiefs had eight to ten wives. Common people and poor men were satisfied with one wife. The old Lap en Palikir had two wives, and his successor and nephew who ruled in 1910, three, for he had taken the two widows of his uncle. The Saulik en Auak is said to have had 10 wives simultaneously with whom he lived in a holy, inaccessible place, and whom he held in strict seclusion. In general, the wives live apart from one another.

1 Hahl, Eth. Notizblatt II, p. 11.
with children. The first wife or the wife highest in class or of the noblest family is considered to be the chief wife, inen moat, "sitting mother," the others, especially when the difference in rank is great, as subordinate wives, even often as servants. They are called (p. 72) pakai. — In past times polygyny is supposed to have caused many a war.

Wooing and Betrothal: The betrothal of children, kisin kamot or kisinin, is frequent. But such a betrothal is considered only as a desire and an intention, not as a binding promise; often it is never realized, when the betrothed have become marriageable and find their own inclinations. In a children's betrothal the boy sends food to the girl. If is is accepted, the girl shows her willingness to have intercourse with him. (cf. p. 76.).

The betrothal of adults takes another course. A youth begins to look for when he has fulfilled all customs like tattooing and extirpation (footnote 4) and had acquired title and fief and a voice in the counsel. (At the age of eighteen, sometimes even at fifteen or sixteen.) The boy does his own wooing. First he sends a woman to the girl of his choice sending her word to come to him. If she is willing to do this, they sleep together and discuss their intentions. In olden times the wooing was often violent: as a sign of his love lipon en kik he scratched her back and cheeks or pulled out her eyebrows. — When the boy and girl have agreed on their intentions the wooer talks to the parents of the girl, her father or mother's brother, or he turns to the head of the family or the district chief. But the parents can also come to an understanding with the chief in his stead. According to Christian, the young man woos for some time in the house of the bride and not infrequently unsuccessfully. Through a man or a woman the boy sends fruits and fish to the bride's parents; they hand them over with the words: "I bring you these presents from X and am to tell you that he wants to take your daughter for his wife. If they consent they send a similar present which is called topuga to the wooer's father. For the celebration of the betrothal, puge sakasak, feasts are held on three of four evenings. The girl's consent is an absolutely necessary for the validity of the marriage.

1 The removal of the left testicle is meant. 2 Christian p. 74.)
According to Hahl, she gives it by tasting the food which the family of
the wooer has prepared for her. To force reluctant parents to give their
consent, abduction, rukela, is used. The lovers disappear very secretly
and suddenly, so that nobody will be able to find them. Then the
parents of the girl go to the relatives of the young man and reproach
them greatly. The Nanamariki must find the couple. When they are
found they are ordered to offer before him (come to). A lawsuit,
kopune, is held. The relatives of both sides bring gifts of atonement,
tom, for the ruler (tseu-sugarcane and tsakau-kava). Then follows the
reconciliation of the two families and finally the marriage. Rape, tana
kisan, had the same (p.73) legal consequences (JJH: as elopement)
but was felt to be a real violation of law and in former times, easily
led to war.

The wedding celebration, ka popaut, takes place only three to four
days after the betrothal. The binding ceremony consists in anointing
the bride with coconut oil, len kapopaut. This solemn action is carried
out in the bride's house by the mother-in-law of the bride or another
woman sent by the head of the family; according to Hahl, however, by
her father or a relative. This is followed by a great feast. The groom
and his relatives bring presents, Kisakis, to the bride, which she or
her parents distribute among those present. Now the bride's relatives
hand their gifts, topikan kisakis, to the groom, and he distributes them
in his family. At the meal mats and belts are exchanged. All participants
contribute to the feast, and it is held in the assembly house, although
not the general public, but only the families concerned take part.
Personal presents, also belts, bark cloths etc. are taken away by the
bride, or they are carried after her.

The wedding celebration of members of the nobility or in rulers'
families were correspondingly more sumptuous, lasted several days and
drew together many guests. O'Connell had described it in detail. (Vol. I,
p.30ff).

He also mentions the invocation of the ancestors by the priest, which
was once absolutely necessary to make the marriage legally valid. As

1 Hahl, Eth. Notizbl. II. p.11
1/p.73/ The rubbing of the shoulders
and back of the bride is called keteti or anointing.
O'Connell married a chief's daughter, it is not clear whether the share of the bride's father in the ceremony was based on his character as a chief or as the bride's father.

As a rule, the dowry plays an unimportant part in marriage. The bride brings only her personal belongings, as ornaments, baskets etc. into marriage. The rich trousseau of the chief's daughter to whom O'Connell was married is explained by the special circumstances: As a poor, but greatly desired white man he is given the noble woman who must be kept according to her rank and who will bind the white man to the chief. This certainly an exception. She brought him land, slaves, canoes. When a woman does not own a fief of her own, which is always a rarity, she depends for her keep on her husband with whom she always has a joint-property. The exchanged gifts are not considered to be a bride-price for the woman.

The age of marriage was formerly fixed by the beginning of maturity, at about the age of fourteen to fifteen. The man was generally eighteen. It was also necessary that the tattooing of both to be finished. Now the tendency prevails to marry the girls as early as possible, often long before maturity. (p.74)

Generally the wife follows the man to his dwelling place, as already he has a fief. But often the married couple first live with her or his parents, until the father builds a house for his son.

Pretended marriage, group marriage, trial marriage (auf-Zeit) and polyandry are not known in Ponape. But trial marriage was general in former times. At least two days (JH:?) before the wedding the couple had to sleep together in the chief's house. The custom was called koma onopata, i.e., "begin!" The one of two share of trial (time of trial of one to two) kalel, is supposed to have been quite common until about 1860.

Position of the Woman and the Relation of Husband and Wife to Each Other. In general husband and wife get along well together. The men appeared somewhat severe to Christian, according to Western standards, but Kubary who lived among the natives for a long time found that they
greatly honored their wives. The women were certainly not suppressed and to beat one's wife is considered just as disgraceful for the Ponape man as for the European, unless the faithlessness of the woman gave him a right to chastisement.

The woman has no political rights, to be sure, but she may gain considerable influence depending on her personality: Thus at Christian's time, Nalio the mother of the Nanpei of Kiti, was an energetic, clever and lovable woman who enjoyed general respect and popularity and knew well how to bring many chief under the influence of her son, near whom her house stood. -- Daughters of the high nobility could, circumstances permitting, acquire a fief and could then hold the male title connected with it. But a voice in the counsel was barred to them. According to Chrystain (JFH. women) also follow (fearlessly) their husbands and relatives into battle.

Adultery. Adultery on the part of the man is not punishable. Such an act only gives his wife the right to leave him. But not infrequently she gathers together the women of her family and attackes her husband's mistress to give her a beating. -- Adultery of the woman until recently has been considered a serious crime. While not much notice of it was taken in the case of serfs and common people, it was punished all the more severely the higher the position of the woman or her husband. Tortures with subsequent death, often by burning, are said to have been the usual consequence. A distinction is made as to whether the woman want with the seducer of her own free will, or whether she was abducted against her will. Rape too was punished by death. When a woman ran away with a man of a foreign tribe, war was the usual consequence, and the offense was atoned for by blood-vengeance like murder. Only a very high blood-money on the part of the foreign state, nati, could settle the affair peacefully. In more recent times two cases of adultery with a bloody history are known. They illustrate the attitude of the natives. The father of the last Nanpei killed the abductor of (p.75) his wife by shooting him and by stabbing the woman. The wife of the Nanaua en

1 Chrystain, p.65. 2 Ibid. p.73.
Mutok ran away to Aru with an aramas mual. Both were fetched back and taken before the assembly in the assembly house in Kiti. The rifle was loaded by those present and the deceived husband shot the man.-- The guilty woman, as soon as she is seized, is taken before the family counsel, kopun en sau, and here condemned. Usually the sentence is carried out in the husband's house. The personal act of revenge of the husband is called a luak.

In more recent times this spectacular procedure (JJH; in the case of adultery) is usually avoided; one is less eager to take revenge, and there is no bloodshed. The husband beats his wife, finally reconciles himself with her or asks for a divorce. But if the trial in court is chosen, the parties, the adulterer, his sib and its head and the offended husband with his family appear before the Nanamariki to whom they first hand the gift of atonement consisting of kava, tom. The families approach in a long procession, every one carries a kava shrub in his hand. After preparing it the beverage is handed to the superior chief in the assembly house. Then he is "insen amaula" i.e., "comforted, satisfied" and the punishment is made known to the adulterer: disagreeable work like the felling of mangroves etc.

When a noble woman, likand, was seduced, her sib did not destroy the house of the evil doer but that of his sib head, perhaps even his canoes and plantations, and he too had to bear the punishment. When a noble woman had an illegitimate child, she had to marry the guilty father or was married to an aramas mual.

It was not considered adultery, when the wife was put at the chief's disposal at his order (as mentioned above). Occasionally friends and relatives practiced an exchange of wives, peisipal.

At O'Connell's time, marital faithfulness was great, as the woman was held in respect, loved her children and enjoyed all the honors of her husband. Adultery could only result in loss and she was from then on a social outcast, or even risked heavy punishment, and death.
Divorce may be accomplished any time with the consent of both parties. The man may also dismiss his wife when he is tired of her. But this is not really considered as divorce; he must see to it that she does not marry again and must support her. In a case like this the children live with the parent whom they love best. The abandoned woman is called tsou papo. In the circles of nobility, in the case of adultery or ill-usage, the marriage may be dissolved by the man of both sibs after an attempt at atonement has been made. If the woman has a fortune of her own, she takes it with her, unless she has run away with a lover. (p.76) Even a divorced woman could never marry her lover. Her former husband is always attentive to prevent this occurring. (This one can never be married by her, even after the divorce, of which her husband has to take care.) In the case of a friendly separation (see above the children may choose the parent with whom they want to live. They belong to the sib of the woman. If she is guilty, they live with the father. The statements with regard to this are uncertain and contradictory. Perhaps the views about this are in a state of change.

Divorced, dismissed wives, and mistresses of the chiefs and the tsópeiti must all have their permission to marry, generally they may marry only a relative of the former husband or nobleman.

Widows, òti, are under strict supervision and have no sexual freedom. The levirate is not known in Ponape, but it is customary for the successor in office, the brother or nephew to take the widows of the deceased in addition to his own wives, unless the rules of marriage prevent this (laws form an obstacle). This custom is called roā. According to Hahl, the right of the widow can be bought. Men who had a love-affair with a widow were punished and at one time, if the woman became pregnant were killed (even). Widows of noblemen were allowed to marry noblemen only and the order for this was issued by the chief. Violations of these laws were also punished. This causes much friction with the Christian churches. Widows of common rank are allowed to remarry after a certain period of waiting. Until

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1 Hahl, Eth. Notizbl. II. p.11.
then they return to their family or live with their sons, when these receive the fief of their father. Widowers have the right, but not the duty, to marry the sister of their deceased wife.


Sexual intercourse begins very early. Formerly they waited for at least the beginning of maturity in the girls, the first menstruation. Now children, especially betrothed, are taught sexual intercourse from the fourth or the fifth year. The little girls are given to old men to be initiated (introduced). They are also placed at their disposal to give them pleasure. From the sixth year on the betrothed children sleep together. In the same manner, adult young girls are introduced to the art of love by old men.

Extravagata was already dealt with in volume 1, p. 371. The man is of age with the beginning of puberty, and when he has acquired his titles, fiefs and tattooing. The girls are not circumcised. They use to lengthen, Puet. the small lips of the vulva by applying ants or by sucking. Defloration is called (termed), maipon. (p. 77).

Cunnilingus, namnam, is generally practiced, in the corresponding expression the active person (cunnilingus? JJH:) is first mentioned. Kot manas, is the designation for fellatio (inverse proceeding) To satisfy sexually is termed anere, the coital (coitus?) movement, korei, korei. Women satisfy themselves with a banana or with yams.

The most abusive words of the language are taken from sexual intercourse: Putak kana uil en tsame! i.e., boor, eat the penis of your father! or "pia mat" i.e., your genitals stink. Pipina means ill (Ubel). Because of the fact that the natives use pia for the female genitals a great deal of embarrassment is occasioned for the church.

Prostitution is general. Five year old girls are placed at the disposal of men. There are whores, raran, nenak or litaran in every district. They must not enter the houses or participate in the festivals. Their houses, Im mual, are situated in the bush and their sib must keep (support) them. Intercourse with them is called ipu nenak.

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1 According to Girschner (Mitt. d. Sem. f. Oriental. Sprachen, Berl, 1904.)
When a single girl, li kirep, has a child, the relatives are said to regard this as something miraculous; they believe that a ghost has impregnated her. This attitude is surprising, considering the life of the people; it is also improbable and probably an intentional deception. At any rate, illegitimate children are rare, for the parents generally marry each other. They do not make a fuss about such conceptions. Formerly "ipunenak, i.e. to be born out of marriage was allegedly a term of abuse. The children are taken into the mother's sib.

Before marriage there is complete freedom of sexual intercourse. Such intercourse is no disgrace for the girl. Chastity is not expected before marriage(cf. p.75). In olden times, of course the divisions between the castes had to be observed or, what is more probably the women of high nobility were reserved, perhaps limited to members of the their class.

Love-life is supported by love-charms. (P 77-79)
(JH; For the native texts and German translations of a number of love charms see source: 1005 Hambruch 77-82.)

Love-charm to Win Wo
I twist the tsisi flo
They called during th
Win the heart of the
Spread and smooth the
Between Yap and Kusae! (From Here on is good)
Rouse her, the woman on the mountain of Yap;
Quickly lie down on the ground, stretch your legs,
Come love, come quickly!

Love-charm.
At night comes the tortoise, at night it comes here.
You shall go, go a short while,
You shall stay a long, a long time.

2 Hafl Eth. Notizblatt II, p.11
3 The flower which people in love put behind their ears.
4. A kind of balsamine which the speaker tists in his hands; from it proceed the forces to win the woman.
1 To lay eggs.
Girl walk backwards, backwards on your heels,
When you come again, go forward,
Forward on your toes.
Go away, come again, go away come again,
Sit down and do not move!  
(Nänkei en Sokes)

Love-charm. 2

Cuttle-fish, hold firmly, cuttle-fish from the deep water,
Hold me firmly and embrace me,
We want to clasp each other like small children,
Want to embrace each other, quite, quite firmly.
Love-charm dwells in my mats,
In the sleeping-mats, as with the likinono3!
(Lampoi en Lardjai (mardjai?))

Love-charm.

Cuttle-fish, hold firmly, cuttle-fish, hold firmly
Cuttle-fish from the deep water.
Hold me firmly and embrace me, (p.79)
Let us sleep and not move,
We want to move close to each other, near and firmly,
Arms hold firmly, legs hold firmly,
Firmly like the corals,
Firmly, firmly, quite firmly!

The following is a warding-off charm:
Charm of the Nan Sau en set (Marriage-charm). (Native text, p.79-80)
There is a ghost, he is called Nan Sau en set; he likes to steal women to marry them. And when he has married a woman, she will no longer love her real husband. Then she is given a medicine (from breadfruit and ginger-roots) and one says:

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2 Of Old Men.
3 A fish which is very quiet so that one thinks that is sleeps most of the time.
Only go away from here,
Only go away from there,

Nan Sau en set!
Only go away Nan Sau en set,
Go away into the water, sleep in the water,
Or go to the dry land, sleep on the land!
Only go away Li on en Meilen, ¹
Go away into the water, sleep in the water,
Or go to the dry land, sleep in the land.
Vanish Nan Sau en set,
Vanish, Li on en Meilen,
Remain under the island of Ant.
Travel in the daytime, travel at night,
Ghost, away with you, go to your place,
Ghost, away with you, desist from the woman,
Lovers ? (p.80)
Get away, only get away,
Get away into the mangroves,
Remain under the land of Kepara Close!
Travel at night, travel in the daytime!
Ghost, away with you, go to your place!
Ghost, away with you, desist from the woman
Lovers ?
Get away, only get away,
Get away into the mangroves,
Remain under the island of Nalap

 .... ........ .... ...... .. . .. .. III

Namaur (BBH: etc. enumerating a number of islands.)

Coition songs are sung by men and women, Here is an example:
(Accompanied by native texts, which have been omitted.)

¹ Nan Sau en set's sister is invoked so that she should inform Nan Sau of the contents of the charm, if he is absent.
Coition Song.
(The man sings)
I sleep alone, separated from all,
And still I want to go on before I die.
I will think of my distant lover,
But I must conceal it.
My mistress, she sought others.
I had to try many other loves, (p.87)
But none was like you, whom I had;
I am sad, there are pains in my heart.

Coition Song.
(The woman sings.)
I go down to the shore.
As I go I find there a good man, a little man,
Anointed with oil,
Anointed also under the grass apron,
You dear man smelling of turmeric,
You man, embrace me!

Coition Song.
(The woman sings.)
On the high rock love and faithfulness broke.
I saw my lover come, I must turn my face away,
For he avoided me, went to another.
You have broken love, you have burnt my soul,
My love no longer loves me,
Broke love and faithfulness. (Lampoi en uardjai.)

Coition Song.
(The man sings.)
Spread out the mats, I want to sleep now,
But before I sleep I must sigh and groan;
Until midnight I stay awake,
All the time thinking only of you,
Of what we did.
Shall I say that I am no bachelor,
That a woman is mine? (P.82)
Then I shall not win your heart again,
For we all ??
Want to do like Limėitėiap'
Who was not afraid to go with the people of Puenik,
Went with her lover down to the earth.
(Lampo en uardjai.)

Jealousy, ni melemek, is easily aroused, often by a woman merely speaking with another man.

In spite of their easy morals they strictly observe certain rules of good behavior. Thus is is considered very indecent to disturb a woman when bathing or to look at her. If a man is obliged to pass a place where a woman is bothing he throws a marked leg into the water and lets it float downstream, so that she notices it and can withdraw. It is also considered very indecent when a man passing a woman puts his hand under her apron and touches her.

4. Pregnancy and Birth.
The following charm, which can not be completely translated, is said to promote conception.

Charm for Conception.
(JJH: The parallel native text accompanying this charm had XXX been omitted.)

Limaukisenei, Liteteik, now put together the head of this child, together the nails, the feet, the arms, the head, the body ??? .

(p.83) What happens in pregnancy, kirip, is quite clear to the natives ...(as is shown by the statement on p. 83.) During this time the women enjoy great consideration and excellent care. As far as possible all their desires and wishes are fulfilled. During the months of pregnancy the husbands and closer relatives have to observe certain rules, the neglect of which would be disastrous for the child.

First the husband must during the whole time, live and sleep apart. Although he does not always go to another house, he has, at least, to
keep to one-half of the interior of the house. -- Every morning a
woman visits the pregnant woman and performs magic over her.—Both
husband and wife, and apparently also the relatives, must not cut their
hair until the delivery, for this would cause death to, or at least
sickness and frailty in, the child. The woman must carefully avoid the
sun. She protects herself against its rays with banana leaves. Looking
up into the sun causes a difficult birth.¹ -- Shortly before the
delivery, special conjurations are again carried out; these are called
mesiet. Moreover a log of wood is put into the house; it is lit during
the birth. At the same time the whole family assembles for a great
festival (kamatip), the kamori kasap, in which the expectant mother
perhaps does not even once more take part.

They maintain neither to know nor to practice abortion. On the
other hand they are acquainted with medicines of which they assert
that their use prevents children for all times.² Abortion is said to
not infrequently occur in the first year of marriage when the woman
employs such abortive kian vini suet, as kava. It is said that this
in connection with a succeeding massage, patseri, of the uterus has
an abortive effect. Probably this belief has caused the prohibition of
kava for women, who could partake of it only very secretly. Although
it was not punished, it was considered to be highly improper.—
Because of the great wish for children and the scarcity of illegitimate
births, as lovers usually marry in the event of conception, it may
well be assumed that the natives hardly intentionally practice abort-
ions, and in this sense their assertion not to know it may well be
true. They certainly consider it to be wrong.

Birth takes place in the dwelling house. Only the women of the
close family and the midwives are present. The woman in labor sits on
a mat with her lower legs bent and turned outwards; she is supported
by the helpers. If the birth is delayed, recourse is had to conjurations
and massage. Surgical interventions is not known. (p.34).

¹ Hahl, Eth, Notizblatt II, p. 10 ² Cf. m also the list of plants
by Christian, p. 332.
The umbilical cord, *Putsa*, is tied with marshmallow, and then cut with a bamboo knife, or is allowed to fall off by itself after four days. The separated piece, is put into a mussel shell in the sum and is handed to the father. He immediately puts it on top of a cocoanut palm or breadfruit tree. The tree is from now on called "tree of the child" and is the child's first possession. According to Hahl, a magical affect is also connected with this; the child will show great skill in climbing. The afterbirth is buried the same as all other human discharges and blood.

The newborn child is carefully rubbed with warmed leaves. Immediately after the birth a cocoanut is knocked open alongside it in order to awaken its hearing. As its first food the child receives the squeezed-out juice of a cocoanut mixed with ginger root, then the mother's breast and after only ten days it is fattened with banansa. If the mother has no milk during the first days, another woman gives the breast to the little one. In a certain sense she is then considered its mother and can, circumstances permitting, also adopt the child. This child and her own stand in the relation of milk-siblings; the children call each other brother and sister, give each other fruits, fish, etc. throughout their whole lives, and may never marry each other. Love-affairs are of course also forbidden. To cause the young mother to have abundant milk many vessels with water are placed around her couch and she is constantly urged to drink, which bloats her greatly. Foo is offered to her day and night.

In former times, the father (allegedly) is supposed to have observed a couvade. No trace of this custom is any longer found. He is allowed to cut his hair after the birth. For three or four months longer, he may not have sexual relations with his wife. Intercourse outside marriage is permitted to him during that time. Should he have such relations, however, he is not allowed to touch his child, lest he endanger its life.

Four days after birth the child is given a name chosen by the parents. The child is named after good friends. Male children are named after events, animals, fish, plants and objects; female names are less numerous.

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Typist:

Following are special instructions for typing notes from pages 66 and 67 of the MS.

Material beginning "The natives describe the events of pregnancy" is to go under category 113 without break. In typing this note, which runs to page 67 (ending "ruins along the house wall...") type it as a solid block and ignore anything in ink.

Then go back to page 66. Type each ink-bracketed() section as a separate note and place under the categories indicated in the left-hand margin in ink. In typing these individual notes do not include the ink-bracket, or the asterisk.

The asterisk* is meant to call your attention to the fact that the following statement must precede each of the individual notes in brackets:

*(JH: The following is from a native text.)

Francis Campbell will understand these instructions. See her if there is any questions.

Honigmann.
and are very old. Partly they cannot be translated, or make little
sense, for they sometimes choose three to four syllables from the
names of friends or old sayings and put them together. E.g. uorsakilan,
i.e., heaven's opener. Later the name is replaced by the title or
christian name.

The child is under the protection of the family deities, ani uos
and ani aramas, and is considered as belonging to them. In the individ-
ual case the deities are determined by divining.

The natives describe the events of pregnancy and birth as follows:
(p.85.)

Of the Birth. (Native text, p.85-86.)

(HHH: the Following material is accompanied by a parallel native text
which has been omitted.)(This is in ink.)

Thus the Ponape women take care of themselves when they give birth.
A woman is impregnated. Then the woman feels sick. Then she does not
want to eat many a food, for she must vomit itwh she always wants to eat
other things. The people give it to her, so that she will always have
to eat. But the woman must always belch. Then, in the month when the
woman does not menstruate she is pregnant. Then the blood forms the
child in the body of the woman. And when five months have passed, the
child moves in the body of the woman. And when nine months have passed,
the woman gives birth. And if the woman feels pregnant in January the
woman gives birth in September, for the woman gives birth after nine
months. Then the women fetch a kind of oyster from the reef the young
mother shall eat of it so that she have milk. For four days they give
her the oysters. On the fourth day the umbilical cord of the child
falls. off. In the house of the woman who has given birth they usually
light a fire on the day when the child is born. This fire is not blown
out until the child can creep; then it is put out so that the child
lest burn itself at the fire. Then they also used to drag a log of wood
into the house where the child is, the "bone of the child", they place
this beside the child. When the child can eat, this wood is used to
prepare the child's food with. During the month of its birth the women
wash the child in the (p.86) house; in the following month it is washed
outside the house. And when three months have passed, they darry the
child into the running water; This custom is known as river bathing.
The women who know charms carry the child to be washed and bathe it. And while they wash the child they say: (In parenthesis is the ink corrections, for the underlined.)

"Now I bathe in the leaping, in the running, in the beautiful water. Go away now what is evil from my child! (That which is evil now go away. Return now what is good of my child! (That which is good of my child, return again!)

Thus I bathe in the leaping, in the running, in the beautiful water!

Another bathing charm for children:
"Now I bathe my child in the great river of Kiti, Wash away, wash away, wash out what is evil, Wash well, wash better, may the skin become beautiful!"

This is done to the child in the third month. *When four months have passed teeth appear, and in the fifth month the child sits upright and creeps about; in the sixth month it runs along the house wall..... (Thus is done by the Ponape women when they give birth.)

5. The Position of the Children.

The children belong to the sib and caste of the mother. The influence of the mother's brother often asserts itself, but no detail is gleaned about this. The direct power over children is exercised by their own father. There exists no device for separating children from families or sib membership. Adoption, even when the real parents are alive, is frequent. Adopted children have the rights of own children. The raising of children of women belonging to a lower caste by the high casted was already discussed on p. 14.

(p. 87). Children are greatly desired. The parents love them passionately and treat them well. The father treats them with kindness, but demands strict obedience. Both parents are greatly interested in their development. The instruct and occupy them and observe their games with pleasure. Love and respect for age are demanded from children; this is gladly given, especially when wisdom and rank are (dignity) connected with it. The absence of filial respect is felt to be a heavy offense and brings disgrace and punishment by the ancestral spirits. The meals are taken by the family in
The most important kinship terms follows:

Father
Mother
Brother, sister, siblings
Close relatives in general
Siblings of opposite sex refer to one another with a special term during ceremonial occasions.

Father's brother
Father's brother's wife
Mother's brother
General expression for grandfather
Father's father
Mother's father
General expression for grandmother
Father's mother
Mother's mother
Mother's sister
Mother's sister's husband
Father's brother's son
Mother's sister's son
Mother's brother's son
Father-in-law
Mother-in-law (wife's mother)
Man's nephews or nieces
Woman's oldest brother's children
Sister's children 'fruit of the body'
(Liebdsfrucht)
Brother-in-law (wife's brother)
common, except in the case of guests. (presence of?) Then the men eat apart.

The younger children enjoy the same rights as the firstborn. No fuss is made of twins. Also crippled and insane children are treated like the normal children. Infanticide does not occur. Albinos have no exceptional position nor do half-bloods. ¹

6. Relationship and Friendship.

The families are very much attached to one another. This becomes particularly apparent in the lawsuits in which the members of the family help each other. The mother-in-law is regarded as a sister and is highly respected. Nobody is allowed to speak badly of his mother-in-law. When some one hears something bad about a close relative, he must cut his hair short as in times of mourning. It is considered brutal to punish or ill-treat a member of the family.

(A list of the most important designations of relationship follows.)

True blood-brotherhood is not known on Ponape, but friendship bonds are concluded which apparently may also play their part in blood-vengeance.

The following charms are allegedly friendship charms, but they sound rather like love charms.

Friendship Charm (Native texts, p. 88-89.)

(JJH; These charms are accompanied by a parallel native text which has not been transcribed.)

Be fond of me, be fond of me, smile, smile,
The Pandanus begins to ripen, ¹ which? the Pandanus,
The first is ripe.
The Pandanus begins to ripen, which? the Pandanus.
Ripe is the breadfruit.
My little fish cat of the conals,
Give me girl, give me girl,
(JJH: A native text follows which according to the author and Opataia cannot be translated.)

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¹ p. 88 The natives still remember, in 1910 the beautiful white woman (albino or half-breed) mentioned by O'Connell (vol. I. p. 52)
1. p. 88 i.e. we want to become friends.
Friendship Charm of Olubat.

In the water Kaikai
Ear ornament/ rank of Kaikai
I am a mañar, a mañar,
A mañar, a mañar
Little woman and Olubat,
Olubat thrust her
Into the heart of the other,
Little woman from here,
Little man from there,
They are glad, they want ot be happy.
All like(care for) you,
Kerou'n Palieset
The Kaneki en Sapalatak,
Puts another ginger blossom into his ear!

Hospitality is not law, but a generally observed custom.

