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Economy and Material Culture

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Paul Hambruch
(In Memorium)

When the first volume of the monograph on Ponape appeared, Hambruch's friends knew that he would not survive the continuation. He succumbed on June 23, 1933 to a long illness and still worked to the last on the South Seas book. When he closed his eyes, the monograph on Ponape and also the one on Tobi were extensively revised so that they could be made ready for printing in two short years. Hambruch who was born on November 22, 1882 in Hamburg, came to ethnology via the natural sciences. The graduate of the Johanneum Realgymnasium of his home town, entered the University of Göttingen in order to study descriptive natural sciences, mathematics and chemistry. However, in Berlin, to where he soon emigrated, he changed to geography, and at the same time, anthropology and ethnology. He became the faithful student of Ferdinand Freiherrn von Richthofen and Felix von Luschan, from whom he received a degree in 1907. Again as a probationer, Hambruch entered the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin; shortly thereafter he became a scientific assistant at the Hamburgische Museum, where he acquired basic training in museum technology. In 1909-1910, Hambruch took part in the South Seas Expedition of the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung. Before the beginning of the Micronesian trip, he had gone to Nauru under commission by the Jaluit Gesellschaft, in order to study the diseases of coconut palms there. When the Expedition reached the Carolines, Hambruch joined it and has gained great credit through his untiring industriousness and his good powers of observation. After the return home from the South Seas, Hambruch took over the administration of the South Seas Department of the Hamburgische Museum and soon thereafter became its curator. At the Hamburgische Kolonialinstitut, Hambruch lectured on the languages and cultures of the South Seas peoples. Immediately
after the opening of the Hamburgische Universität, he became a lecturer in ethnology and in 1931, was promoted to impermanent university lecturer. With this, Hambruch indeed had become specialized, but in no way one-sided. In his writings, he dealt with, among others, the ice relationships of the Elbe, the first use of ship's clocks, busied himself with the questions of colonial politics and energetically offered his opinions on questions of theoretical ethnology. His primary publications resulted from the participation in the South Seas Expedition, thus the large monograph on Nauru and that on Ponape, now lying before us. Works on the anthropology of Kaniët and the ethnography of Aua and Wuwulu preceded them; they appeared in the "Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg." Hambruch's strength was the careful editing of sources, for whose reviews, his multi-faceted structure proved useful to him. He read a great deal and with advantage, above all, the literature which was somehow related to ethnology. He gladly shared, always obliging when he had found details or discovered relationships and questions. His work has assured Hambruch of a lasting place in the ethnological literature.

G. Thilenius
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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 Sau Telur and lies buried in Pankatira, where the coronation place of the Nanamariki of Matolenim now is. He belonged to the still existing sib Tip ulap. The natives knew to report the following about the end of his power:

"Sau Telur was so presumptuous that he even called the god of thunder, Nan Zapue 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. Sau Telur demanded tribute from Isokalakal, 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 Saulik. In eternal memory of the landing they erected a large heap of stone, which is partly present even today. Meanwhile, the tsamoro who lived in ZalapuX in Kiti had informed the threatened Sau Telur of the arrival of the enemies. "Stop your arrogant behavior," he said to the king, "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 tsopeiti is more powerful than the Sau Telur." 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. Isokalakal landed in Kiti and then travelled through Palikir and Zokes, where two of his mother's sisters already lived, and further via U to Matolenim. Sau Telur with his followers first fled to the sea. He defeated Isokalakal on the land, Tsap ue ruk, so that the latter
had to flee. But finally the enemy was victorious and killed all the people of the Sau Telur. The latter dived under a waterfall and became a fish. Now Isokalakal was the ruler in Ponape and founded the sib, Tip en pan mei, to which the tortoise is sacred. He created the rule of the tsopeiti in Kiti 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 — Zokes — Palikir

Kiti — Uona — Not

U — Auak

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

Until about 1870 Zokes and Not 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, Kiti and U do. The rulers of Zokes calls himself "Uasai" and that of Not, "Lap en Not." Palikir is a vassal state of Zokes.

The History of how Zokes and Not United

It used to be thus that in the state, Not, one man always ruled who bore the title, Lap en Not; he fell ill. Then the Nanamariki en Tsokes and some chiefs came to visit him and also all the chiefs of Not arrived. Then the Lap en Not died. Then the Uasai en Tsokes ordered the chiefs of Not to prepare the funeral feast for the Lap en Not. They did so; then they chose the titles and took the head wreath of the Lap en Not, hung it up and gave it not to any man in the tribe of Not. He then went in the house of the Lap en Not, 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 Not and Tsokes all came together; then the Nanamariki said,
formerly there had no longer been a Nanamariki in Tsokes, but now I am Nanamariki,
because I rule two states, Tsokes and Not. But a title holder in the tribe of
Not, named Nansai set en Not, gathered some people of the tribe, Not around him,
and they agreed to fight against the Nanamariki of Tsokes. All the rebellious
people gathered in a small place called Tsou en tsin. 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 Auak, who bore the title
Tsaulik en Auak, gathered all his followers and went to the Nanamariki of Tsokes
at Pédele and did not notice the Nansau 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 Nansau, led him to the Nanamariki in Not, and the two were
reconciled. Now the Nanamariki wanted to possess a house, and gave the order
to the Not people to build a meeting house, because he wanted to know whether
they obeyed him or not. Then he went to Tsokes. The Not 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 Tsokes
and instructed them to take care of the hearth and the catch of fish. They did this
also. When they went to Tsokes, 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 Tsokes to prepare a festival, so that the
people of Not 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 Not, in order for
them to consume them. They were given to them, and then they returned to Not.
After that one day the Nanamariki again appeared in Not, and brought his wives
with him, there were 10; they all came with him to Not. The people of Not assembled
greeted the Nanamariki and shot their guns; then the Nanamariki remained in Not.
Then the Tsokes tribe agreed that all districts should celebrate the gaparumur
festival; they therefore assembled in Not, and singing and celebrating they
went to the Nanamariki. The Nanamariki then ordered the Not people also to
assemble and to prepare a feast, so that the Tsokes people could feast. So a
great feast took place. And they likewise let the Tsokes people have everything,
then returned home to Tsokes. 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 Tsumunenpuil. 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 Tsokes, and the ship departed. Then the
Nanamariki of Kiti died. When the news of it spread, he informed Not and Tsokes
to prepare the canoes in order to travel to the funeral celebration to Kiti.
All assembled in Tsokes and departed 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 Tsokes. 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 Tsokes. 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 Tsokes.

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 Zokes resided on the island of the same name or at Paipalap; that of Not, in Not; that of U in Lebenes or at a place 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, Montsap, and the free people, Seriso, 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 Montsap, i.e., between the high nobility, to which the chiefs and their families belong, and the Seriso, 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 Montsap-Jopeiti, Seriso and the people, Jan liki.

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

Hambruch separates as follows:

I. Montsap (nobility)  
1. Tsopeiti  2. Seriso

II. Aramas mual (commoners)  
Sauliki lesser nobles, Nigurts (litu)

The Seriso of O'Connell and the Aramas mual of Hambruch correspond to each other. Intermarriages of girls of this class with noblemen are frequent. Apparently they gladly take them as secondary wives. Despite the prevailing matrilineality, the children of such mothers were adopted by the noble fathers, or rather relatives, however obtained, only low rank in the new caste. Hambruch counts the Sauliki among the lesser nobles. They might best correspond to the vassals of the medieval feudal state. The Tsopeiti correspond to the Montsap
of O'Connell, are above the Seriso. In Hambruch however, the Seriso 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 Montsap nobles. The priests come from the Seriso 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 whom the light-colored race could rule only as long as it maintained a strict separation. All owned land, especially conquered land, Kaudsap, belonged to the whole of the nobility, the Montsap-Tsopeti, who distributed the high 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 Nanamariki, that is the Tsopeti 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 Nanamariki of Matolenim is the highest among the kings. He alone bears the title "Isipau."

All kaudsap land is given away as fief. The single parts "pali enatsap," are subject first of all to the high tenant, the Tsopeti, who, according to Hahl, are appointed by the king from his sib, and in this capacity bear the title
"sau mas," They are in the palen tsap 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 Seriso, possess their tsap portions, are smaller feudal lords and again have their vaasals, the aramas mual 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 sau mas 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 fied may be, through the transmission of the tsap 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 "Kamatip." 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 Nanekin, 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, Uasai, Tauk and Nos. They belong to the tsopeiti lapalap, the great chiefs. A special position is occupied by the Nanekin. 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 Nanekin, the Uasai 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 tsopeiti, the Nanekin, those of the Seriso reserved fief. Oddly enough, according to Hambruch, the Nanekin is a title of the Seriso caste. In case this is not an obscuration and misrepresentation of ancient conditions, it would result that the seriso who, at O'Connell's time, could hold only low chief's offices have risen to the so very important office of a Nanekin, 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
distinguishes yet another group which he compares to counsellors without jurisdiction and with a purely advisory capacity. These would be the Nanpeoi, Nos and Nanchao-rirrin.

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. Offenses 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 Isobau, likewise the Nanamariki of U is called Isobau, but the state of Kit and Tsokes has no Isobau, because it is smaller than Matolenim and U. Thus the Isobau is higher in rank than the Nanamariki, and the Uasai comes after the Nanamariki, under the former stands Tauk, after him, Nos and Nanaua and Nanpe'i and Nan kerou en pon take, Nauit lapalap, Naik lapalap, Sau tel and Lampoi lapalap and Amtol en Rain and Nanta.

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 seriso, whose fathers are the chiefs: Naneken precedes the Nalaim in rank, the latter is followed by Nanapaz, Nan sau Rerin, Nan matau en Itet, Lap en Rerin, Au' Rerin; these are the titles of the family branches of the seriso, that culminate in Naneken.

Thus there are four sibs in Ponape from which the chiefs originate: Tip en pan me'i, Lazialap, Tip en man, Sau en Kauat and four sibs, from which the seriso originate: Lipitan, Tip en nai, Tip en Luk, Tip i lap; the other sibs constitute the common people.
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 Naneken

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

Titles in Zokes

Men

Women

Titles in Not

Men

Women

Every Tsopeti, Seriso and according to Hambruch, even members of the Aramas mual caste, bear a title appropriate to his class, thus the high titles are held only by the Tsopeti, the very small ones by the Aramas 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 tsap-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 Montsap people "Aroche lapalap" (Ariki lapalap — high chief). Members of lower Montsap rank and the higher Seriso were called Aroche ticatic (small chief). According to Hambruch, nowadays all better Aramas mual are "Sau tiki" or liki, i.e., small 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 Tsopertei lapalap, are Nanamariki, Uasai, Tauk and Nos; low titles on the other hand, are Nanekin, Nalik 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 Tsopertei and the titles of the Seriso. He believes that the ennoblement of the Seriso is to be traced back to the following: representatives of the high nobility, that is Montsap or rather Tsopertei, who had tried to raise the rank of their children born of their Seriso 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 Tsopertei titleholder is alternated with a Seriso titleholder; the highest Tsopertei is followed by the highest Seriso, then the second highest Tsopertei and the second highest Seriso, etc. The order of the rank of a Tsopertei 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. Saum and Aulik, both kotito and konet. Finally, the ranks must be named which can be conferred on any person as an honor:

IV.

Nanapas, Sapatan, Saumaka, Sapuen, Saupan, Kos, Isoa, furthermore all "apeto" (see above) and the ranks, Luonmar, Otik, Nanaueiso, Seor, Isu tikitik, Setin 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 "Garisi mei" in Toloniar on April 11, 1910. As in ancient times, the important guests are in the gallery, lumpantan, which rises horseshoe-shaped around the deeper located middle area, naras, in which the kava is prepared, and in which the Nigurts 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 Tsopeiti line are designated with (*), those of the Seriso line, with (+). Relatives of the Tsopeiti have *, those of the Serios, a +. The names without signs appointed, belong to the aramas mual, common people.

Lap en Not, Nansou and Tsoukon (Lap en Lanar) belong to the Tsopeiti line, Kerou'n Roi and Nan matau en Sokes (?) to the Seriso line. The Matau en Roi, Nan matau en Kipar and Loare are assistants of the Tsopeiti chiefs, while the Lap en Not 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 Nansou. For the present he must provide for the execution of the orders given by the Lap en Not and receive the complaints and objections in his stead.
His assistant in this is the Tsoukon.

On Palikir, the following rank order prevails:

1. Lap en Palikir
2. Kerou eni uen, brother of the first.
3. Auntol en Palikir, sister's son of the first, some 20-25 years old.
4. Nansau en Lauat
5. Nan kerou en Man sister's sons of Lap en Palikir
6. Marakap
7. Kaneki en Lauatik

Seriso Rank:

1. Nos married to a daughter of the old Lap en Palikir
2. Tsou uen en Paniap (wife, Emin en Paniap)
3. Nanaua en Palikir (Wife: Naloio en Paniap)
4. Matau (Wife: Ina matau)
5. Nalik en Palikir (Wife: Nalikiei en Palikir)

The seating arrangement in the Nas of the Uasal of Uona is similar to that of the festival in Toloniar: first of all, a "guard" stands at each side of the gallery. The Nanamariki and the priest (Tsamoro) sit in the middle, next to the Nanamariki is the seat of the Nanokein. In his absence the Nalaim occupies it. The Nos 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 pak not far from the passage at the Karanuap 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 (montsap or seriso) 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 festival. Thus the Ponape people had to pay for their titles. But some nobles 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 chiefs 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 aramas mual, but only the paramount chief can raise an aramas mual to a sau mas. As long as it concerns small quarrels and complaints, the judicial power lies in
the hands of the sau mas; 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 Seriso caste, looked after the rights of the people and played the role of 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 Tsopeiti 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 "gentleness" 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 Sokes.)

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
already early in the morning, begin to prepare choko and food, because they say
to themselves that there is a continual coming and going (juerga) for four, five
or more days, because the people come one after the other and at many hours. This
is considered a kind of pilgrimage and procession for the recovery of the
sick person. No one is allowed to look at or even touch a chief, especially
not the two named. That is why all food and drink must be offered to the
Nanamariki with averted face. The greatest offense is to touch the apron.
Also a common man likewise does not ever allow this to pass unavenged. Direct
or loud address is likewise forbidden. In the presence of the high chiefs one
only whispers and addresses them with high honorific words, uses the third person
as speaking form and employs only the high language toward them. Low people are
not permitted to discuss with the paramount chief except through the Nanekin.

Those of lower rank must move with bowed posture and with their hands placed
on their backs, in front of superior persons. In doing so, the legs must be at
right angle to the body. Everyone must pass the Nanamariki, as well as his house
in this bowed position. No one is allowed to stand in the presence of the paramount
chief. Everyone must immediately sit down or squat down.

The ceremonial at table and at the kave festivals will be spoken of later.
Here only this, that the food and drinks must be first offered to the person of
the highest rank. He also distributes to the others. During the carving and
offering of the animals (roast pig or roast dog), the head must point to the
paramount chief.

Special regulations apply to boat traffic and fishing: the chief's canoe
always proceeds at a certain speed. If it meets other boats, tuori, or these
pass by the house of the Nanamariki, they are obliged to immediately take the
sail down and to stop. Everyone must squat down in the boat. Should by chance
someone be on the platform, he too must quickly return into the canoe. The
fishing Nigurts must interrupt their work and bend low and cross their arms. If they have already caught something, they must follow the chief and offer 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, sakaral, until he sends out a man, who says to them kornail en bato uei! "Pass!" If one has squatted down in front of the chief in order to greet him, one must wait to rise until he says uta! That is, stand up. Uasai and Nanekin 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 breadfruit 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 each other. The fief, freed by the death, reverts to the Tsopeti community and the Nanamariki 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 Nanamariki is followed by the Uasai. The position of the Uasai 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 Nanamariki. The last rank which finally becomes free is usually obtained by the oldest son of the deceased Nanamariki, but also only if his mother is a member of the high noble caste because matrilineal succession prevails and the children of Seriso 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 Tsopeti 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 Tsopeti 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 Tsopeti could never have obtained a Tsopeti rank, because Tsopeti 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 Tsopeti was only permitted to marry a Seriso daughter. If these marriages were also numerous, they have hardly become law. 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, Lipetan. Marriages of equal rank can only be concluded between the members of these families. The sons of the royal family (Tsopeti) 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 Tsopeti wives) become Tipuneman. A Tipuniman can never receive a title in the line of succession of the Lipetan and vice versa. The Uasai 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 Nanamariki 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 Nanamariki in order to wrangle many feasts by bestowing great titles.

