Aloha, Karen!

This is the final installment of HerbEmergency's Ponape. Vols. 1 & 3 were sent in an earlier shipment.

Ponape was never retyped after I revised it — so this is the most current version. (I believe the Pacific Collection has a photocopy of this.)

Me kaaloa pulehuana —
Becko Murphy
Society and Non-Material Culture

I. Groups and Arrangement of Public-Affairs

1. The empire and the principal places.

In ancient times the whole island was supposed to have stood under the rule of a single king. The last of these rulers, was called Šāu Telūr and lies buried in Pānkatira, where the coronation place of the Nanamariki of Matolenim now is. He belonged to the still existing sib Tīp ūlap. The natives knew to report the following about the end of his power:

"Šāu Telūr was so presumptuous that he even called the god of thunder, Nān Žāpe to account when the latter had engaged in an intrigue with the queen; but he let him go free again when the god began to roar. Šāu Telūr demanded tribute from Tōlokālakāl, the king of Gatau Kusae. The latter then went to Ponape in a large canoe with 333 men. Led by birds, he came via Ngatik, Ant to Kiti, where he was festively received by the Šāūlik. In eternal memory of the landing they erected a large heap of stone, which is partly present even today. Meanwhile, the tšamōro who lived in Žalapū in Kiti had informed the threatened Šāu Telūr of the arrival of the enemies. "Stop your arrogant behavior," he said to the king, "because I have heard from the spirits that people are coming and want to snatch Ponape away from you." "You lie," said the king, "and only come to eat; no tšopéiti is more powerful than the Šāu Telūr." He gave him a large basket with food. The priest threw it away and smashed the last coconut at the (later) landing place of the enemies in Kiti. Tōlokālakāl landed in Kiti and then travelled through Pālikir and Žokeci, where two of his mother's sisters already lived, and further via U to Matolenim. Šāu Telūr with his followers first fled to the sea. He defeated Tōlokālakāl on the land, Tšap ūe rūk, so that the latter
had to flee. But finally the enemy was victorious and killed all the people of the Sau Telur. The latter dived under a waterfall and became a fish. Now Issokalakal was the ruler in Ponape and founded the sib, Tip en pān méi, to which the tortoise is sacred. He created the rule of the tōpēiti in Kitī and in the other regions of Ponape.

In later times the island disintegrates into five states, of which Matolenim is the largest and most populated, and Nanamariki is the highest ranked ruler. These are:

Matolenim  Zōkeš -- Pālikir
Kitī -- Ūona  Nōt
Ū -- Āuak

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

Until about 1870 Zōkeš and Nōt formed a single empire. After the death of the king, who was killed at about this time, the chiefs in the named districts made themselves independent. They did not dare to bear the king’s title, Nanamariki, as the rulers of Matolenim, Kitī and Ū do. The rulers of Zōkeš calls himself "Uaśāi" and that of Nōt, "Lāp en Nōt." Pālikir is a vassal state of Zōkeš.

The History of how Tōskeš and Nōt United

It used to be thus that in the state, Nōt, one man always ruled who bore the title, Lāp en Nōt; he fell ill. Then the Nanamariki en Tōskeš and some chiefs came to visit him and also all the chiefs of Nōt arrived. Then the Lāp en Nōt died. Then the Uaśāi en Tōskeš ordered the chiefs of Nōt to prepare the funeral feast for the Lāp en Nōt. They did so; then they chose the titles and took the head wreath of the Lāp en Nōt, hung it up and gave it not to any man in the tribe of Nōt. He then went in the house of the Lāp en Nōt, at a place called Peile, and ordered that they should assemble near him on the next day, in order to
celebrate a feast, the consecration—of the—title. That was also done on the next
day. The tribes Nōt and Tqōkēs all came together; then the Nanamariki said,
formerly there had no longer been a Nanamariki in Tqōkēs, but now I am Nanamariki,
because I rule two states, Tqōkēs and Nōt. But a title-holder in the tribe of
Nōt, named Nānsāq set en Nōt, gathered some people of the tribe, Nōt around him,
and they agreed to fight against the Nanamariki of Tqōkēs. All the rebellious
people gathered in a small place called Tsou en tsein. But they could not carry
out their intention, for they were too few; thus they remained on the spot and
thought over what they wanted to do. A man, the ruler of Aūāk, who bore the title
Tsaulik en Aūāk, gathered all his followers and went to the Nanamariki of Tqōkēs
at Pēile and did not notice the Nānsāq sit there at the meeting, because he had
risen; now he went to him, in order to give him the good advice not to remain
rebellious any longer, because he was only a small man and incapable of taking the
fight. So he took the Nānsāq, led him to the Nanamariki in Nōt, and the two were
reconciled. Now the Nanamariki wanted to possess a house, and gave the order
to the Nōt people to build a meeting house, because he wanted to know whether
they obeyed him or not. Then he went to Tqōkēs. The Nōt people then prepared
the building material for the house until everything was together. Then they
informed the Nanamariki to come there in order to erect the house. He came,
then they assembled, erected the house, until it was to be roofed. Then the
Nanamariki took his knife, climbed up and cut down all the roof supports. Then
he climbed down, took several stones and threw with them at the people. They
were alarmed. They ran away. But Naneken stood up, held the Nanamariki fast;
all the people however looked for kava roots. Then they sat down together, and
did not work on the day, until the Nanamariki was rational again. The next day
they worked at it until it was completely finished. The Nanamariki then ordered
them to make the preparations for the completion feast. All assembled and prepared
the feast. Until they had finished with it, the Nanamariki went back to Tsokeš
and instructed them to take care of the hearth and the catch of fish. They did this
also. When they went to Tsokeš, they sang and continually blew the horns, and
thus they came to the Nanamariki. When they entered the tribal region, the
Nanamariki commanded the State of Tsokeš to prepare a festival, so that the
people of Nót would be able-to-eat. They did that also; and many pigs and dogs
were killed. When they had prepared the food, the Nanamariki arranged that all
festival animals would be given over to the people of Nót, in order for
them to consume them. They were given to them, and then they returned to Nót.
After that, one day the Nanamariki again appeared in Nót and brought his wives
with him; there were 10, they all came with him to Nót. The people of Nót assembled
greeted the Nanamariki and shot their guns; then the Nanamariki remained in Nót.
Then the Tsokeš tribe agreed that all districts should celebrate the gaparumur
festival; they therefore assembled in Nót, and singing and celebrating, they
went to the Nanamariki. The Nanamariki then ordered the Nót people also to
assemble and to prepare a feast, so that the Tsokeš people could feast. So a
great feast took place. And they likewise let the Tsokeš people have everything,
then returned home to Tsokeš. And the two tribes formed only one and were under
the command of the Nanamariki. Then one day an American warship appeared in
Ponape and entered the entrance of Tsumunenuyal. All people were invited and
went; they went to the captain. The captain was friendly to them, gave them
clothes and said to the Nanamariki that he should rule Ponape, for he was a
good Nanamariki. Then he left Tsokeš, and the ship departed. Then the
Nanamariki of Kiti died. When the news of it spread, he informed Nót and Tsokeš
to prepare the canoes in order to travel to the funeral celebration to Kiti.
All assembled in Tsökes and departed ½ for Kiti. In Kiti, in a small place called Kap in pil lap, a great funeral celebration took place. The organized a great feast. When it had ended, the Nanamariki departed in order to go to Tsökes. And when he became ill there, all assembled, waited on him, sacrificed kava and killed many dogs. But he did not recover; he was not capable of rising, because he was frail and did not get better. Then he died. Then they chose one, so that he would become the Nanamariki of Tsökes. And when he died, the Not people quickly prevented a new election; they appointed a Lap en Not and raised his rank. Thus there was a Lap en Not; they returned to the old circumstances, the two tribes separated; it was again as before; when the state Not was separated from Tsökes.

The residence of the king of Matolenim in Pereiro's time was on the island of Nanue at Taman, of Kiti in Aleniang, around 1906 in Toketik. According to Berg's map, the original seat of the king, Uona, is in the southeast of the country, in the interior. The king of Tsökes resided on the island of the same name or at Paipalap; that of Not, in Not; that of U in Lebenes or at a palace in U opposite the island of Tepek or Tamak.

2. The Old Castes

From O'Connell's account and Lütke's indications it follows that in ancient times there were two races on the island, a Polynesian master class and a Melanesian, or rather, negroid population who formed the serfs (Litu or Nigurts) of the former (cf. vol. I, pp. 366-367). At the beginning of the last century the two elements were very strictly kept separate. Intermarriages did not occur and were also very difficult to imagine in view of the pride of the ruling caste and the despised position, the unkempt appearance, and the poor and primitive standard of living of the subjugated caste.
O'Connell states only two castes: the nobility, Montšap, and the free people, Šerišo, both belong to the same light-colored master's race to whom the dark subjugated people stand opposite to as serfs, Nigurts, therefore live, so to speak, outside the folk-community. Marriages between Montšap, i.e., between the high nobility, to which the chiefs and their families belong, and the Šerišo, the free people of the same race, were frequent.

Hambruch arrived at a somewhat different classification; on the basis of his notes, the social order was falling into decay for decades, and the originally strict separation of the races was already completely obscured. This picture, formerly so clear and simple, appears confused; strict separations of the individual groups are no longer present at all and contradictions are evident. According to Hahl, the kings' families, noble families, and free people are distinguished between. According to the old classification, these are the Montšap-Jopeiti, Šerišo and the people, Jian liki.

When a Jopeiti marries an aramas mual, the children are usually adopted by the Šerišo (that is, by the paternal relatives of this Jopeiti).

Hambruch separates as follows:
I. Montšap (nobility)   II. Aramas mual (commoners)
   1. Tšopeiti  2. Šerišo Šauliki lesser nobles, Nigurts (litu)

The Šerišo of O'Connell and the Aramas mual of Hambruch correspond to each other. Intermarriages of girls of this class with noblemen are frequent. Apparently they gladly take them as secondary wives. Despite the prevailing matrilineality, the children of such mothers were adopted by the nobles fathers, or rather relatives; however, obtained only low rank in the new caste. Hambruch counts the Šauliki among the lesser nobles. They might best correspond to the vassals of the medieval feudal state. The Tšopeiti correspond to the Montšap
of O'Connell, are above the Šerišo. In Hambruch however, the Šerišo occupy a significantly more noble position than in O'Connell, according to whom they could at best become sub-chiefs and must occasionally subordinate themselves to the great Môntsâp nobles. The priests come from the Šerišo class. Considered as a whole, the meaning of this shifting is that all caste members have been raised in importance, and the transition makes the formerly strict distinctions even less noticeable, occurrences which are typical of periods of decline.

3. The Form of Government

Formerly Ponape was an extraordinarily strictly organized feudal state. This is evidently connected with the numerical superiority of the dark class of the Nigurts, over whose the light-colored race could rule only as long as it maintained a strict separation. All owned-land, especially conquered land, Kâudaâp, belonged to the whole of the nobility, the Môntsâp-Tsôpëiti, who distributed the chief's ranks strictly among themselves according to caste affiliation, from a matrilineal point of view. The empires were independent of each other. Each formed its own unit. Today, as in ancient times, at the top stands the king, the Nanamâriki, that is the Tsôpëiti of the region highest in rank at that time. He is merely the first among his equals, however, the highest feudal lord of all and always the final authority. Yet the counsel appears not to be without a certain power next to him. For the rest, his position depends on the strength of his personality. The Nanamâriki of Matolenim is the highest among the kings. He alone bears the title "Isipâu."

All Kâudaâp land is given away as fief. The single parts "pali ennësap," are subject first of all to the high tenant, the Tsôpëiti, who, according to Hahl, are appointed by the king from his sib, and in this capacity bear the title
"Ṣau mās," They are in the pali en ṭṣap the same as what the Nanamariki is to the empire. They have the right of jurisdiction and to distribute authority; titles and small fiefs. Also, the free people, the Šeriso, possess their ṭṣap portions, are smaller-feudal lords and again have their vaśals, the aramās muñ of Hambruch or rather the Litu of O'Connell. Feudal lords and vassals are true to one-another.

The fiefs are given for life and may not be taken away without valid reasons, not even by the king. Every ṭṣau muñ was free to bestow new fiefs to a follower, or to a somehow favorite person. In particular he could socially raise his children by fiefs, in case they did not belong to his caste, although they could only hold correspondingly low rank. Emancipation of owned-people was unknown.

Every feudal lord, however large or small his fief may be, through the transmission of the ṭṣap portions, has the right to tribute from his vassals. Noteworthily, it has the character of a gift and its amount is determined by the giver. The gifts consisted of pigs, poultry, dogs, fruits, mats, etc. The presentation took place during certain festivals, the "Kamātip." There are six regular and two special festivals.

On such days the chief distributes the gifts to all participants, also women and children. He keeps the best share for himself and his family. In more recent times the tribute also includes a portion of the monetary wages of the former vassal. The other duty of the vassals consisted of faithful military service and assistance on all possible occasions, for example, in journeys and festivals.

For the maintenance of the king, the chief of the place where he and his followers and his family stay at that time must supply. As in the Middle Ages the emperors went from palatinate to palatinate, so the Nanamariki also transferred
his household from one part of the country to another, so that the burden altered for the population. He usually had visited all places once in the course of a year. Yet 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 meeting house. It was the custom that the king and the Nanakin, whose significance will be discussed later, gave 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 strictly observed rank order. According to Pereiro, those closest to him are the Uachai, Nancroen and Tok, according to Hambruch, Uasaï, Taïk and Nos. They belong to the tōpēitî lapalap, the great chiefs. A special position is occupied by the Nānekin. He is the "speaker," head judge and regent in place of the king, thus so to speak, the resident and often the actual ruler, while the Nanamariki enjoys the honor. According to Hambruch, besides the Nānekin, the Uasaï also has the function of a speaker, the Nos, on the other hand, as a supervisor for the execution of the royal decrees. At the large festivals, the Nanamariki occupies the vacated noble positions of the tōpēiti, the Nanakin those of the Ŝeriso reserved. Fieh. Oddly enough, according to Hambruch, the Nānekin is a title of the Ŝeriso caste. In case this is not an obscuration and misrepresentation of ancient conditions, it would result that the Ŝeriso who, at O'Connell's time, could hold only low chief's offices have risen to the so very important office of a Nānekin, and that the kingship is occupied by the high nobility, while that of his representative is occupied by the free people. A peculiar democratic feature in the otherwise purely oligarchical condition of this island.

Aside from a number of chiefs whose titles will be named later, Pereiro
distinguished yet another group which he compares to counsellors without
jurisdiction and with a purely advisory capacity. These would be the Nānepe, 
Nōs and Nanchao-ririn.

The title order and rank order is tremendously complicated. It always appears
to have been of the greatest importance for the social life of the natives.
Offences against this and particularly against the strict ceremonial connected
with this order are crimes and are abhorred and punished accordingly.

About the Tribe of Ponape.

There are four states and four Nanamariki in the country of Ponape. The
state of Matolenim is the largest of all; the Nanamariki of Matolenim also bears
the title Išōbau; likewise the Nanamariki of U is called Išōbau, but the state
of Ki and Tūke has no Išōbau, because it is smaller than Matolenim and U. Thus
the Išōbau is higher in rank than the Nanamariki, and the Uaśai comes after the
Nanamariki; under him are Tāuk, after him, Nōs and Nanaui, and Nāpe'i,
and Nān kerō en pōn tāke, Nauit lāpalāp, Naikit lāpalāp, Šau tel, and Lampoi lāpalāp,
and Amtōl en Māin and Nātā.

These are the family branches of the Nanamariki which are invested with these
titles, so that they then rise to the Nanamariki.

And these are the titles of the family branches of the šerišo, whose fathers
are the chiefs: Nāneken precedes the Nalām in rank; the latter is followed by
Nanapās, Nān Šāu Rērin, Nan matau en Itet, Lēp en Rērin, Au' Rērin; these are the
titles of the family branches of the šerišo, that culminate in Nanekan.

Thus there are four sibs in Ponape from which the chiefs originate: Tip
en pān mē'i, Lazialāp, Tip en mān, Šau en Kauat, and four sibs, from which the
šerišo originate: Lipitan, Tip en Nāi, Tip en Lūk, Tip i lap; the other sibs
constitute the common people.
Ko zoï u mar en ué en Kitio Matolenimo U (304)

List of the titles in the tribes of Kiti, Matolenim and U

(Ponapean text omitted)

men

women

secondary title

greeted as iso or main

Helpers of the Naneke

The children of Tsopeiti ranks receive their titular names from Naneke ranks. If these are all occupied they are titled according to their dwelling place and later, after the death of a Naneke member, receive a vacated title.

Titles in Zokos

Men

Women

Titles in Not

Men

Women

Every Tsopeiti, Serso, and according to Hambrouch, even members of the Aramaš mual caste, bear a title appropriate to his class; thus the high titles are held only by the Tsopeiti, the very-small ones by the Aramaš mual. It is customary to address every person only by their title, never by their given name. Already in O'Connell's days it was difficult to recognize where a title was actually present in the narrow sense of the word, because every bearer of even a small land fief, used to call himself after his hide of land, after his šap-portion. The size and fertility of the fief is supposed to correspond to
the level of the title. In ancient times they named all great Mōntsāp people "Aroche lapalap" (Arīki lapalap -- high chief). Members of lower Mōntsāp rank and the higher Šērišō were called Aroche ticatic (small śč chief). According to Hambruch, nowadays all better Aramāś muāl are "Šāu tiki" or liki, i.e., small nobles, which demonstrates the already mentioned decrease of the high titles. Superior chiefs add to the end of their names only the name of the region under them connected with a particle; which suffices as the indication of their rank.

The high titles, the titles of the Tsöpēiti lapalap, are Nanamāriki, Uašal, Taūk and Nōś; low titles on the other hand, are Nāņēkīn, Nālīk lapalap, Naumatautet, Tsaulik and Kron, which are followed by others. According to Hambruch, the natives actually distinguish two completely separate title-lines: the titles of the Tsöpēiti and the titles of the Šērišō. He believes that the ennoblement of the Šērišō is to be traced back to the following: representatives of the high nobility, that is Mōntsāp or rather Tsöpēiti, who had tried to raise the rank of their children born of their Šērišō wives, had created new titles and privileges. The children due to their membership in the caste of the mother, remained denied the title of the father's caste and the rights and honors associated with it.

In fact, at the large official festivals, it is then strictly kept that in the seating order, which must be precisely defined following the rank level of each participant, a Tsöpēiti titleholder is alternated with a Šērišō titleholder; the highest Tsöpēiti is followed by the highest Šērišō, then the second-highest Tsöpēiti and the second-highest Šērišō, etc. The order of the rank of a Tsöpēiti is, however, only valid in his native state.

The sequence of ranks in the state, Matolenim is:

After these come the holders of the priests' rank:
III.  Sām and Auliike, both kotito and konet. Finally, the ranks must be named which can be conferred on any person as an honor:

IV.

Nanapat, ćapatan, ćamaka, ćapuan, ćapuan, ćo, ćisā, furthermore all "apeto" (see above) and the ranks, Luonmar, Otik, Nanāišo, Šeor, Išu tikikik, Šetin and so forth.

The seating order at festivals of tribute and consecration, are a clear expression of the social rank order of the districts and for this reason have been recorded with great care. First of all, the seating order follows, at the festival "Garbū meti" in Toloniari on April 11, 1910. As in ancient times, the important guests are in the gallery, ćumpači, which rises horseshoe-shaped around the deeper located middle area, narāś, in which the kava is prepared, and in which the Ni Gurs then had to remain. The right wing of the gallery is reserved for the men; the women sit on the left. Of the approximately fifty participants, the persons designated with the numbers 29-50 came later and arrange themselves according to their rank between the numbers six and 15, and 23 and 28. Members of the Tšopeti line are designated with (♂), those of the Šerišo line, with (♀). Relatives of the Tšopeti have, those of the Šerišo, a +. The names with out signs appointed, belong to the aramas mual, common people.

Lap en Nōt, Nanšou and Tšoukōn (Lap en Lanār) belong to the Tšopeti line, Kerōun Roil and Nan matāu en Šokes (?) to the Šerišo line. The Matau en Roil, Nan matāu en Kipār and Loare are assistants of the Tšopeti chiefs, while the Lap en Nōt is the paramount chief of this district who has jurisdiction, convenes the meetings and holds the feasts. His successor in office after his death will be the Nanšou. For the present he must provide for the execution of the orders given by the Lap en Nōt and receive the complaints and objections in his stead.
His assistant in this is the Tsoukon.

On Pālikir, the following rank order prevails:

Tšopéiti rank

1. Lāp en Pālikir
2. Kerōu ēn uen, brother of the first.
3. Amtōl en Pālikir, sister's son of the first, some 20-25 years old.
4. Nānśau en Lauāt
5. Nān kerōu en Mān sister's sons of Lāp en Pālikir
6. Mārakāp
7. Kāneki en Lauātik

Serišo Rank:

1. Nōs married to a daughter of the old Lāp en Pālikir
2. Tsō uen en Pāniāp (wife/ Emīn en Pāniāp)
3. Nanāuā en Pālikir (Wife: Naloio en Pāniāp)
4. Matau (Wife: Ina matau)
5. Nālik en Pālikir (Wife: Nālikīei en Pālikir)

The seating arrangement in the Naš of the Usaal of Uona is similar to that of the festival in Toloniar: first of all, a "guard" stands at each side of the gallery. The Nanamārikī and the priest (Tšamōro) sit in the middle; next to the Nanamārikī is the seat of the Nānekin. In his absence the Nalaim occupies it. The Nōs has no special place, because he must supervise the people.

Two seating orders are delineated for the island; Ant, evidently for different occasions and places or rather, houses. Both places are divided into two parts by a path. Each half has its own large kava stones. All places on sketch 1 (Illustration 3) are occupied by priests. (Compare Illustration 4).

The seating order in Illustration 4 in the Pei en pāk not far from the passage at the Karanuāp stone specifies the seats of the chiefs and priests. Worthy
of notice is, that spirits also have their sitting stone. The state paramount heads sit by themselves on the side of one place-half, a portion of the priests, opposite them. The second half of the place is reserved for spirits and the other priests.

The Conferring of Titles

A title is conferred thusly; when a nobleman (montap or seriło) is about to die, the nobles then assemble to bury the deceased. Then they take his title and give it to him, whom they like. Then they go home, and the chosen man now makes all the preparations in order to celebrate the festival of the conferring of the title.

In this the whole sib comes to the aid of the man. They assemble to discuss how the festival should be celebrated. If the man is rich and there are many sib members, they dig up perhaps a thousand or more yams and kill 20 to 30 animals; if there are fewer wealthy people, they dig up 100-200 yams and slaughter ten pigs or dogs. When the preparations for the festival meal are finished, the nobles appear on the spot and inspect everything. They rejoice and distribute it. Then they go home and wait to see if the person concerned dies; then they take his title and give it to the man, because he has previously given so great a festival. Thus the Ponape people had to pay for their titles. But some nobles, who are wicked and do not take care of their duty to pay for the titles; they even take this title away from another without any reason and confer it on another. These people do not feel well with them and are ashamed in front of others.

In ancient times the great chiefs had, as a symbol of power, the stone or shell axe, which after their death was put into their graves with them. The taro plant (Illustration 5) is considered as the chief's standard, mole. While everyone could decorate his head with a wreath of flowers, only the great chiefs
were permitted to wind it around their foreheads, and when a chief wanted to especially honor another, 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 nobles and chiefs kept more or less numerous servants for their personal service. They had their exactly-determined places in the house, where they had to wait for orders.

The wives of Tsopeiti and chiefs bore the female form of their husbands' titles and have the claim to the same respect. Formerly, one only saw them veiled during the day. Generally they had themselves carried to their own bathing places and it was strictly forbidden to look at them. It corresponded to the great position of power of the chiefs, that no girl was permitted to be denied to them, whatever caste she belonged to. The wife was permanently ennobled by marriage with a man of high standing; after the death the widow was only allowed to marry a nobleman, divorced women or mistresses of chiefs were not permitted to follow any man they chose, but were usually given to a relative.

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

With regard to the authority and rights of the chiefs and high Tsopeiti, already something had to be anticipated as the characteristic of the feudal system. The power is quite patriarchal, especially there, where the chief is the paramount head of the sib at the same time. He has the great fief in his district, the highest power, and supervises and administers everything. He gives vacant fiefs anew to those who appear worthy or suitable of it to him. The small liege lord, Sua mas, exercises the same rights in his small sphere of power, toward the aramās muāl, but only the paramount chief can raise an aramās muāl to a Sua mas. As long as it concerns small quarrels and complaints, the judicial power lies in
the hands of the sāu mā; all large matters must be brought before the Nanekin who administers justice for the Nanamariki. By the way, the latter, allegedly also turns to his Nanekin on account of the kind and amount, when he himself wants to determine the punishment once in a while.

At one time, the liege lord could also kill his cassal, but never sell or pawn him. He was probably permitted to confiscate the fief if he had valid reasons. From this time on, the man then lived with people of his sib or migrated with his family to another area where they took him in and invested him in a fief. Yet the vassal was not completely unprotected and at the mercy of arbitrariness. He had the possibility to complain about his master to the Nanekin, who, as the representative of the Sēriso caste, looked after the rights of the people and played the role of a tribunal. In such an event, a regular court of justice was held. But powerful sibs could prevent his attempt and save the offender.

As master of the labor of his vassals, the chief or Tōpeiti also had influence on marriage. His consent was imperative for the contraction of a marriage, and if he found that a wife was lazy, he could put through a divorce. Also in recent times, he must give his consent for all special occasions, as, for baptism.

A peculiar special privilege of the Nanekin is to give the arrangement or rather, the permission for the slaughtering of dogs, which is understandable only considering the ritual significance of this animal and appreciation for it 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 injustices and infringements of others. Just as "goodness," was one of the principal virtues of our medieval ruler, so there is no greater praise for the Ponape prince than that of generosity. Every Nanamariki greatly
applies himself to get this reputation. Avarice is regarded as shameful.

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 ancient language. Almost nothing is known about these things, except that they exist and are very important to the natives.

Not only for the individual classes of people, but for every level of rank, a strictly observed ceremonial prevails since ancient times; violations against it according to seriousness once meant certain death or other punishments, and were a frequent occasion of wars between the states. Nanamariki and Nanekin enjoy the highest honors. In the meeting house, they have special entrances for the nas. It was considered wise and honorable to call on them in the morning and inquire about their wishes.

Charm in order to gain the affection of the prince.

I dedicate my prayer to the sovereign, my little prayer;
I dedicate my prayer to the sovereign, my large 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 princess.
Only speak, you should not give me any named,
Only speak, you should not tell me anything
That afterwards I do not know, I do not know;
All my thoughts are only with you! (Nankei en Sokeš.)

Moreover, for this one was certain of a present that was not only desired for its value, but also for the honor. When the king or a person related to him is ill, the people of all or nearly all, parts which constitute a district hurriedly, and
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 it to
him.

In greeting the rank of those present is taken into account, everyone greets
those highest in rank first. In addition to this, the natives told Hambruch the
following:

If one sails past the house of the Nanamariki, one must hold the poles and
paddles obliquely and stop. The Nanamariki then sends a man to the beach who
squats down and makes a half circle with his right ram, oleta. Then he rises and
the canoe is allowed to go on. Also, those who pass by on foot must squat down
outside, sakarāl, until he sends out a man who says to them kornāl en baṭo uēi!
"Pass!" If one has squatted down in front of the chief in order to greet him,
one must wait to rise until he says Ṣta! That is, stand up. Uasāi and Nānekin
are greeted just as ceremonially as the Nanamariki, but the words sound different.

Offenses against the laws of politeness produce a great wrath among the
chiefs. Because lower persons were never permitted to offer resistance against
higher ones, it was thus dangerous to provoke them; a throw with the club or
with stones was formerly the usual way of venting their wrath. Also, when the
ruler was in a bad mood, he called for stones; which was the signal for all
present to quickly withdraw.

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

Customs of Ponape People

In ancient times the Ponape people used to be respectful toward the chiefs
as follows; no one was allowed to enter the chief's house; no one could look at
the chief's wife; when someone met a chief's wife on the path, he had to conceal
himself because he was not permitted to show himself to the woman. When someone met a chief on the path, he had to sit on the ground until the chief had gone by; then he was allowed to stand up and proceed. When the chief was in his house and someone wanted to go by, the person had to bow until he was passed the house; then he was permitted to stand up again. When the chief called someone, he had to answer in a quiet voice, in order to show respect to the chief; and when the chief gave something to someone, the person concerned had to bow, kneel down and take something from the chief or offer it to him. When the chief was angry much kava had to be brought to him and expiation must be made. When the chief was very angry, he then took a stone and threw it at the person concerned, who then had to run quickly and fetch kava and again offer atonement until the chief was satisfied. No one was allowed to eat large fish, or large pigs or dogs, during harvest-time when all trees bore fruits, no one was allowed to eat bread-fruit before he had given some to the chief; after the chief, he was permitted to eat.

The law of inheritance, gatautak, includes also the system of feudal succession, and the rank and title, because all are connected with death other. The fief, freed by the death, reverts to the Taopeiti community and the Nanamāriki bestows it again, but only in the sense that he confirms the successor conferred by the inheritance order. This is the person next-highest in rank; the Nanamāriki is followed by the Uaŋin. The position of the Uaŋin goes to he who stands below in rank and so on, so that a general promotion of rank and title holders is caused by the death of the Nanamāriki. The last rank which finally becomes free is usually obtained by the oldest son of the deceased Nanamāriki, but also only if his mother is a member of the high noble caste, because matrilineal succession prevails and the children of Vēsirō women cannot occupy the positions of the high
nobility. The rank then falls to some younger son, who among the sons of the deceased chief by the Tsopaeti wives, is the oldest. If such sons are lacking, the rank is conferred on a member of the family of the new Nanamariki. The statements of the natives with regard to this point sound very contradictory; thus, not the oldest son of a Tsopaeti wife, but rather the sister’s son of the last Nanamariki is the next in candidacy for the lowest rank. Also, according to others, the son of a Tsopaeti could never have obtained a Tsopaeti rank, because Tsopaeti were only allowed to marry women from the Seriso sib so that there would occur a continual change in the power of the castes and the grandson could never follow in the rank of the grandfather. This appears to be an exaggeration, because nowhere else is a definite rule mentioned in which a Tsopaeti was only permitted to marry a Seriso daughter. If these marriages were also numerous, they hardly become lawful. Evidently it meant “according to our concepts” the change of royal rank and noble rank taking place between the families. The royal family in Kiti is called Tipuneman, the noble family, Seriso Lipetan. Marriages of equal rank can only be concluded between the members of these families. The sons of the royal family (Tsopaeti) begot through 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 Tsopaeti wives) become Tipuneman. A Tipuniman can never receive a title in the line of succession of the Lipetan and vice versa. The Usai then only follows the Nanamariki when he belongs to the same kainak, the same sib, just as they also try to keep all vacated fiefs in the sib. It seems that it proceeds to an actual choice, when the membership in different sibs upsets the usual order of succession.

If the title holder dies, the holders of all ranks standing under him rise, and thus the sons of a Nanamariki can also come nearer to his rank even during
their father's lifetime. If the family of a Nanamarki is not large enough in order to occupy the ranks due it, the family next in rank helps out.) When rising to a new rank, the bearer usually loses all rights and the title of the position occupied until then and assumes only the title of the new rank. This general change in the large fief used to have unpleasant consequences for the small vassals because namely every new master brings with him a number of people personally devoted to him, whom he feels obliged to reward and care for. This he can do always only at the expense of the former usufructuaries of the fief, those people enfeoffed by the predecessor. Hardships and severities are not avoidable in this.

The Conferring of the Title

The conferring of the title follows by serving a cup of kava; usually they do not accept it; but rather kava is sent, in order to refuse the title (which one nevertheless wants to keep); but it is not proper to show this off outwardly. Finally the acceptance occurs. Great festivities are connected with this.

These festivities were formerly used by some Nanamarki in order to wrangle many feasts by bestowing great titles.

At the death of the Nanamarki, the Usal goes to the former's last residence and these begins to hold court. Generally he builds his own new house because the house of his predecessor is inhabited by the latter's family, whom he does not drive out.

5. The Sibs

The population, originally naturally without including the Nigurts, falls into 23 sibs, which are settled indiscriminately in all five states, and comprise the ancient castes of Tsopei and Seriso. Every sib, tip, consists of
several branches, kainak with special names, and has its own totems and deities, mostly deified ancestors who are considered its founders. Among each other, they are strictly exogamous, but the equality of a totemic animal plays no role in it.

The deceased are also included again in the tip. The internal affairs are subject to the paramount head of the sib, mésni. The individual family, penéine, despite matrilineal succession, is named after the father, e.g., penéine en Lōare, penéine en Etekar.

The sib tip en lāp considers itself indigenous.

Some of the ancient sibs have become extinct even before the smallpox epidemic (1854), others are now near to it. The names of the sibs are:

7. only two men still living
8. most strongly represented
10. consists of only a few old people
12. sib of the Naneskin in Uona?
13. sib of Nalaim en Tšokeś
17. tip en man
20-23 already extinct before the smallpox epidemic.

Four of the named sibs have acquired paramount rule. They form the group of the high Tšopeiti. But they enjoy this high respect only in their native state. These privileged sibs are the

Tip en pān méi in Matolenim
Tip ŋi mān tontol in Kiti
Lažialāp in U
Šau en Kauāt in Not and Žokeś

The Names of the Great Families

There are the following great families in Ponape: Tip en mān, which rules in the state, Kiti; Tip en pān méi, which rules in the state, Matolenim; Łažialāp, ...
which rules in the state, ꔩ and Ṣau en Kauat, which rules in the state, Ḡoŋkeš.

And the following are the Ṣerišo families: Lipitan, in Kiti; Ṣip en uai in Matolenim, Ṣip en Lūk in Ṣi and Ṣip en Lāp in Ḡoŋkeš.

The Nanamāriki come from the families of the Ṣip en mān, Ṣip en pān méi, Lazialap and Ṣau en Kauat, the Naneken, from the families of Lipitan, Ṣip en uai, Ṣip en Lūk and Ṣip en Lāp. If some other families become related to the tšoupéití by marriage, they are counted as Ṣerišo.

The head family of the state, Ṣi, is the Ṣau en Kauat; less important are Ṣip en uai, Ṣip u Lāp, Ṣip en mān, Ṣip en pepe, Létak, Ṣip en Lūk, Lazialap, Ṣip en pān méi, Ṣau en pāli, and Līpetán.

In Ḡoŋkeš the sibs Ṣau en Kauat, Ṣip en Lāp, Létak, Ṣip en mān, Ṣip en pan méi, Ṣau en Sōmāke, Nāniak, Ṣip en uai, Lazialap, Ṣau pāli en pīl, Ṣip en pepe, and Ṣip en Lūk, prevail. Of these, the sib Ṣip en pepe is supposed to have no totem.

In the state, Kiti the Līpetán sib has supplied the Nanekin for generations.

Eight names are handed down:
1. Lūk en Tamaš
2. Lūk en Rakām (legal expert, maternal grandfather of the Nānpeí)
3. Lūk en Tšakau
4. Lūk en Lānsir; also named Išōāni, Father of the Nānpeí
5. Nānāua en Mutōk (the name of a deceased which he has given himself)
6. Lūk en Tšakau
7. Retšin en Pālap

The families represented in Lānār and Param are: Ṣip en uai, Ṣau en Kauat, Ṣip u Lāp, Ṣip en Lūk, Létak, Ṣip en mān, Ṣau en pīl, Ṣau en Sōmāka.

The histories of these families are in part very old and yet alive in the traditions of the natives. They give a vivid picture of the lowered, warlike time, and of the ancient attitudes and customs.
Family History of the Tip en uai

This is the history of the Tip en uai. The tip en uai had its origin in a country which lies in the south, in Längina. A fish created them, the ray, Likandenkap. And when he multiplied, he bore men and fish. Thus they became very numerous; a fish, Naretn, stayed with them; he gave birth, and obtained a woman named Li en tīl. This woman was very beautiful. Tau Katau came down from heaven and married Li en tīl; he took her with him and carried her into heaven. Li en tīl became pregnant and bore Tau Katau three girls, that were named Lipūt, Lipotikilan and Lipaūt. Nān Dzāpue married all three women, and in addition one from the sib of the Tip en mān. Then the women wanted to work for Nān Dzāpue; the wife from the Tip en mān made a belt and the Tip en uai wives procured themselves many pandanus leaves in order to weave sailing mats from them. While they were busy with the work, Nān Dzāpue one day left the wife from the Tip en mān and went to the wives from the Tip en uai. He went to their house and sat down. Then the thorns of the pandanus leaves pricked Nān Dzāpue in the thighs. Nān Dzāpue became annoyed and angry; he took the rolls of pandanus leaves and threw them out of the house. They fell out of the heaven and fell down on Selatāx. The two wives, however, wept about their rolls of pandanus leaves. The next morning, they called the other wife and told her that they wanted to go to the earth in order to look for their pandanus leaves again. So then they left and went to Selatāx. There they found their pandanus leaves. They discussed where they should probably go. Lipotikilan said to the others, they would do well to go to the state, Nōt in order to finish the work there. The others did not want to; they proposed to go to Matōlenīm. The other wife left, and the other two also went. The woman who went to Nōt settled on Lānger and there finished a sail called Tī en Lānger; and the two others went to Matōlenīm. They came into
the mountains to Naña; from there they were able to see the sea, but when they looked out, they no longer saw any places to where they could have gone. So they went further in the mountains to the Tōlotōm; again both looked out to the sea and described a small place which was situated outside of Matōlenim. They thought they should now go there; therefore they left the mountains; they came to Tāmūro̱k to the small place of Nikauat. They wandered further to Tsamuin and landed at the beach of Ṣakāf en Nā. And continuing, they went out to the reef.

On the way the small one said to the big 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 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 gave her great pain. And the big one said, then we shall call the place here Nín Ṣan en tiip. Here they sat down and rested. Now the big one conjured up a place that it appeared. And the place appeared. They stepped on it, wandered around in it and in doing so, found the ancestor of their mother who had remained there after Tāu Katu married her daughter Li en tīl and had accompanied to heaven with him. And the woman, who was called Naretin, wept continuously because she loved her daughter so. For this reason she had gone away from Lāngina and had finally found a small place which lay outside of Ponape; here she had remained.

Now when the women appeared by her, she asked, who was their mother. The two answered, Li en tīl was their mother. Then Naretin rejoiced and said, "And I am the mother of your mother!" And they all rejoiced together and remained living next to each other. They made a love charm for Nān Dzāpue. Then Nān Dzāpue again loved the two and followed them. And so he remained with them.

And the place where they lived he gave the name, Messiel. And so he remained with them at Messiel. One day it was very hot, then he asked them whether there was any fresh water; he would like to bathe. Naretin told him that she knew a bathing
place, but it was only very small. Then he said, "she should take him there." Nān Džāpue went there; it was excellent. Then he told the little one she should tell Naretin not to be scared because he wanted to speak. The little one told this to her ancestor. And Naretin said to Nān Džāpue, he should speak by all means. Then Nān Džāpue spoke, and there was violent thunder. And a violent rain pattered down. Thus the river at the place originated. Nān Džāpue jumped into it and bathed. When Nān Džāpue 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 said to them that they would now have children; they would bear two boys. He would tell them the names already; one should be called Amtol en Ląginya, the other Nānit en Ląginya. He also told them that they should pay attention to how he enlarged the place. He thundered and half of Sélatax came off and formed Nā; and he named the place Pali a Sélatax, therefore these places are even today the possession of the Tip en ual tribe. Then Nān Džāpue wanted to return to heaven again. Later the women bore two boys; and they gave them the names which Nān Džāpue had designated for them. Then they went back to their work and made a sail, which they named I en ni Kopun. When the sail was finished, they tried to sail with the sail; they sailed over to Tip' en matgráne and sailed further to Imuń taje maui. They had no boat in which to travel, but used only the sail, which stood upright on the reef water; thus they went to and fro. Then some people had remained to sail. And after a long time they wanted to rest; they wanted to draw water at the Tolopualp, from the brook Pil en peiun. Then they again went to Na and buried the sail; because they did not want the Matolenim people to know their secret. Some days later they dug it out again and wanted to sail in the entrance with it. 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 had no canoe with it, a sail with which they again left
for Nā. There they again hid it, and no one knew who had made the sail. And
then, since then a divine service is held in Matolenim; all Tip en uai members
take part in it, because they are Śeriśos in Matolenim, because the two boys made
the beginning and their father had been Nān Dzāpue. Thus the Tip en uai had its
beginning; Nāneken i Matolenim and all other people alone understood the making
of sails, and they taught it to the other people. Now all could make sails. And
this is the history of the Tip en uai.

Family History of the Tip en uai

The sib of the Tip en uai had its beginning in Langina. This place lies also
in the south in the vicinity of Irēk, the place where the Tip en mān had its
beginning. Both left Langina and went to heaven. The Tip en uai had two wives,
namely Lūpur and Lupū. Nān Zāpue took both for his wives. Then Tisobau also went
to heaven to the Nān Zāpue, and again took the two women down. They came to
Ponape. Nān Zāpue followed them. Then the women had children. Tisobau distributed
them everywhere and gave a name to every sib branch; he named one Sau en Matol,
one Mērekērk, one Uputanit, one Sau liets and one Sau en Taauk. One woman,
however, Ināsēlām, they expelled from their community; she went into the water,

stayed there and became a ray.

Report of the Tip en Uai

The branches of the Tip en uai are...very ramified. The names of the branches of
the Tip en uai are: Mērekērk, Uputanit, Uputampāini, Sau en pōn tau, Sau en
matol and Sau'n liets. These are the branches of the Tip en uai tribe.

And now I would like to relate of the one Tip en uai branch, the Mērekērk
which I know. The ancestral mother of the Mērekērk bore two women; who were
twins. The one was called Likin'kinpue and the other Litontorepue. 

Likin'kinpue descends the Tip en mān of which one portion lives in Matolenim, another in U and Nōt; from Litontorepue descend all Palikir people.

Family History of the Tip en mān

Thus the Tip en mān began; it originated in the lagoon of Paras. The lagoon of Paras lies in the south. At that place there was something that created the Tip en mān sib, two branches, that of the white bird and that of the black bird. Then all men flew up and away. Thus arose the Tip en man sib. They increased in a land called Irek. First the Tip en mān bōtobōt ruled, and the Tip en mān tontōl served. One day they celebrated a great festival. The princes looked round at what the Tip en mān tontōl had produced. This was not good, because the inhabitants of a country named Lāmīna belonged to a foreign sib. And these always appeared and destroyed their work. But when the foreign sib came, some Tip en mān bōtobōt people said to some Tip en mān tontōl people: "Come here and sit down in the gallery." For now they wanted to go in the nārās court and serve the others; for that reason the Tip en mān tontōl today has the power.

A branch of the Tip en mān sib has the name Šān en Ėir. Two women left Ėir and came to Ponape; they were called Li en nēp and Ina tār. Now a man called Nān el lap lived in the place, Lānpuāk. And he had ordered a woman called Šēnālo to bring the women to Ponape. Thus the two women came; the one (Li en nēp) settled in Kītī, and the other (Ina tār) in Matolenim. The Matolenim woman conceived and bore a woman and a man; the man was called Lamēinūt and the woman Li matopaara.

Li matopaara wanted to eat bananas and ripe coconuts, because she was pregnant. Now there were no people except only the brother in this place. For this reason
the woman cut off her hand and threw it away. She said: "Go away, hand, go away, because 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 new the woman ate. And once again the hand crept into the house of Lameinūt, stole bananas and nuts and brought them to the woman. But one day Lameinūt hid and seized the hand. Then the woman's arm hurt very much; the rumor got to Lameinūt that the woman was ill and that her arm hurt her. Lameinūt took the hand, put it into a basket and went to the woman. He asked her: "What sort of illness do you have?" The woman replied that her arm hurt her. Lameinūt said: "Give me your arm so that I can look at it." The woman showed him the right one; then he said again: "Show me also the other, that I can 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 high in the house and said: "Here is your hand, but if it goes away to someone again and I seize it, then you must die." When leaving he said to the woman: "When you are delivered, you will bear two children, one called Tumunman and one, Kakaenūt." Then the woman was delivered and bore two children and gave them the names that the man had given. The boys grew up. They both ran away, and also their mother went with them. They arrived at Ṛṣak. There they increased and became a hundred. Now Lameinūt looked for them. And finally he also came to their residential place. The woman told her people, who were a hundred, they should hide themselves; only she and the two boys remained there. The woman had the boys bring some drinking nuts; with these they refreshed the man. The man, however, took some ripe coconuts and broke them in pieces; from this, they became a hundred and three small nuts; he asked the woman: "How many children do you have?" The woman replied, she had only two children; then the man said: "No! there are very many!" Then the woman ordered, they should assemble. They came
out and took a hundred small drinking nuts away; they were enough for the children and three remained for the woman and the two grown youths.

Family History of the Tip en mān II

Li en nēp 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 Šāu en Kiti. It remained to live there. Yet later they quarrelled and then they separated; some went on the Tol en Šāmake; they founded the Šāu en Šāmake; others went to Pān takai and Ni tīk. They were compatible until one day there arose a powerful high tide. Then they could no longer meet and bring their food together. Now they called each other and some said: "You are the Šāu en pāli en pil and we are the Lēp en pil!" Some went away and remained in Pōk; that is the Šāu en Pōk; others remained in Uōna, are of the Tip en mān tōntōl and are also named Uputenpaini; they rule in the state Uōna and bear the title Šāukiša.

Now two women lived in Uōna; the one was called Liētš en pēl and the other, Lišekel. Lišekel lived in Nēiyas and Liētš en pēl in Pānaïs. The children of Lišekel ruled in Uōna; Liētš en pēl had four sons; their names are: Lomōtš, Ramōtš, Poponā and Uaillik. And the Uputenpaini were always thinking about nasty tricks to play on them.

Thus Poponā and Uaillik went out at night in order to eavesdrop on their conversations. Then the two heard that they wanted to come on the next day and kill them. The two went away and informed the others. They answered them: "Fetch kava!" They fetched kava. They pounded it during the night. They set up a sleeping mat. There they put a bowl with kava in it. 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 day they fought against the others. Some youths
advanced to a small place named Pasëit, and Ñasoău remained in Salili; and he cried Uuuuu; then the people of Narolán were thoroughly frightened; they jumped up, threw their things away, abandoned their children, and fled to Matolénm. And Ñasoău had led them; now he gave them the titles; he named the oldest, Tsau kisa, another, Saú Uona, another, Matau, one, Tsau matau en Pon tsa; and Ñasoău gave them the name, Saú maka en Ne; then they ruled in Uona; therefore they are also named Inan uelais.

Names of the family branches of the Tip en man:
The names of the family branches of the Tip en man: eel, shark, variety of fish, shark

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 Ponape, they did not travel in canoes, but came swimming. They appeared outside of Kití and came in the entrance of Pelán. They landed in Pelán; they went in the bush and remained in the mountains of Pelán. But they increased greatly on the mountains. They also chose one of them who commanded them. Two people, however, left the high mountains and went to the district, Pelán, in order to supervise what the people of Pelán did. Then it happened that they arranged to make war on the people of Pelán. Now there was a family named Putoñ who had owned Pelán since ancient times. They had always been in Pelán and did not know that there was a great number of people who had come from abroad, lived on the mountains and who were ready to take their land from them. Thus they united, and went down into the district to make war on the Pelán people. They went down to the land in great numbers, sung songs in order to announce that the battle against them was quite near. Then they appeared and killed them. But some were able to flee to the people of Ţi where they settled. They, however, stayed in the land of Pelán and took possession of it. Then it happened that they also thought
of fighting against the district Kīti. The Nanamārikī of Kīti always lived in his palace from where he ruled Kīti in Tsapuetaka. Secretly they penetrated into the country. They sent one of them who was supposed to make inquiries about the state. The man went and stayed with the Nanamārikī. Not all of his people were with him. The he appeared, took some shell horns; then they came and killed the Nanamārikī. Then they chose one as Nanamārikī and took possession of the state, Kīti. Then all Tip en man people assembled in Uona; they agreed to continue the fight against them. So they fought them in the state Kīti. They took them captive and drove them away again from the state Kīti.