7. Death and Funeral.

Death: The natives accept death with composure. Pereiro says that when a kanake is seriously ill, festivals and feastes are celebrated, which are meant to be festivals of supplication for the recovery of his health. Shortly before death the dying person is once more carried into the water of the sea. His finger nails are cut and cleaned. In old times the wife is supposed to have slept with him two or three times. As a last caress and farewell greeting husband and wife practiced Cunnilingus and fellatio. When a member of the sib of tip en uai dies, they catch a ray, a likautenkap, anoint it, feed it and again let it free(go) again. When the end appears to be very near, all relatives and friends assemble in the house and surround the sleeping-place. Everybody presses as near as possible to touch the body. (p.90) By this they keep the air

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1 Pereiro, p. 133 ff., where death and burial are described in detail.
in the stifling room from reaching the dying person, so that O'Connell believed that death was often caused by being stifled. If the agony lasts too long, they try to shorten it by pressing in the body, itaniti. The person is considered to be dead when he no longer recognizes his relatives. In view of a notion like this it is not surprising that O'Connell believes that it happens that sometimes a man is buried alive. They have a charm to waken the dead. (JJH: for the text and German transcription of this charm see source: 1005 Hambruch 90)

Charm of Zoupeiasas (Native text.)
(To waken the dead.) (JJH; following charm is accompanied by a native text which has not been transcribed.)

Tanauas looks down, looks down on life,
Keres, Keres become alive, become alive!
Rise support yourself on your elbows.
Tanauas looks down, looks down on life,
Rise, support yourself on your knees
Tanauas etc.

........................ on your arms
........................ on your legs
Tanauas looks down, looks down on life,
Rise, with your whole body!
I see you become alive, become alive Zoupeiasas living.

In the hour of death the female relatives cry and weep loudly. When the end is expected for certain, the shrouds and coffin are prepared. The relatives wash the deceased with warm water from head to feet, anoint him with oil, carefully comb him and place a crown on his head. They also put anointed leaves round his neck and wrists. Cocoanut leaves are rustled in front of his ears, to make him hear Nan Zapue, the god of thunder. A man is wrapped in a place of linen, a woman is clothed in a dress. They immediately put the body into the coffin and place this in the middle of the house of mourning for two hours. During that time relatives and friends surround the coffin and weep over it. The women in particular (p.91) squat beside it and weep and wail. The Christian:

1 Cf. text 373. 2 A woman 3 Cf. text 373.
among them mumble prayers. In O'Connell's time it was also customary to
carry the deceased from hut to hut on their shoulders. At every hut the
procession stopped for about 10 minutes, and each time there took
place a loud lamentation as in the house of death. (vol. I, p. 39).

Coconut fronds, banana leaves for weaving baskets, a pipe, and a
necklace are put into the coffin -- if there is none, the body is sewn
into a large mat. Men receive a loin-cloth, women a new apron, anointing
oil and a fish head (cf. text 346). These things are given because
of the fact that the same festivals are celebrated in the Beyond as
here on earth, and these things are wanted for them. Moreover some
adults are given all their clothing into the grave. Children receive
small bags with quite new clothing. According to O'Connell, also
paddles and weaving tools were put in. -- Then (JH: after the graves
goods have been placed in the coffin.) the priest, with secret
prayer formulas, puts a large stone or many small stones on the breast
of the deceased. That shall prevent him from returning and perhaps
take some of his relatives with him. According to Hahl, they first
pray to a holy stone, which gives eternal rest to the deceased. For
they believe that the ghost of the deceased will after a short time
come from the other world to take his (the) body with it and to fetch
relatives to keep him company. Moreover the ghost might cause damage
for other reasons, e.g. as a revenge for wrong suffered in this world.

As a reconciliation for this refractory treatment later various
sacrifices are later made. These are eaten by the participants at the
funeral repast: kava, pigs, tortoises, fish, and tobacco. When the
stones are put on the (JH: breast of the ) deceased a special magical
ritual is spoken. (JH: for its test and German transcription see source:
1005 Hmbruch 91-92.)

At the Consecration of the Dead when the Stones are Put on.
(Native text p. 91-2.)

Dead one, dead one, dead one, dead one,
Ghost of the dead on e go away!
Ghosts, come here,
Ghosts behind heaven,
Ghosts from Terep-
Ghosts from Pik en Tsamae,

Come and quickly take this man with you,

1 Hahl, Ethn. Notizbl. II, p. 5. 2 Also information given about the old
death customs would provoke him to this, they declared to Hamburk.
Take him to Ant!
Ghost of the dead, mani, do not move,
Do not stand up, do not make a noise, (p.92.)
Go, you are good, when you are away;
We cannot follow you on your way!

Charm to Ban the Dead. (141 Native text.)
(JJH: the accompanying native text has not been transcribed.)

I put you slightly into the grave,
Now I put you deep into the grave,
And still much deeper I put you into the grave,
(Name of the person in question),
Now wander away
Under the region Aru,
Appear again on Pan en Ant,
For you shall not come back here.
So I put you slightly into the grave
And put you deep into the grave yet!

Funeral: The custom demands that a dead person is buried even before sunset on the day of his death. Only when death occurs in the evening or during the night do they wait until the next day. At that the old chief (of Not?) was even buried during the night as by the light of torches. When a chief dies during the day the people have no longer have a saumsa, as the new chief has not yet been consecrated; therefore as a precautionary measure he is not buried before night fall. As the funeral is followed by a funeral repast the people are not free (and therefore incapable) to do mischief, which they could do if the funeral were early in the day and followed by an earlier ending repast under these circumstances however they must wait until the next day and then a successor is already present at the funeral feast he gives an oration and discourages the people from it. (JJH: wrong.)

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1 Name of XXX the person in question.
If the deceased was greatly loved, they may bury him in a deep hole inside the house. The person who mostly loved him in life now on sleeps over his place. Otherwise the dead are buried outside the dwellings but near the houses. A pit, two to three feet deep, is made. All present, with the exception of the people who carry out the funeral, sit around and weep and cry until the body, i.e., the coffin, is covered with earth. Then they leave the place. Not all women take part in the ceremony at the grave, or accompany the procession of mourning. The stones which are unearthed in digging (p. 93) are put aside. The pit is lined with mats and banana leaves, before the coffin is lowered. The earth is heaped on top of the grave with the hags. The stones are put on the coffin, or a pyramid is built over the grave with them as well as others which are fetched for the purpose. The ceremonies at the funeral are either pagan or Christian. When the grave is closed the women break into a lamentation, a dreadful howling.

Christians decorate the grave with a cross. At the head of the deceased a cocoanut palm or a breadfruit tree is planted. According to Pereiro, pieces of wood and banana leaves, "nicely put together," are also put over the spot, so that the dead person will not get wet. Frequently they also put utensils on top of the grave to characterize it: paddles, an axe, or weaving tools.

The customs of mourning are simple. After the death the female relatives behave as if they were mad: Not only do they set up a deafening cry; they throw earth and filth at each other and throw themselves into the water. As a sign of mourning men and women must cut off their hair; only the chief, if there is one in the family, is free from this necessity. Men cut some strands out in various places. Women cut their hair only at the back of their heads, and less than do the men. In more recent times, the hair is shorn short. Moreover the women take off their European clothes as a sign of mourning.

Members of the family and friends who could not be present at the time of the death and funeral, weep for days over the grave after their arrival. Two or three days after the death they also there nightly. Then they

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2 Pereiro, p. 133 (?).
give themselves up to eating and amusement. The usual time of mourning was formerly one month. Every day the hour of death was dedicated to lamentation. Pereira observes with regard to this that after two to three months nobody thought of the dead any more. This was probably a misunderstanding on his part, because of the fear of names (fear of pronouncing the names, Namensfurcht). In any case, there were regular memorial festivals in O'Connell's time. (Cf. vol. I, p. 40.)

As soon as the body is under the earth, all men assemble and catch the livestock of the deceased, slaughter it and distribute it to the community of mourning, especially the sib. The nobles and chiefs receive the most and best part of the distribution. The rest of the afternoon - (JJH: following property distribution.) is given to lamentations, weeping and crying. Slowly this changes into laughter, then they sit down for the funeral repast. Towards evening, however, the women begin to divert the men (cheer up.) with orgiastic dances like tarak and tuk en mon. The festival ends in the most gross forms of sexual debauchery (of the worst kind.) (p. 94.)

During the (JJH: funeral) meal the usual strict order of rank is not observed. Every one takes what he likes and drinks kava at will.

The ceremony at the funeral festival of a chief is described by the Saulik en Tsokola as follows:

The Festival for the Dead. (Native text 303, p. 94).

(JJH: The following account is accompanied by a parallel Native text which has been omitted.)

When a Nanamariki had died, all assemble and celebrate the festival of the dead for the Nanamariki. Then a huge earth oven is prepared, the largest yams are dug out, and many and large animals are killed, they also fetch large masses of leavened breadfruit from the pits, which were destined for the ruler, and fetch all the possessions of the Nanamariki. This is all brought to the assembly house to the spot where the high title-bearers assemble and prepare to elect a new Nanamariki. All the tings are piled up in the assembly house; then they stand up and take their share and do not wait for the things to be distributed. Then the kava is brought, it is

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1 According to Hahl, Eth, Notizbl., II, o. 4, the tarak is danced on the festival uanarin tarak, the coconut festival (tarak = coconut), called thus because a nut filled with oil is hung in the fire for the dead. After the orgies it is poured into the flames by the leader. The festival takes place for the young men and women of the tribe some time after the death.
pounded; it is wrung out and the first cup is handed up. Then the Naneken takes one of the cups, rises and announces all high titles. Then he asks the Uasai to come and sit down in the place of the Nanamariki. Then the Uasai is put on the board on which the Nanamariki used to sit. Then the Naneken puts the kava cup to his mouth; he drinks; then the Naneken informs the crowd that there is a new Nanamariki (p.95.) Then the Naneken again takes some cups and distributes them to some title-bearers who receive new titles. All then take the new title. This ends the festival, they scatter. The next morning they meet again and arrange a festival, the Kapas u mar. All title-bearers then get their shares of the Kapas u mar, they bring large kava shrubs, kill fat pigs, prepare many dishes. All people then eat, until they are satisfied. Later all assemble, sing herioc songs, and rejoice that they have a new Nanamariki.

After the funeral certain other customs are carried out at the grave. The natives take a cocoanut sheath, kaue, which they put under the hut. After five days they take a new nut and open it. Formerly a watch was also kept at the grave until sunset. The sheath was lit and as soon as it had burnt down, they thought that the soul of the deceased rose from the grave to drink the nut. Thus the friends and acquaintances mourn for ten days. Moreover they erect a small stage of a few sticks and on it put fruits of all kinds. When a bird eats of them, they think that the ghost of the deceased had changed into a bird which fetches the fruits, this pleases the relatives. Perhaps they also add ornaments to these gifts. Some also built a little house over the grave, and the next of kin of the deceased were obliged to sleep in it for five or six nights. Afterwards the house was torn down (O'Connell; vol. I, p.40.) The conclusion of all these ceremonies at the grave was formed by the burning of the cocoanuts and a kava festival. After the death of a Nanamariki a second festival of this kind takes place after a few weeks.

Once there were also cemeteries in several places on Ponape, for example in Uona, Lot, and Not. The cemetery in Not became known through O'Connell.
Its description however applies to Kumunlai and Mesenie. The stone and palm grove of these places thus receive a natural explanation. At one time, memorial festivals, directed by the priests, were also celebrated here.

The names of the dead must not be pronounced. The genealogical trees are not recited. In this sense the heraldic significance of tattooing, which O'Connell noticed, is of very special importance. This dread of names is very far-reaching. For instance the Saulik Auak became very angry each time somebody pronounced the name of a certain bird, because his dead sister accidentally had the same name, and the use of this word disturbed her peace.

Through O'Connell also another, long-froten custom has become known, one which is known in Tahiti; this consists in the dead haunting the living, i.e., the (p. 96) haunting of the priests who represent the dead and severely harass the living, as if the dead, through their person, would take revenge on the living for many a suffered wrong. (Cf. vol. I, p. 40.)

III. Religion and Cult.


As the priests have always kept the religious doctrine (dogmatics) strictly secret (from old times), it was extremely difficult for all Europeans to get a clear idea of the religious notions of the Ponape people. In spite of all labor, they could obtain only a vague idea of the religion and snatched at fragments which they could hardly interpret. This is especially true of Pereiro's works, who, however, was quite aware of the insufficiency. He says: (p. 152) "From the little knowledge which I was able to acquire due to lack of time, it becomes clear that they had no religious belief whatsoever until recently. This is proved quite clearly by the fact that they have, in their relatively rich language, no word to express the idea of god. Only the flash of lightning, not very frequent here, was regarded as something supernatural which they fear but do not worship. This, however, does not prevent them from having, secondarily, some superstitious notions and believing in a kind of sorcerer whom they call "ani". Pereiro then discusses totemism which will be

2 Spanish quotation, ?
dealt with later and concludes..." I cannot add anything else to such an interesting question. But I believe that the religious notions of this people, as compared with the Polynesian peoples, must without doubt be richer."

As becomes apparent...(JJH: Pereiro) recognized two sides of the people's belief, the belief in nature deities and in demons. O'Connell understood, however, that the core of the religious beliefs of the Ponape people were related to an ancestor worship.

In more recent times the investigation (JJH: of religion) has been made still more difficult by the fact that Christianity has displaced the old beliefs and here made the communicative persons who did have the knowledge, still more reserved. What the natives relate is scanty!

History of Ponape. (Native text 62)

In old times God was not worshipped, for nobody knew about him; (p.97.) some worthless ghosts were prayed to; it was said that these spirits were very powerful, they were called ani uots (autochthonous spirits), for they are said to have sprung from themselves, they were not engendered, but they were extremely well versed in magic, they burst rocks and put them together again at their command, they made the men ill and killed them, and also other men well again; the faith of the old Ponape people was really not genuine, for when the ships of the Europeans appeared in Ponape, they believed that they were spirits who had left the foreign countries and travelling in ships had appeared before Ponape, for they had not yet seen any foreigner, and therefore they were afraid.

The religious notions of many younger people are partly faded and confused. But it seems also that the notions which were probably at first separate had begun to mix already before the interference of the missions, and that the initiated had contradictory notions of the highest beings. Apparently elements of different religious notions have mixed on Ponape... The following can be gleaned from the confused information given by old priests and experienced old men under the fear of the punishment of the ghosts:
They believe in two groups of supernatural beings: in the eternal gods who were not created, ani uos, and the deified ancestors, the aniaramas. Over all, however, a highest being rules, a deity whose name they do not know(!).

With the highest god begin the difficulties (already) of penetrating into the religious world of the Ponape people. Old priests declare that all gods, e.g., the god of thunder Nan Zapue and Tau Katau, a god of fertility, are only designations for the different activities of the one highest being. All such natural manifestations as thunder, lightning, and growth are Luk, and they quite evidently identify this Luk with the highest being. For Luk does not speak and does not move. If he spoke or if he moved the world would collapse over. They also call him Luk an Lan or Nāluk en lan (p. 98), and in old legends they also substitute Luk for Nan Zapue or Tau Katau. It is to be assumed that Luk en lan is the same god as Rugeiren of the Central and Western Carolines (eans). Beside the god of heaven Bugeiren these latter people also recognized Rugedād, the seagod, probably also another form of "Luk". It is all the more confusing that Luk en lan there is also a Lugeiren on Ponape. To judge by the word, this can again be only a variation of Rugeiren. This deity, who is called a "little deity" is considered to be a war god, and they pray to him so that he should not allow any foreigners to come to the island. Lugeiren also comes via the sea when he comes to Ponape. — From all this it would appear that we are here dealing with a division of the original god (notion) or a fusion of different conceptions (concepts) which the initiated themselves regard helplessly and with confusions.

The other source of uncertainty (and division) that lies in the fact that the originally pure gods of heaven, the deified forces of nature, were later connected with the tribal sagas. One or the other ani uos has had an affair with women of the individual sibs and has become an ancestor. With that we pass the borderline between aniaramas and ani uos and a strict separation is no longer possible either with regard to the feeling of the natives or for the spectator. The ani uos here and there become tribal and local deities and
in addition to their original tasks of producing the phenomena of nature, receive new tasks, foreign to their character and which really belong to the ani aramas.

The high deities of heaven, ani uos, are Tau katau, the rain god (katau = rain), Nan Zapue, the god of thunder, Nan tuenen, the wind god (tuenen = to howl), Naluk en uar, the god who creates the sheet-lightning; Nan Zarail, who makes roaring of the thunder, and Naluk en tsou en pon,¹ who makes the thunder roll in the distance. It is clear that for every phenomenon, which may not even be regarded as separate by the European such as lightning, low and loud thunder, a special deity is created. They believe that these gods visit Ponape only from time to time and here carry out their activity. Tau Katau hangs the very small breadfruits to the trees and makes them grow. The speaking of Nan Zapue is in lightning, his cough in thunder.

Beside these high deities of heaven, they have a large number of less important inhabitants of heaven, called ton lan, which the Christians like to compare with the angels. They pray to them and use them as intercessors. The priests address the ton lan as Nan Putak and Nan iso lan:

Nan Putaken lan, Nan iso lan
Nan Tau Katau, Nan Zapue, i.e.,

keep all evil away from me, the evil forces and powers!² (native text) (p. 99) There seem to be as many minor gods as there are varieties of natural phenomena and activities (work) appear worthy of notice to them; Nan Zelan is invoked when fishing and for the growth of the breadfruits, Nan Oloso is the deity of housebuilding, Sopatu causes the typhoon, Osipau the ignition lightning, Likant en kap, a ray, causes the surf, Gatin en nuor keeps the waves away from the shore. Nan Isopau and Lukalapalap have the same tasks as the previously mentioned Lugilelen. The gods of music are also counted among the deities of heaven: Nan tImutik, the god of the drum, and Nan tImu lap, the god of song. In addition, there are three others, whose tasks could not be ascertained; Nan sau uei, Nan a pak and Nan a pön lan.

Nan Zapue is considered to be the ancestor of the sib of Tip en Pan mei in Matolenim. He is related to the sib of Lazialap of U through the ab-

¹ Naluk en tsou en pon translates into English as the god who makes the thunder roll in the distance.
² The native text mentions "pali suet en lan" and "pali nel," which refer to the typhoon.
duction and impregnation of an ancestor to whom they ascribe their origin. But these gods of nature have become public gods in the districts, mentioned. Luk en tsou en pon was worshipped in Kiti by a numerous priests.

They teach about the origin of the heavenly deities: Nan ulap with the woman Limengit engendered Nan üelah (üelah). The latter married the woman Limentsanietuk and she bore the rain god Tau Katau. Tau Katau created the god of thunder Nan Zapue. On Ant he is regarded as being the same as Tau Katau and is said to have come from Kusae (Katau=Kusae). He spoke and the god originated. Tau Katau supervises all deities and married the flowers from which the "al en seir" (?) is made. From this same other deities. His wives were: Li pein par, Li pein pur, Li pein katiu, Li pein gaikas, Li pein uaiingal etc., all names of flowers. According to Hahl, the god was called Nansapa. When the gods visit men during the night, the latter have bad dreams or pains in the body or head. Counter-magic helps.

Besides these deities the Ponape people know also some who are found in the Carolines under differently sounding names. Olaitin is worshipped under the name of Nan uelaitiu as the gods' messenger who carries out the orders of his father Luk. Ilake and Orofat are also known to them. The latter is called Olop by them and is mentioned in some conjuration (magical) formula on the island of Ant. But he never occupied a place of public worship on Ponape. (cf. p. 89).

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1 Without more detailed statements Hambruch adds the pair Nan ondap and Limangina to the same generation.
3. The conceptual confusion is here shown with particular clarity: Orofat is a heavenly deity on the Carolines, who, at most, had a human mother; in text 7 he is counted among the ghosts who arise from the dead. It must also be assumed that the aforesaid god of housebuilding, Nan Oloso, and the gods' messenger, Olaiten, are derived from Orofat.
The following parts, p. 100-115, are accompanied by native texts which have not been transcribed.

Report about the Great Deities......37 (Native text has been Omitted.)

Here are the gods who are worshipped on Ponape; the Ponape people believe in Nan Dzapue; for Nan Dzapue is a very mighty spirit for when Nan Dzapue no longer speaks: i.e., thunder, Ponape will be destroyed. Formerly in olden times when Nan Dzapue ceased to speak the people were afraid and went to Nan Dzapue to induce him to go on speaking; they brought much kava, pounded it, and prayed to Nan Dzapue. And when Nan Dzapue spoke again, they were glad, for now Ponape would not perish. They also believe that there are many spirits besides Nan Dzapue; thus they believe; Luk Nan Dzapue is the oldest, Naluk en Tsounenpun is younger and Naluk en Nar is still younger. But these three are the mightiest ghosts in heaven.

Further there are some spirits, they are called original ghosts, earth ghosts:(Typist insert names from p. 100.) who lives on the reef, and Uasa iso who is on all low islands. And the following ghosts are mentioned: The ghosts under the stones, for these were formerly men, and their souls became the ghosts under the stones. Their names are: Luk Olopat, Isokalakal and Luk en lań.

(p.101) In former times the Ponape people did not eat any very large fish, birds, or tortoises, for then the chiefs would become angry and pray to the mighty spirits that they kill the people who ate the large fish; and when somebody fell ill, the oracle was asked and they learnt why the person had fallen ill. So they made the oracle from some leaves of plants, then they would say why the sickness was there; perhaps a spirit was angry. Then they killed many dogs, large pigs, brought much kava as a sacrificial gift, and prayed to all the spirits; then the sick person got well or died.

Tale from Former Times. ... 70
(Native text has been omitted.)

It was the customs of the Ponape people to look at Nan Dzapue as a

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2,3,4 refer to names of gods, will be copied for file.
particularly great spirit. One day some people went away (left) from Tsokes; to fish in the surf, there were many of them; It was a very fine day, bright sunshine and no rain. They went up to the breakers. Then it began to rain and a violent rain came. Nan Dzapue spoke and the flashes of lightning followed all round. Something shot down from the sky and fetched a woman off from the people. And she flew up high until she reached the clouds, an infinitely far place. Then a while later the woman fell down again. And now when somebody else wanted to fetch her, no skin of the woman could be found. Only the bones were left. (p.002) She was taken into the canoe and to the land. There she was buried; they thought that Nan Dzapue had come from heaven and killed the woman. And that is the reason why the Ponape people firmly believe that there is a powerful spirit who is also called Nan Dzapue, because they have seen how the woman died. Thus the story was spread in all districts of Ponape that Nan Dzapue had killed a woman in the surf of Tsokes. Afterwards the inhabitants of all districts did not dare to go out, after they had learnt that Nan Dzapue killed people. Great fear entered them when it came to going to the reef, after the woman had died, for they were afraid lest they meet the same fate.

Later some Ponape people heard from the whites that Nan Dzapue was not able to kill persons, for Nan Dzapue was no being; but the whites said that two small clouds met. That was what some Ponape people heard from the whites. And they also believed that what the whites had told them was true. Thus they gave up their custom and common belief in Nan Dzapue. They no longer believed in him, for they had learnt that lightning killed the men. And they were no longer afraid that Nan Dzapue killed persons. They conformed to the belief of the whites until the present day. But some believe that Nan Dzapue kills men. (p.103). Therefore they still pray to Nan Dzapue up to the present day.
The Tale of Luk nan Dzapue. (Native text has been omitted.)

In old times there once lived a man in Ponape called Uten. This man lived in a place called Selatax. He always prayed to Nan Dzapue from his childhood on until he became an old man; he always sacrificed drinking nuts. Now when he grew old and could no longer see and could no longer walk, he remained in the house and very fervently prayed to Nan Dzapue. And one day Nan Dzapue appeared before him; he went straight to the place where the sacrifice of the man was, outside the house, and there made a noise. The man who could no longer recognize anything asked:

"Who is there at the sacrificial gifts for Luk?"

And Nan Dzapue answered:

"It is I, Luk!"

Then the man answered again and said:

"Why do you come so late when I am already old?"

And Luk entered the house; he noticed that the man had become very old, but he said to him that he should go with him; but the man answered that he could no longer walk any more. Then Nan Dzapue lifted him up. And Nan Dzapue put the man on his back; they both wandered away from Selatax and got to the shore. There they went on the (p.104) skin of a species of banana, the Plante, until they reached some other places. They wandered on, until they got into the region of Matolenim. There they went ashore at the place in Matolenim which is called Tol o pusail and wandered on in the water to a place situated outside, called Kusae.

Thus they got to Kusae and there remained for a while. Then the appearance of the man changed, he again became young, strong, and could see. And both took the skin under the feet, which fell off by itself and buried it; from this grew and originated the kava, which the Ponape people now call kava of Ponape.

The Tale of the Canoe of Eireka and the Three Spirits.

(JFH: The native texts has been omitted.)

In old times there lived once several people, they built a canoe on a place called Eireka which lies in the state of Net. They hewed the canoe
Their shell axe was immensely large; it is called pěiöff. The tree was very high and of terribly hard wood. And all shell axes which were derived from the reef around Ponape were all used up, not one remained. The tree would not fall; then they got a shell axe from the reef near Kiti, the Ki en takopuel; it was strong enough and felled the trunk. When the tree was felled, their work was nevertheless no ended. The top and the root had to be cut off. (p.105).

One day, men with magical powers came from heaven. They fetched the canoe and carried it up to heaven. There they finished the canoe.

A long time passed, then one day Luk who rules over many people wanted to go in the canoe with them and left heaven.

So they reached the earth. They approached the man quite closely. They did not speak one word to each other, nor did they enter the canoe. They stole a woman from Matol enim, Limestone Pelakap.

They took her with them and took her to the island of Ant. Then they fetched a men, called Saumanai. Thus they had stolen two human beings. Then they took both to heaven. The human beings could not see any men, nor the canoe or anything else. Now the two human beings remained away from the earth.

In the oldest times some people prayed to Luk, others also to Nan zapue, for there were many Luks. The ghost, however, who left heaven in the canoe was called Luk en laň. In old times he was endowed with the most wonderful powers; another was Luk Nan Zapue; and another was called Luk Olopât.

And the nature of these three spirits was as follows: Luk en laň was clever, wise and endowed with great magical powers, more than Luk Nan Zapue and Luk Olopât. (p.108).

The men always prayed to Luk en laň, they did not long remain on the earth, for Luk called them to himself; with changed, glorified bodies they rose; they were very much esteemed, friendly and amiable, also endowed with magical powers; they were always at all times kind to the men on earth.

The others, however, formerly did only evil deeds; they killed the men.
and deceived them. Thus Nan Zapue once used to act. One day Nan Zapue left heaven and betook himself to Selatak. He wandered about in the region and visited Matolenim. He met a man, who lived in a water called Lenepuis. He also went to the district of Ca. There he visited a man and a woman, who lived in their house. He ran away with her, for he was in love and wanted to marry her. They reached a high mountain. The woman fell ill. She could no longer walk. Nan Zapue abandoned the woman and wandered on. The woman lay there, died and decayed. That is an example how badly Nan Zapue treated the men on earth.

Luk Olopat too; had a bad name on the earth. Once Luk Olopat lived on the earth, he was not always in heaven. Formerly a man lived in Matolenim called Eio. This man had a very beautiful place. All the people were charmed by (in-love with) his property and this man also knew all things. But the man had no wife. One day Olopat went fishing with fish-baskets in a large canoe.

Many people were with him. They had a woman with them and wanted to give her to Eio for his wife. The group of fishers cast anchor at the shore. A man went to inform Eio that the group of fishers was at the shore. He asked: "Who is there?" The man answered that it was Luk Olopat. Eio asked again: "What do you bring?" That man answered him that he wanted to give him a woman for his wife. Then Eio was very pleased. And he gave a great feast to Luk Olopat. While they ate a man betook himself into the house of Eio. He had a sea animal, a coconut crab, and put it on the sleeping place of Eio. Then they fetched the woman, wrapped her up and again went back to the fishers. Thus they deceived Eio, for the woman did not remain in the house. When the group of fishers left, Eio went into his house to look at the woman; when he entered the house he saw a drum, it lay on his mat. And in it was the crab. Many clothes covered the drum. Eio however, thought that the women lay on the bed. Eio wanted to embrace the drum. The crab pinched his foot and killed him. When he was dead, Luk Olopat appeared again; took possession of his property and rejoiced (p. 108) that he
owned such a beautiful property; he also took possession of all the other possessions of Eio and thus had become a rich man.

Therefore all the people understood that these spirits were wicked; for both did only evil on earth, they tormented men and killed several. Luk Olopat and Luk Nan Zapue are not good ghosts (spirits); some pray to both, others do not, for they understood that only Luk en lan was a good spirit, for he did good to the men and they prayed to him when he was in heaven.

Tale of Isobau (....173) (Native text is omitted.)