At the death of the Nanamariki, the Uasai goes to the former's last residence and here 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 Tsopeiti 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, meseni. The individual family, peneine, despite matrilineal succession, is named after the father, e.g., peneine en Loare, peneine en Etekar.

The sib tip en lap 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 Nanekin in Uona?
13. sib of Nalaim en Tsokes
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 Tsopeiti. But they enjoy this high respect only in their native state. These privileged sibs are the

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

The Names of the Great Families

There are the following great families in Ponape: Tip en man, which rules in the state, Kiti; Tip en pan me'i, which rules in the state, Matolenim; Lazialap'
which rules in the state, U and Sau en Kauat, which rules in the state, Tsokes.

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

The Nanamariki come from the families of the Tip en man, Tip en pan mei, Lazialap and Sau en Kauat, the Naneken, from the families of Lipitan, Tip en uai, Tip en Luk and Tip en lap. If some other families become related to the tsoupeiti by marriage, they are counted as seriso.

The head family of the state, Not is the Sau en Kauat; less important are kthe tip en uai, tip u lap, tip en man, tip en pepe, Letak, tip en Luk, Lazialap, tip en pan mei, Sau en pal and Lipetan.

In Tsokes the sibs Sau en Kauat, tip en lap, Letak, tip en man, tip en pan mei, Sau en Somake, Naniak, tip en uai, Lazialap, Sau pali en pil, tip en pepe, and tip en Luk, prevail. Of these, the sib tip en pepe is supposed to have no totem.

In the state, Kiti the Lipetan sib has supplied the Nanekin for generations. Eight names are handed down:
1. Luk en Tamas
2. Luk en Rakim (legal expert, maternal grandfather of the Nanpei)
3. Luk en Tsakau
4. Luk en Lansir; also named Iso ani. Father of the Nanpei
5. Nanaua en Mutok (the name of a deceased which he has given himself)
6. Luk en Tsakau
7. Retsin en Palap
8. Nanekin.

The families represented in Lanar and Param are: tip en uai, Sau en kauat, tip u lap, tip en Luk, Letak, tip en man, Sau en pik, Sau en Somaka.

The histories of these 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 Langina. A fish created them, the ray, Likandenkap. And when he multiplied, he bore men and fish. Thus they became very numerous; a fish, Naretin, stayed with them; he gave birth, and obtained a woman named Li en til. This woman was very beautiful. Tau Katau came down from heaven and married Li en til; he took her with him and carried her into heaven. Li en til became pregnant and bore Tau Katau three girls, that were named Liput, Lipotikilan and Lipaut. Nan Dzapue married all three women, and in addition one from the sib of the Tip en man. Then the women wanted to work for Nan Dzapue; the wife from the Tip en man made a belt and the Tip en uai wives procured themselves many pandanus leaves in order to weave sailing mats from them. While they were busy with the work, Nan Dzapue one day left the wife from the Tip en man 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 Nan Dzapue in the thighs. Nan Dzapue 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 SelataX. 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 SelataX. 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, Not in order to finish the work there. The others did not want to; they proposed to go to Matolenum. The other wife left, and the other two also went. The woman who went to Not settled on Langer and there finished a sail called I en Langer; and the two toehrs went to Matolenim. They came in
the mountains to Nana; 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 Tolotom; again both looked out to the sea
and described a small place which was situated outside of Matolenim. They
thought they should now go there, therefore they left the mountains; they came to
Tamuroik to the small place of Nikauat. They wandered further to Tsamuin and
landed at the beach of Sakar en Na. And continuing, they went out the to 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 esok to the place. The 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
Nin san en nip. 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
here after Tau Katau married her daughter Li en til 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 Langina 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 til 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 they made a love charm for Nan Dzapue. Then
Nan Dzapue again loved the two and followed them. And so he remained with them.
And the place where they lived he gave the name, Mesiel. And so he remained with
them at Mesiel. 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.

Nan Dzapue 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 Nan Dzapue, he should speak by all means. Then Nan Dzapue spoke, and there was violent thunder. And a violent rain pattered down. Thus the river at the place originated; Nan Dzapue jumped into it and bathed. When Nan Dzapue came out again, he said to Naretin that the water was now better. And so he remained with them until his wives became pregnant. Then he said to the women that he wanted to return to heaven. He also 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 Auntol en Langina, the other Nanit en Langina. He also told them that they should pay attention to how he enlarged the place. He thundered and half of SelataX came off and formed Na; and he named the place Pali a SelataX, therefore these places are even today the possession of the Tip en uai tribe. Then Nan Dzapue wanted to return to heaven again. Later the women bore two boys; and they gave them the names which Nan Dzapue 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 meterane and sailed further to Imuin take mau; 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 Tolopuaip, from the brook Pil en peison. Then they again went to Na and buried the sail, because they did not want, the Matoleneim 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 Na. There they again hid it, and no one knew who had made the sail. And thus since then a divine service is held in Matolenim; all tip en uai members take part in it, because they are Serisos in Matolenim, because the two boys made the beginning and their father had been Nan Dzapue. Thus the Tip en uai had its beginning; Naneken i Matolenim and all other people alone understood the making of sails; and they taught it to the other 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 Irek, the place, where the Tip en man had its beginning. Both left Langina and went to heaven. The Tip en uai had two wives, named Lupur and Luput. Nan Zapue took both for his wives. Then Isobau also went to heaven to the Nan Zapue, and again took the two women down. They came to Ponape. Nan Zapue followed them. Then the women had children. Isobau distributed them everywhere and gave a name to every sib branch; he named one Sau en Matol, one Merekerek, one Uputanit, one Sau liets and one Sau en Tauak. One woman, however, Inaselam, 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: Marekerek, Uputanut, Uputanpaini, Sau en pon 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 Marekerek which I know. The ancestral mother of the Marekerek bore two women, who were
twins. The one was called Likinkinpue and the other Litontorepue. From
Likinkinpue descends the Tip en uai, of which one portion lives in Matolenim,
another in U and Not; from Litontorepue descend all Palikir people.

Family History of the Tip en man

Thus the Tip en man began; it originated in the lagoon of Paras. The lagoon
of Paras lies in the south. At that place there was something that created
the Tip en man 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 man botobot ruled; and the Tip
en man tontol served. One day they celebrated a great festival. The princes
looked round at what the Tip en man tontol had produced. This was not good,
because the inhabitants of a country named Lannina belonged to a foreign sib.
And these always appeared and destroyed their work. But when the foreign sib
came, some Tip en man botobot people said to some Tip en man tontol people:
"Come here and sit down in the gallery," For now they wanted to go in the naras
court and serve the others; for that reason the Tip en man tontol today has the
power.

A branch of the Tip en man sib has the name Sau en Eir. Two women left Eir
and came to Ponape; they were called Li en nep and Ina tar. Now a man called
Nan el lap lived in the place, Lanpuak. And he had ordered a woman called Inalo
to bring the women to Ponape. Thus the two women came; the one (Li en nep)
settled in Kiti, and the other (Ina tar) in Matolenim. The Matolenim woman
conceived and bore a woman and a man; the man was called Lameintt and the woman
Li matoara.

Li matoara 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 Lameinut, stole bananas and nuts and brought them to the woman. But one day Lameinut hid and seized the hand. Then the woman's arm hurt very much; the rumor got to Laneinut that the woman was ill and that her arm hurt her. Lameinut 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. Lameinut 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 dies." When leaving he said to the woman: "When you are delivered, you will bear two children, one called Tumunmam and one, Kakaenut." 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 Razak. There they increased and became a hundred. Now Lameinut 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 man II

Li en nep lived on the Tol en Kiti. There she bore many children. She distributed them over all islands and thus created many family branches; one received the name Sau en Kiti. It remained to live there. Yet later they quarrelled and then they separated; some went on the Tol en Samake; they founded the Sau en Samake; others went to Pan takai and Ni tik. 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 Sau en pali en pil and we are the Lap en pil!" Some went away and remained in Pok; that is the Sau en Pok; others remained in Uona, are of the Tip en man tontol and are also named Uputenpaini; they rule in the state Uona and bear the title, Saukisa.

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

Thus Poponai and Uailik 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 $\frac{3}{4}$ day they fought against the others. Some youths
advanced to a small place named Paseit, and Isobau remained in Salili; and he cried Uuuuu; then the people of Narolan were thoroughly frightened; they jumped up, threw their things away, abandoned their children, and fled to Matolenim. And Isobau had led them; now he gave them the titles; he named the oldest, Tsau kisa, another, Sau Uona, another Matau, one, Tsou matau en Pon tsa; and Isobau gave them the name, Sau maka en Ne; then they ruled in Uona; therefore they are also named Inan ueias.

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 Kiti and came in the entrance of Pelan. They landed in Pelan; they went in the bush and remained in the mountains of Pelan. 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, Pelan, in order to supervise what the people of Pelan did. Then it happened that they arranged to make war on the people of Pelan. Now there was a family named Puton who had owned Pelan since ancient times. They had always been in Pelan and did not know that there was a great number of people who had come from abroad, lived on the mountains and who were ready to take their land from them. Thus they united, and went down into the district to make war on the Pelan 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 U where they settled. They, however, stayed in the land of Pelan and took possession of it. Then it happened that they also thought
of fighting against the district, Kiti. The Nanamariki of Kiti always lived in his palace from where he ruled Kiti in Tsapuetakai. Secretly they penetrated into the country. The sent one of them who was supposed to make inquiries about the state. The man went and stayed with the Nanamariki. Not all of his people were with him. The he appeared, took some shellhorns, then they came and killed the Nanamariki. Then they chose one as Nanamariki and took possession of the state, Kiti. Then all Tipen man people assembled in Uona; they agreed to continue the fight against them. So they fought them in the state, Kiti. They took them captive and drove them away again from the state, Kiti.

Tale from ancient times.

A great number of people set out from an island in the south in the land, Paiizi (abroad); they swam in the sea and did not use anything else; they were very numerous; they landed in Pelan, 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 Pelan 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 Sau en Kauat

At the beginning of the Sau en Kauat a spirit woman called Inas en Gatau stands; this woman originated on Kusae; she founded the Sau 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 Maraki, 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 Sau 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 Tumuenpuil and pointed to the high mountains where they wanted to remain, to the mountains of Nan 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 lan, who was supposed to support the individual family branches of the Sau 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 atiet. They assembled and hunted many rats, which they carried together and roasted. Their un en atiet 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,
Inas was not a human being, but an indigenous spirit, who stayed in Nan Kauat; there it had originated and increased. When they (the children) had become very numerous, they prepared to make war on the tribes in Not and Tsokes. Now Inas is supposed to have married a man who originated from the sib of the Tip en Lap; this man lived
in Kamar, where he married Inas; she bore the Sau en Kauat. The family became very numerous and quickly settled Kamar. But when the crowd became too large, they arranged to make war on the people of Not and Tsokes. Before going to battle, they organized a festival, the Umun atiet, 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, Kamar, 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 Not, conquered it and made one of themselves the Lap' en Not in order to rule the state. After Not was conquered, they also marched against Tsokes, 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 Nanamariki of Tsokes. The tribe of the Tip en man who had occupied the state, Tsokes and the tribe of the sib Lazialap who had ruled Not, these two sibs were overcome by the Sau en Kauat in Not and Tsokes.

History of the Sau en Kauat Tribe Not (D.I.)

A woman named Inaso lived in Nan Kauat. There she founded the family of the Sau en Kauat. She lived in a house. She had many children. When these no longer had room in Nan Kauat, they came down from the mountains to Eireka, Meitsik and Kamar, three places which they took away from the tribe of the Sau lezialap. Later they went further to Not and built houses in order to live there.

Later they went into the land of Sakes and fought against the tribe of the Tip en man; 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 Sakes; 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 Not. These went to Mesenien over the Tau en Tsokola, where they remained for four nights. They they went back again to Not. They began the battle anew and this time those of the Sau en Kauat were victors, and the people of the other tribes were put to flight.

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

(Tsoumatau in Tsapalap.)

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

Formerly the trepang lived on the mountain Nan tol en saumaki. There he had many children. When they were grown up, they distributed themselves over the country. The oldest with his relatives formed the Tsau en tsamaka tribe; the second, the Tip en man tribe and a third, the Tsau en kauat tribe. The Tsau en tsamaka remained on the mountain Tol en saumaki. The mountain was very high and nearly reached to the sky. One day they pounded kava. The noise disturbed the Tau 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 Tsau en tsamaka 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 Tomaroi.)

The History of the Sau iap. Not (D.8.)

Once there lived a man in Jap, named Sau iap, who had a Kutor bird. He sent this bird to Ponape. The bird came to Tsokes and settled on the mountain Ton
tol lap. He remained there and observed at the people of Tsokes 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 Mesenien, where he also ate up all the people. At that time a man called Saum en kapin pil lived in Nan tsokola, who came from Merertil. He went to Mesenien, killed the bird with a club, cooked it and ate it.

Sau iap waited for his bird; he was supposed to return and report to him about the mightly Saum en Kapin pil. And when it did not come, Sau iap himself went to Ponape. He went to Nan tsokola and there met Saum en Kapin pil. He asked him for some kave which he would like to drink. But he received the answer that none was in the house. Then Sau iap put the handle of his ax uanaper 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 Sau iap 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!" Saum en Kapin pil went out and made a new bird of stone, which he called tirou. And he presented it to the Sau iap. 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 Sau iap and in the direction of the great lel ton iap waterfall. Sau iap 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 sakir; the bird spread its wings wide, because Sau iap clung to it very firmly, and thereby knocked a large piece, the matap en Kutor, out of the mountain. Then it arrived at Jap; it remained there and acquired such a loud voice that Sau en Kapinpil, when he heard it, collapsed from fright and died.

(Nanaua en Tolakap.)
The Origin of the Lazialap Sib

Thus began our sib Lazialap. An eel created our Lazialap. He lived in the brook Lenpuis. And Luk Nan Iapue went to him and wanted to marry him. But the woman did not 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 Luk 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 U. And the one was called Ilake en Pikitak, and the other Ilake en Sonup'. And thus is the history of heavenly origin.

Family History of the Lazialap tribe (Tsokes.) (D.81).

A large eel is the ancestor mother of teh Lazialap tribe which is divided into different sibs, of which the Tsau Letau is the oldest. This eel lived in Tsapalap in matolenim and ate people. It ate almost all the people up so that finally there were hardly any people left in Tsapalap. 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 Kufain and there bore a number of children. These were people and they are called Tsau en pazouei. Then it again came to Ponape, swam through the large northeast entrance and reached Not, where it formed the long peninsula. It again became pregnant and bore people who later formed the following sibs: Tsau en pasato, Tsau li pon tiak, Tsau en Not and Laziakauat.

Family History of the Lazialap

In ancient times a woman once went fishing in front of Kiti and found a small stone; she picked it up and put it into her fishing basket. Then she returned home and hung it pu 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 wanted 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, then 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 Mant. 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, Sau en Lipontak. And from here originates the sib of the Lazialap. Then he again followed the couple and hunted them up in their hiding place under the cliff of Tinitini. 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 Tsapalap. 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 Liasir. With this woman, the branch Tsau en Letau of the sib Lazialap begins. Then the people of Tsapalap 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, Lazialap originate: the Sau en Pasouei and Lazialap a Gatau. Then it again set out and returned to Ponape. It went straight to the state, U and there founded the district Not. Here too it founded two family branches: the Sau en paseto and the Sau en Not. Then the eel finished Not; it has created the district Not. And thus the sib of Lazialap spread and increased in the state, U and Matolenim.
Now when Isokalakal once appeared in Ponape, he conquered the state, Matolenim. There he founded the line of the Nanamariki of Matolenim. There he married a woman from the sib of Lazialap named Likand a Kalakal. Likand a Kalakal gave life to a boy, to Nalepi en ien. With him began the Naneken line in Matolenim. The sister of Nalepi en ien, also bore a boy, Nan Kapuei. He became Nanekin after Nalepi en ien, but later he went to the state, U and there founded the line of the Nanamariki in the state U. Then it happened that his sister Likand ani followed him. She settled in the state U, increased and founded the Sau en pei en kon. From her the Nanamariki in the state, U have come until the present day.