A tale from ancient times.

A great number of people set out from an island in the south in the land Palįzi (abroad); they swam in the sea and did not use anything else; they were very numerous; they landed in Pelañ, and lived 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 increased immensely, right up to this time. That is the reason why the Pelañ people look different from all Ponape people for they are of smaller stature and also their voice is different than all other Ponape people.

Family History of the Šau en Kauat

At the beginning of the Šau en Kauat, a spirit woman called Inaš en Catau stood this woman originated on Kusa; she founded the Šau en Kauat and bore children, until it had numerous members. These spread and also increased in Peibots; that is a small spot in the island group of Mārakī, a group in the
Pitt Islands. They increased at this place. Some lived on the beach, others on a hill. Once these went fishing. The people of the hill were quickly finished with it and made Sakumor. Then they heard of Ponape, and they learned that Ponape is a vast, large land in which their sib did not exist; only three tribes were there, but no Šau en Kauat. So they agreed to go to Ponape and claim their place on Ponape. Men and women united and swam away without travelling in canoes. They got into the entrance of Numenpüll and pointed to the high mountains where they wanted to remain, to the mountains of Naen Kauat. They went into the country and arrived at Kamar; thus they arrived at the place to which they had pointed. They settled at the place and there made a vast, large cave in which they lived and increased, because they married among each other; finally they left the cave, built their houses in front of it and remained in them. The woman Inas in Kusae had given them magical strengths and sent two spirit women to them, Inas and Li mot en lanh, who was supposed to support the individual family branches of the Šau en Kauat and was supposed to help them in battle. Therefore they prepared their arms, because they intended to fight the Ponape people. They made their weapons from special trees, of the Kosop palm, the Katiu tree and the Katiel. Afterwards they celebrated the consecration of weapons, a festival which is called Um en atiét. They assembled and hunted many rats, which they carried-together and roasted. Their umen atiét festival lasted for four days. They they prepared in order to begin their war, and they thought about what they should clothe themselves with, for there were only the leaves of coconut and Os palms there. Because these leaves however were too hard, they chose the leaves of the wild banana, which they tied them in a bundle and clothed themselves with them. There was a cloudburst from the heavens and a torrent originated With this stream and their water they travelled to the valley. They stopped in Kamar. They conquered it first, then they took the region, Sapalap and took all people prisoner. They they intended to go further and take the state,
Nōt. They also conquered it. They made one of them the head of the tribe and gave him the title of Lēp' en Nōt; they also arranged to make war on the district, but a man with the title, Keróu en Toropap' did not want this. So they desisted and wanted to fight later. They roused again in order to fight Tsōkēs, which belonged to the sib of the Tip en Mān, who had taken it from the sib, Lāzialap'. because the Lāzialap' had owned the land from U to Tsōkēs. The Šāu en Kauāt conquered Nōt from the Lāzialap', then made war on Tsōkēs and won it from the Tip en Mān. It also made one of its members the Nanamārīki of Tsōkēs. Thus the Šāu en Kauāt had taken possession of these two states, Nōt and Tsōkēs. The rest of the sib of the Šāu en Kauāt remained in Nān Kauāt; they then intended to mix with the other men and to increase. Some also wandered over the mountains and came to Matōleninī and there created the country of Šenipéin; there they increased. And the Nanamārīki of Matōleninī supported and appreciated them; he gave them the name Al en muan. So goes the story. For he was a friend of the Šāu en Kauāt. Some also went to Kiti and to Tsālapūk; there they remained and greatly increased in the state, Kiti. The Nanamārīki of Kiti and the Nanamārīki of Matōleninī thought highly of them and made them the guards for the places in the mountains. Thus the Šāu en Kauāt wandered over the mountains, not their protective spirits, as they eat all their totems; they are no "pēlin kātš nana," for the Šāu en Kauāt on the other hand, on this side, because the Šāu en Kauāt beyond the mountains eat their protective spirits.

Family History of the Šāu en Kauāt

How the Šāu en Kauāt began in Nān Kauāt. A woman named Inās was not a human being, but an indigenous spirit, who stayed in Nān Kauāt; there it had originated and increased. When they (the children) had become very numerous, they prepared to make war on the tribes in Nōt and Tsōkēs. Now Inās is supposed to have married a man who originated from the sib of the Tip en lāp' this man lived
in Kamār, where he married Ināsā; she bore the Šāu en Kauāt. The family became very numerous and quickly settled Kamār. But when the crowd became too large, they arranged to make war on the people of Nōt and Tsōke. Before going to battle, they organized a festival, the Umūn atīt, which lasted for four days. When they celebrated the festival, they spread out; some went into the bush from one tribe to the other, in order to hunt many rats; they hauled them home, roasted them in the fire and consumed them. After the festival a mighty rain came down. A mighty torrent arose; the people jumped in and came down the mountains with the flood; they landed at the three places, Kamār, Eireka and Meitsik. They made war on the tribes settled there, killed them, settled in their places and remained the masters. Then they went again against Nōt, conquered it and made one of themselves the Lāp' en Nōt in order to rule the state. After Nōt was conquered, they also marched against Tsōke, made war on it and conquered it. When they had taken possession of it, they likewise chose one of them who should lead the state, and gave him the title of Nanamārikī of Tsōke. The tribe of the Tip en mān who had occupied the state, Tsōke and the tribe of the sib Lāgialap who had ruled Nōt, these two-sibs were overcome by the Šāu en Kauāt in Nōt and Tsōke.

History of the Šāu en Kauāt Tribe

A woman named Ināsā lived in Nān Kauāt. There she founded the family of the Šāu en Kauāt. She lived in a house. She had many children. When these no longer had room in Nān Kauāt, they came down from the mountains to Eireka, Meitsik and Kamar, three places which they took away from the tribe of the Šāu Lāgialap. Later they went further to Nōt and built houses in order to live there.

Later they went into the land of Tsōke and fought against the tribe of the Tip en mān; they took the land away from them and also settled there. They went on to Palikir and Tomara; but soon returned from there because they did not want to live there. For the present they remained in Tsōke; from there they made raids on U
and fought there. They took their land away. Finally the inhabitants of Matolenim
helped the people of U and they drove the intruders out of Nöt. These went to
Mësenilen over the Tāu en Tsokola, where they remained, for four nights. They went
back again to Nöt. They began the battle anew and this time those of the Šau
en Kauat were victors, and the people of other tribes were put to flight.

Then they conquered Taram and Länar, which they took away from the Šau Lâzialâp.
At that time a man was in the tribe of the Šau en Kauat, whose totemic name is
Lük en Kêirak (later Lâp en Nöt), the great leader. After him no such great
battles fights and invasions took place.

(Tsoumatâu in Tsapalâp.)

History of the Tsaun and Tsaamaka tribes (Tsökeš) (D.28)

Formerly the trepang lived on the mountain Nân Tol en Šaumaki. There he had
many children. When they were grown up, they distributed themselves over the country.
The oldest with his relatives formed the Tsaun en Tsaamaka tribe; the second, the
Tip en Mâng tribe and a third, the Tsaun en Kauat tribe. The Tsaun en Tsaamaka remained
on the mountain Tol en Šaumaki. The mountain was very high and nearly reached to
the sky. One day they pounded kava. The noise disturbed the Täu Katau and because
he did not want to have it near him, he trampled upon the mountain with his feet,
so that it became much lower. Then the Tsaun en Tsaamaka also had to come down
from its height. From now on it no longer had a paramount head, but all were
equal to each other; the former chief was equal to his other sib members.

The trepang with his children were angry about this: he emigrated, entered
the sea and remained there from now on.

(Kaneki en Tomaroî.)

The History of the Sauiap. Nöt (D.8)

Once there lived a man in Jap, named Sauiap, who had a Kutoř bird. He
sent this bird to Ponape. The bird came to Tsökeš and settled on the mountain Tôn
tol láp. He remained there and observed at the people of Tsoke' below, who were just
clearing and leveling a piece of land. The bird was hungry, and he therefore
fell upon them and ate them up. He did the same in Meseniën, where he also ate up
all the people. At that time a man called Sāum en Kapin pil lived in Nān Tsoke'
who came from Mereriti. He went to Meseniën, killed the bird with a club, cooked
it and ate it.

Sāu iāp waited for his bird; he was supposed to return and report to him about
the mightily Sāum en Kapin pil. And when it did not come, Sāu iāp himself went to
Ponape. He went to Nān Tsoke' and there met Sāum en Kapin pil. He asked him for
some kave which he would like to drink. But he received the answer that none was
in the house. Then Sāu iāp put the handle of his ax uānaper in the soil and when
he pulled it out again, it had the most beautiful kava root. Then they pounded the
kava and drank of it. And Sāu iāp asked the other about the bird; then he learned
that he had killed and consumed it. "Why have you done that? Then you must pay
me for it!" Sāum en Kapín pil went out and made a new bird of stone, which he called
tirou. And he presented it to the Sāu iāp. This one had become drunk through the
unaccustomed consumption of kava, and he asked the host: "How do I get home?"—"Just
sit down on this bird, which can fly and will bring you home. But do not touch
its neck. If you should do so, it will kill you."

Then the bird flew up with Sāu iāp and in the direction of the great lēl tōn iāp
waterfall. Sāu iāp became afraid, because he thought that they would fly directly
into the waterfall. But the bird flew on the mountain Tola Kap and then further
to the Tamatam en Sākīr; the bird spread its wings wide, because Sāu iāp clung to
it very firmly, and thereby knocked a large piece, the matap en Kuto', out of the
mountain. Then it arrived at Jap; it remained there and acquired such a loud voice
that Sāu en Kapín pil, when he heard it, collapsed from fright and died.

(Nanaua en Tolkap.)
The Origin of the Lažialap Sib

Thus began our sib Lažialap. An eel created our Lažialap. He lived in the brook Lenpuš. And Lūk Nān Iāpue went to him and wanted to marry him. But the woman did not want to; then he made a love-charm. And then he spoke the love-charm for the wreath of flowers.

"I tie a wreath of flowers to soften your heart,
You shall love me, light shall be in you,
Because Lūk ties the wreath for you;
The woman belongs to the wreath.
And like the wreath, the woman now belongs to me!"

Then she could like 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 Ū. And the one was called Ilake en Pikitāk, and the other, Ilake en Šonup'. And thus is the history of heavenly origin.

Family History of the Lažialap tribe (Tšōkeš.) (D.81).

A large eel is the ancestor-mother of the Lažialap tribe which is divided into different sibs, of which the Tsaun Letau is the oldest. This eel lived in Tšapalap in matōlenim and ate people. It ate almost all the people so that finally there were hardly any people left in Tšapalap. The people did not know how they could rid themselves of it. And one day they took a lot of coconut shells, in which they cut holes and threw them into the river, where the eel stayed. The wind became caught in the shells and a humming sound was made. 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 further. When it was near the stomach the eel cried: "Be careful, I have a child in my womb." Then the shark let the eel go and did not harm it any more.
The eel went to Kūfain and there bore a number of children. These were people and they are called Tsaun en paqoucí. Then it again came to Ponape, swam through the large northeast entrance and reached Nōt, where it formed the long peninsula. It again became pregnant and bore people who later formed the following sibs: Tsaun en paqató, Tsaun li pōn tīak, Tsaun en Nōt and Lagiakauat. (Nōt en Tso kēs.)

**Family History of the Lazialap**

In ancient times a woman once went fishing in front of Kītī and found a small stone; she picked it up and put it into her fishing-basket. Then she returned home and hung it up on a roof latte in the house. Then she fetched water. And every day she had to look at how the small stone became more and more splendid and glossy. One day when she again looked at the stone, it broke in pieces and a very small eel was in it. She watched to bring up this eel. She told it to her husband. Both fed it until it was grown up. One night they both discussed that they then wanted to consume it. But the eel had crept in the soil under the house of the couple and heard what they discussed with each other. The next morning the couple went to the reef in order to fish. Their daughter had remained in the house. Then the eel appeared. He turned to the girl and said "What did you talk about last night?" The girl answered: "About nothing." However then, the eel said: "Did you not talk about that you wanted to eat me?" Then the girl said yes. Now the eel said again to the girl: "When you have killed me, then take my head, go and bury it in a hill." Then the eel left the girl. The couple came home from the sea. Both then washed in the river. When they then 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. Then they—both were frightened. They ran away. The eel pursued the couple, because now he wanted to eat the two. When he pursued the two into the high mountains, he met a man named Kerou Mānt. This man had caught many eels and had them with him and sought still more. Then the eel became afraid and hid himself. He crept into the ground at the little—
place, Šau en Lipontak. And from here originates the sib of the Lāzialāp. Then he again followed the couple and hunted them up in their hiding place under the cliff of Tinittini. The couple thus sat under the cliff. The eel climbed up the cliff. Then it broke it into two halves; when it looked down on the two, water flowed from its mouth and dripped down on the two. They looked upwards and noticed the eel. Then the two became frightened and hurried away. The eel followed them, caught them and ate them up. Then it went on and remained at the Tau en Letau in the little place, Mualinrot in the district, Etienlan. Then it ate up all the people of Tšapalap. The head ate the people in the boat, and the tail, all the people on the land. Then it became pregnant, was delivered and bore the woman Liašir. With this woman, the branch Šau en Letau of the sib Lāzialāp begins. Then the people of Tšapalap thought about what they should do, because only a few people still were left. Therefore they built a canoe and put in coconut bottles and gourd-bottles, also triton's horns; and sent it out towards evening when a strong stream and wind came down from the mountains. The canoe floated and the bottles clattered. Then 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 became angry. It began to move in order 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 stomach, it cried loudly: "Oh, woe, my children!" Then the sharks did not bite it any more. But it reached to the land, Kusae. Here it let the branches of the sib Lāzialāp originate: the Šau en Pasouei and Lāzialāp a Gatau. Then it again set out and returned to Ponape. It went straight to the state, Ū and there founded the district Nōt. Here too it founded two family branches: the Šau en pāsetō and the Šau en Nōt. Then the eel finished Nōt; it has created the district Nōt. And thus the sib of Lāzialāp spread and increased in the state, Ū and Matolenim.
Now when Ìsokalakal once appeared in Ponape, he conquered the state, Matolenim. There he founded the line of the Nanamáriki of Matolenim. There he married a woman from the sib of Légialap named Likand a Kágalal. Likand a Kágalal gave life to a boy, to Nálepi en ien. With him began the Náneken line in Matolenim. The sister of Nálepi en ien, also bore a boy, Nán Kapuei. He became Náneken after Nálepi en ien, but later he went to the state, Û and there founded the line of the Nanamáriki in the state Û. Then it happened that his sister, Likand aní, followed him. She settled in the state Û, increased and founded the Šau en pei en kôn. From her the Nanamáriki in the state Û have come until the present day.

Story of a sub-family of the Légialap Sib

A family of the Légialap is called Šau en Tamoroi; it did not live at the shore of the sea; we are like the shoots of the Kémalele grass which, wide-ramified, creeps into the bush; like the reed stalks we grew upward and formed the tribe of Û, we did not emigrate from Kusae with the other. But we did not have any kings; because Taú Katau had raped a noble woman, Likand aní. So we also call ourselves Kan en merup'. And formerly the Nanamáriki of Û were taken from us, for we originated and always remained in Ponape and did not emigrate from Kusae. And Taú Katau founded our Šau en Tamoroi with Likand aní. From it became the nobility in Û; later the Šau en Tamoroi received the name, Šau en pei en kôn, from which the Nanamáriki of Û have been taken until the present day.

Family History of the Lipetan

Thus the first Lipetan are supposed to have come to Ponape. A long, long time ago Lipetan left the island group Ratak; they came to Kusae, remained there and increased, there they frequently heard that an island lay in the west which was more beautiful than Kusae. Thus four people agreed in order to explore the place of which they had heard. They pushed a canoe into the water. Then they paddled and departed.
They were two men and two women; the one man called Akau, the other, Merâk; they did not know the names of the women. Then when they got to Ponape they thought the Ponape people would give names to the women. Thus the one woman received the name Li pe tato and the other, the name Li pêi šâh Câtau. Then came the day when they wanted to depart to leave Kusae; they gathered lipuol snails as provisions for the canoe boyage; the men also fetched water in order to moisten their throats. Then the woman covered their heads with branches; these were from the Kamôse tree. When they had navigated half of the ocean route, the sea became rough, and a wave filled the canoe with water. Merâk became afraid; he shouted loudly. Then the drinking water ran out of his mouth. Then they arrived at Ponape in the entrance named Kâp in pilap. They tried to get over the reef; that was not possible, for the canoe was too heavy. Then they made it lighter; they threw their voyage provisions overboard before Tôl e tik. For this reason, there are so many lipuol snails just before Tôl e tik in the present day. Then they went ashore; they got to the stony beach of the district of Sï'n uor named Sâkîr en tu. Now they disembarked; then Akau spit out his drinking water from this became the river Pîl en Nâh Šânoip; and the women planted the tree branches at the place where they had climbed ashore. The canoe and also the trees are still present in this place.

One of the women then married the Uašâi en Kiti; she bore him a boy. Then the woman got angry at this and carried the boy away; she went to Uona to the place TŠap uilap in the district Polēti. When the woman had come to Uona, she met a man at the place Nalgiùr in the district Poróšap'. The man then brought the news of a small prince who bore the title of Lôp en matâu en Onon šamuêi and was at the head of the small district Rôlah. And the man said to the Lôp en matâu "Sir, I met a woman on the way, the woman is beautiful, she
has a beautiful face, large feet and large arms, slender hips and a mighty seat! She carries a child on her back, that puts his feet on her seat and holds tight onto the mother's head, because her hair is very long. Then Lep en matau asked, "Well, who is this woman?" The man answered and informed him, "I do not know, sir, I was not able to look at her face!" Then Lep 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, who belonged to the sib of the Tīp en pepe. Both were not present, but were at the small place, Nalukop'. The man, however, who had met the woman, wandered further in order 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 went to the house in order to beat the woman, when they appeared the woman sat down on the threshold in order to wait for them. As the wives then 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, arose and gave them the advice, they should not beat each other any more, because he wanted to marry all of them together; then they got on with each other and were friendly with each other; they did not beat each other any more and then all married the one man. They all had children and became friends; the woman, however, became the ancestral mother of the Lipetan in Uōna.

Now when the boy grew big, Sāu Kīsā had all the people assemble, because they wanted to make war on the state, Kiti, because Nān matau en Poloān had conquered of Kiti, because the Tip en man no longer ruled, but rather the Tip en pepe, who had conquered the state and ruled it. So all people of the state of Uōna came together in order to begin the war. Then the boy said to his father that he also wanted to go with in the war. The boy stood up in front of the very great
crowd and spoke to the Šau Kisa: "I want to go to war. I will take both titles of a Nanekken and a Nalik lapalap." Then all began to march against Kiti. They came to Tšāpuetāki. There a terrible fight began. Many people were killed. The boy who fought very bravely took the Nān Šau Šēt en Pelān prisoner; he was braver than all others.) Now when the Nanamariki was killed, his people ran away. But they stopped again and chose a new Nanamariki of Kiti and gave the title of Nanekken to the son of the Šau Kisa; and to the others they gave the title of the Nalik lapalap to his brother. Thus the title of a Nanekken en Kiti was created; he lived in Rōi en Kiti until his death; then they gave him the title of a Lūk en Tamās; thus the Nanekken title came to the Lipetān sib in the state Kiti; up to the present day, from Lūk en Tamās to the present Nanekken, there have been six titleholders.

Tale of Two Boys (Origin of the Lipetān Tribe)

Once there were two boys, who lived in Kusae a very long time ago. Both were orphans; their fathers and mothers were dead. They thought of leaving Kusae, because they no longer had any family. They brought a canoe to the water and with it travelled north of Kusae. When they were far away on the high sea, they saw a rock, which appeared out of the sea. These two boys were called Šenia and Monia. When they left Kusae, they took three shells with them, the Likīn Šuān, Nān Šuān, and Nān tān en Šuān; a single one remained in Kusae, the Šuān. Now both began to jump up on the rock. Šenia jumped on the rock first, but he slid on the rock; his face was scratched by the stone. Monia said and spoke: "Now I want to jump on it." He fetched Šenia and carried him into the canoe. Then he took the Likīn Šuān shell; then he again jumped on the rock and knocked off a bit of the top. Then he was able to get a foothold. Thus he arrived at the top of the rock. Monia climbed up first, and Šenia took their paddles; he climbed after him. So the two
During the night both heard, that something made a noise outside and then appeared in the house. It was the head of a spirit, and after it a whole group came, probably about a hundred heads. Thus the house was soon full. Then they began to dance, round dances. The house was still completely dark. Then a light appeared from the hole of the hearth, the "light of the chorus leader." When the light had appeared, Mónia said to Ŝenia, that this place was really splendid (that their affair was very promising). Ŝenia then said to his brother that he wanted to fetch it. But Mónia said, "Do not go, lest you should fare as yesterday." And Mónia said, "I want to fetch it." He jumped down, took the light (the torch) and put it over his shoulder. All ghost heads were surprised, became afraid and fled. Then both left the house and came to another house where they found a woman who lived there. The woman was called Li ᵇa Ŝau Gatau. Then they learned that she was their ancestral mother. The woman gave a fish to both of them; they ate the fish, which was exactly like the fish which they had eaten on the mountain.

Now when they had consumed 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 consumed on the mountain yesterday!" They they were surprised 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 Lipetān sib; the šera 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," because it is your uncle and is called Sauipul." Both then asked her, why and where he stayed here; the woman answered, he lived in nauniap. They took the torch on their shoulder and left the place. When they left the place they saw that the leaves 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. Then they
jumped down on the sleeping man. They woke him up; 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 ḳaḵ ṭi ḳi ḳi ṭi ḳaḵ ṭil ḳaḵ ṭil ḳi aramas (woman who is able to see men), who was supposed 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 southward and then swung his hand around his head so that the child obtained a view of all places. Then he put him on the ground, took the other and did the same with him; then he gave them everything that they should possess, the places, the house, the dance and the torch. Thus they remained in the country until they were grown up and died. But Mōnia intended to return home to Kusae.

So he set out and told all the sibs that Šauipūl was their great protective spirit, to whom they gave the title Išō Kanekl, and a fish, the Šera, their totem animal.

Family History of the Lētāk

Thus the sib of Lētāk once had its beginning in Ponape. A woman called Inatītīpel came from Kusae. They tell that she did not come to Ponape in the canoe, nor did she come over the water, but wandered on a reef which reached from Kusae until south of Na; it is called Koko en Kišētik. 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 TsalātaX. One day she thought about whether she should stay there. She wandered about and came to the place, Tače. She liked this place, for the woods were beautiful, the water good and so she stayed to live here. Then she bore a girl called Limer en Kit; altogether she bore a hundred children. Another woman of her sib named Luanenam came afterwards; she also arrived at Na and followed her to Tače; both remained here and bore many, many children, about a thousand. So the place became too small for them, and they were not able to stay there any longer. At that, a woman came who gave birth in Šamoi; the woman died there. A son of the Šau Telūr
followed them and fetched them back to Matolenim, a woman, however, had remained in Tsoke; she had children there; therefore members of the Latok sib live in Tsoke until the present day.

Family History of the Putum Sib

Thus the Putum sib had its beginning in Ponape in ancient times. An eel created it, but its members were not born from the womb, but from the mouth; therefore they are called Putum šalām. They spread over the district Pelań. Then the sib of the Pip en Pepa had left Paiti a long time ago; they had settled on the high mountains of Pelań. After some time they went down to the lowland and observed the customs and habits of the people. One night they had a fight with them but were suddenly invaded. The rest fled; they settled in the state Û. There they remained a long time, until the Û people also treated them badly. Then they entered the canoes, went to Kusae and remained there. Yet it happened that later, after Tsoke had subjugated Matolenim, one of them founded the line of the Nanamārikī in Û. When he arrived, the people in Û did not know the magic charm Kapuniarañar en Maiłap. He asked the Û people about it; "Who knows it?" They replied that a sib, which had once emigrated from Û to Kusae knew it. Then the prince had to return; he went to Matolenim and travelled in a canoe to Kusae, where he found two women named Katın nam and Li Kėitam. The women taught him the magic charm. Both women said to the prince, he should go back to the state Û, because they would follow him. So the prince went there and began the line of the Naněken in the state Û. The two women appeared later, married and received the title, Likand pau. They had children by the Nanamārikī. They bore many children and spread the Putum sib. Therefore the Putum sib provides the Naněken in the state Û.

Tale of Guardian Spirit of the Li Ar Kătau sib

Now follows the tale of the guardian spirit of the sib Li Ar Kătau, called Sau ani. This spirit stayed on Takalū so that he could help the sib Li Ar Kătau,
because they lived in this place in the state U. The spirit supported it greatly; at night he appeared in the small place, Niape, in the form of a torch, when he was dissatisfied. Then Tsou matau en Takau had to get up during the night, go out and dig kava; he then had to bring it to the place where the spirit waited. Then the spirit was satisfied. When one of them was ill and dying, they brought him atonement sacrifices of kava. Tsou matau en Takau then took a beaker of kava, prayed and gave it to Sau ani. Then the people became well again. When they went to the reefs and caught a flying fish, then they had to throw it away, for the spirit did not allow this. If somebody took it with him onto the land, then 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 Takau, because if he had not previously informed the Tsou matau that he wanted to go out, he fell ill. And one other thing. Nobody is allowed to eat the two-fruited plants, neither touch nor eat them. Formerly the people of Takau 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 murof 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 år Katau Sib

Thus did the Li år Katau sib begin. There was once a Koto tree. It had a fruit which fell down and broke apart. Two women emerged, the one called Li en Katau tik and the other, Li en Katau lap. Both increased and populated Kusae. Li en Katau lap bore a boy named Nanaui, and a bird, the owl. Liren Katau tik also increased; those in Ponape who descend from her have remained here to the present.

When they were on Kusae, Isokalakal went against Ponape in order to make war on Matolienim. Nanaui also with his sib took part in it, and followed Isokalakal, because it was Nana paratuk, his uncle, who had formerly had come with Isokalakal. Thus they came. And the war came to an end. They settled on Ponape. When they...
When they appeared before Ponape, they travelled in the entrance of \( \text{Hu en Káp}' \); there they found many fish. They caught them by using \( \frac{1}{5} \) their arms and legs as weirs. They selected the largest fish. He scraped off its scales with his fingernail. Then he swallowed the fish raw and went to the \( \text{Iσḳalakal} \) in Pan Kātra. He stayed with him. Then he had the idea of going once around Ponape in order to seek strong kava, because he liked to drink kava. But he did not get drunk. Thus he set out in order to sail around Ponape. But he did not find any kava which makes one drunk. Finally he arrived at the place \( \text{Alōkāp} \) in Matōlenō. He pounded kava and drank. Then he became drunk. He fell asleep. The Ponape people did not like Naunau, because he boasted that he did not need to obey the Nanamāriki. So they instigated some people from the sibs of Nānua to take him out of the sea and threw him overboard. Two men carried him while he slept, into the canoe. Then they went out onto the sea. They arrived at a small spot in the sea which is very dangerous, according to Mōelāp. Then Naunau woke up and noticed where he was. He rose and killed the people. Then he jumped on the trees, because there were many trees there at that time. And 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 Paipalāp and looked out-onto the sea and saw the Nānua on Molēkāp. She flew there in order to help him. When she was near Nānua he sank. The bird wanted to seize him with its beak in order to grasp hold of him. But it was impossible; it only seized the wreath of taro leaves. Then it returned home to the Paipalāp. And there it weeps and wails at the place.

Family History of the Tip en Lūk

Thus began the Tip en Lūk sib; a woman, \( \text{Li amīn Nōt} \), founded the Tip en Lūk in ancient times. The woman lived in Palikir. She was the sister of the man who
ruled Palikir and had the title Lapen Palikir. They committed incest with each other. The people of Palikir disapproved of this deed and killed the woman. Then they threw her into the sea. She floated about in the water until she was decayed. But some part of her intestines remained. This floated to the beach. One day the Lap en Palikir had to ease nature. Then the part of the intestines came swimming, climbed up and pushed itself over the penis of the Lap en Palikir. The man was surprised at this; he took the part of the intestines, threw it away, and it fell on a piece of wood and with this floated to Ant. It remained lying on the beach and it became a woman, who continued to live in this spot. She became pregnant and bore a girl named Li en Nalpuni; increasing, she then created the family branch Sau en Ant.

When Li amun Noc still lived, she had made the Naliam fish, then the Tomo fish, and later the shark. These increased in Palikir, later they spread over all of Ponape and founded three branches, which are called Naliam, Tomo, and Sau en Ant.

Family History of the Naniak Sib

Thus the Naniak sib began in ancient times. A woman Lianuenta lived in the place, Mesir, which lies in the Ratak. Lianuenta was delivered and bore two girls; the one called Liumuluan and the other Litsgnumuluan. Both were a pair of twins; they increased immensely; then they intended to move to seek a country where they could stay. They reached Kusae. There they settled. Also here they increased until the days when Isokalamal set out against Ponape and made war on Matolenim.

A man, the most respected man in the sib of Naniak, was Nan esen. He followed Isokalamal. They made war on the state, Matolenim. They caught and killed Sau Telur. Isokalamal took his place and ruled over Matolenim as the Nanamariki.
His rule lasted very long, then Išokalakāl died. Now there was no other Nanamariki except the nephew of Išokalakāl, who was still small. Nān ēsen therefore had a canoe prepared and travelled to Kusae in order to inform Išokalakāl's mother that Išokalakāl had died, who should follow, because his nephew was still a small boy. The woman sent the canoe back and sent word to the Nān ēsen that he himself should, for the time being, take over Išokalakāl's rule until the boy was grown up.

Then Nān ēsen took the place of the Nanamariki: he ruled state, Matolenim. He also ordered some women of his sib, from Kusae, they should come to Ponape. There they increased. Then when the boy was grown up, Nān ēsen promoted him to the position. He now ruled as Nanamariki in Matolenim, and he himself was like a priest. He could do as he wanted 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; we do not know where they have buried him. Some chiefs had married the Naniak women. They had children by them; and thus they became seri in the state Matolenim.

A long time passed, then a ship appeared and anchored outside of Matolenim. The captain and his people went to Nāpali and remained there. Nanāna en Matolenim killed the captain and the crew. Later two ship travelled into the entrance of Matolenim. They made inquiries; Uasāi Matolenim came to the ships' aid. Thus they fought the Nanamariki and his people. They fled from Matolenim with their wives and children. The Nanamariki was killed, also Nanāna, who was hanged on the mast. Uasāi was promoted to the position so that he became the Nanamariki of Matolenim. Thus there are no longer any 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 (Tsoke) (D.22)

A long time ago, two women came from Jap to Ponape. They were called Limau en
tur and Limau u Jap. They had baskets with them in which many mushrooms were.

When they came to Tsokés, these became too heavy for them. And therefore they scattered them everywhere where they became stones which are today spread over all of Tsokés.

They stayed in Tsokés to live and each had a child; the one, a boy, the other a girl, from whom later the sib of the Nānēken en Tsokés arose, the Tsaun en Paialap.
(Nōs en Tsokés)

Of the Saum en Kapīn pil (Nōt). D.18

Saum en Kapīn pil lived in Tsokolā. Another man was called Saum en iāp, who lived in Jap. Both were great sorcerers and enemies to each other. Saum en Kapīn pil sent taro to Jap, in order to destroy the residence of the Saum en iāp. Saum en iāp, however, took the taro and distributed it over all islands in the west. For it he sent mangroves to Ponape in order to destroy the island with them. But Saum en Kapīn pil took them and distributed them around Ponape. Thus the island Taketik originated from the rest. Then he returned to Tsokolā and there made a great river, the Tau en Tsokolā. Great streams arose in this, which were supposed to flow as far as Jap and were supposed to destroy it. One day he threw a coconut in the stream which he ordered, "Tell the Saum en iāp, I shall never allow him to come to Ponape." . . . .

(Katali en Lañár.)

A Story from Sātuaū

Thus originated the sib of Saupuēnepik. A fish had created it; that was the muraena. The muraena lived with the people in the top of a banana tree. It made a man named Muānū. Then it climbed down from the tree. Now there was an entrance in Sātuaū between Sātuaū and Bat i Kes. The Lukunor people visited it daily in order to fetch fish. And the people became angry because they came
daily and took away their fish. One of the chiefs in Satauan named Papalap therefore said to his people, "When I die, then throw me into the entrance!" Then he died. Then they carried him away and sank him in the entrance. Then the entrance closed up. A reef arose that closed the entrance. Thus there was no more entrance.
1 1 Sau Telur is a title, not a proper name

2 Nobleman


2 Pereiro, page 101

3 1 Since then, the fourth Yar Yai has been promoted to the first position. About 50 years ago.

2 Still lives as a very old men in the year 1910.

6 1 Map of the island Ponepe (on the basis of the German Arzschafte's map Number 116, and with the use of the pictures of the Royal vice-Governor Berg (October 1902-January 1906), worked on by M. Moisel. In Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 22, 1909.


8 1 Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt, II, page 5.

9 1 Pereiro, page 102.

10 1 tsopeiti

11 1 In Kiti, rise through the father of the Tip en Lük, in influence he surpasses that of the Nanamariki.

14 1 Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt, II, page 6 and 7. The transcript is adapted to this work.

17 1 The sacred stone lies south of the passage, above the path.

20 1 According to Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt, II, page 11.

22 1 Pereiro, page 115.

25 1 According to Hahl, II, pages 7 and 8.

26 1 The * after the sib name means that the history has been intended. The * after the sib name means that the history has been intended.

2 1 The history of this sib is in the third volume.

30 1 A black basalt stone on the reef near Nä.

31 1 The island Nä in Matolenim.

32 1 Pil en Mesigl

36 1 Tsapotaki (kii)

38 1 In Kit, named Naluk en Kit. In Kit, named Naluk en Kit.

39 1 Also Putum

41 1 Gilbert islands

2 Some people remain on the beach; the fish are given to them, who then quickly bring it to the King.

43 1 "My headband"

46 1 The island Vap is not to-be-understood by Sap, but rather the whole in general which exists outside of Ponape.

49 1 In Selaax

2 8 to 10 m. high projecting rock.
Footnotes

52 1 ταυ καται is a member of Λαζιαλαπ

53 1 Kiti harbor

56 1 In addition, a title of the τσοπετι line.

57 2 Until 1910; the present Naneken is already some 60 years old

59 2 Since 1852, four of them.

60 1 Totem: ʔapake, ʔaue.

61 1 reef of the little rats

62 2 in the mangroves.

63 1 those born through the mouth

63 2 Tsουmatau is the sib's paramount chief of Li ʔar katau; in him lives the spirit, the Sau ani; dove, plant and flying fish are sacred to him and therefore taboo; in Niapei, the sacred Calophyllum trees stand, that at times shine at night like fire.

65 1 choppy current.

67 1 Tono is distributed in Matolenim.

68 1 The natives assert, that a shark does no damage to a member of the Sau en Ant. Sau en Ant is distributed in Kiti.

70 1 Majuro in the Ratak group (Marshall islands)

69 2 in one of the stone enclosures

70 2 about 80 years ago.

71 1 name of the deceased, Lük en Kašik.
II. Family

1. General Information

The importance of the family is insignificant in comparison with that of the sib. The paramount head, mek en eni, of the extended family is allowed to represent the members and small families living outside the district. In general, in smaller groups the oldest has this rank. He rules over the whole sib branch, kainak, which generally corresponds to the extended family. The more powerful and more numerous the kainak, the greater is the importance and authority of the mek en eni. He must be brave and obliging and must guard his and his family’s reputation. He is liable for the offenses of the family members and must avenge and sue for offenses and infringement of the position and possessions of the family or the individual.

Although the children are classed only according to the mother’s sib and conform to her rules as far as their claims are concerned. A mother’s caste is governed with reference to her title, yet their own father and their husband exercise full parental control over them. But it seems the mother’s brother is viewed as the paramount head, whose influence is apparent in marriage and other occasions. The statements of the natives in this respect are contradictory, and everywhere change, the loosening of old views and institutions is perceived, which apparently has set in even before the encroachment of the Europeans.

2. Marriage

Marriage laws: Unlimited exogamy is the rule. The differences of the sibs alone and not of the totem is decisive, because different sibs have the same totem, and as this is seen no barrier to marriage, voui. The formerly prohibited mixing between Tzopéiti-šerišo and Nigurts was already referred to. Furthermore,
the marriage between brother and sister, and between the children of two brothers, or two sisters, between uncle and niece, aunt and nephew were forbidden. The same is true of children nursed by the same woman, Kilikilo' juit. Infringements of these laws are considered incest; and is punishable by death. Moreover, a marriage was only valid when the chief had given his consent. The same was true of the marriages of bondsmen with regard to the master. A member of the high nobility could not be denied any girl and every woman had to be placed at the disposal of the Nanamariki on his order. The husband, by the way, retained his rights and earned great praise from his fellow commoners. As a sign, he sent oil to the chosen one. Also, the paramount chief and noblemen could order marriages of their bondsmen. Among the diseases, ringworm, kil en uai, is supposed to be considered as an obstacle to marriage, which in view of the relative harmlessness of this affliction is noticeable even more so as nothing could be ascertained in this regard about the far more dangerous diseases, as syphilis and leprosy. The women of the high nobility are also supposed to have sexual intercourse with members of their own sib according to their own choice.

Polygyny: Polygyny has prevailed on Ponape up to the recent time, although to a lesser extent than formerly. Previously the great chiefs had eight to ten wives. Common people and the poor were satisfied with one wife. The old Lap en Palikir had two wives, and his successor and nephew who ruled in 1910, three, because he had taken the two widows of his uncle to himself. The Saulik en Auaak is supposed to have possessed 10 wives at the same time 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 with their children. The first wife, or the wife from the highest caste or of the highest ranked sib, is considered the chief wife, inen moat, "sitting mother;" the others, especially when the difference in rank is
great, as subordinate wives; often as servants. They are called pakai.

In past times, polygyny is supposed to have caused many a war.

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

The betrothal of adults takes another course. A youth sets out on a search for a bride when he is about 18 years of age, sometimes also at 15 or 16, he has fulfilled all customs, like tattooing and extirpation, and has acquired possession of a title and a fief and has received a voice in the counsel. He courts on his own. First of all he sends a woman to his chosen and through this she is asked to come to him. If she is ready to do this, they then sleep together and in doing so discuss their concern. In ancient times, the courtship was often stormy as a sign of his love, he scratched her back and cheeks or pulled out her eyebrows. After agreement is reached, the suitor speaks to the girl's parents, 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 agreement with the chief in his stead. According to Christian, the young man court for some time in the house of the bride and not rarely in vain. Through a man or a woman he sends fruits and fish to the bride's parents, which they present with the words, "I bring you these presents from X and am supposed to tell you that he would like to have your daughter for his wife." If they agree, they send a similar present to the suitor's father. To celebrate the betrothal, puge saka, feasts are held on three or four evenings. The girl's consent is indispensable for the validity of the marriage. According to Hahl, she makes this known by tasting the.
food which the family of the suitor has prepared for her. In order to compel the consent of the reluctant parents, they use abduction, rukela. The disappearance of the lovers is started with great secrecy and suddenness so that no one knows where they can be found. Then the parents of the girl go to the relatives of the young man and reproach them greatly. The Nanamariki must find the couple. The found ones are commanded to come to him. A court, kopune, is held. The relatives of both sides bring gifts of atonement, tøm, for the ruler (tseu, sugarcane, and tøkakau, kava). Then the reconciliation of the two families occurs and finally the marriage. Rape, tana kisan, had legally the same consequences, but was felt to be an actual violation of law and in former times, easily led to war.

Marriage. The wedding celebration, ka popaut, takes place only three to four days after the betrothal. The binding ceremony consists of the anointing of the bride with coconut oil, len kapopaut. The ceremonial action is carried out in the bride’s house by the mother-in-law of the bride or another woman sent by the (paramount) 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, kisan, to the bride, which she or her parents distribute among those present. Then the bride’s relatives present their gifts, topikan kisan, to the groom, which he distributes in his family. During the meal, mats and belts are presented. All participants contribute to the feast and it is held in the meeting house, although not the general public, but only the families concerned take part in it. Personal presents, also belts, bark material, etc., the bride takes with her or they are carried after her.

The wedding celebration of members of the nobility and in chiefs’ 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 indispensable for making the marriage legal. Because 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 capacity as a chief, or as the bride's father.

In general, the dowry plays an unimportant role. The bride brings only her personal belongings, like ornaments, baskets, and others, with her into the marriage. The right dowry of the chief's daughter whom O'Connell received as a wife is explained by the special circumstances: As a poor, but greatly desired white man they gave him the noble woman who must be cared for in accordance with her rank and will bind the white man to the chief. It absolutely concerns an exception. She brought his land, slaves, commands, when a woman does not give her own fief, which is still section, she depends with regard to her keep, on her husband, with whom she always has joint-property. The exchanged gifts are not considered to be a brideprice for the woman.

The age of marriage was formerly determined by the beginning of maturity, at about fourteen or fifteen years of age. The man was usually engaged, also among both, the tattooing must be finished. An effort is in force to marry the girls now as early as possible, often long before maturity.

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

Fictitious marriage, group marriage, trial marriage and polyandry are not known in Ponape. But probably in former times, trial marriage was common. At least two days before the wedding, the couple had to sleep together in the chief's house. They named the custom koma onopata, i.e., "begin!" The one to two year time kale, is supposed to have been quite common until about 1860.
the spouses get along well together. The men appeared somewhat strict
to Christian, measured by 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 unfaithfulness of the wife
gave him a right to chastisement.

Indeed, the woman has no political rights, yet she can obtain considerable
influence if her personality is appropriate; thus, in Christian's time, Nalio, the
mother of the Nanpei of Kiti, was an active, smart, and lovable woman who enjoyed
general respect and popularity, and had understood how to bring many chiefs under
the influence of her son, in whose vicinity her house was. Daughters of the
high nobility could, if need be, acquire a fief and then bear the male title
connected with it. But a voice in the counsel was forbidden to them. According
to Christian, they also follow their husbands and relatives fearlessly into battle.

Adultery. Adultery on the part of the man is not punishable. His wife has only
the right to leave him for this reason. But not infrequently, she also gathers
the women of her family together and attacks her husband's mistress in order to
beat her. Until recently, adultery of the woman is considered a serious crime.

While they made hardly any fuss about it among the serfs and common people, it
was punished (even more severely, the higher the position of the wife or husband.)

Tortures with subsequent death sentence, often by burning, are supposed to have
been the usual. They distinguish in it whether the woman has gone with the
seducer of her own free will, or whether she was raped against her will. Rape
too was punished by death. If a woman ran away with a man of a foreign tribe,
murder. Only a very high blood-money given by the foreign state, nati, could settle the affair peacefully. In more recent times, two cases of adultery with a bloody and awe-inspiring which illustrate the attitude of the natives. The Fakau of the last Nanpei killed the abductor of 1/2 his wife by shooting and the wife, by stabbing. The wife of the Nanāua en Mutok ran away to Aru with an aramaū mūal. Both were fetched back and brought forward in the meeting house in Kiti. The rifle was loaded by those present and the deceived husband shot the man. He took the wife home with him and killed her there with a knife. The guilty woman, as soon as they have seized her, is brought before the family council, kopūh en sāu, and here sentenced. Usually the sentence is carried out in the husband's house. The personal act of revenge of the husband is called a lūāk.

In more recent times they usually avoid this great procedure, are less eager for revenge, and there is no bloodshed. The husband beats his wife, finally reconciles himself with her or applied for a divorce. If they choose the trial, however, in court, the parties, the adulterer, his sib and its (paramount) head and the offended husband, including his family thus appear before the Nanamariki to whom they first present the gift of atonement of kava, tōm. The families approach in a long procession, every one carries a kava shrub in his hand. After the preparation, the drink is presented to the paramount chief in the meeting house. Then he is "insen amaula" i.e., "comforted, satisfied" and the punishment is announced to the adulterer, unpleasant work, like the felling of mangroves, etc.

If a noble woman, likand, was seduced, her sib did not destroy the house of the offender but that of his sib's paramount head, probably also his canoes and plantations, and he too had to bear the punishment. If a noble woman had an illegitimate child, thus she had to marry the guilty one or was given to an aramaū mūal as wife.
The already mentioned placing the wife at the disposal of the chief, when he ordered it, was not considered adultery. Occasionally friends and relatives had practiced an exchange of wives.

In O'Connell's time, marital faithfulness was great because the woman was respected, loved her children and enjoyed all the honors of her husband. Through adultery she could only lose and she was from then on socially expelled, she risked if not severe punishment, if necessary, death. Divorce can be accomplished at any time with the consent of both parties. The man may also dismiss his wife when he is tired of her. But it is not really considered as divorce unless he must see to it that she does not marry again and must be responsible for her support. In such a case, the children live with the parent towards whom they feel inclined. The abandoned woman is called t'oua popo. In the circles of nobility, in the case of adultery or ill-usage, the marriage is dissolved with the cooperation of the men of both sibs after an attempt at reconciliation has been made. If the woman has her own property, she takes it with her, unless she has run away with a lover. She can never marry this one, even after successful divorce, for which her husband is responsible. In the case of a friendly separation (see above) the children can choose with whom they want to live. They belong to the woman's sib. If she is guilty, thus they live with the father. The statements are uncertain here and contradictory. Perhaps the views about this are undergoing reorganization.

Divorced, dismissed wives, and also mistresses of the chiefs and the tiopeiti can only enter into marriage with their permission, generally only with a relative of the former husband or nobleman.

Widows, Gri, are under strict supervision and have no sexual freedom. The levirate is not known in Ponape, but it is customary that the successor in office,
the brothers or nephews take the widows of the deceased as their wives, unless the already named rules of marriage form an obstacle to this. This custom is called rón. According to Hahl, the right to the widow can be bought. Men who engage in a love-affair with a widow are punished and were at one time, if pregnancy occurred, even killed. Widows of noblemen were also only allowed to marry noblemen, and the order for this was issued by the chief. Violations of this law were also punished. This resulted in much friction with the Christian churches. Commoner widows are allowed to remarry after a certain waiting period. Until then they return to their family or live with their sons, if 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 engaged, are instructed in sexual intercourse from 4 or 5 years of age. They give the little girls to old men so that these initiate them. Moreover they place them also at their disposal in order to give them pleasure. From the sixth year on the betrothed children sleep together. Likewise, grown-up young girls are introduced to the art of love by old men.

Exxtirpation was already dealt with in volume 1, page 371. The man is of age with the beginning of puberty, and when he has acquired his titles and fiefs and also his tattooing. The girls are not circumcised. They used to lengthen, puët, the genital lips by applying ants or by sucking. Defloration is called maipon.

Cunnilingus, namâm, is generally practiced in the corresponding expression, the active person is first mentioned. With kot mānas they describe the reverse
occurrence, fellatio. (To satisfy sexually is termed anere, the coitus movement, is called)

korei, korei. Women satisfy themselves with a banana or with yams.

The most serious insult words of the language are taken from sexual intercourse: putak hand uil en tšame! i.e., rascal, eat the penis of your father! or "pia ṭe!" i.e., your genitals stink. Pipina means evil. Because of the fact that the natives describe female genitals with pia, there is much embarrassment resulting in the church language.