Isobau is a spirit who is said to have come from heaven and gone to Ponape. He did many wonderful things and also made some districts; he made Palikir. He also created a woman for himself. He let the woman live in Palikir and bear children there. And when they had greatly multiplied he made a great sib of them, to which he gave the name of Tip en uai (sib of the foreigners). It multiplied greatly in Ponape; from it originated many sub-families; the one which remained settled in Palikir is called Marekere; Isobau watches over it at all times and helps it. He also gave it the name of Inaiso; its members are the most respected among the Tip en uai families. Nobody had seen the place where Isobau dwells (p. 109) but we have heard that he allegedly lives in the Tol en Palikir; his house has the name of Im ualapalap. A Tip en uai man is strictly forbidden to go there. He of us who would get there would have to die. Thus he has accomplished many and miraculous things; he has done both good and evil. E.g. he once took two wives from his own sib; one was called Li en loko matau and received the title of Puaipei en iap from him, the other was called Li pue maram; while wandering about he did much evil, he stole and murdered human beings; he also founded two places, Maa e tik and Maa lap. He also chose men whom he occasionally possessed, they are called Tenuar; when we celebrate a festival we put up a sleeping mat roll, the mol. The Tenuar must go in there. Then Isobau possesses him. Then we must hand him a cup with kava. Then he speaks to us and tells

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1 Sangoro, Nan -------?
us what we are to do. And if somebody does not do this, if he has not asked Isobau, he must die. All first things from the sea and land, also things from the whites must be offered to him. At the time of the epen (holy boat consecration) we bring him a canoe, then it is given to the Lap en Palikir; and thus is done with the sleeping mats, the string; everything is first given to Isobau. In order that the kava in the Kava field shall become large, I put a ripe coconut down at the roots of the kava shrub as a gift for Isobau. So we worship Isobau immensely, for he created the family branches of the Tip en uai sib in Ponape. (p. 110).

Of the Star Spirits... 247 (Native text has been omitted.)

The rakim are the heavenly ghosts, all of whom do evil things on the earth, for they eat the men who are captured in war.

When they again did evil things long time ago, they wanted to know in heaven which party among them was the stronger. In the bad days a priest was supposed to make the decision. If he succeeded in flying into heaven, they would rejoice, for then they had won; but if he flew under heaven they would be angry, for then their party would be defeated.

Of the Lipeponuel... 297 (Native text has been omitted.)

Once there were spirits in Ponape, who were called Lipeponuel. They had their dwellings in the high mountains, in places which are steep and well fit for them to oversee the sea and also suitable from which to fly. Their dwelling places were very deep and dark, and the men were afraid of entering; the people of former times relate that the Lipeponuel had looked like men, their skin was covered with long feathers like pig bristles, they had a tail like dogs, they were very big, but they had not had any wings, they had, however, had a magic power which made it possible for them to fly. When they flew they had looked like lightning; flames had shot from their mouths and anus. They had (p. 111) also gone to the sea in order to fish until sunset; then they went home to their dwellings. Now they had the voice of a spirit, now that of a cock, or a dog, another time they had sounded like the sounds of the Triton's horn, or like
a human voice, but when they had attacked men to kill them they had spoken like men.

Of Oné Lipeponuel. 298 (Native text had been omitted.)

Once a Lipeponuel lived on the high mountains of the Pon Paip'. Once she took off, stole a child, carried him away and hid him in her house. There she fed him; in the morning she always went out on the reef to fetch food for the child and in the evening she returned to the child. She brought the child up until he was grown up. One day she asked the child whether he loved her. The child answered and said yes. Then she said to him: "Now I will let you go, but do not say anything about me and do not betray the place where you have been." Then the child went away into the country. And when he was asked, then he answered that he had been with a Lipeponuel. She had remained in her house and now heard what the boy related. She became very angry, followed him and said to the boy. "Why did you tell this?" With these words she fetched the boy from between his people, put him into her anus and went home. Here she lay down to sleep.

Of a Lipeponuel (p. 112). 299 (Native text omitted.)

Two men once went away from Nan Kapín; they went into the bush; both worked there until they were hungry. They made an earth oven. They put their food in and covered it until it was cooked, then they uncovered it and ate. They talked about their wish to eat fish. Then the two were astonished that she, the Lipeponuel had thrown two Kameik fish down; they were glad, took them and ate. The Lipeponuel said to the two: "Do you not want to go home? Do you want to remain here? Do you want to cook while I fish for you?" The two gave her a basket, she took it, carried it away and hid it in a Calophyllum tree, then she went on her way. The next morning the men again made their oven, she fished and brought them the catch. And thus it happened every day. But one day the two looked for firewood under the Calophyllum tree. Then the two found all the food that they had all these days given to the spirit who lived here (all these days.) the two took themselves off and took their things away with them. They quickly ran home. Then when the demon appeared and
no longer found the two, she became angry. She followed them to their home and killed them.

The Likand en Pāniop'...301 (Native text Omitted.)

The Likand en Pāniop' is a female demon who lives on the Tol en Palikir and there has made her dwelling, a house. It is a stone house. Only flat stones are used for it, floor, walls and roof, all consist of stone. She stays in this house. When men come to the place and look at the door and see leaves of the Pānkatār tree there, then she is at home. But when she wants to go for a walk, she goes to the dwelling places and there finds people. She then leads them to her house. And then she sends the people away again. They must then roam round; rain and sunshine come over the people, who then always roam in the near neighborhood of the house until night comes. Then they die.

Of The Likant e reirei...305 (Native text is omitted.)

The Likant e reirei is a ghost which lives on Nankap, on the little spot of Paliepil. There is a pond, Lemusu. This spirit looked like a thin rope; it was in the water when the people came to the water. But when they saw that the rope was in it they hurried away and did not bathe in it, but when she wanted to kill men, she did not let herself be seen in the water. Then the people jumped into the water. Then they were whirled round and perished. She is said to have made a hole which begins in the water and reaches to Pelan under the earth, the place where she sleeps, for she is said to really be a very long spirit. Thus she is supposed to live there even today and it is believed that she is still in the water.

Of the Luk en set. (Native text omitted.)

There is a ghost, he is called Luk en set. At first he always liked to eat breadfruits; later, however, when Nan matau en Pelan and the Namamariki did not give him breadfruits as before he ate a man. He lives in a rock, the Pei en toik; he has formed it for himself. In it he lives and eats all first fruits of Pelan. Now once a man ruled, who was called Nan matau en Pelan, he did not want to obey the spirit. He forbade his people
to prepare food for him. The spirit became angry. He went away to Pakin, remained there and was no longer seen in Pelan.

Of Olupat...260 (Native text omitted.)

Olupat made the island of Paken. When he had finished the spot he did not like it, for it was too low and flat for him. Therefore he thought of going to Ponape to fetch a hill and raise Pakin on a hill. (Higher.) When he got to Ponape, he got to Tsokole in the district of Tsokes; there he fetched two hills, the Tol en Maloelap and Tol en Nansilu; he made a load of them and stole sugar-cane, added it to the load, put it on his shoulder, and blew the Triton's horn. A bird came flying which lived on the small spot of Uaunterep', a parrot, and wanted to eat of the sugar-cane. As nothing was left of it, he looked for it. He called after Olupat. But Olupat became afraid and threw down the bundle. (p.115) The load, however, became the two spots outside of Palikir, the two Man: one is called Man apei and the other Manapailon. But he said to the bird that it must not appear of Pakin. That is the reason why this bird has not existed on Pakin from olden times to the present.

The belief in the ani aramas is most closely connected with the notions of the soul and the Beyond. As Kubary expressed it, the Ponape man worshiped the souls of his brave ancestors and implored their protection. Every person had his personal guardian spirit, the ani tsilepa or ani tsintsilēle, the soul, the spirit of a dead ancestor. Who among these undertook to guard the descendant could be found out (discovered) by an oracle. The chief task of the guardian spirit is to destroy the magic of wicked sorcerers by counter magic and to keep all misfortunes and evil away from the man. The awe forbids naming the spirit by the name which he held during his lifetime. Thus the deceased must receive a new name for his spirit life which is often created by adding a surname to the word Luk.
By this the term Luk receives a still further meaning. Chiefs as spirits are called ani mas and are considered to be especially powerful. Small Tzopeiti have the spirit title of Nālaŋ, the noble women the title of Liesen with the new proper name. The name generally refers to special qualities or events of the past existence. E.g. Luk en Uariek, i.e., the one with many pains (der Schmerzensreiche); Luk en Kasik, i.e., the one who was hot, Luk en Tsakau, i.e., the kava driner etc. Women have the name Limuo instead of the designation Luk. Priests get the title of putak en laŋ after death (cf. Hahl, Eth. Notizbl. II, p.8.)

The after-life (Fortleben) of the soul, uen, occurs in the pāset, the paradise under the sea where the festivals are celebrated as in this world, or in the pueliko, the place of the condemned. They imagine this place dark, cold and, signigicantly for the clean Ponape people, very undirty. Once people who did not bathe frequently enough were expelled from the class (Kaste). Two spirits, ani ol ezinek, a man and li ezinek, a woman, stand guard at the entrance to the paradise. They examine the arriving souls of the deceased as to whether they can sing well. They allow only singers with beautiful voices to enter. The bad (p.116) singers are banished to the pueliko. A strange idea! Nothing is known of other motives in the selection for the paradise or hell. The principle of retribution seems to be unknown to them. According to Hahl, the soul must pass over a bridge which leads from the earth to pajit; it is called Kan Kaper, dancing bridge. On it stand guards, devils who are ready to carry off the soul to pueliko. At their sight the deceased begins to dance. The dance makes the guards forget their duty, so that the dancer can finally jump to the place of bliss from the bridge. He who cannot dance is carried off to pueliko.

Tale from Old Times. ...54 (Native text is omitted.)

This is the belief of the Ponape people: When they have died, they go to a place called Pāset; a small place on the way to here is

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2 Christian, p. 75, calls it subterranean. The guards of hell for him are Lichar and Licher, two women with sword and torch.
called Këkëkapir; two ghosts are in this place. The dead must sing. He who has a beautiful voice is allowed to pass over, he who has a bad voice may not, for they will kill him.

Of The World to Come... 272 (Native text is omitted.)

Thus is the custom with the dead. When somebody is dead he is buried. Charms are said and stones are put on his breast, so that he will not return, going about among the men at night, making the people ill. Four days after the death the people make many wreaths, they also cook food and at night take this to the place where the dead person lies. Then they hang all these things onto the trees, sit down and watch if the soul of the deceased will appear and fetch some things. If a bird comes flying and eats from the things, it is believed that this is the soul of the deceased which has come to the things, in order to wander on further. Then they weep. For now the soul goes to Paset to strengthen itself there and go on to Puileko; then it gets to Kankapir, and there visits a woman called Li Kapir, there it sings to make the guards of the place well disposed. Now it must walk over a narrow rope. The guards turn it. Quickly, the soul must hasten over in (to the place) Puileko; he who has a bad voice and does not hurry, gets to a bad place which is called Uasa puilepuil. He who manages to proceed is thrown over to Puileko from where he cannot return before he is completely decayed.

Thus the deceased get to the other world, to Paset. And we also believe that some of them who appear there live in some places and form a small settlement which is called Merei where they choose of them, a man or woman with a beautiful voice to be their chief, in order to direct the singing in Merei from the morning to the evening, where they meet to sing in their places, and to ascertain who among them has a particularly beautiful voice.

The people, however, whose wife or mother has died, love her greatly. Then they want to know whether these too get to the Merei. They now

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watch whether perhaps there are more in the place and when they go away they bring some pieces (p. 118) of young coconut and a heap of black ants, sit down and watch. Now when their expected ghosts appear, together with other ghosts, then they rise and throw bits of nut and black ants; then the soul of the dead cannot escape with the others, for they must first brush the ants off them. Then is it time that the people rise to catch the soul. Then the soul of the dead will call; the voices of the ghosts cry like those of the men and sound like those of birds, then they stop. And the people then go home; the worship of the dead is at an end.

Such a Merei exists in Tsegaputik and is called Māntsənmen; another is in Kamār, the Merei en iap, one is in Tsokes and is called Merei en Taumokotse; one is of Lōui and is called Merei en Loui.

All spirits always assemble in a stone enclosure, the Pān ūn Ānt, and sing there. A woman called Limānt presides. Nothing grows in the place, there is only sand. The souls of the deceased on Ponape assemble on Ant, but they also return home and roam round the houses of their family. They also make them sick. Then they are taken to people who understand magic with the request (?) that they drive (the ghosts) from Ponape. Then they make the magic called Pikani. (p. 119) Then they fly away from Ponape and remain in Pān ūn Ant and do not return to Ponape.

There is another place; Those who have died a good death go there. On the way they get to a place called Kān Kapi. Here are guards, a man called X Ol o sinek, and a woman called Li e sinek; they stay here. When the souls of the dead go on, the two examine them. If they have a beautiful voice they may go on to Paset; but if their singing is bad, they are thrown into the pool of Pueliko. Nobody can leave this place, for it is a dark, sticky pit. There are also two women, Li sēr and Li sār. The two guard the gate to Paset; if they are members of their sib, they allow them to pass, those of another sib are sent back. 1

1 What is the idea of the Tip en man people who believe that only their sib members get to Paset while all others have to remain on Ant.
On islands in the sea which are imagined to be like Ponape lie the following districts, according to the belief of the Sokes people:

Mesenien en tsap  
Ni enien  
Inkin  
Ni lan mau  
Ni lan maremer  
Lan kin  
Ni mesor en lan  
Ni pep en lan  

The Ant islands which have important and high taboo places were looked at (considered) as the land of souls in old Ponape. (p. 120.)

The souls can enter animals, preferably birds or butterflies. In this shape they visit their relatives and attend their own funeral celebration. This presumably the reason why all birds are taboo. They are never killed and eaten. They (the people) also abhor poultry meat.

Tale of Kerou pereni. (Native texts, p. 120-121, omitted.)

Once a man died on the place of Tepek. When he died he was still small. Then a very, very long time passed. Then he returned from Paset, but he had only a soul, no body. He wanted to visit his sib. As he could speak he chatted with them as if he were still alive, for they saw him for he came and always entered their houses. But when they looked at him the sockets of his eyes looked different from those of the living, the sockets were yellow, no as they are in the living man, also the fingers were shorter, not as those of the living, also the skin was different, for when the skin was touched it felt very smooth and very cold. But he did not stay with them very long, but quickly returned to Paset and did not return. This man was called Kereu pereni.

Report of Some Former Beings... 67 (Native text is omitted.)

When the men died they go to the Paset; but they also return, but
do not appear in human shape, they then enter the body of healthy people and cause them to speak (p. 121). Then the people take kava and consecrate it to the ghost, for otherwise the people will also fall ill. Then they also pound their kava, so that the ghosts should come and speak in order, that the sick people will quickly get well again; the people who do the speaking are called the Laiap en ani. It is also believed of the ghost whom we formerly called ani tsrimen, that he heals the sick people, and he is honored as Laiap.

Besides the ani aramas, there is a great number of demons whose origin is not known or now not taken notice of. Perhaps these are only the souls which are not considered to be relatives or guardian spirits, which play something like the role of spectres. A remark in the Missionary Herold of 1857 probably refers to these: They believe in spirits which roam about in the air and often return in human shape. This belief has for a long time kept the people in the ban of fear...

The surrounding world is filled with spirits: the house demons are probably the most important among them. Nonit lives in the first door-post, Tsoule in the second. Púki en Kerelon is in the threshold, Púki en Kerel, in the floor. Also the human body has its spirits; there is one in each foot. They carry the man and are called Ni rok and Tik e lélé. The first sits in the right, the second in the left heel. Sirar and Parar are two demons who haunt at night, to whom one prays in order not to fall in the dark. Hahl also mentions the cobolds, Sokala, which live in earth holes, are independent of Tau Kalau, and harm men.

In the daily life of the people the nature spirits do not nearly play as important a part as the aniaramas and the many small malicious demons with which the individual himself has to deal daily. The great spirits are, like the chief tribal spirits with which they, in part, coincide, the object of general worship. They have certain places of

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1 Especially the children do not dare go out of doors in the evening. (Miss. Herold July 1857. p. 234.)

worship and their own class of priests which looks after their service.

In the state of Matolenim the god of thunder Nan Zapue was most worshipped (cf. p. 98f.f.). In Kiti Luk has his place of worship as Luk en tsou en pō. Other state deities, the Nāluk en dzonepaŋ, had also a class of priests of their own here, (p. 122) called Nan uan niap. The most important are: Nālik en dzonepaŋ and Nan uolosom, the god of house-building, Nān ulap, who is invoked when nets are made, and Nān ūelu, another name for Isipau. The chief place of worship for Kiti is the place of Tsalapuk where the highest priests live. The chief deities of Sokes are Nanau en mareki, the spirit of the last Nanamariki of Sokes, who was considered a sorcerer during his lifetime. He becomes particularly furious at whistling, kovai. The fear of him is great and has prevented the people from making detailed statements about him. The wife of this chief is greatly worshipped as the spirit Liisan, and is at the same time the guardian spirit of Tānepe. Nan Zepei is the protective spirit of Ipual, Nalai en peipei that of Tolete, Rēs en āip protects the region of Malik. Luk a lapalap the region of Tomara, Inas the region of Nān pōn mal. In Palikir it is chiefly Isopau who is worshipped whose voice is sometimes to be heard in the bush. All these spirits are banned to Ant if they are brought into connection with cases of sickness, sāleti nān Ant. To compensate (make good) to them for this expulsion, sacrifices, tobacco, taro, pig flesh and kava are offered to them.

Report of a Kind of Ghosts. (Natives text p. 122-23, omitted.)

There was a kind of ghosts (type of spirits) in old Ponape, called Li pei pōn uel; they ate men; at these times they lived in the mountains. They were called Li pei pōn uel, and when they were on the sea, they were called Kōton matau.
In old times there was still another kind of spirits on Ponape, called Tsokolai; they were small like infants; they could never get larger; they liked to hear the rain fall; then they were glad and carried on their games in the bush. And when somebody (.p123.) came near them, they flew on him, penetrated his skin and killed him.

A king of ghost(spirit) which was very numerous in Ponape was called Liets, they ate men. But some superior chiefs in old Ponape, who were called Sau Telur, drove them away from Ponape; they fled to a country called Paiizi.

About Some Female Spirits... 20

There are some spirits whom the Ponape people greatly worship, and they pray to the female spirits: likand Anp'in, Likand Ina maram, Likand Inas and Likand Limautelan. These are powerful female spirits of Ponape, and they made men crazy and killed them.

On the island of Pakin, Uärsä Iso is the highest deity. As an ani he is apparently an unclean spirit who, in the shape of a man, visits women, rapes them and carries them off. He lives in stones. The impression is gotten from legends that he is identified with Olupat, the wicked Orofat of the Carolines. The origin of the Islands of Man and Mapailoh is ascribed to both by the Palikir people. Aun meséiran is the servant of Uärsä Iso and must report to him about the events in Pakin. The goddess Li en maipon has no husband. She grants the fish and occasionally floods the flat island. Therefore prayers are directed to her.

(The places of worship of Olapel and Uona are described in connection with the consecration festivals of the priests. (p. 132f.f.))

1 Cf. vol. 5, text 213.
2. Totemistic Conceptions.

Before describing the customs of worship in detail, another essential side of religious thinking must be mentioned, which especially struck (the most prominent altogether) O'Connell, namely the totemistic conceptions. (p. 124) Every sib worships certain animals or plants which are sacred to it, which are looked upon as its ancestors, and to which the individual members stand in a relation of kinship. Some Montsap chiefs assert, according to O'Connell, that there were even certain relations between them and the sun and moon. The totemistic beings are tortoise, shark, eel, some kinds of fish, owl, banana and a kind of yam. Thus the sib of Sau en Kauat worshipped the tortoise, zapakar, the Lipetan sib, which has relations to Madsuro (Marshall Islands), a Caranx kind, called sira. It's protective spirit is Iso kaneki.

The totem is not considered as a deity and therefore never adored. But it is prayed to and an understanding with it is possible. It is forbidden to catch and eat the totem animal. At the most the tortoise is caught because of the valuable tortoise-shell, but it is never eaten. The prohibition of eating is affixed (valid) only for those persons for whom the animal in question is totem. It does not matter when others eat it, nor when the totemistic animal is handed over to them. But generally the animals caught by chance are again set free. Nobody is afraid of his own animal, even when it is dangerous in itself, as e.g. the shark. It is not true that they flee its sight, as Pereiro thought, nor is he right in believing that they conjure the spirits of their ancestors into them. A special position among the sacred animals is held by the eel. The old name is it, the modern one kamitsik, i.e. "the terrible one" (Pereiro, p. 132). It appears to have been sacred to all inhabitants, and also to have embraced all kinds. They have the greatest fear of hunting this animal. O'Connell describes how great the grief of the people was when they found the remnants of the eel secretly eaten by him, and how the bones were solemnly buried. ¹

The Story of the Eel... 33 (Native texts p.124-29., omitted.)

This is what the Ponape people think about the eel.

Once an eel was born in heaven; he lived there in a stone enclosure called Pe'i en lan. And a couple lived in a little place which was quite near Pe'i en lan. The husband was called Sau ni and the wife, Katin ni. They begot a girl whom they called Li en pe'i lan. And the eel loved Li en pe'ilan and wanted to marry her. Every night the eel appeared to (p.125) visit the girl. And the girl told her father and her mother that something appeared at her's every night; but she did not know what it was. Mother and father said to the girl she should watch at night; when it appeared she should take a small rope as if of weaving threads. This rope was called Liselekik. The eel came again in the night. And the girl now carried out what her mother and father had advised. The girl bound the eel with rope Liselekik round its middle. And the eel did not know it and left again. The next morning they knew the place where the eel came from for a part of the rope had remained with the girl's, the other had been taken away by the eel. Now they followed the trace of the rope and found the eel, which had lain down in the stone enclosure and slept. They went home again and decided to eat the eel. The eel knew by itself what the couple had agreed upon. He appeared again in the night and asked the girl what the couple had decided upon. The girl told him. The eel told the girl that when they ate it, the girl should take the head for herself and eat all the flesh, but bury the bones in the earth. Then the eel returned to his house. The time passed, when they wanted to eat it. They went there and killed it. When they had killed the eel they ate it. And the girl did what the eel had told her to. She buried the bones of the (p.126) eel's head, from it grew the breadfruit (with a smooth bark), the Plantae, and the wild banana; these three plants grew up and were to belong to the girl. That is what the Ponape people think about the three plants.

The spot where the eel was buried is called Ni uē. Now some time
passed before the plants bore fruits; then also before the fruits of the plants were edible.

Now two birds lived in the mountains of Ponape; one was called Tanākuk; both saw the fruits of the Plante which, having ripened, shone towards them. The birds flew there to fetch them. The one reached them, the other was not successful. The one of them which had been able to reach the Plante now ate the Plante. It was the starling. Now something sat in the Plante, that was like small stones. And the starling carried the stones off. When it carried them off it threw them away, and they fell down outside of Kiti on a small place called Sou mār a puai ije'i. A couple had gone away from the main land in order to fish. They found the little stone. They liked it very well, for the stone was extremely beautiful. So they put it into their fishing basket. And wandered back to the main land. Now they continued to go on talking about the stone. And they noticed that the little stone was cracked and broken and a small eel lay in the fishing basket. Then they were very glad, for they wanted to adopt it. They carried it to (p. 127) Uona to a small spot called Patol. There they put it into the water and fed it every day until it became greater. The eel which was first in Ponape was called Māsen Patol, for while he lived in heaven it was called Māsen lan.

Thus the couple fed the eel until it was big. Then they both agreed to eat it too. And the eel which was in the house now heard what the couple discussed. And quickly the eel made up its mind to eat the couple. And the eel went to the couple and asked the couple why they wanted to eat it. The couple was frightened and fled. The eel followed them, until they were in the mountains. Then they believed that the eel would not find them any more. They found a stone house which stands in the mountains of Matalenim and is called Tiititiñi. They went into the stone house and lay down. But the eel followed them, found them, did not let them escape and ate both. Thus did the eel eat the couple.

Now it remained in Ponape and there founded the sib called Lazialap
then it went to Ku'ae. Here it also had children and returned again to Ponape. Thus it created all Lázialap. And this is thought in Ponape, that the sib of Lazialap used to pray to the eel, for it is its ancestral mother.

**Tale of the Shark**

The *tip en mán botobot* has the shark as totem and does not eat the shark, (p. 128) for it originated from two youths who bathed in a water hole. Afterwards they went into a brook to bathe again; and then they went into the salt water to bathe. While doing so they decided that they wanted to become fish; they lifted their arms on to their backs when they swam. They changed and became two sharks; one was called Au en tau en iap', the other Au en tau en eir. Therefore the shark is worshipped as the ancestor, because the two youths were *tip en mán* people.

**Tale of a Shark**

Once a long time ago a shark lived in Ant, a stone which looked like a shark. And Saulik en Ant always prayed to it. And every day his sib prepared the ornament for it. They gave it to the Saulik en Ant. And Saulik carried it off, prayed and gave it to the fish; and presented it along with other things. But another time he gave some of the ornaments to his sib brothers. Then the tide came in the people, however, took all their ornaments and threw them away. Saulik en Ant alone kept his ornaments until the evening. Then Saulik en Ant thought that nobody would follow him later. So he took the stone, carried it away and threw it into the entrance of Tau en ioi. Therefore there are so many sharks before Ant.

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**Report of the Sau en Imuniai**

The Sau en Imuniai is a shoot of the Sau en Kauat, not an (p. 129) independent tree. The Sau en Kauat originated in the salt water. Inās gave it the name. Once a fish, the samui, had caught itself in a weir. Some Sau en Kauat went out to look at it. They fetched it out in the net.

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1 *Tops of the Mangrove*
Then they ate it. Inas supervised the meal and then gave them the name of Sau en Imuniak; they were no longer Sau en Kauat, as they had eaten their guardian spirit.

As there are more sibs than totem animals, different sibs have the same totem, but this is not an obstacle to marriage. Totemic membership is derived from the totem of the mother, and a woman never takes the totem of her husband. Animal dances, reconciliation of the hurt animals, totemic associations and badges are not known to them. He who violated his totem was killed, or at least expelled. Such a person could not shut his mouth and eyes in death, in life he was struck by blindness, but there was no magic against it.

Besides the totemic animals, there are also animals and plants which are sacred to the gods. When the horn-fish tak of Nān Zāpue is caught it is roasted with prayers and eaten only by superior priests.

3. Taboo Places.

Scattered over the whole island are numerous taboo places. Some are important as ruins and will be discussed under that category. The most sacred place is the Tsalapux in the state of Kiti. It is considered to be the first place created on the island. Here there is a fissure in the ground into which the priest, the Saum, pushed a spear when he wanted to bring rain or wind. In stone enclosures pun or pei lie the breadfruit taboo place al en mai, the fish place, al en mām; the rat place al en make. Another sacred place, apparently also for fish, was Pānumant, about which the authority could no longer give any information. On the fish place Pān tsap Tsalapux there were holes in which ouanani ceremonies were held by means of sticks. Their purpose was to draw the fish to the fishing grounds of Kiti. On the place of Pān Kapin au Lūk stood the holy tree setak of the god of thunder Nan Šapwe. Near it was a hole pānau, in which the Saum carried out certain ceremonies for the god. Letakin in the place for fresh water animals. Here the (p. 130) women caught fresh water crabs,
which were eaten in the Nas separately by men and women. The mosquitoes proceed from the taboo place Nan āmutso. On the place Pön meirelap, a cave with projecting rocks, human sacrifices were supposed to have taken place at a time carried out by the Saum. The flesh was eaten by the priests.

According to Hahl, the stone cult comes from Yap. The sacred stones are called "likant en Jap," (likant-stone dam). The center of the worship of stones was Janlapok in the region of Uona. No religious service is conceivable without sacred stones.

There are sacred stones in U, on the Takai en Kiti dead dogs were put down; on the Takai en uei dead tortoises from the ponds, and nobody was allowed to take them away again. Only Sokes and Not are said not to have taboo places of that kind, because they do not need any special charm, such as the fish charm, for all phenomena are here produced by local deities, or the worship of the animals in question is carried out somewhere else. Thus they are said to have sent the tortoise to Pankatera. For the same reason they have no Tsamoro priests here, but only Sau en ounani. During the service the priests tell their request to the holy stones, mentioning the deity, and the stones transmit the prayers to the god. The magic power of the stones is proved in many another way; to touch them is considered to have a curative effect. He who wants to catch many fish, dips a holy stone into the sea.

Very important taboo places are located on the uninhabited island of Ant. Now visited for the harvest of cocoanuts only, it is said to have once been the land of the (dead) souls once. According to Christian, the holy animal here is the shark.

4. The Priests.

The carrying out of the actions of worship lies in the hands of the priests. For a long time ago they have formed a class of their own. Once its members all belonged to the Seriso class. According to other authorities, the highest priests, the Aulik, were Tsopeiti. The
Tsamoro are appointed by the Tsöpeiti; according to other statements they supplement their number themselves, corresponding to their own constitution - and enfeoffed with land and title. The title and fiefs still exist, but the holders do not longer know anything of the duties once connected with them. Because the fact that the priests once had to be chosen from the Seriso class, and the high Tsöpeiti were their liege lords, the latter had a welcome way of providing for the children born to them by their Seriso wives. But the landed property of the priests was not great, and their chief source of revenue were the gifts. (p. 131)

Originally the priests are said to have formed an independent district of their own in the region of Uona. But when they began to interfere in the affairs of Kiti, war was made on them and they were subjugated, and the land of Uona was united with Kiti. Therefore formerly all sibs were represented in Uona, and most of the priests are said to have come from there. They are supposed to have all had the title of Sauro in Uona in former times.