Story of a sub-family of the Lazialap Sib

A family of the Lazialap is called Sau en Tamoroi; it did not live at the shore of the sea; we are like the shoots of the Kemalele grass which, wide ramified, 
creeps into the bush; like the reed stalks we grew upward and formed the tribe of U, we did not emigrate from Kusae with the other. But we did not have any kings; because Tau Katau had raped a noble woman, Likand ani. So we also call ourselves Kan en merup'. And formerly the Nanamariki of U were taken from us, for we originated and always remained in Ponape and did not emigrate from Kusae. And Tau Katau founded our Sau en Tamoroi with Likand ani. From it became the nobility in U; later the Sau en Tamoroi received the name, Sau en pei en Kon, from which the Nanamariki of U 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, Merak; 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 pei san Gatau. Then came the day when they wanted to depart to leave Kusae; they gathered lipuoi 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 Kamuse tree. When they had navigated half of the ocean route, the sea became rough, and a wave filled the canoe with water. Merak became afraid; he shouted loudly. Then the drinking water ran out of his mouth. Then they arrived at Ponape in the entrance named Kap 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 Tol e tik; for this reason there are so many lipuoi snails just before Tol e tik in the present day. Then they went ashore; they got to the stony beach of the district of Sai'n uar named Sakar en tu. Now they disembarked; then Akau spit out his drinking water from this became the river Pil en Nan sunoip; 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 Uasai 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 Tsap uilap in the district Poleti. When the woman had come to Uona, she met a man at the place, Naleur in the district Porosap'. The man then brought the news of a small prince who bore the title of Lop en matau en Onon samuel and was at the head of the small district, Rolan. And the man said to the Lep en matau: "Sir, I met a woman on the way, the woman is beautiful, she
has a beautiful face, large feet and large arms, 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 Lap en Matau jumped out of the house, seized the woman, carried her back and pushed her into a corner of the room, where he copulated with her. But he had two wives of his own, who belonged to the sib of the Tip 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 Uona.

Now when the boy grew big, Sau Kisa had all the people assemble, because they wanted to make war on the state, Kiti, because Nan matau en Pelan had conquered the state, 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 Uona 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 Sau Kisa: "I want to go to war. I will take both titles of a Naneken and a Nalik lapalap." Then all began to march against Kiti. They came to Tsapuetakai. There a terrible fight began. Many people were killed. The boy who fought very bravely took the Nan sau set en Pelan prisoner; he was braver than all others. Now when the Nanamariki was killed, his people ran away. But they stopped again and chose a new Nanamariki of Kiti and gave the title of Nanaken to the son of the Sau Kisa; and to the others they gave the title of the Nalik lapalap to his brother. Thus the title of a Naneken en Kiti was created; he lived in Roi en Kiti until his death; then they gave him the title of a Luk en Tamas; thus the Naneken title came to the Lipetan sib in the state Kiti; up to the present day, from Luk en Tamas to the present Naneken, there have been six titleholders.

Tale of Two Boys (Origin of the Lipetan 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. The 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 Senia and Monia. When they left Kusae, they took three shells with them, the Likin suan, Nan suan, and Nan tan en suan; a single one remained in Kusae, the suan. Now both began to jump up on the rock. Senia jumped on the rock first, but he slid on the rock, his face was scratched by the stone. Monia said and spoke: "Now I want to jump on it." He fetched Senia and carried him into the canoe. Then he took the Likin suan shell; 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 Senia took their paddles; he climbed after him. So the two
strode along, until they were on top. There they found some taro which grew there on top, and also a fish container. In it were sera; both had never before seen such fish. They wanted to eat them; then they made a fire with the wood of their paddles. Then they fetched taro and fish; they cooked and consumed them. When they had eaten the one side of the fish during the meal, they turned it round in order to eat also the other side; but the other side became meat again and the same happened with the taro. When they both were full, they took the rest of the taro and threw it away; then it grew high again; they also threw the rest of the fish back into the fish container. It also became alive and swam away. The opened their eyes wide in astonishment and were surprised that they were so close to heaven. But they were not able to turn back. Now they looked down; then they saw a land; but it was very difficult to get there, because they were too high. Now they both wanted to jump. The big one was afraid; so the little one jumped first. When jumping he remained hanging in the branches of a tree, which grew out of the rock. He rested and waited for his older brother. The big one jumped after him; when he arrived below, he died. The little one took him into his arms, massaged him, and he became alive again. Then they had to jump three more times; during the fourth time they reached the land. Both looked around because it was a beautiful land and had many beautiful trees. They also saw a small house, it was only one fathom long; they wanted to enter, but there was nothing in the house; they noticed another house quite near. That was two fathoms long; when they wanted to visit this one, again nothing was in it. They saw one a little farther off, which was larger, so they went further until they came to the hundredth house. Then they went to the largest house. They entered and asked the oracle of the place, where they should hide. Through this they discovered that a good place was in the house binding. They hid there. Then evening came.
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, Monia said to Senia, that this place was really splendid (that their affair was very promising). Senia then said to his brother that he wanted to fetch it. But Monia said, "Do not go, lest you should fare as yesterday." And Monia said: "I want to fetch it." He jumped down, took the light (the torch) and put it over his shoulder. All ghost heads were surprised, became afraid and fled. Then both left the house and came to another house where they found a woman who lived in there. The woman was called Li sa saum 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 Lipetan sib; the sera has remained their protective spirit until the present day. Then the woman said to the two: "And now bring back the "light of the chorus leader," because it is your uncle and is called Sauipuil." 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 kak ili 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 Monia intended to return home to Kusae.

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

Family History of the Letak

Thus the sib of Letak once had its beginning in Ponape. A woman called Inatitipe1 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 Kisetik. 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 Tsa1ataX. One day she thought about whether she should stay there. She wandered about and came to the place, Tape. 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 Tape; 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 Samoi; the woman died there. A son of the Sau Telur
followed them and fetched them back to Matolenim; a woman, however, had remained in Tsokes; she had children there; therefore members of the Letok sib live in Tsokes 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 salam. They spread over the district Pelan. Then the sib of the Pip en Pepe had left Paiti a long time ago; they had settled on the high mountains of Pelan. 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, U. There they remained a long time, until the U people also treated them badly. Then they entered the canoes, went to Kusae and remained there. Yet it happened that later, after Isokalakal had subjugated Matolenim, one of them founded the line of the Nanamariki in U. When he arrived, the people in U did not know the magic charm Kapiniararanar en Mailap'. He asked the U people about it: "Who knows it?" They replied that a sib, which had once emigrated from U 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 Katin nam and Li Keitam. The women taught him the magic charm. Both women said to the prince, he should go back to the state U, because they would follow him. So the prince went there and began the line of the Naneken in the state U. The two women appeared later, married and received the title, Likand pau. They had children by the Nanamariki. They bore many children and spread the Putum sib. Therefore the Putum sib provides the Naneken in the state U.

Tale of Guardian Spirit of the Li ar Katau sib

Now follows the tale of the guardian spirit of the sib Li ar Katau, called Sau ani. This spirit stayed on Takaiu, so that he could help the sib, Li ar Katau,
because they lived in this place in the state U. The spirit supported it greatly; at night he appeared in the small place, Niapei in the form of a torch, when he was dissatisfied. Then Tsou matau en Takaiu 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 Takaiu 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 Takaiu, 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 Takaiu offered baskets with food. They put them in front of the house of the Tsou matau; they did not touch them, for the spirit sent the muroi fish, which then eats the contents of the food baskets and disappears again, the rest is then distributed. That is what I still know.

Family History of the Li ar Katau Sib

Thus did the Li ar 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 Nanuai, and a bird, the owl. Liren Katua 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 Matolenim. Nanuai also with his sib took part in it, and followed Isokalakal, because it was Nan paratak, 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 Au en Kap', there they found many fish. They caught them by using 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 Isokalakal in Pan Katra. 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, Alokap in Matolenim. Here he pounded kava and drank. Then he became drunk. He fell asleep. The Ponape people did not like Nanuai, because he boasted that he did not need to obey the Nanamariki. So they instigated some people from the sib of Nanuai, to take him out on the sea and throw 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 Molelap. Then Nanuai 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 Paipalap and looked out onto the sea and saw the Nanuai on Molekap. She flew there in order to help him. When she was near Nanuai 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 Paipalap. And there weeps and wails at the place.

Family History of the Tip en Luk

Thus began the Tip en Luk sib; a woman Li amin Not founded the Tip en Luk in ancient times. The woman lived in Palikir. She was the sister of the man who
ruled Palikir and had the title, Lapen Palikir. The two 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 a 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 Maipun; increasing she then created the family branch, Sau en Ant.

When Li amin Not still lived, she had made the Naliam fish, then the Iomo fish, and later the shark. These increased in Palikir, later they spread over all of Ponape and founded three family branches, which are called Naliam, Iomo, and Sau en Ant.

Family History of the Naniak Sib

Thus the Naniak sib began in ancient times. A woman Liauenta lived in the place, Mesir which lies in the Ratak. Liauenta was delivered and bore two girls; the one called Liiumualan and the other Litsenmualan. 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 Isokalakal 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 Isokalakal. They made war on the state, Matolenim. They caught and killed Sau Telur. Isokalakal took his place and ruled over Matolenim, as the Nanamariiki.
His rule lasted very long, then Isokalakal died. Now there was no other Nanamariki except the nephew of Isokalakal, who was still small. Nan esen therefore had a canoe prepared and travelled to Kusae in order to inform Isokalakal's mother that Isokalakal had died; who should follow, because his nephew was still a small boy? The woman sent the canoe back and sent word to the Nan esen that he himself should, for the time being, take over Isokalakal's rule, until the boy was grown up. Then Nan esen took the place of the Nanamariki: he ruled state, Matolenim. He ordered some women of his sib from Kusae, they should come to Ponape. There they increased. Then when the boy was grown up, Nan esen 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 seriso in the state Matolenim.

A long time passed, then a ship appeared and anchored outside of Matolenim. The captain and his people went to Napali and remained there. Nanana en Matolenim killed the captain and the crew. Later two ship travelled into the entrance of Matolenim. They made inquired; Uasai 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 Nanaua who was hanged on the mast. Uasai 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 (Tsokes) (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 Tsokes, these became too heavy for them. And therefore they scattered them everywhere where they became stones which are today spread over all of Tsokes.

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

(Nos en Tsokes)

Of the Saum en Kapin pil (Not). D.18

Saum en Kapin pil lived in Tsokola. Another man was called Saum en iap, who lived in Jap. Both were great sorcerers and enemies to each other. Saum en Kapin pil sent taro to Jap, in order to destroy the residence of the Saum en iap. Saum en iap, 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 Kapin pil took them and distributed them around Ponape. Thus the island Taketik originated from the rest. Then he returned to Tsokola and there made a great river, the Tau en Tsokola. Great streams arose in this, which were 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 iap, I shall never allow him to come to Ponape."

(Katali en Lanar.)

A Story from Satuan

Thus originated the sib of Saupuenepik. A fish had created it, that was the muraena. The muraena lived $\frac{1}{2}$ with the people in the top of a banana tree. It made a man named Muanin. Then it climbed down from the tree. Now there was an entrance in Satuan between Satauan and Bat i Kes. The Lukumor 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 grew high. A reef arose, that closed the entrance. Thus there was no more entrance.
Footnotes

1 1 Sau Telur is a title, not a proper name
2 2 Nobleman
2 2 Pereiro, page 101
3 1 Since then, the fourth Uarsai has been promoted to the first position. About 50 years ago.
2 2 Still lives as a very old men in the year 1910.
6 1 Map of the island Ponape (on the basis of the German Ardirality'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. Moisels. 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, risen through the father of the Tip en Luk, 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, page 7 and 8.
2 Pereiro, page 102

26 1 The * after the sib name means that the history has been noted. In certain of his notes for publication, Hambruch has always written "tip" with small letters.
2 The history of this sib is in the third volume.

30 1 A black basalt stone on the reef near Na.
2 The island Na in Matolenim.

31 1 Pil en Mesiel

32 1 Point of Napali.

36 1 Tsapotakai

38 1 In Kiti, named Naluk en kiti.

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 Yap is not to be understood by Jap, but rather the world in general which exists outside of Ponape.

49 1 In SelataX
2 8 to 10 m. high projecting rock.
Footnotes 3-I

52 1 Tau Katau is a member of Lazialap
    2 Marshall islands

53 1 Kiti harbor
    2 a large stone
    3 appears again on page 55.

56 1 In addition, a title of the tspeiti line
    2 Until 1910; the present Naneken is already some 60 years old
    3 Since 1852, four of them.

60 1 Totem: zapake, saue.

61 1 reef of the little rats
    2 in the mangroves
    3 by Anipel

62 1 those born through the mouth

63 1 Tsoumatau is the sib's paramount chief of Li ar 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 Iomo is distributed in Matolenim.
    2 The natives assert, that a shark does no damage to a member of
    the Sau en Ant. Sau en Ant is distributed in Kiti.
    3 Majuro in the Ratak group (Marshall islands)

68 1 in one of the stone enclosures
    2 about 80 years ago.

69 1 name of the deceased, Luk en Kasik.
II. Family

1. General

The importance of the family is insignificant in comparison with that of the sib. The paramount head, mes 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 mes 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 revenge 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 their 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 in this is seen no barrier to marriage, soui. The formerly prohibited mixing between Tzopeiti-Seriso and Nigurts was already referred to. Furthermore
the marriage between brother and sister, and between the children of two brothers, two sisters, between uncle and niece, aunt and nephew were forbidden. The same is true of children nursed by the same woman, Kilikilon juris. 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 obstruction 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 Auak 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, even often as servants. They are called *pakai.* In past times polygyny is supposed to have caused many a war.

Courtship and Betrothal: The betrothal of children, *kisin kamot* or *kisinin,* is frequent. But such a betrothal is considered only as a desire and an intention, not as a binding promise; frequently it is never realized, when the betrothed people have become marriageable and have their own inclinations. In a children'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 at about 18 years of age, sometimes also at 15 or 16, 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 lipon en kik he scratched her back and cheeks or pulled out her eyebrows. After agreement is reached the suiter 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, topluga, to the suiter's father. To celebrate the betrothal, puge sakasak, 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 suiter 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 known 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, tom, for the ruler (tseu, sugarcane and tsakau, 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, kisakis, to the bride, which she or her parents distribute among those present. Then the bride's relatives present their gifts, topikan kisakis, 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 him land, slaves, canoes. When a woman does not own her own fief, which is still seldom, 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 to fifteen years of age. The man was usually eighteen. Also, among both, the tatooing 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 *kalel*, is supposed to have been quite common until about 1860.
Position of the Woman and the Relation of the spouses to Each Other. In general 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 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, it usually ended in war, and the offense was atoned for by blood-vengeance like
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 end are known, which illustrate the attitude of the natives. The father of the last Nanpei killed the abductor of 1/4 of his wife by shooting and the wife, by stabbing. The wife of the Nanaua en Mutok ran away to Aru with an aramas mual. 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 counsel, kopun en sau, 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 luak.

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 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, tom. 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 aramas mual 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, peisipal.

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; 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 tsou papo. 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 atonement 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 tzopeiti can only enter into marriage with their permission, generally only with a relative of the former husband or nobleman.

Widows, oti, 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 ron. 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 was 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 son, 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.