Prostitution is general. Even five year old girls are placed at the disposal.

There are whores, rarana nenak or litara in every district. They are not permitted to enter the houses or participate in the festivals. Their houses, īm muil, lie in the bush and their sib must take care of them. Intercourse with them is called īpu nenak.

If a single girl, īkirep, has a child, the relatives are supposed to regard this as something wonderful, and believe that a ghost has impregnated her. The attitude is surprising, considering the moral conduct of the people, if not improbable and an intentional deception. At any rate, illegitimate children are rare, for the parents generally marry each other. They do not make a fuss about it. Formerly "ipunenak" i.e. born out of marriage, is supposed to have been an insult. The children are taken into the mother's sib.

Before marriage there is complete freedom in sexual intercourse. It means no disgrace for the girl. They first expected faithfulness in the marriage (cf. page 75). In olden times, of course, they had to observe the divisions of the castes or, what is more probable, the women of high nobility must be reserved; in any event, perhaps limited to members of their class.

Love life is aided by love charms.

Love charm to Win Women

I twist the tsie flower in my hands, the leaf buds mekeyo, mekeyo.
They called during the day, they call during the night,

Win the heart of the woman

Prepare and smooth the mats.

Between Yap and Kusae!

Stimulate her, the woman on the mountain of Yap;

Quickly lie down on the ground, stretch your legs,

Come sweetheart, come quickly!

Love-charm

At night comes the tortoise, at night it comes here.

You should go, go a short while,

You should stay a long, a long time.

Girl go backwards, backwards on your heels,

If you come again, go forward,

Forward on your toes.

Go away, come again, go away, come again,

Sit down and do not move!

(Nānkei en Šōkei)

Love-Charm

Cuttle-fish, hold tight, cuttle-fish from the deep water,

Hold me tight and embrace me,

We want to embrace each other like small children,

We want to hug each other, very, very tightly.

Love-charm dwells in my mats,

In the sleeping-mats, as in the likinonq:

(Lāmpōi en uardjáí)

Love-charm

Cuttle-fish, hold tightly, cuttle-fish, hold tightly

Cuttle-fish from the deep water.
Hold me tightly and embrace tightly.

Let us sleep and not move,
We want to move close to each other, near and tightly.
Arms hold tightly, legs hold tightly,
Tight like the corals,
Tightly, tightly, quite tightly!

The following is a warding off charm:

- Charm of the Nān Sau en šet (Marriage charm)

There is a spirit, who is called Nān Sau en šet; he likes to steal woman in order to marry them. And when he has married a woman, she will no longer love her real husband. Then they give her a medicine (from breadfruit and ginger roots) and say in addition:

Only go away from here,

Only go away from there,

Nān Sau en šet!

Only go away Nān Sau en šet,

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,

Go away into the water, sleep in the water,

Or go to the dry land, sleep on the land.

Vanish Nān Sau en šet,

Vanish, Li on en Meilen,

Remain under the island of Ant.

Travel in the daytime, travel at night,

Spirit, get away with you, go to your place,

Spirit, get away with you, desist from the woman,
Lovers

Get away, only get away,

Get away into the mangroves.

Remain under the land of Kēpara Oloșa!

Travel at night, travel in the daytime!

Spirit, get away with you, go to your place!

Spirit, get away with you, desist from the woman

Lovers

Get away, only get away,

Get away into the mangroves,

Remain under the island of Nālap

Remain under the island of Namau

Remain under the island of Laiap

Remain under the island of Roș

Remain under the island of Paniau

Remain under the island of Nālap en Lōt

Remain under the island of Pōnatik

Remain under the island of Nān i puēl

Men and women sing coition songs. Here is an example:

Coition Song
(The man sings)

I sleep alone, separated from all,

And still I want to go on before I die.

I want to think of my distant lover,

But I must conceal it.

My lover, she sought others.

I had to try many other loves.
Yet none was like you, whom I had;

I am sad, I have pain in my heart.

Coition Song (The woman sings)

I go down to the beach.

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 upon the high rock.

I saw my lover come, I must turn my face away,

For he avoided me, went to another.

You have broken love to pieces; you have burnt my soul,

My dear little man does not love me,

Broke love and faithfulness.

(Lámpoi en uardjáit.)

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)

Endlessly I think only of you,

Of what we did.

Should I say that I am no bachelor,

That I name a woman my own?

Then I will not win your heart again,

For we all?
Would like to do
Do you want to do like Limeiteiap!

Who was not afraid to go with the people of Puñik,
Went with her lover down to the earth. (Lampi en uardja.)

Jealousy, ni melmek, is easily aroused, often when a woman merely speaks with another man.

In spite of the easy morals, they strictly observe specific rules of good behavior. Thus it is considered very indecent to disturb a woman when she is bathing or-to-look-at-her. If a man is obliged to pass a place where a woman is bathing, he thrown a marked piece of wood into the water and let it drift downstream so that she notices it and can draw back. It is also considered thoroughly indecent if a man in passing a woman grabs under her apron and touches her.

4. Pregnancy and Birth.

(In order to cause conception, the following charm, which cannot be completely translated, is recited.)

Charm for Conception

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

? ? $\tilde{\omega}/\tilde{\omega}$

The natives are completely clear about the process of pregnancy, as the description on page 83 shows. During this time the women enjoy great consideration and the best care. As far as possible, they try to fulfill all their desires and wishes.

During the months of pregnancy, all sorts of prohibitions exist for the husbands and closer relatives; the non-observance of which would be fatal for the child.

First the husband must live and sleep apart.
Although he does not always go to a special house, he must, at least, limit himself
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, are not permitted to cut their hair until the delivery
because this would cause the death or sickness and fragility of the child. The
woman must carefully avoid the sun. She protects herself against its rays with
banana leaves. Looking up to the sun causes a difficult birth. Shortly before
the delivery, special conjurations are again made, which are called meslet.
Moreover, a wood block is brought into the house, which is lit during the birth.

At the same time, the whole family gathers for a great festival (kamatip), the
kambri kasap, in which the expectant mother perhaps does not even once more take
part.

They maintain neither to know nor to practice abortion. Yet it is certainly
the case. They are acquainted with medicines whose use they maintain prevents
permanent sterility. An abortion is said to occur not infrequently in the first
year of marriage when the woman takes abortive remedies, kian vivi suet, such as
kava. This in connection with a massage which follows, patseri, of the uterus is
said to have an abortive effect. Presumably the prohibition of kava for women

goes back to this understanding; they were only permitted to partake in complete
secrecy. Although it was not punished, it was considered as highly improper.

Because of the great wish for children and the scarcity of illegitimate births, as
lovers usually marry in the event of pregnancy, it may well be assumed that the
natives hardly intentionally practice abortions, and in this sense, their
assertion not to know it may well have validity. They certainly consider the action
as 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, turned outwards, and is supported by the female helpers. If the birth is delayed, they have recourse to conjurations and massage. Interventions they do not know.

The umbilical cord, *puta*, is tied with hibiscus fiber and then cut with a bamboo knife, or falls off by itself after four days. They place the separated piece in a mussel shell in the sun and hand it to the father. He immediately brings it to the top of a coconut palm or breadfruit tree. The tree—now the tree—on is called "tree of the child" and represents its first possession. According to Hahl, a magic is also exercised through this, the child will show great skill in climbing. The afterbirth is buried the same as all other human secretions and blood.

The newborn child is carefully rubbed with warmed leaves. Immediately after the birth, a coconut is knocked open alongside it in order to awaken its hearing. As its first food it receives the squeezed-out juice of a coconut, which is mixed with ginger root, then the mother’s breast and after only ten days, food of *mak (coconut)* bananas. If the mother still should have no milk in the first days, another woman gives her breast to the little one. In a certain sense, she is then considered its mother and can, in certain circumstances, also adopt the child. In each case, this child and her own result in milk-siblings in the children call each other brother and sister, give each other fruits, fish, etc., throughout their whole lives, and are never permitted to marry each other. Love affairs are of course also forbidden. So that the woman in childbirth obtains abundant milk, they place many water vessels around her couch and she is constantly urged to drink, which bloats her greatly. Food is offered to her day and night.
Formerly, the father is supposed to have observed a couvade. No longer is any trace of this custom found. He is allowed to cut his hair again after the birth. For three or four months still he must abstain from his wife. Intercourse outside marriage is permitted to him in this time. Yet then he is not allowed to touch his child. It means danger to its life.

Four days after birth the child receives a name, which is chosen by the parents. They name it after good friends. Male children they name after events, animals, fish, plants and objects; female names are less numerous and very old. Partly they cannot be translated, or are without meaning, because they also choose three or four syllables from the names of friends or from old sayings and put them together. For example, uorsakilan i.e., heaven's opener. Later the name is displaced 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 individual case, the deities are determined by divining.

The natives describe the events of pregnancy and birth as follows:

Of the Birth

Thus the Ponape women take care of themselves when they give birth. A woman becomes pregnant. After this the woman feels sick. Then she does not want to eat many food because she must vomit it; she always wants to eat other things. The people give it to her, so that she always has something to eat. But the woman still must always belch. Then, in the month when the woman does not menstruate, she is pregnant. Then the blood forms the child in the womb of the woman. And when five months have passed, the child moves in the womb 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, because the woman gives
birth after nine months. Then the women fetch a kind of oyster from the reef, which
the young mother is supposed to eat so that she gets milk. For four days they give
her the oysters. And on the fourth day, the umbilical cord of the child falls off.

At the woman who has given birth, they used to light a fire on the day when the
child would be born; this is not blown out until the child can creep; then it is
put out so that the child does not burn itself in the fire. Then they also used
to drag a log of wood, the "bone of the child," into the house where the child
is and place it beside the child. When the child can eat, this wood is used in
order to prepare the child's food. During the month of its birth, the women wash
the child in the house; in the following month it is washed outside the house.

And when three months have passed, then they carry the child into the running water;
this custom is called river bathing. The women, who know charms, carry the child
to the bath in order to bathe it. And while they wash the child, they say:

"Now I bathe in the leaping, in the running, in the beautiful water.
Go away now, you evil from my child!
Return now, you good to my child!

Thus I bathe in the leaping, in the running, in the beautiful water! a uē."

Another bathing charm for children:

"Now I bathe my child in the great river of Kiti,
Wash, wash, wash out the evil,
Wash well, wash better, may the skin become beautiful!"

This occurs with 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; and
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 details were learned about-this; the biological
father has the direct power over them. There is no detachment for the
possession of children within families or sibs. Adoption, even when the real
parents are alive, is frequent. Adopted children have the rights of children
cared for by the relationship with high relatives. The raising of children of women of lower castes by the relationship with high relatives was already reported on page 14. There are no unfree sons.

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. They instruct and
occupy them, and observe their games with pleasure. Love and respect for age are
demanded from children, which is in general, gladly adhered to, especially when
wisdom and rank are connected with it. The absence of filial respect is perceived
as a heavy offense and brings disgrace and punishment of the ancestral spirits.
The family takes the meals together, except when guests are present. In this
case the men eat separately.

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

6. Kinship and Friendship

The families support each other a great deal, which becomes clear in the
actions that family members support each other. The mother-in-law is
considered as a sister and is highly respected. No one is allowed to speak badly
of his mother-in-law or even listen to such talk about her. The woman has the
same obligation toward the son-in-law. If someone hears something bad about a 
close relative, he must cut his hair short, as in times of mourning. It is considered 
cruel to punish or mistreat a member of the family.

The most important kinship terms are:

Father

Mother

Brother, sister, siblings

Close relatives in general

Siblings of opposite sex refer to each other with a special term during ceremonial 
occasions, with a special term

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)
Sister's children of a husband's sister

Woman's oldest brother's children

Sister's children, "fruit of the womb"

Brother-in-law (wife's brother)

True blood-brotherhood is not known on Ponape, but friendship bonds are probably concluded which apparently can also play a role in blood-vengeance. The following charms are supposed to be friendship charms, but they sound more like a love charm.

Friendship Charm

Like me, like me, smile, smile,

The pandanus begins to ripen, which is the pandanus,

The fruit is ripe.

The pandanus begins to ripen, which is the pandanus.

Ripe is the breadfruit.

My little fish, eat of the copals,

Give me girl, give me girl,

Untranslateable (says Opataia).

Untranslateable (says Opataia).

Friendship Charm of Olubat

In the water Kaikai

Ear ornament rank of Kaikai

I am a mânar, a mânar,

A mânar, a mânar.

Little woman and Olubat,
Olubat thrust
er to the heart of the other,
Little woman from here,
Little man from there,
They are glad, they want to be happy.
'All like' yo,
The Kerou'n Palievet
The Kaneki en Sapalatak,
Put another ginger blossom into his ear!

Hospitality is not law, but a generally observed custom.

7. Death and Funeral

Death: The natives await death with composure. Pereiro says that when a kanake is seriously ill, festive and feasts are celebrated, which are thought of as festivals of supplication for the recovery of his health. Shortly before death, the dying person is carried once more into the sea water. His fingernails are cut and cleaned. In ancient times the wife is also supposed to have slept with him two or three times. As a last caress and farewell greeting, the couple practice cunnilingus or rather, 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 go free. When the end appears to be immediately near, all relatives and friends assemble in the house and stand around the bed. Everyone presses as near as possible in order to touch the body. In doing so, keep the air in the stifling room from the dying person, so that O'Connell believed that death was often caused by suffocation. If the death throes last too long, they try to shorten it by pressing the body. The person is considered dead when he no longer recognizes his relatives. In view of such a notion it is indeed not
surprising that O'Connell believes that a man could probably be buried still alive.

Also, they have a magic charm to awaken the dead.

Charm of Zoupeiasas

(In order to awaken the dead)

Tanawas looks down, looks down on life.
Kere, (Kere) become alive, become alive!
Stand up, support yourself on your elbows.

Tanawas looks down, looks down on life,
Stand up, support yourself on your knees

Tanawas looks down, looks down on life,
Stand up, support yourself on your arms
Stand up, support yourself on your legs

Tanawas looks down, looks down on life,
Stand up, with your whole body!
I see you become alive, become alive
Zoupeiasas as living.

In the hour of death, the female relatives raise a loud crying and weeping.

Already with the certain prospect of the end, the death shrouds and the 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 around his neck and wrists. Coconut leaves are rustled in front of his ears, so that he hears Nan Tapue, the god of thunder. A man is wrapped in a piece 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 this time, the relatives and friends surround it and weep over it. The women in particular squat beside it and
weep and wail. The Christians 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 was raised a loud lamentation, as in the house of death (Vol. I, page 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 loincloth, women a new apron, anointing oil and a fish head (cf. text 346). Because in the next world, the same festivals are celebrated as here on earth, and these are the things that are brought for them. Moreover, some adults receive all their clothing in the grave. Children receive small bags with brand new clothing. According to O'Connell, paddles and weaving tools were also put in. After that the priest, with secret prayer formulas, puts a large stone or many small stones on the deceased's breast. That is supposed to prevent him from returning and possibly taking some of his relatives with him.

According to Hahl, it is a holy stone to which they first pray and which procures eternal rest for the deceased. They believe namely that the spirit of the deceased would come from the other world in order to take his body over. In addition to this, the spirit and in order to fetch relatives to keep him company. Moreover, it could cause damage for other reasons, e.g., as revenge for wrong suffered in this world.

As a reconciliation for this treatment, various sacrifices are later made, which are eaten by the participants at the funeral feast: kava, pigs, tortoises, fish, and tobacco. During the laying of stones, the following charm is said:

At the Consecration of the Dead, when the Stones are laid on the deceased:

Dead person, dead person, dead person, dead person,

Spirit of the dead go away!

Spirits, come here,

Spirits behind heaven,
Spirits from Terep'

Spirits from Pik en Tsamoe, 

Come and quickly take this man with you, 

Take him to Ant! 

Spirit of the dead, mañi, do not move, 

Do not stand up, do not make a noise, 

Go, you are good; when you are away; 

We cannot follow you on your way! 

Charm to Banish the Dead 

I put you slightly into the grave, for a little while 

Now I put you deep into the grave, 

And still much deeper I put you into the grave, 

(Name of the person concerned, ) 

Now wander away, 

Away among the region Aru, 

Appear again on Pan en Ant, 

Because you are not supposed to come back here. 

So I put you slightly into the grave for a little while 

And put you deep into the grave too! 

Funeral: the custom demands that a dead person is buried 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. The old chief (of Not?) was even buried during the night by torchlight. When a chief dies during the day, the people no longer have a paumil, because the new chief has not yet been consecrated; therefore, as a precautionary measure, he is not buried until night. Because a funeral feast follows the funeral, the people are not free and therefore unable to make all
sorts of mischief, which they could do if time remained at an earlier funeral
during the daylight and a punctually ending feast. Thus they must wait until the next day and then a successor is already there, who already holds
the funeral oration at the funeral feast and deters them from it.

If the deceased was greatly loved, they probably buried him in a deep hole inside his house. The person who had loved him the most in life, from now on sleeps above this place. Otherwise, the dead are buried outside the dwellings yet in the vicinity of the houses. A pit, two to three feet deep, is dug. All present, with the exception of the people who lead the funeral, sit around and weep and cry until the body, i.e., the coffin, is again covered with earth.

After this they leave the place. Not all women attend the ceremony at the grave, or rather accompany the funeral procession. The stones which are unearthed in digging are put aside. The pit is lined with mats and banana leaves; before the coffin is lowered. The earth is piled up over it by hand. The stones are put on the coffin, or a pyramid is built over the grave with these and others fetched from the earth. The ceremonies at the funeral are either pagan or Christian. Thus as the grave is closed, the women raise lamentation, a dreadful howling.

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

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

Family members and friends who could not be there at the time of the death and funeral weep all day over the grave upon their arrival. Two or three days after the death, they also perform nightly prayers there. Then they devote themselves to eating and pleasure. The usual mourning time formerly was one month. Each day, the hour of death was consecrated by lamentation. Pereiro observes with regard to this, that after two or three months, no one thinks of the dead anymore. This probably might be a misunderstanding on his part, on account of the fear of names. In any case, in O'Connell's time there were regular memorial festivals. (Cf. Vol. I, page 40).

As soon as the body is under the earth, all men meet and catch the livestock of the deceased, slaughter it and distribute it to the mourning community, especially the sib. The nobles and chiefs receive the most and best part of this. The rest of the afternoon is passed with lamentation, weeping and crying. Slowly this changes into laughter and they sit down for the funeral feast. Towards evening, however, the women begin to cheer up the men in which they demonstrate orgiastic dances like tarak and tuk en mon. The festival ends in sexual debauchery of the crudest kind.

During the meal the usual strict order of rank is missing. Each 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:

Funerary Feast

The Festival for the Dead

When a Nanamariki has died, then all gather and celebrate the festival of the dead for the Nanamariki. Then a huge earth oven is prepared, the largest yam
are dug out and many and large animals are killed; they also fetch large masses of fermented breadfruit from the pits, which were destined for the prince, and fetch all the possessions of the Nanamáriki. This is all brought to the meeting house to the spot where the high title-holders meet and prepare to choose a new Nanamáriki. All the things are piled up in the meeting house, then they stand up and take their share and do not wait for the things to be distributed. Then the kave is brought; it is pounded; it is wrung out and the first cup is handed up.

The Naneken then takes one of the cups, rises and announces all high titles. Then he asks the Uasáí to come here and sit down in the place of the Nanamáriki. Then the Uasáí is put on the board on which the Nanamáriki used to sit. The Naneken then places the kava cup to his mouth; he drinks; then the Naneken informs the crowd that there is a new Nanamáriki. Then the Naneken again takes some cups and distributes them among some title holders who receive new titles. Then all accept the new title. With this the festival ends; they scatter. The next morning they meet again and organize a festival, the Kapás v már. All title-holders there receive their shares of the Kapás v már; they bring large kava shrubs, kill fat pigs, prepare many dishes. All people then eat until they are full. Next all gather, sing heroic songs, and rejoice that they have a new Nanamáriki.

After the funeral, certain other customs are carried out at the grave. The natives take a coconut and a coconut leaf sheath, káue, which they place under the nut. Five days successively 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 in order 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. If a bird eats of them, they believe that the ghost of the deceased has become a bird which fetches the fruits and the relatives are happy.
about this. They also probably place ornaments with these gifts. Some also
built a little house over the grave and the closest relative of the deceased
must sleep in it for five or six nights. Afterwards the house was torn down.

(O'Connell; vol. I, page 40). The burning of the coconuts and a kava festival
forms the resolution of all these ceremonies at the grave. 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 first became known through O'Connell.
His description applies to Kumunlai and Meseniön. The stone walls and palm groves
of these places thus receive a natural explanation. At one time, memorial festivals
under the direction of the priests were also held here.

The names of the dead are not permitted to 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 name aversion is very
far-reaching. For example, the Saulik Auak flew into a rage each time that
someone pronounced the name of a certain bird, because his dead sister coincidentally
had the same name, and the naming of this word disturbed her peace.

Through O'Connell also another, long-forgotten custom is known, which
otherwise is proven in Tahiti: the haunting of the dead, i.e., the haunting of
the priests who represent the dead and severely harass the living, as if the dead,
through their person, wanted to take revenge on the living for many a suffered wrong.
(Cf. vol. I, page 40).
1. Cf. O'Connell in addition to this.


3. It concerns the removal of the left testicle.


6. Christian, page 73. The rubbing of the shoulders and the back of the bride is called keieti or anointing.


11. According to Girschner, (Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, 1904, page 24) the uterus is called pia; the female sexual parts, pipi-a.


13. The flower, which people im-love-stick behind their ear.

14. A type of balsamine, which is turned by the speaker in his hands; from it goes the strength to win women.

15. For-laying eggs.


17. A fish that holds itself very still, so that one believes that it sleeps mostly.

18. Sister of Nān Sau en set; she is called, so that she calls the Nān Sau the contents of the magic charm when he is absent.


20. Cf. in addition also the list of plants by Christian, page 332.

The natives still in 1910 remember the beautiful, white lady (albino or half-blood) which O'Connell mentions (part I, page 52).

i.e., we want to become friends

Pereiro, page 133ff, where death and burial are described in detail.

Cf. test 373.

A woman

Cf. Text 373.

Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt, II, page 3

Also, the sharing of old death customs would provoke him to this, they explained to Hambruch.

Name of the person in question.

Pereiro, page 133.

According to Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt, II, page 4, the tarak is danced at the festival of uanarin tarak, to the coconut festival (tarak = coconut); thus called, because in doing so, a nut filled with oil is hung for the deceased on the fire. After theoggies, it is shook in the flames by the leader. The festival takes place some time after the death for the young men and women of the tribe.
III. Religion and Cult
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1. Gods and Spirits

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an approximately clear picture of the religious ideas of the Ponape people. In spite of all labor, they were only able to obtain a vague idea of it and snatched at fragments which they hardly knew to interpret. This is especially true of Pereiro's works, who, however, was quite aware of the inadequacy. He says: "From the little knowledge which I was able to acquire due to a lack of time, it becomes clear that they had no sort of religious beliefs until recently. This is proved quite clear by the fact that they possess, in their relatively rich language, no word in order to express the idea of god. Only the flash of lightning, which is not very frequent here, they regarded as something supernatural which they fear but do not worship. This, however, does not prevent that they have, secondarily, some superstitious notions and believe in a kind of sorcerer, whom they call "ani".

Pereiro then discusses totemism which will be described later, and concludes...

"I am not able to add further to such an interesting question. But I believe, without a doubt, must be richer."

As is clear from the following explanation, he recognized two sides of the people's beliefs, the belief in nature deities and in the demons. O'Connell understood, however, as the core of the animism of the Ponape people, that which ends in the ancestor cult.

In more recent times, the investigation has become still more difficult, because Christianity has displaced the old beliefs and has made the anyway uncommunicative informed persons still more discreet. What the natives relate is scanty. 
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Pereiro then discusses totemism which will be described later and concludes . . . "I am not able to add further to such an interesting question. But I believe that the religious notions of the people, as compared with the Polynesian peoples, without doubt must be richer."

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History of Ponape

In old times, God was not worshipped, for nobody knew about him; some worthless spirits were prayed to; they said that these spirits were very powerful; they were called ḏi uōts (autochthonous spirits), for they are supposed to have sprung from themselves, they were not begotten, but they were extremely knowledgeable in magic; they burst apart rocks and put them together again at their command; they made people sick and killed them, also made other people healthy again; the belief of the ancient Ponape people was really not genuine, for when the ships of the Europeans appeared in Ponape, they believed they were spirits who had left foreign countries and travelling in ships had appeared before Ponape; because they had not yet seen any foreigner, and therefore they were afraid.

The religious notions of many younger people are in part already faded and confused. But it seems also that the notions, probably separate in the beginning, had begun to mix already before the intervention of the missions, and also the initiated had contradictory notions of the highest beings. Obvious elements of different religious notions have mixed with each other on Ponape. From the confusion of information given by old priests and experienced old men under the fear of the punishment of the spirits, the following can be revealed.

They believe in two groups of supernatural beings: in the eternal gods who were not created, ḏi uōts, and the deified ancestors, the ḏi aramas. Over-all, however, a highest being rules, a deity whose name they do not know (!).

Already with the highest god, the difficulties begin of penetrating into the religious world of the Ponape people. Old priests explain all gods, e.g., the god of thunder, Nān Zāpū, and Taū Katal, a god of fertility, are only designations for the different activities of the one highest being. All manifestations in nature as thunder, lightning, and growth are Luk, and equate this Luk quite obviously with the highest being. Because Luk does not speak, and does not move. If he spoke or
On move, the world would collapse together from it. They also call him Luk an Lan or Naluk en lan, 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 who, beside the god of heaven Rugeiren, also recognize Rugedada, the sea god, probably also only another form of "Luk." It must appear more confusing, that besides Luk en lan there is also a Lugeilen on Ponape. To judge by the words, this can again be only a variation of Rugeiren. This deity, who is called a "little deity" they consider as a war god, and pray to him, so that he would not allow any foreigners to come to the island. Lugeilen always comes only via the sea to Ponape. From all this, it is a matter of a division of the original integrated conception of god or rather a fusion of different conceptions with which the initiated themselves helplessly and confusedly are faced.

The other source of uncertainty and division that lies in the fact that the originally pure gods of heaven, the deified forces of nature, have later become connected with the tribal legends. The one or the other ani us has had an affair with women of the individual sibs and has become an ancestor. With that the border between ani aramas and ani us is crossed and a strict separation is no longer possible either for the feeling of the natives or for the spectator. The ani us here and there become tribal and local deities and next to their original tasks of producing the phenomena of nature, receive new tasks, foreign to their character, which actually belong to the ani aramas.

The high deities of heaven, ani us, are Tau katau, the rain god (katau = rain), Nan Zapue, the god of thunder, Nan tenuen, the wind god (inen = to howl), Naluk en ur, the god who makes the head lightning, Nan Zarai, who makes roaring of the thunder, and Naluk en tsou en pon, who lets the thunder roll in the distance. It is then for every phenomenon, which may not even be regarded as separate by the European, such as lightning, quiet and loud thunder, a special deity is created.
— They believe that these gods visit Ponape only from time to time and are busy here. Tau Katau hangs the very small breadfruits on the tree and makes them grow. The speech of Nan Zape is the lightening, his cough, the thunder.

Besides these high deities of heaven, they have a large number of less important inhabitants of heaven, named 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 Zape

keep all evil away from me, the evil forces and powers.

There seem to be as many minor gods as there are natural phenomena and processes. Nan Zelang is invoked when fishing and for the growth of the breadfruit. Nan Oloko is the deity of housebuilding, Sopatu causes the typhoon, Isopau, the burning lightening, Likant en kap, a ray, causes the surf, Gatin en nuor keeps the waves away from the beach. Nan Isopau and Lukalapalap have the same tasks as the above named Luagilen. Also, the gods of music are counted among the deities of heaven: Nan Imutik, the god of the drum, and Nan Imu lap, the god of song. In addition, there are three others, whose tasks were not ascertained: Nan sau uel, Nan a pak and Nan a poin lan.

Nan Zape is considered the ancestor of the sib. Tip en pan mei in Matolenim. He is related to the sib. Lajialap of U through the abduction and impregnation of an ancestor woman to whom they attribute their origin.

Through this, these gods of nature have become state gods in the districts mentioned. Luk en tsou en pon was worshipped in Kiti by a numerous priesthood.

They teach about the origin of the heavenly deities: Nan uel with the woman Limengit begot Nan uel. The latter married the woman Limentsanietuk, and she bore the rain god Tau Katau. Tau Katau created the god of thunder.
Nān Zāpuē. On Ant, he is considered the same as Tāu Katau and is supposed to have come from Kusae (Katau = Kusae). He spoke and the god originated. Tāu Katau supervises all deities and married the flowers from which the "āl en 'er" (?) is made. (From this sprouted other deities.) His wives were: Li péin pār, Li péin pūr, Li péin kātī, Li péin gākās, Li péin uaingāl, 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, pains in the body or head. Counter-magic helps.

Besides the named deities, the Ponape people also know some who are found in the Carolinés under somewhat different-sounding names. Olaitin is worshipped under the name of Nān uelaitiu as the gods' messenger who carries out the orders of his father, Lūk. Also, Ilake and Orofat are known to them. The latter is named Olopāt by them and is mentioned in some conjuration-formulas on the island, Ant. But he never had a place of worship on Ponape (cf. p. 89).

Report about the Great Deities

Here are the gods who are worshipped on Ponape, the Ponape people believe in Nān Dāpue, because Nān Dāpue is a very powerful spirit; because when Nān Dāpue no longer speaks, Ponape will be destroyed. Formerly in ancient times, when Nān Dāpue did not speak, the people were afraid and went to Nān Dāpue, so that he again continued to speak, they brought much kava, pounded it, and prayed to Nān Dāpue. And when Nān Dāpue spoke again, then they were glad, because now Ponape would not be ruined. They also believe that there are many spirits besides Nān Dāpue; thus they believe: Lūk Nān Dēpue is the oldest, Nāluk en Tsounpun is younger and Nāluk en Nār is still younger. But these three are the most powerful spirits in the heaven.

Further there are some spirits; they are called original spirits, earth spirits: Isōsau and Isolampoi, Isq Kaneki, Išo nān mōnsir, Tāu Katau, Nān putāk,
Išu pāu, Nān ʻau en ʻet, who lives on the reef, and Ua ʻau ʻo ho ʻiae his-residence on all low islands. And the following spirits are mentioned: the spirits under the stones, because these were formerly people and from their souls, became the spirits under the stones. Their names are Lūk Olopāt, Iśokākāl and Lūk en lān.

In former times the Ponape people did not eat any very large fish, birds or tortoises, because otherwise the chiefs would become angry and pray to the mighty spirits that they kill the people who ate the large fish and when someone fell ill, the oracle was then asked so that they learned why the person became sick. So they made the oracle from some leaves of plants; then they could say why the sickness was there; perhaps a spirit was angry. Then they killed 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

It was the custom of the Ponape people that they considered Nān Dzāpue as a great spirit. One day some people went away from Tsoke, there were many of them in order to fish in the surf. On that day it was very beautiful, with bright sunshine and no rain. They went up to the breakers. Then it began to rain and with it a violent wind came. Nān Dzāpue spoke and the flashes of lightning followed all round. Something came down from the sky and fetched a woman out of between 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 then when someone wanted to fetch the girl, no skin of the woman was found. Only the bones were left. They brought her into the canoe and took her to the land. There she was buried and they thought that Nān Dzāpue had come from the heaven and had killed the woman. And that is the reason why the Ponape people firmly believe that there is a powerful spirit who is also called Nān Dzāpue, because they have seen how the
woman died. Thus the story was spread in all districts of Ponape, that Nān Dzāpue had killed a woman in the breakers of Tsokes. Afterwards the inhabitants of all districts of Ponape did not dare to go out after they had heard that Nān Dzāpue killed people. Great fear was infused in them to go on the reef after the woman had died, because they were afraid that it could likewise happen to them.

Later some Ponape people heard from the whites that Nān Dzāpue was not able to kill people because Nān Dzāpue was not a being; but rather the whites said that two small clouds collided. Thus some Ponape people heard it from the whites. And they also believed that what the whites had told them was correct. Thus they gave up their custom and common belief in Nān Dzāpue. They no longer believed in him because they had learned that lightning killed the people. And they no longer were afraid that Nān Dzāpue kills people. They conformed only to the belief of the whites until the present day. But some believe that Nān Dzāpue kills people. Therefore they still pray to Nān Dzāpue up to the present day.

### Story

The Tale of Lük nān Dzāpue

In ancient times there once lived a man in Ponape called Uteñār. This man lived in a place called Šelaña. He always prayed to Nān Dzāpue from childhood on until he became an old man; he always sacrificed drinking nuts. Now, when he became old and could no longer see and could no longer walk, he remained in the house and quite sincerely prayed to Nān Dzāpue. And then one day Nān Dzapue also appeared before him; he went straight to the place where the sacrifice of the man was outside the house, and there made noise. The man who could no longer recognize anything asked:

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

And Nān Dzāpue answered, "It is I, Lük!"

Then the man answered again and said, "Why do you come so late when I am already old?"
And Lūk entered the house; there he noticed that the man had become very old, but he said to him, he should go with him, but the man answered that he could no longer walk. Then Nān Džápue lifted him up high. And Nān Džápue took the man on his back; they both wandered away from SolataX and came to the shore. There they sent on the skin of a type of banana, the Plante, until they arrived at some other places. They wandered further until they came to the region of Matolëm. There they went ashore at the place in Matolëm named Tōl o puail and wandered further in the water to a place situated outside named Kusae.

Thus they arrived in Kusae and there remained for a while. Then the appearance of the man changed, he again became young and 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

In ancient times there once lived some people, who built a canoe or a place called Eireka which lies in the state Not. They hewed the canoe; their shell axe was enormously large; it is called peinki. The tree was very high and had terribly hard wood. And all shell axes which were obtained 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 not ended. The top and the root still had to be cut off.

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

A long time passed, then one day Lūk who ruled over many people wanted to travel in the canoe with them and left heaven. A were very close to

So they descended to the earth. They approached the people quite closely. They did not speak one word among themselves and also did not get in the canoe.
They stole a woman from Matolenim, Limeitin Pelakap.

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

In ancient times, some people prayed to Luk, others also to Nan Zapue, because there were many Luk's. The spirit, however, who left heaven in the canoe was called Luk en lan. In ancient times he was endowed with the most wonderful powers; another was Luk Nan Zapue; and another was called Luk Olopat.

And thus was the nature of these three spirits: Luk en lan was smart, clever, and endowed with great miraculous powers, more than Luk Nan Zapue and Luk Olopat.

The people always prayed to Luk en lan, they did not long remain in the world, because Luk called them to himself; with changed, radiant bodies they arose; they were very respected, friendly and amiable, also endowed with wonderful powers; they were always kind at all times to the people on earth.

The others, however, formerly did only evil deeds; they killed the people and deceived them. Thus Nan Zapue once was able to act. One day Nan Zapue left heaven and went to Selatok. He wandered about in the region and visited Matolenim. There he met a man, who lived in a water called Lenepuis. He also went to the district Oa. There he visited a man and a woman, who lived in their house. He ran away with her, because he was in love and wanted to marry her. They reached a high mountain. Then the woman became sick. She could no longer walk. Nan Zapue abandoned the woman and wandered further. The woman lay there, died and decayed.

That is an example of how badly Nan Zapue treated the people 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. Now formerly a man lived in Matolenim named Eio. This man had a beautiful place. All the people were charmed by his
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 fishermen's group cast anchor at the beach. A man went in order to inform Eio that the group of fishermen was at the beach. He asked, "Who is there?" The man answered, he 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 for Luk Olopat. While they ate, a man went into Eio's house. He had a sea animal and a coconut crab with him and put them on Eio's sleeping place. Then they fetched the woman, wrapped her up and again went back to the group of fishermen. Thus they deceived Eio, because the woman did not remain in the house. Then the group of fisherman left. Eio saw a drum which lay on his mat. And in it was the crab. Many clothes covered the drum. Eio, however, thought that the woman lay on the bed. Eio wanted to embrace the drum. Then the crab pinched him in the foot and killed him. When he was dead, Luk Olopat appeared again, took possession of his property and rejoiced that he named such a beautiful place his own. He also took possession of all Eio's other things and thus had become a rich man.

For this reason, all the people realized that these spirits were wicked, because both did only evil on earth, they tormented people and killed several. Luk Olopat and Luk Nan Tapue are not good spirits; some pray to both others do not, because they realize that only Luk en land was a good spirit, because he did only good to the people and prayed to him when he was in heaven.

Tale of Tisbaau

Tisbaau is a spirit who is supposed 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 left the woman live in Palikir and died.
there. And when they had greatly increased he made a large sib of them to which he gave the name of Tip en uai (sib of the foreigners). It increased greatly in Ponape; from it originated many sub-families; the one which remained resident in Palikir is called Marekerek; Isobau watches over it all the time and helps it.

He also gave it the name Inaiso; its members are the most respected among the Tip en uai families. No one had seen the place where Isobau dwells, but we have heard that he is supposed to live in the Tol en Palikir; his house has the name of I'mi alapalap. A Tip en uai man is strictly forbidden to go there. He of us who wants to go there must die. Thus he has accomplished many miraculous things; he has done good but also evil. For example, he once took two wives from his own sib; one was called Li en loko matau and received the title of Pualpe'i en ispa' from him; the other was called Li pue mara while wandering around he did much evil; he robbed and murdered people; he also founded two places, Man e tik and Man a la'ap. He also chose people whom he occasionally possessed, which are called Tenuar; when we celebrate a festival, then 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 us what we should do. And if someone 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 Spen (holy-boat consecration), we bring him a canoe; after this it is given to the Lap en Palikir; and they do with the sleeping mats, the string, everything is first given to Isobau. So that the kave 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. Thus we worship Isobau immensely, because he created the family branches of the Tip en uai sib in Ponape.

Of the Star Spirits

The raki are the heavenly spirits, who as a whole do evil things, on the
earth, because they eat the people who are captured in war.

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

Of the Lipeponuel

Once there was a type of spirit in Ponape, called Lipeponuel. They had their dwellings in the high mountains, in places that are steep and well fit for them, to oversee the ocean and also suitable to be able to fly from there. Their dwelling places were very deep and dark, and the people were afraid of entering; the people of former times tell that the Lipeponuel had looked like people, their skin was full of long feathers like pig bristles, they had a tail like dogs, they were very big, but they did not have any wings; probably they had possessed a magic power which permitted them to fly. In flying they had looked like a flash of lightning; flames had shone from their mouths and anus. They had also gone on the sea in order to fish until sunset; then they had gone home to their dwellings. Soon they had had the voice of a spirit, then a cock, or a dog; another time they had sounded like the sounds of the shell horn, or like the human voice, but when they had attacked men in order to kill them, they had spoken like people.

Of a Lipeponuel

Once a Lipeponuel lived on the high mountains of the Pon Fafip'. Once she set out, stole a child, carried it away and hid it in her house. There she fed him; in the morning she always went out on the reef in order to fetch food for the child and in the evening she returned home 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 also 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 told. Then she became very angry, followed him and said to the boy, "Why did you tell this?" With this she forced the boy from between his people, put him into her anus and went home. Here she lay down to sleep. 

Of a Lipeponuel

Once two men went away from Nan Kapin; 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 done; then they uncovered it and ate. They talked about that they would like to eat fish. Then the two were astonished that she 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, which she took, 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 and 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 they found all the food that they had given to the spirit all these days who lived here. The two went away and took their things with them. They quickly ran home. Then when the demon appeared and no longer found the two, she became furious. She followed them to their home and killed them.

The Likand en Faniop

The Likand en Faniop is a female demon who lives on the Tol en Palikir and there has made her lodging, 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 people come to the place and look at the door and see leaves of the pānkatar tree in front of it, then she is at home, and the people leave the place. But when she wants to go walking, 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 rove around; rain and sunshine come over the people, who then always rove around in the close vicinity of the house until it is night. Then they die.

Of the Līkant e reirei

(The) Līkant e reirei is a spirit which lives on Nankāp, on the little place, Paliepil. There, there is a pond, Lenusu. This spirit looked like a thin rope; it was in the water when the people came to the water. Then when they saw that the rope was in it, they hurried away and did not bathe in it; but when she wanted to kill people, then she did not let herself be seen in the water. Then the people jumped into the water. Then they were whirled around and perished. She is supposed to have made a hole which begins in the water and reaches under the earth to Pela'nan, the palace where she sleeps; because she is supposed to be a truly long spirit. Thus she is supposed to live there even today, and they believe that she is still always in the water.

Of the Lūk en set

There is a spirit, which they call Lūk en set. First he always liked to eat breadfruits; later, however, when Nān matau en Pela'nan and the Nanamariki did not give him breadfruits as before, he ate a person. He lives in a rock, the Pēi en tok; he has formed it himself. Now he lives in it and eats all first fruits of Pela'nan. Now once a man, who was called Nān matau en Pela'nan, who did not want to obey the spirit. He forbade his people to prepare food for him. The spirit
became furious. He went away to Pakin, remained there and did not return to Pelañ.

*About the island of Olupā*?

Olupā made the island of Pakin. When he had finished the place, he did not like it because it was too low and flat for him. Therefore he thought of going to Ponape in order to fetch a hill and raise Pakin on a hill. When he got to Ponape, he arrived at Tsokea in the state of Tsokea; there he fetched two hills, the Tōl en Malōelap and Tōl en Nān silu; he made a load of them and stole sugar-cane, added it to the load, put it on his shoulder, and blew the mussel horn. Then a parrot came flying which lived on the small place, U∪ nin terē; a parrot, and wanted to eat of the sugar-cane. As nothing was left of it, he looked for it. He called behind Olupā. But Olupā became afraid and threw down the bundle. From the load, however, became the two places outside of Palikir, the two man one is called Mān a Pei and the other, Mān a Pallōn. But he said to the bird that it is not permitted to be seen on Pakin. That is the reason why this bird does not exist on Pakin from ancient times to the present.

The belief in the āni arāmas is most closely connected with the notions of the soul and the Beyond. As Kubary expressed it, the Ponape man worshipped the spirits of his brave ancestors and implored their protection. Every person had his personal guardian spirit, the āni tišilēpa or āni en tišintšilēle, the soul, the spirit of a dead ancestor. Who among these undertook the care of the descendant would-be 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 misfortune and all evil away from the person. The law forbids naming the spirit by the name which has been his 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 idea Luk receives a still more comprehensive meaning. Chiefs as spirits are called anī mal and are considered especially powerful. Small Tzōpeiti have the spirit title Nālán; the noble women, the title Liesen with the new proper name. The name generally refers to special qualities or events of the past existence. Thus, for example, Luk en Uārīk, i.e., the one with many pains; Luk en Kāśik, i.e., the one who was shot, Luk en Tsakāu, i.e., the kava drinker, etc.

Women have the name Limuo instead of the designation Luk. Priests receive the title putāk en lān after death (cf. Hahl, Eth. Notizbl. II, p.8).

The after-life of the soul, ūtē, occurs in the pās ē, the underwater paradise where the festivals are celebrated as in this world, or in the puēlikō, the place of the condemned. They imagine this place dark, cold and, significantly for the clean Ponape people, as very unclean. One people who did not bathe sufficiently were expelled from the caste. Two spirits, anī ől eziēk, a man and li eziēk, a woman, stand guard at the entrance of the paradise. They test the arriving souls of the departed as to whether they can sing well. They allow only singers with beautiful voices to enter. The bad singers are banished to the puēlikō. A strange idea! Nothing is known of other motives in the selection for paradise or hell. The principle of retribution seems unknown to them. According to Hahl, the soul must step across a bridge which leads from the earth to pajit; it is called Kan Kaper, dancing bridge. On it stand guards, devil figures who are ready to abduct the souls to puēlikō. At their sight the deceased begins to dance. The dance makes the guards forget their duty, so that the dancer can finally jump from the bridge to the place of bliss. He who cannot dance is hauled to puēlikō.

Tale from Ancient Times

This is the belief of the Ponape people: when they have died, they go to a place named Pāset; a small place on the way to the place is called Kenkapir; two spirits stay 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 dispose of him.

Thus is the custom about the dead. When someone is dead, he is buried, charms are said and stones are put on his breast, so that he will not return night going among the men and making the people ill. Four days after the death, the people make many wreaths; they also cook food and take it to the place where the dead person rests. Then they hang all these things in the trees, sit down and watch whether the soul of the deceased will appear and fetch some things. If then a bird come flying and eats from the things, then they believe that it is the soul of the deceased which has come to the things, in order to wander further. Then they weep. For now the soul goes to Paset in order to strengthen itself and go further to Puileko; then it gets to Kankanipir, and there visits a woman named Li Kapir; there it sings in order to put the guards of the place in a good mood. Now it must walk over a narrow rope. The guards turn it. Quickly, the soul must haste over to the place called Uasa Puilepil. He who makes progress is thrown over to the place Puileko from where he cannot return before he is completely decayed.

Thus the deceased arrive at the other world, at Paset. And we also believe that some of them who appear there live in some places and form a small settlement, called Mereti, where they choose one of them, a man or woman with a beautiful voice, as chief, in order to direct the singing in Mereti from the morning until 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 this one also came to the Mereti. They now pay attention whether perhaps there are more in the place and when they go away, then they

*Omission - Puileko; he who has a bad voice and does not hurry arrives at an evil place...
bring some pieces of young coconut and a heap of black ants, sit down and watch. Now when their (expected) spirits 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, because they must first brush off the ants. Then it is time that the people rise in order to catch the soul. Then the soul of the dead will call; the voices of the spirits 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 then at an end.

Such a Meréi exists on Tsaputik and is called Mäntšenmēn; another is in Kamār, the Meréi en iāp; one is in Tsūkēs and is called Meréi en Tāumokotse; one is of Lōui and is called Meréi en Loui.

All spirits always meet in a stone enclosure, the Pān ūn Ānt, and sing there. A woman named Limānt presides. Nothing grows in the place; there is only sand there. The souls of the deceased on Ponape meet 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 so that they drive (the spirits) from Ponape. Then they make the magic which is named Pikani. Then they fly away from Ponape and remain in Pān ūn Ānt and do not return to Ponape. There is another place; those who have died a good death go there. On the way they arrive at a place named Kān Kapir. Here are guards, a man named Ol ū śinek, and a woman named Li e śinek; they stay here. When the souls of the dead go further, the two examine them. If they have a beautiful voice, they may go further to Pašet; but if they sing bad, then they are thrown into the pool of Pueliko. Nobody can leave this place, because it is a dark, sticky hole. There are also two women, Li šer and Li šar. The two guard the gate to Pašet; if they are members of their sib, they allow them to pass; those of another sib are sent back.
On islands in the sea which are thought of as like Ponape lie the following districts, according to the belief of the Soke people:

- Mesenien en tsap
  - land of the good

- Né enien
  - abode of the priests

- Inkif
  - place of the Tau Katau

- Ni lan mau
  - place of the Nan Zeilan

- Ni lan mere meri
  - abode of the putak en lan

- Lan kif
  - abode of the small children who died early, seli lan.

- Ni meso en lan
  - region of the heavenly waters, soi, pei and namui en lan.

- Ni pep en lan
  - dwelling place of the Li men git and Li men tshaietelik (Li en taniety)

The Ant islands, which have important and high taboo places, were also considered as the land of souls in ancient Ponape.

The souls can enter animals, preferably birds or butterflies. In this form they visit their relatives and attend their own funeral celebration. Presumably for this reason, all birds are taboo. They are never killed and eaten. They also abhor poultry meat.