The statements about the inheritance, or succession, of the priestly office are very contradictory. The high priests, the Auliken lan, allegedly chose their own successors and disciples. In the case of the others, the daughter's husband was, strangely enough, considered as the successor. Only when a priest had no daughter, or when his family was dying out, would he make up his mind to tell the well guarded secrets to his son. The fear of the gods' punishment for an unjustified betrayal of the religious secrets was very great and had the result that useful statements could hardly be obtained. Of course the knowledge of the structure of this nearly extinct class has declined through missionizing. Others assert that the priests were not allowed to marry at all. But sexual intercourse was permitted to them. Children who were born from this free intercourse were killed. But neither the intercourse with the priest, the conception, nor the infanticide were regarded as a disgrace, but were, on the contrary considered honorable.
The priests were the confidential friends and advisers of the chiefs, with whom they were often allied by marriage. Their great importance and power, which they did not misuse, were based on the strict supervision (sic!) of the old laws and customs, and on their share in all public and private undertakings at which they were indispensable because of their magical powers and blessings. They were interceding ones of the deities, soothsayers and, in part, also physicians. A priest who knew the whole of the secret teachings was called Sau Rakim. Possessed people who also uttered prophesies were not considered priests. They are called kati ahi.

Several kinds of priests were distinguished. The highest Tsamoro was the Aulik or Tsaum, who had his seat in Tsalapxin Kiti. The first two sibs were his followers. He was followed by the Marun. They went about the country, said prayers and invited people to meetings by blowing triton's horns. The Keroun aip had to beat the drums and hang up the food sacrifices for Tau Katau in the assembly house. The Ruparup undertook the preparation of the food at high festivals and supervised the cleaning of the sacred kava. The first cup was handed to the Nanamariki by (p. 132) the Tsoukou, after holding it up and speaking a prayer of consecration over it. At the same time he had to extend the cup in all four directions and taste of it. The Mom en Kautek were the assistants at the sacrifice and had to supervise the straining of the kava which was done by the Melhek. The Kei takai pounded the kava and put the yam bulbs into the ovens. The preparation and servicing of the earth ovens, as well as occasional help, at the preparation of the food was the duty of the Kei taupur. The Zapatan had to keep the sacred stones clean.

The priestly classes of the deity Ilake or Uona, or the titles of his priests are: (8 native names)

The holy place of this deity was at Olapel, where the priests and chiefs assembled for the festival. The old building is burnt down.

Tale of Ilake. (Native text 196, p. 132-133)
I'nan uei's has an ancestor spirit to whom sacrifices are always made.

In another place Hambruch says tsaum, singular, Tsau men, plural was the general word for priest; this is probably a mistake.
Once there was a couple who went to Not with their child. There they were killed. Only the boy escaped. He succeeded in climbing on a log, on which he floated away. On the way he caught a fish, _Li tsparoua_; he bound it with hibiscus and seized it by its tail, then he prayed to Ilake. Swimming, he thus came near Paniau; there a beautiful house appeared to him in the sea. Ilake was in it and asked the boy: "Where do you come from?" He replied: "I escaped being murdered in Not." She further asked: "What are you carrying here?" He answered: "I have a fish here." And she went on asking: "To whom does (p. 133) your fish belong?" The boy said: "To my guardian spirit." Ilake said: "And who is your guardian spirit?" The boy answered: "Ilake." Then Ilake said: "Well, it is I come in." When he came in a stone fell out, he stepped on it with his foot, and another fell out, he also stepped on it; and a third one fell out. He entered and remained with her, until the sacrificial festival was near; then she said to the boy that they would both go to Uona. They both left the house; Ilake went over the water, the boy, however, sank. Then Ilake spoke a charm.

This is the charm:
"Glide over the water Pei on ata,
Move over the water, Pei on ata,
Jump over the waves,
On over the waves,
Jump, glide, jump!"
Then the boy no longer sank; both went over the water to Paniau. Then they went over to Uona.

Here sacrifices were made; sacrifices for Ilake; they all did it, the Inanueias and the Uputenpaini; and thus they have worshipped Ilake from old times until today.

The Nanekin here had the title of _Tsou matau en Ponta_, the Uasai, that of a Keron en tam. It is to be assumed that the Nanekin and the Uasai here also had the function of high priests in any case the names permit this conclusion. In the center of the holy place is a large kava stone,
in front of it various seat stones for the highest dignitaries; the Tsau Kisa, the Tsau Uona, and the Tsau matau Nanekim, all high priests. At the one side of the stone sit the Tsamoro; the Tsaum, Zapetan, Kerou en tam (Uasai), (p. 134) Rasan, Tsapuin, Lu en zapet and and N'kopen. At the other side the laymen fief holders have their places; the muar en kausap: the Tsaulik en Roi, en Mutok, en Makor, en TItip, the Au en Uona and the Lap en Uona. Behind the places (fig. 6, sketch after Hambruch, place of worship of Ilake) of these two rows of the dignitaries was the place of worship, Mol en an of the deity Ilake, one at each side. Between lay the place of sacrifice of the priests. A little aside is the sacred place of the superior chiefs called Nan pon kaim. The prayers were:

Prayer to Ilake. (Native text 233)

This your food we put here under your belly, sir Nan Hei en Pau.

Verse charm of the kava for Ilake (Native text 234)

I hand this kava to you, mistress Ilake en Pikitak, Ilake en Sonup!

We bring you a cup, Isonan Tsau ani, (p. 135)

Here is your kava, drink your kava!

Nobody will drink the kava before

As en Tiati, Men Tiati,

As en Iramaü, Mon Iramaü,

As en Pon Matil, Mou Pön Matil

Ghosts over the shore, spirits under the shore.

Spirits of fishing!

(Offer the cup to the Tau Kåtau.)

The priesthood of Nān Zapue in the Tsalapi of Kiti was divided into Saum, Aulik, Marün, Keron en mant and Zapetan en Pantso; that of Nāluk en tsorenepïn en Kasa, Na'im, Nanepaz, Sopän, Saulik en Tsapo takai Mäarakap and Sau uil en mutok. The priestly classes of Luk en tsou en pon called themselves

1 Was said when fish were brought to Ilake after fishing.

2 Another name for Isobau

1 Name of the spirit language for well-known places.
pu en Tsamoro by a common name, and fell into the posts of honor, held by great noblemen, or equal to them, Aulik, Marûn, Kerou'n aip and Rûparûp, the posts of honor held by small noblemen, Tsoukou nie and Mom un Kautek. The largest posts Meliek, Kei takai and Kei taupur were filled by the common people.

The priest offices in Matolenim are said to be the same as in Kiti.

The priestly titles on Ant are the following: (p. 135)

The priests were greatly respected and considered inviolable, saroi. Even in war they must not be killed. Their only external characteristic was that they let their hair hang down on their backs and only cut it straight with knives. Moreover, they were forbidden to put wreaths on their heads like other people. Nobody was permitted to touch their heads.

The chief place of worship was at Tsalapu'in Kiti, nän uau niap about every nine months all priests\(^2\) assembled here to celebrate the priestly festival which lasted four days. They were strictly closed to others and were called kau uau. Every one brought all kinds of food hanging on a stick, kava, breadfruit, yams, etc. and took it into the assembly house. He had his special place and exactly fixed occupations in the preparation of the food (p. 136). When the dishes were ready, they were put into cocoanut baskets and one of them was given to every priest. The kava was put down and prepared at the holy stones, the uasa roi. After the Aulik had consecrated it, it was handed to everybody, first to the Aulik and the Marûn. A piece of kava was hung at the crossbeam of the house for the god Nän Zapue. The priests sat in a circle and everybody had the seat due to him through his rank. — The meal was followed by the religious service in the stone enclosures, which apparently was to pray down good harvests. The sacrifices made then were called ounani. The ceremonies were kept strictly secret and nothing about them could any longer ascertained.

\(^2\) The statement does not make it clear whether these were the priests of Kiti or also these of the other districts.
5. Religious Worship.

There were never any images of gods at any time. The priests were the mediators between gods, spirits, and men. They put themselves into an hypnotic state into a trance and as "uar en ani" i.e. canoe of the spirit, answered questions put to them and pronounced prophesies.

For the service of the highest deity formerly all people assembled in the Nas, where the kava was prepared in a solemn manner on the sacred stones. The priest held the cup up and said prayers with slightly raised hands.

Prayer to Isobau. Native texts p. 136-139. 182 and 185 (Native text has been omitted.)

Here is your dish, Isobau and this is yours, Likant Pueipei.
Rise a little that we should find refuge under your hands,
Oh help and support us while we live, Sahoro and Likand Pueipei.
Free us from the evil charms of the world
And all evil diseases.

II.

This is a request to Isobau.
I am here, I am there,
I move, move
Round Perou, on Perou (p. 137)
the small Perou, the large Perou,
On the small Uau, the large Uau,
On the small Tau, the large Tau
On Natik, Tauak.
Give us a healthy life,
Lord Isobau and Likand Pueipei.

Prayer to Isobau......216
I go away, I go away from my place,
I now paddle to Lameros,

1 reef surface and channel between Tsokes and Mes en ien (Colony).
To the point of Tol e tick, I paddle on to Takatik. To the point of Tamanaupel, I paddle on to Nāmu en Not. To the point of Tol o mal, I paddle on to Pan Tau. I set sail at Pei' n pur, I take it again at Kalin Auak. At Au I come out, Paran appears, I am before Motul o loz, in sight of Nakalap. I set the sail at Namalap, I take it again at Pei N. Day is already breaking, I go to my love at Pulak. 

To calm the Thunder. (244)

Inemek, Inemek, Inemek tēnil,
Inemek, do good, do good,
Appear good, be kindly disposed to me, be kindly dispose to all people,
Be good, be good to the Nanatin,
Go away from me, go to the Nanape.
And you thunder, go to the south,
And you thunder, go to the north,
And do no longer thunder above me,
Let your fire sparks remain with you,

Main Nan Zapue, Nanape; Nan sau ani ie!

2 NE point of the island of Tsokes, also settlement.
3 Mangrove island between Tsokes and Laner. 4 NE point of Not.
5 Channel between Not and the island of Param 6 NW point of Anak. Takaiu.
7 Channel between Tepekand Takaiu. 8 Reef of Aru and the island of
9 Before the Aru entrance. 10 Island near Aru and the E point of Aru. Matolenim
11 Channel of O and 12 Island at the north edge of the harbor of
13 Island at the mouth edge of the harbor of Matolenim.
14 Island south of Nakalap. 15 Mangrove island at the entrance to the ruins of Matolenim.
16 In the ruins of Matolenim.

1 p. 138 Heavenly demons (?)
Dances and songs followed. The sacred stones also appear to have played an important mystical role. They were told of the requests which they transmitted to the deity. It was considered helpful and curative to touch them. When somebody wanted to undertake a great fishing expedition, he first had such a sacred stone dipped into the sea.

Besides kava, dogs were sacrificed, with which secrets were connected, and apparently also men. That the heart of the slain enemy was eaten during the celebration of a victory is declared by O'Connell. The cultic meaning of this custom cannot be doubted. The purely mystical purpose cannot be asserted with the same certainty for Pakin. According to O'Connell, the people there ate their captives from cannibalism, and also parents are said to have presented children to the chief and seen an honor to his acceptance. Hambruch further heard that in Palikir a sick father nearly poisoned his son in order to sacrifice him to the disease demon.

Rain, thunderstorms and storm are conjured up by the priests, or conjured away. When somebody pronounces the words *zila* or *Palan* on the sea, rain or a violent wind comes. An invocation of Nān Selan ie, which cannot be translated. (is given in native text in the source)

The other acts of religious worship and conjurations are arranged and described as follows:

**Kosonēti āni** to conjure a spirit so that it leaves the possessed, no longer roams about spreading sickness and fear. (p. 139)

**Expulsion of a Ghost.**

We fear you,
Yield,
Yes, I want to drive you away,
You evil spirit, who dwells in this man,
Sea ghost, go into the sea,
Land ghost, go into the earth,
Likand en Natik, Likand en Tauak
Yield, go away
Up on the bridge.
Into the hole Petereke,
seruru, seruru, seruru, seruru,
seruru, seruru, yield,
I ask the oracle here over the sick man.
At the place, on the mountain,
Where evil spirits live, you who torment this man
Depark (7) there now!

Katiani are the conjurations, prophesies and prayers of the priests or possess or sercerers. They take place at all sorts of occasions, e.g. wedding, sickness, and are directed to the ancestor spirits.

(360)

Four getek en alek (sedge) are fetched, put together and tied into a knot. Four other leaves are out. The priest says at the same time:

I cut, cut my good tip,

My beautiful tip, my pretty tip,
my mighty tip, nalio nam
Katium nam, you come to give,
make these to a tip,
my magic power, my magic power,
to lukumeni, lukumeni cut!

Then it is counted: maur--Kapin maur--lik--lol--tsete--maur--
kapin maur i.e., life--eternal life--outside--inside--tsete--life--
eternal life--and the single leaves are folded. The oracle is carried out behind a sleeping-mat wall. At a sick bed katiani, the priests takes five reed leaves, folds them, and states, according to the formation of the breaks, who of the ani of the (p. 140) sick person is dissatisfied with him and therefore made him ill. The gift of kava or a fat pig, which the priest and his assistant get, soothe the spirit and he lets the man get well. If he nevertheless dies, the priest knows to arrange— it that nobody thinks that it is his fault.

According to Hambruch, the significance of the leaves in fig. 7,
leaf oracle "Katiani" of cocoanut pinnates; length about 6 cm.

1. ... You must give breadfruit to the invalid.
2. ... We must make "alu"
3. ... The dead person must have a wreath.
4. ... He is dead and must be buried.
5. ... means death.
6. ... The invalid will be strong.

alu, making of a kava sacrifice of atonement. \(\text{Cf, p. 153}\)

open sarai, consecrate a boat to the gods and hang it up in the boat-

house

simalasil, hair of deceased persons are tied round the wrists and joints

of the feet of small children, by which the anceseter spirit takes

the child under his protection.

Fig. 8, No. 468. not transcribed. Charm from the hair of dead

persons who take the wearer under the protection.

ounani, to make conjurations, e.g. invoking and praying to the demons

in the case of sicknesses, also putting one's hands on the sick spot

and making sacrifices of reconciliation in the form of food and kava.

p. 141

Charm: said over food so that it should not do any harm.

Native text 398, cannot be translated.

Breadfruit Blessing Native text 311. \(\text{Native text omitted}\)

Limokesenei and Likapinnakei,

you went away so that you should return,

return as now the breadfruit returns.

Charm When Carrying Heavy Objects.

I stretch your leg, whose leg?
Your leg; leg is good.
Whose leg? Your leg! A leg like hard wood,
Your leg, Whose leg? Your leg! A leg like mangrove
Strong, able, capable.
Small bench, large bench, Bones of your body,
be healthy, vigorous, strong, healthy!
Here goes the boat, there goes the boat,
Up goes the boat, the boat glides to the horizon.
Two are my companions,
Li en Kaunup' and
Li en Kau moleined!

Conjuration of the Tide.
When the water rises, the women betake themselves into the mangroves to catch masat-crabs. But not at low tide, for it is easiest at high tide because then the crabs climb into the trees. The women squat down and say their charm. This is the conjuration:
"Tide, tide rise,
Come to the mangroves,
Like the row of hens
Pratiles
Cackle, cackle, cackle in the mangroves!"

The tide comes quickly; they are glad to be able to catch the crabs with which many baskets are filled. Then they go home and enjoy the feast.

Against High Water. Native text 188.
Stones are taken, the charm is said to the end, and then the stones are thrown into the river to make it fall.

This is the charm:
Become lower, become lower,
Become smooth, become smooth, (P.143)
Smooth outside, no longer inside,

Charm to Clean the Channel of Na. Native text 232
Wash the bend of the river, the right bend.
Eel go away, eel come again,
Small go away, eel come again,
Small is $he course of the channel, large is the course of the channel, 
Small bend, large bend
Charm against Dogbite. Native text 146, cannot be translated.

Charm of the Tip u lap. Ken Tsokas

Lord, go behind your back.
My taro is from Kamar, Kamar,
But my

Where does it remain? In your feet,
Where does it remain? In your arms,
Where does it remain? In your body,
Where does it remain? In your mouth,
Where does it remain? In your face,
First it remains, second it remains, third it remains, etc. ninth it remains,
They do no more come, these things, no more these things,
Nothing will kill me nothing.

It is spoken by members of the Tip u lap tribe when they go to the Nanamariki. At the same time they rub oil into their skin; a part of the conjuration is spoken into the bottle with oil; then the oil is poured into the hollow of the hand and is rubbed on breast, thigh, head, one after several times, then one goes.

Darkness at Noon (Cap of Invisibility Charm)

Dark is the smoke, dark my overing,
Shrubs on the ground, hide me,
Shrubs over the ground, hid me.
I go into the dense bush,
I go into the poke-tree,
Hide in the poke, in the poki I hide.

1 Old name of Ponape. The reef on which Ponape lies.
Sleeping Charm for Falling Asleep. ...187

One touches the threshold and says the charm:

Bird Araue, bird Aroto,
I put my hands on this corner, on this corner,
I put them on all four corners,
Sleep like a neu-fish
Lie heavily on the ground like a basalt stone,

Bird Araue, Bird Aroto
I put my hands on this corner, on this corner
I put them in many corners, oho!

Against an Evil Way-charm

Charm of the par-flower, charm of the matsal-flower,
Leap past, leap back.

Lord Muraema! Under the star of Ant in the grass.

When Breaking up the Soil. ...389

Lime Kosamei, Li paupau saup
I want to dig up
The soil of my land on my spot,
Soil break up, bad soil go down
Soil break up, break up
Lima Kosamei, Li paupau saup

When Planting Yams ...390

My digging-stick knocks,
My digging-stick rattles,
Wind round the ivory-palm,
Wind round the great rock,
Wind round the Calophyllum-tree.

1 One is to lie quietly on the mat, not move, for great pain has now to be borne.

2 Woman, hold firmly

3 OEi = south = seat of evil.
Ilan the great consecration of a new drag-net and the tools used for it.

Already during the making, after certain parts of the work are finished, conjurations are said. On three days before the consecration the men who participated in it were not allowed to leave the assembly house p. 146, nor go to their wives, and to observe certain prohibitions of food. A great part in this charm is played by a piece of wood, tsuka saraqai nan matau which is solemnly lowered into the sea in the net.

Ina pu a-charm in connection with the tattooing of a palm. A palm frond, ten palmi is tied round the palm stem, while conjurations are spoken. Nobody is allowed to fetch nuts from these palms or gather and eat fallen nuts. The punishment for such an offense is sickness, in particular, pustules. E beulenausagehag, boils] Kews, or even death.

Ka sar sui a charm to take invalids from one place to the other.

IV. The System of Law.

1. Property Law.

All land is partitioned and only in the possession of the high nobility who passes it on to the people as copyholds (Kausap). Only the foreigner must buy land. Besides the feudal land there is another kind of landed property, the meaning, significance (Bedeutung) of which does not become clear from the contradictory statements of the natives. It is the Nanu, which the one declare to be a kind of family property of the high nobility, the others regard (look at) the private property of the great chiefs. In Kiti the nanu is largest. It is the region of Tsapae takai near Tamoro. In Metelanim it comprises Taman and nan Matol and the neighboring islands. In it is insignificant and Sokes and Not have no such land at all. The Nanamariki gives this land only to the highest noblemen of his state, who must occasionally (take turns) in the usufruct [L'ajmi of the field].

As a compensation, they have to give him prepared foods and the first fruits. A native, said: The Nanamariki divides his land (the nanue) into two parts. He keeps the first for himself, and distributes the other to his children, i.e. the sovereignty is held by the eldest son.
who passes it on to the other brothers and sisters and also the grandchildren of the Nanamariki. As he himself to the father, the brothers have to give him fruits just as other tenants. When the Nanamariki dies, his share falls to the eldest son. By this the Nanue would go to another sib and it is a "family possession" only in the sense that it goes from the father to the son, but it does not remain in the sib. But even so the thing appears contradictory. Although the chiefs belong mostly to the same sib, it must nevertheless be assumed that every high chief has a nanue of his own, as his predecessor in office can never be his father and therefore, does not leave him any at his death, or that there is a special nanue which is connected with the title. According to Hahl, it seems to be land of which the ruling Nanamariki has the usufruct, land which is not connected with the person but with the office and can, therefore, not be inherited.

The copyholds of the high nobles have approximately the character of family copyholds, as the land may be taken from them only in the case of offenses, and the Nanamariki confirms at the death of the holder, the successor, that is invests him anew with the fief. According to Hahl, the Tsopeiti sibs have a right to land and title and can agree on the holder of the post among each other.

The kaukap-land, with the individual fiefs pali en tsap, that means hide of land, is passed on, while tributes are given to the superior chief and the next dignitary above the person in question. As a rule, the tributes consist of ten baskets (kiam) of fruits to each. Often poultry goes with them. 3

EXPLANATION. The kaukap - Botok in Kii, fiefs and owners has been omitted.

The pali en tsap too may be divided further. The tenants of these small pieces of land, makots, are the aramas mual. Every native lives on his chief. The owner of the large property builds his estate on the best spot of his large property. Round his dwelling house stand the houses of his young brothers, sons and other relatives. After these come the

3 The king usually appoints the chief dignitary from his own sib.
huts of the smaller tenants and at the greatest distance stood once the miserable huts of the Nigurts. The estates have a stone enclosure.  

Moreover, some servants live in the house of a nobleman who are assigned their special place, generally a certain corner where they waited until they are wanted. The Armas muq with their families on the land assigned to them. If it does not suffice any longer, the Tsopeiti must make a re-arrangement which he may do as he likes. But if land is taken away without a just reason this is felt to be an iniquity.

All regions which do not belong to anybody, all fallow ground and bush country are at the disposal of everybody for hunting and fishing. He who has cleared a bit of woodland or planted cocoanut palms on fallow ground is considered to be the owner. This of course only within the feudal laws. Fruit trees are common property. Now and then they are marked as taboo by wrapping thread or bark around them. Then it is considered punishable to touch them or eat the fruit, for it becomes sarau or karia, i.e. sacred. Also the mangroves or other useful trees belong to every tribe member. Only a foreigner must pay for them. Fishing is done by every one as he likes in the reef region in front of his state. Agricultural fruits (yams, kava) and dogs are private property. Only the owner has the right to dispose of them. There was a special law with regard to dogs which have strayed to or from people, and ceremonies which are not described and were in the hand of the Nanamariki.

People without land or bondsmen could also have property. They had boata and other valuable property. Formerly wealth consisted of the possession of mats, fibers, fruits, canoes and houses. Rich people, generous and magnanimous ones were highly respected; poor ones, thieves and misers despised.

The family properties belongs to the husband. The woman, or the widow was only, unless she herself has a fief, which however hardly occurs.

(Fig. 9 Estate of nobleman, in Lot. Sketch by Hambruch.)
husband and wife have joint-property and the man must make good for the debts of his wife.

2. The Law of Inheritance

With regard to this two contradictory tendencies are noticeable. The natives make uncertain and inexact statements, which alone indicates a decay of the old laws or a conflict. It also seems that it was already too late for investigation; the old law had waned. These contradictory principles are: on the one hand to keep the inheritance in one's own family and sib by handing it to the sister's son, and on the other hand, to let title and landed property go from one sib to the other by leaving it to the son who belongs to the foreign sib that of his mother. According to O'Connel, the Successions katauto or soso, determined the passing on from the father to the eldest son; according to Hambruch it is purely matriarchal, a man is followed by the sister's son. The inheritance comprises house, canoe, canoe house, and in former times also the bondsmen. The copyhold, the landed property had to be transferred anew, to be sure, but confirmation was usual. According to Hambruch, a chief is not followed by the next in rank, but by all brothers one after the other. When all are dead, the sister's son takes the post, that is pure matriarchal succession.

When a man had daughters only he could leave his fief also to a daughter, and the Nanamariki used to consider the fief as free only when there were no children whatever left.

The widow usually returns to her home and sib. She may also live with her sons. But the family of her husband must always take care of her, keep and see to it that she leads a respectable life and re-marries in accordance to her rank.

The other possessions of a man are distributed to the other maternal relatives, partly favoring the sister's children. According to the statement by others, each of the relatives and funeral guests takes what he likes. Only the ornaments are left to the deceased. The property of the deceased is free for everyone.

uncultivated
In olden times the right of the stranger prevailed. The Tsopeiti
were nearly absolute masters. But still the little man had a way of
complaint also against them, represented by the Nanekin before the
Nanamariki. But there is no report about the prospects. The master
had the right to kill his bondsmen. But he was not allowed to sell
him. The first judge was always the owner of the land, from whom
the guilty ones or quarrelling parties had their fiefs. Above him
was the Nanamariki. There was no appeal against his sentence. He
had an influential counsel beside him and the punishment was fixed
or proposed by the Nanekin.

According to O'Connell, the sense of justice was healthy, lively
and offenses occurred rarely. Everyone submits to the caste as a
necessity. (There were 60% Nigurts as compared with the free people).
All offences against the law, as for instance legacy hunting, were
looked at as offenses against the community. The laws were clear,
and known to everyone. Therefore nobody attempted to get what was
not his due. Also Kubary said still: They could not steal, as
there was nothing to be stolen. Lying was useless and was used only
as a weapon against foreigner.

An effective means of keeping the people on the right way was
also the ancestor and totem belief. All offenses in this respect
are revenged by the ani. It must not be forgotten with regard to
this that the living and dead form one sib. Sickness and death falls
on the man who acts contrary to a law sanctified by custom or religion;
he is "riale".

Blood-vengeance, men tipuk, was considered to be the duty of
every tribe member, but was not a fixed custom. According to the
situation, the individual, the sib, or even the tribe decided, whether
and to what extent use should be made of it. Formerly, the men took
vengeance on the whole tribe of the perpetrator. They would hit
a man, woman, or child. (weregeld) was not known, at least
not within the closer family of the persecuted person. The Saulik en
Tsokola relates as an example for this:
A man from the Sau en Kauat married in Auak, the man was called Esirom and his wife Li pei ririn. Now there was a man called Men Tsakau, who fornicated with the wife. Therefore Esirom went away from Auak and went to Nankap. One day he fetched his rifle and went back to Auak to watch the other man, while he waited thus the other appeared and both met. Isirom shot at the man. But he did not hit him. The man now ran towards Esirom, seized the knife and killed him. The Auak people buried him; but his sib, among them also Saulik en Tsokola, were enraged about it and wanted to begin a way, but they did not carry out this intention, because the one man who had committed the crime would have been the cause of many people being killed. So they betook themselves to Auak one day, to watch the man. They could not find him; they thought that they should keep quiet for some years so that the man should forget it. All agreed to this.

A long time had already passed when Saulik en Tsokola gathered his eight people; they put their rifles and knives in order and went to Auak, to watch the man. When they were in the high mountains Sauli en Tsokola asked the oracle and received two answers: the one, blood will flow, the other, two are caught. This strengthened their courage. They went to the spot and hit him; then he called his people; they came running, shot also and killed him with the knives. They let the boy live and run away. Then they went away from Auak and when they were in the high mountains they blew the Triton's horn, and shouted with joy, so they came home, for now the joy in their families was great, because blood-vengeance for them had been taken. So all Sau en Kauat people have been satisfied with it until today.

This ends the blood-vengeance. Nor is it being taken up by the part of the opposite party.
Notwithstanding the favorable judgment by O'Connell and Kubary, the Ponape people know quite a number of crimes for which they have fixed certain penalties. Adultery and abduction were already discussed. Great crimes are judged by the Nanamariki or Nanekiku. They assert not to know tortures. O'Connell reports them in his time, although he did not experience them as corresponding such crime was committed. Murder of fellow tribe-members was punished by death. Also high treason and adultery with a noblewoman. Instead of the death penalty castration could be chosen. According to the seriousness of the crime or the position of the wronged person, also theft, concealment of stolen property, robbery, and bodily injury could be punished by death. Blood-vengeance was practiced when the murder was committed by some one not belonging to the same tribe. The same applies to rape. Otherwise according to the opinion of the judge, they otherwise punished this offense by the confiscation of the fief, tsaleti, the loss of the title, katsapaleti, and fettering. Defamation, katipe, which harms others, they punish the family of the perpetrator and destroy, in proportion to the seriousness of the offense Schwere der Tate, the house, canoe, sheds, or plantations. Forced labor is carried out in proximity of the chief's weeding, felling of trees, house-building and others. The chief keeps the offender during that time. Punishment by imprisonment, tsaleti en kalabus, became known to them only through the Europeans. Exile was known to them (already) earlier.

(Parallel native text)

When somebody is exiled by a Ponape chief, he will p. 153 drown and die or he will be chased from his property and roam homeless roam about in other regions. The chief of the other districts do not give him any little place where he is allowed to stay for he is a man of the king and a stranger and restless (?) during his life.