Extermination 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,
puet, the genital lips by applying ants or by sucking. Defloration is called
maipon. *

Cunnilingus, namnam is generally practiced in the corresponding expression,
the active person is first mentioned. With kot manas, they describe the reverse
occurrence, fellatio. To satisfy sexually is termed anere, the coitus movement, 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 kana uil en tsame! i.e., rascal, eat the penis of your father! "pia mat" i.e., your genitals stink. Pipina menas evil. Because of the fact that the natives describe female genitals with pia, there is much embarrassment in the church language.

Prostitution is general. Even five year old girls are placed at the disposal. There are whores, raran, nenak or litaran in every district. They are not permitted to enter the houses or participate in the festivals. Their houses, im mual, lie in the bush and their sib must take care of them. Intercourse with them is called ipu nenak.

If a single girl, li kirep, 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, perhaps limited to members of their class.

Love-life is aided by love-charms.

Love-charm to Win Women
I twist the tsiei 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
Spread 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!

(Nankei en Sokes)

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 likinono:

(Lampoi en uardjai)

Love-charm
Cuttle-fish, hold tightly, cuttle-fish, hold tightly
Cuttle-fish from the deep water.
Hold me tightly and embrace me,
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 Nan Sau en set (Marriage-charm)

there is a spirit, who is called Nan Sau en set; 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. They they give her a medicine (from breadfruit and ginger-roots)
and say in addition:
Only go away from here,
Only go away from there,
Nan Sau en set!
Only go away Nan Sau en set,
Go away into the water, sleep in the water,
Or go to the dry land, sleep on the land!
Only go away Li on en Meilen,
Go away into the water, sleep in the water,
Or go to the dry land, sleep on the land.
Vanish Nan Sau en set,
Vanish, Li on en Meilen,
Remain under the island of Ant.
Travel in the daytime, travel at night,
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 to the mangroves.
Remain under the land of Kepara Olose!
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 Nalap
Remain under the island of Namaur
Remain under the island of Laiap'
Remain under the island of Ros
Remain under the island of Paniau
Remain under the island of Nalap en Lot
Remain under the island of Ponatik
Remain under the island of Nan i puel

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.
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.

(Lampoi en uardjai.)

Coition Song  (The man sings)

Spread out the mats, I want to sleep now,
But before I sleep I must sigh and groan;
Until midnight, I stay awake,
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?
Do you want to do like Limeiteiap'?
Who was not afraid to go with the people of Puenik,
Went with her lover down to the earth. (Lampoi en uardjai.)

Jealousy, ni melemek, is easily aroused, often when a woman merely speaks with another men.

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

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 during the whole time, 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 mesiet. 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 kamori 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 children for all times. 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, putsa, 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 from now 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 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-siblingship, 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 childbed 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 a 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 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's 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 ue."

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 firth month, the child sits upright and creeps about;
in the sixth month it runs along the house wall. Thus is done by the Ponape
women when they give birth.
5. The Position of the Children

The children belong to the sib and caste of the mother. The influence of the mother's brother often asserts itself, but no details were learned about this. Their own 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. The raising of children of women of lower castes by the relationship with high cases 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 the 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 the 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

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
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? the pandanus,
The fruit is ripe.
The pandanus begins to ripen, which? the pandanus.
Ripe is the breadfruit.
My little fish, eat of the canals,
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 manar, a manar,
A manar, a manar
Little woman and Olubat,
Olubat thrust
her to the heart of the other,
Little woman from here,
Little man from there,
They are glad, they want to be happy.
All like you,
The Kerou'n Palieset
The Kaneki en Sapalatak,
Puts another ginger blossom into his ear!

Hospitality is not law, but a generally observed custom.

7. Death and Funeral

Death: The natives await death with composure. Pereiro says¹ that when a kanake is seriously ill, festivals 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 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 they 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, itaniti. 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 waken the dead.

Charm of Zoupeiasas
(In order to waken the dead)

Tanauas looks down, looks down on life,
Keres, Keres become alive, become alive!
Stand up, support yourself on your elbows.
Tanauas looks down, looks down on life,
Stand up, support yourself on your knees
Tanauas looks down, looks down on life,
Stand up, support yourself on your arms
Stand up, support yourself on your legs
Tanauas 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 Zapue, 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 loin-cloth, 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 with them in the grave. Children receive for it 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 after a short time will come from the other world in order to take his body over 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.

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, mani, 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,
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
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 saumsa, 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 with it 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 for this. The ceremonies at the funeral are either pagan or Christian. Thus as the grave is closed, the women raise a 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 still 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 indeed 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

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:

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 yams
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 Nanamariki. This is all brought to the meeting house to the spot where the high title-holders meet and prepare to choose a new Nanamariki. 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 Uasai to come here and sit down in the place of the Nanamariki. Then the Uasai is put on the board on which the Nanamariki 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 Nanamariki. 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 Kapas u mar. All title-holders there receive their shares of the Kapas u mar, they bring large kava shrubs, kill fat pigs, prepare many dishes. All people then eat, until they are full. Next all gather, sing heroic songs, and rejoice that they have a new Nanamariki.

After the funeral, certain other customs are carried out at the grave. The natives take a coconut and a coconut leaf sheath, kaue, which they place under the hut. 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 Mesenien. The stone walls and palm grove 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).
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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 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 the orgies, 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

1. Gods and Spirits

As the priests have always kept the religious doctrine strictly secret (since ancient times), it was extremely difficult for all Europeans to even obtain 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 that the religious notions of the people, as compared with the Polynesian peoples without 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!
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 ani uots (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 the 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, ani uos, and the deified ancestors, the ani 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, Nan Zapue and Tau Katau, 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
if he moved, 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 Rugedad, the sea god, probably also only another form of "Luk." It must appear more confusing, that besides a Luk en lan there is also a Lugeilen on Ponape. To judge by the word, 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 uos has had an affair with women of the individual sibs and has become an ancestor. With that the border between ani aramas and ani uos is crossed and a strict separation is no longer possible either for the feeling of the natives or for the spectator. The ani uos 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 uos, are Tau katau, the rain god (katau = rain), Nan Zapue, the god of thunder, Nan tuenen, the wind god (tuenen = to howl), Naluk en uar, the god who makes the head lightning; Nan Zarail, who makes roaring of the thunder, and Naluk en tsou en pon, who lets the thunder roll in the distance. It is that 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 trees and makes them grow. The speech of Nan Zapue 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 Zapue

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 work worthy of notice to them; Nan Zelan is invoked when fishing and for the growth of the breadfruits, Nan Oloso is the deity of housebuilding, Sopatu causes the typhoon, 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 Lugeilen. 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 uei, Nan a pak and Nan a pon lan.

Nan Zapue is considered as the ancestor of the sib, Tip en pan mei in Matolenim. He is related to the sib, Lazialap 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 upal with the woman Limengit begot Nan uela. The latter married the woman Limentsanietuk and she bore the rain god Tau Katau. Tau Katua created the god of thunder
Nan Zapue. On Ant he is considered the same as Tau Katau and is supposed to have come from Kusae (Katau = Kusae). He spoke and the god originated. Tau Katau supervises all deities and married the flowers from which the "al en setr" (?) is made. From this sprouted other deities. His wives were: Li pein par, Li pein pur, Li pein katiu, Li pein gaikas, Li pein ualingal, 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 Carolines under somewhat different sounding names. Olaitin is worshipped under the name of Nan uelaitiu as the gods' messenger who carries out the orders of his father Luk. Also, Ilake and Orofat are known to them. The latter is named Olopat 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 Nan Dzapue; because Nan Dzapue is a very powerful spirit; because when Nan Dzapue no longer speaks Ponape will be destroyed. Formerly in ancient times when Nan Dzapue did not speak the people were afraid and went to Nan Dzapue, so that he again continued to speak they brought much kava, pounded it, and prayed to Nan Dzapue. And when Nan Dzapue spoke again, then they were glad, because now Ponape would not be ruined. They also believe that there are many spirits besides Nan Dzapue; thus they believe: Luk Nan Dzapue is the oldest, Naluk en Tsounpun is younger and Naluk en Nar 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: Isosau and Isolampoi, Iso Kaneki, Iso nan monsir, Tau Katau, Nan putak,
Iso pau, Nan sau en set who lives on the reef, and Uasa iso who has 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: Luk Olopat, Isokalakal and Luk en lan.

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 Nan Dzapue as a particularly large spirit. One day some people went away from Tsokes; there were many of them in order to fish in the surf. On that day it was very beautiful, bright sunshine and no rain. They went up to the breakers. Then it began to rain and with it a violent rain came. Nan Dzapue spoke and the flashes of lightening followed all round. Something came down from the sky and fetched a woman out from 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 her, 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 Nan Dzapue 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 Nan Dzapue, because they have seen how the
woman died. Thus the story was spread in all districts of Ponape, that Nan Dzapue had killed a woman in the breakers of Tsokes. Afterwards the inhabitants of all districts of Ponape did not dare to go out, after they had heard that Nan Dzapue 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 Nan Dzapue was not able to kill people because Nan Dzapue 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 Nan Dzapue. They no longer believed in him, because they had learned that lightning killed the people. And they no longer were afraid that Nan Dzapue kills people. They conformed only to the belief of the whites until the present day. But some believe that Nan Dzapue kills people. Therefore they still pray to Nan Dzapue up to the present day.

The Tale of Luk nan Dzapue

In ancient times there once lived a man in Ponape called Utenar. This man lived in a place called SelataX. He always prayed to Nan Dzapue from his childhood on until he became an old man; he always sacrificed drinking nuts. Now when he became old and could no longer see and could no longer walk, he remained in the house and quite sincerely prayed to Nan Dzapue. And then one day Nan 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 asked:

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

And Nan Dzapue answered: "It is I, Luk!"

Then the man answered again and said: "Why do you come so late when I am already old?"
And Luk entered the house; 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 Nan Dzapue lifted him up high. And Nan Dzapue took the man on his back; they both wandered away from SelataX 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 Matolenim. There they went ashore at the place in Matolenim named Tol 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, 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 on 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 Luk who ruled over many people wanted to travel in the canoe with them and left heaven.

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 Nanzapue, because there were many Luks. 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 that 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 rose; 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 used to act. One day Nan Zapue left heaven and went to Selatak. He wandered about in the region and visited Natolenim. 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
property and this man also knew all things. But the man had no wife. One day, Olopat went fishing with fish-baskets in a large canoe.

Many people were with him. They had a woman with them and wanted to give her to Eio for his wife. The 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 fishermen 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 women 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 Zapue 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 they prayed to him when he was in heaven.

Tale of Isobau

Isobau 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 let the woman live in Palikir and bear children
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 places where Isobau dwells but we have heard that he is supposed to live in the Tol en Palikir; his house has the name of Im ualapalap. A Tip en uai man is strictly forbidden to go there. He of us who wants to go there, must die. Thus he has accomplished many and 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 Puaipei en iap' from him, the other was called Li pue maram; while wandering around he did much evil, he robbed and murdered people; he also founded two places, Man e tik and Man a lap. 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 open (holy boat consecration) we bring him a canoe, after this it is given to the Lap en Palikir; and thus 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 rakim 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 were 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 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 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 Paip'. 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 Lipepounuel. 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 fetched the boy from between his people, put him into her anus and went home. Here she lay down to sleep.

Of a Lipeponual

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 themen again made their oven and she fished and brought them the catch. and thus it happened every day. But one day the two looked for firewood under the Calophyllum tree. Then the two found all the food that they had 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 Paniop

The Likand en Paniop' 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 rook, 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 pankatar 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 Likant e reirei

The Likant e reirei is a spirit which lives on Nankap, 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 Pelan, the place where she sleeps, because she is supposed to be a truly long spirit. Thus she is supposed to love there even today and they believe that she is still always in the water.

Of the Luk en set

There is a spirit, which they call Luk en set. First he always liked to eat breadfruits; later, however, when Nan matau en Pelan and the Nanamariki did not give him breadfruits as before he ate a person. He lives in a rock, the Pei en toik; he has formed it himself. Now he lives in it and eats all first fruits of Pelan. Now once a man ruled, who was called Nan matau en Pelan, 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 was no longer seen in Pelan.

Of Olupat

Olupat made the island, Paken. 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 Tsokole in the state, Tsokes; there he fetched two hills, the Tol en Maloelap and Tol en Nan 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 bird came flying which lived on the small place, Uaum terep', a parrot, and wanted to eat of the sugar-cane. As nothing was left of it, he looked for it. He called behind Olupat. But Olupat became afraid and threw down the bundle. 

From the load, however, became the two places outside of Palikir, the two Man: one is called Man a pei and the other Man a pailon. 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 ani aramas 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 ani tsilepa or ani en tsintsilele, 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 awe 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 ani mas and are considered especially powerful. Small Tzopeiti have the spirit title, Nalan, 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 Variek, i.e., the one with many pains; Luk en Kasik, i.e., the one who was shot, Luk en Tsakau, i.e., the kava drinker, etc. Women have the name Limuo instead of the designation Luk. Priests receive the title, putak en lan after death (cf. Hahl, Eth. Notizbl. II, p.8).

The after-life of the soul, uen, occurs in the pas et, the underwater paradise where the festivals are celebrated as in this world, or in the pueliko, the place of the condemned. They imagine this place dark, cold and, significantly for the clean Ponape people, as very unclean. Once people who did not bathe sufficiently were expelled from the caste. Two spirits, ani ol ezinek, a man and li ezinek, 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 pueliko. 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 pueliko. 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 pueliko.

Tale from Ancient Times

This is the belief of the Ponape people: when they have died, they go to a place named Paset; 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.

Of the World to Come

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 at 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 hand 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 Kankapir, 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 hasten over to the place called Uasa puilepuil. 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 Merei where they choose one of them, a man or woman with a beautiful voice as chief, in order to direct the singing in Merei 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 Merei. They now pay attention whether perhaps there are more in the place and when they go away, then they
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 Merei exists on Tsaputik and is called Mantsemen; another is in Kamar, the Merei en iap, one is in Tsokes and is called Merei en Taumokotse; one is of Loui and is called Merei en Loui.

All spirits always meet in a stone enclosure, the Pan un Ant, and sing there. A woman named Limant 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 Pan un Ant 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 Kan Kapir. Here are guards, a man named Ol o sinek, and a woman named Li e' sinek; 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 Pa-et; 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 ser and Li sar. The two guard the gate to Paset; if they are members of their sib, they allow them to pass, those of another sib are sent back.
On islands in the sea which are thought of as like Ponape, lie the following districts, according to the belief of the Sokes people:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sokes Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mesenien en tsap</td>
<td>land of the good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni enien</td>
<td>abode of the priests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inkin</td>
<td>place of the Tau Katau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni lan mau</td>
<td>place of the Nan Zelan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni lan meremre</td>
<td>abode of the putak en lan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lan kin</td>
<td>abode of the small children who died early, seri lan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni mesor en lan</td>
<td>region of the heavenly waters, sor, pei and namui en lan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni pep en lan</td>
<td>dwelling place of the Li men git and Li men tsanieteik (Li en tanieto)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, Tepek. When he died he was still small. Then a very, very long time passed. Then he returned from Paset, but he had only a soul, no body. He wanted to visit his sib. 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 was 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 kava, so that the spirits come and speak that the sick people quickly recover; the people who do the speaking are called the Laiap en ani. They also believe of the spirit whom we formerly named ani tsrimen, that he heals the sick people, and he is honored as Laiap.