Tale of Kerou pereni

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

Report of Some Former Beings

When the people have died, then they go to the Paset, but they also return, but do not appear in human shape; they then penetrate into the body of healthy people and cause them to speak. Then the people take kava and consecrate it to the spirit, because otherwise the people also become ill. Then they also pound their kavas so that the spirits come and speak that the sick people quickly recover; the people who do the speaking are called the Laliap en ani. They also believe of the spirit whom we formerly named ani tərimen, that he heals the sick people, and he is honored as Laliap.

Besides the ani aramas, there is a host of demons whose origin is not known or not paid attention to. Perhaps these are only the souls which are not considered relatives or guardian spirits, which play somewhat the role of ghosts. Probably it is these that remark in the Missionary Herald of 1857 refers to: They believe in spirits which roam about in the air and often return in human form. This belief has long kept the people in the grip of fear.

The surrounding world is filled with spirits; the hostile demons are probably the most important among them. Nōnit lives in the first doorway, Tetule in the second. Pūki en Kerelon is stuck in the threshold, Pūki en Kerel, in the floor. Also the human body has its spirits; there is one in each foot. They carry the people and are called Ni rōk and Tik e lele. The first sits in the right, the second in the left heel. Sirar and Parar are two demons who walk at night to whom they pray so that they do not stumble in the dark. Hahl also mentions
the sprites, Sokala, which live in earth-holes, independent of Tau Kalau, which harm people.

In the daily life of the people, the nature spirits do not play nearly as important a role as the ani aramas and the many small malicious demons with which the individual himself has to deal daily. The great spirits are, like the chief tribal gods with which they in part coincide, the object of general worship. They have certain places of worship and their own class of priests which looks after their service.

In the state, Matolenim the god of thunder, Nān īpū, was the most worshipped (cf. p. 98f.f.). In Kiti, Luk has his place of worship as Luk en īsou en pōn. Other state deities, the Nāluk en dōnepān, likewise had their own class of priests or Nān uan niap. The most important are: Nālik en dōnepān and Nān uoločom, the god of house building, Nān ūlāp, who is invoked during net making, and Nān ūelu, another name for Īsipāu. The chief place of worship for Kiti is the place, Tōlalał, where the highest priests also live. The chief deities of Šōkeš are Nāna en maroki, the spirit of the last, dead Nanamariki of Šōkeš, 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. Also the wife of this prince enjoys great veneration as the spirit Liašāri, and is at the same time, the guardian spirit of Tānepe. Nan Ūpe is the protective spirit of Ipuāl, Nālaa en peipei, that of Toile, Reš en alp protects the region of Maluk, Luk a lāpalāp, the region of Tomara, Inaš, the region of Nān pōn māl. In Palikir they primarily worship Isopāu whose voice is sometimes to be heard in the bush. All these spirits are exiled to Ant, saleti nān Ant, in cases of illness in so far that they are brought into connection with it. In order to compensate them for this
expulsion, sacrifices, tobacco, taro, pig meat and kava are offered to them.

In Not at Toleunir there lived the demon, Kaurō, a glutton who took the food away from the people and did not let them be full. Li ākūlo was a wicked spirit woman. She was afflicted with diseases and forced the men to sleep with her, through giving them ringworm (kiauk). Morupat and Tsēnopat, good demons, help the men in net making.

Report of a Type of Spirit

There was a type of spirit in ancient Ponape, called Li péi pōn uēl, who ate men; at this time they lived in the mountains. They were called Li péi pōn uēl, and when they were on the sea, they were called Kōton matau.

Report of a Type of Spirit

In ancient times there was another kind of spirit on Ponape, named Taikolai; they were small like infants; they could never become larger; they liked to hear the rain fall; then they were glad and carried on their games in the bush. And when someone came near them, they flew on him, penetrated his skin and killed him.

Report of a Type of Spirit

A type of spirit which was very numerous in Ponape, was called Lietsē, they ate people. But some paramount chiefs in ancient Ponape, who were called Sāu Telūr, drove them out of Ponape; they fled to a country named Palizī.

About Some Female Spirits

There are some spirits whom the Ponape people greatly worship, and they pray to the female spirits: Likand Ḍnipē'in, Likand Ina marām, Likand Inās and Likand Limāitetelān. These are powerful female spirits of Ponape, and they made people crazy and killed them.
On the island of Pakin, Úrsá 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. From legends, the impression is gained that he is equated with Olupat, the wicked Orofat of the Carolines. The origin of the islands of Man and Manapallon is ascribed to both by the Palikir people. Anu mësëirán is the servant of Úrsá Iso and must report to him about the events in Pakin. The goddess Li en maipón has no husband. She grants the fish and occasionally floods the flat island. Therefore prayers are directed to her.

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

2. Totemistic Conceptions

Before the customs of worship are described in detail, another essential side of religious thinking must be mentioned, which to O'Connell appeared the most prominent of all: the totemistic conceptions. Every sib worships certain animals or plants sacred to it, which they look upon as their ancestors, and to which the individual members stand in a kinship relationship. Some Montsáp 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 Šau en Kauat worshipped the tortoise, žapakar; the Lipetan sib, which has relations to Madjuro (Marshall Islands), a Carax variety, named sira. Its protective spirit is Iso kanekei.

The totem is not considered as a deity and therefore never worshipped. Probably, however, it is prayed to, can be understood by them. It is forbidden to catch and to eat the totem animal. At the most, the tortoise is caught because of the valuable tortoise-shell, but is not eaten. The prohibition of
eating always extends only to those persons for whom the animal in question is a totem. It does not matter if others eat it, nor if the totemistic animal is handed over to them. But generally the animals caught by chance are again set free. None is afraid of his own animal, even when it is dangerous in itself, as the shark. It is not true that they flee its sight, as Pereiro believed; likewise he is wrong in believing that they conjure the spirits of their ancestors into themselves. The eel occupies a special position among the holy animals. The old name is it, the modern one, kamitsik, i.e., "the terrible one." It appears to have been sacred to all inhabitants, and also to have included all kinds. They have the greatest fear of hurting this animal.

O'Connell describes how great the grief of the people was when they found the remains of the eel secretly eaten by him, and how the bones were ceremonially buried.

The Story of the Eel...

Thus the Ponape people think about the eel.

Once an eel was born in heaven; he lived there in a stone enclosure named Pe'i en lañ. And a couple lived in a small place that was quite near Pe'i en lañ. The husband was called Sau ni uè, and the wife, Katin ni uè. They begot a girl whom they named Li en pe'i lañ. And the eel loved Li en pe'ilain and wanted to marry her. Every night the eel appeared in order to see the girl. And the girl told her father and her mother that something appeared to her 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 like that of weaving threads. This rope was called Likelelik. The eel came again in the night. And the girl now carried out what her mother and father had advised. The girl fastened the eel with the rope Likelelik. 
around its middle. And the eel did not know it and left again. The next
morning they then know the place from whence the eel came because a part of the
rope had remained with the girl, 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. He appeared again
in the night and asked the girl what the couple had decided. The girl told
him. Then the eel told the girl that when they ate him, 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 as the eel had ordered her. She buried the bones of
the eel's head; from it grew the breadfruit (with a smooth bark), the
plante, and the wild banana; these three plants grew up and were supposed
to belong to the girl. That is what the Ponape people think about the three
plants.

The place where the eel was buried is called Niue. Now some time
passed before the plants bore fruits; then until the fruits of the plants were
edible.

Now two birds lived in the mountains of Ponape; one was called Tañakuk;
both saw the fruits of the plante which, having ripened, gleamed towards them.
The birds flew there in order to fetch them. The one reached them, the other
was not successful. The one of them which had been able to reach the plante,
then ate it. It was the starling. Now something sat in the plante,
that was like small stones. And the starling carried the stones away. When
carrying them away, it threw them away and they fell down outside of Kiti
on a small place named Sou mar a puai ijé'i. A couple had gone away from the mainland in order to fish. They found the little stone. They liked it very much, because the stone was extremely beautiful. So they put it in their fishing basket. And wandered back to the mainland. Now they continued to talk more about the stone. And then they noticed that the little stone was cracked and broken and a small eel lay in the fishing basket. They were very glad, because they wanted to adopt it. They carried it to Ohona to a small spot named Patol. There they put it in the water and fed it every day until it became larger. The eel which was first in Ponape, was called Mas, en Patol, because while he lived in heaven, he was called Mas en lan.

Thus the couple fed the eel until it was big. Then they both agreed also to eat it. And the eel which was in the house now heard what the couple discussed. And quickly the eel decided to eat the couple. And the eel went to the couple and asked the couple why they wanted to eat it. Then 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 anymore. They found a stone house which stands in the mountains of Matolênim and is called Tiiitiini. They went to the stone house and lay down. But the eel followed them, found them, did not let them escape and ate both up. Thus the eel ate up the couple.

Now it remained in Ponape and there founded the sib called Läzialap then it went to Kusae. Here it also had children and return, fr again to Ponape. Thus it created all Läzialap. And thus one thinks in Ponape, that the sib of Läzialap used to pray to the eel, because it is their ancestral mother.
Tale of the Shark

The Tip en mān bōtobōt has the shark as totem and does not eat the shark, for it originated from two youths who bathed in a water hole. Afterwards they went into a brook in-order to bathe again; and then they went into the saltwater in-order to bathe. In doing so they decided that they wanted to become fish; they lifted their arms high on their backs when they swam. Then they changed and became two shëks; one was called ñu en tāu en lēp', the other, ñu en tāu en ñir. Therefore the shark is worshipped as the ancestor, because the two youths were tip en mān-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 away, prayed and gave it to the fish; and presented it yet other things. But another time, he gave some of the ornaments to his sib members. Then when 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 noone would follow him later. So he took the stone, carried it away and threw it into the entrance of Taun en Igi. Therefore there are so many sharks in front of Ant.

Report of the Sau en Imuniak

The Sau en Imuniak is a shoot of the Sau en Kauat, not an independent tree. The Sau en Kauat originated in the saltwater. Inaş gave it the name. Once it had caught itself a fish, the samul, in a weir. Then some Sau en Kauat went out in order to look at it. They fetched it out in the net. Then they ate it. Inaş supervised the meal and then gave them the name Sau en Imuniak; they were no longer Sau en Kauat, because they had eaten their guardian spirit.

As there are more sibs than totem animals, these different sibs have the same totem, but this is not considered an obstacle to marriage. Membership is according to the totem of the mother, and a woman never assumes the totem of her husband. Animal dances, reconciliation of the hurt animals, totemic associations and decorations 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, for which there were invoc-
tions.  

Besides the totemic animals, there are also animals and plants which are
sacred to the deities. When caught, the horn tak of Nan Zapu is roasted with
prayers and eaten only by paramount priests.

3. Taboo Places.

Scattered over the whole island are numerous taboo places. Provided
in regard to ruins, little information can be obtained under the
that they have meaning for the ruins, they may be looked up there. The most
sacred place is the Tsalup 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 and wind.
In stone enclosures, pu or pé, lie the breadfruit taboo place, al en mái,
the fish place, al en mām, the rat place, al en màke. Another sacred place
apparently also for fish, was Panunant, about which the informant give no
additional information. At the fish place, Pan tšap Tsalup there were holes
in which ūunāni ceremonies were held by means of sticks. Their purpose was
to draw the fish to the fishing grounds of Kiti. At the place, Pan Kpın
au Luk stood the holy tree, Setak, of the (god of thunder), Nan Zāpū. Near it was
a hole, Pantu, in which the Saum conducted certain ceremonies for the god.

Leakin is the place for fresh water animals. Here the women caught
river crabs, which were eaten in the Nas separated by men and women. The mos-
quitoses started from the taboo place, Nan amutso. At the place, Poon méirelap,
a cave with projecting rocks, human sacrifices were supposed to have taken
place, 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 
and 
Jap" (likant-stone dam). The center of the worship of stones was Janlapok in the region Uona. No religious service is conceivable without sacred stones.

There are sacred stones in U. On the Takai en Kiti, dead dogs were laid down, on the Takai en uei, dead tortoises from the ponds, and no one was allowed to take them away again. Only Sipes and Nt are not supposed to have any taboo places of that kind, because they do not need any special charm, as for example, the fish charm, because all phenomena are produced rose by local deities, or they carry on the worship of the animals referred to somewhere else. Thus they are supposed to have sent the tortoises to Pankatera. For the same reason they have no Tsamoro priests here, but rather only Sau en onanani. During the worship service, the priests tell their request to the holy stones, naming the deity, and these transmit the prayers to the god. The magic power of the stones proves itself in many ways; to touch them is considered curative. He who wants to make a great catch of fish, lets a holy stone dip into the sea.

Very important taboo places are located on the uninhabited island, Ant. Now visited only for the harvest of coconuts, it is supposed to have once been the land of the souls. According to Christian, the sacred animal here is the shark.

4. The Priests.

The practice of the acts of worship lies in the hands of the priests. Since ancient times, they have formed their own class. Once its members all belonged to the Seriso caste. According to others, the highest priests, the Alik, were Tsopiti. The Tsamoro are appointed by the Tsopiti, according to other statements and endowed with land and title.
According to other statements, they supplement their number themselves, corresponding to their own constitution, and-enfieffed-with-land and title. There are still now title and fiefs, but the holders no longer know anything of the duties once connected with them.

Because of the fact that the priests had to be chosen from the Šeriño caste, and the high Tsopéiti were their liege lords, the latter had a welcome way to provide property for the children born to them by their Šeriño wives. But the landed property of the priests was not significant, and their chief-source-of-revenue were the donations.

Originally the priests are supposed to have formed their own independent state in the region of Uona. But when they began to interfere in the affairs of Kiti, they were attacked and subjugated, and the land of Uona was united with Kiti. This is why once all the priests had their representatives in Uona, and most of the priests are supposed to have come from there. Formerly they are supposed to all have had the title of Saum in Uona.

The statements about the inheritance, or rather, succession, of the priestly office are full of contradictions. The high priests, the Allik en lan, are supposed to have chosen their successors and pupils. Among 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 decide to tell the strictly-guarded secrets to his son. The fear of the gods' punishment on account of unjustified betrayal of the religious secrets was very great and had the result that useful statements were hard to obtain. Of course, the knowledge of the structure of this nearly-extinct class has declined through missionizing. Then others maintain 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 a disgrace, but rather, on the contrary were considered honorable.

The priests were the confidential friends and advisers of the chiefs, with whom they were often related by marriage. Their great importance and power, which they did not misuse, were based on the careful control of the old laws and customs, and on their part in all public and private undertakings in which they were indispensable because of their conjurations and blessings. They were intermediaries of the deities, soothsayers and, in part, also doctors. A priest who knew all of the secret teachings was called Šau Rakim. The possessed, who also uttered prophecies, were not considered priests. They are called kati ani.

Several kinds of priests were distinguished. The highest Tsamoro was the Aulik or Tsaim, who had his seat in Tsalapux of Kiti. The first two sibs formed his followers. He was followed by the Marlin. 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 meeting 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 the Tsoukou, after he held it up high and had spoken a prayer of consecration over it. Besides, he had to extend the cup in all four directions and taste it. The Moom en Kautek were the assistants at the sacrifice and had to supervise the straining of the kava, that the Meliek took care of. The Kei takai pounded the kava and put the yam tubers into the ovens. The restoration and maintenance of the earth ovens, as well as occasional help in the preparation of the food was the duty of the Kei Taupur. The Kapatan had to keep the sacred stones clean.

The priestly classes of the deity Ilake of Uona, or rather, the titles of
of his priests are:

1. Saum
2. Zapetán en Sau
3. Pešan
4. Tšapuín
5. Šu en tšapet
6. Keróu en Tšam
7. Ššulik en Makoř
8. Ššulik en Mutok

The holy place of this deity was at Olapéł, where the priests and chiefs assembled for the celebration. The old building has burned down.

Tale of Ilake

Inan uéias has an ancestor spirit to whom sacrifices are always made.

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 tsaparou; he bound it tight with hibiscus fiber and seized it by its tail; then he prayed to Ilake. Swimming, he thus came near Panià; 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 the murder in Not." She asked further "What are you carrying?" He answered "I have my fish here." And she went on asking "To whom does 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 time to 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. Then he entered to Ilake and remained with her, until the sacrificial festival was near; then she said to the boy, they would both go to Uóna. They both left the house; Ilake strode across 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,
Forward over the waves,
Jump, glide, jump!"
Then the boy no longer sank; both went over the water to Paniau. They went over to Uona.

There sacrifices were made; they sacrificed for Ilake; they all did it, the Inanuelas and the Uputenapeni; and thus they have worshipped Ilake from ancient times until today.

The Nanekin here bore the title Tsou matau en Ponta, the Uasa, that of Kerou en tam. It is to be assumed that the Nanekin and the Uasa here also exercise the function of a high priest; in any case, the names allow this conclusion. In the center of the sacred place is a large kava stone, in front of it various seat stones for the highest rank holders: the Tsau Kiua, the Tsau Uona, and the Tsau matau (Nanekin), all high priests. At the one side of the stone sit the Tsamoro, the Tsauum, Kapetan, Kerou en tam (Uasa), Raiai, Tsapun, Lu en Zapet and Nkopen. On the other side the secular fief holders have their places; the muar en kausap: the Tsaulik en Roa, en Mutok, en Makot, en Titi, the Aua en Uona and the Lap en Uona. Behind the places of the two rows of the rank holders was the place of worship, Mol en Ani of the deity Ilake, one on each side. Between them lay the place of sacrifice of the priesthood. A little aside is the consecrated place of the paramount chiefs named Nan Pon kaim. The prayers were:

Prayer to Ilake

This, your food, we put here under your belly, Lord Nan Kui en Pau ... i e!

Verse charm of the kava for Ilake

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

We bring you your cup, Ipo nan Tsau ani,

Here is your kava, come, drink your kava!

Before you!

No one will drink the kava before you

Aen Tiat, Mnan Tiat,
As en Iramaū, Mōn Iramaū,

As en Pon Matil, Nōu Pon Matil,

Spirits over the beach, spirits under the beach.

Spirits of fishing!

Offer the cup to the Tau Katāu.

ie!

The priesthood of Nān əₕₐₜₜₜₜ in the Tsalapux of Kiti was divided into Saum, Aūlik, Marūn, Kerō in mant, and Zapetan in Pantso; that of Nāluk en tsorenepuh in Kasa, Nalāim, Nanēp, Sōpān, Sāulik en Tsāpo takai Marakāp and Sau uil en Matōk.

The priestly classes of Luk en tsou en pōn called themselves pu en Tsamoro by a common name, and divided itself into the ranks held by great noblemen, or rather, those equal to them, Aūlik, Marūn, Kerō'n aip and Rūparūp, into the ranks held by small noblemen, Tsoukou nie and Mōm un Kōtēk. The lowest posts Nēlēk, Kē takai and Kē taupur were filled by the common people.

The priest's offices in Matolenim are supposed to be the same as in Kiti.

The priestly titles on Ant are as follows:


The priests were greatly respected and considered inviolable, əₜₜₜₜₜ. Even in war they are not permitted to 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, it was forbidden for them to put wreaths on their heads like other people. No one was permitted to touch their heads.

As Tsalapux in Kiti was the chief place of worship, nān uāni niap, thus about every nine months all priests here in order to hold the priestly festival which lasted four days. They were strictly closed to others and were called kāu uān. Each one brought to it all kinds of food hanging on a stick: kava, breadfruit,
yams, etc., and brought them into the meeting house. He had his special place
and exactly prescribed job in the preparation of the food. When the meals were
ready, they put them in coconut baskets and gave every priest one of them. The
kava was put down and prepared on the holy stones, the ʻūsā ʻolā. After the ʻAuilik
had consecrated it, it was handed to every one, first to the ʻAuilik and the Mārūn.
For the god, Nān ʻApupe, they hung a piece of kava up on the crossbeam of the
house. The priests sat in a circle and each had the seat due to him through his
rank. The worship held in the ston enclosures was closed by the meal which
apparently was supposed to invoke good harvests. The sacrifices made then were
called ʻoumāni. The ceremonies were kept strictly secret and nothing about them
could any longer be ascertained.

5. Religious Worship

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

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

Prayer to ʻIṣobau

I.

Here this dish is yours, ʻIṣobau, and this is yours, Likant Puēpēi.

Rise a little so that we find refuge under your hands,

Oh help and support us while we live, ʻAʻanoro and Likand Puēpēi.

Free us from the evil charms of the world

And all evil diseases,
II.

This is a request to _DIGITAL REDACTED_.

Here I am, there I am,

I move, move

Around Pérou, on Pérou

to the small Pérou, to the large Pérou,

On the small Uây, the large Uây,

On the small Tau, the large Tau

On Natik, Tauak.

Give us a healthy life,

Lord _DIGITAL REDACTED_ and Likam Puépéi.

Prayer to _DIGITAL REDACTED_

I go away, I go away from my place.

To the point of Tunanapuel, I paddle further to Namu en Nôt,

To the point of Tol o mal, I paddle further to Pan Tau;

I set sail at Pei'n pur, I take it down at Kalin Auak;

At Au I come out, Parán appears,

I am before Mutok o loz, in sight of Nakalap,

I set the sail at Namalap, I take it down at Peinipts.

Day is already breaking, I go to my love at Pulak . . . . ah!

To calm the Thunder

Inemek, Inemek, Inemek tintil,

Inemek, do good, do good,

Appear good, be good to me, be good to all people,

Be only good, be good to the Natanin,

Go away from me, then go to the Nanape.
And you, thunder, go to the south,

And you, thunder, go to the north,

Oh no-longer thunder above me

Let your fire sparks remain only with you.

Main Nān Žapue, Nānāpe; Nān sau āni ie!

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. To touch them was considered helpful-and curative. If someone wanted to undertake a great fishing expedition, he first allowed such a sacred stone to be dipped into the sea.

Beside kava, dogs were sacrificed with which secrets were connected, and apparently also people. O'Connell testifies that the heart of the slain enemy was eaten during the victory celebration. 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 out of cannibalism, and also, parents are supposed to have presented children to the chief and to have regarded his acceptance as an honor. Hambruch further heard that in Pali, a sick father had nearly poisoned his son in order to sacrifice him to the disease demon.

Rain, thunderstorms and storm are conjured up by the priests, or rather, when someone pronounces the words, Žila or palān on the sea, rain or a violent wind come. An untranslatable invocation of Nan Selan's:

ai katkāpuean pān kupur en Nān Želān, Nān Želān ie!

The other acts of worship and exorcisms are classified and described as follows:

Kosoneti āni to exorcise a spirit, that it leaves the possessed, no longer roams about and spreads sickness and fear.
Expulsion of a Spirit

We fear you,

Only yield,

Yes, I want to drive you away,

You evil spirit, who dwells in this man,

Sea spirit, go into the sea,

Land spirit, go into the earth,

Likând en Natik, Likand en Tauak,

Only yield, go away

Up on the bridge.

in the hole, Petersburg,

šerûru, šerûru, šerûru, šerûru,

šerûru, šerûru, yield:

I ask the oracle here about the sick man.

To

At the place, on the mountain,

Where evil spirits live, you who torment this man there, depart now!

c = noun
s = verb

kātiāni are the conjurations, prophesies and prayers of the priests or rather possessed or sorcerers. They occur at all imaginable occasions, e.g. wedding, illness, and are directed at the ancestor spirits.

Four gotok en alek (reeds) are fetched, put together and tied into a knot.

Four other leaves are cut. In doing so, the priest says:

I cut, cut my good tip,

my beautiful tip, my pretty tip,

my powerful tip, nalio nam

Katium nam, you come to give,

make these to a tip,

my magic power, my magic power,
to lukuméni, lukuméni cut!

Then is counted: maúr—kapin maúr—lik—lól—tsé—maúr—kapin maúr

life—eternal life—outside—inside—tapa—life—eternal life—and the single leaves are folded together. The oracle is conducted behind a sleeping mat wall.

At a sickness kaitiani, the priest takes five reed leaves, folds them together and states, according to the formation of the breaks, who of the ani of the sick person is dissatisfied with him and therefore has made him sick. Through the gift of kava or a fat pig, that the priest and his assistant receive, the spirit is appeased and lets the person recover. If he nevertheless dies, the priest always knows to arrange it, that no one attributes the fault to him.

According to Hambruch, the significance of the above leaves is:

1. pan poke poke tūnī = you must give breadfruit to the sick person.
2. pān ā mi ṭum intzá = we must make "alu"
3. pān tšam niu = the dead person must have a wreath.
4. pān rāu en ani = he is dead and must be buried.
5. pān pein korúk = means death
6. pān tšapāl = the sick person will be strong.

alu, making of/a kava sacrifice of-atonement. (Cf. page 153).

epēn sărau, to consecrate a boat to the gods and hang it up in the boathouse.

silasi, hair of deceased persons is tied around the wrists and ankles of small children, by which the ancestor spirit takes the child under his protection.

ounani, to make conjurations, e.g. invocation and prayer to the demons in the case of sicknesses; also, laying on of hands on the sick place and making sacrifices of reconciliation in the form of food and kava. will not do any harm

Charm said over food so that it does not harm

Untranslatable
Breadfruit Blessing

Lim̧ıķeşẹ̄néi and Likapinnakei, would
for that reason you went away, so that you return,
return as now the breadfruit returns.

Charm when Carrying Heavy Objects

I stretch your leg. Whose leg?
Your leg; the leg is good.
Whose leg? Your leg! A leg like hardwood,
Your leg! Whose leg? Your leg! A leg like mangrove
Strong, able, fit,
Small bones, large bones, bones of your body,
be healthy, vigorous, strong, healthy!  

Charm to Escape Rain and Wind

Here goes the boat, there goes the boat,
Up goes the boat, the boat glides on the horizon.

Two are my companions,
Li en Kānūpʻ and
Li en Kāu mōle iug!

Conjuration of the Tides

When the water rises, the women go in the mangroves in order to catch masat crabs. But not at low tide; because it is best 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
Chatters
Then 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 meal.

Against High-Water

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 smooth, become smooth, smooth.

Smooth outside, no longer inside,

Charm to Clean the Channel of Nā

Wash the bend of the river, the right bend

Eel, go away, eel, come again,

Small is the course of the channel, large is the course of the channel,

Small bend, large bend

? small ? large

? small ? large

? from Nam u iā ias rises Šau Kiša iē!

Charm against Dogbite

Untranslatable

Charm of the Tip u lāp. Ken Tšākas

Lord, I go behind your back

My taro is from Kāmār, Kāmār,

By 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,
(At the first it remains, at the second it remains, at the third it remains,
(At the fourth it remains, at the fifth it remains, at the sixth it remains,
(At the seventh it remains, at the eighth it remains, at the ninth it remains,
They no longer come, these things, no longer these things,
Nothing will kill me, nothing!

It is spoken by members of the Tip u lâp tribe when they go to the Nanamariki.
At the same time they rub themselves with oil; a part of the conjuration is spoken into the bottle with oil; then they pour the oil into the hollow of the hand and rub it on breast, thigh, head, one after the other several times, and then go.

Cloak of invisibility spell

Darkness at Noon (Magic-Sap)

Dark is the smoke, dark my covering,

Shrubs on the ground, cover me,

Shrubs over the ground, cover me.

I go into the thick bush,

I go into the poke-tree,

Hide me in the poki, in the poki I hide myself.

Sleeping Charm for Falling Asleep

One touches the threshold and says the charm:

Bird, Arâue, bird, Arôto,

I put my hands on this corner, on that corner,

I put them on all four corners,

Sleep like a néu-fish

Lie heavily on the ground like a basalt stone,

On the Calophyllum, the Caolphyllum
Like basalt stones, eight basalt stones.

Bird, Aráue, Bird, Aróto

I put my hands on this corner, on that corner
I put them in many corners, oho!

Against an Evil Way Charm

Charm of the pár flower, charm of the matsal flower,

Leap over, leap back

Lord Murhna!

Mat Charm during Tattooing

On the mountains of Makú and Kusae,
Under the star of Ant in the grass.

When Breaking up the Soil

Lima Kosaméi, Li paupau saup.

I want to dig up
The soil of my land on my place,
Soil break up, bad soil, go down
Soil break up, break up
Li ma Kosaméi, Li paupau saup!'

When Planting Yams

My digging stick knocks against
My digging stick rattles,
Wind yourself around the ivory palm
Wind yourself around the great rock,
Wind yourself around the Calophyllum tree.

ilán the great consecration of a new drag net and the tools used for it. Already
during the manufacture, after certain parts of the work are finished conjurations are said. On three days before the consecration the men participating in it were not allowed to leave the meeting house, nor go to their wives and must observe certain food prohibitions. A piece of wood, tsuka saraui nan matau, plays a large role in this charm; it is ceremonially let into the sea in the net.

Ina pui tabbooing of a palm. A palm frond, ten paini, is tied around the palm stem while conjurations are said. No one is allowed to fetch nuts from these palms or gather and eat fallen nuts. The punishment for such an offense is sickness, in particular, eruption of ulcers, boils, kene, or even death.

Ka sanseli to take sick people from one place to the other.
Footnotes 1-III

96 1 Pereiro, loc. cit., page 132.
2 ... they were a variety of spirits called Ani.

908 1 Luk in Kiti is worshipped under this name.
2 *pāli *suët en làni,* malemal-typhoon

99 1 Without further statements, Hambruch places the pair nān ondāp and Limangina in the same generation.
3 The confusion of concepts is especially clear here: Orofat is a sky god in the Carolines, who possibly had an earthly mother; in text 37 he is counted among the spirits who result from the souls of the deceased. Also, it must be assumed that the above-named god of house-building, Nān Oloyo, and the gods' messenger, Olaiten, are derived from Orofat.

100 1 to thunder
2 his brother (Māōlemēm)
3 the Lipetān sib
4 the Tip en Lük sib

105 1 Lük en làni

108 1 Sangoro, Nan uelu, Nanko en ma'uk, Makamisika = Isobau = four princes
2 mother of the princes

109 1 a large fissure cave in the basalt fock.
2 Isobau = princes; four.

112 1 (The Liponuē)

115 1 Kubary, loc. cit., page 130.
2 Christian, page 75, names it underground. The guards of hell for him are Lichar and Licher, two women with sword and torch.

117 1 That is the idea of the Tip en mān people, who believe that only their members get pastaret, while all others must remain on Ant.

121 1 Especially the children do not dare to go out evenings. (Missionary Herold, July 1857, page 234).


124 1 Pereiro, loc. cit., page 132.

128 1 Top of the mangrove.


131 1 In another place Hambruch says Tšayum, singular, Tšau men is the general word for priests, which may be a mistake.

132 1 Ilāke en ṣonüp, Ilāke en pikila twins

134 1 Was said, when after the fishing, the fish were brought to Ilāke.
2 Another name for Ṣobau.

135 1 Naming of the spirit language for known places.
2 The statement lets it stay unclear whether it concerns only the priests of Kiti or also those of the other states.

137 1 Reef surface and channel between Tsōkeś and Meš en ie̞n (colony).
2 Northeast point of the island Tsōkeś, also settlement.
3 Mangrove island between Tsōkeś and Lahe̞r. (Island of mangrove)

5. Channel between Nöt and the island of Param.


7. Channel between Tepēk and Takaiu.

8. Reef of Aru and the island of Takaiu.


10. Island by Aru on the north point of Aru.

11. Channel of Oa and Mesiŋc.

12. Island on the north rim of the harbor of Matōlenim.

13. Island on the south rim of the harbor of Matōlenim.


15. Mangrove island on the entrance to the ruins of Matōlenim.

16. In the ruins of Matōlenim.

1. Sky demons (?)

1. Ancient name of Ponape; the reef on which Ponape rests.

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

2. Woman, hold tightly, woman cast open.

3. Eir = south = seat of evil.
IV. The System of Law

1. Property Law

All land is divided up and is only in the hands of the high nobility, who passes it on to the people as fief (Kauvap). Only the foreigner must buy land. Besides the feudal land there is another type of land possession, whose meaning does not become completely clear from the contradictory statements of the natives. It is the Nánue, which one person explained as a kind of family property of the high nobility, which others consider the private property of the great chiefs.

In Kiti, the nánue is largest. It is the region of Tsapae takai near Tamarolo. In Matolenim, it covers Tamán and Nan Matol, besides the neighboring islands.

In U it is insignificant, and Šokés and Nót have no such land at all. The Nanamariki passes on this land only to the highest nobles of his state, who must occasionally alternate in the usufruct. As recompense they must furnish him with prepared foods and the first fruits. A native said: The Nanamariki divides his land (the nánue) into two parts. The first he keeps for himself, the other he distributes among his children, i.e., the rights of sovereignty are held by the eldest son, who passes it on to the other siblings and also the grandchildren of the Nanamariki. As he himself gives to the father, the siblings have to furnish him fruits for just as other tenants. When the Nanamariki dies, his share falls to the eldest son. By this, the Nánue would go to another sib and then it is only a "family possession" in the sense that it passed from the father to the son, but does not remain in the sib. But even so, the thing appears contradictory. Although the chiefs generally descend from the same sib, it must still be assumed that every high chief possesses his own Nánue, because his predecessor in office can never be his father, and therefore does not leave them to...
usufructory land of the Nanamariki, ruling at that time, that is not connected with the person but rather with the rank and can therefore not be inherited.

The fief of the high nobles have approximately the character of family fief, because the land may only be taken from them in the case of offenses, and the Nanamariki confirms the successor at the death of the holder, that is, it again newly invests. According to Hahl, the Tsoitei sibs have a right to land and title and can agree on the holder of the rank among themselves. The Kausap land, with the individual fiefs, pali en tisap, that is, hide of land, is passed on, compared with tribute to the paramount chief and the next superior rankholder. As a rule, the tribute consists of ten baskets of fruit for each. Often poultry is included.

The Kausap, Botobot in Kit. Regional chiefs: Tsoou mateau (tip en ual), father was Seripo: Tau Kit. The Kausap fall into 2 parts: Akak and Botobot.

(owner

sons of the Tsoou matau

Tsoou matau en Auak, brother of the Tau and of the Nanamariki (Tip en ual)

Also, the pali en tisap may be still divided further. The tenants of these small pieces of land, makota, are the aramasi maal. Every native lives on his hide. The large property owner builds his farmstead on the best place of his extensive property. Around his residence house stand the houses of his young brothers, sons and other relatives. Added to these are the huts of the smaller tenants, and furthest away then stood the miserable huts of the Nigurts.

The farmsteads have a stone enclosure.
their special place, generally a certain corner where they wait until they are
required. The Alahas must stay with their families on the land granted to
them. If it no longer suffices, the Topeiti must make a new arrangement which
he can cancel according to his choice. But the taking-away of land without a
just reason is perceived as unfair.

All unbestowed regions, all fallow land and bush are at everyone's disposal
for hunting and fishing. He who has cleared a bit of bush or planted coconut
on-fallow ground is considered the owner. This of course only within the
framework of feudal laws. Fruit trees are common property. Now and then they are marked
as taboo by wrapping thread or bark around them. Even touching or eating of the
fruit is considered punishable, because it becomes sarau or karra, i.e. sacred.

Also, the mangrove trees or other edible trees belong to every tribe member.

Only a foreigner must pay for them. Fishing is pursued by everyone at will
within the reef area in front of his state. Agricultural crops (yams, kava)
and dogs are private property. Only the owner is allowed to decide on their use.

There was a special law with regard to runaway dogs or rather stay dogs which
are taken in, and ceremonies not described in detail which were in the Nanamariki's
hands and which are not additional

Also people without land or bondsmen could have property. They had boats
and other valuable property. Formerly, wealth consisted of the possession of
mats, fibers, fruits, canoes and houses. Rich people, the generous, and the
magnanimous were highly respected, the poor ones, thieves and the stingy, were
despised. Goods and chattels

The corporeal properties belongs to the husband. The woman, or rather—
the right of use also event that
widow has only usufructuary rights in case she herself does not have a fief,
which is rare. Husband and wife have joint-property and the man must be responsible for the debts of his wife.

2. The Law of Inheritance

In this area, two contradictory attempts are noticeable. The natives make uncertain and inexact statements which alone indicate a decay of the old laws or conflict. Also, the time for investigation seems already to be too late; the old law had faded. These contradictory principles are on the one hand, to keep the inheritance in one's own family and sib by passing it to the sister's son, and on the other hand, to let title and landed property go from one sib to another, through the inheritance of the son who belongs to the foreign sib to which his mother belongs. According to O'Connell, the succession, katauto or go, 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 fief, the landed property, indeed had to be transferred a bit awkwardly, but ratification was usual. According to Hambruch, a chief is not followed by the next, but after all brothers of the rank. When all are dead, the sister's son takes the rank, thus pure matriarchal succession.

When a man had only daughters, he could also leave his fief to a daughter, and the Nanamariki used to consider the fief free when there were no children at all. A man's remaining property and the other possessions of a man are distributed with partial preference to the sister's children, after that to the rest of the maternal relatives. According to the statement by others, each of the relatives and funeral guests takes what he likes. Only his axe and ornaments are left to the deceased. The uncultivated property of the deceased is available to everyone.
3. Penal Law

In olden times the law of might prevailed. The Tsopéiti were nearly absolute masters. Yet there was a procedure to complain against them for the humiliation, that the Nanokin represents before the Nanamuriki. But there is no report about the prospects. The master had the right to kill his bondman. However he was not allowed to sell him. The next judge was always the owner of the land, from whom the guilty ones or quarrelling parties had their fiefs.

Above him stood the Nanamuriki. There was no appeal against his decision. He had an influential counsel beside him and the punishment was fixed or proposed by the Nanokin.

According to O'Connell, the sense of justice was healthy, lively and offenses rarely occurred. Everyone submits to the caste system as a necessity. (There were 60% Nígurts as compared with the free people.) All offenses against the law, as for instance legacy-hunting were considered offenses against the whole. The laws were clear, unambiguous and known to everyone. Therefore, nobody attempted to appropriate what was not due him. (Also Kubary said: They could not steal because there was nothing to be stolen.) Lying was useless and was used only as a weapon against foreigners.

Moreover, an effective means to keep people on the right path was the ancestor belief and totem belief. All offenses in this respect are avenged by the ani. Yet it cannot be forgotten that the living and dead form one sib. Sickness and death strike the person who violates a law sanctified by custom or religion; he is "riale".

Blood-vengeance, men tipuk, was considered 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.
At one time the men took vengeance on the whole tribe of the perpetrator. They
would hit man, woman, or child. Wergild was not known, at least not within
the close family of the persecuted. The Saulik en Tsokola tells an example of
this:

**Vendetta**

On Blood Vengeance

A man from the Sau en Kaudat married in Auk; the man was called Esirom,
and his wife, Li pêi rinin. Now there was a man called Men Tsakau, who
committed fornication with the wife. Therefore Esirom went away from Auk and
went to Nankap. One day he fetched his rifle and returned to Auk in order to
observe the other man. When he waited there, the other appeared and both met.

Esirom shot at the man. But he did not hit him. The man now ran towards
Esirom, seized his knife and killed him. The Auk people buried him; but his
sibs, among them also Saulik en Tsokola, were enraged about it and wanted to
start a war, but they did not carry out this intention, because the one man
who had committed the crime would have caused many people to be killed. So
they went to Auk one day in order to observe the man. They could not find
him; so they thought to seem contented for some years so that the man would
forget it. All were satisfied with this:

A long time had already passed when Saulik en Tsokola gathered his eight
people together; they put their rifles and knives in order and went to Auk,
in order to observe the man. When they were in the high mountains Saulik en
Tsokola asked the oracle and received two answers: one, blood will flow, the
other, two are caught. With this their courage was strengthened. They went
to the spot and hid there to lie in wait for the man. During their wait, the man appeared accompanied by a boy; Saulik en Tsokola aimed his
Then they marched away from Anak and when they were in the high mountains, they blew the shell horn and rejoiced; thus they came home, for now the joy in their families was great because they had been revenged by blood. Thus all Sau en Kauat people are satisfied with it until today. The vendetta was satisfied by this means, being continued by opposition on the part of the opposite party.

Despite the favorable judgment by O'Connell and Kubary, the Bonape people did not determine specific penalties for crimes for which they have fixed certain punishments. Adultery and abduction were already reported (cf. p.74). Serious crimes are judged by the Nanamariki or rather Nanekin. They maintain they do not know about torture. O'Connell reports of them in his time, although he did not experience it (first-hand) for no corresponding appropriate crimes were committed. Murder of fellow tribe member was punished by death, likewise 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 rank of the victim, e.g., theft, concealment of property, robbery, and bodily injury would be penalized by the death sentence. Vendettas were conducted and blood-vengeance was practiced when the murder had been committed by a foreigner to the tribe. The same applies to rape. Otherwise, according to the discretion of the judge, they punished this offense by the confiscation of the fief, the loss of title, and fettering. Stander, kapi, which harms others, they punish the family of the perpetrator and destroy, in proportion to the seriousness of the offense, the house, canoe, sheds, or plantations.

 Forced labor is carried out near the chief: weeding, felling of trees, house-building and others. The chief supplies provisions for the offender during that time. Punishment by imprisonment, tsalati en kalabus, became known to
them first through the European. Exile was already known to them earlier.

When somebody is exiled by a (Ponape) chief, he will be chased from his property and roam about homeless in other regions. He will also be punished by throwing stones. Moreover, O'Connell mentions wounding with shells or other pointed objects, knocking down a club, against which the evil-doer was not allowed to defend himself. In his time for a serious crime there was breaking the skull, burning it and scattering the ashes to the wind. Also, the body of the judge 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-rather the Nanamariki passed judgment. But the execution was left to the family.

Although the Ponape man is vindictive, according to Christian, and capable of waiting a long time for his hour, yet they consider reconciliation as something quite noble. In it they observe an exactly-prescribed ceremony. They party seeking reconciliation gives an appropriate gift, the katom, to the offended which becomes particularly valuable, significant and honored by the supplementary gift of sugar cane. This serves as an apology. Then one's honor is satisfied, and the affair is settled.

Charm for Reconciliation

Make yourself smaller and speak softly!
When you have lighted up
It lights on the mountains, you look well,

Mistress Lional!
Sit down far from this game,
I have gone for them,
Their faces see me, their mouths talk about me,
Let it stop, stop, cease with it. 183/84

Reconciliation Charm.

Desist

Step (you enemies).

We are coming (my friends),

Tsăkëren pépeí, people of Letâu,

Lümë, Little Letâu, large Letau,

Do not speak, do not speak any longer, do not speak about me!

Reconciliation Charm

Li ŋñ Tiušou, Li en Katsikito,

Come, help, that they do 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 a day with no wind!

Reconciliation Charm.

Limaraséi, little Limaraséi,

Great Limaraséi,

The wind roars, the wing of Tsumuñ, howling

Loud is the roaring noise.

Keremèsiu laughs about Mëntak,
I put on a wreath,
The wreath suits me well,

Does the wreath suit me?
I look like a čsaúainč flower,
What does my face look like? it looks like a man

Who makes others happy, makes happy

"Iñañ tak the mán!

When two 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 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 in order to ascertain whether the king or his chiefs are angry with them.

When they do not accept the sugar cane, a guest feast is given for them and they hand them the gift once more.

Suicide, pein kametela, is frequent among them and can be brought about by trifling matters. One decides to do it out of rage and anger, makar, and often also the corruption of the sib impels them to it. They use various means in the case of "kongo" the suicide victim retires to a cave and starves to death. Otherwise, starving is called kalsolielar. Some choose hanging, lusiomala. The strangest is the custom of tying the penis to one's big toe with a rope and tearing it off.

most peculiar
Footnotes

     2  Ibid., page 8
     3  The king appoints the primary rank holder usually from his own sib.

150  1  Kubary, loc. cit., page 130.

153  1  To testify ts'oun kair, to steal pt'rap, rob and murder lalap.
     2  Christian, page 72.
     3  War council.

155  1  On the Carolines, the star Antares.
     1  Pereiro, page 112. printed in vol. 3.
V. Concepts and Knowledge

1. The Universe

The firmament is held up by Man kio, Kio, Ki en puel and a fourth being whose name they no longer know. They divide sky itself into four zones. Nān epān en ārē corresponds to the north, Nā kap 례 lān to the west, Nā kīrāy to the south, and Lemezičiā to the east. Heaven and earth were one. Then the god Tau Kātaū separated them from each other, because he wanted to possess heaven for himself alone.

2. Knowledge of Navigation, Stars and Chronology

In ancient times they appear to have had much better knowledge of the firmament and in connection with it, the science of navigation, than now. To this also corresponds the decline of navigation on the high seas, which was already obvious in O'Connell's time. In 1910, there was no longer a pāli, i.e. sailing master for long voyages. He tells that they like to sit down alone and observe the stars, and Christian also mentions that some old people were clever stargazers and also were well informed about weather and winds and prevailing ocean currents. They distinguish the South Sea, pāli sīr, the north sea, pāli epān, the sea in the west, pāli kāpi, and the sea in the east, pāli mēse. 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 vui, they call the rotoroki red sea (over the reefs) they call vui wetsāsa shining sea, i.e., the sunshine on the water, they call vui maraī. All islands in the south and west are called Paizi. The islands in the east they know since ancient times by the names Rāzāk and Rālīk.

The knowledge of the stars is not much better. Most of the star names still exist among them are Carolinean (*). They still have the following extract
constellations:

Ma'lap* (Big Bear or Little Bear)
Ma'gürel* (Plejeden)
Kieł mău*
Limizege rik
Tsumuz* (Antares)

Kopun' eir
Zareboul*
Kilik
Mimul* (Orion's Belt)
Lepôq

Yet a few others, as is apparent from the following native
texts and the so-called star-song and the legend. For them, the stars are closely
connected to the weather.

Story of Some Stars

The people of

Thus the Ponapese people think about the stars. There are stars which cause
and
great winds, others under which in time are likewise followed by rain. And they
think that the stars cause this because the Ponapese people calculate according
to the stars in the sky and know all times when (for that reason)
violent winds
and rain appear. They name the stars as follows:

The stars are named:

1. Puń en eir
2. Žeripuël
3. Likatät
4. Timuř
5. Pel en Timuř
6. Ma'lap'
7. Kif en ua
8. Kif limań
9. Mësilap'
10. Lánkaretq
11. Ma'gürel
t
12. Ù'u kal
13.
14.

The Ponapese people know this of all stars, because they bring the wind.

Therefore they have given the names. There is an immense number of star
names, so I have not written all down.

Song of the Stars

Which of the stars will rise now

Puń en eir, Taŋpue, Li'air e'lan?
And who will then stand up in the sky

Tūmūr, Mela Tūmūr, Melē Tūmūr,
Ki en uā, Maitik, Li en uā,
Lāk e'pīl, Sāsā, Likātāt?
Likam e'mi's enters the meeting,
Nāni puarāta points with the hand
Forwards, forwards, move in front

Māti en mār, on Li pōn iān
And secretly Mālāp climbs up,
Then violent rains pour down.
You come four,
You also come Ed men, Uār en men,

Uār en lah and Take en liōl,

Limeširīkerī, who stands there far away,
Niu tiketik as well as Sāsā laūn,

They call the crabs,

They also call (the) (morning star) Meŋ e'rān,
And the rain will come again,
Men pua koto, also
Men pokolūk, 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,
Harvest time is now, harvest time is now

A Star Tale

There was once a woman named Likitānī, who created the stars, because she gave birth to them. None ever obeyed their mother. And they never wanted to
listen to her stories. Only the smallest one, named Margiregir, obeyed his mother and listened to her stories. And one day they wanted to wander in a land of heaven (Mezielah) named Mezierak. All her children made preparations for the departure. The mother Likitanir wanted to go with them. But the largest of the children named Tumur did not want her to go with them because the canoe would be too full and would go slowly. But the smallest boy named Margiregir, finished with his preparations later. Then the mother sent word to him that she wanted to sail with him. The boy obeyed, and the mother now took a great deal with her. Then they both travelled behind all the others. The woman practiced lots of magic and also made a sail. These two, who then sailed after the others, arrived first in the east. And the mother raised her smallest boy to the Nanamariki of the country. Thus he ruled, and many people were under him. Now when all the brothers appeared and saw that their smallest brother had become Nanamariki, they became quite 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 possessions. Then they regretted that they had not obeyed their mother for they had received bad return but their little brother had been obedient and had been well-rewarded for it.