(The right sanctuary is unknown.) Non-appearance before the chief was punished by throwing stones. O'Connell also mentions wounding with shells or other pointed objects, knocking down with a club against
which the evil-doer was not allowed to defend himself. A serious crime was formerly punished by breaking the skull, burning it and scattering the ashes in all directions. In addition, the body of the executed man was thrown to the dogs. When a member of the family had committed an offense within the sib, or the wife had committed adultery, the Nanekin or the Nanamriki passed judgement. But its execution was left to the family.

Although the Ponape man is vindictive, according to Christian, and capable of waiting his hour for a long time, they nevertheless think that reconciliation is something entirely noble. In it they observe an exactly prescribed rite (established ceremonial). The party that wants the reconciliation gives a suitable present, the katom, (to offended party) which becomes particularly valuable, significant and honored by adding sugar-cane to it. This serves as an apology. Then one's honor is satisfied, and the affair is settled. (Christian, p.72)

Charm for Reconciliation /Native text, 382.
Make yourself smaller and speak in a low voice!
It lightens on the mountains, you look well,
Mistress Liomai!
Sit down far from this game, I
I have hone from them,
Their faces see me, their mouths talk about me,
Let it stop, stop, cease iei. (p.154)

Reconciliation Charm. /Native text 383./
Step (you enemies.)
We are coming (my friends,)
Tsakeren peipei, people of Letau,
Little Letau, large Letau,
Do not speak, do not longer speak, do not speak about me!

To attest, testify tsoun kéir; steal pirap; to rob and murder lōlāp.
War-council.
Reconciliation Charm /Native text 384/

Li en Tiusou, Li en Katsikito.
Come, help, that should not catch me,
Stop, stop the arm,
Stop, stop the leg,
Stop, stop the body,
Stop, stop the mouth,
Stop, stop their hearts,
Nothing shall stir, nothing move
As on a day when there is no wind!

Reconciliation Charm. Native text 385/

Limarasei, little Limarasei,
Great Limarasei,
The wind roars, the wing of Tsūmur,¹
Loud is the roaring noise.
Keremesiu laughs about Mentak,
I put on a wreath,
The wreath suits me well,
How does the wreath suit me?
I look like a tsauaini flower,
What does my face look like? it looks like a man /sic/
Who makes others happy, makes happy
Zialatak the man!

When two men have had a quarrel and the one wants to know whether the other is still angry with him, he takes a piece of sugar-cane, peels it and offers it /p. 155/ to his opponent. If the latter accepts it, peace is made, if not, this is a sign that they continue to be enemies. The same custom is practiced to ascertain whether the king or his chiefs are angry with them. When they do not accept the sugar-cane, a banquet is given for them and they are handed the gift once more.¹

¹ The star E Antares on the Carolines.
¹ Pereiro p. 112.
Suicide, pein kameiela, is frequent with them and may be caused by trifles. Rage or anger, makar, makes one commit it, and often a quarrel with the sib is the cause. They use various means: In the "loqloq" the man committing suicide retires to a cave and starves to death. Otherwise starving is called kaisolielar. Some choose hanging, lusiomala. The strangest way is the custom of tying the penis to one's big toe with a rope and tearing it off.

CONCEPTS AND KNOWLEDGE.

1. The Universe.

The firmament is held up by Man pio, Kio, Ki en puel and fourth being whose name they no longer remember. They divide sky itself into four zones. Nên epon en tsap corresponds to the north, Nî kap en lan, to the west, Nan Eira, to the south and Lemezielan to the east. Heaven and earth were one. Then the god Tau Katau separated them from each other, for he wanted to possess heaven for himself alone.

2. Knowledge of Navigation; Stars and Chronology.

In former times they appear to have had much better knowledge of the firmament together with the science of navigation than now. To this corresponds the decline of navigation on the open sea (Hochseeschiffahrt) which was already apparent in O'Connell's day. In 1910, there was no longer a pali, i.e., sailing master (Segelmeister) for great voyages. He relates that they like to sit down alone and watch the stars, and Christian too mentions that some old people were clever observers of the stars and also had a good knowledge of weather and winds and prevailing currents in the sea. They distinguish the Salt Sea, pali eir, the north sea, pali epan, the sea in the west, pali kapi, and the sea in the east, pali mese. They apparently recognize the currents by the color of the sea: there are different kinds of water in the sea, one above the other." The dark sea is called set rotorot; (p. 156)

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Typist, please insert:

Mailap* (Big or Little Dipper)
Mağireğir (Pleiades)
Kiel mau*
Limizege rık
Tsūmur (Antares)

Kopűn ēir
Zareböl*
Kilik
Eliül* (Orion's Belt)
Lepoz
(p.156) red sea (over the reefs) is called set uetsatsa; shining sea, i.e., the sunshine over the water, is called set marain. (All islands in the south and west are called Paizí. The islands in the east have been known to them (VMM:i.e., the natives.) from olden times by the names of Razak and Ralik.

The knowledge of the stars is not much better. Most of the star names still exist among them are from the Carolines(*). They still have the following constellations.(See the attached list.). Furthermore here are still some others, as becomes apparent from the following native texts and the so-called star-song and the legend. They think the weather is closely connected with the stars.

Tale of Some Stars.(Native text.2b, has been omitted.)

This is what the Ponape people think about the stars. There are stars which causes great winds and others under which great wind and rain follows. And they think that the stars cause this, for the Ponape people calculate according to the stars in the sky and know all times when consequently violent winds and rain appear. They name the stars as follows (VMM: Native text listing see attached sheet.)(p.157)

(p.157)The Ponape people know this of all stars, that they bring the wind. Therefore they have given them the names. There is an immense number of star names, so I have not written all down.(VMM: Native text, "Song of Stars" omitted here.)

Song of the Stars. (Native text 246)

Which of the stars will rise now
Pun en Eir, Tarepue, Li sair e'lan?
And who will then stand up on the sky
Tumur, Mela Tumur, Melan Tumur,
Li en uă, Maitik, Li en uă,
Lek e'pil, Sasă, Likatat?
And likaman e'mis enuers the assembly,
Nani paratá points with the hand
Forwards, forwards tient voran

Mati en mar, after Li pon ian
And stealthily Mailap climbs up,
Then violent rains pour down.
You also come Eu men, Uár en men,
Usu en lan and Take en liol,
Limesirikerik, who stands very far,
Niu tiketik as well as Sásā lan,
They call the crabs,
They also call the (morning-star) Mes e'rān,
And the rain will come again,
Merauk, he remains, there go
Men puakoto, also
Men pokolok, about which the children are glad
Then they are content and bathe in the river and the sea,
The whole, the whole, the whole, the winds,
It is harvesting time now, harvesting time now

A Star-Tale. (Native text 2c.) (VMM: Native text is omitted.)

There was once a woman called Likitanir, she created the stars, for
she gave birth to them. None ever obeyed their mother. And they never
wanted to listen to her stories. Only the smallest one, called Nārgiregir,
obeys his mother and listens to her stories. And one day they wanted to
wander into a land of heaven (Meziēlan) called Mezierāk. All her children
made preparations for their departure. The mother Likitanir wanted to go
with them. But the largest of the children called Tumur, did not want
her to go with them, for the canoe would be too full and go slowly. But
the smallest boy called Margiregir, did not finish his preparations until
later. The mother sent word to him that she would sail with him. The boy
obeyed, and the mother now took very much with her. Then both travelled
after all the others. The woman practiced hots of magic and also made a
sail.

1 Face of heaven, the blue sky.
These two, who sailed after the others, arrived first in the east. And the mother raised her smallest boy to be the Nanamariki of the country. Thus he ruled, and many people were under him. Now when all the brothers appeared and saw that their small brother had become Nanamariki, they became very angry and they remembered how they had refused to obey their mother. So they returned home and had evil thoughts. They became common people and had no land and no possession. Then they repented at not having obeyed their mother, they had received (bad pay) in return, whereas their little brother had been obedient and had been rewarded for it.

And thus all the stars received their names. But he star Margiregir was worshipped by the people of Ponape, for it brings good wind, good days around harvesting time. Therefore the people of Ponape look forward to their harvesting period; for then all edible plants bear fruits. Therefore it is called harvesting time. But in the par time only one tree called par does this; it blossoms alone, well and beautifully, but all other trees have no blossoms and fruit then. This period is called Isol.

L. Kehoe of Roi en Kiti relates about the year:
Tale of the Year. (Native text 2a). (VMM: Native text omitted here.)

This is what the people of Ponape think about the year; they think that the year consists of five parts of the year of five-times. They divide the year into five parts (p. 160), one half of which they call rak and the other par, for they count only ten months, five months during rak and five months during par. This is what they think about the year.

These are the names of all the months in a year: (To typist; please copy list beginning Ir and ending with Ki)

Thus they count all months; and they think (about the days in the month in the following way:) there are thirty days in one month; but they do not count the days of the month; but the nights. They think that sixteen nights make up (belong to) light moonlight (period) (VMM: of the sixteen nights) then after this period of light moonlight there is a period of "dark" moonlight." (List of natives names omitted.) (Dark time = dark moonlight.)
Thus they think that the period of the darkness comprises fourteen nights. (Thus they call the nights which they count from the beginning of the darkness.)

This is what the Ponape people think about the year, parts of the year and nights.

They divide the year, tsou en par, into twelve tsou en pun or thirteen maram (moons). The month, tsou en pun, is divided into twenty-eight dxxx nights, pun. The week introduced by the whites is called by the English vik, the hour klok. (VNM: Native names of the places of the moon on Maram? omitta here.)

(p.162) It is strange that thirty instead of the usual twenty-eight are enumerated here.

They know only two seasons: nan rōk, the breadfruit period and nan isol, the yam period.

The day, ran, is divided into the following parts: (Natives names: typist, please copy list beginning kuta en pil, and ending nin tsou uas.)

- cricket's song
- chirping immediately after sunset
- 6 o'clock in the evening
- midnight
- first cock's crow
- second cock's crow
- third cock's crow
- fourth cock's crow
- then the sun rises
- 6 o'clock in the morning
- noon.

For the designation of historical epochs, they take the four great catastrophes in their history: (Native names: typist please copy native list.)

- the great flood
- the great flood
- typhoon and famine
- smallpox

Creation Sagas.

For them creation is associated with the creation of the island of Ponape. Here the conception is confused as the idea comes in everywhere that Ponape was really discovered simultaneously from (VNM: several) other islands Kusae. The sagas which have come down to posterity of the creation of the high mountains, the fertile land and the discovery. There are different variations.
The Creation of Poanpe. (Tsokes). (D.26)

There was once a woman, who was called Li pulopul, who lived in a far-off land and had a son called Tsou Kon. One day they went into their boat and left their home, in order to seek another land. On the way they got tired during the long voyage and fell asleep in the boat. While they slept, their boat grounded. It had become stuck on a large rock, which stood out of the sea and reached up to the sky. Tau Katau was in heaven and looked down on the earth. He noticed that the rock had stopped the boat. He now broke the rock into eight pieces; he drew four pieces into heaven and put them down near his home; he spread the others with his feet; they flew west and fell into the sea. The root of the mountain, however, is in Ponape; it is the Tūk en takai.

Later a man called Mau Kok appeared, he climbed on top of the stone. He lay down, changed into a stone and thus became the island; then another appeared, called Tsau oror, he remained on the shore; he pushed the water back, so that it flooded the mountains, and became the shore. And finally a third one came, called Gatsin en mor, he remained on the outer reef in front of the breakers: he lay down in front of it and prevented the waves from approaching the island.

(All three (VMM: mythological creators) are the protective spirits of the island; they stand together and have also given it its name: Pōnpei, on the stones. (Nos en Tsokes.))

The Creation of Ponape (Tsokes) (D.24.)

Formerly Ponape was a flat island. Then one day four women came from afar: Li pei pāsan, Li pei Kosānu, Li pei pata and Li pei san. They carried large stones together to a spot in the middle of the reef in a place called Tsalapux. But when they had finished, the waves came again and tore them apart. Then they began their work anew, again carried stones together, and one on top of the other, and fastened them so that the waves could not do anything to them anymore. Since then they have remained (stayed) unchanged in Tsalapux, where they can still be seen today.
Later three men came, called Gatsün en iyor, Tsau oror and Maukok. They also came from afar. They made the mountains of Tip en tonelap and Tip en tolokoi. But as the island did not seem to them good enough, Gatsün en iyor made the outer reef, by lying down around the island; Tsau oror became the shore; Mau kok formed the island itself, by lying over the place. His head lies in Matolenim, legs in Kiti, body in Tsokes and the arms in Not.

(Kaneki en Tomaroi.)

The History of the Creation of Ponape. (Native text 262, omitted.)

Formerly in olden times, there was no land, but there were two people, the one was called To Kenkier and the other Puets en puel Iso. Together they left Kusae in a canoe and sailed in all directions on the sea. They (p.164) did not find any land. They got tired; they anchored the canoe; and then a rock leaped up between the outrigger and the boat proper (bootskrper) and became land. But it was not beautiful yet for the waves went over it.

Then the one of the two called Puets en puel Iso went back to Kusae and fetched a basket with earth. With it he formed the soil and pressed it together. But both were not yet satisfied. They agreed that it was not good and wanted to cut off pieces. They cut the mountain off and made eight parts, they took four to heaven and four remained. And one was taken off and formed the mountain of Kusae, another the mountain of Yap, a third remained here and formed the mountain of Tsokes, which is called Pön Tolap, a fourth was taken to Matolenim and formed the Takai'u-rock. Pön paip, which we called Tep en Takai; formed the top; and all the fragments made the land, which is called Kapin. Thus across the land, the water ran down from them; and all fish disappeared. But a tortoise remained on the land, it was called Liān en Tsokela. It gave birth and had two boys who were called Sinekier and Puenekier. The boys wandered about in the land of Matolenim and one day made preparations to make their sacrifice; they sacrificed a dog to celebrate the Matolenim festival. (p.165) Then they both discussed whether they will give the dog to us, and if they do not give it up, we will take it and exchange it for our mother. Now their mother lived in a
channel in Pon Paip; she heard of the betrayal and went away from the channel. She went down to the great river and wept, and a small lake arose, in whose water she wandered on and thus got to Kamar; there she hid in a small place called Alimarau; the two boys pursued her to that place, put her in a canoe and with it went to Matolenim. When they were near Matolenim she said to the two that they should turn her around so that they could anoint her with Reng and make her beautiful for the eel. Then they took her to the Sau Telur. Sau Telur accepted her and sacrificed her instead of the dag which he gave to the boys.

The Discovery of Ponape.

Once upon a time four women came to Ponape from the south in a vessel which was made from tin wood. Their names were Li pali kini, who had made the canoe; Litor kini, who had woven the sail: Li puketa lani, who had hoisted the sail; Li tsap en kini, who had been the first to see the land. They returned to their people and told them: "We have seen a land which is floating in the middle of the sea."

Now a second voyage was undertaken which is described in the following song:

Song.

"Ponape suffered a change, truly!"
A vessel left the shore of Uagü in olden times. Yap a kini moves it on, comes down and calls to the canoe's:
"Where is Sau peliti, Sau pelata, Li pelete Kelani?"
They are ready to leave; they will go to Pon no muip. They hoisted the sail, is does not go up.
"Where is Li pelete Kalani? She shall come, shall come and hoist the sail!" (p. 165 or 166?)
Thus they hoisted it. Gleam shone. Calm descended, calmly the sea extended.
"Li en Kateulik, Li an tele, both of you! Come, both of you, help to hold fast my sail!" They both come.
Sit down for it in the roaring of the wind, help to hold it fast while you are sitting!"

Girschner, Globus 1909, I. p. 237
Then they ran down along Oroilatå, Tikae niau. Thus they came to Tapa iso, to hold a leaf oracle for their arrival, in a prophecy over the vessel, and about the discovery of the new found land. Then they came and stayed a little while. They questioned the shell animal; it said:

"Land has been discovered here. The discovery of the land of Ponape is realized again."

They left Li en tele behind, so that she would populate the land, in order to leave visible signs of their arrival.

Then they returned to the land of Uagu to Li tsap e kini, Li pali kini. I will not say more! Let those who have later information, correct this one after the other. What I say is confused!

A change has befallen Ponape, truly!

The saga now relates further:

Floods tore all earth from the island. Then two people, Yap en puel and Liarap en puel fetched earth in baskets and took it to the island. In Tsalapuk in Kiti they made a large stone heap (pë, pei); and therefore the island has received the name of Pon pei, on the hill. To prevent new floods the land was surrounded by mangroves, ak, and called Likatin ape; later the outer reef was created for greater safety and called Kati ani os.

There upon the floods stopped.

Two birds, Likatobubu (weaver-bird) and Püliot later brought fire from heaven. Other legends report the origin of the useful plants, the coconut, the breadfruit, the yam, and also mention the first partaking of the dog meat, which the people love above everything.

The Story of a Woman.(Native text 49, has been omitted here.)

Once upon a time there was a woman, who lived in a place a long time ago. The place was called Paretakeria. And the woman was called Limesuaran. The woman became pregnant, she gave birth and had a boy whom she called Kaneki en Paretakeria. The boy grew (p.167) up, until he was big, then he had a bad disease and fell ill with leprosy in his face, on his feet and hands; now he could not walk and had to lie in the house all the time. Now the
brother of the woman appeared in their house, a man called Lākam, and scolded the woman, that she would no longer give any food to the invalid, so that he would die, because he could not be of any use, and invalids always feel ill and weep. Now it happened that the mother Limesuaran also gave birth to a drinking nut. Then the leper asked his mother to give it to him. And the mother obeyed. So the leper got the drinking nut, because she liked it, but did not know what to do with it. Therefore the leper had received the drinking nut. And so the drinking nut lay beside the man all the time. And that lasted for a long time. Finally the boy was near death. Then he said to his mother, when he was dead and they were burying him, they should also bury his drinking nut beside him. And when he was dead, his mother buried the drinking nut together with him. Then many nights passed. The drinking nut grew up high. And it grew higher and higher until it bore fruits. Then the woman went to examine them to see whether they were beautiful. She took down a fruit and ate it. And it was nice, but then she also tried to crush it in her hand and rub it over herself. And it was also suitable as anointing oil. Now the woman gave the name of coconut palm to the tree and the name nut to the fruit.

Then the woman became pregnant again and bore a dog. She hid it in the house, nobody knew of it, until the dog was big and again gave birth to many dogs. And not one single person knew of it for a long time. Now a man called Nān Úlap, who was the fish master, made a new dragnet. And a man called Lākam, the brother of Nān Úlap, prepared the inauguration feast; for this is the custom in Ponape, when a new haul is undertaken, some remain on the land to cook a lot of food. This is then called the inauguration feast. Thus Nān Úlap initiated the net and his brother Lakam remained on the land to take care of the feast. He prepared many kinds of food. The leper's mother brought garnishings to Lakam, many drinking nuts and also killed dogs; these too she gave to the man, for now she wanted to shame Lakam who had always hated the leper so much. And so they partook of drinking nuts and dogs. And when they had finished eating, they praised

1 According to another version Liuaolili is said to be the first mother of the dogs.
the leper whose death they had always wished, because he had not been of any use. Now, afterwards, they recognized after his death that he had been of some use. They all valued the drinking nut, and the dog, and took care that it spread. Lakam spread the dog on Ponape, so that he could give festivals for Nan Ulap, for Nan Ulap (p.168) also stayed in Ponape, but there were not yet any drinking nuts. But the Ponape people wanted to have them very much. A long time passed. Finally a nut floated to Ponape and got to Mesisou en Matolenim. There it grew up and bore fruits and spread to Sapuerak; there, too, it grew up, bore fruits and spread over the region of Matolenim. And when all Ponape had learned to value the nut, it was spread further.

That is what happened in Ponape in old times; dogs and nuts were sacrificed. When somebody possessed a hundred nuts or five dogs, he was admired and called a rich man. The nuts were called by many names because of their origin. (Some names are: see native text?)

How the Coconuts Originated. (Native text 220, VMM: is omitted.)

Once a man who had leprosy lived in a place. So his nephew often went to him, scolded him and said to him that he should die, for he could not do anything any more. And when he had left him, the invalid felt much worse. Then he told his niece, that they should bury him after his death. And they should watch (VMM; to see) whether anything grew out of his grave. Then he died and was buried. After four days (p.170) a young coconut palm grew up. They were astonished about it, for they had never seen such a thing before. It grew very, very quickly. The people came around, saw the palm and asked, "What kind of tree is that?" They were answered that the man had created it. They said: "What will we do with the tree?" The woman called Inalo answered: "We will eat the fruits and tried to eat them; they tasted good. Several took them with them on the fishing expedition and used them for bait. Now the man's sister, the woman Li mes a ran, was pregnant. She gave

1 Kaneki en ali take ria.
birth. Not to human beings, however but to many dogs. Then the woman was ashamed of having borne dogs, and hid them in the hearth pit. A man called Lakan appeared and asked Li mes a ran: "Are you well?" She answered: "Yes!" Then he said again: "What are your children doing?" She answered: "They are dead." The man was satisfied and clucked his tongue. The little dogs came out of the hearth pit and crept up on him. The man was glad about this and asked the woman: "What will we do now with these animals?" The woman said that they would eat them and also bait fish with them. Then the fishermen came home. They were given some (of it) and also some of the coconuts. The fishermen grew rather sick; all the other people were glad about this. The coconuts however, multiplied enormously. One ran ashore in Ponape. It got to Matolenim to the place of Mesiso. There it took root. And from there it spread (p. 171) over Ponape. Countless others grew from it. Thus originated the coconut and thus is spread to Ponape.

(Of the Breadfruit Tree.)

Tale of the Ghost Woman of Malaue. (Native text 185, omitted.)

Formerly no breadfruit trees grew on Roi en Kiti, but there was bare ground there. And the men in Roi en Kiti had no breadfruit to eat. Now once a woman called Li en Roi en Kiti went fishing and caught a fish; she took it to Salapuk. Saum gave her something to eat for it. But the woman could not carry off the abundance of food. Then Saum gave her a stone which was quite soft; he had taken to stone away from Pon Malaue. Saum had given supernatural magical powers to this stone. The woman took the stone and put it down on Roi en Kiti. The stone became wonderful soil; and so it also made the breadfruit trees grow up in Roi en Kiti. Indeed, we call the stone Liets en Malaue. Therefore Roi en Kiti is also called Malaue peie, and the spot from which the stone became, Malaue pailen. Later it was taken away.

On yams. (Native text 221, has been omitted.)

Formerly there were no yams on Ponape. Now a man Kerou Anipein lived in Anipein since he asked another man, Kerou eni Muān, who lived in Tsokola, for yams. But the latter refused them to him, for he did not possess any yams. But one
day he climbed a high rock, from which he broke off a piece and formed yams. Then he gave them names: impilpār, impelkalimut. He sent them to Kerou Anipein. The latter rejoiced greatly, because now there were yams. Kerou eni Muān, however, created them from stones.

Tale of the Yams. (Native text 136, VMM: omitted, here.)

The yam Kep en eir is said to have come from the south; The Kep crept under the ground and emerged at the edge of the reef, where the waves break. Two women had gone away from the region of Eir in Tsokes. They tied the yam sprouts fast. Then the women left the yam, which spoke to them. They both answered: "We are women of Eir." The yam answered: "I am Saulik en Eir!" So he remained in this place and sent his sprouts to the small place of Nan tip, and from there he spread further. And called himself Saulik en Nan tip. He remained here and spread to Sapualap, to the small place, Leek. There he took the name of Saulik en Leek. He remained in Leek and sent out his sprouts further to Anipein, where he called himself Keroun en Ponial.

1 Estate of the Uasa.
2 in Matolewin.
4. Medical Science.

What they know of the human body, its functions and diseases, is a mixture of good observations, scientific knowledge and magical conception. They behave accordingly. Sensible, (p. 173) natural treatment in therapeutics alternates all kinds of conjuration for all diseases are caused by angry spirits.

The invalids are nursed lovingly. Of course it sounds different in old sagas. (Typist: Insert here: (VNM; See native texts #49 and #220, filed under 322 E C Ponape 1005 Hambruch 166, and 322 E C Ponape 1005 Hambruch 169.)) People keep watch day and night in a house which is carefully protected from fresh air, and do everything in order to allay the invalid's suffering. He bears it stoically, for it is con-

sidered highly improper to wail and cry. In serious cases, (by and by) the whole family appears little by little from other districts, and each remains with the invalid for some time. If he (VMM; the invalid) is of high rank, his friends also assemble in front of the house and try, by singing and sacrificial gifts, kava of sugar-cane, to alleviate the wrath of the ghost which makes him ill.

Healing is practiced by priests. But there are also women experienced in it, who are called in. In order to reconcile the disease spirit, the priests drink sea water, which is considered to be something magical. The grat sacrificial gifts needed by them have been already discussed. Also the ouanani (questioning), had a magical meaning. By putting his hand on the sick part of the body, the priest finds out which ancestor spirit or other demon is causing the suffering. A expedient (means) (very probably) used by the natives for a magical reason also is the kausale, the change of air. Particularly considering the faulty airing in the invalid's hut, it is very effective to take the invalid to a distant place.

In former times they (VMM; the people of Ponape) knew but few diseases. O'Connell stresses their

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1 (On p. 326) Christian enumerates the following diseases. The miasmata, which rise from the marshy belt of alluvial land surrounding Ponape, cause many catarrhal and feverish diseases which become very disastrous especially for old people during the rainy season with its light and changing winds. An important factor in the people's health is the trade-wind which blows pure and fresh from the northeast from October to May. Their names for fever are: Cho-mau-pou and Chomau-karrakar, the former for the chills, the latter for the feverish attack of the disease.

They call smallpox, which the natives also owe to the whalers, is called by the bad name Li-mongomong, or the "woman which makes men shrink."

... The venereal diseases, which fortunately are rare nowadays, are called Kench...

Scrofula, Pir, is rather frequent as the consequence of unvaried food. Leprosy, Tukotuk, is rather frequent and appears in relatively mild form; It was probably introduced from the east by early Asiatic immigrants.
Rip is the general name for sore spots and ulcers.
Cough is called Kopokop; a cold or a catarrh, Toi or Punan.
Asthma is called Lukoluk, hiccup Marrer.

Homesickness, Lit en chap. Paralysis, Li'chongapo;
Delirium Li'aurara. Insomnia Ika-n-pong.
Itch Kili-pitipit or "hasty skin."
Constipation Tang, Teng. Diarrhoea (dysentery) was allegedly introduced from Manila and is called Pek-en-inta.
Squinting is called Mach-kun, a fainting fit, Machapong, lameness, Chikel.
A swelling of the hands into hard lumps is called Komut-en-Kiti.

The disease which is called Tanetane in Polynesia, and appears as a rash in the form of light-brown spots on the dark skin of the natives, is called Chenchen.

The Tokelau-leprosy or the Tokelau-ringworm is widespread on Ponape and is called Kili-en-Wai or "foreign skin."

Elephantiasis, against which mutilation is said to help (VMM: see EC Ponape 1083 Hambruch 177, p. 177) is also widespread.
good health and old age. He does not speak of leprosy, tuketuk. As they themselves relate, foreign natives introduced it. As lepers appear in the old legends, the creation and savior sagas, it must be assumed that this happened very long ago and O'Connell probably did not notice it. Presumably the invalids were soon removed. But leprosy was certainly never mixed up with ringworm, kil en uai, as both diseases have completely different names. The latter probably is connected with the idea that partaking too abundant of fermented breadfruits, mai, makes one ill. Nothing could be ascertained about a medical treatment. They probably do not know any except the exorcism. (conjuration).

Of Leprosy. (Native text. 280, has been omitted.)

A lot of leprosy once came from abroad... (They were called Lap en mukuo (names follow)); they arrived at Kipar, a place in the state of Kiti. The men who lived in Kipar, in the little place called Nan Kapual, built the Pein tuketuk and called it Pei o pe'in tuketuk; and the women betook themselves to Nan Meiro and there built a stone construction, which is called Pein tin uaiis. The two remained there. The men made divinations in Kipar and told fortunes there: The two women took two medicines and divined with them (made their oracles.) The one medicine is called Uanpoki and the other Kiset tik mei. The charm for these medicines against leprosy is called Karatak en Kapual. (VHM; Native text omitted here.)

"I swing myself up on Kapual,
I climb up on Kapual,
The small child of Nan Kapual
Has died of Leprosy,
The big child of Nan Kapual
has died of Leprosy
But I am not dead.
Now go out, go away from me,
And listen well, listen well,
Bad skin, bad, one,
And good skin, good one."
Lio me irir, Lio me irir,
Lio pelipel, Li o pelipel,
Take away the liver, eat it up.
Tsou Tuketuk and Lok Tuketuk,
Go away, go to Nan Kapual
Main Nan Tuketuk,
Take with you the pains of leprosy
Far to water to the great one abroad,
Main Nan Tuketuk!

They are very fond of massaging and stroking the sick part of the body; They do not seem to say any magical incantations with it. They call it penala tumua and kolpene kil en aua. Massaging of the head and abdomen is called patik a tamuer mori en aramas. In the case of headaches they practice eliel -magic. (VMM; Text of native charms against headaches are omitted here.)