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 Herold 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 house demons are probably the most important among them. Nonit lives in the first door-post, Tsoule in the second. Puki en Kerelon is stuck in the threshold, Puki 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 rok 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, Nan Zapue, was the most worshipped (cf. p. 98f.f.). In Kiti, Luk has his place of worship as Luk en tsou en pon. Other state deities, the Naluk en dzonepan, likewise had their own class of priests or Nan uan niap. The most important are: Nalik en dzonepan and Nan uolosom, the god of house-building, Nan ulap, who is invoked during net making, and Nan uelu, another name for Isipau. The chief place of worship for Kiti is the place, TsalapuX where the highest priests also live. The chief deities of Sokes are Nanau en mareki, the spirit of the last, dead Nanamariki of Sokes, who was considered a sorcerer during his lifetime. He becomes particularly furious at whistling, kovai. The fear of him is great and has prevented the people from making detailed statements about him. Also the wife of this prince enjoys great veneration as the spirit Liasan, and is at the same time, the guardian spirit of Tanepei. Nan Zepei is the protective spirit of Ipual, Nalan en peipei, that of Tolete, Res en aip protects the region, Maluk, Luk a lapalap, the region of Tomara, Inas, the region, Nan pon mal. In Palikir they primarily worship Isopau whose voice is sometimes to be heard in the bush. All these spirits are exiled to Ant, saleti nan 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, Kauro, a glutton who took the food away from the people and did not let them be full. Li akelolo was a wicked spirit woman. She was afflicted with diseases and forced the men to sleep with her, through this giving them ringworm (kiauk). Moruepat and Tsenepat, 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 pei pon uel, who ate men; at this time they lived in the mountains. They were called Li pei pon uel, and when they were on the sea, they were called Koton matau.

Report of a Type of Spirits

In ancient times there was another kind of spirit on Ponape, named Tsokolai; 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 Liets, they ate people. But some paramount chiefs in ancient Ponape, who were called Sau Telur, drove them out of Ponape; they fled to a country named Paiizi.

About Some Female Spirits

There are some spirits whom the Ponape people greatly worship, and they pray to the female spirits: Likand Anipe'in, Likand Ina maram, Likand Inas and Likand Limauteian. These are powerful female spirits of Ponape, and they made people crazy and killed them.
On the island of Pakin, Uarsa 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 Manapailon is ascribed to both by the Palikir people. Aun meseiran is the servant of Uarsa Iso and must report to him about the events in Pakin. The goddess Li en maipon has no husband. She grants the fish and occasionally floods the flat island. Therefore prayers are directed to her.

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

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 Montsap chiefs assert, according to O'Connell, that there were even certain relations between them and the sun and moon. The totemistic beings are tortoise, shar k, eel, some kinds of fish, owl, banana and a kind of yam. Thus the sib, Sau en Kauat worshipped the tortoise, zapakar, the Lipetan sib, which has relations to Madsuro (Marshall Islands), a Caranx variety, named sira. Its protective spirit is Iso kaneki.

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 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 Ian. And a couple lived in a small place that was quite near Pe'i en Ian. The husband was called Sau ni ûe and the wife, Katin ni ûe. They begot a girl whom they named Li en pe'i lan. And the eel loved Li en pe'ilan 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 Likelekik. 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 rope Likelekik
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
'sPlante, 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 Ni uē. 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 Tanākuk;
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 the Plante. 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 ije'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 Uona 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 any more. They found a stone house which stands in the mountains of Matolenim and is called Tiňitiňi. They went into 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 Lazialap then it went to Kusae. Here it also had children and returned again to Ponape. Thus it created all Lazialap. And thus one thinks in Ponape, that the sib of Lazialap used to pray to the eel, because it is their ancestral mother.
Tale of the Shark

The Tip en man botobot 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 shrks; one was called Au en tau en iap', the other Au en tau en air. Therefore the shark is worshipped as the ancestor, because the two youths were tip en man 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 Tau en ioi. Therefore there are so many sharks in front of Ant.

Report of the Sau en Imuniak

The Sau en Imueniak is a shoot of the Sau en Kauat, not an independent tree. The Sau en Kauat originated in the saltwater. Inas gave it the name. Once it had caught itself a fish, the samui, 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. Inas 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, this 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 invoca-
tions.¹

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

3. Taboo Places.

Scattered over the whole island are numerous taboo places. Provided
that they have meaning for the ruins, they may be looked up there. The most
sacred place is the Tsalapu in the state, 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 pun or pei lie the breadfruit taboo place al en mai,
the fish place, al en mām; the rat place al en make. Another sacred place,
apparently also for fish, was Pānunant, about which the informant gives no
additional information. At the fish place Pān tsaap Tsalapu there were holes
in which oonani ceremonies were held by means of sticks. Their purpose was
to draw the fish to the fishing grounds of Kiti. At the place, Pān Kapin
au Lūk stood the holy tree setak of the god of thunder, Nan Zapue. Near it was
a hole Pāntau, in which the Saum conducted certain ceremonies for the god.
Leakin is the place for fresh water animals. Here the ¹²⁹/₁₃₀ women caught
river crabs, which were eaten in the Nās separated by men and women. The mos-
quitoses started from the taboo place Nān āmutso. At the place Pōn meirelap,
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 "likaut en 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 Sokes and Not 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 ounani. 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-another 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 Aulik, were Tsopeiti. The Tsamoro are appointed by the Tsopeiti, according to other statements
they supplement their number themselves, corresponding to their own constitution and enfeoffed 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 Seriso caste, and the high Tsopeiti were their liege lords, the latter had a welcome way to provide property for the children born to them by their Seriso 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, 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 sibs 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, saum in Uona.

The statements about the inheritance, or rather, succession, of the priestly office are full of contradictions. The high priests, the Aulik en lan, are supposed to have chosen their own 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 Sau Rakim. The possessed, who also uttered prophesies, were not considered priests. They are called kati ani.

Several kinds of priests were distinguished. The highest Tsamoro was the Aulik or Tsaum, who had his seat in TsalapuX of Kiti. The first two sibs formed his followers. He was followed by the Marùn. 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 Rùparùp undertook the preparation of the food at high festivals and supervised the cleaning of the sacred kava. Teh 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 Mom 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 Zapatan 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. Zapetan en Sau
3. Pesan
4. Tsapuin
5. Su en tsapet
6. Kerou en Tsam
7. Saulik en Makot
8. Saulik en Mutok

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

**Tale of Ilake**

Inan ueias 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 tsaparoua; he bound it tight with hibiscus fiber and seized it by its tail, then he prayed to Ilake. Swimming, he thus came near Paniau; there a beautiful house appeared to him in the sea. Ilake was in it and asked the boy: "Where do you come from?" He replied: "I escaped 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 I, come in." When he came in, a stone fell out, he stepped on it with his foot, and another fell out, he also stepped on it; and a third one fell out. 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 Uona. 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. Then they went over to Uona.

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

The Nanekin here bore the title, Tsou matau en Ponta, the Uasai, that of a Kerou en tam. It is to be assumed that the Nanekin and the Uasai 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 Kisa, the Tsau Uona, and the Tsau matau (Nanekim), all high priests. At the one side of the stone sit the Tsamoro, the Tsaum, Zapetan, Kerou en tam (Uasai), Rasan, Tsapuin, Lu en zapet and N'kopen. On the other side the secular fief holders have their places; the muar en kausap: the Tsaulik en Roi, en Mutok, en Makot, en Titip, the Au 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 Kei en Pau ...... i e!

Verse charm of the kava for Ilake

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

We bring you your cup, Iso nan Tsau ani!

Here is your kava, come, drink your kava!

No one will drink the kava before

As en Tiati, Mem Tiati,
As en Iramau, Mon Iramau,
As en Pon Matil, Mou Pon Matil
Spirits over the beach, spirits under the beach.
Spirits of fishing!
Offer the cup to the Tau Katau.

ie!

The priesthood of Nan Zapue in the Tsalapux of Kiti was divided into Saum, Aulik, Marûn, Keron en mant, and Zapetan en Pantso; that of Naluk en tsorenpun in Kasa, Nalaim, Nanepaz, Sopan, Saulik en Tsapo takai Marakap and Sau uil en Matok. The priestly classes of Luk en tsou en pon 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, Aulik, Marûn, Kerou'n aip and Rûparûp, into the ranks held by small noblemen, Tsoukou nie and Mom un Kautek. The lowest posts Meliek, Kei takai and Kei taupur were filled by the common people.

The priest 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, saroi. 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, nan uau 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 kau uau. 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 *usā roi*. After the Aulik had consecrated it, it was handed to everyone, first to the Aulik and the Marūn. For the god, Nan Zapue, 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 stone enclosures was closed by the meal, which apparently was supposed to invoke good harvests. The sacrifices made then were called *ounani*. 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 "*uar en ani*" 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 Isobau**

Here this dish is yours, Isobau and this is yours, Likant Pueipei.

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

Oh help and support us while we live, Sanoro and Likand Pueipei.

Free us from the evil charms of the world

And all evil diseases
II.

This is a request to Isobau.

Here I am, there I am,

I move, move

Around Perou, on Perou

to the small Perou, to the large Perou,

On the small Uau, the large Uau,

On the small Tau, the large Tau

On Natik, Tauak.

Give us a healthy life,

Lord Isobau and Likand Pueipei.

Prayer to Isobau

I go away, I go away from my place,

I now paddle to Lameros,

To the point of Tol e tik, I paddle further to Takatik,

To the point of Tumanapuel, I paddle further to Namu en Not,

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, Paran appears,

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

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

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 Nanatin,

Go away from me, then go to the Nanape.
And you thunder, go to the south,
And you thunder, go to the north,
O no longer thunder above me,
Let your fire sparks remain only with you.
Main Nan Zapue, Nanape; Nan sau ani 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 Palikir 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, exorcised. When someone pronounces the words, zila or palan on the sea, rain or a violent wind come. An untranslatable invocation of Nan Selan is:

\textit{ai katkapuean pan kupur en Nan Selan, Nan Selan ie!}

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

\textit{kosoneti ani} 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,
 Likand en Natik, Likand en Tauak
Only yield, go away
Up on the bridge.
in the hole Petereke,
seruru, seruru, seruru, seruru,
seruru, seruru, yield,
I ask the oracle here about the sick man.
At the place, on the mountain,
Where evil spirits live, you who torment this man
there depart now!

katiani are the conjurations, prophesies and prayers of the priests or rather possessed or sorcerers. They occur at all imagineable 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 priests 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 lukumeni, lukumeni cut!

Then it is counted: maur--kapin maur--lik--lol--tsete--maur--kapin maur
i.e., life--eternal life--outside--inside--tsete--life--eternal life--and the single
leaves are folded together. The oracle is conducted behind a sleeping-mat wall.
At a sickness katiani, 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 tuun = you must give breadfruit to the sick person
2. pan a mi um intza = we must make "alu"
3. pan tsam niu = the dead person must have a wreath.
4. pan rau en ani = he is dead and must be buried
5. pan pein koruk = means death
6. pan tsapal = the sick person will be strong.

alu, making of a kava sacrifice of atonement. (Cf. page 153).
epen sarauti, to consecrate a boat to the gods and hang it up in the boathouse.
silasil, hair of deceased persons is tied around the wrists and ankle 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.

Charm said over food so that it does not harm

Untranslateable
Breadfruit Blessing

Limokesenei and Likapinnakei,
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 Kaunup' and
Li en Kau mole iue!

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
Cackle, cackle, cackle in the mangroves!"
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; \( 1/3 \)

Smooth outside, no longer inside,

Charm to Clean the Channel of Na

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

\( \text{small} \) \( \text{large} \)

\( \text{small} \) \( \text{large} \)

\( \text{from Nam u ias ias rises Sau Kisa ie!} \)

Charm against Dogbite

Untranslateable

Charm of the Tip u lap. Ken Tsokas

Lord, I go behind your back

My taro is from Kamar, Kamar,

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 lap 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.

Darkness at Noon (Magic Cap)

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 ans says the charm:
Bird Araue, bird Aroto,
I put my hands on this corner, on that corner,
I put them on all four corners,
Sleep like a neu-fish
Lie heavily on the ground like a basalt stone,
On the Calophyllum, the Caolphyllum
Like basalt stones, eight basalt stones
Bird Araue, Bird Aroto
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 par flower, charm of the matsal flower,
Leap over, leap back
Lord Murūna!

Mat Charm during Tatooing
On the mountains of Makur and Kusae
Under the star of Ant in the grass.

When Breaking up the Soil
Lime Kosamei, 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 Kosamei, 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.

ilan 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 sarai nar 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 pain 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, kens, or even death.

ka sanseli to take sick people from one place to the other.
Footnotes

2. ... They were a variety of sorcerers called Ani.

98
1. Luk in Kiti is worshipped under this name.
2. "pali suet en lan," melemel-typhoon

99
1. Without further statements, Hambruch places the pair nan ondap 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, Nan Oloso and the gods' messenger Olaiten ... are derived from Orofat.

100
1. to thunder
2. his brother (Matolein)
3. the Lipetan sib
4. the Tip en Luk sib

105
1. Luk en lan

108
1. Sangoro, Nan uelu, Nankei en mauk, Makamisika = Isobau = four princes
2. mother of the princes

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

112
1. The Lipeponuel

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.
Footnotes


111  1  That is the idea of the Tip en man people, who believe that only their members get to Paṣet, 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 Hamburuch says tsaum, singular, Tsau men is the general word for priests, which may be a mistake.

132  1  Ilake en sonup  twins
    Ilake en pikila

134  1  Was said, when after the fishing, the fish were brought to Ilake.

2  Another name for Isobau.

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 Tsokes and Mes en ien (colony).

2  Northeast point of the island Tsokes, also settlement.

3  Mangrove island between Tsokes and Laner.
137 4 Northeast point of Not
5 Channel between Not and the island Param
6 Northwest point of Anak.
7 Channel between Tepek and Takaiu
8 Reef of Aru and the island Takaiu.
9 In front of the Aru entrance.
10 Island by Aru on the north point of Aru
11 Channel of Oa and Mesiso
12 Island on the north rim of the harbor of Matolenim
13 Island on the south rim of the harbor of Matolenim.
14 island south of Nakalap
15 Mangrove island on the entrance to the ruins of Matolenim
16 in the ruins of Matolenim.

138 1 sky demons (?)

143 1 Ancient name of Ponape; the reef on which Ponape rests.

145 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 pass it on to the people as fief (Kausap). Only the foreigner must buy land. Besides the feudal land there is another type of land possession, whose meaning is not completely clear from the contradictory statements of the natives. It is the Nanue, which one person explained as a kind of family property of the high nobility, which others consider as the private property of the great chiefs.

In Kiti, the nanue is largest. It is the region, Tsapae takai near Tamorolon. In Matolenim, it covers Taman and Nan Matol, besides the neighboring islands. In U it is insignificant, and Sokes and Not 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 recompensation, they must furnish him with prepared foods and the first fruits. A native said: The Nanamariki divides his land (the nanue) 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 it, just as other tenants. When the Nanamariki dies, his share falls to the eldest son. By this, the Nanue would go to another sib and then it is only a "family possession" in the sense that it is passed from the father to the son, but does not remain in the sib. But even so the thing appears contradictory. Although the chiefs belong mostly to the same sib, it must still be assumed, that every high chief possesses his own nanue, because his predecessor in office can never be his father and therefore, does not leave any behind for him at his death, or that there is a special nanaue, which is connected with the title of the Nanamariki. According to Hahl, it seems 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 his successor at the death of the holder, that is, newly invests. According to Hahl, the Tsopeiti sibs have a right to land and title and can agree on the holder of the rank among themselves.²

The kausap-land, with the individual fiefs pali en tsap, that is, hide of land, is passed on, compared with tributes to the paramount chif and the next superior rankholder. As a rule, the tribute consists of ten baskets (kiam), fruits to each. Often poultry is included.³

The Kausap-Botobot in Kiti,

Regional chiefs: Tsou matau (tip en uai), father was seriso: Tau Kiti.
The Kausap full into 2 parts: Akak and Botobot.

owner

sons of the Tsou matau

Tsou matau en Auak, brother of the Tauk and of the Nanamariki (Tip en uai)

Also the pali en tsap may be still divided further. The tenants of these small pieces of land, makots, are the aramas mual. 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.

Moreover, some servants live in the house of a nobleman; they get assigned
their special place, generally a certain corner where they wait until they are required. The Armas mual tog with their families lived on the land granted to them. If it no longer suffices, the Tsopeti 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 feudal laws. Fruit trees are common property. Now and then they are marked as taboo by wrapping thread or bark around them. Then touching or eating of the fruit is considered punishable, because it becomes sarai or karia, i.e. sacred. Also the mangroves 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 fruits (yams, kava) and dogs are private property. Only the owner is allowed to decide of their use. There was a special law with regard to runaway dogs or rather sty dog which are taken in, and ceremonies, not described in detail which were in the Nanamariki's hands.