And thus all the stars received their names. But the star Margiregir was greatly worshipped by the people of Ponape because it brings them good wind, good days around harvest time. Therefore the people of Ponape look forward to the harvest time because in the harvest time all edible plants bear fruits; for this reason it is called harvest time. But in the paf-time, only one tree named of paf does this; it then blossoms alone, well and beautiful yet all other trees have no blossoms and fruit then. This time is called isol.
consists of five parts of the year or five times. They divide the year into five parts, of which they call one-half rak and the other par, because they count only ten months, five months during rak and five months in par; thus they think about the year.

These are the names of all months in a year:

Ir
Pōn uau
Taliaram  par
Makirekire
Pen
Erin
Êpen
Mesetau  rak
Taulel
KI

Thus they count all months; and they think about the days in the month in the following way: there are thirty days in a month; but they do not count the days of the month but the nights. They think that sixteen nights belong to the light moonlight period. And then their names in light moonlight period follow until the beginning of the dark time.

The names of all nights are:

1. Tampito
2. Liñalin
3. Iroñání
4. Māš epun
5. Māš elim
6. Māš gün
7. Māš e'ēk
8. Māš ā u'ēl
9. Māš atuatō
10. Metēl
11. Triapun
12. Arōpuki
13. Takai'npe'i
14. Ėlopuē
15. Ėlomal
16. Imats
17. Êf
18. Lelegi
19. Šanok
20. Ąre en Šanok
21. Șanok in kō muč ni
22. Șanok în kō mena
23. Tșopat muř
24. Tșopat mo
25. Șpenok mur
26. Șpenok mo
27. Orușu
28. Tșutakaran
29. Și
30. Olōk

Thus they think that the period of darkness covers fourteen nights.

Thus they name the nights which they count from the beginning of the darkness.

Thus the Ponape people think about the year, parts of the year and nights.

They divide the year, tsoñ en par, into twelve tsoñ en pun or thirteen marām (moons). The month, tsoñ en pun, is divided into twenty-eight nights, pun. They call the week introduced by the whites, called English vik, the hour klōk. The phases of the moon on Param are:

1. âun rōt
2. eș e rōt
3. âu uël e rōt
4. atō e rōt
5. katsnāul en marām
6. ešake u e rōt
7. ešāk riāu e rōt
8. ešāk ţilu e rōt
9. ešāk pain e rōt
10. marām pūl
11. maś i gī
t12. maś ţere
13. maś i ţīl
14. maś e pān
15. maś a lim
16. maś âun
17. maś eș
18. maś ațel
19. maś gto
20. katał āul
21. ol o pāe
22. ol o māl
23. tagān péri
24. māt (full moon)
25. ţr
26. rōt en pān uēl
27. ţere rōt
28. e ţil e rōt
29. epān e rōt
30. elīm e rōt
It is strange that thirty instead of the otherwise usual twenty-eight are enumerated here.

They know only two seasons: nān rāk, the breadfruit period, and nān isol, the yam period.

They divide the day, rān to, in the following parts:

kutōr en pil
cricket's song (singing?)
mosquito's buzz (wii?)
chirping immediately after sunset
midnight
6 o'clock in the evening
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 periods, they calculate according to the four great catastrophes in their history:

nolīk
the great flood
puń bōtobōt
the great drought
mēlemēl or legk
typhoon and famine
mpūtś
smallpox

3. Creation Legends

For them, creation is associated with the creation of the island of Ponape. Here the idea is confused in so far as the thought is mentioned everywhere that Ponape was actually discovered simultaneously from other islands, e.g., Kusae. The legends handed down tell of the creation of the high mountains, the fertile land and the discovery. There are different versions:

The Creation of Ponape (Tsņkēs) (D.26)

There was once a woman who was called Li o pūlōpūl, who lived in a foreign land and had a son named Tōu Kōn. One day they went in their boat and left their
home, in order to seek another land. On the way they became tired during the long voyage and fell asleep in the boat. While they slept, their boat was grounded. 

It had become stuck on a large rock, which rose out of the sea and reached up to the sky. Tūk en takal was in heaven and looked down on the earth. He noticed there that the rock detained the boat. Then he broke the rock into eight pieces; he drew four pieces into heaven and put them down near his home; the others he spread apart with his feet; they flew to the west and fell into the sea. The root of the mountain, however, is in Ponape; it is the Tūk en takal.

Later a man called Mau Kōk appeared, who climbed up a stone and thus became the island; then another appeared, named of Tsau ogor, who remained on the shore; he pushed the water back so that it did not flood the mountains and became the shore. And finally a third one came, named Gatsun en mor, who remained on the outer reef in front of the breakers; he lay down in front of it and thus prevented the waves from approaching the island.

All three are the protective spirits of the island; they hold it together and have also given it the name: Pōn péi, on the stones. (Nōs en Tsōkēs).

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

Formerly Ponape had been a flat island. Then one day four women came from afar: Li péi pāsam, Li péi Košau, Li péi pata and Li péi san. They carried large stones together to a place, Tsālupux, in the middle of the reef. But when they were 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 break them any more. Since then they have remained lying unchanged in Tsālupux, where they can still be seen.

Later three men came named Gatsun en iyor, Tsau ogor and Maukōk. They likewise came from afar. They made the mountains, Tip en tōnelap and Tip en
tōloki. But because the island did not seem good enough to them, Gatsun en iyor made the outer reef by lying down around the island; Tsaun oror became the beach; Mau kōk however formed the island itself by lying over the place. His head lies in Matōlenim, legs in Kiti, body in Tsokeś and the arms in Not. (Kaneke en Tomaroi).

The History of the Creation of Ponape

Formerly in ancient times, there was no land, but probably there were two people, the one called To Kenkef and the other, Pučė en puel 190. Together they left Kusae in a canoe and sailed in all directions on the sea. They found no land. Then they became tired; they anchored the canoe, and then a rock leaped up between the outrigger and the boat itself, and became land. But it was not beautiful yet, because the waves broke over it.

Then the one of the two, named Pučē en puel 190 went back to Kusae and fetched a basket full of earth; with it he formed the ground and pressed it together. Yet still they were not yet satisfied. They agreed with each other that it was not good and wanted to cut off pieces. They cut off the mountain and made eight parts; they brought four to heaven and four remained there. And one was taken away and formed the mountain of Kusae; another, the mountain of Yap; a third remained here and formed the mountain of Tsokeś, which is called Pōn Tōlāp; a fourth was brought to Matōlenim and formed the Takal’u rock. And the top formed Pōn paip, which we called Tep en Takal; and all the fragments made the land, which is called Kapin. Thus originated the land, the water ran down from them; and all fish disappeared. But a tortoise remained on the land; it was called Liän en Tsokeś.

It gave birth and had two boys, who were called Šinekēf and Puenekef. The boys wandered around in the land Matōlenim, and one day made preparations in order to make their sacrifice. Then they both discussed whether they would give the dog to us, and if they give it, we want to take it and exchange it for our mother. Now, their mother lived in a channel in Pōn 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 was created, in whose water she wandered further and thus got to Kamarj there she hid herself in a small place called Al‘marauri; the two boys followed her to that place, loaded her in a canoe and with it went to Matolena. When they were near Matoleni, she said to the two that they should turn her around, so that they could anoint her with Red and make her beautiful for the eel. Then they took her to the Sau Telur. Sau Telur accepted her and sacrificed her in the place of the dog, 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; Li tor kini, who had woven the sail; Li puketa lani, who had hoisted the sail; Li tsap kini, who had first seen the land. They returned to their people and told them: "We have seen a land which floats in the middle of the sea."

Now they set out on a second voyage, which the following song describes:

**Song**

"Ponape suffered a change, truly!"

A vessel left the shore of Ugu in olden times. Yap a kini moves it away, comes down and calls to the canoe's crew:

"Where is Sau peleti, Sau pelata, Li pelete Kelani?"

They are ready to leave; they will go to Pon no muip. They hoisted the sail, it does not go up.

"Where is Li pelete Kalani? She is supposed to come, is supposed to come and hoist the sail!"

They hoisted it (gleam shone). Calm descended, calmly the sea extended.

"Li en Kataulik, Li an'tele, both of you! Come, both of you, help me hold fast my sail!" They both come.
Then they ran down along ʻOroilān, Tikae niau. Then they came to Tapa iho, to hold a leaf oracle about their arrival, in a prophecy about the vessel, about the discovery of the found land. Then they came and stayed a little while. They questioned the shell animal; it said:

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

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

They returned to the land of Uagu to Li ʻap a kini, Li pali kini. I do not want to say more! Those who know more recent information will then correct this, count the row after it. What I say is confused.

"Ponape has truly been changed! A change has befallen Ponape, truly!"

The legend now related further:

Floods tore all earth from the island. Then two people, Yap en pēi and Liarap en pēi, fetched earth in baskets and brought it to the island. In ʻTsalaʻpuk in Kiti they piled up a large stone heap (pē, pē); and therefore the island has received the name Pon pē, on the hill. To prevent new floods, they surrounded the land with mangroves, ʻak, and named it Likatin ape; later they created the outer reef for greater safety and named it Kati ani oḵ.

Thereupon the floods stopped.

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

The Story of a Woman

There was once a woman who lived in a place a long time ago. The place was
called Paretakeria. And the woman was called Limeṣuarañ. The woman became pregnant, she gave birth and had a boy who she called Kaneki en Paretakeria. The boy grew up until he was big; then he got a bad disease and fell ill with leprosy on his face, on his feet and hands; then 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 named Lakam, and scolded the woman so that she should no longer give any more food to the sick person so that he would die, because he could not be of any use and sick people always feel ill and weep. Then it happened that the mother Limeṣuarañ also gave birth to a drinking nut. Then the leper asked his mother to give it to him. And the mother obeyed. Thus the leper got the drinking nut, because she probably liked it, but did not know what she was supposed to do with it. Therefore the leper kept 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 would bury him they should also bury his drinking nut together with him. Then many nights passed. Then the drinking nut grew up high. And it grew higher and higher, until it bore fruits. Then the woman went in order to examine whether they were nice. 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. Then it was also suitable as anointing oil. Now the woman gave the name 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 no one knew anything about it for a long time. Now a man called Nān Ulap, who was the fish master, made a new drag net. And a man called Lakam, the brother of Nān Ulap, prepared the consecration feast; for this is the custom in Ponape, when a new haul is undertaken, some remain on the land in order to cook
much food. This is then called the consecration feast. Three Nān Ülāp consecrated the net and his brother Lākam remained on the land in order to take care of the feast meal. He prepared many kinds of food. The leper's mother brought garnishings to Lākam, many drinking nuts and also killed dogs; these too she gave, because she wanted to shame Lākam, who had always hated the leper so. And thus they partook of drinking nuts and dogs. And when they had finished eating, they praised 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. Lākam spread the dog on Ponape, so that he could give feasts for Nān Ülāp, because Nān Ülāp 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 in Matōlenim. There it grew up, bore fruits and spread to Sāpērak; there, it grew up, bore fruits and spread over the regions of Matōlenim. And when all Ponape had learned to value the nut, it was spread further.

That is what happened in Ponape in ancient times; dogs and nuts were sacrificed.

When somebody possessed a hundred nuts or five dogs, he was admired and named a rich man. Also the nuts were called by many names because of their origin. Some- named are: Kakīgi, Kakipūl, Kakiloŋotō, Kakipeŋeŋ, Kakitaue'i, Kakitito, Kakipār and Kakièue'i.

How Coconuts Originated

Once a man who had leprosy lived in a place. So his nephew often went to him, scolded him and said to him, he should die, because he could not do anything any more. And when he had left him, the invalid felt much worse. Then he told his niece, they should bury him after his death. And they should watch whether anything
would grow out of his grave. Then he died and was buried. After four days a young coconut palm grew up. They were astonished about it, because they had never seen such a thing before. It grew very, very quickly. The people came by, saw the palm and asked, "What kind of tree is that?" They received the answer the man had created it. They said, "What will we do with the tree?" The woman named Inalo answered, "We will eat the fruits, make oil, and also [bait fish] with it." They fetched 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 me a rān, was pregnant. She gave birth. Not to human beings, however, but to many dogs. Then the woman was ashamed that she had borne dogs, and hid them in the hearth pit. A man named Lakam appeared and asked Li me a rān, "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 served with it and some with coconuts. The fishermen grew rather sick; all the other people were glad about this. The coconuts, however, multiplied enormously. One was beached in Ponape. It got to Matolenim to the place Mesiso. There it took root. And from there it spread over Ponape. They became too numerous to count. Thus originated the coconut and spread to Ponape. (Of the Breadfruit Tree)

Tale of the Spirit Woman of Malaua

Formerly no breadfruit trees grew on Roē en Kiti, but bare ground was there.

And the people in Roē en Kiti had no breadfruit to eat. Now once a woman named Li en Roē en Kiti went fishing and caught a fish; she took it to Salapük. Šuum
gave her something to eat for it. But the woman could not carry away the abundance of food. Then Saum gave to her a stone which was quite soft; he had taken to stone away at Pon Malau. Saum had given supernatural magical powers to this stone. The woman took the stone and put it down on Roi en Kiti. A wonderful ground came from the stone; and so it also permitted the breadfruit trees to grow up in Roi en Kiti. However, we call the stone Liets en Malau. Therefore Roi en Kiti is also called Malau peie, and the place from which the stone originated is named Malau paille. Later it was taken away.

On yams

Formerly there were no yams on Ponape. Now a man, Kerou Anipein, lived in Anipein who asked another man, Kerou Einu Muam, who lived in Tsokola, for yams. But the latter refused him, because 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: Impilpar, impelkalimut. These he sent to Kerou Anipein. The latter rejoiced greatly, because now there were yams. Kerou Einu Muam, however, has created them from stones.

Tale of (the) Yams

The yam Kep en Eir is supposed 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 tight. 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!" Thus he remained in this place and sent his sprouts to the small place, 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 Saulik en Leek. He remained in Leek and sent out his sprouts further to Anipein, where he called himself Kerou en Ponial.


4. Medical Science

What they know of the human body, its functions and diseases, is a mixture of good observations, scientific knowledge and magical ideas. Their behavior is accordingly. Sensible natural treatment in therapeutics alternates with all kinds of conjuration, because all diseases are caused by angry spirits.

The sick people are nursed lovingly. Of course, it sounds different in old legends. They keep watch day and night in the house which is carefully protected from fresh air, and try everything in order to ease the sick person's pain. He bears it resolutely because it is considered highly improper to whine and cry. In serious cases, the whole family gradually also appears from other states and each remains with the ailing person for some time. If he is of high rank, moreover, his friends assemble in front of the house and try by singing and sacrificial gift of kava or sugar-cane, to appease the wrath of the spirit which makes him sick.

Healing is practiced by the priests. But there are also women experienced in it who they consult. In order to reconcile the disease spirit, the priests drink sea water, which is considered something magical. About the great offerings required were sacrificial gifts needed by them, it has already been discussed. Also, the ouma (questioning) has a magical meaning. By putting his hand on the sick part of the body, the priest finds out which ancestor spirit or other demon causes the suffering. A means very probably used by the natives also for a magical reason is the kasiau, the change of air. Especially considering the deficient airing in the sick hut, it is very effective if the sick person is taken to a distant place.

In ancient times they knew only a few diseases. O'Connell boasts of their good health and their great age. He does not speak of leprosy, tuketuk. As they themselves told, foreign natives first introduced it. Because lepers were not
the ancient legends, the creation and savior tales, it can be assumed that this happened very long ago and O'Connell probably did not notice it. Presumably they removed the sick people soon. However, leprosy was certainly never mixed up with ringworm, *kāl en uai* because both diseases have completely different names.

The latter probably is connected with the idea that partaking too abundant of fermented breadfruit, *kāi*, makes one ill. Nothing could be found out about a medical treatment. They probably do not know any besides the exorcism.

Of Leprosy

A lot of leprosy once came from abroad. They were called Lāp en mukō, Aun mukō, Šeri'n, mukō, Kāneki en mukō; one woman was called Lioemeirī and another, Liopepepe; they arrived at Kīpā, a place in the state of Kīti. The men who lived in Kīpā in the little place of Nān Kāpuāl, built the Pe' in tuketuk and called it Pe'o pe'i in tuketuk; and the women went to Nān Meirō and there built a stone construction, which is named Pe' in tin ua'ita; the two remained there. The men made divinations in Kīpā and told fortunes there; both women took two medicines and divined with them. The one is called a medicine, *bānpek*, and the other, Kise't tik mei. The charm for these medicines against leprosy is called Kerātak en Kāpuāl:

'I swing up on Kāpuāl,
I climb up on Kāpuāl,
The small child of Nān Kāpuāl
Has died of leprosy,

The large child of Nān Kāpuāl
_has died of leprosy,
But I am not dead.
Bad skin, bad,

and good skin, good!

Li o me iiri, Li o me iiri,

Li o pēlipēl, Li o pēlipēl,

Take away the liver, then eat it up.

Tšou Tšoke and Lōk Tšoke,

Go away, go to Nān Kapuāl

Main Nān Tšoke,

Take with you the pains of leprosy

Far to the water, to the great one abroad,

Main Nān Tšoke!

Extremely popular among them is the massaging and stroking of the sick part of the body; they do not seem to have magical motives with it. They name it pēnāla tumūa and kolpēne kil en āna. Massaging of the head and abdomen is itan kapēti; the pressing of the head is called patikam tamuer mōri en aramās. For headaches they practice ēlēl magic.

Charm for Headache

Your skin? What is the matter with your skin? Li tšal tì, Li tšalaa tì?

Spirit behind the heaven, spirit under the heaven,

Spirit of Tšara, spirit of Pīk en Tšamol, Tāhan

Please come up,

Take away this pain,

Bring away this pain,

Bring this pain into the far distance, (this torment.)

Take away this pain, destroy this pain,

Send it away,

Far beyond heaven!
Conjuration for Headache

"I, Tata, fetch away the headache,
The pain on the forehead,
The pain in the head,
Go away a night distant,
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,
The pain on the forehead,
The pain in the head,
Go away the distance of three nights,
And do not come again.
The pain on the forehead,
The pain in the head,
Go away the distance of four nights,
the distance of five nights,
the distance of six nights,
the distance of seven nights,
the distance of eight nights,
the distance of nine nights,
the distance of ten nights.
Never come again, you forehead pain!

The removal of one testicle has the secondary purpose to preventing elephantiasis. In O'Connell's time, with tattooing, they covered the large wound.
For Swollen Legs

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.
They ask you to let the swelling go down.
Become thin like the foam at the shore.
Become small like small breadfruits,
Go away, go to Eirlap,
Never come again.
Away with you, escape
Into the waters of the distance,
Into an empty nut.
Do not swell again, never again!
I now want to touch the bandage.
I now touch the soft spot.
Tsounkô en tip, Tsounkâ en tip,
Hurry away, take with you
The swelling of this person,
Lord Swelling!
En tispeirer and Rakoa,

But I no longer know the names of the others.

They both take away the sacred canoes

Munâle, Anâle, iaâle,

Karestapunial, because it is the quickest,

None is faster than 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 mussel horn,

Put it down on the boat's platform,

Already the Tôl en Katsau appears,

To Pet en Tšoupur, in Tšatâu,

Raise 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, she takes care of the sail,

because I want to go to Pânkatera,

The younger ones before the elder ones

The other people follow,

Only I remain, I alone.

At the end of the epën festival, in the evening before handing over the new boats to the Nanamariki, this song is sung. Five to six men climb on a boat, dance the kapir and sing:

\[ \text{Paddle Song of the Matolenim People} \]

I always loved the evening of Pônatsulik,

You woke me here in Nânî Korôk, ie.
At night I toss and turn, the people of Māl

Call over to Nānī, i.e.

Call over to Nānī, homesickness torments me.

We want to meet at Muet in Nān Matōl, i.e.

We meet in Nān Matōl at the Pēi lāpalāp,

Everybody talks to me, i.e. e!

Talk to me, do you go to Tsamuī, e.

I go there, I want to return, e,

I want to return, remain at the Tol o Puail.

My ear ornament is of Kāri e,

Of Kāri is my ear ornament take us to Komūn and Kāuei, e,

Take us first to Mutokolo, then to Tiēn and finally to Lāmānī, e!

Drum Song

This is a drum song, it goes:

I remain in the space of the soul, i.e.

I remain in the space of the soul, i.e.

Abandoned at the end of the way to Limoloko,

And nobody comes here,

I would like, my bird, this one

It would come now from Nān Puki en iāp,

It cries and Tsōuiāp calls to it from afar, i.e.

He would fetch it away from Nān Pēi mata iū,

That lives in a foreign underworld,

He wants to ask the oracle

In the Pēi en arūn.
Paddle Song

Thus I will begin to relate,

I think about what I shall praise,

I want to report of (the) Sautelur,

From the time when the ancestors were numerous.

About this time, of this time, from this actual time,

It borders the distant time,

When Ponape was still rich and then lost everything.

Of the people of the uär rikerik, of the uär tiniritin,

When Šumu Kapin pil killed Uari kitam.

Thus he created the mountains of Kamär,

And both planted the tsakau en puulap,

Which rose high up to heaven.

Some branches fell down,

Šauia’p’ came over to it and carried

in the days of old, yea?

His axe from abroad from former times.

The people wanted to take the kava roots.

"Come, now pound the kava,

It grows only in Ponape, and if it is good,

Then give it a name and bring it here

Then bring it here on bird’s wings.

In the heavenly space! way of (the) men,

Way of (the) women, happy time!"

Large mountains will arise in the south;

Will appear on the island of (the) Liatof;

And as I hear,

Peši, Peša, happily they arrive
Abandoned am I in the land,
I want to go to Rúniup', Rúnu,
Tin Kenái and Ten meši pūn;
I bring also a hundred shrubs
And go to Pon Pikapílap,
And go in the beautiful and magnificent canoe:
Go straight away to Luempe,
Who lives alone on the island,
She holds a bundle of fish high,
Which are supposed to be sent to (the) Šautelūr.
Now go like the lightning to Limōk,
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 Anikon was alive,
Ponape was not afraid of anything.

II. The remainder was forgotten

The notorious tarak dances, which are performed during the funeral festivals,
are thus described by the natives:
The tarak dance is performed at the death of a prince. They assemble and
recite heroic legends and sing. Those who loved the chief once behave as if
insane: they cover their heads with leaves and smear their faces with excrement.
They then rove about, singing and crying. They seize women and rape them. For
six days, the men and women thus remain together. They cook together, they fetch-
much food together and also much kava. And go to the nobles with it. All remain
together and play and prepare kava; when all are drunk, they fall asleep.

Song during the tarak Dance

Spirit remain on the Pok mountain,

On the moon mountain,

There make the Šau likin Šoleti Šoleti e!

(pench?)

An owl sits on the Paipalap and listens towards Malélap,

Ehánui drowned and disappeared in Malélap.

In the distance, the sails spread, our sails

In the distance, stretch the paddles,

The helmsman holds the sail straight,

The sailing man frightens the bad wind far-away.

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.

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. A man carries two short pieces of wood and all the others do likewise. They assemble and sit down in the meeting house, in two rows, with the sexes alternating. Then the learning begins; some sing and perform a game at the same time for days until they know it. Then they perform it before the noble; they also bring him many ornaments; the men bring aprons and the women, women's aprons; the noble men keep the men's aprons and give the women's aprons to their wives. Then the food is distributed, and they sit beside the princes and their wives. The spectators have to pay. The sticks are hit together rhythmically and artistically. In addition, one sings:

Tukia Dance song

Hedah Šamarek! I do not fear the Šamarek!
I have held a war council.
Because you are not ashamed before the crowd.

To behave like a child, to bow down,
Do you not know any good behavior, sit down!

* * *

Now, just go to Ponău,
Take part in the Muašanap' dance.
But do not move,
Lie down, take it up,
Take it on 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 with me today, do not go.
ige, ige, ige, ige aurő!

(A related group, seem to be the yapei dances, whose texts are partly erotic, partly legendary. According to Hahl, the "japei" is a simple sitting dance, in which hand motions are made. It once had religious significance.

The fleet departs from here, goes away,
Goes away and completely around Ponape.

Tonight we want to love each other,
Come, bring us the sleeping mats, the rolled ones,
And also the fish oil for anointing, which smells pleasant.

A woman from this country, I cause me to be dear.

She will prepare longing for me.

And hopes and hopes,

We go together, we come apart from each other!

Alas, small only is your love, already you want to go.

By you always think, you only always think.

Of other women, because they smell good.

---

Song of the Tiripéišo:

Now I want to hear in the beginning of the story.

Where is the place from which the two once left,

Whether at the outer shore or at the river's bank?

And further, I would like to know about the two,

Who is the Lapen of whom they always speak,

Lapen who moved, out to foreign countries.

And still remained here and did not go away?

Of which bananas did they then speak?

The bananas which floated away from both plantations, swam away from them,

In order to land later in Pänkatra.

Sau Telur ordered the two to come;

Then they changed their appearance and gave themselves other titles.

"Who will travel now?"

"Not I, my first servant shall go!"

When a canoe had come,

Then they went off through the entrance of Ŝenipéin.

Through the entrance of (the) Taû Ţokola,

Thus both went in the canoe.
They passed on Take en Iap.
And got in the Tau en Šenípein.

Kânéki jumped up on the beach and went with them;

Then when they talked with each other on the open sea,
The thunder rolled over the water.
Nâñ Džâpue came there:

"It is you Šau, are you bringing my my taro wreath?"
He got down and took the wreath; they turned away their faces at Lipuats,
At Take en Iap and landed in Šakâr 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 could not, they had to remain in the canoe, they could
not get out.
The two were questioned, admired him, squatted down, all together
And looked at the Tiripéišo

All moved the seats together, they looked the Tiripéišo in the face,
then a feather from him fell into the carrying basket of both.
Then both packed, went off, home travelled the canoe, home

(Which) glittered and shone like the lightning in the sky,
But they brought something from the bird Tiripéišo.

In Matolenim they landed; then they brought the gift to Sau Telūr.

Sau Telūr died of it, he died through the Tiripéišo, was the cause of his death
Because he had ordered the voyages for both.
Both came home.
Lāpen asked, where they came from;
Because only one feather of the Tiripéišo had come,
But not his body,
Because the foreigners had not allowed this;

Then they no longer spoke about the last Telur

Who had fled from Matavaenni

Who had gone to Pōnaulan, 
Who had found death in Kamanuapanu.
So this is it.
Thus ends the song.

The uen is accompanied by the instruments mentioned (nose flute and frum). For which exhibits formal/strict motions, Pereiro it is the old, traditional dance demonstrated exact measures and few violent movements. In doing so the men have the desire to show themselves in the best light.

4. The Musical Instruments

The old musical instruments have been almost completely displaced. The triton's horn, tsau, gives the signal for the beginning and the end of the great fishing expeditions and invites to the festivals, kapatip and meetings, kopu. Formerly, it was also blown at the beginning of a fight. Christian believes in a signal language from village to village.

The drum, aip, was unobtainable by 1910. Pereiro calls it pikipiki:

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. The ends are covered with dried fish bladder. This kind of strengthened drum has a smaller diameter in the middle, here and at the edges of the ends square-shaped decorations are carved out, which they paint in various colors, mostly red and black. When the festival ends, at which it was beaten, then detach the skin and put a new one on, as it bursts easily and is very quickly worn out. It scarcely lasts longer than a week.

Christian collected a drum in Palekia (now in the British Museum).
that was about 5 feet high, carved from Premna wood, and was covered with the skin of a sting ray. It was beaten with hibiscus sticks. The drum is a kind of object sacred to the state, once had a proper name and is only found in the possession of the Nanamariki or Nanakin. This one and only very few others may play it. Therefore it is very improbable that it accompanied work songs, as Pereiro states.

There were only seven drums in Kiti. In war, the victor proclaimed his victory if he could, on the captured drum of the subjugated state. If a new drum was to be made, a tree trunk was pu on the path and axes next to it. Everyone who came on the path had to work on it for a while until the inside was hollowed out. The individual parts of the hour-glass shaped cylinder are called: neck = sau en aip; inside = uā ūn en aip; drumskin = sōr, from the skin of the spotted ray, met; cord for fastening = kis en aiāu en pānā; ornamental fringe of bast hanging down = kis en aiāu en pā. The neck is separated from the upper and lower part by two narrow bead rings. It becomes reduced towards the bottom. Directly above the lower surface there is another ring attached. The upper edge of the upper part slants sharply (outward) and projects downward over the side; through which a sharp edge is formed, under which the binding cord and ornamental fringes are held.

Originally the natives knew only the nose flute, kās, ān en tsuma. (Fig. 28, No. 538 II). In blowing it, it is held in the right hand, and the fingerholes, niū en meiū, are therefore only on the off side. The inside is called saū, the end with the blowing hole, ān en tsumū. It is not visible in the illustration.

Including the latter, the nose flute has only three fingerholes. O'Connell also described it like this. Pereiro and Christian, however, saw nose flutes with six stops.

The mouth flute (fig. 29 and 30, No. 536 II and 537 II), about whose origin nothing is known, is called kās an lip en rān nil šulu, when it has three stops,
kas a līp en rāu -nil pāiu, when it has four stop. The blowing hole on the end is called a n en aa and the circle around the end, mona. The blowing hole lies in a line with the fingerholes.

Furthermore, on Ponape, there is a tongue flute, which according to Hambruch, was introduced in 1826 by O'Connell's friend, Keenan, and represents the much admired mouth flute of the Ponape people. The one shown here has four fingerholes.

All of these flutes are made of reed, called rāu. For the nose flutes, a small blowhole is bored into the internode. But in the case of open reeds, however, the opening, which is much too wide for this purpose, is narrowed by leaf plugs.
184 1 Peredo, Logi 661, p. 104.

185 1 O'Connell Vol. I, page 43, where he is quoted, it concerns his statements in Chapters XI and XIII.

186 1 The son of Li 6u Mesilán.

188 1 Sharks came and ate the feet and limbs of the people sitting in the boat.

189 1 Request to the reef, to hold fast the giant.

190 1 The fire.

191 1 According to Hahl, "Beiträge zur Zentsnitz der Umgangssprache von Ponape," page 13, pomäue = it smells very good. The song collection is named kêt en uen, mën en sarautu iap, epalap, mãen ëar, kipáen tem, epëu, etc. and some are also (said) (be of foreign origin)? supposed to also originate from abroad.

197 1 It is supposed to be asked of the oracles, where the two chief concealed can hide themselves most securely.

199 1 Matojaním.

200 1 L. H. Gulick: Vocabulary of the Ponape Dialect, 1882.

201 1 Slit coconut leaves. Each stripe corresponds to a person invited.

2 In the middle.

3 The fingers of the hand are lengthened with coconut fronds, with the exception of the thumb.

4 The seri sarautu, sacred children, who are supposed to ward off the evil spirits.

202 1 Pereiro, page 125.
Footnotes

202 1 Christian, p. 139.


2 Christian, page 140.

3 Christian was unable to grasp their meaning as the language of the old songs sounded so strange to him. Loc. cit., p. 139.

207 1 Fragment, untranslatable.

208 1 According to another note of Hambruch's, the are short songs of a joking content which are sung at every possible occasion.

209 1 Hambruch in his notes, gives no translation of this word.

210 1 The drum is called kapar. In Gulick loc. cit., p. 18, kapar means "march in a line" and kapit! go round about an object, hover over.

2 Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt, III, p. 100.

211 1 Is carried out during epui festivals.

212 1 In Palikir.

2 Entrance to the Underworld.

215 1 Goddess of the Underworld. (mother region?)

216 1 Another expression for coitus.

2 In ancient language.

217 1 Formerly mats and fiber cloth.

2 Gifts of good.


2 Name, "around the stones" for Ponape in the song.

219 1 Coitus.

220 1 Pereiro, p. 125.
Footnotes

2 Christian, p. 138: "I firmly believe that between village and village is a regular code of signal-calls almost as effective as our telephone."

According to Christian the old names would be Peu or Pau; Pikir means to hit a drum, thus Pereiro's false statement, pp. 138 and 139.

1 Pereiro, p. 124.

224 "224 In Pereiro, p. 124, they are named parri; in Christian, p. 138, Chup en ro or Chup en parri.


1 According to Christian Ro describes a type of reed grass, and parri, however, the bamboo. The flute described by Pereiro was of box tree (cano bole) and two hand widths long.

Marshalls Indices -

Gebräuchswort - something like common name
Economy and Material Culture

I. Standard of Living and Nutrition

1. Division of Labor

In ancient times, the Nigurts did nearly all the work for the nobles. In particular, they cultivated the soil for their masters and fished. If noblemen fished, it only happened as a pastime. Only in war did they paddle the canoes themselves. Besides, they received the agricultural products which the free tenants owed them as tribute for their land fief. Nevertheless, certain jobs were considered honorable: house and canoe building, the making of ornaments, the twisting of coconut fiber, the procuring of banana fiber and the manufacture of the various colors.

The women manage the household. Where the men themselves clear the land, help outside, when the man wants them to, cooking was once performed by the Nigurts. Now the women do it. Moreover, they made the bark cloth. Then, as today, they weaving. Weaving is forgotten. Baskets, grass skirts, belts, sail are the products of their diligence. As a special task, they manufacture the highly valued fish perfume.

They also have the duty of filling the water calabashes and to build and to maintain the earth ovens.

2. Nutrition

Food is abundant. The dense settlement of the coastal strips compels the natives to sedentariness and a residence in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling house. Yams, breadfruit, bananas and coconut are so plentiful, and the abundance of the first two mentioned is so great, that a comfortable
lift is assured them. When planting kava and yams, these two plants enjoy the greatest care. They observe abstinence from women and from meat of all kind, as they also let a general fast precede it. With reference to the cultivation, the native related:

**On the Cultivation**

Early in the morning the land around the house is cleared and also the bush, as far as necessary. A yam is dug up and cut into pieces; the ground is cleared and the pieces of the yam (the tops) are planted. As soon as the yams sprout up, they set out and cut hibiscus. The hibiscus must dry. Then they cut the hibiscus into pieces and the yam shoots are drawn up on it. When the yam has ripened, they fetch it, cook and eat it.

When the people of Ponape plant bananas, they fetch shoots of banana shrubs, carry them to the fields, make holes and plant them in them and let them grow until they are ripe. Then they pick them, carry them home and hang them up for three days for ripening. Then they cook and eat them.

Coconut palms are planted in the following manner. They fetch ripe, old nuts, take them into the field and let them lie; then they plant them, and keep the place weeded, until the palm bears fruit. Then they climb the palm in order to get nuts for eating, and let the ripe nuts fall to the ground. They cut up the ripe nuts for copra, sell them to the whites and get money in order to buy beautiful things.

In general, they eat only light food and even this only in limited quantities. The chief meal is in the evening. Meat is a feasted food, and then only a side dish. The dishes are prepared in cookhouses and are cooked well. There is something particular about this fire hearth, the um, Re-
who has no um does not count in the circle of companions. With every hide originating in the time of the ancestors, likewise as a title, the right must be also connected to possessing a fireplace in the community house, or at least to taking part in one such. The liege lord, for his part, measures his authority according to the number of fireplaces. Um tapa? "How many fireplaces are here or do you call your own," is a common question. The higher the prince ranks, the greater the honor of the um. There are two descriptions of the preparation of food:

In Ponape, they usually cook food in this manner. Thus they used to cook food on Ponape. First we fetch firewood, then we pile it up in the pit. When it is breadfruit season, we fetch a long stick and go to pick breadfruit, until there is enough for the meal. We also gather leaves from bananas and breadfruit trees and put them in a pile. When everything is cooked, we open the oven. Then we bring the fruits to our wife and our children, so that they can eat. The next morning we do not cook; only when little food is left do we cook again, but when there is food present, we do not cook. When there is no breadfruit, when it is isol, we still prepare our ovens. Then we eat a mangrove fish, go to the field with it and dig yam. We always get the one which is ripe for cooking; we prepare our meal with it. Now there is a yam meal which is called itīg. We get firewood, put it down, and then get a yam which is suitable for itīg.

When we have it on the spot, we put it in water and peel the skin off with a knife. Then we put it in a basket; next we fetch ripe coconuts. We put them down; then we prepare the oven; one man grates the coconut and another grates the yam. When they are finished, we sprinkle the grated coconut over the yam; then we add water to the grated coconut and wring it out over the itīg. When this is done, we fetch young taro leaves, wrap the itīg cakes in them and tie them with hibiscus
considered

who has no um is not a member of the club. The right to own a fireplace in the community house, or at least to have a share in such a one, also has to be connected with every lawful hide descending from ____________, just as with a title.
fiber threads. Next we spread the burnt wooden logs in the earth oven and cover them (with the cakes) with leaves. When the cakes are done, we open the oven. We take the cakes to our home. We give them to our wives and children, and also eat ourselves. (Nan pan poi en ōtōleni me ‘Etekar.)

The Earth Oven (text 361)

First an earth oven was made on Mānapē‘i. Some fetch wood, others arrange the hearth stones. When they come back, they split wood. When there is much wood, then it is placed on the hearth stones. Now the pile of wood is brought forward and covered with stones. Leaves for the oven are gathered and about a hundred breadfruit are gathered together. A pig that weighs 128 pounds is also killed. The skin is then placed around the oven and all the breadfruit wrapped in leaves. Then the standard to fetch food is fetched. It is attached to the oven. Pokers are fetched, and the stones are spread out. All the breadfruit are cut into pieces and placed in the earth oven. They take fire tongs and put stones on the cakes. Some take pokers and distribute the pieces of breadfruit evenly. Then the pig is fetched and put on the oven. Now the whole oven is covered first with breadfruit, then with banana leaves. Some people bring palm fronds, cut them in pieces and make about 80 baskets of them.

Now they sit down and wait until the dishes are ready. Then they break the oven open. The pig is put into three baskets and carried to the gallery of the meeting house, where the nobles sit. They also bring the whole contents of the oven and all the baskets to the gallery. Now they take the pig and carve it; a little piece of it is hung up with hibiscus fiber at the residence of the nobles. Then the pig is distributed. After that, the baskets with breadfruit are distributed. Then the baskets with bananas are distributed probably about 50 baskets. When they are finished, the festival drink is brought; about 100
kava shrubs are distributed on six stone pounding tables. Now the pound, then the final strokes are beaten and the first boxers are filled to be brought to the gallery. After this has occurred four times, they begin to sing. All people feast and drink until the evening; some go with the Lap to his home and there go on drinking kava until midnight. We do not know when it ended. (Etekar.)

Breadfruit dishes are especially popular. When the fruit ripens faster than it can be eaten fresh, it is gathered, cut into slices and buried in the earth. But first the shell and pits be removed. It keeps here for several months, ferments, and in this state is preferred to fresh breadfruit. Two native descriptions for this:

The Preparation of Fermented Breadfruit

They prepare the earth oven, a portion of the fermented breadfruit is fetched from the pit. Then it is kneaded on flat stones until it is smooth. We then fetch grated coconut and add it; then we take fermented breadfruit and banana leaves and wrap it in them, and also make some flat cakes. Next we level the cooking stones of the oven, then we put the food in and cover it. When it is done, we open the oven. Then we place the in baskets and carry it home. Then we eat it. (Etekar.)

Preparation of Fermented Breadfruit

Thus they make fermented breadfruit on Ponape. In the breadfruit harvest season we pick many breadfruit, one or two hundred. We gather them together, tie them together with hibiscus and take them to the place where the fermented breadfruit is supposed to be made. The place is called Kalip'. We remove the receptacle and prick the fruit. Then it is covered. The next day we fetch banana leaves. We also pour water into wooden bowls. Now we peel the fruits,
wash and put them down until we are ready. Now the leaves for the fermented dish are fetched and the fermentation pit is cleaned. The leaves are placed in the fermentation pit. Now the breadfruit are cut into pieces. Then we pour them into the pit and roll large stones on top. For two weeks we continue to pick breadfruit. They are brought to the place, the receptacle is taken out, they are pricked and also counted. The next day we fetch water, and banana leaves, and peel them. We fetch fermented breadfruit from the pits, cut the fruits into pieces and add them to the others. When this is finished, they are put into the pit and stones rolled over it.

Another breadfruit dish whose preparation is associated with great ceremony is the lili dish, a gift of tribute from the people to the chiefs.:

The Preparation of the lili dish:

We make lili, a dish made from breadfruit, in the following manner. Today we soften the breadfruit, and tomorrow we make lili out of it. On the morning of the next day, we gather firewood and put the oven in order, but it is not kindled yet. We place all the breadfruit on the oven. Several people fetch ripe coconuts and others, water; others, plantain leaves, one fetches palm fronds. The sau lili spreads the fronds and cuts them. Then they are plaited and are called "puats" (ilaii). Others grate the ripe coconuts. Then the oven is lit. Now leaves are spread on the places where the stones are to be. The stones are washed and put in their places. The sau lili sits down on a stone and has his pounder and a basin full of water next to him. Water is also kept at hand when the lili is prepared. Now we gird ourselves with banana leaves, put on an ornament of coconut leaves, which is called setei. All who take part in the preparation of lili wear the setei ornament on their heads, their shoulders, and their arms, and banana leaves on the arms. Meanwhile the breadfruits are done. Two men
take them and peel them, then they give them to the Sau lili. Then it is pounded. When mashed, one takes two banana leaves, puts the mashed up and applies it to the Sau lili. The Sau lili takes it and passes it on to the Sau en playa. He pours coconut milk over the lili and wraps it. Then he carries it to the gallery before the prince. The prince receives it and distributes it to the surrounding followers. Two little packages are sent to the prince’s wife. All the finished lili is brought to the gallery. And one man distributes it to those present.

Something else we did before we grated the coconuts; a taro leaf was fetched and the puata was put in it, then a nut was broken and the water poured into this leaf bowl. Then the coconut halves were surrounded with the puata. This dish is called puta méi. It was taken to the chief; then the preparation of the lili dish began.

Besides kava, they greatly appreciate palm wine. It seems that they enjoy it fresh and fermented. They are supposed to have learnt this from the people of the Gilberts in the Seventies. Palm wine is considered a remedy for kava hangover.

Preparation of the Palm Wine

Thus they make palm wine on Ponape. They select a palm, which is well-suited in order to make palm wine. They begin by cutting into the panicle. For four days. Then it is tied up and bent every day until it is straight. A calabash is fetched and hanging up on the pedicle. Then we wrap two pieces of coconut fiber around it, so that the rain does not spoil anything. Then it is cut again and again, three times a day. And thus we get palm juice. We fill many bottles with it. We also know how to make the ferment, in order to make a sparkling "kava" from it.
Fishing, details of which can be found on p. 320, is not very favorable inside the lagoon, according to Kubary. The enclosed water is obstructed by the numerous rivers and highly conducive to the coral and sea animal life at its outer edge.

The plague of rats, against which they hardly did anything in O'Connell's day, is great. Occasionally they caught the very bold rodent with traps, but more for pleasure and sometimes they also ate them.
German page  Number

256  1  Three days; pāâteains are buried.

257  1  Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt III, p. 96.

259  1  The standard of the paramount chief consists of two taro leaves, which are always tied to the posts near which the paramount chief sits. Cf. Illustration 5, p. 19.

2     For the spirit Tšgbuá.

260  1  Lěp en Palikir has to drink the first cup at every pounding table.

2     O'Connell, Chapter 16.

261  1  Fermentation pit.

263  1  The dishes had their own name and were counted by lili = môn lili; lili = kariapot; lili = kašlipot; lili = kapáupot, etc.

264  1  The sweet juice is also boiled down in iron cauldrons.

2     Kubary, p. 131.

3.  O'Connell, Chapter 16.
The inhabitants probably belong to the cleanest people which one meets in the South Seas. Since olden times, not through the influence of the Boston Mission, which rather has the opposite effect. Because the compulsion, if possible, is only detrimental to hygiene and cleanliness, and has had, in part, harmful results. The desire for bodily cleanliness is innate, and because its fulfillment is not difficult, for that reason, it is carried out wherever possible. Fresh water baths are appreciated. There are no lack of opportunities for bathing, because of the wealth of large and small, deep and shallow water courses. They bathe at all times of the day, preferably in rapids. Men and women have separate bathing places; also the nobles. It is considered indecent to want to spy on people bathing. Also, not all articles of clothing are taken off in the water. Tutu means to bathe. Upon entering the house, care is always taken that a sponge, tim, is at hand with which the body, especially the legs, is cleaned. After the meal, servants wash the master's mouth with a sponge. Nature is cared for more from propriety than from the fear of somehow becoming a victim of black magic.

After the bath, anointing oil is abundantly used. Either they use freshly grated old coconut, which is squeezed out on the body, or cosmetic articles are made in advance. These oils are treated as a professional secret. They appear to be not only cosmetics but, at the same time, to replace certain unii, medicines.

There are many of them. Their scent is not always inspiring to our noses. But recipes of the production of oil could not be obtained, with one exception.
Because finally, the ingredients vary, the main point of my opinion is the foundation of the salve, the detailed description of an anointing oil with the addition of fish oil do suffice here.

Preparation of Anointing Oil

The people gather twenty to thirty coconuts and husk them. Then they fetch taro leaves, and put them down. They then break the meat from the fresh nuts, then take a heart shell and grate it. They fetch coconut fiber, put the scrapings in and wring it out into a wooden bowl. Then they kindle a pile of wood, and put stones in, until these are hot. Before they add the stones, they chew pieces the heads of many fish and add these to it. Then they put the stones in until the liquid is done, see it out with a coconut shell, put it into a hollow coconut or calabash. They hand it up in their houses until the time of festivals and dance. Then they put it into their heads and anoint their skin. Then they put on the ornaments and go to the festival. Thus they are proud of their ornaments and their beautiful appearance before the others.

Christian writes in addition, The manufacturing procedure begins with many ripe coconuts and scraping their kernel. The implement used is a wooden block, which the native holds with his leg. It is furnished with a wedge-shaped piece of wood, which is toothed on its end. A piece of nut is pressed against these teeth, and a quick, twirling motion of the hands produces shavings as fine as feathers. In this way, the "ungite" is made. It is then poured into a "kachak" or a low, longish vessel of reddish-brown wood, pointed at the ends and shaped like a whale boat. Then a number of the dried fishheads, which are on a cord, are taken down from the hut roof, where they have become moldy for weeks in clouds of flies and mosquitoes, in order to get into first-class condition. The names of the fish most sought for this purpose are pakach, toik,
"...The process begins by breaking up a quantity of full-grown coconuts and scraping down their kernels.

"The instrument used is a billet of wood, over which the native throws his leg to keep it steady. It is fitted with a wedge-shaped piece of metal, toothed like a hackle at the broad end. A segment of nut is pressed against these teeth, and a rapid twirling motion of the hands brings off shavings fine as feathers.

"It is in this way that the Ungite is produced. It is then put into a Kachak or low oblong vessel of reddish-brown wood like a whale-boat pointed at both ends. Next a number of strips of dried fish-heads are lowered from the ceiling, where they have been mouldering for weeks amongst clouds of flies and mosquitoes in order to ripen into prime condition. The names of the kinds of fishes most in request for this use are Pakach, Toik, Tomarak, Mak and Wakap--names which as sweet in sound as in savour. Without any sign of disrelish, these ghastly relics are one by one carefully chewed up by these venerable dames, and then ejected into the vessel of coconut scrapings. They sit solemnly ruminating, placid as cows chewing the cud in the meadow, and the gruesome mass of disintegrated fish-heads steadily grows and grows.