Your skin? What is the matter with your skin? Li tsal ti, Li tsalss to
Ghost behind heaven, ghosts under heaven,
Ghost of Tsarau, ghost of Pik en Tsamol, (p. 176)
Please come up,
Take away this pain,
Bring away this pain,
Bring into the far distance this pain, this torment,
Take away this pain, destroy this pain,
Send it away
Far beyond heaven,
To Tsauarenei!


Li a tats (tots?), fetch away the headache,
The pain on the forehead,
The pain in the head,
Go away a night distant. (The distance of a night)

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1 Lan in Makou, Au en Mukou, Siri en Mukou are demons of leprosy.
1 A place deep down in the earth.
And do not come again!
The pain on the forehead,
The pain in the head,
Go away the distance of two nights,
And do not come again,
/ etc. up to "the distance of ten night's"/
Never come again, you forehead pain! (p. 177.)

The removal of one testicle has the secondary purpose, to prevent
elephantiasis. In O'Connell's day, with tattooing they covered the
large wounds with charcoal powder, whose curing and purifying effect
was known to them. The favorite medicine was at that time a mixture
of coconut oil and red pepper, used internally and externally with
success. Otherwise they used their charms.
(Native text on charms against swollen legs and broken legs are omitted)

Swollen Legs./Native text 379.

A man with thick legs
Went away
From a little man
Who has not done him any harm.
Now go away to other places,
Where evil is done.
You are asked to let the swelling go down.
Become thin like the foam at the shore
Become small like small breadfruits,
Go away, betake yourself to Eirlap,
Never come again.
Away with you /pl./, escape into the waters of the distance,
Into an empty hut.
Do not swell again, never again!
I will now touch the bandage,
I now touch the soft spot.
Tsounkō en tip, Tsounkā en tip,
Hasten away, take with you
The swelling of this man,  
Lord Swelling!

Against Cuts /Native text 380/.  
Tsokolainị, limahiti,  
Li mau Kauat, Limatat,  
Cure from inside, close yourself  
Inside and outside,  
Close yourself well, wound here,  
Close yourself well! (p. 178.)

Against a Broken Bone. /Native text 391/.  
I make straight the bone of the leg, the bone of the arm,  
Bone become strong like the mangrove,  
Bone, become strong like the tortoise-shell,  
Bone, become strong like the whale bone  
Bone, become strong like the shark in the deep water,  
Bones, join each other, press together!

For People Wounded in War. /Native text 392/.  
You wriggle, wriggle,  
You roll, you wriggle,  
You roll, you wriggle like an eel.  
How do I look, what do I look like?  
I look like, I look like the bird Likaperei,  
Away with copulation, abstinence appear,  
Wash off desire, jump here, jump there, chastity,  
Away, away, upwards, downwards,  
Away, away I want to go from here,  
Copulation, you stinking ghost  
From this/the wounded man,  
Desist, yes desist.  
For I will, will go away from here,  
Win the hearts of Tau Katau and Nan Japue in heaven.

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1 Wounded men, taken to a special house which women must not enter, must refrain from copulation. The same has to be done by visitors.
For blood-letting they used a fish-tooth tied to an alek-reed. It was laid against on the painful spot. (Typist: see attached sheet for insert.) (VMM: For sketch of instrument used in blood-letting, Abb. 10, Nr. 567 II, see text, 1005 Hambruch 178.)

II. Instrument

Fig. 10, No. 567. For blood-letting, menpospos. (Reed of length 14 cm., diameter 6 mm. A shark's tooth, ngīn pā o, is fastened on top with hibiscus fibre. (p. 179.)

The explanation and treatment of insanity, ina puinepu, on Ponape is very interesting. Some think it is spirit possession, some, that it is the result of the souls having left the body, which generally happens only in death. This absence of the soul makes the man insane.

About Insanity. (Native text 15/(VMM: Native text omitted here.

This is what the Ponape people think about insanity. When the insane die, they are soulless, for it (VMM: the soul) remains until the time when the man becomes insane. The souls flee (and then fly) to the Paipalap en Tsokes; they think that the souls of all the insane come here; and that when the insane die, no soul escapes from them, for the soul has already gone away. Thus will the soul of the insane person fly away and to remain on Paipalap until it is completely dissolved.

And this is what the people of Ponape do with the souls of the insane. They (betake themselves) go to certain shamans, who can conjure up ghosts, for when their ghosts (VMM: i.e. the shaman's) go away and seize the soul on the Paipalap', they (VMM: i.e. the ghost) take it back again to the insane person. And he becomes well again.

They bring it back in the following way; when a ghost is to fetch a soul, he casts a spell on it and gives it to the conjurer. The conjurer takes the soul, grinds a bit of coconut, takes the fibre of the coconut palm, puts the coconut into the fibre, then takes the soul, puts it in and presses the whole on the head of the insane person. The appearance of the soul is like that of a young bird. This kind is called Tso nen. (p. 180)

Old Saulik en Tsokala, a man with much experience in secret arts, told Hambruch the following about it:

"When a man becomes puipui, i.e. mad, some evil demon has gotten into him, or a offended spirit has bewitched the invalid so that he lost possession of his
sound mind. It was also possible that some native had "bewitched" him. In cases like this the relatives calls a man or woman experienced in the healing arts, so that they will drive the sickness from the possessed with medicines and exorcism.

First the medicine is prepared. Leaves of the kava shrub and bark of the Calophyllum, aia, are fetched and some Breadfruit added to bind it. Then small, young taro leaves inta, are taken, the medicine is wrapped in them and given to the invalid with water. It (VMM; i.e. the water) must be drawn from a whirlpool, for a purifying power dwells in such water.

While the invalid takes the medicine, the shamen sits down beside him, touches him lightly with fronds of young coconut palms and monotonously hums this charm. (Native charm which has been omitted here, text 366.)

Mother Night,
Mother loselos. Mother loselos,
Where do you come from? Do you come from the Tep en Tsakai?
Oh, Mother Night!
Where do you climb down? To Zileu? Oh, Mother Night!
Where do you come up? Do you come up near Sakar en Eir? Oh, Mother
Oh, Mother fly, fly!
Oh Mother run, run,
Oh, Mother loselos, Mother loselos,
May your soul put the madness on the mountain of Paipalap! Oh Mother
Where do you come from? From the land behind heaven? Oh, Mother
Where do you come from? From the land behind heaven? Oh, Mother
Boats go away! Boats come again! (p. 181)
Go away; away to Sakar en Eir;
May your soul sleep. We both will sleep!

When the sick person has drunk the medicine, the taro leaf is thrown over his head behind him. For by with it the evil spirit will leave him.

This is repeated four times in one day and must be done four days running. Often the magic is not yet successful, the conjuration (incantation) is again
repeated in the same manner. If there is no improvement before or on
the eighth day, the evil spirit is considered to be irreconcilable
and the sick person is left to his fate. Sometimes he is taken to
other places in the country, whose guardian spirits are more suscep-
tible.

When the soul escapes from the body at the death of the insane
person, it goes to the Kumunlai, here it dives into the channel,
bathes, comes up near the little mangrove island of Zileu, lands at
Sakar en Eir and climbs on the narrow basalt rock of Tsakai en kaunak,
i.e., stone of the sacrifice, which is about 150 meters high, to stay
here for some time. In order to prevent its evil influences on the
members of the family still living, the relatives soon turn to a sor-
cerer who bans the soul to the Ant Islands through his arts.

Poisonous plants are considered to be Up1, uot en mokil, giant
taro, and sau muel, a kind of stinging nettle.

5. Writing and Messages.

(O’Connell has repeatedly pointed out the significance of tattoo
patterns as the expression of the genealogies, or chiefs’ lineages and
their exploits.) Unfortunately he could grasp the system at the bottom
of it just as little as that of the leaf language, which the priests
still use as a means of divining (VMM; See 345 ECP Ponape 1005
Hambruch 139-140, cf. p. 140.) When the chiefs take up their office
, they must know this "writing". Reedlike leaves of a special tree
are necessary for it. Usually four are sufficient for a message.
Their points are broken and repeatedly folded in an accurately
prescribed fashion. The (p.182) character of the folds expresses the
meaning of the massage. The meaning was brought into a certain system
and understood.

Messages which were urgent were also very quickly spread over
great distance. Each chief receiving (VMM; one) immediately senting
a new messenger with it to the one who lived next, until the whole
state was traversed.

Hambruch also received a short statement about the so-called
secret writing which is newer (VMM; than the leaf languages See 1431
ECP 1005 Hambruch 182) It cannot be decided whether the natives
themselves invented it, nor how many know it. The system is that
the figures zero to nine are used for certain letters of the alphabet.
Only eleven signs were

1 Christian p. 147, a species resembling our Wisteria; the pounded
mentioned to him by his former from Sokes. Perhaps this number is nevertheless sufficient for the natives to reproduce their words. It must be kept in mind that they do substitute b and p, d and t, g and k; r, l, d for each other. It is remarkable, however, that the s-sound is absent, or perhaps they express it by t. They use:

1 for k  4 for u  7 for t  6 for n
2 for a  5 for i  8 for o 00 for m
3 for e  6 for l  9 for p

The natives who have gone through missionary schools write and read the Ponape language in Latin script. Some know English. The German government too, used the writing introduced by the missions, in its written intercourse with the people. A sample of it is given (VMM: On the text, but is omitted here.) by the following writing:

(Native text)
Copy of a Summons to come to the office.
Imperial District Office.
The Imperial District Officer
(Stamp)
signed Boeder.
Regierungsrat. (p. 183.)


Proverbs, lip en lokaia, apparently do not exist in considerable numbers. In any case, the natives told only a few. (VMM; For native texts and translations see: source 1005 Hambruch 183) These are:

1. (Native texts) The axe is broken, and no one can heal it!
   i.e. If one has hot angry, there is no more getting on with each other.
2. I follow (the father), i.e. Like fater like son.
3. The jug breaks, i.e. Die Sonne bringt es an den Tag.
4. Ghosts are the men. The men may do what they please, like the ghosts, but women must behave.
5. The neighbors /Nachsten/ do evil.
6. The stamp of the ump is the woman, i.e. The love to the brother-in-law is weak.
7. XXX Men can not give birth.
8. The umbilical cord never breaks. Blood is thicker than water.

1 Especially in the Boston Mission. 1. Interpretation by Hambruch.
7. Legal Tender and Measures.

The old method of payment has not quite been displaced yet. Sleeping mats, los, cordage, puel, canoe, uar, and sailing mats, sirak, have a monetary value. Thus an ornamental belt once had the value of a small canoe. A large war canoe for ten men was paid for by ten large sleeping mats, a small boat for two men by a large mat. It was customary to pay a gift by a corresponding gift, in return. They also know credit, borrowing, puai, and paying in installments, puani, i.e. to pay slowly.

The native measures\(^2\) are span, ell, and fathom. One measures, son, with the canoe measuring line, tsi puel or ti kalau. The length of the hand is called kumutiu; the ell, ti pañen po, is measured from the middle finger to the elbow joint. The whole fathom is called hap, half of it pe pali. (p. 184.).

VI. Music and Dance.

1. General.

The natives' need for music finds expression in singing. The instruments serve for accompaniment only. The only exception is a conch-shell trumpet which, however, is blown for a signal or war call, and therefore has a purely practical, not an artistic purpose.

They have a good ear and love music. (Just as a hundred years ago the natives were enchanted by the playing of the flute and the dances of the shipwrecked sailors, they already had a concertina in nearly every house at the end of last century, and the musical instruments introduced by traders are always snapped up quickly.

2. The Song.

The song, kaul, comprises two large groups of songs: the simple song and the dance song. The songs as far as they are not religious in character and priest's songs are sung by all (?). The work songs intsa, is nearly indispensable, for them. While hollowing out a canoe, the woodworkers sing, as they strike together. The same is done while polishing /burnishing?/. The paddlers dip their paddles to the rhythm of

\(^2\) As certained on Param.
song. Pereiro says: When transporting their possessions, especially when they are carrying fish, they beat a drum, which accompanies the (VMM: work song). They begin this song in a piercing and gloomy voice and occasionally utter cries, so that all those in the loneliness of the forest who hear them for the first time and do not know the motive... These cries are presumably the high and low guttural sounds, nilata and nilaezi, which are peculiar to Ponape singing. (VMM; Native text of 3 work songs and their translation are omitted here.)

When the boat is Fetched from the House./ Native text 369/.
Shake the canoe, lift the canoe, quickly push the canoe,

Wahh it in the pil en iap, ker en iap, in the well of Li matseitsei,
Where the many stones are.... 0! (p.185.)

When Carrying the Canoe. /Native text 370/.
Shake the boat, /name of it/
Lift up the boat /name of it/
For I want to go away. The people of Lazielap Shall not take the boat from us

When Carrying the Canoe. /Native text 371/.
Lift up the bow, lift up the bow,
The canoe, which is like a coconut opener, Like a coconut opener. Where is the semelo?
Where is the semelo? He calls me there, To go even before night breaks

In O'Connell's time they sang love songs only in the closet family circle during kava bouts. Nothing has been recorded about these and other occasional songs.

1 Pereiro a.s. 0. p. 104.
Of the greatest importance for fastening (the cultivation) and preserving of the old culture (Kulturgut) is the group of songs which celebrate the deeds of the ancestors and immortalize all important occurrences of the present generation. It is strange that this song is sung chiefly by the women. O'Connell says: The women love toosing, but they do not restrict their songs to work and dance songs like the men. They especially like to sit down in the canoe house by the hundreds. On their knees lie strips of thick, strong bark, on which they beat their hands at certain passages in the song, while the men are absolutely quiet. The contents of these songs refers to the ancestors or animals; in addition to the stars and their constellations, which the natives watch eagerly, and for which they have also names; to their breadfruits, dogs, fish. Occasionally they sing for hours a list of their chiefs and their possessions. I also remember a song which celebrated the barking of a dog which they had seen aboard a ship.

Songs of this kind are partly forgotten nowadays and could be obtained only in fragments. The tạiar song (No. 246 p. 157) belongs to this group; moreover the great songs of Li ou Mesilan, Sau pei asäs, of Sēnia and Mōnia of Lamuāk, Siletaue and Timpeiso. (VMM; There follows a number of songs and their translation, These have been omitted.)

Of Li ou Mesilan.

1. Come, woman Mesilan, fly here, fly here with your load,
Many trees, many flowers, when you pick them, you laugh,
Change into a bird, come quickly, come, look out
From the nit tree, on an island stays the mother.
Lightning flashes, thunder rumbles, the landscape shines.
Kaneki and Apalu both brothers look upwards.
Bring, Kaneki, the magical medicine to us, to Teniuali and Tenuil
What shall I bring you
On the Telomār mountain, from where one looks on the Tanumok.
Where they fall down and do no more move on the Tanumok. o ue.

1 O'Connell vol. I, p. 43, where he is quoted, his statements chapter x ? and XIII are referred to.
2. You, come in Sautelur, the people bring news.
   Of a fleet at the shore with Nalua tiketik. What shall I say about
   I do not know, why the woman comes here, it?
   I do not want to hear it. For she is my mother-in-law and has no
   mother.
   You both do not go to the mountain tops, do not go away from the
   house, do not do it.
   Remain on the spot, do not go there, for Nānōlap he kills you /187/
   They slow him, the evil spirit is dead.
   The woman, Morontsarau, she has the medicine, watch out,
   Take the medicine from her and quickly put it on his wounds. o ue.

3. Go and fetch from above the two iñzan fish, I will drum on them
   the song of the Sau Paur.
   Go and bring the drum Puil en paset, I will beat it,
   So that he should live again; he lives and beats the drum. o ue ue.

4. He stands up and beats the drum in Mesenian, the bones of the dead
   become alive,
   To question the leaf oracle, it shall tell us,
   that I, Louanus, change my corpse, so that it should no longer be
   a dead body,
   I will become a young man, the skin of the feet remained, I want to
   see the man who buried my body,
   Points of the sugar-cane plated, they bring sugar, it grows, what
   creates kava.
   Kava branches fell from heaven; when they fell, they created kava.
   Where I failed (missed) I do not know. Kaneki and Japatan fly here
   and see the black woman,
   Aunuan, come down, come down to Perakalai!
   I would like to know where he comes from
   To return home to the Tenumok o. ue!

   There comes Tsouman, put your canoe into the water, go off to
   Nānumuratak,
   they understand, one goes away and fetches Leinsei, to meet
   The woman Tapinmau, Tapinmau on Lu en Kalani.
   They get tired on the sea, where is the foot, where is the arm
   of my mother?
   Where is the entrance which we were to use, where is Kapetauroa?
   o ue!

1 The son of Li on Mesilan.
1 Sharks came and ate feet and limbs of the people in the boat.
6. Go up to Nan Tinuin, give names to all places,  
   To Ponpei, where beautiful birds are,  
   Betake yourself to Meir to the woman and the man Meir, o ue!  

7. Kerou'n Meir, give us the drum Puil en Pāsit,  
   I took it to heaven, but it came again,  
   It fell down on Nan Selatak,  
   They went to beat it in Nan Tiaren, but the drum hide it sounds.  

8. The young giant Kononiol just came, without a canoe he got to Takai peik.  
   And immediately turned to Imuin tsau.  
   Give me some sea cucumbers, you good boys! (p. 189)  
   Here they are, fetch them, seize him when he reaches for it xx!  
   Makeúp, Nantsaup', they now slay their uncle.  
   Go, tell the reef, it shall open, so that he gets free. o ue!  

9. Kononiol rises and goes away, away to others of his kind.  
   One of the people in the boat comes and pushes off the canoe.  
   Now rows day and night. A violent rain pours into the sea.  
   Take off your sail, hide it, the sail Li Meléletox, which came here  
   Great, that it broke all logs, threw over the palm, o ue!  

10. They put many yam baskets down, ask for Sikore and Kanekiore.  
    Both did not pay attention to the things above in the canoe sail,  
    A new canoe is built, the splinters fly;  
    It is said, the people outside, they want to kill us. o ue!  

11. The small many-colored Likatobu bird slowly strides into the house  
    Into this more beautiful house, really the most beautiful house,  
    Tsoma receives what the birds brings him,  
    Pour it out on Tetetobu and Pōntol  

   I love, I love the fire,  
   As you have it now, never let it go out. o ue!  

--- 1 The reef is asked to hold the giant fast.  2 The fire.
12. Kononiol and Pärepu go off, both want to fetch the property of Paliotol.

They find two large stone enclosures, Mali tenare Uaninei. Pärepu, go away, Kononiol knows it, (the stone enclosures) He cleans the canoe with the stone, the float breaks, The canoe floats free in the sea. o ue!

13. Pärepu fills the canoe with coconuts, Kononiol's canoe is half filled with nuts, He gives the shark of which he escaped, Then he again ties his canoe fast, The dead shark serves as a float for him. Pali finds him quickly, may he ask Pali. Pali questions the oracle, which prophésies good, He has the Triton's horn blown, the sounds prophésies good, Pärepu knows, and they will reach Ponape. (p.991)

The Song of Sau pei asas. /Native text 373/.

1. Once a woman fished not far from Mal, Her long hair lay in the basket, A servant accompanied her p.m. /po mauen./

2. Both sat down and none speaks
Why, why do all trees Bend? No body speaks, Shall we then die Let us run to hide Here under this dish p.m./ /po mauen./

3. A woman came here,
She asked whether there was no woman at the Lam uin pei? I know a woman, she entered, I will fetch her to be the wife of Luk. p.m.

4. Then she came out and stepped out, She cut her hair off. Do not take it away, the ornament of the woman, Go first, we will go! p.m.

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5. They went into the beautiful house,
   The pregnant woman wanted to eat fish,
   Go, fetch the fish from the container,
   Go, give a fish to another. p.m.

6. Go, bring a bowl filled with water!
   All spirits of lights were told to unite /p.192/
   They put their hands into the water, they did not steal, only two women,
   They both came and put their hands into the water,
   Oil flowed from their hands,
   One was angry about the two, beaten they were pushed down to the earth p.m.

   Both wanted to go along heaven
   And fell down.
   Eipaieret, she fell on I iais,
   Lepālepelaŋ, she fell to Lot. p.m.

8. So they came and were separated,
   The one remained in Poriais in a beautiful stone,
   She saw the people in the water eat their /her? / fish.
   Sau'anko en peiyes, he saw herę,
   He wooed her and married her. p.m.

9. Lepālepelaŋ bore a child, a boy
   Keréselaŋ, who did miracles,
   In the old times he cleared the bush,
   Everywhere, on all sides, everything grew,
   The Kukut banana, it ripened. p.m.

10. One morning he knocked on a ripe coconut,
    Out flowed the oil,
    She shall keep the one half,
    She half becomes red, when I die. p.m. /p.193/

11. He cut a peluu banana down, took it with him,
    Doing miracles when he went. The oracle of the way
    It said stop making nets. p.m.
12. Now he sits down on Lonemal,
He ate the banana. In the old times
He gave names to all of them, the places,
This one he called pelou. p.m.

13. Straight on he wandered in the brook Lenei,
He clapped his hands, like a rainbow the water flowed off. p.m.

14. Now he got to Tip en tsēr,
Past the place where canoe lac was made,
Come here to me, you two people;
Wicked was his face, he asked both questions,
Rise, become canoes! p.m.

15. Then he went to sit down, to cool down,
Come here and pound kava for me,
Brin' wring basti, press it out,
Into the bowl which is hidden in the knee. p.m.

16. Now come back!
The canoes lay down. /p.194/
Wonderful to see with the Aufsätzen. p.m.

17. He did miracles on Pōn e mal,
He pushed the hook into the ground,
Out flows the brook of Peikin there. plm.

18. On he wandered, stumbling in Peip tsalan,
Cautiously he now stepped on the same place,
In a low voice he sang, grumbling like the thunder,
Like the thunder; he could not find the Koromat tree. p.m.

19. On he wandered to Mereniap.
Now he stands up on Merei, sings too.
The woman's ears ring,
She hears everything, Merei is the name of the place,
Beautiful are the voices, wonderful the voices. p.m.
20. On he wandered on the Tol en Lanār,
   Nothing escaped him, both remained together,
   They did not move, ähl ąy you change into stones.  p.m.
21. He pushed the canoe into the water in Nan tauas,
   Then remained in Takai erē.
   He builds a fish-container there on the beach, /p.195/
   Many fish shall get into the container, they leap up,
   They get into his container.  p.m.
22. He caught fish, he gave them to Lipaieret,
   She smiles, she looks pleased,
   For he could not find the tree Koromāt.  p.m.
23. Then he went to mend the container,
   A stone fell on his finger,
   Blood began to flow.  p.m.
24. She now thought that he was dead, the woman felt it,
   His mother Lepālepelań, already she hurries up,
   Remains on Toloniēr,
   Looks out for /to/ Kerēsanilār.  p.m.
25. She now came, magic words shall make him alive, he does not move.
   He was dead; now she spoke the charm,
   Gave him the magic drink four times:
   "Tanauas, Tanauas urotoker"
   Become alive, my boy!  p.m.
26. Now stand up, speak again,
   Home we want to go,
   To the place, where I was small,
   Where I am a king's child,  p.m.
   finished.  /p.195 or 196?/

   The Song of Sēnia and Mōnia. /Native text 331/.

1. Now I want to know who knows the old times?
   Two children went out
They both found the rock looming against heaven, A crag. You jumped up, and now it grew, until it touched the sky.-- Fine.

2. Quickly with the knife
He cuts out a piece of the stone, That the foot should find a place where to stay, then climbed up, On the Tol en iap' which they reached. -- Fine.

3. They rubbed fire. "We will cook, Our fish, which write." Taro was also there, Brightly shone its blossoms,-- Fine.

4. The fish is cooked, he does not hesitate, When the one side is eaten, The flesh grows again on the other. The skin remains on the head. Thus happens also with the taro.

5. How are we now to get down? The younger, the braver one, he jumps first, He rests on the aiau-branches and waits, For the elder one to jump, he goes down, /p.197./ Falls, and does not move any more, For he is dead. -- Fine.

6. He stroked along his body, he did not move. "Now become alive again, we are already late, See the house where we jumped."-- Fine.

7. A number of places appeared, but the places are without people.-- Fine.

8. He entered a house of a thousand fathoms. "Now first take our leaf me îia, The oracle of Nan pes (oes?) and Nan mualan,¹ The oracle on the post heads, There within the threshold --------- ¹ The oracle shall be asked where the two can most easily hide.
9. Two ghosts hasten up,
   Three called, also four,
   Then they counted ten or twenty,
   Then thirty, forty, fifty,
   Finally there were about a hundred,
   A thousand there danced the dance.-- Fine.

10. A line is formed, the first song begins,
    The sounds of the song rise,
    They wanted to catch them.-- Fine. /p. 198./

11. They flew up, they flew away
    And do not dance any more.-- Fine.

12. "Where do you come from children?"
    "We belong to a chief's sib."--
    "Then take the sounds of the song.
    And have no fear of the song of your uncle."-- Fine.

13. Then they quickly climbed down and seized it.
    "Are you two ghosts or men?"--
    "We are Sënia and Mônis. --Fine

   Song of Lamuak. /Native text 330./

   Lamuák was born in Pâniop!
   And he let everything grow in great numbers on Pâniop'.
   Went once over the mountains to the Lapen.
   Flowed in somewhat to Pânkat'ra.
   Sau Telur then had the Lapen fetched.
   "Go and bring me feathers of the bird Terepeiso,
   Which lives on the sea."

   The Song of Seletaue. /Native text 102./

   Now I will sing of Seletaue, who looked round from Alenian.
   When the tide went out, she wanted to eat fish, out there at Tsamuin.
   Women went out to fish on the reef she was to watch the weaving yarn.
   Rain fell down and wettened the yarn drying on the frame.
   Yes, then the woman returned, they scolded Seletaue.
She got angry, went away and married Sau Telur. Now they looked for pigeons everywhere on Ponape, they did not find them. Finally they found them in a far-off country. Here, however, they remained high on the breadfruit trees and listened. How she played with the little child and himmed it to sleep, she too saw the pigeons, they did not recognize them, finally she remembered.

Then she called: "Now come here, for I am here." Now it goes away. Go away and kill the dog, then push the canoe into the water." Night came, they cut him into pieces, cut him up and gave him to Sau Telur. The Liets had seen it, she wrecked the house. Seletaue, however, went off, To return to Sakeri, his home. Sau Telur died because of it; he had not paid attention, not paid attention, That a Liets had deceived him--

End! (p. 200)

3. Dance Song and Dance.

The dance song varied much in character according to the kind of dance, which it is to accompany. But only very confused and contradictory records exist about the character of the Ponape dance. Under the pressure of the missions it was naturally neglected and where it is still practiced, European influence seems to have influenced it. O'Connell, Pereiro, Christian and Hahl have investigated and described the dance and the uncertainty of their statements even becomes apparent by the use of the native expressions: kalek, uen, nis and tarak. For to dance Gulick writes, "wen" or "weniwen," for dance nij; O'Connell gurlic-(kalek) means (dancing). According to the texts collected by Hambruch, uen, must be the dance song. One passage states: they stand up and sing the uen. Of course they dance at the same time. Further it is said uen en tarak and tarak mean a certain kind of dance. The man who drills the song and dance is the karou eni uen. Nis, on the other hand which

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1 Matolenim, 1 Gulick. Vocabulary of the Ponape Dialect. 1882
2. According to Hambruch, there is uenipat and uen en tarak. The su
means dancing in Gulick's writing, also stands for song in the native texts. There are kava songs, nis en tsakau, which accompany the movement of carrying the kava in and pounding it. But there is no dancing during it. The general word for song is kaul.

With regard to the descriptions of the native dance, that of O'Connell is probably the most correct. He tells of nocturnall dance in moonlight and of the universally popular dances of individual women, who were admired by all because of their grace and skill. There is no trace of any such women's dances to be found now, and nothing is found in the traditions about the character of these dances. The wedding festival dance was performed separately by men and women, on both sides of the gallery of the assembly house. The bride and groom were in the center. -- For dancing every person only needs a little space, about a square foot. They stamp on the floor with their feet and thrust forward now the right shoulder, now the left. At the same time they swing their arms. All men and, strangely enough, also women hold dance paddles in their hands. When they turn towards the middle, to right of left, they knock the paddles together rhythmically in a really amazing manner, and at the same time shift them to the other hand. All sing. In order to keep the rhythm, a man sits in front of the chiefs and knocks a stick against an old canoe. -- This, then is the entire description of the dance, of the gurlic, i.e. kalek. The native relates about it:

(p.201.)

Of The Dance. (Native text 175, VMM; omitted here.

This is how we perform an uen. A messenger's stick is made and sent to the people so that they will come. Then they come. They sit down in a row, and the one who teaches them sits down among them. The leader and teacher of the songs is the Saupuarik (Saunuarik?). Then the instruction which lasts day and night, begins. When it is learnt, a day is set on which to perform the song before the chief, the day chosen is

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1 Slit Coconut palm leaves each strip corresponds to the person invited.
2. In the middle.
called iripos. Then they all prepare their food and carry up kava.