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, despised.

The corporal properties belongs to the husband. The woman, or rather the widow has only usufructory rights in case she herself does not have a fief,
which is รำ. 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 statement, which alone indicates a decay of the old laws or a 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 the other, 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 soso, determined the passing on from the father to the eldest son; according to Hambruch it is purely matriarchal, a man is followed by the sister's son. The inheritance comprises house, canoe, canoe house, and in former times also the bondsmen. The fief, the landed property indeed had to be transferred anew, but r·tification was usual. According to Hambruch, a chief is not followed by the next rank, 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 then consider the fief free when there were no children at all.

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 10/30 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 Tsopeiti were nearly absolute masters. Yet there is a procedure to complain against them for the little man, that the Nanekin represents before the Nanamariki. But there is no report about the prospects. The master had the right to kill his bondmen. 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 Nanamariki. There was no appeal against his sentence. He had an influential counsel beside him and the punishment was fixed or proposed by the Nanekin.

According to O'Connell, the sense of justice was healthy, lively and offenses really occurred. Everyone submits to the castes system as a necessity. (There were 60% Nigurts as compared with the free people). All offences 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 revenged by the ani. Yet it can not 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.
Formerly, 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:

On Blood Vengeance

A man from the Sau en Kauat married in Auak, the man was called Esirom and his wife Li pei ririn. Now there was a man called Men Tsakau, who committed fornication with the wife. Therefore Esirom went away from Auak and went to Nankap. One day he fetched his rifle and returned to Auak in order to observe the other man. When he waited thusly, 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 Auak people buried him; but his sib, 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 Auak 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 Auak, 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 rifle. He shot and hit him; then he called his people; they came running, shot also and killed him with the knives. They let the boy live and run away.
Then they marched away from Auak 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 blood vengeance is settled with this. It is not taken up again on the part of the opposite party.

Despite the favorable judgment by O'Connell and Kubary, the Ponape people recognize quite a number of 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 torture. O'Connell reports of them in his time, although he did not experience them as corresponding to crimes that 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, also theft, concealment of crime, robbery, and bodily injury would also penalized by the death sentence. 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, tsaleti, the loss of title, katsapailleiti, and fettering. Slander, kaki pe, 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, tsaleti en kalabus, became known to
them first through the Europeans. Exile was already known to them earlier.

When somebody is exiled by a Ponape chief, he will be shot and die or he will be chased from his property and roam about homeless in other regions. The chief of the other districts give him no little place where he is allowed to stay for he is a mane'i lok (an offender of the king) and a stranger and vagrant during his life.

Non-appearance before the chief was punished by throwing stones. Moreover, O'Connell mentions wounding with shells or other pointed objects, knocking down with a club, against which the evil-doer was not allowed to defend himself. In his time for serious crime there was breaking the skull, burning it and scattering the ashes to the winds. Also, the body of the judged man was thrown to the dogs. When a member of the family had committed an offense within the sib, or the wife had committed adultery, the Nanekin or rather the Nanamariki passed judgement. But its 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!

It lightens on the mountains, you look well,
Mistress Liomai!

Sit down far from this game, 3
I have gone for them,
Their faces see me, their mouths talk about me,
Let it stop, stop, cease with it. 1955

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

Reconciliation Charm
Li en Tiusou, 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.
Limarasei, little Limarasei,
Great Limarasei,
The wind roars, the wing of Tsumur,
Loud is the roaring noise.
Keremesiu laughs about Mentak,
I put on a wreath,
The wreath suits me well,
Does the wreath suit me?
I look like a tsauaini flower,
What does my face look like? it looks like a man
Who makes others happy, makes happy
Zialatak the man!

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 kameiela, 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
corruption of the sib impels them to it. They use various means: In the
"lolo" the suicide victim retires to a cave and starves to death. Otherwise
starving is called kaisolielar. Some choose hanging, lusiomala. The rarest
is the custom of tying the penis to one's big toe with a rope and tearing it
off.
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ibid, page 8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The king appoints the primary rank holder usually from his own sib.</td>
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<td>150</td>
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<td>153</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>To testify tsoun keir, to steal ptrap; rob and murder lolap.</td>
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<td>Christian, page 72.</td>
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<td>154</td>
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<td>On the Carolines, the star, Antares.</td>
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<td>Pereiro, page 112. printed in vol. 3–</td>
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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. Nan epon en tsap corresponds to the north, Ni kap en lan, to the west, Nan Fira, to the south and Lemezielan, to the east. Heaven and earth were one. Then the god Tau Katau 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 pali, i.e. sailing master for long voyages. He tells that they like to sit down alone and watch 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, pali eir, the north sea, pali epan, the sea in the west, pali kapí, and the sea in the east, pali mese. They apparently recognize the currents by the color of the sea: "there are different kinds of water in the sea, one above the other." The dark sea is called set rotorot; red sea (over the reefs) they call set uetsatsa; shining sea, i.e., the sunshine on the water, they call set marain. All islands in the south and west are called Paizi. The islands in the east they know since ancient times by the names, Razak and Ralik.

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
constellations:

Mailap* (Big Bear or Little Bear)  Kopun eir
Magiregir* (Pleiades)             Zarebol*
Kiel mau*                         Kilik
Limizege rik                      Eliul* (Orion's Belt)
Tsumur* (Antares)                 Lepoz

In addition there are still some 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

Thus the Ponape people think about the stars. There are stars which cause great winds, others under which in time are likewise followed by rain. And they think that the stars cause this, because the Ponape 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. Pun en eir
2. Zeripuel
3. Likatat
4. Timur
5. Pel en Timur
6. Mailap'
7. Ki en ua
8. Ki liman
9. Mesilap'
10. Lankareto
11. Margiregir
12. Usu kal
13.
14.

The Ponape people know this of all stars, because they bring the wind. Therefore they have given them the names. There is an immense number of star names, so I have not written all down.

Song of the Stars

Which of the stars will rise now
Pun en Eir, Tarepue, Li sair e'lan?
And who will then stand up on the sky
Tumur, Mela Tumur, Melan Tumur,
Ki en ua, Maitik, Li en ua,
Lak e'pil, Sasa, Likatat?
and Likam e'mis enters the meeting
Nani puarata points with the hand
Forwards, forwards, move in front
Mati en mar, on Li pon ian
And secretly Mailap climbs up,
Then violent rains pour down.
You also come Eu men, Uar en men,
Usu en lan and Take en liol,
Limesirikerik, who stands there far away,
Niu tiketik as well as Sasa lan,
They call the crabs,
They also call the (morning star) Mes e'ran,
And the rain will come again,
Merauk, he remains, it yields
Men puakoto, also
Men pokolok, about which the children are glad
Then they are content and bathe in the river and the sea,
The whole, the whole, the whole, the winds,
Harvest time is now, harvest time is now

A Star Tale

There was once a woman named Likitanir, 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 (Mezielan) 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 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 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 small brother had become Nanamariki, then they became 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, 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 par-time, only one tree named par does this; it then blossoms alone, well and beautiful yet all other trees have no blossoms and fruit then. This time is called isol.

L. Kehoe of Roi en Kiti tells about the year:

Story of the Year

Thus the people of Ponape think about the year; they think that the year
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
Pon uau
Taliaram par
Makirekir
Pen
Erin
Epen
Mesetau rak
Taulel
Ku

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. Linalin
3. Ironani
4. Mas epun
5. Mas elim
6. Mas aun
7. Mas e'is
8. Mas au u'el
9. Mas atuatu
10. Metel
11. Triapun
12. Aropuki
13. Takai'npe'i
14. Olopue
15. Olomai
16. Imats
17. Ir
18. Lelezi
19. Sanok
20. Are en sanok
Thus they think that the period of the 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, tsou en par, into twelve tsou en pun or thirteen maram (moons). The month, tsou en pun, is divided into twenty-eight nights, pun. The week introduced by the whites is called English vik, the hour k10k. The phases of the moon on Param are:

1. aun rot
2. es e rot
3. au uel e rot
4. ato e rot
5. katsonaul en maram
6. esake u e rot
7. esak riau e rot
8. esak zilu e rot
9. esak pain e rot
10. maram pul
11. mas i et
12. mas are
13. mas i zil
14. mas e pan
15. mas a lim
16. mas aun
17. mas es
18. mas auel
19. mas eto
20. katan aul
21. ol o pue
22. ol o mai
23. tagain pei
24. mat (full moon)
25. fr
26. rot en pan uel
27. are rot
28. e zil e rot
29. epan e rot
30. elim e rot
It is strange that thirty instead of the otherwise usual twenty-eight are enumerated here.

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

They divide the day, ran in the following parts:

- kutor en pil: cricket's song
- nil en an muisa: mosquito's buzz
- tentersan: chirping immediately after sunset
- ni lukap en pun: midnight
- at en maluk: first cock's crow
- are en maluk: second cock's crow
- etsil en maluk: third cock's crow
- epan en maluk: fourth cock's crow, then the sun rises
- ni mensan: 6 o'clock in the morning
- nin tsou uas: noon

For the designation of historical periods, they calculate according to the four great catastrophes in their history:

- nolik: the great flood
- pun botobot: the great drought
- melemel or lek: typhoon and famine
- mputs: smallpox

3. Creation Legends

For them creation is associated with the creation of the island, Ponape. Here also 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 (Tsokes) (D.26)

There was once a woman, who was called Li o pulopul, who lived in a foreign land and had a son named Tsou Kon. 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 \( \frac{15}{3} \) rose out of the sea and reached up to the sky. Tau Katau 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 Tuk en takai.

Later a man called Mau Kok appeared, who climbed on the stone. He lay down, changed into a stone and thus became the island; then another appeared, named Tsau oror, 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 Gatsin 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: Pon pei, on the stones. (Nos en Tsokes).

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

Formerly Ponape had been a flat island. Then one day four women came from afar: Li pei pasan, Li pei Kosanu, Li pei pata and Li pei san. They carried large stones together to a place, TsalupuX, 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 harm them any more. Since then they remained lying unchanged in TsalupuX, where they can still be seen.

Later three men came, named Gatsun en iyor, Tsau oror and Maukok. They likewise came from afar. They made the mountains, Tip en tonelap and Tip en
tolokoi. But because the island did not seem good enough to them, Gatsun en iyor made the outer reef, by lying down around the island; Tsau oror became the beach; Mau kok however formed the island itself, by lying over the place. His head lies in Matolenim, legs in Kiti, body in Tsokes and the arms in Not. (Kaneki en Tomaroi).

The History of the Creation of Ponape

Formerly in ancient times, there has been no land, but probably there were two people, the one called To Kenkier and the other, Puets en puel iso. Together they left Kusae in a canoe and sailed in all directions on the sea. They 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 Puets en puel iso went back to Kusae and fetched a basket full of earth; with it he formed the ground and pressed it together. But they both 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 Tsokes, which is called Pon Tolap, a fourth was brought to Matolenim and formed the Takai'u rock. And the top formed Pon paip, which we called Tep en Takai; 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 Lian en Tsokela. It gave birth and had two boys who were called Sinekier and Puenekier. The boys wandered around in the land, Matolenim and one day made preparations in order to make their sacrifice. Then they both discussed whether they will probably 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 Pon Paip; she heard of the
betrayal and went away from the channel. She went down to the great river and wept, and a small lake was created, in whose water she wandered further and thus got to Kamar; there she hid herself in a small place called Alimara; the two boys followed her to that place, loaded her in a canoe and with it went to Matolenim. When they were near Matolenim, she said to the two that they should turn her around, so that they could anoint her with Reng and make her beautiful for the eel. Then they took her to the Sau Telur. Sau Telur accepted her and sacrificed her 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 and 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 Uagu in olden times. Yap a kini moves it away, comes down and calls to the canoe's crew:

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

They are ready to leave; they will go to Pon no muip. They hoisted the sail, 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.
Sit down for it in the roaring of the wind, help me hold it fast while sitting!"

Then they ran down along Oroilan, Tikae niau. Thus they came to Tapa iso, to hold a leaf oracle about their arrival, in a prophecy about the ve-sel, 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 tsap 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!

A change has befallen Ponape, truly!"

The legend now related further:

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

Thereupon the floods stopped.

Two birds, the Likatobubu (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 Limesuaran. 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 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 Limesuaran 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 had 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 beautiful. She took down a fruit and ate it. And it was nice, but then she also tried to crush it in her hand and rub it over herself. Then it was also suitable as anointing oil. Now the woman gave the name of coconut palm to the tree and the name, nut to the fruit.

Then the woman became pregnant again and bore a dog. She hid it in the house, nobody knew of it, until the dog was big and again gave birth to many dogs. And no one know anything about it for a long time. Now a man called Nan Ulap, who was the fish master, made a new drag net. And a man called Lakam, the brother of Nan 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. Thus Nan Ulap consecrated
the net and his brother Lakam 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 Lakam, many drinking nuts and also killed dogs; these too she gave
to the man, because now she wanted to shame Lakam 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. Lakam spread the dog on Ponape, so that he could give
feasts for Nan Ulap, because Nan Ulap 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 Matolenim.
There it grew up, bore fruits and spread to Sapuerak; there, also it grew up,
bore fruits and spread over the regions of Matolenim. 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 named because of their origin. Some
named are: Kakizi, Kakipuil, Kakilonoto, Kakipeses, Kakitaue'i, Kakitito,
Kakipar and Kakieue'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 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 mes a ran, 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 mes a ran: "Are you well?" She answered: "Yes!" Then he said again: "What are your children doing?" She answered: "They are dead." The man was satisfied and clucked his tongue. The little dogs came out of the hearth pit and crept up on him. The man was glad about this and asked the woman: "What will we do now with these animals?" The woman said that they would eat them and also bait fish with them. Then the fishermen came home. They were 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 Malaue

Formerly no breadfruit trees grew on Roi en Kiti, but bare ground was there. And the people in Roi en Kiti had no breadfruit to eat. Now once a woman named Li en Roi en Kiti went fishing and caught a fish; she took it to Salapuk. Saum
gave her something to eat for it. But the woman could not carry away the abundance of food. Then Saum gave to her a stone which was quite soft; he had taken to stone away on Pon Malaue. Saum had given supernatural magical powers to this stone. The woman took the stone and put it down on Poi 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 Malaue. Therefore Roi en Kiti is also called Malaue peie, and the place from which the stone originated is named Malaue pailen. 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 nam, Kerou eni Muan, 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 eni Muan, 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, 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 Keroun 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 gifts, kava or sugar-cane, to appease the wrath of the spirit which makes him ill.

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 as something magical. About the great sacrificial gifts needed by them, it has already been discussed. Also the *ounani* = 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 *kasauseli*, 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 appear in
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, kil en uai, because both diseases have completely different names. The latter probably is connected with the idea, that partaking too abundant of fermented breadfruits, ami, 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 Lap en mukuo, Aun mukou, Seri'n, mukou, Kaneki en mukou, a woman was called Liomeirir and another, Liopelipel; they arrived at Kipar, a place in the state, Kiti. The men who lived in Kipar, in the little place, Nan Kapual, built the Pi in tuketuk and called it Pei o pe'in tuketuk; and the women went to Nan Meiro and there built a stone construction, which is named Pein tin uaita; the two remained there. The men made divinations in Kipar and told fortunes there; both women took two medicines and divined with them. The one is called a medicine, Uanpoko and the other, Kiset tik mei. The charm for these medicines against leprosy is called Keratak en Kapual:

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

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 penala tumua and kolphene kil en aua. Massaging of the head and abdomen is itan kapeti; the pressing of the head is called patik a tamuer mori en aramas. For headaches they practice eliel magic.

Charm for Headache

Your skin? What is the matter with your skin? Li tsal ti, Li tsalaa ta?
Spirit behind the heaven, spirit under the heaven,
Spirit of Tsarau, spirit of Pik en Tsamol,
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!
To Tsauarenei!
Conjuration for Headache

Li a 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 prevent elephantiasis. In O'Connell's time, with tattooing, they covered the large wound surfaces with charcoal powder, whose curing and purifying effect was known to
them. The favorite medicine at that time was a mixture of coconut oil and red pepper, used internally and externally with success. Otherwise they used their charms.