"When the arduous task of mastication is over, the whole nasty mess is submitted to a squeezing and kneading process, in order that the scraped nut and broken fish may unite their fullest virtues, and the stuff is taken outside to be put in the sun for a few days before the resulting oil is pressed out into small calabashes or glass bottles, where it is stored ready for use. It goes without saying that numerous hungry dogs, fowls and cats watch all these proceedings with the deep interest of a starving man viewing a Lord Mayor's banquet. But not one silvery flake of coconut ever reaches those watering mouths. The workers keep watch like witches around their gruesome brew. For the fish-oil of Kiti, like the mats of Chokach and the sponges of Paliker, and the yams of Metalamin, is far too precious a local product to be lightly lost."
tomarak, Mak, and wakap, names which sound as sweet as they smell. Without any
sign of uneasiness, these ghostly remains of fish are carefully chewed little by
little by those venerable ladies and spit into the vessel with the coconut shavings.
They sit ceremonially chewing peacefully like cows ruminating in a pasture, and
the nauseous mass of decaying fish heads grows and grows.

When the difficult task of “kissing them up” is finished, the
entire unappetizing mass is squeezed and kneaded so that the grated nuts and
fish heads display its most effectiveness. The mass is taken out and put into
the sun for a few days before the oil coming out is squeezed into small calabashes
or glass bottles, where it is kept ready for use. It is probably not necessary
to say that many hungry dogs, birds, and cats follow all these events with the
same deep interest as a starving person follows the banquet of the Lord Mayor.
But not one little bit of the fragrant stockfish, not one silvery coconut flake
reaches their salivating mouths. The workers watch over their disgusting mixture
like witches. For the fish oil of Kiti, like the mats of Chokack, the mushrooms
of Palikar, and the yams of Matolenim, is too valuable a produce to allow it to be wasted frivolously. According to Pereiro, the touch of a native
anointed with it is sufficient to cause a white man to change his clothes and

2. Bodily Fashions

Hairstyles. The native is civilized. The old hair style has been
It was preserved by the priests the longest. the old hair style was the same
for both sexes: long and flowing. Already in the fifties and sixties cutting of
hair began which then gained acceptance for both parties. Hair combs and
ornaments seem to have been unknown on Ponape. They were never observed or reported.
Body Hair. Body hair is not valued. Where it is, it is destroyed. They pluck it out either with the finger tips, with tweezers of tortoise shell, small, sharp shells (cardium) or fish scales. Only in the last fifty years, under the influence of the missions, they have tried to beard in imitation of the Europeans. Usually they are very pitiful things.

Body painting was customary. On festive occasions, especially in heathen Palikir, it is still encountered occasionally and by chance. An orange-red preparation of ginger root, the reng of the Central Carolines, ki' en iar on Ponape, served as the colorant which was rubbed with coconut oil. Either the body was rubbed uniformly with it, or it was painted in stripes and spots like a paste. Similarly, fiber cloth, aprons and the like were dyed with this as illustrated, for example, in Illustration 12 in Hernsheim's book, Südseerinnerungen, depids.

Mutilation of the body. Cf. in addition, vol. I, pp. 371-373. In addition, there is the increasingly fashionable bad habit among young people of both sexes of tattooing themselves with ugly European designs of song and of letters of the alphabet, and other signs of taking pleasure in scarification, kitêl, which is burned with glowing pieces of wood or with knives.

3. Tattooing

We have received O'Connell's few but explanations, concerning tattooing, which still flourish on Ponape, in spite of the influence against it by the Boston Mission. Cf. vol. I, p. 33ff. The native speaks willingly of it, although he is very proud of the decoration itself. It is of divine origin. A demon (Nalik a râk en làn) devised tattooing to preserve tradition. People were informed of it. In particular, the powerful
and often sorcerer Lapañ learned of it; he approved it. Whether the ceremony, which began at age four, ended with the eleventh or twelfth year eludes my certain knowledge. Reports about it in older times tattooing could only be after war; it was also customary to tattoo the glabella. Such tattooing appears and unavowed to the glance of an unbiased person. This is not the case. It varies according to sibs, families, sub-divisions, according to rank and class, and had to be different. Cf. O'Connell, vol. I, p. 34. Tattooing, like singing, is necessary to the Pasety. The old people Olaut, Ol likei lap, were tattooed at a very old age on the inside of their limbs:

- nuku ten in auia on the lower leg
- peli an kapl on the upper leg
- uniu on the upper arm

In order to record the tattooing completely, it would have been necessary to get representatives of both sexes, all sibs, to copy and explain the tattooing. It was already very difficult to hire three individuals at high pay, with all possible precautionary measures. The sense of shame has rarely been produced than under the Protestant missionary influence. My own interpreter refused very energetically; I owe it alone to the missionaries of Catholic missionaries that finally had a small measure of success.

The persons won over were Anepen en Tumara (f.), also called Cecilia of the sib of Tip en män tontol; Limuar, (f.) of the sib of Tip û lap (sib of Ponape); Japetán (m.), priest in Tsokes, of the sib of Tip en pepe.
Tattooing

Thus the people of Ponape used to tattoo. First they prepared the color. Then (thorns were fetched) and a tattooing rake next to the other; then we put a little resin at the end of the reed stalk, and tie them to it. The hammer is made from the node piece of sugar cane. When some one is supposed to be tattooed, we put the color into a coconut shell, add water and stir it until it is right. Then we fetch coconut leaf ribs. Now the drawing begins. First the man to be tattooed is supposed to bathe. When he returns, he lies down. The Katin intin (female tattoo expert) sits on him, and two women stretch the skin. Then the hammering begins. When they are finished, they repeat it twice; then it is finished. Two tattoo patterns are made first: takatoka sou and par unté kil. The next day, the other side of the penis is tattooed, on the next day the pattern por o tak; the day after, the other half. The next day, the pattern pontep is made. On the next day, the other half.

Then the tattooing of the man is finished. Also formerly the pelikomuta was done. And the next day, the other half. Here too, they hammered. The shoulders were tattooed with a small pattern. That happened. And when a long time had passed, they also thought to tattoo rings, lulu, on the body.

The color was made in the following manner. Fruits of the tsakon tree fall to the ground. When the flesh has disappeared, they are gathered in a basket, then roasted in the earth oven, then they are mixed with water. (Tattooing is begun on the right side of the body.)

The Tattooing Implements

The text 172 gives sufficient information about the tattooing implement. For the various patterns, respective rakes, kaliz, come into question. For the
The hands of Japetanas (male).

Japetana's hands. The right and left hands have different patterns. The left hand possesses a special finger tattoo composed of individual short striae which are arranged in groups of threes, pěl sâh. As far as the wrist, the surface of the hand is divided into seven fields which are separated from each other by means of narrow bands which remain in the direction of the fingers untattooed. The initial patterns facing fingerswards commence with a dentate border, hî, and after it follow a hatched band pattern and then a komū tsi in pēi band. These are common to both hands. The adjoining four patterns, however, vary. The right hand exhibits a zigzag pattern, kîs en tsi in, then a strip one, komū tsi in pēi, then a pattern of broken lines, kān en uâ en uōt, and furthermore, a stripe pattern like the second. The left hand, in contrast, possesses a stripe pattern like its mirror-image the second, then a mirror-image pattern of it, a zigzag, and a pattern of thick stripes. The two hand patterns are completed on the pinky side of the palm by means of an ornamental band, popū tuš k. In the case of the right hand, the ornamental band exhibits a dentate border and below it, a patterned band in the form of a wide ladder, manemañ, the width of the bands on the back of the hand. In the case of the left hand, next to the dentate border, the ornamental band exhibits, in contrast, a patterned band in the form of a zigzag. A wide band, tuōu, encircles the wrist; its area is divided by a pattern. Its outside forms a dentate border, hî, itsinside either one thick border or two thin lines, āp ēn uōt. The tattoo is continued up as far as the forearm; two elongated ornamental patterns, āl e pé, extend along the ulnar and radial sides (visible in illustrations 49 and 51, EINMAL). The two elongated ornamental patterns split apart in the inside of the arm (on p. 89 in Kubary, see above, they are closed/continuous/unbroken/united). On the top side of the arm they are decorated by means of rings, tuōu, with the ornamental bands
which are already familiar from the hand patterns, but which are different for the two arms and hands.

The legs of Japetan.

Japetan's legs. The legs are tattooed. On the outside the design extends between the shank and thigh; on the inside it is continued only up to just above the bend of the knee. The bottom, ring-shaped border, which is obligatory in the case of women's tattooing, does not always occur in men's tattooing. The tattoo is always divided into four areas margin fields. With all four, the outline is extended as far as the thigh and is finished off at the top with a wide ornamental border. While the first, area anterior field, however, is completely filled in only as far as to just below the knee, the second and third fields are filled in as far up as the thigh, and the fourth field is filled in as far as the center of the bend of the knee. These tattoos are designated: first field (in front), area tāketake, second field, por intē kil, third (and widest) field, area por i lek; fourth field, por o tāk.³ Field 2 is finished off at the top area hairline by means of a dentate border, nini, and field 3 by means of a stripe border with segments of a dentate border above it. This border is designated -reas salan, ear. All four fields are topped by means of a ABSCHLUSS/terminal? two striped ornamental bands, papū tsik, have between them a wide band area which is divided by means of vertical lines into rectangular fields. Every area other field is filled with an ornamental zigzag line. The field is designated kanin uan i q, the zigzag line, lap en pān qot, (taro leaf stalk). rise Above the top papū tsik band, four pairs of GEFLAMMTER nok en pōn tep, consisting of vertical lines with zigzag lines located in between them extending half-way up. areas

The names of these fields, even in the case of varying fill patterns, are always the same.
The Tattooing of Women.

ADD FIRST PARAGRAPH - p. 9-II

The hand of Limuār
Limuār's hand (female). This young girl had originally volunteered to permit all of her tattooing to be sketched. The presence of a few members of her own sex, which was unavoidable, aroused such a sense of shame in the subject that only the copying of the tattoo of one hand was granted. The top surface of the hand is divided into four separate ornamental bands. The opening dentate border is missing. The first band exhibits a zigzag band whose teeth touch the bordering lines of the fields and in so doing, at any given time delineate small triangles which are uniformly hatched evenly filled in by means of four short lines, karine kim. The second ornamental pattern band consists of s-shaped capital letters, whose blank spaces obscure short ornamental lines, tu. The third ornamental pattern band repeats the pattern of the first, minus the hatching in of the triangles, manaman. The fourth ornamental band pattern displays diamonds touching each other which exhibit small diamonds in the adjacent angles.

The wrist is encircled by a wide ring, lōuō, which shows in its center areas the fields of the lep nok, together with the two flanking dentate borders, which are not, however, hatched in. The two lōuō form the ABSCHLUSS (of the ulnar and radial ornamental patterns which are no longer visible in the picture). The two lōuō envelope another ornamental pattern between them, a broken line pattern, kan en uan uot. Below/underneath /at the lower end of the pinky finger, ornamental pattern 3 is visible as the ABSCHLÜSSMUSTER, manaman.

The right arm of Aunepōn en Tomara (female): Comparison of illustrations 54 and 55 reveals how fundamentally different the tattoo patterns are.
outside
individually and in the arrangement of the whole. The top side is covered
with a multitude of individual patterns, collectively designated
pel un pe. They consist of individual decorations, particularly
"crosses," stars and spots/dots, which owe their existence, not to the
natives' inventiveness, but rather to chance. In this case, the"collection"
is compiled from catalogs, particularly coconut mat patterns. The left
moreover
upper arm, furthermore, is "beautified" in the same manner with similar
patterns. The rendering has been omitted. One perceives from the individual
patterns that, up to the wrist, no differences are evident in the male
and female tattooing.
Towards the fingers, first the
dentate border, nini, appears, then follows an ornamental border
consisting of INEINANDER FASSENDEN triangles, sin serak,
lateen
(triangular sail?), and after that, an ornamental band in zigzag
solid
lines with filled-in triangles, ki sin tin. Then there is an
ornamental band like the second. A sixth band, simply diagonally-
rounds out
striped, komu tsin en pe, finishes off the decorated surface of
the back of the hand. A wide ring, luou, which encircles the
areas
wrist, continues the tattoo upwards. In its fields it displays
the already-familiar lep in nok pattern with accompanying
dentate border, nini; the diagonally-striped ornamental band pattern,
kому tsin en pe, finishes off the wide ring at the top and simul-
margin
taneously forms the lower border of the tattoo extending over
composed
the entire forearm. It is one of the two large ornamental
bands, el e pe (wide) and ko u pe (narrow), which run the length
of the arm, and the perpendicularly-intersecting arm rings,
luou, whose two middle rings bear the name lupe pe. In this
specimen, the tattoo is GESCHLOSSEN, but in the case of many
of them, they are arranged/composed unter offenen ornamental bands.
AUNEPOON IN TOMARA  RT ARM CONTD

The horizontal top ornamental bands consist of the ornamental patterns nini, sin sorak and kar in ekin. The names of the vertical ornamental bands can be deduced from those previously named.

The left arm of Aunepon en Tomara, female. The arrangement of the patterning of the arm tattoo is the same in the ornamental patterns themselves, however, one hand XXXXXX from another in the pattern. It is not as if they were fundamentally different, but rather, symmetrical repetitions are precluded for both arms. The dentate border forming the margin towards the fingers is missing; otherwise it bounds the ornamental bands. In the wrist's luou, the lep en nok pattern is very widely laid out. It should be noted that the fingers, as in the case of Japetan's left hand, bear the finely-striated (drawn) pel i sen pattern arranged in groups of threes.

The abdomen, buttock and thigh tattoo of Aunepon en Tomara, dark blue female. Resembling a delicate, open work silk fabric, a singular tattoo covers the woman's body from the navel down as far as the ankles. In its symmetrical layout, brought by means of the limbs themselves into a rhythm that is pleasing even to our taste, this tattoo gratifies our aesthetic sensibilities just as it does that of the natives. Out of innate vanity, therefore, likewise, is fortunately not abandoning the tattooing.
SBDOMINAL TATTOO

The abdominal tattoo is composed of three main parts: the trapezoidal shield composed of various ornamental patterns extending from the navel down to the mons veneris, the triangular mons veneris itself, and the bipartite hip belt (waistband?) and buttock tattoo.

The trapezoidal abdominal shield, au tu pup, is finished off at the top by means of the dentate border, nini. An ornamental band consisting of a zigzag line with completely-shaded triangular areas, kar in kim, follows this. A wider ornamental band consisting of irregularly-intersecting plain and serrated lines, nok a lap, follows this and is finished off/completed at the bottom by means of a dentate border, nini. An ornamental band consisting of individual broken lines, kanek in lap in uot, separates the previously-described portion of the tattoo from the other part. This other part is divided into three bands of equal size, men in puar, and is arranged in three (sets of) delicate wavy lines, nok a lap. The nok a lap are rhythmically interrupted by means of identical wavy lines. Along both longer longitudinal sides this tattoo is contrasted to the bipartite belt, hip and buttock tattoo by means of the separate bands, mono mon en men puar. It glistens dark blue, and, by means of a narrow, light band of unmarked skin, acts like a belt.

The hip tattoo is designated men in katsekats, and the buttock tattoo, men in katsekats en pa. The belt tattoo is called pualinta. The mons veneris is decorated with an entire dark triangle, retit pauue. The triangle is bordered on its two legs by means of a wide ornamental band, through an oversight, in the light belt tattoo, the line bisecting the belt was omitted.
The thigh tattoo is magnificent. It is divided into different sections, the outside and the inside. The outside, likin tab, has larger fields, which look like plaied bands (plaited strips, bands of plaiding). The longer sides each consist of two delicate bands of hatching, pup, and in their center (in between them), two wavy twin lines, kan en en nok a lap, while the fields, which present themselves in LEINENBINDUNG, are separated by means of corresponding/analogous ornamental bands consisting of one wavy line, nok a lap. The inside, puk u puk, likewise consists of ornamental bands in LEINENBINDUNG, comparable to plaied bands/(plaited strips/ strips or bands of plaiding), which form the individual fields, autepe. Each field is filled in with five parallel wavy lines. A ring, monemon, comparable to a garter, separates the tattoo of the thigh from that of the shank.

The leg tattoo of Aunepon en Tomary, female. A portion of the tattooing has just been described in the thigh pattern. In addition to that is the wide, dark blue-appearing tattoo, extending into the bend of the knee, which is applied above the "garter" and below the likin tab in the corner towards the puk en puk. Depending on the view (front, side or rear), the shank tattoo presents a highly-variable picture. When seen from in front, men in likin nia, the wide stripes of tattooing are noticeable to the right and left of the patella. They start at the ornamental band, monemon,
and are finished off at the bottom just above the ankle by means of a hoop-like tattoo, manaman, (consisting of three parts). When seen from the side, the BEMUSTERUNG 9pattern?) is dominated by the braid-like tattoo which starts at the monemon and stops at the manaman. In front of the braid (BIESE), back a little behind the front of the knee, the narrow little ornamental pattern, kasikisik, becomes visible at the monemon, while behind the braid (BIESE), the bipartite ornamental areas of the leg tattoo facing rearward are recognizable. This tattoo breaks down into two main parts, one at the top consisting of two isosceles triangles, and one at the bottom that is rectangular. The two main parts are connected by means of two wide blue bands. The top part is formed by means of the triangular ornamental band with h-shaped decorations, kis en kan en puse en kitar, whose triangular area is filled in with delicate wavy lines, kin en salen. An ornamental band called poputsik finishes it off at the braid. The BINDENARTIG darkly?-tattooed lines, which connect the top and bottom parts of the shank tattoo, are designated tep en i men. The bottom part of the tattoo, in its wide, dark blue field, is (marked) designated men en pan pugos. They are separated from each other in the center by means of the light puria band. The puria band has the delicate wavy line, nok en puria, in its center. This tattoo constitutes womanhood's chief ornament. (grass) Skirts and bark cloth clothing, which nowadays supplanted by the short calico skirt, are worn in such a way that the lower edge of the garment very precisely ABSCHNEIDT cuts across
LEG TATTOO  CONTD II

the upper margin of the men en pan pugos. Feminine coquetry

governs the manner of flaunting this tattoo.
most part, they are made fresh from citrus thorns, as needed. In addition, alek, or wood with thin threads (or pandanus root fibers) is used in making them. In addition, sections of sugar cane, kahul, are used. Tattooing are obtained from the oil-containing nuts of Aleurites triobla, tsa'ok, whose soot is caught and mixed with coconut oil to a fine paste, or roasted and ground, giving a coarser ink. It is applied to the skin with thin, small stick-fine ribs of coconut palm fronds, nok, and inserted into the skin by means of hammers and rakes.

The tattooing of the men. In his book on pp. 74-98, W. Joest has an original report by J.S. Kubary with many illustrations: The Tattooing in Micronesia, in particular in the Carolines. Pages 87-90 are dedicated to tattooing on Ponape. Unfortunately, Kubary did not write down the names of the family members whose tattoo he recorded and reproduced in the illustrations on pp. 88-90. At first glance it may seem a uniform tattooing. A closer examination reveals the differences. Even the patterns of the same limbs differ from each other.

For the men, tattooing is limited to the upper and lower arms, upper and lower legs. Occasionally, arbitrary patterns, (Illustration 50) which are, for example, borrowed from writing, catalogues, cotton patterns, and are scattered over the arm and breast, can be seen on men and women. The tattooing of the woman is richer. Besides the extremities, the body, hips, and seat are decorated with patterns.

Japet's hands. The right and left hand have different patterns. The left hand is a special tattooing of the fingers, of simple short small strokes, which are arranged in groups of three, pöl sen. As far as the wrist, the surface of the hand is divided into seven fields, which are separated from each other by narrow strips, which remain untattooed. The first patterns, turned near the...
fingers, begin with teeth edge border, nini, then a partially filled striped pattern follows, then strips, komu tsin pei; these are the same on both hands. The subsequent four patterns, however, are different. The right hand shows a zigzag pattern, kis en tsin, then a striped pattern, komu tsin pei, then a pattern of little lines, kan en uan uot, and, further, a stripe pattern like the second. The left hand, stripe patterns like the second, then a mirror pattern in addition, a zigzag and a pattern with three stripes. Both hand patterns have an ornamental stripe, popu tsik, on the little finger side of the palm. On the right hand there is a toothed border, under it a pattern stripe of the width of the stripe on the back of the hand in the shape of a broad ladder, manman. On the left hand, however, next to the toothed border, the shape of a zigzag pattern is shown. All around the wrist is a broad strip, luou, whose field is divided by a pattern. Its outside is formed by a toothed strip, nini, its inside either by a thick strip, or two thin lines, lep in nok. The tattooing continues to the lower arm at the ulnar and radial sides (visible in figures 49 and 51 once in the pattern of the ulnar or radial side), two long-stretched ornamental patterns, al e pe are drawn upward, which separate widely on the underside of the arm (in Kubary, see above, p. 89, they are closed), and on the upper side are decorated by rings, luou, with which these already familiar from the hand patterns, yet different ornamental rings are decorated for both arms and hands.

Japtan's leg. The legs are tattooed. On the outside, the drawing extends to the shank and lower leg, and on the side, it is only carried up to just the lower of the knee. The ring-shaped border, obligatory in the case of tattooing of women, does not always appear in the tattooing of men. This tattooing is always divided into four fields. The outer line of all four is drawn up.

Continued...
the upper legs and terminated at top with a broad ornamental border. But while the first, front field is only completely filled just below the knee, fields are filled up to the upper leg, and the fourth field, the middle of the bend of the knee. These tattooing are called: first field (in front): ṭaketaš ŋu; second field: por inté kil; third field (the broadest): por i lěk; fourth field: por o tuk. Field 2 is terminated above by a toothed strip, niñi; field 3, by a line strip with part of a toothed strip above it. This strip is called salān, ear. All four fields are crowned with a termination: two carved ornamental bands, papu tāik, having between them a broad strip which is divided into rectangular fields by vertical lines. Every second field is filled with an ornamental zigzag line. The field is called kaniñ uan i ŋa, the zigzag line, lāp en pa'n ŋot, (taro leaf wave). Over the upper popu tāik strip rise four pairs of nōk en pōn ŋep, consisting of vertical lines with zigzag lines between them reaching half-way up.

The names of these fields, even in varied filling patterns, are always the same.

The Tattooing of Women

The tattooing of women incomparably richer than that of men, although many ornamental patterns are common to both sexes in type and execution. "A girl without tattooing would be missing her chief decoration and become an object of mockery." (J. Kubary in Joest, p. 89). Thus tattooing was still practiced in 1910, although the Protestant missionaries vigorously opposed it. In spite of all this, "Christian parents" let their children, especially when they were girls, undergo the painful tattooing.

Limur's hand (f.), This young girl had originally offered to let all her tattooing be done. The presence of some members of her sex, which would not be
avoided, aroused such a sense of shame in the candidate that only the copying of the tattooing on one hand was permitted! The upper surface of the hand is divided into four separate, ornamental patterned strips on the wrist. The opening toothed strip is k̃o. The first strip has a broad zigzag band, whose delicate teeth touch the bordering field line and thereby, at times cut off little triangles which are filled out evenly by four short lines: kārī nē ḳim. The second patterned strip consists of ḳeṣ-shaped letters, whose empty fields cover short ornamental stripes: ḳi. The third ornamental patterned strip repeats the pattern of the first without the filling of the triangles: mānāmān. The fourth ornamental striped pattern has rhombuses touching each other and have small rhombuses at the connecting angles: ḱāp in ān ṭūs. The wrist joint is surrounded by wide rings, luō, which in the middle the fields of the lep in nok together with both the flanking toothed strips, ḳi, which however, are not filled out. The both luō form the termination (of the ornamental patterns on the ulna and radius which no longer visible) which include another ornamental pattern, a striped pattern: kān ēn ūn ūōt. Underneath the little finger, the ornamental pattern becomes visible as the terminating pattern: mānāmān.

The right arm of Añepō'en Tomara (f.). The comparison of both Illustrations 54 and 55 reveal how fundamentally different the tattoo patterns are in detail and in the articulation of the whole. The upper side is covered with innumerable single patterns, called collectively pēl ūn pē. They consist of single ornaments, in particular 'crosses,' stars and points, which owe their existence, not to the inventiveness of the natives, but to chance. Here the "collection" is put together from catalogues, particularly from patterns of coconut mat as the owner very proudly informed me. The left upper arm, in addition, is "beautified" in the same way with similar patterns. The reproduction has not been done. Up to the
wrist, no differences are revealed in the male and female tattooing. Some disregards the single patterns. Toward the fingers, there is first the toothed strip, ńinni, then an ornamental band of triangles follows that fasten in each other, ńin ńerak, (triangular sails?), and then an ornamental band of triangles with narrow apexes, ńin ńin ńerak, and then an ornamental band in a zigzag line with solid triangles, ki ńin ńin, then an ornamental band like no. 2.; a sixth band, painted simply oblique, komu ńsin en pe, concludes the ornamental surface of the upper side of the hand. A broad ring, luoū, which surrounds the wrist extends the tattooing upward. In its fields it has the already familiar lēp en nōk pattern with accompanying toothed strips, ńinni. The ornamental band pattern, painted oblique, komu ńsin en pe, concludes the broad ring upward, and forms at the same time, the lower termination of the tattooing that extends over the whole lower arm. It is divided—here closed, in many tattooings, with open ornamental bands—in the two large ornamental bands running the length of the arm, ńi e pe (broad) and kō ū pe (narrow) and the arm rings luoū crossing them at right angles, whose two middle rings bear the name, lūpe pe. The horizontal upper ornamental bands consist of the ornamental patterns, ńinni, ńin sorak and kār en ekin. The names of the vertical ornamental bands can be gathered from those already named.

The left arm of Aūnepōn en Tomara (f.). The arrangement of the pattern of arm tattooing is the same, but in the ornamental patterns themselves one band differs from the other in pattern. Not that they are entirely different, but symmetrical repetitions for both arms is precluded. The toothed strip ending at the finger side is lacking which otherwise borders the ornamental bands. In the luoū of the wrist, the lēp en nōk pattern is laid out very broad. It should be noted that the fingers—like those of Japetan's left hand—bear the fine lined pattern, pei i nēn arranged in groups of three.
The tattooing of the abodmen, buttocks and upper leg of Anepon en Tomara (f.)

Appearing like a delicate, dark blue, openwork silken fabric, a peculiar tattooing covers the woman's body from the navel down to the ankles. With its symmetrical arrangement, and brought, by the limbs themselves, into a rhythm that pleases our taste too, this tattooing satisfies our aesthetic sensibility as well as that of the natives. From innate vanity, the woman does not therefore, luckily, abandon tattooing.

The tattooing of the abdomen is divided into three main parts: the trapezoidal shield divided in various ornamental patterns from the navel down to the mons veneris, the triangular mons veneris itself and the bipartite tattooing of hips, waist and buttocks.

The trapezoidal abdomen shield, aū tū pūp, is terminated above by the toothed stripe, nīnī: next is an ornamental band of a zigzag line with completely filled-in triangular fields, kār in kūng, a broader ornamental band of smooth and indented lines that cross each other irregularly, nōk a lāp concludes and is concluded below by a toothed stripe, nīnī. An ornamental band of single interrupted lines, kanēk in lāp in yōt, separates the shield part of the tattooing from the other part, which is divided into three equally large bands, mēn in pūr, and into three delicate wavy lines, nōk a lāp, which are rhythmically divided and interrupted by similar wavy lines running diagonally. On the two long sides this tattooing is set off from the bipartite waist, hip and buttocks tattooing by the diagonally-running single line, mōno mōn en mēn pūr. It gleams a dark blue and gives the effect of a belt, through a narrow, bright strip of skin left free. The hip tattooing is called mēn in kātšekātš, the buttocks tattooing, mēn in kātšekātš en pā. The waist tattooing is named pūlīnta. The mons veneris is decorated with a full, dark triangle, reit pān̄we, which is bordered by a wide broad ornamental band, mōn o mōn en mēn in pūr on both sides.
The tattooing of the upper legs is magnificent. It is divided into various divisions: the outer side, likin tab, with the large fields that look like woven strips; the long sides, each of two finely-streaked bands, puk, with whose middle is consisted of two wavy double lines, kan en eh nok a lap, while the separation of the fields is represented in linen binding by corresponding ornamental bands of a wavy line, nok a lap. The inner side, puk u puk, consists, similarly, of ornamental stripes comparable to woven strips, in linen binding, which form separate fields, autepe. Each field is filled in with five wavy lines running parallel. Comparable to a garter, a circular band, monemon, separates the tattooing of the upper and lower leg.

The leg tattooing of Aunepon en Tomara (f.). A part of this tattooing has just been presented in the patterning of the upper leg. To be added is the dark blue appearing tattooing in the upper half of the "garter" beneath the likintab in the corner, brought to the puk en puk, reaching to the hollow of the knee. The tattooing of the lower leg offers a very changing picture according to the point of view, from the front, the side or the back. Seen from the front, the broad tattooed stripes are noticeable right and left of the kneecap, men in likin nia. They begin at the ornamental band, monemon, and are terminated below, just above the ankle, by a ring-like tattooing consisting of three parts, manaman. Seen from the side, the patterning is dominated by the braid-like tattooing, which begins at the monemon and ends at the manaman. In front of the "braid," a little back toward the front side of the knee, the narrow, small ornamental pattern, kašikišik, is visible at the monemon, while behind the braid, the bipartite ornamental surfaces of the tattooing at the back of the leg are recognizable.

This tattooing is divided into two main parts, one from the upper part of two isosceles triangles, and a rectangular lower part; the two are connected by two wide blue bands. The upper part is formed by the triangular ornamental band with
"h"-shaped ornaments, kis en kâm en pūse en kitar, whose triangular surface is filled with delicate wavy lines, kin en kālin. An ornamental band called poputsik closes it from the braid. The bandage-like, thickly tattooed lines that connect the upper and lower parts of the lower leg tattooing are called tep en imen. The lower part of the tattooing, with its broad fields filled with dark blue, is distinguished as men en pān pugus. They are separated from each other by the bright puria band in the middle. The puria band has in its middle, the delicate wavy line, nok en puria. This tattooing forms the greatest ornament of the women. This apron or bark-cloth dress, today displaced by the calico short skirt, is worn so that the lower edge of the clothing ends precisely to a hair with the upper edge of the men en pān pugus tattooing. Feminine coquetry demands showing off this tattooing this way.

Clothing

O'Connell, p. 45ff, Lütke, pp. 88-89, Kittlitz, pp. 92-93, Michela y Rojas, pp. 126-127, Cheyne, p. 136, Mitteilung der "Eugenie," p. 146 and Gulick, p. 183, reported about the original dress of the natives (see half-volume I). The best illustration, which gives a good presentation of old dress, is the drawing of Postel in the Lütke Atlas, Plate 24: canoe in Mutok harbor (cf. half-volume I, Plate I, 112).

The male and female apron-clothing show no great differences. The bark cloth appears only to be used for women's clothing. Men make only forehead ornaments from it. The decline began early with the introduction of European cotton goods. The artistic weaving, especially of the belts and dress mats (cf. Kittlitz, p. 92) from banana fibers disappeared early. In 1910 a single old woman in Uona still knew something of weaving. The influence of the Boston mission had a disastrous
effect among the men through blue or striped flannel shirts, later, through black or white European suits; among the women, through colorful, patterned cotton, closed, hanging dresses—disfiguring clothing and highly detrimental to health, but profitable to the mission's cash box.

The men value the maro, the G string, uaiuai loi, for everyday and work clothing. It was predominantly woven from banana fibers, was about 20 cm. broad and somewhat over a meter long. Occasionally bark cloth was used instead. It was wrapped around the hips, covering scrotum and penis, pulled through between the legs. The end hung down on the back side like a little tail (Cf. Illustration 50a) in Sarfert-Damm: Luangiua and Nukumanu, half-volume I, p. 91). On top of it, the apron, kaol, was worn during festivals or when at rest. This apron was characteristic of which both men and women wore, because it was airy and comfortable, finally remained alone as the only article of clothing beside the belt, tor, occasionally worn; and was still generally worn in 1910. Text 347 describes how it is made from the two customary materials, coconut fronds or hibiscus fiber strips, besides reeds and grass.

The Making of the Apron

Occasionally the people remember to make their skirts. Then they go and fetch young coconut leaf fronds; they bring them here and cut them up into four parts and split the rib open. Then they put them in the cooking pit, cover them until all are finished cooking. Then they put them in the ashes, between the stones, until they are dry. Then they take them out, split them and lay them in water for a day. The next morning they spread them out in the sun to dry; then they bundle the strips and divide these among the women so that they may fold them. They finish them and bring them back again. A woman now takes the plaited strips, fastens them on a band of hibiscus and plait banana fibers around
them; until they all hang on it. Then they buy red cotton and cover the belt strip with it; that is called al en mōts. Now they tie the skirt around themselves and go for a walk with it.

The Hibiscus Apron

The people go out and cut down young hibiscus trees. Then they peel the bark off, bundle them and lay them in water for eight days. Then they fetch them out of the water. Next, they scrape them off with shells until they are good and spread them out in the sun to dry. When they are dry, they are knotted at the ends and plaited in order to become aprons. Some who like them yellow fetch ginger roots. They rub it with them and let it dry. When it is dry, they put it on. Some also look for roots of a tree called uh’ipul and take some kawit lime to it in order to color it red. Then they fold the strips, put the band on and walk about in it.

These five men's aprons all have different meanings. Illustration 61 is the most elegant (cf. Plates 1, 3), Illustration 62 the most common, which however is now gladly substituted by Illustration 59 (cf. Table 1, 2) because the boil to cook them very quickly to make the desired raw materials for production. The other three kaol have their special meaning. Thus the lili kaol or losit (Illustration 60) is only used at festivals of lili, the splendid colored kaol kis in i an for festival uses, which are beginning to die out. They have also forgotten to make "ginger color=kis in i an." The gorgeous skirt kaol iroks always remains valuable; it must be worn by the nobles and many admire who may not wear it. To make it takes great effort because every thread must be folded with a shell. All kaol are made the same way for the supporting bands, a twisted hibiscus bamp, the strips of hibiscus or the prepared coconut frond ribs.
These five mens' skirts all have their various meanings.

Illustration 61 is the most elegant (c.f. plate I.3), illustration 62 is the most common; it is, however, also nowadays often replaced by illustration 59 (c.f. plate I.2), as the word *boil* means to boil them very rapidly, produces the desired raw materials for the preparation of production, manufacturing.

The other three kaol have their special significance. Thus, the *lili kaol*, or *lobit*, (illustration 60) is used during the Feast of the Lili, and the ostentatiously-colored festive observances?

*kis in i an* during *(the) FESTGEBRAUCHEN which are,* however, beginning to die out, for they have also forgotten how to make *kis in i an*, "ginger dye." The ostentatious kaol irs skirt, which has to be worn by the nobility, steadily continues valuable to be precious; many admire it, but are not permitted to wear it. To produce it takes great effort, for every thread has to be pleated with a shell. All kaol are made in the same manner: as a waistband/cord or serves a twisted band of hibiscus or the strips of hibiscus or prepared coconut frond ribs *KOKOSPIEDERRIPPE*.

All kaol are made in the same manner, with a twisted band of hibiscus as the waistband, and the strips of hibiscus or prepared *KOKOSPIEDERRIPPE* ribs of coconut palm leaves.

These prepared fibers are all folded/bent around the future waistband.

"Kochen" in German
These prepared fibers are all folded around the future [small supporting bands], firmly pressed on it, and then drawn closely to it with a small doubled, supporting cord, thinner than the first. After that, the single strands are twisted around the fibers in an alternating shape so that the band shows in front and the remaining fiber in the back can be cut off over the strands. In many fiber skirts, it used to be that embroidered strips are bordered with red—red coloring is always preferred—furnished with pompons, pearls, beautiful binding cords, or in the case of the simple kaol, the bands in front are decorated above the hibiscus cord with cross-stitch in red, black, white, yellow, etc., while the usual binding cord suffices in the rear.

Bark cloth no longer exists. Only very old people remember how it was formerly made and what an important role it played in the native household. Only the breadfruit tree, which is very common in Ponape, is used.

Others are allegedly not used. The island is not very rich in varieties of Ficus. Old Saulik en Tsokolá speaks of what was produced, painted in many colors—and also patterned: the apron, likau; the square, poncho-like upper garment, pë'i'en; the covers, te nil puainak (of three parts) sewn together with coconut thread, which then played an important part as mosquito covering, te il'masul, before European goods were bought from the merchant.

The Bark Cloth Preparation

This is the way which the material of Ponape, bark cloth, is prepared. First, when they wanted to make bark cloth, we fetched a branch of the ni tree. We took a piece of it and gave it four sides; this is called making it even. Then we go to the reef and look for a shell, pitika; with it we scrape the sides. Now we call it the fiber beater. Now we seek young breadfruit trees,
These prepared fibers are all \textit{folded} around the future \textit{HALTEBANDCHEN}, waistband?

They are tightly pinched onto it, and then are attached with a \textit{(double) HALTEBANDCHEN ERSTE HALTEBANDCHEN (sewn double)} which is, however, thinner than the waistband\dots After this, the individual strands are \textit{(alternately?) twisted} around the fibers so that the band excess? appears in front/ on the front, and the \textit{UBRIGSTEHENDE fibers above/ beyond the strands} can be trimmed off in the back. With many fiber skirts it is then \textit{ usual for the people to edge embroidered bands in red (red colors/dyes are still beads?? always preferred). They provide the bands with pompoms, pearls, and pretty BINDEBANDER. Or, in the plain/simple \textit{kaol}, they decorate the bands in front above the hibiscus cord \textit{with cross-stitching in red, black, white, yellow, etc.}, while in the rear, a common \textit{BINDESCHNUR} suffices.
The chiefs and men of note in the community used to wear belts (tor tor) of banana fiber, which were very carefully made out of that material, and were decorated with rows consisting of punk, white and grey shell ornaments. There were two types (the types of Christian's Types? are some of his impossible discoveries) "the one provided with the rectangular Spondylus ornament, and the other with the round, polished grey or white snail (shell). In Punaape, as in Hawaii, it was a serious capital offense for a common man to put on a belt: Ina hūme ke Kanekai ko ke ali'i malo i make noia, 'If a common man puts on a chief's belt, he shall die for it.'"
II. Körperepflege und -Tracht — Kleidung und Schmuck


Von den prächtigen Gürteln, den tor, war nichts mehr zu erfahren. Vereinzelt kamen Leute, die noch dergleichen besaßen, um sie zu verkaufen gegen hohe Geldsumme (20—150 M.); doch von der Bedeutung der Muster, die auf allen Gürteln verschieden waren, manchmal an die Tatauierungen erinnerten, konnte oder wollte niemand, z. B. im heidnischen Palikir, etwas sagen (vgl. Tafel 1, 1 u. 6). Christian führt als einziger etwas näheres auf S. 123 an: »Die Häuptlinge und achtunggebenden Männer der Gemeinde pflegten Gürtel (tor, tur) aus Bananenfaser zu tragen, die sehr sorgfältig daraus gefertigt waren und mit Reihen aus rosa-, weißen und grauen Muschelzieren geziert waren. Es gab zwei Arten — die Arten von Christian sind manche seiner unmöglichen »Erfindungen« —, die einen mit dem rechteckigen Spondylus-Zierat versehen, die andern zur Hauptsache mit den runden, abgeschliffenen grauen oder weißen Schnecken. Für einen Gemeinen war es in Ponape wie in Hawaii ein schweres, todeswürdiges Vergehen, einen Gürtel anzulegen: »I na hůme ke Kanekai ko ke ali'i malo, e make noia.« Legt ein gemeiner Mann den Gürtel eines Häuptlings um, so soll er deshalb des Todes sterben.«

Die Leipziger Sammlungen lassen leider nicht die Bestimmung des richtigen Farbtons zu; sie können trotzdem in ihren interessanten Mustern, vor allem in Abb. 72 von Wert sein, im übrigen ist die Hamburger Sammlung, da sie auch die bemerkens- und beachtenswerten Farbunterschiede beschreibt, zu bevorzugen. Denn Muster und Farben gehörten einzelnen Familien und durften nicht nachgeahmt werden. Daran war der Träger einst kenntlich. Heute ist alles vergessen.

* Aus Spondylus und weiß en und grauen, winzig kleinen, geschliffenen Muscheln hergestellt.
which are suitable for making bark cloth. They are obtained and allowed to lie in the house for three days. Now a tree called maratsu is fetched. One goes again to the reef and fetches a small mother-of-pearl shell, and takes it on land. With it, the bark of the breadfruit trees is peeled off, it is taken off the tree. It is put on a piece of wood called kaile, the anvil. It is beaten there until it is finished, then it is put in fresh water and washed out. Then it is beaten again until it is really good. Then it is again put in fresh water and the fiber pieces are united by heating and then hung up to dry for four days.

Then they get the mangrove bark and beat it until it is fine-fibered. It is wrung out in a wooden bowl. Then the fiber cloth is put in it. Then it is taken out again and hung up until it is quite dry. Now it is distributed in the family in order to make aprons or coats, and some make only covers of it. When one wants to make covers, one puts two to three pieces on top of each other, takes coconut thread and threads it thorough needles, which are made of the bones of hene or doves.

Now they are sewed together and a mat is made. It is pulled over when sleeping, because then the mosquitoes do not sting. When they are sewed together thusly, they are also provided with black and yellow colored stripes.

Nothing could any longer be learned about the magnificent belts, the tor. Sporadically, people came who still had some, in order to sell them for a large amount of monty (20-150 Marks); but no one in pagan Pōlikir, for example, could or wanted to say anything about the meaning of the patterns which were different on all belts and sometimes reminiscent of the tattooing (cf. Table 1, 1 and 6).

Christian is the only one who gives some detail on p. 123: "The chiefs and important people of the community used to wear belts (tor, tur) of banana fiber, which were very carefully made from it and were decorated with rows of pink, white and grey shell ornaments. There were two kinds—those of Christian are...
by many people over a period of seventy years, indicate this. The shell amulet and the earplugs of coconut must be counted among these old ornaments. The very young nuts in Illustration 95, No. Mi 2492 (a and b) are filled with red wool; small chains of little European glass beads lie around the upper edge. The nuts in Illustration 96 have the same purpose, only the filling is absent. They are worn by men during the dance. Richer, more unique than those of Tahiti and Hawaii are the head wreaths, the different "al." Every al consists of specially-chosen blossoms and has its meaning. In so far as I was informed of them, I allow it to follow:

al en botobot: For mutual allurement; the position of the knots has the effect of a sign language so that one can know in which part of the bush the individual lovers want to retire; every single one, to a certain extent, transmits a special code in flower language.

al en kokōn: Worn during festivals, feasts and dances.

al en tšalepeñe: Gives a good odor.

al en mpok: During festival times.

al en mašal: Festival wreath.

al en kitou: Wild ginger blossoms, for noblemen only.

al en kitou pitepit: Green wreath for the preparation of a rendezvous.

al en likau: Wreath of white, red and blue calico strips.

al en ūnān mān: Wreath of feathers.

al en seir: Blossom wreath of Fagraea. When the knot is worn in front, its position, whether right or left, indicates the place where one wants to meet in order to have sexual intercourse.
The great nobles of Ponape had the custom of laying various forehead bands around their heads, which had long fringes in back. The bands consisted either of breadfruit tapa, bleached snowy-white, with a clean red or black drawing (Illustration 108), or were plaited from pandanus, differently decorated and furnished with long fringes. Every forehead band again belonged to a certain family.
III. The House

1. House Construction

House building, which is considered a very honorable occupation, is the occasion for all kinds of festivities. The first takes place when the foundation is laid, the second when the posts are set up, and the third at the consecration of the finished building by the priest. The house consecration lasts about three to four hours. The priest murmurs prayers, sings in a monotonous voice and carries out all sorts of conjurations. The following are some of the prayers spoken when the posts are set up:

Charm during the Building of a House

Beams here, beams there,
Beams from here, beams from there
I try once, twice, three times,
I try four times, five times, six times,
I try seven times, eight times, nine times,
I try it, the tenth time!
May your foot adhere fast!
May your arm adhere fast!
Your whole body, may it adhere fast!

The consecration festival ends with a kava Feast at which roast dog, dishes of yams and breadfruit are eaten. Frequently the district chief is present. Women, however, do not take part in it.

The building is called nānudolosom. The relatives, kāui, and friends help with the work. No one may refuse his assistance, and everyone has the right to demand it. The employer has to feed the helpers during the period of the work, generally for ten days.
2. Kinds of Houses

From olden times, different kinds of houses were distinguished; the festival house, nay, the boat house, the dwelling houseim, the cook house, para, and various additional buildings, which also becomes apparent from the somewhat
verbose native report.

About House Building

When a house is built in Ponape, there is not one shape but many.

One form is called "Large House;" the nobles, the sub-chiefs and also some
common people live in this house.

Another house is called "King House;" only the Nanamárikí may live in such
a house.

And one form of house is called "Meeting House;" in this house the people
take part for their Nanamárikí. This is the place where they can always
meet the Nanamárikí, and hear what orders he gives them. Here too, the dances
take place, the songs and drum songs are sung; here also the Nanamárikí
and the high title holders meet and consult with each other, just as they consult
with their subjects here.

Another form of house is the cookhouse; it is the place where the Ponape men
prepare and cook the dinners. Cooking is done here for the nobles and also the
common people, and the hearth is called um en kalit. In the rak period, the
people prepare the food tributes in the cookhouse; first puatsa měi, then měi ăni,
then pāni, then kumun, then měi muatan and lili, then ṣaklap, then umun lō
en měi; and during the isöl period: kōtschep, itiz and um en pāli en kep, then
um en kep, ńun, then puka men puel, then pukalopūn. The feasts which were
celebrated in the meeting house are called: garishměi, then irei isöl, then
takatāk tip a nit, then ńat uanum and kaitisöl.
Another type of house is called the Court Servants' House. This house is always situated close to the palace, for it is a house for the seat of the noble where his servants live, in order to prepare food for the King's meals and to hang up the provisions in baskets and also to feed the fire with which the men cook the dishes. This house may also be entered by common people.

Still another type of house is the Boat Building House. In this house the people finish the canoe after they felled a tree and have taken it there. The boat work which they conduct is called one after the other: giving the shape, hollowing out, correcting the shape, boring holes, laying the bottom, examining the hollow, smoothing, painting and lacquering, making the binding for the boat, and the binding of the wooden outrigger pieces. (Léauam en Napin)

The dwelling house is described in detail in the next section. The cookhouse usually stands in the vicinity of the dwelling house and is a simple building open on all sides. The inferior purlins are replaced by blocks. Middle posts on the inside of the house are absent. Only the oblique lower part of the gable, tisak, and the long sides are covered with palm leaves like the roofs of the dwelling house.

The meeting house, nāv, in which the great festivals are celebrated was already described in detail on p. 225. There, there is also an illustration the same as in vol. I, p. 22, the reproduction of the original drawing of O'Connell. Because of the basalt slabs kept inside for the preparation of kava, it also has, according to Christian, the name "in en takai" i.e., house of the stones.

3. Construction of the Dwelling House

Formerly every class had exact laws concerning the dimensions allowed for its dwellings. According to O'Connell, this was twenty by forty feet for nobles.
for common people or rather the Nigurta six feet by ten feet and even less.