Now the uen begins. They sit down and prepare the kava. Then they agree on a day on which to rehearse it. (VMM: the dance.) On this day all assemble in great crowds to watch. Then they go home again and begin to make the dance ornaments. At last the day comes, when all assemble. The Uen singers separate from the others to make their nair en ňisihi. Then the people bathe. Now they anoint themselves and put on their ornaments. Then they stand behind the other in line reaching to the assembly houses. Some small children go in front and at the end of the processions. Men and women stand between them. Then they go to the assembly house, where the uen, which is called pos, is performed. They set down. Then one of them gets up. and calls the chiefs and the common people. The chiefs say they should rise. Then the people rise and sing the uen. When it is ended, the saumas en uen collects all ornaments and carries them to the chiefs. Next the chiefs distribute everything among the people. When they give one an ornament, I have to pay for it by a gift in return. When this is over, the food is distributed. Then cheering, they bring in the kava. Now the kava is made ready. All sit down near the nobles and wait for their share of food and kava. All drink haed. (Abundantly.) And when the sun is about to set, they all go home. And sleep.

Pereiro thought that the kali was a men's dance which Americans had taught them, and which was performed by two men. "They stand opposite each other on a platform one meter square and perform various motions, especially with their legs, and are accompanied in it by the concertina." Christian thought that the kakek as a native men's dance, a standing dance, contrary to the uen, which he describes as a sitting dance for men and women. For Pereiro the uen is the old folk dance, which is performed by

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The fingers of the hand, except at the thumbs, are lengthened with coconut palms.

The seri saraui, holy children; Who are to ward off the evil spirits.

---

2 Christian
In the sitting dance, the dancers use tukia, (VMM: which are) uncarved, roughly smoothed sounding sticks, about 20 cm. in length and 2 cm. in diameter. cf. p. 217. (VMM; For illustration, see Carolines Source 1005 Hambruch 203.)
three men and three women standing opposite each other. "The men wear the loin cloths and magnificently wrought wreaths on their heads. They are anointed with oil, painted, and wear rings and bracelets of fresh coconut leaves on their fingers, wrists, arms and legs. These are arranged so that the points project over each other. The rubbing of the leaves against each other is said to make a harmonious sound at every movement which is very pleasing to them. The women wear their robe (VMM: mother hubbards), but wear wreaths and rings, only on their wrists."-- Hahl remarks, with regard to the uin: uin, the ordinary festival dance, which maybe performed at any time, also (VMM: may be performed) in honor of a deceased person of for religious purposes. ... The feet step rhythmically on the boards (dancing bridge), the hands move in an artistic manner in the manner of a Samoan. (p. 203) Siwa (simada) The uin is probably one of the most effective native dances of the South Seas... The uin songs are fixed by tradition. New ones are no longer invented. For the old culture which produced them is destroyed. 1 From all this it can be seen that these investigators took the general terms for proper names of the dance form, which they chanced to observe and on which occasion they were told the native expressions. As a matter of fact, they mislead Christian very much; he writes of the tarak. A highly erotic dance which is the beginning of sexual orgies: "it is said to be very solemn, weird, and impressive." 2

Typist: for insert see attached sheet.

In the sitting dance, the dancers use (VMM; Klangholzer), tukia, rough superficially smoothed for hard wood sticks, of about 20 cm. in length and 2 cm. diameter, Cf. p. 217.

Fig 12 Im. 307 ii, stick length 17.5 cm. breadth 2.1 cm.

The dance paddles, patil en kep'ir significant objects which are put into the graves of the deceased, are always hand carved from breadfruit wood, karara. The broad flat blade, tsa?lapalape is pierced at the edges (fig. 18). The surfaces / / are carved on both sides,

T 'ing dr introduced by the Boston Mission is meant.

Hahl, Eth. Notizblatt
generally with the same pattern. The hollows, tsap pepe, are painted with white chalk, puats, the raised parts of the wood with black paint. They tie tassels and knots, sügun into the holes at the edges, por, made partly of dyed hibiscus fibre, partly of European wool or cotton yarn. Among the pieces collected are also some with symbols (fig. 24 and 25).

The content of the uen-songs may be epic. Those given here are already very old and had become nearly unintelligible to the living generation, and only fragments were remembered. They belong in the group of the uenipat. (VMM: Native text and translation omitted here.)

/C/D: The uen, called uenipat (179) follows. It is a dialogue sung and spoken with a chorus, mostly native text only. The translations are:

The Sau puarik sings: •••• "Begin."

The Sau ruas answers: ... "Sing loud." p. 204–206 dance paddles with descriptions./

The Sau puarik speaks: .../p. 207/ The song begins: .... All sing: .... Short pause.... End of the uen.

An untranslatable fragment, according to a footnote./

The Sau puarik speaks:.../sail off with all sails, will do it/. The Sau ruas answers: "Eu"! And all sing:.....

A singer calls: ... p. 208./

Dance songs of another kind are the nis, although the difference could not be explained. Here too the first is in such ancient idiom that it can no longer be translated. The second is a sailing song. It deals with the making of clothes. Possibly it is not a dance song, but has been placed in this group by mistake. (VMM; Native text omitted here.)

Song of the Sail. /Native text 169/.

(Fragment)

A sail was braided in heaven,
And as it was useless, it was thrown away,
It fell down to Selatax.

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3 Christian was unable to grasp the meaning, so strange to him was the language of these old songs. p. 139

1 According to another note of Hambruch, Nis are short content songs of, which were sung at all sorts of occasional
One breadth was still missing of the ten, why?
Thus the sail of Læner was made,
Thus they came together,
And made two of the sails, two, (p.209)
They complained, that they had no thread
In Ninterek, in Nintarak,
They now sent the weaving of Saputik,
For they did not understand it, the children of Næ,
How to sew the sails, and as I hear,
neither on No Uatitik.
Both sat down, Sënia and Mœnia, they did not go with the others,
The two remained and waited,
but where are Senepi, Limonepik,
Luk a saraini, Upora.
Ekeni, Åkana go to the two,
Kôteni; Kôtanen they were like each other,
and where are Rapuika, Rapuisaukon,
where Selaⁿ, Tsapulaⁿ and Pire pōn pasoi?
of whom I heard.
I would like to say it,
but I cannot say it.
Bi remained here, also Sarë,
they used /or: needed/ it (the sail).

Native text 163 is not paralleled by a translation. (p.210)
Dance songs are (VMM; ?isa ) sung in accompaniment of the paddle dance. They are generally accompanied by several drums. They have the more specific designation "en kapir", iia or uen en kapir. They also include the old solemn dances which are performed by the chiefs on the boat's platform, during the launching of new boats. All people with the exception of the women and priests, accompany these chiefs' dances with singing and beating out the rhythm.

1 Hambruch does not give a translation of this word in his notes. The drum is called aip. In Čulick's book (s.s.G. p.18) Kapar means ("m in a line") go round about an object, "hover over".

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Hahl remarks: There is a special occasion for a peculiar dance, called kapir, when a newly made canoe is taken to the head of the tribe. A whole flotilla of canoes is tied together, a dancing bridge is made by putting boards across them. A railing is built up in front of the dancers who stand in one line, behind the dancers in the canoe. The rowers sit hidden. The raft emerges from a mangrove hiding-place. Slowly, mysteriously, it approaches the festival place. When it has come within hearing, the dancers begin to sing and dance. The dance consists of the rhythmical moving of the feet and the artistic swinging of the magnificently carved and painted oars, which are also now and then noisily knocked against the railing (Gelanderaufsatz). The singing is solemn, in accordance with the atmosphere of the festival.

(The following is a translation of a native text, VMM:)

This is what we do in the paddle song. We take counsel together, then we make our paddles. Then we assemble and practice day and night, we also begin to make the aprons. The women must ruffle the strips and the men make their paddles. All paddles are very beautifully decorated and ornamented. Then they assemble and decide on what day, they want to perform the dance. Then all come together and bring their food and (p. 211) their kava. Next they bathe in the brook. Then they appear again, anoint and ornament themselves and stand in a line behind each other. The paddles are put in the right hand. Thus they enter the assembly house and sit down on the stage. One of them rises and addresses the chiefs. Then all rise. They perform the paddle dance to its end; then they take their aprons off and also hand all paddles to the nobles. The chiefs distribute these among the people and also give them presents. Then the food is distributed. Kava is also pounde. All get drunk. Towards evening the people return home. (VMM: Native song text and omitted here.)

Song During the Paddle Dance. //Native text 367/.
Onolan does not move, he does not move? goes away away from them T Kaprasit?; Nānuial and Tip en uai shall help.

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1 Hahl, Eth. Notizbl. III, p. 105?
As they did once, then they slew all people before Man (Palikir);
But they did not move up on the main land, both feared the relatives,
They preferred to move on all the same.
To remain on good terms with them,
The people obeys the chief Keraun lozier,
On the way Onolan does not move? ö!

Paddle Dance Song. /Native text 166/.

A canoe comes from the east,
it goes in to Lamalam, (p.212)
For it wants to fetch the Lap en Palikir,
They land, they jump out, they come, they ask:
Where is the crew of the canoe?
Kirin, Nokora, Mauuennok, En tsispeirer and Rakoa,
But I do no longer know the names of the others.
They both take away the holy canoes
Muñâle, Anâle, Tañâle,
Karestsapuñial, for it is the fastest,
None is faster then this.
Too late put down the canoe,
One of the men calls it loudly:
"Speak the truth! and do not say any lies!"
Both took something away, put it into the tritâns horn,
Put it down on the boat's platform,
Already the Tol en Katsau, 1 appears,
To Pet en Tsoupur 2 , in Tsatau,
Lift high the sail, put upright the mast,
I want it thus, ----
I do not understand it, do not understand how to make a sail,
Call the woman, may she take care of the sail,
for I want to go to Pänkatera,

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1 In Palikir.  2 Entrance into the Netherworld.
The younger ones before the elder ones.
The other people follow,
Only I remain, I alone.

At the end of the epen festival, in the evening before handing over the new boats to the Nanamariki, this(VMM: another) song is sung.
Five to six men climb on to the boat, dance the kapir and sing:(p.213) (Native text and translation omitted here.)

Native text 205/.
Paddle Song of the Matolenim People.
I always loved the evening of Pōnataik,
You woke me here in Nāni Korok,
At night I turn about, the people of Mal
Call over to Nanih, ie!
Call over to Nanih, home-sickness torments me.
We want to meet at Muet in Nan Matol, ie,
We meet in Nan Matol on the Pei lapalap,
Everybody talks to me, ie, e!
Talk to me, do you go to Tsamun,
I go there, I want to return. e.
I want to return, remain at the Tol o Puail.
My ear ornament is of Kārie,
Of Kāri is my ear ornament, take us to Komūn and Kauei, e,
take us first to Mutikolos,
then to Tien and finally to Lamāni, e!

Drum Song /Native text 285/.
This is a drum song, it is called:
I remain in the space of the soul,
I remain in the space of the soul,
Abandoned am I at the end of the way to Limoloko,
And nobody comes here,
I would like, my bird, this one
That he came now from Nan Puki en iap',
It cries and Tsouiap calls to it from afar,
That he would fetch it away from Nan Pei mata iu,
That lies in a foreign netherworld,
He wants to ask the oracle
In the Pei en arun.

Paddle Song /Native text 174/.

Thus I will begin to relate,
I think about what I shall sing about,
I want to report of the Santelur,
From the time when the ancestors were numerous.
About this time, of this time, from this real time,
Which comes next to the far-off time
When Ponape was still rich and then lost everything.
Of the people of the uār rikerik, the uār tiñitiñi,
When Sumun Kapin pīl slew Uāri kitam.
So he created the mountains of Kamār,
And both planted the tsakau en puālap,
Which loomed high up to heaven.
Some branches fell down,
Sauiap' came /kam draber zu?/ and carried
His axe from abroad from former times.
The people wanted to make the kava roots.
"Come, now pound the kava,
It grows only in Ponape, and when it is good, (p. 215)
Then give it a name and bring it here
Then bring it here on bird's wings.
In the heavenly space!Himmeiaram/, way of the men,
Way of the women, happy time:
Large mountains in the south will arise.
Will appear on the island of the Liator, 
And as I hear,

Pesi, Pesa, safely they get
Near the island of Iora mapan.
Abandoned am I in the land,
I will go to Runiup', Runua,
Tin Kenai and Tēn mesi puín;
I bring also a hundred shrubs
And go to Pon Pikalap,
And go in the beautiful and magnificent canoe:
Go straight to Luenpē.
Who lives alone on the island,
She holds a bundle of fish high,
Which are to be sent to the Sautelur.
Now go like the lightning to Limok,
Pay with melupur fish,
Oh I want to weep, I am afraid to speak in this time,
But I want to give them sitting mats,
When Ānikon was alive,
Ponape was not afraid of anything.

/II. a fragment not translated. (p. 216) no. 372. is untranslatable.
No explanation obtainable.

The notorious tarak dances, which are performed during the festivals.
The dead are thus described by the natives: (VMM; Native text Omitted here.)

The tarak dance is performed when a chief dies. They assemble and receive eic a and sing. Those who loved the chief once behave as if insane: They cover their heads with leaves and their filth over their faces. They then roam about, they seize women and them, for all day; the men and women thus remained together. They cook together, they u-k food together and also much kava. And betake

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themselves to the nobles with it. All remain together and play and prepare kava; when all are drunk, they fall asleep. (VNM. Transcription of a native song omitted here.) (tarak song.)

Such a tarak song is: Native text 365²

Song during the tarak Dance.

Ghost remain on the Pok mountain,
On the moon mountain, p.217
There make the Sau likin Solezi Solezi e!
An owl sits on the Paipalap and listens towards Malelap,
Ehanuai drowned and disappeared in Malelap.

Far spread the sails, our sails
Far stretch the paddles,
The helmsman holds the sail straight,
(The sailing man Segelmatrose chases far away the bad wind.)

The tukia sitting dances appear to be more a frame for handing over the gifts to the chiefs. Sounding sticks are used in them, see fig. 12. (VNM: 1005 Hambruch 203)

Native text/

A game which the Ponape people play is called: tukia.

If there are many participants, they make about sixty short sticks, which are called lep in tukia. Each man carries two short pieces of wood. They assemble and sit down in the assembly house, in two rows, the sexes alternating. Then the learning begins; some sing and perform a play at the same time, for days, until they know it. Then they perform it before the nobles, and also bring them many ornaments; the man bring loin-cloths and the women women's loin-cloths, the nobles men retain the men's loin-cloths and give the women's loin-cloths to their wives. Next the food is distributed, and they sit beside the chiefs and their wives. The spectators have to pay.²

² In old language.
¹ Formerly mats and fiber-cloth
² Gifts of food.
The sticks are knocked together rhythmically and artistically. (VMM: Native text omitted here.) One sings:

\[ \text{tukia Dance-song. /Native text 180/} \]

Hedah Saumarek! I do not fear the Saumarek!
I have held a war-council,
For you are not ashamed before the crowd
To behave like a child, to bend down,
Do not know any good behavior, sit down!

Now go to Ponau,
Take part in the Mūasāhāp' dance.
But do not move,
Lie down, take it up,
Take it upon your shoulder,
Fall, fall, fall down, wind fast,
Fall, fall, fall down, wind fast
And do not fall asleep, only call,
Finish the tattooing,

\[ ? \]

Lie down, lie thus, come here,
Remain here today, do not go.
ie, ie, ie, ie, ie aurō!

A related group (VMM; i.e., to the tukaa- see 305 ECP 1005, Hamburch 217) seem to be the sapei dances, whose text is partly erotic, partly legendary. According to Hahl, the "japei" is a simple sitting dance, in which motions are made with the hands. It once had a religious significance. (VMM; Native dance song omitted here.)

\[ \text{Sapei Dance-song. /Native text 181/} \]

The fleet from here leaves, goes away,
goes away and round Ponape.
Tonight we will love each other,
Come bring us the sleeping mats—the rolled ones, /p.219/
And also the fish oil for anointing, which smells beautifully.
A woman from this country,
She will make me long,
And hoppa and hoppa,
We go together, we separate from each other!
Alas! small only is your love, already you want to go.
With the canoe from Matolenim, always you think only
Of other women, because they smell good.

Song of the Tinipeiso. /Native text No. 98/
Now I what to hear at the beginning of the story,
Where is the place from which the two once proceeded,
Whether at the outer shore or at the river's bank?
And further I want to know about the two,
Who is the Lapen who is always spoken about,
Lapen who proceeded, went out to foreign countries
And still remained here and did not go away;
Of which bananas did they speak?
The bananas which floated off from the plantation of both; swam away
To land later in Pānkatra.
Sau Telur ordered the two to come;
They changed their appearance and gave themselves other titles.
"Who will travel now?" /p.220/
Not I, my first servant shall go!"
When a canoe had come they went off through the entrance of Senipein.
through the entrance of the Tauokola,
Thus both went in the canoe,
And went and paddled, got to Lenlapen. (?).
They passed the Take en iap.
And got in to the Tau en Senipein.
Kaneki jumped up on the shore and went with them;

1 Coitus.
Then when they talked to each other on the open sea,
The thunder rolled over the water.
Nan Dzapue came up:
"It is you Sau, are you bringing me my taro wreath?"
He got down and took the wreath; they turned away their faces at
At Take en iap' and landed in Sakar en iap';
They now left the canoe with their things in front of the shore,
And swam, but they were not allowed to land.
The guards watched; they would not do it, they had to remain on the canoe, they could not get down.
The two were questioned, admired him, squatted down, all together
And looked at the Tiripeiso
All moved the seats together, looked into the face of the Tiripeiso,
A feather from him fell into the carrying basket of both. (p.221)
Now both packed, went off, home travelled the canoe,
Which glittered and shone like the lightning on the sky,
For they brought something from the bird Tiripeiso.
In Matolenim they landed then; they brought the gift to the Sau Telur.
Sau Telur died of it, he died through the Tiripeiso,
For he ordered the voyages to both.
Both came home.
Lepen asked where they came from;
For only a feather of the Tiripeiso had come,
But not his body,
For the foreigners had not allowed this;
They did no longer speak about the Sau Telur
Who had fled from Matolenim,
Who had betaken himself to Ponaulan,
Who had found death in Ka?nenpunpun.
Thus ends the song.

The uen is (VMM: - a dance) is accompanied by the afore mentioned (VMM; see, source music instruments 231) (nose flute and drum). For Pereiro it is the old, traditional dance.
with rhythms (abgesikelt) rather gentle movements. Dancing it, the men try to show themselves in the most favorable light.¹

4. The Musical Instruments.

The old musical instruments have been almost completely pushed aside. The conch shell trumpet, tsau, gives the signal for the beginning and the end of the great fishing expeditions and invited people to the festivals, kamatip, and assemblies, kopun(?) Formerly it was also blown at the beginning of a fight. Christian believes in a signal language from village to village.² /p.222/

The drum, aip, was almost unobtainable by 1910. Pereiro calls it pikipiki¹. It consists of a piece of hollow tree trunk, from which canoes are also made. It is about 1 meter long and has a diameter of 40 cm. Dried fish bladder is stretched across the ends. This kind of length drum has a smaller diameter in the middle; here and at the edges of the ends square ornaments are carved out and painted in various colors, mostly red and black. When the festival ends, when it was beaten, the skin is again taken off and new one is put on, as it breaks easily and wears off very quickly. It scarcely lasts longer than a week...² (Fig. 25, 26, 27 show a conch shell trumpet and two drums. fig. 28-31, p.223, flutes.) (p.224) (VNM: For illustrations of drums and flutes, see 304 ECP 1005 Hambruch 222 and 223) Christian collected a drum in Palikir (now in the British Museum) that was about 5 feet high, carved from Premna wood, and had the skin of a stinging ray stretched over it. It was beaten with hibiscus wood stick.-- The drum is a kind of (staatsheiligtum) object sacred to the state, once had a proper name, and is owned only by the Nanamariki or Nanekin. He and only a very small number of others may beat it. Therefore it is very improbably that it is used to accompany work songs, as Pereiro states. There were only seven drums in Kiti, In war the victor proclaimed his victory, if he could, on the drum of the subjugated districts. When a new drum was to be made a

¹ Pereiro ²Pereiro ³Pereiro "I firmly believe that between village and village is a regular cade of signals calls almost as effective as our telephone.

¹ According to Christian the old name is Pau or Pau Pikir means to beat a drum. Pereiro statement p. 138.
tree trunk was put along the road and axes beside it. Every one who came along had to work on it for a while until the inside was hollowed out. The individual parts of the hourglass shaped cylinder are called: neck, sau en aip; inside, uā sah en aip; drumskin, sor, from the skin of the spotted ray, met; tie for fastening, or cord, kis en aiau en paue; pendant(hanging down) ornamental fringe of bast, kis en aiau en pā. The neck is separated from the upper and lower part by two narrow circular tori (bulges). The neck becomes narrower towards the bottom. Immediately above the lower surface there is another roll. The upper edge of the upper part slants outward considerably and projects (jutes) out over the wall, thus making a sharp edge, under which the binding cord and ornamental fringes are held.

Originally the natives knew only the nose flute, kās, an en tsuma.¹ (Fig. 28, No. 538 II; VMM; See 304 ECP 1005 Hambruch 223:) When blown it is held in the right hand, and the stops (frets), nīl en meini, are, therefore, only on the off side. The inside is saui, the end with the flowhole (anblasloch), an en tsuma. They call the hole below it, for the left thumb nīl en mauen. It is not visible on the picture. Including the latter, the nose flute has only three stops (frets) O'Connell also described it like this. Pereiro and Christian, however, saw nose flutes with six stops.²

The mouth flute (fig. 29 and 30 No. 536 II and 537II), about whose origin nothing is known, is called kam an lip en ran nīl silu, when it has three stops. (are kamān lip en rau nin paiyu when it has four stops. The ch out and is called an en aua and the circle round them and were e also lies on a line with the stops.

Furthermore as a mouth flute on Ponape, which according to Hambruch, is introduced in 1826 by O'Connell's friend, Keenan and Ponape people. The one shown here has four stops.

¹ Pereiro, it parri(?) 2 Christian p. 138 Chup en ro or Chu
All the these flutes are made of reed, called rau. For the nose flutes, a small blow-hole is bored into the internode. In the case of open reeds, the opening, which is much too wide for this purpose, is narrowed by leaf plugs.

VII. CUSTOM AND USAGE.

1. The Festivals.

There are said to be various societies on Ponape, called marei, which have the purpose of celebrating festivals with games, singing, dancing, and eating, under the chairmanship of a man or a woman. As nothing more definite could be ascertained about them, it cannot be said with certainty whether or not these really are clubs. The name marei is interesting. It is found on Nukuor, where the sacred place is so named. Only traces could be found of youths' societies. - Women's assemblies, karīr, are allegedly held secretly every month in abandoned huts in forest clearings. The places are kept strictly secret. Girls and married women are said to have sexual intercourse with youths and married men here.

The festivals are said to have formerly been held in separate festival houses for men and women. O'Connell, however, does not know anything about it. In any case, this custom has to do only with a certain group of festivals. The great festival houses, nas, (VMM; For photo see 1843 ECP 1005 Hambruch 226) assembly houses, which also are like boat houses as old boats are kept in them inside are essentially different from the ordinary dwelling houses. The gabled side is completely open. The three other sides have galleries, which furnish places for the nobles. The middle room situated further in serves for the preparation of the kava and the festival food. This is filled, beside by those in charge of it, by the low people. Commoners were allowed to enter the gallery only when they wanted to hand food, drinks and gifts to the chiefs. The walls were decorated with the old boats (cf. vol. I. p. 22 fig. 1).

According to Christian, Ro means a kind of sedge (VMM; but) parri, however (VMM; means) bamboo. The flute described by Pereiro was of box-tree (cano pojo) and two hands' breadth in length.
The numerous festivals vary in character according to the occasion. The festivals connected with canoes and house building may be read up later. The festivals of the dead have also been discussed (VMM; see 535 ECP 1005 Hambruch 93 ff.) (p.93ff.) The great universal festivals are the tribute and harvest festivals called kamatip and nopui. The people give their chiefs the tenants give the nobles, the tributes due them after the harvest, /p227/ Six ordinary and two extraordinary festivals of this kind take place. Each has its special name. They include the following:

**garisi mei.** "The breadfruit comes." Such a festival was celebrated in Not on II/4/ 1910. During the breadfruit harvest itself, there is no festival, as the fruit gathered must be cooked immediately.

**gotokep.** The yam tubers of the new harvest are prepared for the head chief for the first time.

**ireisol.** A very great festival, for which yams, bananas, taro and acidulated breadfruit are prepared. Every participant brings his share himself. The acidulated breadfruit is to indicate that there is no more fresh breadfruit. The cooking is done collectively and what they have brought with them is distributed among all. The women and girls bring the kava instead of the men.

**kait isol.** End of the yams period. The last yam tubers are brought in for it.

The nopui festival is described as follows by the native: (VMM; in former, native texts)

This is what happened at the nopui festival, which was given for the chiefs when the harvest time came. The first breadfruits were handed over and cooked for the chief, that was called puatse me'i; the cooking was done for the chief, that was called me'i me'i au'i; Then followed a cooking called pai i ni was followed by lili; the lili by tsakalap; after the tsakalap, the kāmemem, after the kāmemem, many breadfruits were picked more than a thousand, and mar was made, Which was given to the chief. That was called tautau. After the

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Christian (a.a.o. p.9b) also mentions religious festival aroungelap (?) which is celebrated on the island of Nutra (Panakatara) in May & June.

/ The following notes are from the Native text( )
To Typist:

Please insert the following in text page 227, typescript page 177.

puatse me'i means 5 breadfruits;
me'iaui, 10 breadfruits;
pai i nī, 30 breadfruits;
lili, 50-100 breadfruits, peeled, stewed and pounde;
tsakālap, 50 whole breadfruits;
kamemem, 30-40 whole breadfruits...
tautau a great nopui festival was given, which was called ğum en lũ mei. This ended the rãk period. /p.228/.

And now the names of the nopui festival of the isol period. In isol time, the time of the yams and bananas, banana cooking was in the foreground. There was no breadfruit in isol time, but only yams, bananas and breadfruit preserves, which were eaten by the people during isol time. In the isol period the following nopui festivals were given to the chiefs: nopui (cooked in the house) (list native ṯext,). kamatip (public festival in the assembly house) (list in the native text). With this ended the nopui festival in the isol period, which the people gave for the chiefs every year, and is called tau'n tsap' (tribute) for the chiefs.

The Preparation of the King's Meal. (VMM: Native text omitted here, 279)

When the breadfruit period begins, the people hold banquets for the nobles. All people take counsel with each other and determine a day when they will make tiokamei, and another day when they want to cook. When they have finished cooking, they put the food into a basket, the Peikani, a basket which is made with two sticks. Then all take it to the Nanamariki. There they assemble, put all the many baskets together and sit down. Then the Nanamariki asks /p.229/ the men who knows the charm to rise and pray over the heap of baskets. The man rises and takes an axe, the silemel, lifts it up, says the prayer and strikes the stone props, four times. (VMM; There is a native charm, Kazaeria which has been omitted here.)

Kazaeria:

It begins:
Rakim, I have the axe.
And beat down the axe, down the axe,
And where I beat with the axe, beat with the axe,
And when I beat, and when I fetch,
Then come quickly, come a little quickly,
Then come quickly, come very quickly
?

1 pieces of wood are driven into the axis of the breadfruit
2 side props
1 comet's tail, looked at as ghost.
And when he has finished praying over the heap of baskets then another rises and distributes them. He begins with the Nanamariki, and, one after the other, the other title bearers follow. And these great title bearers then distribute from their baskets and give food from them to all their people. Then the Nanamariki orders his people to bring kava as a payment for the baskets. They fetch kava shrubs. Now the kava shrubs are distributed among the people, who have made the baskets too. They sit down together and drink kava, until they are drunk; then they go home again and sleep it off.

The Aulik, the head priest, who knows the secrets of the passage of time (Zeitlauf), can find the right day for every festival. He makes it known early, so that everyone can prepare for it. During the time of preparation he goes about in his native land/ Stammesland/ and carries out his conjurations in the individual places, so that no misfortune shall intervene and make the celebration of the festival impossible. The tree deities in particular are conjured, to permit the harvesting of the fruits for the festival and not to fling down (throw) the courageous climber.

All take part in the great festivals, men, women, and children festively anointed and decorated. Those who live further away come in canoes, which are richly decorated. The conch shell trumpets are heard and Nis songs are sung. The nobles wait for the common people in the Nas. The Nanamariki sits in his place of honor. Soon the dancers begin the uen dance, in which dance paddles are generally used. The round dance is opened and ended by a child, in order to draw away the evil spirits. The wreaths worn in it are handed to the nobles, who distribute them to those present. This is followed by handing over of the fruits and other gifts, of which every one receives a share in according to his rank after distributed by the chief.