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.
Tsounko en tip, Tsounka en tip,
Hurry away, take with you
The swelling of this person,
Lord Swelling!
For Cuts
Tsokolainu, Limaniti,
Li mau Kauat, Limatat,
Heal from inside, close yourself
Heal from inside, cover yourself
Inside and outside,
Close yourself well, wound here,
Close yourself well!

For a Broken Bone
I make straight the bone of the leg, the bone of the arm,
Bone become strong like the mangrove,
Bone, become strong like the tortoise-shell,
Bone, become strong like the whale bone
Bone, become strong like the shark in the deep water,
Bones, come together, press together!

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

For blood-letting, pōspōs, they used a fish-tooth tied on an alek reed, which was laid on the painful spot.

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

About Insanity

Thus the Ponape people think about insanity. When the insane die, they are soulless, because it remains until the time when the man became insane. The souls flee and then fly to the Paipalap en Tsokes; they think that the souls of all insane come here; and that when the insane die, no soul escapes from them, because the soul has already gone away previously. Thus the soul of the insane will fly away and go and remain on Paipalap until it is completely disintegrated.

And thus the people of Ponape proceed with the souls of the insane; they go to certain priests, who can exorcise spirits, because when their spirits go away and seize the soul on the Paipalap', they bring it back again to the insane. And he becomes well again.

And in the following way they bring it back: when a spirit is supposed to fetch a soul, then he invokes it and gives it to the conjurer. The conjurer takes the soul, grinds some coconut, takes the fiber of the coconut palm, puts the coconut into the fiber, then takes the soul, puts it in and presses the whole on the head of the insane person. The appearance of the soul is like the appearance of a young bird. This kind is called Tso nen.
Old Saulik en Tsokala, a man with much experience in secret arts, told
Hambruch the following about it:

"As soon as a man becomes puipui, i.e. mad, some evil demon has gotten into
him, or an offended spirit has bewitched the sick person so that he lost possession
of his sound mental power. Also some native could have "bewitched" him. In such
cases the relatives then call a man or woman experienced in the healing arts,
so that they drive the sickness from the possessed with medicines and exorcism.

First the medicine is prepared. Leaves of the kava shrub and bark of the
Calophyllum, aia, are fetched, both rubbed together, some breadfruit added to
bind it. Then they take small, young taro leaves, inta, the medicine is wrapped
in them and they give it to the sick person with water. It must be drawn from a
whirlpool, because a purifying power dwells in such water.

While the sick person takes the medicine, the priest sits down beside him,
touches him lightly with fronds of young coconut palms and monotonously hums this
charm.

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

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

This is repeated four times in one day and must occur four days in a row.
If the magic is not yet successful, the conjuration is again repeated in the same manner. If no improvement occurs after the eighth day, the evil spirit is considered to be irreconcilable and the sick person is left to his fate. Sometimes he is taken to other places of the country, whose guardian spirits are more accessible.

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

Up, uot en mokil, giant taro, and sau muel, a kind of stinging nettle are considered poisonous plants.

5. Writing and Messages
O'Connell has repeatedly pointed out the significance of the tattoo patterns as an expression of the ancestral lines or rather chiefs' lines and their exploits. Unfortunately he was able to grasp little of the basic system just as little as that of the leaf language, which still serves the priests today as a means of divining,(cf. p. 140). When the chiefs enter their office, they must possess the
knowledge of "writing." Reedlike leaves of a special tree are part of it; usually four are sufficient for a message, whose points are broken and repeatedly folded in an exactly prescribed manner. The type of folds expresses the meaning of the message. The meaning was brought in a certain system and was understood.

Messages which were urgent were also very quickly transmitted over great distances. Each receiving chief immediately sent a new messenger with it to the one who lived nearby, until the whole state was traversed.

Hambruch also received a short statement about the so-called secret writing of a younger date. It must remain undecided whether the natives have devised it themselves, or likewise, how large the circle of those knowledgeable is. The system consists of the figures of zero to nine used for certain letters of the alphabet. Only eleven signs were named to him by his informant from Sokes. Perhaps this number is nevertheless sufficient for the natives in order to reproduce their words with it. One must remember that they probably frequently substitute b and p, d and t, g and k; r, l, d for each other. It is noticeable, however, that the s-sound is lacking, it is perhaps because they express it by t. They use:

1 for k   4 for u   7 for t   0 for n
2 for a   5 for i   8 for o   00 for m
3 for e   6 for l   9 for p

The natives who have gone through missionary schools write and read the Ponape language in Latin script. Some know English. The German government too, used the writing method introduced by the missions, in its written communication with the people. A sample is given in the following writing:

Copy of a summons to come to the office.

Imperial District Office.
The Imperial District Officer
(Stamp)
signed Boeder.

Government counsel  J. Number . . .
6. Wise maxims

Proverbs, lip en lokaia, apparently do not exist in great numbers. In any case, the natives told only a few. These are:

1. The axe is broken and no one can heal it! i.e. If one has once become angry, there is no more agreement any more.
2. I follow (the father), i.e., Like father, like son.
3. The jug breaks, i.e. Truth will out.
4. Spirits are the men. The men may do what they please, like the spirits; but women must have self-respect.
5. The neighbors do evil.
6. The stamp of the ump is the woman, i.e. The love of the brother-in-law is weak.
7. Men cannot give birth.
8. The umbilical cord never breaks. Blood is thicker than water.

7. Legal Tender and Measures

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

The secret measures are span, ell, and fathom. They measure, son, with the canoe measuring line, tsi puel or ti kalau. The length of the hand is called kumutiu; the ell, ti pan en po, is calculated from the middle finger to the elbow joint. The whole fathom is called nap, half of it, pe pali.
Footnotes

German page  Number


3  Christian, page 72.

156  1  In the Carolines, they have the meaning indicated in the ()

2  According to Kehoe.

3  According to Nanapaz en Kiti.

158  1  Face of heaven, the blue sky.


168  1  According to another version, Liauoi is supposed to be the ancestral mother of the dog.

169  1  Kaneki en Pali take ria.

172  1  Court of the Uasai.

2  In Matolenim.


173  1  On page 326, Christian enumerates the following diseases:

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

They call smallpox, which a whaling vessel has introduced
some 40 years ago and carried off half of the inhabitants,
Killitap or peeling skin.

Tuberculosis, which the natives can also thank the whalers
for, is called by the bad name Li-mongomong, or the "woman
which makes men shrink."

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

Scrofula, Pir, is rather frequent as the consequence of
unvaried food.

Leprosy, Tukotuk, is rather frequent and appears in relatively
mild form; it was probably introduced from the east by early
Asiatic immigrants.

Rip is the general name for sore spots and ulcers.
Cough is called Kopokop; a cold or a catarrh, Toi or Punan.
Asthma is called Lukoluk, hiccup Marrer.
Rheumatism, Matak. Vomiting Numuch. Headache, dizziness,
Delirium Li-aurara. Insomnia Ika-n-pong.
Itch, Kili-pitipit or "hasty skin."
Constipation Tang, Teng. Diarrhea (dysentery) is supposed
to have been introduced from Manilla and is called Pek-en-inta.

Squinting is called Mach-kun, unconsciousness, Machapong lameness, Chikel.

A swelling of the hands into hard lumps is called Komut-en-Kiti.

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

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

Elephantiasis, against which mutilation is supposed to help (Cf. page 177), is also very widespread.

175  1  Lap in Mukou, Au en Mukou, Siri en Mokou are the demons of leprosy (Leprosy).

176  1  A place deep in the earth.

178  1  The wounded, brought in a special house that is not permitted to be entered by women, must refrain from copulation. Likewise the visitors must do this also.

181  1  Christian, page 347 . . . a creeper resembling our Wistaria, the pounded roots of which are used for stupefying fish . . . . Therefore, a papilionaceous flower similar to a wisteria.

182  1  In particular by the Boston Mission.

183  1  Meaning from Hambruch.

2  Determined on Param.
VI. Music and Dance

1. General

The natives' need for music finds its expression in song. The instruments serve for accompaniment only. The only exception is the conchshell horn which, however, is blown as a signal or war call, therefore fulfills a purely practical, not an artistic purpose.

They have a good ear and love music a great deal. Just as a hundred years ago, they were enchanted with the playing of the flute and the dances of the shipwrecked sailors, they already had a mouth harmonica almost every house at the end of last century, and the musical instruments introduced by traders are always sold fast.

2. The Song

The song, kaul, comprised two large groups of songs: the simple song and the dance song. The son, as long as it is not religious in character and a priest's son, are song by all. The work song, intsa, is almost indispensable, to them. While hollowing out a canoe, the woodworkers sing, as they strike together, likewise they proceed while polishing. The paddlers dip their paddles to the rhythm of the song. Pereiro says: When transporting their possessions, especially when they are carrying fish, they beat a drum, which accompanies the singing of a song (sonata), which refers to the work. They begin this song in a piercing and gloomy voice and in doing so, occasionally utter cries, that scare all those in the loneliness of the forest who hear them for the first time and do not know the motive. These cries concern the high and low guttural sounds, nilata and nilezi, which are peculiar to Ponape singing.

When the boat is fetched from the House
Shake the canoe, lift the canoe, quickly push the canoe,
Wash it in the pil en iap, ker en iap, in the well of Li matseitsei,
Where the many stones are . . . . o!

When Carrying the Canoe

Shake the boat, (Name of it)
Lift up the boat (Name of it)
Because I want to go away.
The people of Lazielp
Are not supposed to take the boat from us.
ii . . . i!

When Carrying the Canoe

Lift up the bow, lift up the bow,
The canoe, which is like a coconut opener,
Like a coconut opener.
Where is the semelo?
Where is the semelo?
It calls me there,
To travel even before night breaks
i . . . ih!

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

Of the greatest importance for the care and the preservation of the ancient
cultural goods is the group of songs, each of which celebrates the deeds of the
ancestors and immortalize all important events of the living generation.
Strangely, this type of song is preserved primarily by the women. O'Connell
says: The women like to sing, but they do not restrict their songs to work and
dance, like the men. It is specially popular to sit down in the canoe house by the hundreds. On their knees lay strips of thick, strong bark, on which they beat with their hands at certain parts in the song, while the men keep absolutely quiet. The contents of these songs refer to the ancestors or animan; in addition, to the stars and their constellations, which the natives watch eagerly, and for which they likewise have names; then, to their breadfruits, dogs, fish. Occasionally they also sing for hours a list of their chiefs and their possessions. I also remember one song that was dedicated to the glorification of the barking of a dog, which they had seen aboard a ship. Songs of this kind nowadays are partly forgotten and were only obtained in fragments. The star song No. 246, p. 157, belongs to this group; moreover the great songs of Li ou Mesilian, Sau pei asas, of Senia and Monia of Lamuak, Siletaue and Tinpeiso.

Of the Li ou Mesilan

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

2. You, come in Sautelur, the people bring news.
Of a fleet at the shore with Nalua tiketik. What shall I say about it?
I do not know, why the woman comes here,
I do not want to hear it. Yet she is my mother-in-law and has no mother.
Both of you, do not go to the mountain tops, do not go away from the house, do not do it,
Remain on the spot, do not go there, because Nanolap he kills you. If you are not careful, they will kill you.
They killed him, the evil spirit is dead.
The woman, Morontsarau, she has the medicine, watch out,
Take the medicine from her and quickly put it on his wounds. o ue.
3. Go and fetch from above the two inzan fish, I want to drum the song of the Sau Paur on them.
Go and bring the drum Puil en paset, I want to beat it,
So that he will live again; he lives and beats the drum. o ue ue.
4. He stands up and beats the drum in Mesenian, the bones of the dead become alive.
To question the leaf oracle, it shall tell us,
that I, Louanus, change my corpse, so that is is no longer a dead body,
I want to become a young man, the skin of the feet is left, I want to see the man who buried my body,
Points of the sugar cane planted, they bring sugar, it grows, it creates kava.
Kava branches fell from heaven, when they fell, they created kava.
Where I lacked I do not know. Kaneki and Japatan fly here and look at the black woman, Aunuan, come down, come down to Perakelan!
I would like to know where he come from
In order to return home to the Tenumok o ue.
5. Aunpanman? Aunpanman? go away!
There comes Tsouman, bring your canoe to the water, depart to Nanumuratak,
they understand, one goes away and fetches Leinsei, in order to meet
The woman Tapinmau, Tapinmau on Lu en Kalani.
They get tired on the sea, where is the foot, where is the arm of my mother?
Where is the entrance which we were supposed to use, where is Kapetauros? o ue!

6. Go up to Nan Tinuin, gave names to all places,
To Ponpei, where beautiful birds are,
Go to Meir to the woman and to the man Meir, o ue!

7. Kerou'n Meir, gave us the drum Puil en Pasit,
I took it to heaven, but it came again,
It fell down on Nan Selatak,
They went to beat it in Nan Tiaren, but the drum skin it sounds. o ue!

8. The young giant Kononiol just came, without a canoe he got to Takai peik.
And immediately wandered to Imuin tsau.
Give me some sea cucumbers, you good boys!
Here they are, you fetch them, seize him when he helps himself!
Makeup, Nantsaup', they now kill their uncle.
Go, tell the reef, it is supposed to open, so that he gets free. o ue!

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

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

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

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

12. Kononiol and Parepue go away, both want to fetch the property of Paliotol. They find two large stone enclosures, Mali tenare Uanipei.
Parepue, yield, Kononiol knows it (the stone enclosures)
He cleans the canoe with the stone, it breaks the float,
The canoe floats free in the sea. o ue!

13. Parepue fills the canoe with coconuts,
Kononiol's canoe is half filled with nuts,
He gives the shark some of them, from which he escaped,
Then he again ties his canoe tight
The dead shark serves as a float for him.
Pali finds him quickly, he would like to ask Pali.
Pali questions the oracle, which prophesies good,
He lets the shell horn blow, the tone prophesies good,
Parepue knows, and they will reach Ponape.

The Song of Sau pei asas

1. Once a woman fished not far from Mal,
Her hair lay in the basket,
A servant a-companied her po mauen.

2. Both sat down and no one speaks
Why, why do all trees
Bend? No one speaks,
Thus we shall die
Let us run in order to hide
Here under this dish po mauen.

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

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

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

6. Go, bring a shell filled with water!
They said to all spirits of lights to unite.
They put their hands in the water, they did not steal, only two woman,
They both came and put their hands in the water,
Oil flowed from their hands,
One was angry about the two, beaten, they were pushed down to the earth po mauen.

7. Both wanted to go along heaven
And fell down.
Lipaieret, she fell on I is,
Lepalepelan, she fell to Lot. po mauen.

8. So they came and were separated,
The one remained in Poriais in a beautiful stone,
She looked at the people in the water eat their fish.
Sau'ngo en peiyes, he saw her,
He proposed to her and married her. po mauen

9. Lepalepelan bore a child, a boy
Kereselan, who did miracles,
In the ancient times he cleared the bush,
Everywhere, on all sides, everything grew,
The Kukut banana, it ripened. po mauen

10. One morning he knocked on a ripe coconut,
Out flowed the oil,
It is supposed to be preserved, the one half,
The half becomes red, when I die. po mauen

11. He cut off a pelou banana, took it with him,
Doing miracles, when he went. The oracle of the way
It said, stop making nets. po mauen.

12. Now he sits down on
Lonemal,
He ate the banana. In ancient times
He gave them all names, the places,
This one he called pelou. po mauen

13. Ahead he wandered in the brook Lenei,
He clapped his hands, for a rainbow like the water flowed off. po mauen

14. Now he came to Tip en tser,
Past the palce where they made canoe varnish,
Come here to me, you two people;
Evil was his face, he asked both questions,
Rise, become canoes! po mauen.