Canoe houses measured one hundred by forty or fifty feet. The house always had a rectangular shape, and quite often even a square shape. If possible, it was built in the vicinity of water and under trees. The stone foundations are produced beneath first. On the bottom they conform to the irregularities of the soil; above they are level. Outside they consist of great basalt or limestone blocks; on the inside of small stones. The height measures roughly one meter to four feet. Above rises the superstructure, generally very carefully constructed. It begins with four-cornered beams about one foot thick, the interior purlins. The upper edge is called kal muan or kal män, i.e., man, the lower kal pen i.e., woman. At about five feet intervals, four-cornered 10/13 posts are set in these beams on which the purlins rest. For this, katar, tree fern, breadfruit wood or any other of the numerous good kinds of wood are generally chosen. To support the roof, still some other posts are planted in the middle of the house, which tower at the height of the wall posts. The steep, high roof extends about a foot beyond the walls of the house. The sides and the tympanum are supported by purlins (néinéi and tejapben) and filled out with numerous rafters (rën) and slats (kütun). The lower part of the tympanum is toward down to shaped, while the upper part is vertical. This projecting part is called tissak. The roof is covered with palm leaves laid over each other like tiles. According to O'Connell, they are coconut palm fronds; according to Pereira, marfil palm (glycyrrhiza), which Christian explains as identical to the sago palm. The walls are filled with a double layer of twigs, which are laid horizontally between the posts, cross-wise to them. According to Pereira, they take thin creepers, bajuco delgado, for this purpose, that is, Saccharum kaningli, in the thickness of the little finger. According to Christian, the layer consists of bundles of sedge or reeds of the thickness mentioned above, which are
laid beside each other with the greater regularity and bound in rows with coconut fiber. O'Connell's bamboo was as filling, held together with sennit. The wrapping was most decoratively executed. In his time, they also decorated the middle posts with colored sennit and, as hardly any cooking was done in the dwelling, this wrapping also lost hardly any of its splendor. In 1910 this beautiful house decoration was completely forgotten. Scant remains of this art could be observed on Yap and Kusaie. The entrance is strikingly narrow, a narrow crack in the wall of the house, through which the person entering must twist. About three feet high, it is a window and door at the same time.

The interior is seldom divided. At most, there is a kind of compartment for valuables. The floor, like the walls, is either covered with lianas, etc., or covered from the understructure with latts. In the middle there is a free space, filled out with earth, measuring about four feet by five. Here a small fire is kept at night, which both warms and drives off mosquitoes. In O'Connell's day, a young girl would have her sleeping place beside it and must fan it when it burned down. The smoke escaped through the cracks. Dwelling houses of this kind are used by the whole family, also grown-up children, and often already-married children.

4. The House Furnishings

The house furnishings formerly consisted of sleeping mats, calabashes, beautifully polished coconut shells, baskets and all kinds of small equipment for handicrafts. The walls bore the woman's weaving equipment and the men's dance paddles and weapons. Already toward the end of the last century these things had been largely displaced by imported wares. In the houses one already saw chaise-lounges, simple tables, sewing machines and the beloved south-European. In 1910 old equipment could hardly be obtained. In view of this scarcity, the
objects collected and kept are better described in connection with the technology (cf. Section VII, p. 362).
301
1 Cf. for this O'Connell, Chapter 14, Pereiro, p. 123 and Christian, p. 140, on whose description this section is based.

302
1 According to Christian, parra is less than far.

304c
1 1 m. according to Pereiro, 4 feet according to O'Connell.
2 According to Hambruch.
IV. The Boat

The old Ponape boats, uar, have been thoroughly described by O'Connell, Lütke and von Kittlitz, and these descriptions, together with illustrations, reproduced in vol. I. To supplement them, Pereiro's account may find a place here. "The hull, long and delicate, is formed from the trunk of a hollowed-out tree. At both bows, the war canoes have high, very projecting, curved superstructure, which beautifies upon them a very pleasing appearance. In the middle they have a platform which is called 'timp.' From the right side, there projects a row of wooden strips, which are all connected one below the other by means of thinner strips and run to a longer, very light wood that lies parallel to the canoe and so attached that it plays the role of a float. This complicated apparatus constitutes the 'batanga,' which is so completely different from the boat of the Philippine islanders.

They build the canoes from two kinds of wood, partly from 'ton,' which is, I believe, Dipterocarpus polyspermus, a heavy wood, which however floats and withstands the sun without becoming cracked. Others are built of the 'chatat,' D. Mayapis, a soft wood that floats very well. The large, carved boats are called uarchap (decorated canoe), the war boats, dar peik, and the ordinary, uar. All boats have sails, of which some are of canvas and the others are made by the natives themselves by weaving together the fibers of the kepar leaf. The oars are of breadfruit tree wood and are called "Patel." The "tiquines" (boat poles) are called 'katian,' and they all carry / bail, which they call 'lin en llar.' The middle platform has a covering for rainy days, that is joined together by the leaves of the nipa palm. / / / / / have a beam of approximately 1½ meters in width. The seats consist of some cross-beams, three fingers thick. They are about one ell apart from each other. In general, there are six of these seats in every canoe. Four
.....

In the middle they have a platform which they call "timpa."

From the right side extends a row of wooden strips which are all interconnected by means of thinner ones and which run towards timber?
a longer, very light piece of wood which lies parallel to the canoe and is attached in such a way that it acts as a float.

This complicated contrivance constitutes the "batanga," which is so Filipinos?
very dissimilar to the boat of the Philippine islanders.
persons on them. The others go to the middle platform. The canoes have a edge, are painted red, black and white, the bows are shaped like swan's neck. They are decorated with rosettes, canvas or tapa in various colors. Sometimes they are even provided with bells. They also decorate the sides with canvas of various colors and drawings in square fields, similar to chessboards. The war canoes always carry their supply of stones with them, in order to destroy the enemy (in order to throw at the enemy). They even kill fish with the stones.

All these types of ships are extremely light. They travel with great speed and offer limited conceivable resistance to the water and pass over shallows with ease. Their size varies considerable: they can carry between 40 and 50 men.

According to the number of persons that the vessel can hold, the natives distinguish:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>boat</th>
<th>length (feet)</th>
<th>capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiaipapot</td>
<td>2 nau</td>
<td>1-2 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisinuar</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>3 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantua</td>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>4-6 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uarasap</td>
<td>6-6½</td>
<td>6-6½ people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kallon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7 people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The boats prepared from one trunk, of which only bow and stern superstructure and the outrigger equipment are attached, are built, according to Hambruch, from the following types of wood:

- ton - according to Pereiro, p. 126, Dipterocarpus polyspermus and D. Mayapis
- yatak - according to Christian, p. 330, Elaeocarpus
- uieh - according to Christian, p. 346, Luminitsera
- mai - breadfruit
- pulok - according to Christian, p. 344, Carapa Moluccensis
- kemar - unknown variety of wood
- pinepin - according to Christian, p. 343, the same as pelak, counted among the gourd family and providing the natives with calabashes. It must therefore be
assumed that there is a mistake here.

**kala** - according to Christian, hibiscus. According to Hambruch, the paddles are carved from this, which is certainly a mistake. They are generally of breadfruit wood.

**kyup** - according to O'Connell, the preferable used variety of wood and according to Christian, belongs to the **Lilium** plants. Here again a mistake must have occurred by one or the other.

O'Connell's report of boat building is completely confirmed by the *natives*. At the suggestion of the chiefs and in addition, after the **Nanamariki** had given them permission, roughly every two years, a general construction of canoes was initiated. The building was started by certain festivals and ceremonies, especially **Varaui**, which are supposed to have taken place in the now-ruined city, **Nan Matol**. The leader was the **Pau Pau**, who also supervised the work. In later times these festivals had only local significance left, and the chiefs of the neighboring districts were invited to them. The felling of the large trees was done by **6 men**. They were hollowed out where they fell in order to reduce the weight. For large boats, the trunk was left whole. For small boats, it was divided. Then it was dragged to the nearest waterway and brought to the boat house. The **Nigurs** formerly had to perform all these tasks. Only the actual boat builders, often chiefs, or at least people of the two upper castes, started their honorable work. Four to five men were busy at it for about a week. Accompanied by as many people as possible helped. First the outside was worked, then the inside. Seats and outrigger were attached after the canoe had received the coat of red paint, the lacquer, and the polish. All the fastenings were, as they still are, of sennit. Formerly however, the seats were also decoratively wrapped with it. **Caulking**, coconut oil, lime and
Calophyllum resin (galip nut) are used.

The Hollowing out of the Canoe

The boat is dragged down (from the bush). First the tops are taken off, then the branches are removed until all branches are off. Now it is roughly hollowed out. After the hollowing out, the outside is cut. Then they hollow it out again and form the canoe. After shaping, the boat is smoothed and after the smoothing, the float and the pieces of wood for the canoe are made. After that, it is painted and lacquered. Then the boat is finished. It is then tested and it is taken to the water for the first fishing expedition. This fishing expedition is called kâtûpîk. (Kanek en Šamurôi.)

Charm for Boat Building

(At first hollowing out the body of the boat)

My spirit rises above with the ax,
My spirit strikes down with the ax,
Hasten, make the canoe fly.
Oh, quick, quick, oh, my canoe.
Then slowly, and now quickly.
My two small children,
The one is called Šîpe rôu,
The other is called Šâpe rôu,
My flyer lives, Mâîn Tâu Kâtâ, Nân Šelân. (Šâlîk en Tsôkôla.)

During the felling of the tree, still another charm is said; which however, is never given away because otherwise the person concerned would be killed.

The boat building festivals of ancient times, as O'Connell experienced them, were also not quite forgotten in 1910. They could still tell the following about them:
Boat Building

In ancient times the chiefs organized the sacred boat building festival. It was a sacred festival, a tribal festival. They then informed all their sub-leaders to meet in order to decide when they wanted to begin building. The nobles ordered the sub-chiefs, the Nanekan and all sub-leaders to go home and make preparations and to build for the boat building festival. They then went away. And every place then built only one boat, the "mahmálo" for the Nanamáriki and his chiefs and sub-leaders in their districts. All went into the bush in order to build; no one was allowed to remain at home and do nothing. They worked diligently and were not lazy. An unfinished festival canoe was abandoned and never finished. During the time of the canoe building they also practiced their games until all canoes were finished. Then they brought them to the Nanamáriki, took them before the princes and likewise began to prepare for the game. When the game was over, they all let the Nanamáriki have the canoes, the equipment, and even the Nanamáriki kept the paddles. The Nanamarkis received the canoes and selected three canoes to give them to the other Nanamáríkits. The rest was given to the other title-holders. Then they sat in the meeting house, celebrated a feast and drank kava until they were drunk. Then all returned home and slept.

Report on a Sacred Ceremony

There was a sacred ceremony in Ponape during the building of the canoes, called épén Saravi. When they wanted to build canoes, one tribe conferred with the other concerning at what time they wanted to begin building. Then they felled trees and worked simultaneously until they had finished. Then they made preparations, put their ornaments in order and took care to have beautiful paddles. On a certain day, called rān en pūk uār, they launched the canoe. When it was ready, they pushed the canoe in the water. And if someone is not yet finished

(4r1 + 2v)
with his canoe, he would launch it on that day so that it would be consacrated and no canoe in the district be forgotten. They put it in the water to float and let it float. They call it pus on éñén if the canoe is not yet finished. They make preparations on another day the ran en pitakpene. They depart with all the canoes and meet in a small place. Then they prepare for the day which is called ran en éñén lap'. When the day of the ran en éñén lap' is there, they meet at that place, conduct sacred ceremonies in Pankat'ra and organize paddle dances at many places. When the sacred paddle dances are over, they then turn over all the boats to the Nanamikik. Then the Nanamikiki distributes all the canoes among the people. Then all the people get new boats. Then they all return home and keep their boats. Thx canoe was made in ancient times, and a canoe was made at no other time because they waited for an éñén again, then canoes were made. (L. and R. Kehoe, Roi en Kiti.)

The life of the boats was rather short, in spite of the trouble taken over them. Generally they lasted only a few years. Older chiefs' boats were given to the Nigruts as work boats. As for the rest, their canoes were built much worse and were smaller in size. The old kind of boats to a certain extent the state of these canoes were never destroyed, but rather were lifted up in the festival houses.

Ordinary boats lay on the beach when they were not used, often in the water. They carry a charm for protection:

Charm for Canoe Protection

Mother of the boat guard, father of the boat guard, watch and protect and protect the boat!

You protect it from evil,

Here my canoe.

Thorns outside, thorns inside,
Thorns inside, thorns outside,
Remain a magic under mine,
Over everything—my’re my’s.

Mother of the boat guard, father of the boat guard,
Watch and protect and protect the boat!

Boat accessories are sails, paddles and bails. The knowledge of the sail is connected with a legend. It is related:

The Story of the Sail

Thus they think about the sail. In very ancient times, Nan Dvapue married two women in heaven. The two began to make a sail. They gathered many pandanus leaves and filled a house with them. But Nan Dvapue was dissatisfied with the

The women became angry about this and cried. They left the sky, they were three sisters. As they roamed about, they arrived at Selatäk and

and found their things there. One of them took her things and went to Laŋgär, and

and the two others took their things and went to Nan finished the sail.

Thus the people of Ponape think about the sail, because before the two women appeared from heaven and made sails in Ponape, there were no sails in Ponape.

The sails are called íepit. The Ponape people used these formerly until there was much material in Ponape. Then no íepit were made anymore, but rather, the sails were made from cotton material. (L. and R. Kehoe, Réi en Kiti.)

The sails are plaited by the women from pandanus leaves. This work is accompanied by the observation of ceremonies and makes the people taboo while they are occupied with it.
They also made about the Making of the Sails. (The sacred sail was also made which is called zeu kopuń. The women and set a day, the ran en pits saruń. When the day came, all the men and women, who travel in many canoes, go to the island, Nā in Matolenim. They meet on Nā. There they carry out a sacred 3/11 ceremony which is called ńeⁿpēn. Then they begin with the plaiting of the sails, and leaves called teip are used for this. They make out of the sails are made from this tree. When it is finished, they bring it to the Nanamariki; the Nanamariki keeps it. Then all the people who participated in making the sail are no longer taboo, for the sacred sail is finished. (L. and R. Kehee en kiti.)

The two long sides of the triangular sail are tied to a vertical boom (loose spar) and a horizontal (spanker) boom. A mast is lacking. It is replaced by a pole which supports the corner of the sail which projects in the air. The sail in Illustration 121 and A. A. Ia's sketch are different from each other in this respect.

In the former, this pole is somewhat below the beginning of the last third of the vertical boom. This pole, which takes the place of the mast, is held by a man and erected on the one or the other end of the boat according to the direction in which the boat is to travel. They say a charm while hoisting the sail:

Charm During the Hoisting of the Sail

I tie the yards in Kapinyaplap,

I make a loop, I make the loop on top,

I make a loop, I make a loop at the bottom

I put the yards in at Tāuak, the float goes up high,

Yards and mast, remain strong, yard and mast,

Remain strong, yes strong! (Aurīrin en Matoleniń.)
The paddles used, patīl en uār, were also painted red, according to O'Connell. Otherwise they were plain in contrast to the dance paddles (cf. p. 204). Those differ here are of different shapes. The Hamburg paddle has a
squareshoulder blade. The Stuttgart, moreover, shows a cord ornamentation and a thickened
point. In comparison with the dance paddles shows a great
merely correspondence in the shape with the Hamburg piece.

The hails are either longish vessels crudely carved from wood, or only coconut shells. The former are called pinale, the latter, limerikerik.

Names for the Canoe and its Parts. According to Hambruch.

1. Space inside the canoe: liulìngies
2. Float: li en tāmara
3. Bow: tip en mò
4. Stern: tip en mur
5. Keel: kapān uār
6. Gunwale: aù en uār
7. Hull: ip en uār
8. Seat board (Platform?): parišamēt
9. Long, outrigger: kīaì en lūk
10. Oblique outrigger timbers: tāk uār
11. Tiller supports: kīaì
12. Straight connecting boards: aubāt
13. Fork (outrigger): apīk
14. Stay for rigging: kātumen
15. Mast: ke ū
16. Sheet (for hoisting): akalap
17. Sheet (for holding): li
18. Thrusting poles: pūlinār, lātēki
19. Paddle: patīl en uār
20. Round bail of coconut: limerikerik
21. Wooden bailing bucket: pinale, līm

Pereiro, loc. cit. p. 126.

A canoe not finished on time.

O'Connell, Chap. 10 . . . The sails are triangular, such as are called in the sailor's vernacular, shoulder-of-mutton sails, and are platted (sic) by the women of split rushes. A yard and a boom at the foot secures two sides of the sail, and the third side has no leach rope, the strength of the material rendering it unnecessary. In putting about, it is only necessary to shift the craft end for end, and make that her bow which was before the stern, as the outrigger must of course, always be kept on the windward side . . . .

cf. in addition, Lütke II, p. 27 . . . . The long side BC and the hypotenuse BD are attached to poles bound at B but in such a way that they can move freely. The side CD is free. To direct the sail, the corner A is attached to the end of the boat when one wishes to go forward; the corner C is raised in the air by means of a long pole to which it is attached; the corner D is also held by a pole. The sail is folded in the twinkling of an eye by rolling it on the poles. To turn about, one also folds the sail and the corner A is shifted to the other end of the canoe. All that is done very quickly. They generally show a great deal
Le grand côté BC, et l'hypoténuse BD sont attachés à des perches liées en B, mais de manière à ce qu'elles puissent se mouvoir librement. Le côté CD est libre. Pour orienter la voile, l'angle A est assujetti au bout de la pirogue par lequel on veut aller de l'avant; l'angle C est élevé en l'air au moyen d'une longue perche à laquelle il est fixé; l'angle D est aussi tenu par une perche. La voile est repliée en un clin d'œil, en la roulant sur les perches. Pour virer de bord, on replie aussi la voile, et le coin A est transporté à l'autre bout de la pirogue. Tout cela se fait très-vite. Ils montrent, en général, beaucoup d'adresse et de célérité dans le maniement de leurs pirogues. D'après la forme et la disposition qu'ils donnent à leur voile, il est impossible de la faire plus grande, et c'est vraisemblablement la raison pour laquelle les pirogues des Pouynipètes n'ont pas, dans leur marche, la même rapidité que les pirogues des habitants des îles basses.

O'Connell Kap. X .... The sails are triangular, such as are called in the sailor's vernacular, shoulder-of-mutton sails, and are platted by the women of split rushes. A yard and a boom at the foot secures two sides of the sail, and the third side has no leach rope, the strength of the material rendering it unnecessary. In putting about, it is only necessary to shift the craft end for end, and make that her bow which was before the stern, as the outrigger must of course always be kept on the windward side...... vgl. hierzu Lütke II S. 27 .... Le grand côté BC, et l'hypoténuse BD sont attachés à des perches liées en B, mais de manière à ce qu'elles puissent se mouvoir librement. Le côté CD est libre. Pour orienter la voile, l'angle A est assujetti au bout de la pirogue par lequel on veut aller de l'avant; l'angle C est élevé en l'air au moyen d'une longue perche à laquelle il est fixé; l'angle D est aussi tenu par une perche. La voile est repliée en un clin d'œil, en la roulant sur les perches. Pour virer de bord, on replie aussi la voile, et le coin A est transporté à l'autre bout de la pirogue. Tout cela se fait très-vite. Ils montrent, en général, beaucoup d'adresse et de célérité dans le maniement de leurs pirogues. D'après la forme et la disposition qu'ils donnent à leur voile, il est impossible de la faire plus grande, et c'est vraisemblablement la raison pour laquelle les pirogues des Pouynipètes n'ont pas, dans leur marche, la même rapidité que les pirogues des habitants des îles basses.
A canoe not finished on time.

O'Connell, Chap. 10. ... The sails are triangular, such as are called in the sailor's vernacular, shoulder-of-mutton sails, and are platted (sic) by the women of split rushes. A yard and a boom at the foot secures two sides of the sail, and the third side has no leach rope, the strength of the material rendering it unnecessary. In putting about, it is only necessary to shift the craft end for end, and make that her bow which was before the stern, as the outrigger must of course, always be kept on the windward side. ... 

Cf. in addition, Lütke II, p. 27. ... The long side BC and the hypotenuse BD are attached to poles bound at B but in such a way that they can move freely. The side CD is free. To direct the sail, the corner A is attached to the end of the boat when one wishes to go forward; the corner C is raised in the air by means of a long pole to which it is attached; the corner D is also held by a pole. The sail is folded in the twinkling of an eye by rolling it on the poles. To turn about, one also folds the sail and the corner A is shifted to the other end of the canoe. All that is done very quickly. They generally show a great deal of skill and rapidity in manouevring their canoes. Because of the shape and the arrangement of the sail, it is impossible to make it bigger, and that is probably the reason why the canoes of the Ponape people do not travel with the same speed as the canoes of the inhabitants of the low islands.
of skill and rapidity in maneuvering their canoes. Because of the shape and the arrangement of the sail, it is impossible to make it bigger, and that is probably the reason why the canoes of the Ponape people do not travel with the same speed as the canoes of the inhabitants of the low islands.
Uk is the generic term for nets. They are made as a rule of strips of bark from the *Gibiscus* tree, or of the *Osmari*, a species of palm.

**Uk alap** - Large stake net or seine net used for catching turtle and big fish, some 20 fathoms long by five in depth.

**Uk-e-tik** - A small seine net.

**Chak ichak** - A small casting net used for fishing on the edge of the reef just above the deep water.

**Naik** - A handnet, with a bow-shaped rim, used for scooping up fish driven down a narrow pass or ditch in the coral reef.

**Hukuk, Hukuk** - A hand net used for catching small fish.

**Liem** - A bag net used at openings of weirs or passage at the beginning of ebb tides, generally 4 days after full moon.

**Tacha** (*Poly Hatz*) is the word used for the mesh of the net.

A fish pen or weir of stone is called Ma, one of their methods. The
Amongst the Penapeans, there is no more favorite passage in the Old Testament than the famous duel of David and Goliath, the translation of which is peculiarly spirited and happy in the missionary vernacular. The incidents of the encounter are peculiarly in accord with native fashion in every way, and the name David (Tepit) is very common amongst the Protestant folk on the South-west coast.

The bow is called Kachik-en-Katia, literally, "make-shoot-of Katia-wood." The arrow Katia in Kachik.

The Penapeans say the bow was used by the Chokalai or Aborigines.

Spears

Houses—walls composed of shutters (Tet or Tatt) made of bundles of reed-grass, cane about the thickness of one's little finger, laid side by side with the greatest neatness and regularity, and bound together in rows with the ever-useful cannat-fibre. The thatch, composed of tightly-packed bundles of leaf of the Ceb, the vegetable Ivory or Sago Palm called by the Spanish Palma de harful...
V. Hunting

1. Fishing

The ocean supplies a very substantial part of the food, and the natives are avid, skillful fishermen. A successful fisherman has also the certain prospect of a good marriage and is gladly taken into every family. Formerly, the Migurts supplied the amount of fish necessary for the table of their masters and were adept in treading water. Nobles occupied themselves with spear fishing only as sport. In this manner, they also killed the shark, which they partly ate. Nowadays everyone fishes, and the women carry out small fishing on beach and reef.

Here are the most important kinds of fish for the natives:

The Names of the Fish

These are some fish names:

1. kamé'ik
2. meřēr
3. tšep'
4. koll
5. č'iuël
6. mařer
7. čuči
8. meti
9. môme'i
10. māu
11. pakaš
12. maŋk
13. pušlak
14. maŋtel
15. epš
16. šamue'i
17. litoi'i
18. pālapāl
19. māř
20. paɾapaɾ
21. lieŋpuŋšer
22. tainsēu
23. lešepul
24. aā
25. ikimuŋ
26. kiŋk
27. ikem
28. pugū
29. pōroš
30. umunle
31. kalučle
32. ūmūn
33. šeñišen
34. kalgaŋpūn
From time to time they organize communal fishing expeditions, which end with tributary gifts to the chiefs and with festivals for the people. And the following nōpui is organized for the chiefs on the occasion of the consecration of fishing instruments. The people make drag nets of hand nets, and for four days give the catch of fish to the chiefs. Then and they are allowed to fish for themselves and eat. In this manner, the Ponape people show their respect to their chiefs; thus there are some fish in the ocean which no one is allowed to eat before the chiefs have eaten of them. And they give some to the common people so that they then eat with them. Such fish are: turtleo, flying fish, bonito, merer, the large flying fish au (aman, rōripūripu and tikila. These fish are not allowed to be eaten by the common man, because he would die (the long-distance magic of) the chief.
The day is set when they want to go to the reef. Then they meet. They test the net. When this is done, they divide the people: those who are supposed to go on the reef, and those who are supposed to stay on the land in order to cook the meals. The fishermen set out all together; they gather and discuss what they should do. They now fetch the meals and also provide kava. Together they offer all this in the meeting house, pile it up, fetch kava and distribute it on the flat stones. They wait for the return of the fishermen, and the women grate coconuts, add gingerroot. They also prepare the ornaments, especially the flower wreaths. There they sit next to each other in the meeting house and wait for the fishermen. Finally there is high tide. Now the fishermen come back, blow the conch shell and sing songs. All people on the land pound kava. When the fishermen are near the shore, they jump out of the canoes and drag the whole catch with them to the meeting house to the nobles. There are very pleased. They put the catch down, then they sit down, they finish making kava and hand it to the chief. One of the sub-chiefs takes the kava and hands them to the high fishing master and some of his people. Some women and men rise and anoint all the fishermen with oil and give them the ornaments which they have prepared.

When they are finished, they sit down. One man, however, the Tsou e neg, stands up, goes to the pile of food, lifts the carrying strap of a basket of food and says the Katéria incantations.

This is the conjuration:

"I take away the evil magic and bring it away the evil magic,
Evil magic down here, evil magic up here, away you evil magic,
Because we want to live, we want to be healthy.
Evil powers go away, good powers, come here,
Over these food heaps, your small one%, your large one%,
I lay my hand on the small heap, I lay my hand on the large heap,
Thus we are fully, fully well satiated in our country,
Always satiated, Mistress Ilâkelôk, Lord Tâmol, uê!

Afterwards all the baskets are lifted high and distributed to the fishermen.
Then these rise and lift up the fish. They select the largest fish and hand them over
to the nobles and divide the rest among the people. Then they sit down and
continue pounding kava. Then the shore dwellers go to the reef, and the island
dwellers cook it for four days. Then it is ended.

According to Hambrecht, the fishing expedition with the large nets, the Naikalap,
that these sixty lengths of fifty spans is preceded by a four-day seclusion of the
men taking part in it. They must also, refrain from sexual intercourse and must
not eat any bird's flesh. Then a charm is spoken (see text 128). The first catch
is received by the Nanamariki, the second, his wife, the third by the Nanekin,
What is caught last is received by the other high title holders. For this they
organize a great festival at which there is an abundance of kava. According to
another description, all states take part in the Naikalap expedition. The
Nanamariki receives only two fish, no matter what size. This is followed by
a general giving on both sides between men of high and low rank.

Some fish are taboo for the common man, either completely or partly, or
in certain times. Sometimes they are freed from this restriction after the chief
has tasted them. As all important undertakings, magic and counter-magic
are also practiced during fishing.

Story from Mutôk (p. 85)

A spirit, permanent since ancient times, inhabited this Tol Takai; the spirit
was a woman, who was called Likand Nalûk. She sat on a stone house and watched
the fishermen who were fishing here according to the lait en li technique. The
The party of fishermen always set out in Kapinpelän. Before their fishing expedition they made sacrifices; they brought small kava gifts. Four women had to do it; they sat down around the stone, two tšopéiti women and two sērīṣo women. Here they brought the kava sacrifice. Thus they made the kava and wrung out the coconut fiber. They wrung it out in a stony shell. At the same time they prayed to the spirit woman. Thus they prayed:

"To you I dedicate the beaker Puiniu under your bosom Likand Nālūk.
Likand Nālūk, tell it to Likand Lueteisap'.
Likand Lueteisap', tell it to Likand Likošap'.
Likand Likošap', tell it to Likand Limūtig."

These four spirit women are yet more powerful than Likand Nālūk. She lived on the Tōl takal and the others on Tome. When the sacrifice had ended, they began the fishing expedition in which all women of Mutok took part. All the fishing society wore ornaments of beautiful flowers and put them on their heads. Now when they go fishing, a woman carries a bundle of kava shrubs to the shore; the others follow her to the shore and to the kava. They cover a stone with this kava, the Nālūk en Pēikap. Then the fishing society hunt for two kinds of fish, which we call aron and a. When they have caught them, then they return here again. On the way home, they first visit a small place, Ninn Tšëin, pound kava and sacrifice to the place. Then they choose two women, a tšopéiti woman and a sērīṣo woman, who are supposed to take the fish and the fisherwomen's ornaments to Alēhian. When they arrive there, all the people who see the two must hide.

When they are in the vicinity of Alēhian, at the house Ngauλiu, then the Nanamāriki and his main people gather there, begin to celebrate, wait for the fishermen, because now they know that they are coming home. But the women do not appear at the gathering immediately; both hide and first listen to a drum song which refers to their handing over of the fish and the ornaments. A priest comes, takes-
the ornaments and also the fish. With gifts of food, as much as they can carry, they return to Mutok. The next day they do the same, and thus for four days; then the expedition is ended.

This fishing expedition only took place once a year, always in the same manner from ancient times to the year 1870, when it ceased. (Śwulik en Mutok.)

Some people have gone fishing; one has remained at home. He says a charm, so that they should not get any fish:

Lipali kiti, Li kai pela
Go, go, dive under with stones,
Come up with coral,
Like the mountains, the mountains, the mountains
aaaaa hahahah!

Charm during Fishing (696)

I tread, tread, tread, a little on the sinkers,
I tread, tread, tread harder on the sinkers.
May it come, may it come here,
Numerous, innumerable like mangrove leaves,
Numerous, innumerable like banana leaves,
The fish into the net.

I tread a little on the sinkers,
I now tread harder on the sinkers,

When three to four canoes fish together, the charm so that the fish go in the net:
Here I go,
Here I go,
I dive down, a thousand fish come,
I come up, a thousand fish come,
In order to fetch a thousand fish,
In order to fetch still more fish,
And still more fish,
Infinitely many fish,
Joho!

Charm while fishing with the large net (next 128)

I lower the little forked wood,
I lower the large forked wood,
My foot moves, my arm moves,
My whole body moves.
Many fish are caught, caught, caught.
The tails struggle, the tails struggle!

Kātin Kēpira, Li āun Kēpira,
There is the path of the fish, indeed here.
Come, swim between the legs of Li āun Kēpira,
The tails struggle, the tails struggle, joho!

The fishing methods practiced on Ponape were described so clearly and thoroughly by the native, L. Kehoe, that he alone will be quoted here:

Some Fishing Methods of Ponape (next 248)

1. Large fixed net 2. small fixed net 3. large hand net 4. small hand net
Some Fishing Methods from Ponape

1. Large set net
2. Small set net
3. Large hand net
4. Small hand net
5. Bow net, similar to no. 3
6. STREICHNETZ — (small hand net)
7. DOPPELHANDNETZ
8. Handnet, no longer used
9. Poison
10. Spear
11. Weir
12. DOPPELWEHR double weir
13. SENKREUSE weir basket? weighted fish pot
14. Hand net made of hibiscus bast
15. Stone weir
16. Torch
17. Fishing outside the lagoon

Those are the principle fishing methods which the people of Ponape use to catch fish.

They use the large set net (POUND NET?) in the following manner for three methods of fishing. These are:

1. Fishing at high tide
2. Fishing outside the lagoon
3. XX Nocturnal fishing (owling)?

The ti method (#1) with the large set net is used on some reefs. The kelik method (#2) is used when fishing inside the breakers, and the kos method is employed during
the night on a few reefs.

These are the ***methods of fishing with the small set net.

1. Daytime fishing
2. Nocturnal fishing (owling?)
3. Fishing in the reef channels lagoon.
4. Fishing in the passages
5. Reef fishing in the deep spots (Fishing in the deep spots in the reef)

6. Surf fishing (Fishing in the breakers)
7. Stationary fishing with three nets (set fishing?)—POUND NETS?
8. Fishing with poison
9. Fishing in the mangroves (women)
10. Fishing on the outer reef
11. Fishing from the canoe with three nets and torches
12. Barricading a channel with nets

Those are the names of the methods of fishing with the small set net STELLNETZ.

These are the methods of fishing with the large hand net.

1. Fishing with the hand net
2. Drive-in fishing (drift?)
3. Fishing by canoe
4. Fishing in shallows
5. Fishing by means of pots and nets REUSEN AND NETZEN
6. Fishing with the hand net

Those are the names of the methods of fishing with the large hand net.
These are the methods of fishing with the small hand net. 1. 2. 3. on the reef when the moon is full. 4. 5. and 6. Fishing among piles of stones. These are the names of the methods of fishing with the small hand net. That is HAMENFISHEREI. They set out in three or four canoes and fish at night or by day. They get out of the canoe and set the HAMEN on the reef side of a lagoon. Then the canoes travel out onto the reef. They frighten the fish with pole and catch them in the HAMENNETZ. This method is called HAMENFISHEREI (STAKE NET__TYPE OF POUND NET)?

The pelik handnet is a net which requires two people to use. They stroll along the reef at night and in this manner catch all kinds of fish, big and small.

The DOPPELHANDNETZ is a net on which two sticks sit like the yards of a sail. 10 to 20 men fish with it. They stroll along the edge of the breakers with it.

The STREICHHNETZ is a type of net. And these are the method of fishing which are accomplished with it:

1. Fishing-out of the reef coral ABFISCHEN DER RIFFKORALLEN
2. SENKFISHEREI
3. Drive-in fishing

Those are STREICHHNETZ fishing methods.

On Fish Poison

Up is the root of the sal plant which creeps over the ground. The people pound it, then take it and carry it into the lagoon. Now, when large fish slip into the holes/spaces underneath the stones, the people trample the root and cram it under the stones. Then the fish become stupefied, like people drunk on kava. They come out from under the stones and die.
SENKFISCHEREI  fyke fishing?(bow net)

The SENKFISCHEREI is a net that looks like a bag. They go into the mangroves with it and climb up to a high place. Then they put some food in the SENKFISCHEREI and lower it into the water. Many fish gather inside it and eat the food in the SENKFISCHEREI, and when the SENKFISCHEREI is full, they haul it up. It is filled with 40-50 fish.

Torch fishing

Torch fishing is a method of fishing in which they use dry coconut fronds or the leaves of the ivory palm. They tie them together and the people go out onto the reef at night. Then they ignite them until it blazes, and they hold it over the water. The fish are roused and blinded by means of the bright light. The people then catch them with nets, spear them, or kill them with knives. At present times they catch 100 fish and even many more.

Weir fishing

They go onto the reef and build long walls out of stone. They also make numerous openings/breaches for 20-30 people. Then they go home and remain there until it becomes dark. Then they return to the weir and sit down at the openings/breaches, which they guard and barricade with the liem net. Many fish are then caught in the net bag. Then they wait until the water falls and the reef is dry. The weir is then filled with 100-200 fish. At times they catch up to 1000 fish in this manner. (See the accompanying sketches.)

Surf fishing

Surf fishing is a method in which they travel by canoe and bring out 5-6 STELLNETZE. They tie one net together in such a way that it looks like a sack/bag. Then they walk into the surf and set the STELLNETZ out in the vicinity of the deep spots. During this, the SACKNETZ is located in the middle/midst of the other nets. Now the people haul on the ends of the net until (it is?) close to
the breakers. They sing, blow conch shells and throw stones until the tide goes out. Then they haul in the nets and find in the net sack/bag, full of fish, 50-60 and up to 100 fish.

Drag net fishing in deep water.

Drag net fishing in deep water is a beautiful method of fishing. They take along two or three nets. Then they set out the nets in a small lagoon which is surrounded on all sides with reefs. Then they arrange the nets in a row. Now they fetch up the nets, first from the one side of the lagoon and then from the other. Then they find the nets filled with 100-200 fish. They then take a small hand nets and spears and remove the fish from the nets with them.

Thus, in Ponape there are many, many methods of fishing. The methods of fishing are called:

1. STELLNETZFISCHEREI  (set net fishing

2.  (Set net fishing from the canoe

3. GROSSNETZHANDFISCHEREI  large net hand fishing? fishing by hand w/ lg. net

4. small net hand fishing

5. TREIBFISCHEN  drive-in fishing from the canoe  drift net fishing?

6. Reef fishing

7. Fishing in the reef channels

8. Drag net fishing

9. Fishing in the mangroves

10. Surf fishing

11. Weir fishing

12. Weir fishing

13. Weir fishing

14. Torch fishing

15. ?

16. Fishing by the full moon

17. Nocturnal fishing
18. DOPPELNETZHANDFISCHEREI        FISHING BY HAND WITH A DOUBLE NET?
19. Oyster dredging
20. ?
21. Fishing with REUSSEN and nets fykes? weir baskets?
22. Spear fishing
23. SENKNETZFISCHEREI
24. Eel trapping
25. STREICHNETZFISCHEREI
26. Fish poison
27. Grabbing fish (tickling?)
28. ?
29. ?
30. Fishing among piles of stone
31. Fishing in passages
32. Reef fishing in the deep spots
33. FORKENFISCHEREI
34. Set net fishing with three nets
35. Looking for fish in the swamp/pit?
36. Drive-in fishing
37. Set net fishing with four nets
38. Fishing in the manngroves
39. REUSENFISCHEREI Fishing with pots
40. Catching octopus

On drive-in fishing

Drive-in fishing is a beautiful method by which they catch many fish; however, no large ones, but rather only small ones. When there is drive-in fishing, about 20 people do it. At dawn they go into the ocean at high tide to the surf and erect two or three piles of stones. Then they place STREICHNETZE all around the piles of stones, and two to three set nets around the STREICHNETZE. From
the one side and then the other of the set net as far as the spot where the breakers thunder down, the people form two rows. They carry cudgels and stones, strike the water with them, and throw stones so that the fish do not slip through between the people. For when the sun rises, the water drains off the reef. Two people run along the edge of the reef, call, shout and stir up the water. Then all the people stir up the water, shout for joy and blow the conch shells. In this manner they approach each other and gather the net, which they then find full of fish, as are also the STREICHNETZE and the piles of stones. Here (in this case) they grab the fish. After this, the canoes are filled with fish. At times they catch more than a thousand fish in this manner. They also call the drive-in fishing pinepes.

Many types of fish are caught in this manner, large and small. They are:

1. Letsepuel
2. tainseu
3. samui
4. lierpuatser
5. pulak
6. meti
7. epil
8. muatel

Those are the types of fish which are caught during drive-in fishing.

One method of fishing is called weir-basket fishing. The people fetch branches and threads, lash them, and make a weir-basket out of them. A weir pot is like a house or box. They lash until they are finished.
These are the main types of fishing which the Ponape people use in order to catch fish. They use the large fixed net in the following manner for three kinds of fishing. These are called:

1. Fishing at high tide
2. Deep-sea fishing

The ti method with the large fixed net is used on some reefs, the kelik method is used for fishing inside the breakers, and the kos method is brought into use during the night on reefs.

These are the methods of fishing with the small fixed net. 1. Day fishing.
2. Night fishing
3. Reef-channel fishing
4. Channel fishing
5. Reef fishing in the deep places
6. Surf fishing
7. Fixed fishing with three nets
8. *Fishing with poison
9. Fishing along mangroves (f.)
10. Fishing on the outer reef
11. Fishing with three nets from a canoe with torches
12. Closing of a channel with nets.

These are the names of the kinds of fishing with the small fixed net.

These are the fishing methods with the large hand net. 1. Hand net fishing.
2. Fish drives
3. Fishing from the canoe
4. Fishing in shallows
5. Fishing by means of weirs and nets

These are the names of the kinds of fishing with large hand/net.

These are the methods of fishing with the small hand-net. 1., 2., 3. At full moon on the reef.
4., 5. Stone heap fishing. These are the names of the methods of fishing with the small hand net. This is the stake/net fishing. They go out with three or four canoes and fish at night or during the day. They get out of the canoes and put the stake net on the reef edge of a lagoon; then they sail up on the reef, then the fish are scared with poles and caught in the stake net. This method is called stake net fishing.
The pelik hand net is a net which requires two people to use; they go along the reefs at night and thus catch all kinds of fish, small and large.

The double hand net is a net on which two pieces of wood are attached like the yards of a sail. Ten to twenty men fish with it; they go along the edge of the breakers with it.

The dragnet/sein is a kind of net. And these are the kinds of fishing which are managed with it: 1. Fishing on the reef corals. 2. Sunken fishing. 3. Fish drives. These are kinds of fishing.

On the Fish Poison

Up is the root of the sal plant which creeps over the ground, which the people pound, then take and carry into the reef water. Now, when large fish creep into the holes under the stones, the people pound the root and put it under the stones; then the fish are stunned like people drunk on kava, and come out from under the stones and die.

Weighed Fishing

Weighed fish trap is a net which looks like a pouch; they go into the mangroves with it, and climb up to a high location. Then some food is put into the weighed fish trap and it is lowered into the water. Many fish gather in it and eat of the food in the weighed fish trap and when the weighed fish trap is full, the weighed fish trap, which is filled with forty to fifty fish, is pulled up.

Fishing with Torches

Torch fishing is a method in which dry coconut fronds or leaves of the ivory palm are used. They are tied together and the people go to the reef at night. Then they light it until it blazes and hold it over the water. The fish are roused and blinded by the bright light. Then the people catch them with nets.
spear them or kill them with knives; a hundred fish and even many more are caught at a time.

Weir Fishing

They go on the reef and build long walls of stones; they also make numerous openings for about twenty to thirty people. Then they go home and remain there until it gets dark; then they go again to the weir and settle down at the openings which they watch and close with the liem net. Then many fish are caught in the net pouch. They then wait until the water subsides and the reef is dry. Then the weir is filled with fish, 100-200. At times up to 1000 fish are caught thusly. (See the sketches on this page.)

Surf Fishing

Surf fishing is a method in which they go out in the canoe and take five to six fixed nets out. A net is tied together so that it looks like a bag, then they go into the surf and put the fixed nets in the vicinity of the deep places. The bag net is in the middle of the other nets. Now the people pull the nets, they end up close to the breakers. They sing, blow conch shells and throw stones, until the tide goes out; then they gather the nets in and fifty to sixty and up to a hundred fish, in the net bag, full of fish.

Drag net Fishing in the Deep Water

The drag net fishing in the deep water is a fine method. They take two or three nets along. Then they put the nets out in a small lagoon which is surrounded on all sides by reefs. Then they arrange the nets in a line. Now they pull the nets up, first from the one side of the lagoon, and then from the other. Then they find the nets are filled with 100 to 200 fish. Then they take small hand nets and spears, and take the fish out of the nets with them.
Thus there are many, many kinds of fishing in Ponape. The varieties of fishing are called:

1. Fixed net fishing.
2. Fixed net fishing from the canoe.
3. Fishing by hand with a large net.
4. Fishing by hand with a small net.
5. Drive fishing from the canoe.
6. Reef fishing.
7. Drag net fishing.
8. Drag net fishing.
9. Mangrove fishing.
10. Surf fishing.
12. Weir fishing.
15. ? (Kātsik).
16. Full moon fishing.
17. Night fishing.
18. Double hand net fishing.
20. ? (Kālūs).
21. Fishing with weirs and ents.
22. Spear fishing.
23. Weighed net fishing.
24. Eel capture.
25. Drag net fishing.
26. Fish poison.
27. Fish grasping.
28. ? (Tītī).
29. ? (Tāparāp).
30. Stone pile fishing.
31. Fishing in passages.
32. Reef fishing in deep places.
33. Stepping fishing with a large fork (like a trident?)
34. Fixed net fishing with three nets.
35. Fish seeking in the marsh
36. Fish driving
37. Fixed net fishing with four nets
38. Mangrove fishing
39. Weir fishing
40. Octopus capture

On Fish Driving

Fish driving is a beautiful method with which many fish are caught. Indeed, no large ones but they can catch only small ones. When there is fish driving, it takes about twenty people. About dawn, at high tide, they go into the sea, breakers, to the surf and make two or three piles of stones. Then they put drag nets around the stone piles and two to three fixed nets around the drag nets.

From both sides of the fixed net the people form two lines up to the spot where the surf breaks thundering down. They carry cudgels and stones, beat in the water with them and throw the stones so that the fish do not slip through between the people. Because when the sun rises, the water runs off from the reef. Two people run along the edge of the reef, call, shout and stir up the water. Then all people stir the water up, shout and blow a conch shell. Thus they approach each other and pull the net together which they then find full of fish, as are the nets and the stone heaps they seize the fish here. Afterwards the canoes are filled with fish. At times, more than a thousand fish are caught in this way. They also call this "fish drive".

Many kinds of fish are caught in this manner, large and small. They are:

1. Letsepuel 2. tainseu 3. samui 4. li er puatger 5. pulak 6. meti 7. epil 8. muatel. These are the kinds of fish which are caught by fish driving.

The Weir Basket

One kind of fishing is called weir fishing. The people fetch branches and threads, tie them and make a weir out of them. A weir is like a house or a
cupboard. They tie until they have finished. It is taken to a canoe and they go out on the reef. Then it is lowered to a hole in the reef which is not deep, but about two to three fathoms. They anchor it and go home until the next day. The fish swim in order to settle down as if in a house. But they do not know how to get out again; it is difficult to get out again. The people go out early in the morning and then find the weir filled with fish. Two kinds of fish in particular are caught in the weir, manner and muraq.

Fishing for Cuttle-Fish

Fishing for cuttle fish is a kind of fishing. The cuttle fish is caught by this method. They set out in a canoe and paddle over the reefs in order to find cuttle fish. They paddle until they notice cuttle fish, which usually sit in holes. They spear them and thus catch them, others however, are difficult to spear. Then they take a sea cucumber which is very bitter. The cuttle fish perceives the bitterness and comes out of the hole. Then they catch it. At times they are caught like this (L. kehoe, Pa' in kiti).

Description of the sapuik capture method of fishing: They finish with sapuik, a catching implement is used which looks like a net. The fishing implement is made of reeds, then two cudgels are tied to the two edges of the net. Then it is rolled up like a canoe sail and two ropes are pulled through the edges of the net; which are called rop'. Then they set out in two or three canoes. Many people take part in it, about twenty to thirty. Now they go to the breakers when the tide is going out. The net is brought to the shore where the surf breaks (ponlik). For here the catch occurs. Two people carry the net, and two trap lines. Some agile people go on the right side. Others put the fish in the net with the kenpukar cudgels. The third group hauls the gathering basket (kopou en gatau). The basket carriers remain on the left side until the
catch is over. Other people have to look after the canoes; they are not allowed to eat until the fishermen return; then all eat. However, if the canoe people eat something, then the fishermen take their feet; and if the basket carriers take the basket on the other side, there be only few fish. So they remain at the breakers and wait for the wave which carries the fish on the reef. When the wave rolls up, they quickly hurry up with the net and stand still. The people carrying the catching rope shake the rope, those standing behind them do the same, and the drivers scare the fish into the net until the net is filled. Then they take up the net, drop it on the reef and shake it filling two to three baskets. They do this two or three times, so that about ten baskets are filled.

Then the fishermen return home. This method of capture does not permit itself to be carried out everywhere, but only on a breaker reef. (L. kehoe, roi en kiti.)

The tsaup Method of Capture (with poison) (tia tia) In the tsaup fishing the people use a net and a climbing plant (a kind of live rope) which stand in the bush and called up'. They get roots up and a small net. With this, they go out on the reef and look for a large stone which lies at the edge of a reef channel (lagoon), where many fish always stay. They now take the net and spread it out around the stone. Then the roots are pounded and with splashing, are shoved under the stone. Through this, the fish are routed and dazed, like men who have drunk kava. They swim out under the stone and are caught in the net. By means of the tsaup method, many fish are caught. (L. kehoe, roi en kiti.)