The Nanamariki keeps the better part of the gifts for himself and his family. Formerly the Nigurts received what was left. But the people were also allowed to take home some of what was left (p. 231).

Time passes with the preparation of food, eating, singing, dancing and kava drinking. More detailed descriptions are found in O'Connell's book, chapter 7, 8 and 11.

2. The Holy Kava.

The legend of the origin of the holy kava is:

The Great Kava Shrub. (Native text, VVM; 265, is omitted here.)

The kava species which we call the great kava shrub had its origin on Pōn paip on the small place of Nān Pērou. Its branches were no ordinary branches, but were very long and reached from the ground to the sky. Now there was a man called Tsou iap', who was from abroad. Since ancient times he had had a bird for which he was looking. It smelled the odor of the kava whose branches touched the sky. And so he came to the man who had stolen his bird; this man's name is Sūmūn kapin pil. His children visited him and found Tsou iap'; the two told their father that they had met a man. He had a long beard, which reached to the ground. He (VVM: the father) said to the two: "The Tsou iap' will kill us." Tsou iap' appeared at the man's house and said to Sūmūn kapin pil: "Do you smell the kava?" The man denied it. Then Tsou iap' stuck his stick into the ground and dug out a kava tuber. He said to the man; "Do you know the name of this kava?" The two lifted it up and cut it up in the small place of Pōn kalo in Kamār. They then came again and pounded (p. 232) the kava on the spot. The man, however, cooked the bird of Tsou iap' on the place Meretil. Sūmūn kapin pil now took the cooking stones off the bird, then took a red stone, scraped it into taro leaves, made a little package of it and put it on the stones. Then both waited until the little package opened by itself and a very large bird came out. It flew up and came to a large river, then to a waterfalls which is in (?) Janekap and in Nanekap in, the waterfall of
Orepil. Both followed him and became reconciled and fetched him out of the waterfall. Sümün Kapin pīl then said to Tsou iap' that he should sit on the bird, and in addition said to him that he should not sit on the bird's wings, but should remain on the tail, so that it could not eat him. The bird flew off, Tsou iap' brushed against the mountain-range, Tämäretamue in sakir." Here one wing tore a large hole in the mountain-range. Then it carried Tsou iap' skywards to a foreign country.

Without the kava (pāper methisticum), (VMM; or ) the choko, called tsakau by the natives, neither a religious festival, nor a folk or family festival can be imagined. Correspondingly the exasperation of the Boston mission over this drink was great. "Every religious action begins, continues and ends with festival celebrations. Even a prayer can only be said over a beaker of kava, and kava is the main thing of every festival...." Later Pereiro writes:... as in all their meetings they always eat, then they discuss their business and also drink their choko. This latter custom has gradually been eradicated (extirminated) by the Methodists...

The intoxicating substan... (VMM; of kava.) a muddy liquid of a dark, earthy color, is contained in the root... It contains two substances which can be cristallized, the kawain or masticin, and jancoina. Furthermore, there are two resins, A and B, which are the active element and have the qualities of a local anaesthetic, according to Lewin. They can be considered to belong to the group of the cocain.

At O'Connell's time they were moderate in the enjoyment of kava. The women were as good as forbidden it! He writes: The kava is a very strong stupifying drink (p. 2362) but it seldom is drunk in such quantities that it makes somebody unconscious. If it happens once in a while three to four hours of a heavy, deep sleep are the consequences.

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1 The Missionary Hold Micronesia. July 1856 p. 234
2 Pereiro a.a.o.p. 112 Pf.
Taken in moderate quantities the kava makes people talkative, but seldom quarrelsome. Pereño describes the effects (VMM; of kava) in still greater detail:

This beverage has especially strong, numbing effects, so that the drinkers remain lying where they are, sleepily dreaming, with half-open eyes and feel a great heaviness in their eyelids. They do not speak, and when they say something they do it in a very low voice. Their only wish in such moments is to sleep, noises disturb them, and when they get up and want to go on their way, they seem lethargic and totter. This forces them to walk supported by a large stick, which they generally bring with them as a precautionary measure, in order not to fall. Then they fall into a deep sleep. They do not like to speak, and when one makes them, they open their eyes at the first question to see who is addressing them, they close their eyes and answer slowly, and in such a low voice that one thinks they are dying. Then they fall into a deep sleep until the following day. At that time no symptoms of excitement but on the contrary, (VWM; symptoms of) stupefaction. While they are under the influence of the beverage, they hear everything that is said to them and have a complete memory of what happened the next day. When drinking choko for the first time, one gets cold sweat, feels depressed and an extremely great weakness. On awakening, one's head feels very heavy.

At the beginning of the afternoon, they start drinking choko, which they consider to be healthful (wholesome), because--as they say--it keeps the body intact. So as to be in better condition. There are people who drink more than a Quartillo.

All kava is put down before the Nanamariki or, when he is not present, before the highest dignitary. He rises and knocks the roots shrubs and his friends and favorites help him. Only the roots are to used make the drink. The part of the stalk are given to the chief to or special guests. The latter plant

Vol. I p. According to Hambruch the taste is bitter, cool and
stimulating. It makes legs heavy and leaves the head free. Until late at night the chatting drinkers are drawn together by it. The effect shows in giddiness, headache, a thick tongue, tiredness and failing of the legs. The after-effect is fought with Toddy, sikalui, or sugar cane. Heavy drinkers get a rash in time, which makes them look as if powdered yellowish-green.
them as cuttings. Beforehand they fast, or at least, do not eat meat and do not have intercourse. Meanwhile, they pray (VMM: Native charm here.) (p. 234)

Kava Charm (Native text 248)
Here I plant mine and the friends memory-kava,
Grow my kava, thrive my kava,
We will race in Otialap for my kava,
The birds sipuerere and kasipuerere, they call, they call:
You have no kava hehahaha!

After about twelve months, according to Hambruch, but really after one to three years, the new (VMM: kava) plant has reached the point where it should be pulled up. As the need is generally greater than the quantity (VMM: if kava plants), these gifts are much sought after and a great privilege. In more recent times there has been less ceremony. With cries of joy the individuals carriers take the kava shrubs into the assembly house and knock the roots themselves, clean them, distribute them on stones, cover them with taro leaves and begin to prepare the drink. When bringing in the kava they sing:

Kava Song (Native text 366)
When the Kava Stubs are Brought in.
Why does one not call? are the men afraid? 0...i...o
Nanimatau, sit down in the good place,
Announce to the Mareniap, that the fleet of the chiefs stops before the surf, 0...i...o
And blew the shell trumpets. oué!

(VMM: According to Pereiro?) kava is sacred to the Nan Isotan, according to others, to the highest deity and is consacrated to him in prayers of various kinds. These are said by the Nanamariki partly already during the planting, partly when the shrubs are pulled out, partly during the preparation and also again at the first solemn drink. (p. 231?) (VMM: There were nine kava prayers but three? are omitted.)

Kava Song (Native text 243?)
(is no longer song nowadays)
Here it is now and comes to the Zapetan, the root of the kava, I comes, it flies, it hurries to Muasnap',
Pound it there, there on the stone of sleep,
Make something else of it, make it the likeness of Li kakei iap,
Squeeze it out into the sacred beaker Ronalen,
Honor with it the nobles, Ponape, rejoice now about these shrubs, oh!
  Kava Morning Prayer (Native text 293)
For you is the kava morning drink, Lord Nan Isobau,
It is offered by the priest of this place.
Now turn towards west, where it is dark,
Now towards east, where it begins to grow light,
Spread out the breast towards heaven where Nan Zapue stays,

The rest of the kava of the morning, Lord Nan Isobau.
  Kava Evening Prayer (Native text 277)
This is the name of the prayer: Taskau en Katusau (P. 236)
I dug the tsaau en Katusau,
It turns quickly, and shines brightly afterwards.
But now go away
Between Ant and Pakin.
Appear again on the sky of Kusaie,
Ghosts of the men remain far from this beaker,
Oh, I am very strong,
And Sirama and Sarama
Go away and come again
As I and Chief Lampoi, ie!
  Prayer (Native text 574)
  (during the consecration of the kava)
You Lords Tau Katau, Nan Tsapue, Nan Zarail, Nan Tuenin
Send us our food, breadfruit fruit always
Without delay (Frist) and without interruption,
You Lords Tau Katau, Nan Tsapue, send infinitely more,
Send and give us the acidulated breadfruit,
Also give us fish from the sea,
So that the women, the children, all of them should have to eat,
You Lords Tau Katau and Nan Tsapue, ie...e!

Kava prayer of Palapi (Native text 270.)
To you I consecrate the beaker, Main Nan Isobau,
To Inos puets, Inos tol
and Inos en Kalal, (p. 277)
Outside of Kalal and inside Kalal,
In Paratik and Paralap,
The places of Paratik and those of Paralap
May the kava here thrive through you,
Main tau Katau, Nan Zapue ie!

Kava Prayer to Nan Isobau (spoken in Meitik) 271
You speak now, Main Nan Isobau,
And I consecrate to you your beaker
Full of Kava of the Pan mei tol,
Mother of Pali, father of Pali.
The young people row outside, row inside,
My two small children
Called Sipe Rou,
Called Sape Rom,
Outside in front of Perou, inside Perou,
In front of Perou tik, in front of Perou lap,
Kava furthers life
Main Nan Isobau ie!

270 and 271 are spoken when the kava is wrung into the beakers.

Kava Prayer of Eireka (Native text 282.
Cannot be translated as a whole. It contains the names of the chief settlement places, of the demons and ancestors of the Nanapei en Mauk.
As a kava prayer Tsakau en Mauk it is spoken at every occasion when kava is drunk in Eireka. (p. 238)

Charm to Limot elan and Inas (Native text 289)
Here I dedicate to you my kava beaker,
May the place here see the sugarcane of Eir,
From the bush to the shore,
May it thrive like the tops of the reed!
Thus asks you, the Tsau en Kauat,
Mistress Likand Inas!

Kava Consecration in Rei en iap. (Native text 231)
Untranslatable
Request for Fine Weather. (Native text omitted here).
In the times when wind, rain and thunder prevail, they arrange a request for fine weather so that it will be fine again. Then the head priest orders all servants to assemble to fetch kava shrubs. They then go forth and dig kava roots, (P. 239) especially the remetel. They carry many off; they throw them on a heap. The head priest rises and takes his shell knife, then he cuts the kava branches off and says his conjuration formula four times. Then he cuts the root off; now all kava leaves are brushed off. He hands everything to the servants, who now have to clean the kava.

When the cleaning of the kava is finished, a man takes a conch shell and goes to fetch water in it. Now the people bring the kava. The high priest takes a beaker, a man pours water in it and carries it off. The high priest then appoints a man who has to stand on the stone where the kava is. The man now climbs on to the stone with the beaker, while the high priest waits to say the conjuration. The high priest now begins the conjuration. This conjuration has four stanzas. When one is finished, the man pours some water from the beaker. As there are four stanzas,
he will pour water out four times. When this is over, the people who cleaned the dava gather it together and turn it over four times. Then they begin to pound it. Next rhythmically they beat against the stone four times, and then only do they begin to pound. First they pound only a little kava, and the high priest holds a beaker handy and waits for the pauses between beating of the stones, with three (p.240) blows they end the beating. Then the high priest lifts the beaker and twaše utters a kind of groan. Next he turns the beaker over and pours it on what is about to become kava (werdende Kawa). In the same moment the final beating ends. Then the high priest again takes his seat and waits for the kava. Now the kava is wrung out into a beaker and new kava is taken to the high priest. He accepts it and prays to Tau Katar and Nan Zapue. This is done four times. Then the other people may enjoy also the drink. When all are drunk with kava, the high priest gives the order to bring a beaker, the last one. He accepts the beaker, prays over it again, drinks a little of it and then empties it outside the house. On the same day when this sacrifice is made the weather turns good, wind and rain cease and the thunder no longer speaks. Then all people are happy again; then they separate. The next day they meet again and make the same sacrifice (VMM: and do this) for four days. Then it is ended. Now they rest one day, then they meet again and once more make sacrifices for four days, which is the end of it. All the people in Tsalapux, who had stopped work, continue their work in their places again.

The course of a kava festival is described by the Saulik en Tsokola as follows:

The festival of the Thick Kava Tubers. (Native text, VMM, omit.
At the festival of the thick kava tubers a conjuration is said called akunsx.
If there are especially large kava shrubs, they will taken out the soil to be pounded for the Nanamariki. Nobody is allowed to grow thick kava tubers, (p.241) unless acharm has been spoken before
this kava, is fetched, (VNM: The charm) is called: Last Kava. When the shrub has grown big, and has more than a hundred branches, and even more, (VNM; the charm must be spoken) for if some one fetches thick kava tubers from the soil without the conjuration, he must die. This is what is done with the lar-bulbed kava. When it is to be pounded, it is taken to the Nanamariki; then a great festival is given for him, the iraisol: then many ovens are prepared and then the kava is pounded on many flat stones. They go and fetch the kava. Those who know the charms, lead the people in fetching the kava. A man sharpens a spear of mangrove wood, then says a charm, 1 then first puts the spear under two of kava roots, and puts them on two kava leaves, then he puts the kava shrub on tip and calls: "for the chief!". Then he also lifts the lower ones, puts them beside and says: "for the chief's wife!"

Then he takes the spear and aims at the kava shrub, four times. 2 Then he begins to cut the kava shrub to pieces. They all cut it, and thus make many kava pieces. With shouts of joy they take them into the assembly house. There all kava has been collected. Then it is pounded. Finally everything is all pounded. Then it is wrung and the first beaker is dedicated to the Nanamariki. The chief takes the beaker, and a man, the Sau'n toi tsakau 1, then distributes the beakers to the important people. They then hold the beakers in their hands and wait for the Nanamariki to say the kava prayer. Then they drink.

This is the prayer.

I consecrate the kava to you, Lord, that it may climb to you, Climb into the sea, climb towards heaven, climb towards life, Come over me, desist from me, honor for you, honor from you, Kava juice flow into the beaker, Always may the chief always live, finished is the kava, oh Lord, ______________

1 The charm could not be obtained
2 The spear is seized with both hands, and pushed down on the kava from above, without touching it.
1 Kawa aide.
Finished also the blessing, oh Lord, ie!
Then all beakers full of kava, for the prayer is ended. Now they sit down or drink kava until late at night. Then they go home.
In O'Connell's day the Nigurts did the cleaning and pounding of the kava. The pounding stones were then on the gallery, not far from the seats of the nobles.
The kava pounders endeavor to hit the basalt block with their stones simultaneously. Each time making a ringing sound like a bell.
"The hammering of the kava forms a ceremony in itself. The flat stones are put down so as to have empty spaces under them by putting dry coconut shells under them and tuned by means of the number of shells. The group of men carry out a kind of ding-dong hammering on the stones in until they fall on the roots in a rapid threshing rhythm. And then announce the completion of their work by playing on the stones in hammer.
Formerly they beat in a certain rhythm when the Nanamariki himself was present, that is one, two, three-- pause---one--pause--one, two, three, pause /p243/00 etc. If only a lesser chief was present, the rhythm was: one, two--pause--one, --pause one, two. Meanwhile all workers keep the rhythm which is indicated by one who is the leader and is the most skillful. (by the blows.) A continuous, monotonous and agreeable metallic sound very similar to that of a bell is caused, but as there are four or five large ones in the house where they obtain this juice, and three men work at each of them, and the stones with which they beat (each for itself) has quite definite (beatstoen) sound when it strikes the result of the unison of sounds which they produce in their work is a harmonious, euphonious sound which pleases the ear. The natives of the Carolines are very clever in making of these stones, which have to be looked at as musical instruments. They should to be compared to the enlantangau of the Moors of . Always when they meet to get this plant juice, one of the workers indicates the rhythm, at the signal given by his finger, the hammering in rhythmic order begins (VMM; D until he gives the

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signal for stopping. — The beats come quicker and quicker, more eager and finally end in a roll. They sing during the pounding. (Native text translation are omitted here.)

During the Pounding of the Kava. (Native text.)

Now it leaps out, ah! Now I let the lie be exposed,
The woman here, this woman, she has bewitched me, /p.244/
She has put me in flames, I burn as if in the sun,
She has put me in flame, she has lit my heart here always,
Be not sad, I give you the advice, do not take any wife, for you are bewitched,
I am already bewitched.
Our loving goes badly together.

po mau ei

(Hahl describes the procedure as (VMM: of kava drinking) follows: When everything progresses exactly according to the good, old custom (nach-guter, alter Sitte), the partaking of the kava is always a holy affair, accompanied by the ancient songs (ap) for this occasion and accompanied by the rhythm of the drums (eip). (According to Hahl, Eth. Notizbl. II, p. 2, kava drinking with the ap-songs also takes place during other religious ceremonies. Only a few now know how to beat the drum with an experienced hand and to deliver the old songs. The words are generally no longer understood, even if their meaning is not intentionally withheld. The language now in use in Ponape is not full enough to translate them.) The following is such an ap; 2

(The ap, written by Henry Nanpei, Ronkiti, in his spelling, follows. (VMM: Native text of an ap(ancient kava drinking song has been omitted here.)

In the meantime the roots have changed to a dripping mass, which has been moistened with water from time to time, so that the juice will trickle down more easily and the extract separate out more easily. The mass is kneaded with the hands. Then they pour it on Hibiscus fibre strips and wring these out. The obtained juice is caught in coconut shells and handed to the highest in rank present by the commoner, formerly the nigorit. He tastes it and has the beaker handed to the next in rank or another person designated by him. Giving and receiving is always done in the man.

1 Good smell 2 Pereiro p. 11
ner that the left hand clasp the wrist of the giving or receiving own right hand. (that the man who is giving or receiving holds his own right wrist in his left hand.) There is a custom which is always observed between persons of different (p.245) rank. The man offering must turn his face away, kneel down and cross his arms, until the other has drunk. Then there say "iee....e! The chief must be offered some of every drink, whether he takes it or not, and he designates the person who is to drink in his stead. After sacrificing to the deity too, the real kava-beat begins. Only the king and his followers drink of the kava made first, while all receive some of the liquid pressed out later.

These present sit in an order exactly determined, the king in the middle, the queen at his left and beside, according to their rank, the other dignitaries. To his right sit the other men, next to him the highest of these. (VNM; Native expressions for kava drinking and preparation follow but, these have been omitted.)

Expressions for the Kava Drinking. (With native expressions). Kava procession. The shrubs are put on the shoulders and carried with the roots pointing forwards.

Song.
Blowing of the Triton's horn.
kava shrubs decorated with flowers
putting down of the kava shrubs in a pile
place where the shrubs are put down
kava root
separating of the foot from the shrub
cleaning of the roots from earth
support for the kava pounding stones
flat kava pounding stones /p.246/
putting down of the erected pounding stones on the support
kava pounding
accompanying music for pounding
rhythm
kava pulp
kava wringing material from marsh-mallow bast
wringing out of the kava
kava juice
kava beaker of coconut shell
kava meina
Chairman of the feast
recall during drinking (rosit)
the first obtained beaker
the second
the third
the fourth
beaker for the nobles

Fig. 35, 36 show kava rings and beakers.
the last beaker of the beaten new kava has been added to the old one
jokes during the feast to drink kava
kava froth
prickling of the kava on the tongue and palate
dregs, unpalatable
to hand on the beaker
kava songente
cence music during the pounding of kava
final music
ruffling of the music
scout of joy

3. The Eating of Dogs.¹

The festival food, the favorite roast of the Ponape people was and is the roast dog. A festival without it is inconceivable. They value the animals so highly, (p.247) that the women put them to their breasts if necessary. They do this, as O'Connell probably assumes correctly in order to prevent the bitch from losing its value as a roast by too long and too frequent nursing. But the animals are kept only for eating. They are unsociable, quarrelsome, and noisy. Like the kava they are private property of the owner and can be used as he likes. According to Kittlitz, the Ponape breed of dogs stands between that which the natives of Sitcha kept and the larger European dachshunds. The color of the hair was white with a few black spots.¹

While the kava is being prepared in the festival house, the hearth are being prepared and in the meantime the dogs are slaughtered in front of the house.¹ The dog butcher is the sau en sup män. After they are taken in and put on glowing stones— according to Hambruch, four are also put into each dog— they are covered with a layer of stones, and green leaves are spread over this to prevent(keep) the steam from escaping. After half to three quarters of an hour the roasts are cooked. The nigurts, who are also the cooks, put them in baskets of coconut leaves, woven (braided) especially for this purpose, which must not be used afterwards. The highest

¹ According to O'Connell chapter and II
² Kittlitz II. p.77
chief present carves with a bamboo knife. He keeps the shoulders for himself as the best pieces. In the case of the pig, too the front quarter is considered to be the chief's share. What he does not eat, he takes home. The rest is distributed by him to those present. Only a few dogs are slaughtered for every festival, as they are very valuable, and they are considered to be only an additional food to the abundantly served yams and breadfruit dishes. The head is thrown to the nigurts, if they are lucky. But generally then get nothing and have to satisfy themselves with fish. The heart of the dogs (also of the pig) is specially roasted in fat for the chief and offered to him in a little basket. After having had the katiani spoken over it, he eats it.

How the Dog is Killed and Roasted. (Native text, VMM., omitted.)

A man stands up, takes it (VMM; i.e. the dog to be roasted in the feast.) and puts it on the oven. He burns it and beats it with his right hand, turns it up and beats it with his left hand and does that four times. Then a man takes it and singes the hair off. Now a man comes. to clean it. First he cuts into the left front paw, then he cuts into the right hind leg, then the right front paw, then the left hind leg, then he cuts through the throat, then cuts off the left paw, then the right leg, then the right paw, then the left leg; then they put their hands into the rectum of the dog and pull the intestines out, tie them and put them in again; then they cut it (VMM: the dog) open, first take the fat of the heart cut and put it aside; then they take the feed-pipe put, tie it and put it in again. Now they take the spots where they had cut in and take out all the intestines. They separate all the fat and put it aside, then they take the two kidneys, wrap them in leaves and make two little packages of them, then they cut the liver out, also wrap it in leaves make four little package of this and put them aside. Then they cut the tail off, and put it into the oven until it is done, then it is taken out and put aside; then they take four hot stones put them on banana leaves and put the fat on top. When it the one it is put aside. Now again off and fetches coconut leaves and goes up to the gallery with them. There the Nos

1 Because the dog had already eaten in the morning.
cuts them and braids them. Then a man carries it off; he puts eight breadfruit leaves on the braiding and two banana leaves and puts on this the heart fat \( p.249 \) and the tail of the dog. Then he takes a basket and puts in ten breadfruit leaves and two banana leaves and puts the remaining abundant fat on top, Two men take these braidings, take them to the gallery of seats and put them down there, then they go away again. He then takes a palm frond and puts the dog in it. Then he takes a stone out of the oven and puts it into the dog, then four fronds are taken with the left hand and three fronds with the right hand and they are firmly knotted to each other. Now a piece of it is cut off and put on the dog, then it is put into the oven and the dog is covered. When it is done, the oven is opened, the dog is put into a basket, pieces of the intestine are taken and wrapped round it; then they take it to the gallery of seats, and the small packages are also taken out of the baskets. Then the Uasai rises, the second head chief, and carves the dog, for nobody else knows how. He takes a knife and first cuts the rough the neck, then the left front leg, then the right front leg. He puts them under the neck. Then he cuts the head off and puts it aside. Next he cuts the left hind leg off, then the right hind leg; then he separates the back from the front part. Next he cuts off the hams, then he detaches the back from the shoulder blades, then he detaches the right part of the belly, then the left, then the breast flesh, then the flesh of \( p.250 \) the left shoulder blade, then that of the right shoulder blade. Then he cuts the neck off and makes four little packages of dog meat from it, which he puts aside, then he takes the front legs and cuts the Kilensiso out between them, wraps it in leaves and hands it to the Naneken.

One of the Sau en nene, who has the title of Auntol en Kiti, now distributes the dog among those present.

The cleaning, preparation and cutting up of the dog are shown in the sketches, (VMM; are 145 ECP 1005 Hambruch 251) with regard to which Hambruch makes the following

To typist: Insert for text page 250.

A. (List of native words)
B. 1. Cuts for separating the neck.
   2. 
   3. These parts, stilll connected in front, are put under the head.
3 and 4 These parts are put under the head, still connected in front.)

Before the dog is tied on to the leaves (fig. 37A) the belly is opened at 12 (fig. 37A), katriu, and the heart fat, keiser, and the intestines, kapue en man, are taken out. The breastbones are taken out too, kapin uora. Separating the heart fat from the intestines is called muasa. Then the dog is tied in. The four knots are called bugebug. The heart is roasted for the Nanamariki over four hot stones in intestinal fat, peisaralap, and handed to him in a little basket which is braided from six fronds. The tail, together with the heart fat, is cut off and packed in a special little basket which is lined with breadfruit and banana leaves. The intestinal fat is put in a similar one. Both are baked separately. The liver, o, is cut into four parts and these are wrapped separately in breadfruit leaves and tied together. The bowels which are taken out at 11 (fig. A) are cut into two parts and then tied together too. All this is put into an earth oven which has been torn apart.

Carving the Roast.

Everything above 5 (fig. 37A) (VMM; See photo, 195 ECP 1005 Hambruch 251) is counted to as the head. The neck part, between 1 and 2 (fig. 37A), is cut out. The front and hind legs are detached. The piece between 7, 9 and 10 (fig. 37A) with the four last ribs is separated by a cut (11). Then the ribs are broken off. The neck is divided into four parts. The shoulder-piece is also divided further.

(At the feast visited by Hambruch, he himself received the back, which he passed on to the Nanekin. After the latter sent it back to him, it took its path over the Nos, the Usais, to the latter's mother, who kept it. The Nanekin received a shoulder-piece, the other was given to the Usais. Parts of the right and left sides were given to Hambruch's servant. The tail was given to Naulik, the throat was given as they chose.)

4. Various Customs.

(The old customs are considered to be law. They are called lamalam. Foreign customs and foreign law is called lamalam en muluei, as contrasted with Ponape law lamalam en Pon'pei. The contrast between these is called
(Most of the customs and habits have already been discussed in connection with the events and conditions to which they refer. Here be added only what is less closely related.)

(In order to honor or distinguish some one, an honorary present is sent to him, a kasahalean uauen en limpok. It is usually a large sugar-cane. In case anything else is sent, and if the gift is nevertheless to have the aforesaid character, the susugar-cane is added.)

Then somebody carries food and meets someone else on the way, he must offer him some of it and present him with some of it, kisakis.

When one canoe comes from fishing and meets another, the ceremony of the sakom mām is carried out. One gives a fish to the other (kisakis) and asks where the canoe is going.

When passing a house one receives an invitation to eat from the "basket". But this only means cooked food. Uncooked food which is demanded, must be paid for.

When a family is sitting at their meal, and somebody comes into the house, the person in question must be invited, komatsimats. A stranger will refuse, a friend accepts. This is what politeness requires.

The Nanekin is greeted with "gatsalilia isoka", the Uasai with "gatsalilia Uasai lapalapp.

The greeting goso oaoi, for a man is gatsalilia maini.e., good

for when several are greeted, especially nobles, one says gatsalilia

When somebody makes a present to some one, sāpal mau, and an abundant one, the other must act in the same way, sāpal gātek.

He who gives presents with pleasure and abundantly is a sapan.

The rules of etiquette require the men to sit "like the turke," on their crossed legs. The women squat on their heels. When a woman meets a man, she must not look into his face. This is also forbidden vis-à-vis the chief.
main kau, i.e. good, all gentlemen! or gatsalilia monsapake! A common woman is greeted "gatsalil", and the name if known is added; in the case of a noble woman, the title is added instead. A large group of people are greeted with gatsalilia seriso, a boy: "gatsalil bau." The most general formula of greeting is: gatsalil i.e., good!

On entering a house the following charm is said: (VMM; Native text and translation ommitted here.)

Charm on Entering a House. /Native text 143/.
I look around the corner,
I jump around the corner,
It shines, what shines?
It shines, beautifully it shines.
his appearance, what appearance?
His appearance, a beautiful appearance.
He is surprised, he is blinded.
Who enters the house here
and brings us fish?

(The food prohibitions forbid the common man to any fat. Special care is given to the drinking water. Nobody is allowed to draw from the well of the chiefs or priests. Every house has special calabashes isak, for fetching water, from which they drink ceremonially after the magic ouhani, has been performed over it. Head chiefs and priests change the vessels for this.)

5. The Games.

There are as good as no notes about the games practiced by the natives. (VMM: of Ponape). They call the string game talele. Furthermore they have a curious custom, for which there is no explanation a dance in which one has to touch the holy stones as quickly as possible. Care is taken that this (p.254) (is done) happens very quickly. As the stones in question are allegedly holy(sacred), it cannot be assumed that it is a pleasure game, at least not from the start, but rather did finally some kind of a rite.

Also, the children's toys pictures here (VMM; 247 ECP 1005 Hambruch 254) mostly lack of (without) explanation. The top consists of a mangrove fruit, through which the rib of a