Description of the tapatap' method (tia tia)
The tapatap method also belongs to the small fishing of Ponape. Four to six people pursue it at night, until the water begins to reedeo. They take small and large nets with them and go with them to the reef. The people with the large
net go to the end of the lagoon. The people with the small nets go to the places of the reef that are dry. They wait until the big net is stretched out. The people with the small nets now hunt fish out of seaweed and drive them into the bag net; but they catch some with the small nets. This method of fishing is called tāpatāp. (L. Kehoe, Rōi en Kiti)

Description of the taukōl capture method of fishing

This taukōl belongs to the small fishing in which they have to wait for heavy rainfall. If cloudbursts come at night, then during the day there are swollen streams; the water flowing off then cloudbursts the water in the reef. The fish are blinded by this and can no longer see. Then they take nets, go into the lagoon waters and practice taukōl. The fish cannot be seen, because the water is cloudy; they sweep back and forth with the nets and take them out again; two or three fish have then been caught in the net. And if one has dipped the net about ten times, ten to twenty fish are caught. That is the taukōl method. (L. Kehoe, Rōi en Kiti.)

The tiati method of fishing

Tiati belongs to the small fishing which women like to pursue on dark evenings. Two to four women carry small nets with them and go out in the evening, when the water is receding. They go to the places where much ōlōt seaweed grows, until they find a lot of ōlōt. Now they lower the nets into the water and, by tamping with their feet, they start the fish in the ōlōt who swim away frightened and are caught in the nets. By means of this method one catches many fish, but no big ones. (L. Kehoe, Rōi en Kiti.)

Description of the pikipāt capture method

Pikipāt is a secondary capture method in Ponape, which is pursued in the mangrove swamps and cannot be carried out everywhere on the reef. Pikipāt is carried out on dark nights, as well as by moonlight. They wait until the water
recedes, then they go to the mangroves and carry nothing with them. One looks for the pools in which residue has remained. There they find a kind of fish, .favorite, and also crabs. They catch them. And this secondary fishing is called pikipat.

The catching of bonito is described by Nānāpaš en Kiti as follows:

The Catching of Bonito

This is the way in which the people of Ponape catch bonito. First, the matter was already discussed in Ponape; they met on Ant in order to make preparations for when the bonito would appear. Everyone remained on Ant and watched. Even when the other people still did not see anything, the Uma was to begin to shout. Then all the people hurried there. The fishing begins. They bring all the canoes. They go into the water in order to watch the fishing. After setting out, the canoes form a row and travel along the school, which swims the length of the land. They shout for joy, dancing, singing, and dancing. Then, when the fish become tired and exhausted, they approach the beach. Then they are surrounded in a semicircle by a large fixed net and a drag net. They catch all the fish and throw them on the beach. And even when three hundred fish lie on the beach, they do not die but if one was not caught with them and is caught later and added to the others, then they all die at the same time. Now all the people take the fish and bring them in the stone circle. They are distributed. People take their share, in order to arrange the hearth and to prepare the food. On the next day the oven is opened; people prepare square gratings of wood (grill) and keep a small fire under them. Once the oven has been opened they take some fish and put them on the grill. On the following day, they put them in the sun. When the bonito season had arrived, there was much to do on Ant, because every day they had to catch bonito and prepare

(Left hand writing: "Kehoe Ronen Kiti.")
and at night there was no sleep. \(N\text{\=a}n\text{\=a}p\text{\=a}^{\prime} \text{\=n} \text{\=k}\text{\=i}^\text{\=i} \text{\=t}i.\)

In O'Connell's time, fishing with hooks enjoyed only moderate popularity, due to its limited productivity. More recently, the old hook of bone or wood, which was attached to a mother-of-pearl lure, has been completely displaced in favor of the very much sought-after European iron hook. See vol. III, Finds in the Ruins.

Turtle Hunting is 6 significant. The fish is due to the Nanamariki. The person who catches it may keep the shell. They distinguish the loggerhead turtle, Caretta caretta, \(k\text{\=a}l\text{\=a}p,\) hawksbill turtle, Chelone imbricata, \(\text{\=s}a\text{\=p}\text{\=a}\text{\=k},\) and green turtle, Chelone mydas, \(\text{\=t}\text{\=a}r\text{\=u}t\text{\=w}a\).

The Capture of Turtle

The method by which they catch turtles is called \(k\text{\=a}k\text{\=i}\). In the morning four men travel in a canoe out to the high sea, in order to look for seaweed which floats around on the sea and is called \(\text{\=f}\text{\=i}r\). In such places they find many turtles. The man who sits in front at the bow is called \(\text{\=s}a\text{\=p}\text{\=i}r\); before he goes out on the sea, he prepared a rope, the \(\text{\=s}\text{\=a}l^\text{\=i} \text{\=n} \text{\=p}\text{\=i}r\). Such a rope is four fathoms long; besides they wait on the sea until they notice a turtle. When it is quite near, the \(\text{\=s}a\text{\=p}\text{\=i}r\) linds the rope around himself and orders the other men to paddle forward until they are quite close. Then the \(\text{\=s}a\text{\=p}\text{\=i}r\) rises and jumps out of the canoe. Then he takes it with his hands and feet. Another, the \(\text{\=s}a\text{\=u} \text{\=n} \text{\=l}\text{\=i}\text{\=m}\text{\=u}r\), jumps after the \(\text{\=s}a\text{\=p}\text{\=i}r\) and supports him; they both hold it tight. Another, the \(\text{\=s}a\text{\=u} \text{\=n} \text{\=\=a}\text{\=p}\text{\=i}\text{\=s}\text{\=a}\), takes the rope and hauls it in. And the man who sits at the stern must pay attention and take care that the canoe does not capsize. Now the \(\text{\=s}a\text{\=u} \text{\=n} \text{\=\=a}\text{\=p}\text{\=i}\text{\=s}\text{\=a}\) pulls the other men and the turtle and into the canoe. They make a parbuckle (double sling) put it around the flippers of the turtle and draw it tight. Then they let
the turtle drift next to the canoe. The men get in again and rest. And the turtle is allowed to struggle in the water by the canoe until it is tired. Then it is taken into the canoe and tied tightly. They travel to land, because the turtle hunt has succeeded. Then they take it to Nanamáriki, because if they eat it, the Nanamáriki and all the nobles are enraged, take land from them and destroy their property.

This capture method is called: kaik, pír, luš, tau and urir; there are many names for turtle catching.

And in the following way they catch the turtle with a net. Two nets are carried in two canoes; then they go to hunt in the evening. That is called ōpul. During the journey, two people with the net dive under the canoe, the other canoe does the same. Then they join the nets and pull them apart. And the canoes travel apart, after the (free) ends of the nets and then head for each other again. If a turtle was there, it will try to escape and catch itself in the net. The net men catch it. While they are doing this, they also catch fish, indeed many fish, which they are allowed to eat; the turtle, however, they must bring to the Nanamáriki. The catchers are not allowed to eat it.

The Killing and Preparation of the Turtle

First they bind the turtle's arms and legs tightly, then they cut all around the ventral shell and take out the intestines, the liver last. The intestines are carried out to the reef and the filth is removed; then they bring them back again. Now they put their hands into the turtle and hunt for two bands which are stuck in the neck of the turtle. They are torn, then the turtle is dead. Then they prepare the earth oven. When it is hot, they put the leaves, areca nut and spread out on the hearth. The turtle is laid in and the oven covered.
it is cooked, it is taken out. It is brought to the nobles; then the carvers appear.

Two people squat down on either side of the turtle; one fetches water, both wash their hands, then they sharpen their knives and begin to carve the turtle. First they cut off the arms and put them on the ventral shell, then they cut off the feet and put them on the arms. Then they separate the ventral shield and lay it down in front of the turtle's head. Then they separate two little pieces of flesh, the utukamōtj; after that, two at the anus; then they detach the stomach.

Muscular flesh at the side, then the two arm muscles, then the two back muscles, and after that, the pieces of flesh on the back, then the two muscles between the leg muscles and dorsal shell, i.e., is laid down in front of the turtle's head; then the leg muscles are cut off, then the muscles which connect dorsal and ventral shell, and finally, the flesh between the first and second ribs on the back.

After that, it is distributed: the Nanamariki receives an arm muscle, the lateral.

Naneken likewise; the Likand receives the head, the Nalaim, a side muscle, the Uasai likewise; the Tauk receives a neck muscle, the Nōz likewise; one connecting muscle between ventral and dorsal shell is received by the Nanapāz, the other by the Nanaaf. The meat is divided among the lesser title holders. (Nalaim en Kitchenim.)

Already in O'Connell's time, the people of Ponapé had chickens which were supposed to have come from a Spanish ship. They greatly coveted the flesh, as, at that time all birds seem to have been taboo. Yet they delighted in cock fighting. In later times, however, they build chicken traps and catch doves. The Ponapé dove is larger than the European. They hunt it in order to eat it. They practise the domestication of birds much less often than many of their island neighbors. At times one sees in the huts, in cages, blue herons, kaualik, or black and white sea birds, called chill. Dove snaring is carried out thusly...
Bird-Hunting

This is the method by which the people of Ponape catch birds, especially doves. To begin with, the people first of all go into the bush and look for the trees where doves feed. They search until they have found them, because there are two trees on which doves feed; one is the alau, the other, the coconut palm. When we have found an alau, we ask five people to take part; four then provide us with the implements for catching birds. Then we fetch taro leaves and many breadfruit trees. The juice runs out, we collect it in leaves, then we fetch ripe coconuts, grate them and mix them with the breadfruit juice; we then fetch charcoal and add that in order to make the substance black. We mix the whole thoroughly; then we put it in a coconut shell or gourd calabash. Then in the evening we climb the tree. We take some of the contents of the vessel and this on the branches until the vessel is empty. Then we go back to the house. On the next morning we go and see. And if many birds are nesting on the tree, about fifty have fallen down. We collect them and take them away. In the afternoon we fetch others again, for there are even more than in the morning. We take them away and divide them among the families. Towards evening we come again in order to get many more doves again, which have fallen down. We collect them and take them away, and do this every day until no fruit is on the tree. That is our Ponape rifle, which we call pull (birdlime). (Tšoumatau en Tšapalap.)

The natives are skilled at setting traps. The general name for the simple trap of a wooden bow, a pole and cordage is "letip" or "litip," which, according to Christian, means "betrayed by a woman." They call other traps "katikatia mau," roughly translated as "good attack." They also apply these names to European rat traps.

The chicken trap, litip, pictured here in Illustration 128, No. 540 works in the following manner: the pole, which is nearly 2 m. long, is stuck into the

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the ground. It is furnished with a long cord, en kor, at the top, which at the
end has a toggle, ki, and a piece behind this, is tied to a snare, kilek.

At an appropriate distance from the pole, a bent piece of wood, kılıpe, is
attached. The wood has been bent by steaming over the fire. A cross piece,
katsen, stiffens the bow and at the same time, offers support to the vertically-set
toggle, which is loosely inserted between the bent piece and the cross;
and bends the pole downward under tension. The snare drag on the
ground in this tensed condition of the capture implement and is furnished with
a bait. If the chicken wants to eat it and tugs at the snare, or rather the
nose, the toggle falls out and the pole quickly moves up in the air, tearing
the snare along with it at the same time. The animal hangs in it tightly by
its foot, wing, or neck and is suspended in the air, caught.

The rat trap, kıkık, (No. 539 in Illustrations 129a and b) is supposed to
 crush the rat, which has been lured down by the bait, and fail in such a way that
the grating of reeds tied together falls down on the animal with great force,
partly to the weight of the stone laid on it, still more to the
A strong stick stuck vertically in the earth is notched at top and bears a moveable
horizontal atta, pe en karon, of the same strength. This is provided with two
strings, kalpe en karon, at the back and at the front with one string, kia.

The former carry, in the snares, the ends of the sticks, ótót, fastened to the
grating pointing forward, diagonally downward. The front ends of the ótót sticks
lie on the reed grating, tit, which is weighed down with a stone, takal. The
front cord, kia, is supplied with a toggle, kıkır en pau, (Christian; kachik)
of palm frond ribs. The far end of the cord (Illustration 129b) forms a small
snare. When the trap is to be set, this string is drawn through the grating and
places the toggle crosswise to the reed ribs of the grating, so that it prevents
The rat trap, kosuk, (No. 539 in illustrations 129 a and b) is supposed to crush the rat, which has been lured beneath it by the bait, and does so in such a way that the grating of tied reeds falls down on the animal with great force, owing partly to the weight of the stone placed on it, but even more so to the elastic force. A strong stick stuck vertically into the ground is notched at the top and supports a moveable horizontal piece of wood, pe en karon, or similar strength. This is equipped at the back with two strings, valipe en karon, and in the front with one string, kia. The former support, in nooses, the ends of the pieces of wood, otor, which are pointed (sloping) downward and forward, and are attached to the grating. The front ends of the otor sticks are located on the reed grating, tit, which is weighted with a stone, takal. The front string, kia, is equipped with a toggle, kisikir en pauo, (Christian: kachik), made of palm rib. The very end of the string (illustration 129, b) forms a small loop. When the trap is to be set, they draw this loop through the grating and set the toggle crosswise to the grating's reed ribs so that it prevents further slippage of the string. Under the grating, a peg, pan en kisik, is stuck into the ground; onto it the noose is very loosely fastened. Moreover, it is simultaneously provided with fermented breadfruit. With the slightest contact, the noose releases from the peg or pulls it out, and the weight of the stone exerts its effect. The grating tips backward, owing to the weight of the stone. The three large pieces of wood, pe en karon and otor, simultaneously shoot into the air. By this means, the grating falls down and smashes the rat.
the cord from passing through further. Under the grating is a peg, *pan en kisik*, stuck into the earth, to which the snare is very loosely attached. At the same

\[ \text{time, it is provided with a bait of fermented breadfruit, and other things. Even at the lightest touch the snare is freed from the peg or rather pulls it out, and now the weight of the stone comes into play. The grating is tipped backwards by the weight of the stones, the three large horizontal sticks, *pe en karon* and *otot* hit in the air at the same time. Thus the grating falls down and crushes the rat.} \]
1 Christian, p. 126.

2 O'Connell reported extensively about fishing, in Chapter 10.

3 Cf. in addition Christian's list, loc. cit. p. 352, as well as Krümer's list in Palau XIV and Truk, p. 435.

1 According to Christiansen, p. 354, a large, blue fish.

1 Master of Distribution

2 ria evil magic powers, which deny the gods. Kate ria, "that which does not remain evil magic power."

1 Name for the property of the woman of the Nanamārikī in Uōna.

2 The words kotalēl inepāl = to wring out coconut fiber are only in this function. Hibiscus fiber is usually instead of coconut fiber.

1 On Tamotam.

2 Variety of bonito

1 Fish goddesses of Pōnuailiā.

1 All methods marked with an asterisk are later described in detail.

1 Not the English word "rope."

1 ahāhāhā etc.

2 In order to tire the fish.

1 Christian, p. 126.

1 Windpipe and esophagus.

1 On the neck cartilage.

1 O'Connell, Chapter 14.

1 The birds fly onto the lime and remain stuck; they try to fly
away, and, in so doing, touch the lime with their wings, which gums pp. the feathers so that the birds remain sticking to the branches or fall down from the tree with gummed-up wings.

Christian, p. 125.

Christian, p. 125, appears to assume that the stone the animal directly and kills it.
VI. War and Weapons

1. Waging War

O'Connell has reported thoroughly and clearly about waging war, the causes, tactics, handling of prisoners and the conclusion of a peace treaty, in Chapter XVI of his book. He himself had to take part in a war and thus wrote from experience. The natives also still knew and told much about waging war in ancient times. In particular, this presentation is interesting with regard to the treatment of wounds.

About War

Thus the people of Ponape fought each other in olden times. The nobles advised all their leaders and commoners to assemble in order to organize an eating festival. They then came together. Then the nobles order them to go home and put their battle equipment in order, wooden spears, ray-sting spears and stone slings, in order to wage war on another state. They then go home and begin to make their equipment. Some carve spears, others repair the slings, go to the reef and gather ray-stings, bring them home and fasten them on the spears. They also bundle the rays and fasten these on the spear, thus they finish the equipment and then inform the Nanamariki, that all is ready. He then orders them to make their war aprons. They get these ready. Now the Nanamariki orders them to assemble because in four days the war feast is to take place. During this feast, great dances are held, heroic songs sung and the drum beaten day and night. When four days have passed, the canoes are put into the water and manned and the commoners and leaders go to the Nanamariki. The Nanamariki now chooses some great title holders to be the leaders of the battle. During the night they depart; they set out in order to kill some people of another state. While they fight then, a high commander orders a man to blow the
conch shell in order to stop the battle or return home. Then they come again and bury the dead people or sub-leaders, and the wounded are taken to a special house, and people care for them, because otherwise no one is allowed to enter the house. During the war, holders of great titles have superior command, because they are strong and beautiful, the Uasai and the Naneken, and those lower in rank, and all others, have to obey these two. The two command the battle, so that not all people are taken prisoner or not all nobles are killed. Then when they have returned home, the other state has begun and finished their battle equipment, and a man is sent in order to inform all leaders that they are beginning a war. The people also inform the Nanamariki of it and that they want to go to the field. And they set the day when the battle is supposed to begin. Then the people go home; and on the next day, a mighty fleet sets forth in the morning. Then the tribesmen take their arms in order to oppose the fleet; a great battle takes place, many people and some nobles are killed. They fight day and night, until the war leaders give the command to blow the conch in order to stop the fight. Then they stop and all withdraw; then the dead are buried and the wounded are handed over to the leaders. They are friendly with each other again, because the blood revenge of some families has been satisfied. Then the battle leaders choose one of their sub-leaders, who takes a kava shrub and goes to the Nanamariki of the other side with it, as an atonement in order to conclude peace. He carries it there and then returns. The Nanamariki of the other side likewise chooses someone who also delivers a kava shrub to the prince. Then peace is concluded.

Then it used to be that one of the Nanamariki had a great festival prepared and informs the other Nanamariki of it, so that the two can come together and also to invite their subjects to participate in it, in order to show them that they are
friends again and do not want to fight each other any more. Then the other
Nanamariki asks all his people together to renounce (fighting) with the other.
They sit down together, tell stories to each other and joke with one another.
Thus the feast is celebrated to its end; then they stand up, go home and feel
well in order not to begin an evil war again.

And thus it is that the other Nanamariki also arranges a festival in
return for the other. He also sends an invitation to the other. He then gather
his people together in order to go to the other together; they sit down together
and are amiable toward each other. The prince then gives a canoe, sails,
another paddle and a ball to the other. And the other one also gives him some
things and thus gives a gift in return to the Nanamariki for his present. Then
they go home; there is no longer discord between them, because they have
become reconciled. (Samik en Tōkore.)

Naval

The Battle of War

Such is the battle in boats between two states. When a state wants to go
to war, this is not concealed, but they inform the state and say to the other
state that they will move out the next day in order to attack it. Then the people
of the other state arm themselves and place their armor in the canoes. Then they
go out on the reef, because they want to fight from the boats at high tide, the
next day. During the night they prepare, no one sleeps, all dance when day breaks.
They get into the canoe in order to travel towards the enemy fleet which is
approaching. Then before the fight begins, two canoes are chosen and two people,
who are very brave, they go into the space between the two fleets; they turn the
spear. And when this parade is over, the fight begins. Many people are hit and
fall into the water. Those they take up and put them in the boats. Then they
fight until the tide begins to recede. Then they jump out of the boats,
move towards each other and begin to fight. Then the stronger pursues
the other. Many are killed, many are wounded, they are also weakened,
because many are wounded, then the victors blow the conch shell, so that the fighting stops and the other party is not completely annihilated. Then they go home. All those fallen are buried, and the wounded are brought in a special house. Some people are appointed to be their helpers, because otherwise no one else is allowed to enter the place.

And thus do the people who are not dead but have many wounds: they take knives and cut the spear pieces out of their flesh; or if there are ray stings, they turn them until the flesh is loosened and they can be pulled out. They help the wounded until they are well again; then they determine to go to war again, which is called "exhibition of the wounded." Then they ask the other state to appear again in order to begin the battle anew. They come, and now a great battle follows, in which many are killed, many are wounded, more than the first time. Also many more are killed. Then the conch shell is blown; the battle ends. They return home, bury the dead and give aid to the wounded. These help until they are healthy again. Then the "kava of peace" is brought together in order to fight no more. When peace has begun they celebrate great feasts. They sit down together. They eat together and joke with each other. When this is ended, all ornaments are gathered and presented to the other state. They go home and likewise arrange a festival as a return gift for the other state. They come, again sit down together, joke with each other and give back some things in payment which they had received before from the others. Now all are satisfied, because the quarrel between them no longer exists. The people visit each other again, for now they do no more evil to each other. (Saulik en Tsököla.)

If one compares O'Connell's description with these reports, what strikes one first is the extent to which the thought of the effect of the caste system above all is thoroughly thought of the effect of the caste system on the
waging of war has disappeared from the present generation. In his day, the members of the three castes fought completely apart. The Montap caste, the Tsopeiti, led the men. While otherwise, paddling was the work of the lowest caste, only the nobles paddled the war vessels, and even the chiefs lent a hand. The Seriso caste followed the first one, and the Nigurts formed the rear. Each caste had its own war canoes. Even in the hottest thick of battle no one attached a member of another caste. Nobles fought against nobles, serfs fought against serfs.

Despite the cruelty during the fight, in which no prisoners were taken on either side, a chivalrous trait in the warfare of the people of Ponape is unmistakable and their wars gave the impression of an honorable duel. The reasons were often trifling. Generally they fought each other for the sake of honor, more for economic things. The feud in which O'Connell participated was begun because of a broken promise of marriage between two men. Kubary says, "Ward which were now and then held for the retention of their acquired prestige were more showy than life-endangering undertakings..." In O'Connell's day the casualties were not insignificant, which can be traced back to the already aforementioned custom of not taking prisoners, and the devastating effect of the weapons: he claims 300-400 killed on both sides.

War is ceremonially declared by messengers/after the paramount chief has conferred about it with his followers. The party challenged holds a council of war, on their side and then likewise informs the enemy of the time and place of the battle by messengers who are inviolable during the battle. Before this time they refrain from all violence. They prefer to choose an island conveniently situated for both parties. In O'Connell's case, the party attacked visited the attacker at the home harbor of the latter. In every case the battle is
men to war. O'Connell does not report anything of the sort, and in any case, it might not have been the rule. It probably was not an accompanying feature of war, but the defensive battle in the conquered village, during which the women possibly do not all flee, but stand with their relatives and die with them.

Story

History of the War between Kiti and Mataленim

Naneken en Kiti ruled in the state of Kiti; he travelled around the country and celebrated feasts, until he was through with all. Then he went to Uona; from there he visited a place in Mataленim called Sapuerak. There he killed a person and returned to Uona. Now the Mataленim people went to Mutok and killed three people. Thereupon the Kiti people again went to Lot and killed some people. Then the Kiti people went over the mountains to Letau and murdered a person. And the people of Letau killed a Puopuopu man for this. After this, the Kiti people went to Lot and killed a person. Thereupon, the Mataленim people annihilated a few of them. The Naneken became angry, prepared a message and sent it to Mataленim in order to inform the Isobau and his people, they should come to an island outside of Lot, to Nalap en Lot, in order to fight there with them. The Naneken thereupon gathered his people around him, by no means the Kiti tribe, but only his followers. They were Ro en Kiti, Puopuopu, Kipar, Mant, Ore, Pok, Kapina, Fana, and Nana palap. Only these districts were the state of Kiti in order to fight with Mataленim.

Thus they met on Nalap en Lot. A great battle broke out. The Naneken killed many people, and the tribe of Mataленim took to flight. He returned to Kiti; and he thought of continuing the war against Mataленim. He made many preparations for war, bought many guns from the whalers and powder, and distributed them among all the Kiti people. Then he went to Uona to the
The wars were bitter and bloody. Everyone mustered as many troops as he could. All were arrayed with flowers and anointed with oil and turmeric. The engagement began at high tide. The chiefs danced the war dance on the platform of their canoe — the conch shell. When they had done, they started off, the stone slinger and battle axes in their hands, many dead and wounded and vessels destroyed. Then they continued the battle with spears and arrows. Finally, the bitter hand-to-hand combat with clubs and knives followed after the landing on the beach. The death of the leaders brought only a short interruption. Once landed, they killed everyone who still showed resistance. Women and children were supposed to be massacred. In general, they probably have fled into the bush, saving as many as possible. The victors began to plunder the dwellings; above all they took weapons with them. Houses and boats were destroyed, but fruit trees and the land spared. Their destruction and devastation was considered just. After the battle no one else was killed. The victorious victors took their dead and wounded with them, as well as the bodies of the fallen leaders of the enemy. O'Connell reports that at the victory the chiefs allegedly had eaten the heart of the slain Uasai, while the body was burned. The spoils were distributed according to the discretion of the Tsopoiti. The party who wants peace sends a messenger to the enemy, who offers a beaker of kava; if the hostile leader accepts it, peace is considered to have been concluded. Presents exchanged, they invite each other and do not bear a grudge. Even the land of the conquered is said to have been confiscated. According to Christian, the women had accompanied the
Nanamáriki. He again sent a letter to Matólenim, that they should come in order to fight with him. But the Tepbau en Matólenim sent a message in order to inform the Nánëken en Kiti that he had enough of fighting, because he had too few people. Then they stopped; no battle took place between Kiti and Matólenim even to this present day.

(Nánëpa's en Kiti.)

2. Weapons

In 1910, had been completely displaced by European ones in 1910, for which the Spaniards hold the Boston mission especially responsible. In addition, disarmament had been peacefully carried out in 1905 by the German government. Formerly, slings, bow and arrows, spear and club were the most important weapons. Even the knife was used in emergency. But shields and armor were unknown to the people of Ponape.

The sling, pali, they formerly used mainly in battles, when the opposing parties had come to within forty meters of each other. Each one was provided with a sling knotted from hibiscus fiber or coconut fiber. The bottom of the canoe was covered with the missiles, elliptically shaped stones (Illustration 130c) or merely suitably-shaped pebbles. According to O'Connell, they seldom weighed less than one English pound and were hurled with uncanny accuracy.

In addition, Pereira made an observation that they saw them use the weapon as hunting gear. They used them in order to save the expensive ammunition, although they had numerous guns. According to Christian, the preference for this weapon also had the effect that they valued nothing in the Bible like the fight between David and Goliath, and therefore the name, "Tepit" was uncommonly popular among the Protestant inhabitants.

In contrast to the sling, bow and arrow have long since ceased to be used. The people of Ponape informed Christian that this was the weapon of the aboriginal
inhabitants, were dwarf people of Tōkolai. The bow, katis or kāsik, kātiu or lūkāpe, had a span of one hand. The bow-string, vai en kāsik, was twisted of hibiscus fibers or breadfruit fibers and fastened in a notch. The arrow, kānāla en kāsik, consisted of hibiscus wood or aleo, the sedge grass, and was unfeathered and was armed with a spine of the ray

shooting, the bow was held horizontally, the arrow held with thumb and forefinger of the right hand.

The spear, os, the favorite weapon for hand-to-hand combat, is kept in two styles. Carved after the type of wood used, the katiu or katel spear was
carved of spear palm or mangrove. The point, imui, was wrapped with sennit on his sides, yimpam os, and set with the spines of the ray, tin tir en os, on the sides. The other style was called kan mant, kalau, mai, according to whether hibiscus or breadfruit wood had been used. The point was only pointed. Spines were used only in hand-to-hand combat. The warriors tried to seize each other by the hair and to inflict severe flesh wounds with the weapon or to pierce the opponent. When doing so, the attacker called, "uei lau ol a mela!" i.e., "Make way, death strikes you!" If the throw went aside, the attacker replied, "tōg men lā, fo kokoalā!" i.e., "No, it is here!" The spears shown in figs. 132 and 133 belong to the first group; those in figs. 135, 136 and 137, to the second. The spear in fig. 134 is a special piece that is distinguished by the long, fine point from 552, 475, and 477. The club, lip en uoan or lep en uck, of katiu (Ixora) or lāk (mangrove) was carved round or with edges. The round clubs were also called punopun, the conical, pama Xapag. The pyramidal point of the latter was called kāpī, the shaft, olōle, the handle, mānile and the round knob, mōne. The club

** (Translator’s note)
in the belt, and were first used in the most bitter hand-to-hand combat when it was a matter of life or death. They were never thrown in warfare, but they certainly were the weapon by chiefs in charge at their subjects.

The axe is apparently always only a tool and, besides, a symbol of power, but not a weapon. On the other hand, they have the knife, kapit or lopuk, both as tool and weapon since olden times. Even women and young girls used to carry one with them. O'Connell tells how his wife once wounded a Seriño with her "cijje" to such an extent that he later died of the injury. According to Christian, the kapit consisted of split bamboo; the lopuk of the shell of the common mussel. Since the introduction of iron goods, the men, according to Pereiro, wear knives half a meter in length and three fingers wide, the women small bent American knives under their armpit, both without sheathes. The latter they call nichin naep, i.e., small knives.

The spines of the ray serve as daggers, os en likant en kap.

According to O'Connell, they built breastworks for defense, which were still used in 1910.
Footnotes

German page  Number

351  1  Payment.

352  1  The present is given by the Nanamariki, who has arranged the second festival.

2  In each canoe, a man stands in the middle, turns the spear in his hands and sings in addition.

352  1  That is the rule throughout.

354  1  I.e., before the first festival, the conquered have to hand over canoes, sails, paddles, and other items to the victors; from these, a bust is returned to the conquered at the second festival.

355  1  Kubary, p. 130.

2  Pereiro, p. 103.

356  1  That they reported to Hambruch. O'Connell, however, explicitly denies this.

2  Christian, p. 73.

359  1  O'Connell, Chap. 16.

2  Pereiro, p. 125.

3  Christian, p. 136.

4  According to Hambruch.


2  O'Connell, p. 219. "... The clubs... are the last resort, but are never hurled."
O'Connell, Chapter 13. Christian, p. 137. He states *lep en tuka, chup en tuka* and *ghup en pok* as the designation for knife.
VII. Implements, Tools and Techniques

1. Wooden Implements and Woodworking

In ancient times the people of Ponape were excellent woodworkers. Testimony of their skill are the canoe carvings, dance paddles and clubs. But in 1910 wooden implements like those on Palau or in the Central Carolines were no longer found. O'Connell says nothing about it. Yet in our time, there are still beautiful wooden bowls, kasaX, which reveal great skill in technique and a good sense of form. Christian also saw in the better houses, chests with lids, but it is not clear if it is a matter of old implements or European implements. The bowl depicted in No. 49II of breadfruit wood is a vessel of that variety that Christian saw used in the preparation of fish perfume. The base, lote en kasaX, is comparatively small, and even inside and out. Therefore the walls, lote en panapaXa, are very steep. The upper edge, au uxe en kasaX, is tapered. The oval bowl is drawn out long towards the ends and a sharp edge runs from the points, emuel, to the base.

They manufacture their water containers from gourds or coconut. According to the intended use of the vessel, the opening is made wide or narrow. For hanging the vessel is surrounded by a knotted sennit covering, or a pair of loops are attached to the upper edge.

As a universal instrument, a strong club of heavy wood serves. For carrying fruit and fruit baskets they use a stick.

The chief tool in woodworking was formerly the shell axe, which was also a burial offering and sign of sovereignty. They distinguish three types: 1. yila mal, 2. yila panapan and 3. matau. The first type had a curved haft, the second, an angular haft. The blade of the matau could be rotated. The grinding of
the blade from the shell of la Tridacna gigas was extraordinarily tiresome.

According to O'Connell, a man worked at it for two to three months, with interruptions before attaining he succeeded it to the haft. Hard blows could not be carried with this ax. Ax blades have been found in great quantities in the ruins and are illustrated in vol. III. The ax shown here is of the vila panapani variety. The diagonally-ground blade is tied to the support crossways to the haft by means of sennit. The binding is carried out cleanly and almost ornamentally.

2. Stone and Shell Implements

To judge by the excavations, stone and shell implements have played a large part in past times. Basalt was the primary material. If they did not exactly use a suitable block just as they found it, they put themselves to great trouble with the dressing, working it, as the mortar vessels show. The implements gathered in the ruins are numerous, illustrated in vol. III. In the Hamburg collection there is a very beautiful basalt mortar. (Illus. 144, No. E 1026). Illustration 147 shows a stone scraper of basalt, which is sacred to the goddess Kemai. If served in the preparation of anointing oil as described by Christian (cf. p. 266). Illustration 150, No. 529 II is a rough, long stone, which, like the wooden club, is used to open coconuts. No. I C 14206 (Stuttgart) and No. 534 II are pestles of coral limestone. Before the abundant introduction of European ironware, snail and mussel shells served as scrapers and knives. For scraping breadfruit they cut two holes in the shell of Cyprae a pantherina, as is otherwise also customary in the Carolines (Illustration 148).

3. Preparation of Fiber, Twine and Nets

The preparation of fiber has already been extensively reported on p. 280.
DAS ZWIRNEN is done freehand between the fingers and thumbs clockwise or counter-clockwise, according to the natural tendency of the worker. According to the people's testimony, the twine twisted to the right is better than that twisted to the left. They do not seem to be acquainted with any tools. ZWIRNEN is men's work.
and coconut fiber. They also know how to obtain fiber from kind of seaweed, &lt;not.

In the following native texts, which describe the manufacture of thread and
nets, the preparation of the necessary fibers is presented first. Twisting
occurs freehand from right to left or from left to right, according to the
position of the worker, between fingers and thumbs. According to the statements of
the people the twine twisted to the right is better than that twisted to the
left. They do not seem to know any implements to assist in this work. Twisting
is men's work.

Preparation of Seaweed Yarn

They make Seaweed thread in this way. The people go to the reef and use their
feet to pull up the ground; then they tear off the roots and afterwards they
remove the leaf ribs. Then the people take them and spread them out in the sun
and turn them over until they are well dried. Then we strip off the skin; thus
we do continually until we have enough. Then we take the bundles of seaweed
and disentangle them, so that they are suitable for the manufacture of nets. Then
drive the separate pieces are ready, we cut ourselves net rollers in order to knit
the net with them. Now when we want to have a really big net, we make thirty
(eyes) double meshes, ten small double meshes and seven fish meshes. We always
count the meshes of the net by two meshes up to ten, then likewise up to twenty,
then likewise up to thirty. We call these the small meshes but we count the fish
meshes individually. Thus we also do it if we do not want to make the net larger.

Then twenty double meshes and ten small meshes are made, but always seven fish
meshes. Thus we make the net to the end. Then we put it in fresh water and wash
out the salt water so that it does not break or become ruined. After that
we make the net frame in order to string the net threads on the upper and lower
holding line (____). The people pull these through the net meshes and fasten
them to the net sticks; they also bind the floats on the upper so that the net will not sink, because then the fish would escape over the net and would not be caught. I always make my net this way. (Louise Kātiponpe'i en U.)

The manufacture of sennit

The people bring down more than twenty nuts. We strip off the husks and make 100-200 strips of fiber. The people then dig a hole on the shore of the ocean and put leaves in it; after that they leave the strips of fiber in there for about a month, then they go and take them out and put them in fresh water until they are good. Then we spread them out in the sunshine until they are dry. We take them away and bring them into the house. Then we roll them at any time by day and night until they are used up. Then we bundle them up and make balls or little packages of them. These we hang up in the house. When we build a house we use them; also when we build a canoe; and we give them away when the people want to have them and pay us for them.

And this is a type of. If the fiber is not yet ready to be used then we fetch a club, the out; we beat the fiber with it until it is good and after wash it out in water. Then we make sennit out of it.

And this is the way in which the people twist the fiber. The people who are right-handed twist sennit that is called right-twisted twine; and people who are left-handed twist twine that is called left-twisted twine. Right-twisted twine is excellent, left-twisted twine is less good.

The finished twine is artistically wound in balls.

Net making is done in the usual way with a needle and rod. The mesh and the knots show no peculiarities. Fish nets are usually made of breadfruit or hibiscus fiber; for the larger ones, they choose sennit.
The Making of Nets

At the beginning of net making they say:

"I make, make, make small meshes,
I make, make, make large meshes,
What shall I make? Small meshes are quickly made, yoho!"

If one wants to make a net, one first goes into the bush and fetches hibiscus fiber, a whole bundle. One puts it in salt water and let it rot. Then one scraped it and then makes the net. One starts two pieces and finishes each piece. Then one puts the two pieces together, and it becomes one net. The middle of the net is formed by the holding lines twisted together, then two ropes are drawn in at the two long sides. One is called ope, the other, olaŋ. The net sinker line is fastened to the ope, the net floats to the olaŋ. Some shells are tied in a row to the net sinker line and also in the middle of the net. When that is finished, one counts off the shells of the net sinker line, seventeen shells that are attached there, and likewise one counts from the middle of the net and fastens seventeen shells firmly to it. Then one measures again and if all distances are equal, then it is good, and if one is too long it is bad. When that is done, one fastens the net ends. Then one rolls the net up in two balls.

One pushes a canoe into the water, puts the drag net in it, travels to the lagoon, catches fish, and then one can eat.

[Clip in Telemari]

Technical Expressions

Net sinker at the end of the drag net: ilaŋ, with different knots will be "discussed" individually.

Knots: √√

Wooden float for net: u.""
Middle of the net: usaini
Lower net-edge: imuin set
Middle of the net bag: kapuś
Side line for sinkers: opa
Side line for floats: olan
Wooden poles: tiauit

Charm when Making a Small Net

I cut for my little net, the little net,
Net to the beach, to the beach, full of fish!
I cut fish for Saukapira's and Katin Kapira's net.
The two do not cut, but I cut.

They not only make fish nets, but they also make carrying bags in the same way, or lukauk. The very strong net chosen for this purpose, lukauk, of rectangular form, is folded in the middle and attached to the long sides, opalam, to a bow, kau, of hibiscus wood. The fastening is called sotone.

The accompanying sketch explains the knotting of the grass skirts (cf. p. 280ff).
The fringes of bast strips or palm leaf strips are laid over a string of strong yarn or leaf ribs and individually knotted. Often they are also stitched through afterwards.

4. Plaiting and Sewing

Plaiting and sewing are women's work. Baskets and mats are the chief products, coconut leaves and pandanus leaves, the material used. After baskets, those made for one meal or only a few days, and quickly plaited, are to be distinguished from the better ones, made clean and with care. For both kinds, half coconut palm fronds are used almost without exception for both kinds.
The split middle rib gives the necessary support to the basket or plate of the first group. The leaflets are laid to one side, plaited like cloth and knotted on the end. Concerning the technique, the eyes should be shielded in Illustration 161 which is worn when fishing or travelling in boats, also belongs to plaited work of this kind.

The bag basket, No. 3383 II in Illustration 162 is intended for longer use, without attaining the delicacy of workmanship of the ornamental, four-cornered baskets. Because these bag baskets are frequent elsewhere in the Carolines and were described several times, the manufacture of the four-cornered baskets may suffice here.

**Manufacture of a basket**

Thus one makes a box-like carrying basket. Fetch palm fronds, cut them off, and divide the frond in three parts; then one makes the sections equally long and make six parts from them. Now one splits up the fronds and removes those that are too wide. Then one makes first one and then the other six and plait them together. After that, one fastens the narrow sides to them. In addition, we attach the edge to it and furnish it with carrying bands. Then we knot the carrying bands and call them holding bands.

Edge: ʻauena kopou

Plaiting strip: pei pana

Plait: pei úqer

Corner: kapuli

Narrow side: pan tisak

Many of these baskets are furnished with firm wooden frames. The type of plaiting is different and often irregular as can be seen from the illustrations.
The better fire fans are plaited of bleached pandanus leaf strips and triangular sails. The manufacture of the fan:

To dry (the fronds) in the earth oven like the skirts and then remove all the frond ribs. Then they bundle them and place them in fresh water. On the following day, they fetch them again. Then they are hung up to dry. Now we smooth them. And when we want to make a large fan, we count off one hundred strips. But when we want to make a small fan, we count off fifty or sixty frond strips. We make these equal in length. Then we bind them together and begin to make the fan handle. Then the plaiting begins. We make the upper edge piece last. We bind the ends of the strips of plaiting and stick them underneath. We cut off all the projecting points.

There are two types of mats, plaited and sewn. Those compared by O'Connell to a rolled wall seem to have been mats of the second type, which were hung in the open sides of the houses. The plaited mats, as also those sewn, are made predominantly of pandanus leaf. They offer nothing special, are found in various sizes and are cloth-like in a diagonal direction.

The sewn mats, on the other hand, are valuable and require lengthy, tedious work. The manufacture is described in detail in the following text:

Being of the Sleeping Mat

They formerly made sleeping mats in Ponap. They went to a pandanus
grove in a place called kapilap. They collected a great quantity of pandanus
leaves. We cut off all leaf points. We bind the leaves together. We bring
them home. Then we put them in the water and moisten them; we take them back
and remove the thorns of the leaf ribs. Then we smooth the leaf surfaces.
Then we roll them all up and then untoll them again. After that we spread them out again until there are many of them; we roll them up again and make the leaf rolls. Then we untie these again and remove the points and the leaf ribs and make the leaf rolls. Then we spread them out again; that is called viasuk; then we sort out the short leaves from the long and put one on this pile and the other on that pile; then we roll them up again and make two leaf rolls; the one is called pualepis (long leaves), the other, irire (short, narrow leaves), which we hang up.

Then we go to the bush and fetch hibiscus. We remove the stems. We lay them in salt water. After eight days we get them again and peel them, wash them out in fresh water and hang them up (bark and bast) to dry. Then we look on the reef for a shell, the pelikena, another shell, the sakir, to sharpen the sewing needle, which is made out of hen’s bone.

Then we start with the beginning of the mats; first we fold a plaited strip, we Jay the leaf strip down, spread it out and fold it in two halves. Then we fold the woof, lay it down and stick it in the beginning of the mat. They take two strips, one on one side, the other on the other side. Then we take the needle. Now we begin to sew; that is called, sewing. When the sewing is finished, we place the warp strip and do the same on the other side. Now we take a small scrap of it, put it smooth on one side and the other. Then we tear a little piece out of this at one end and the other. Thus they sew every day. Now, when one part of the mat is ready, then one cuts the sides of the mat; until the mat is finished. For a large sleeping mat one uses twenty segments; for a small sleeping mat, ten segments. When the mat is ready, they cut the ends of the reinforcing strips. Then one rolls up the segments and cuts the sides evenly. After this they fetch pandanus leaves in order to sew them up at the ends of the sides. If we
have fetched young leaves, then they are put in the earth oven and afterwards spread out in the sun to dry. Then we roll them up together. We also remove all the leaf spikes and put them at the end of the sleeping mat. Before we sew them on, we cut the pandanus leaves into pieces and make six pieces. Four small and two large pieces are put together. Then they are sewn tightly to the edges of the mat. One needs a great deal of time to produce a sleeping mat; whoever is industrious and proficient at sewing will need a year for a sleeping mat; whoever is lazy, two years, to make the mat. *(Nān Kātin en Se'incar.)*

5. Weaving

Weaving was already a forgotten art when Christian visited the island. In 1910 only one old woman could still give information about it. Yet the old people of former days collected pieces of flowering pandanus leaves, providing evidence of the former flourishing of this manual skill. The loom, tantar, was set up as usual and the woman weaving stretched the warp through the distance at which she sat from the warp beam. The breast beam was fastened to her body by means of a broad pandanus belt. It is a wide board provided with grooves while the warp beam consists of an ordinary, thick, round wooden bar. The warp is distinctly visible on the Hamburg loom in illustration 175. The shape of the small ship is recognized in illustration 174 of the Leipzig loom.

The number of auxiliary pieces of wood varies with the pattern. Also, the warp is variously dyed and knotted together from different-colored yarn. That makes it necessary, when warping, to count the separate movements and to change the dyed yarn (e.g. black, white, reddish-white) corresponding to the latter pattern.

To employ the use of a warp frame resting on four legs, an ordinary beam, trimmed on pattern, in which the warping sticks, which are cut at the lower end, are inserted (illustration 173). The stick designated by a, represents the warp beam, that designated by b, the cross beam and e, the shedding stick. The remaining undesignated sticks are...
auxiliary sticks for the patterning.


To make red lacquer, which is chiefly used as canoe coating, the nuts of the ais tree are used. According to Christian, it concerns Parinarium laurinum. “It grows fairly high and produces large, circular, rough, reddish-brown fruits; the diameter of a cricket ball. A decoction of the shell serves to paint the canoes red, and the kernel yields a good varnishing oil which is used together with clay in order to caulk the cracks of leaky boats.” According to Hambuch, a new canoe is first painted with red earth color, and then varnished with ais. In all, it is coated six times alternating paint and varnish.

The grated kernels are kneaded into a ball, lupon, and put in this shape into a coconut shell, called inipol. Then the juice pressed out and caught in a wooden trough. By putting in hot stones, the water is evaporated. The residue forms the lacquer.

The Preparation of Lacquer

This is the way lacquer is prepared on Ponape. We go into the bush and pick fruits from a tree, which they call ais; we fill many baskets with them; we bring them home and put them down. On the next day we cut them up. Then they are completely grated. We make the mass into a ball and make many balls out of it. Then we light a fire and put the shells of the ais on the stones until they have become hot; then we tear them apart. After that we put them in taro leaves, we also put all the ais balls there. Then we cover everything with leaves. Now we chop off three branches and one that is crooked. These we make ready for use.

Then we fetch coconut fibers and also a wooden bowl which is put underneath the pressing rods. The people then take an ais ball, put it in the coconut fibers and place it in the bend of the crooked piece of wood. Then we press the ball out.
into the bowl. After that we take the mass out of the bowl. They make a bag (of taro leaves) and make a hole in it so that the unusable liquid runs through and the good remains behind. We pour this back into a wooden bowl. Then we put in hot stones until the mass is well cooked, then we take the stones out. We pour the mass into a calabash or into a bottle. It is corked. Then we put the finished lacquer away.

According to their own statements, they obtain red, black and orange colors as follows:

**About Red Color**

First we gather red earth. When we cannot find any, we go to a place in Matolenim to the Senipin. Here is the place where there is a hole with red earth. We buy it from the people who possess it. Then they give it, and we take it with us. We put it in a wooden bowl and pour water in it, and knead it until it is good. Then we paint the boats with it.

**About Black Color**

In this way we make the black color for ourselves. First, we gather fruits from a tree called 'soon', a tree that grows between the mangroves. We take all the fruit with us, take off the shell, wrap them in leaves and put them first in the fire. After that, we take them out and squeeze them out into a coconut shell; then we throw in small pieces of charcoal and mix. Then we paint the paddles with this color solution.

**About Orange Color**

First we dig up ginger roots, then we wash them to the water and clean them of earth, peel off the skin and take them away. We chew them in our mouths, spit it out into the hand and rub it into everything that we want to dye, even clothing aprons.
Anon.  

For ourselves, a Method of Dying Skirts Red

We gather the roots of a tree that is called uē'ipul, scrape off the bark and then squeeze it out into a wooden bowl. Then we take some lime and mix it with it. After that, we fetch the skirt and lay it in this for a night. On the following morning, we take it out. It is hung up to dry and then has become red.

[Σωμάτων en Τσέρέρ.]
Footnotes

362  1 Christian, p. 195.
     2  Guardian

369  1 Protective spirit of the net.

371  1 Cf. in addition, Christian, p. 128.

379  1 Warp strip
     2 Woof strip

381  1 Christian, p. 131.

383  1 Christian, p. 328.

385  1 According to Christian, p. 330, a variety of mangrove, Bruguiera.

386  1 According to Christian, p. 347, Morinda citrifolia.