15. Then he went to sit down, to cool off,
Come here and pound kava for me,
Bring wring bast, press it out,
In the bowl which is hidden in the knee. po mauen

16. Now come back!
The canoes lay down.

Wonderful to see with the attachment. po mauen

17. He did miracles on Pon e mal,
He pushed the hook in the ground,
Out flows the brook of Peikin there. po mauen.

18. Further he wandered, stumbling in Peip tsalan,
Cautiously he now stepped up on the same place,
In a low voice he sang, rumbling like the thunder,
Like the thunder; he was not able to find the Koromat tree. po mauen

19. Further he wandered to Mereniap.
Now he stands up on Merei, sings along.
The woman's ears ring,
She hears everything, Merei is the name of the place,
Beautiful are the voices, wonderful, the voices. po mauen

20. Further he wandered on the Tol en Lanar,
Nothing escaped him, both remained next to each other
They did not move. May you change into stones. po mauen

21. He pushed the canoe into the water in Nan Tauas,
Then remained in Takai ere.
He builds a fish-container there on the beach.
Many fish are supposed to get into the container, they leap up,
They get into his container. po mauen.

22. He caught fish, which he gave to the Lipaieret,
She smiles, she smiles amusedly
Because he could not find the tree Koromat. po mauen
23. Then he went to mend the container,
A stone fell on his finger,
Blood began to flow. po mauen

24. Then she thought, that he was dead, the woman felt it,
His mother Lepalepelan, already she hurried up,
Remains on Tolonier,
Looks out to Keresanilar. po mauen

25. Then she came, magic words are supposed to enliven him, he does not move.
He was dead; then she spoke the charm,
Gave him the magic drink four times:
"Tanauas, Tanauas urotoker"
Become alive, my boy! po mauen

26. Now stand up, speak again,
Home we want to go,
To the place, where I was small,
Where I am a king's child, po mauen

The Song of Senia and Monia

1. Now I want to know who knows the ancient times?
Two children went out
They both found the rock towering toward heaven,
A crag. You both jumped up, and now it gres,
until it touched the sky. Fine.

2. Quickly with the knife
He cuts out a piece of the stone,
That the foot should find a place to stay, then climbed up,
On the Tol en iap' which they reached. Fine.
3. They rubbed fire. "We want to cook, Out fish, which struggle."

Taro was also present,

Brightly shone its blossoms, Fine.

4. The fish is cooked, he does not hesitate,

When the one side is eaten,

The meat grows again on the other.

The skin remains on the head.

This happens also with the taro.

5. How are we to get down now?

The younger, the -raver one, he jumps first,

He rests on the aiau branches and waits,

For the elder one to jump, he goes down,

Falls, and does not move any more,

Because he is dead. Fine.

6. There he stroked him along his body, he did not move.

"Now become alive again, we are already late,

See the house where we jumped." Fine.

7. A number of places appeared,

but the palces are without people. Fine.

8. He entered a house of a thousand fathoms.

"Now first make our leaf magic,

The oracle of Nan pes and Nan mualan,

The oracle on the post heads,

There within the door's threshold

9. Two ghosts hurry by

Three called, also four,

Then they counted ten or twenty,
Then thirty, forty, fifty,
Finally there were about a hundred,
A thousand there danced the dance. Fine.

10. A line is formed, the first song begins,
The sounds of the song rises,
They wanted to catch them. Fine.

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

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

13. Then they quickly climbed down and seized it.
"Are you two spirits or people?"
"We are Senia and Monis. Fine.

Song of Lamuak.
Lamuak was born in Paniop'
And he let everything grow in great quantity on Paniop'.
Once he went over the mountains to the Lapen.
Flowed in somewhat to Pankat'ra.
Sau Telur then had the Lapen fetched.
"Go and bring me feathers of the bird Terepeiso,
Which lives on the sea."

The Song of Seletaue.
Now I want to sing of Seletaue, who looked round from Alenian.
When the tide went out, she wanted to eat fish, out there at Tsamuin.
Women went out to fish on the reef, she was supposed to watch the weaving yarn.
Rain fell down and it wet the yarn drying on the frame.
Yes, when the woman came home, then they scolded Seletaue.
She got angry, went away and married Sau Telur.
Now they looked for pigeons everywhere on Ponape, they did not find them.
Finally they found them in a far-off country.
Here, they remained high in the breadfruit trees and listened
How she played with the little child and it hummed in its sleep,
She too saw the pigeons, she did not recognize them, finally she remembered.
Then she called: "Now come here, because I am here. Then it goes away.
Go away and kill the dog, then push the canoe into the water."
Night came, they cut him into pieces, cut him to pieces and gave him to Sau Telur.
The Liets had seen it, she wrecked the house:
Seletaue, however, went off,
in order to return to Sakeri, to the home.
Sau Telur died because of it; he had not paid attention, not paid attention,
That a Liets had deceived him.

End!

3. Dance Song and Dance

The dance song has a very different character according to the kind of dance, which it is to accompany. But only very confused and contradictory records are produced about the character of the Ponape dance. Through the pressure of the missions it was naturally neglected and where it is still practiced, European influence seems to have affected it. O'Connell, Pereiro, Christian and Hahl have investigated and described the dance and the uncertainty of their statements already becomes apparent by the use of the native expressions: kalek, uen, nis and tarak. In Gulick for to dance we find, "wen" or "weniwen,"
for dance nij; in O'Connell, gurlic = (kalek) is the dancing, according to the
texts collected by Hambruch, "uen," must be the dance song. Because one passage
states: they stand up and sing the uen. Of course, they also dance at the same
time. Further it is said uen en tarak and tarak describe a certain kind of dance.
The man who trains the song and dance is the kerou eni uen. Nis, on the other
hand, which in Gulick means the dance, also occurs simply as song in the native
texts. Thus there are kava songs, nis en tsakau, which they indeed sing during
the movement of carrying the kava in and pounding it. However, there is no
dancing during it. The general word for song is kaul.

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

[Handwritten note]
Of the Dance

Thus we perform an uen. A messenger’s stick is made and sent to the people so that they come. Then they come. They sit down in a row, and the one who teaches them it sits down among them. The leader and teacher of the songs is the Saupuarik. Then the instruction begins which lasts day and night. When it is learnt, a day is chosen in order to perform the song before the prince, the day chosen is called iripos. Then they all prepare their food and carry up kava.

Now the uen begins. They sit down and prepare the kave. Then they discuss a day on which they want to rehearse it. On this day all assemble in great crowds to watch. Then they go home again and begin to make the dance ornaments. Finally the day comes, when all assemble. The Uen singers separate from the others, in order to make their nair en nisinis. Then the people bathe. Now they anoint themselves and put on the ornaments. Then they stand one behind the other in line reaching to the meeting house. Some small children go in front and at the end of the procession. Men and woman stand between them. Then they go in the meeting house, where the uen, which is called pos, is performed. They sit down. Then one of them gets up and calls the princes and the common people. The princes say, they should arise. Then the people stand up and sing the uen. When it is finished, the saumas en uen collects all ornaments and carries them to the princes. Then the princes distribute everything among them. When they give me an apron, I must pay for it with a return gift. When this is ended, the food is distributed. Among cheering, they bring in the kava. Now the kava is prepared. All sit down in the vicinigy of the nobles and wait for their share of food and kava. All drink hard. And when the sun is about to set, they all go home. And sleep.
Pereiro thought that the kali was a men's dance which was taught them by Americans and which was performed by two men. "They stand opposite each other on a platform, one meter square, and perform various motions, especially with their legs, and are accompanied by the mouth harmonica in doing so. Christian thought that the kakek as an indigenous men's dance, a standing dance, contrary to the uen, which he describes as a sitting dance for men and women. For Pereiro, the uen is the old folk dance, which is performed by three men and three women standing opposite each other. "The men wear the loin cloths and magnificently made wreaths on their heads. They are anointed with oil and painted, and wear rings and bracelets of fresh coconut leaves on their fingers, wrists, arms and lets. These are arranged so that the points project over each other. The rubbing of the leaves against each other is supposed to make a harmonious sound at every movement which is very pleasing to them. The women wear their dressing gowns, but wear wreaths and rings, but only on their wrists." Hahl remarks, with regard to the uin: uin, the ordinary festival dance, which can be performed at any time, also in honor of a deceased person and for religious purposes. The feet stamp rhythmically on the boards (dancing bridge), the hands move in an artistic manner in the manner of a Samoan siwa. The uin is probably one of the most effective native dances of the South Seas. The uin songs are fixed by tradition. New ones are no longer invented, because the old culture which produced them is destroyed. From all this it can be seen that these investigators have taken the general terms for proper names of the dance form, which they observed by chance and on which occasion they were told the native expressions. As a matter of fact, they mislead Christian very much; he writes of the tarak, of this highly erotic dance which is the beginning of sexual orgies: "it is said to be very ceremonial, strange and impressive."
In the sitting dance, the cancers use sounding sticks, **tukia**, unworked superficially smoothed for hard wood sticks, of about 20 cm. in length and 2 cm. in diameter, cf. p. 217.

The dance paddles, **patil en kepir** show pieces which are put into the graves of the deceased, are always carved from breadfruit wood, **karara**. The broad flat blade, **el lapalape** is pierced at the edges (fig. 18). The surfaces are carved on both sides, usually with the same pattern. The hollows, **tsape pepe**, are painted with white chalk, **puats**, the remaining parts of the wood with black paint. Into the holes at the edges, **por**, they knot tassels and bows, made partly of dyed hibiscus fiber, partly of European wool or cotton yarn. Among the pieces collected are also some with written symbols (fig. 24 and 25).

The content of the uen songs can be epic. Those given here are already very old and had almost become unintelligible to the living generation, and only fragments were remembered. They are part of the uenipat type.

**Uen, called Uinipat**

The **Sau puarik** sings: . . . "Begin."

The **Sau ruas** answers: . . . "Sing aloud."

The song begins:

All sing:

Short pause

End of uen

(End)

The **Sau puarik** speaks: sail off with all sails, will do it.

The **Sau ruas** answers: "Eu"! And all sing:

A singer calls: ❌

Dance songs of another kind are the Nis, although it could not be said, where the difference la-. Here too, it is in such ancient language that it was
no longer translateable. The second is a sailing song. It has the making of clothes as the topic. Possible it is not a dance song, but rather has been placed in this group by mistake.

Song of the Sail
(Fragment)

A sail was plaited in heaven,
And as it was useless, it was thrown away,
It fell down to SelataX.
One cloth was still missing of the ten, why?
Thus the sail of Laner was made,
Thus they came together,
And made two of the sails, two,
They complained, they had no thread
In Ninterek, in Nintarak,
They now sent the weaving of Saputik,
Because they did not understand it, the children of Na,
How to sew the sails, and as I hear,
neither on No Uatitik.
Both sat down, Senia and Monia, they did not go along,
The two remained and waited,
but where are Senepik, Limonepik,
Buk a saraini, Upora.
Ekeni, Akana go to the two,
Koteni, Kotana they were like each other,
and where are Rapuika, Rapuisaukon,
where Selan, Tsapulan and Pire pon pasoi?
of whom I heard.
I would like to say it,
but I cannot say it.
Pei remained here, also Sare,
they used it (the sail).

The following dance songs are then sung to the paddle dance. They are generally accompanied by several drums. They have the more specific designation "en kapir," hnis or uen en kapir. They also include the ancient ceremonial dances which are performed by the chiefs on the boat's platform, during the consecration of new boats. All people with the exception of the women and priests, accompany these chiefs' dances with singing and beating of the rhythm. Hahl remarks: "A special occasion arises for a peculiar dance, called kapir, when a newly made canoe is delivered to the paramount head of the tribe. A whole flotilla of boats is tied together, a dancing bridge is made by putting boards across them. A railing is built up in front of the dancers who stand in one line. The rowers sit hidden behind the dancers in the boats. The raft emerges from a mangrove hiding place, slowly, mysteriously, it approaches the festival place. When it has come within hearing range, the dancers rise, sing and dance. The latter consists of the rhymical moving of the feet and the artistic swinging of the magnificently carved and painted oars, which are also now and then resoundingly knocked against the top of the railing. The singing is grave, corresponding to the mood of the festival.

Thus, we behave in the paddle song. We discuss among ourselves, then we make our paddles. Then we meet and practice day and night, we also begin to make the aprons. The women must flute the strips and the men make their paddles. All paddles are very beautifully decorated and ornamented. Then they meet and decide
the day when they want to perform the dance. Then all come together and also bring their food and their kava. Next they bathe in the brook. Then they appear again, anoint and decorate themselves and stand in a line each behind the other. The paddles are put in the right hand. Thus they enter the meeting house and sit down on the stage. One of them rises and delivers an address to the princes. Then all rise. They perform the paddle dance to its end; then they take off their aprons and also hand over all paddles to the nobles. The princes distribute these among the people and also give them presents. Then the food is distributed. Kava is also pounded. All get drunk. Towards evening the people return home.

Song During the Paddle Dance

Onolan does not move, he does not move? goes away away from them
To fight with Koprasit; Nanuiak and Tip en uai are supposed to help.
As they did once, they killed all people in front of Man (Palikir);
But they did not move up on the mainland, both feated the relatives,
They preferred to move on.
To remain good friends with them,
The people obey the prince Keraun lozier,
On the way Onolan does not move? o!

Paddle Dance Song

A canoe comes from the east,
it goes in to Lamalam,
For it wants to fetch the Lap en Palikir,
They land, they jump out, they come, they ask:
Where is the crew of the canoe?
Xirin, Nokora, Mauuennok
En tsispeirer and Rakoa,
But I no longer know the names of the others.
They both take away the sacred canoes
Munale, Anale, Ianale,
Karestsapunial, because it is the quickest
None is faster than this.
Too late put down the canoe,
One of the men calle 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 Tol en Katsau appears,
To Pet en Tsoupur, in Tsatau,
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 Pankatera,
The younger ones before the elder ones.
The other people follow,
Only I remain, I alone.

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

Paddle Song of the Matolenim People

I always loved the evening of Ponatsaik,
You woke me here in Nani Korok ie.
At night I toss and turn, the people of Mal
Call over to Nanini, ie!
Call over to Nanini, homesickness torments me.
We want to meet at Muet in Nan Matol, ie,
We meet in Nan Matol at the Pei lapalap,
Everybody talks to me, ie e!
Talk to me, do you go to Tsamuin,
I go there, I want to return, e.
I want to return, remain at the Tol o Puail.
My ear ornament is of Kari e,
Of Kari is my ear ornament, take us to Komun and Kauei, e,
take us first to Mutokolos,
then to Tien and finally to Lamani, e!

Drum Song

This is a drum song, it goes:
I remain in the space of the soul,
I remain in the space of the soul,
Abandoned am I at the end of the way to Limoloko,
And nobody comes here,

I would like, my bird, this one
It would come now from Nan Puki en iap',
It cries and Tsouiap calls to it from afar,
He would fetch it away from Nan Pei mata iu,
That lies in a foreign underworld,
He wants to ask the oracle
In the Pei en arun.
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 uar rikerik, of the uar tinitin,
When Sumum Kapin pil killed Uari kitam.
Thus he created the mountains of Kamar,
And both planted the tsakau en pualap,
Which rose high up to heaven.
Some branches fell down,
Sauiap' came over to it and carried
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 Liator,
And as I hear,
Pesi, Pesa, happily they arrive
In the vicinity of the island, Iora mapan.
Abandoned am I in the land,
I want to go to Runiup', Runua,
Tin Kenai and Ten mesi pun;
I bring also a hundred shrubs
And go to Pon Pikaplap,
And go in the beautiful and magnificent canoe:
Go straight away to Luenpe.
Who lives alone on the island,
She holds a bundle of fish high,
Which are supposed to be sent to the Sautelur.
Now go like the lightning to Limok,
Pay with melupur fish,
Oh I want to weep, I am afraid to speak in this time,
But I want to give them sitting mats,
When Anikon was alive,
Ponape was not afraid of anything.

II.
Not translateable. Meaning not obtainable.

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.

Such a tarak song is:

Song during the tarak Dance

Spirit remain on the Pok mountain,
On the moon mountain,
There make the Sau likin Solezi Solezi e!
An owl sits on the Paipalap and listens towards Malelap,
Enanuai drowned and disappeared in Malelap.
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 carried two short pieces of wood and all the others do likewise. They assemble and sit down in the meeting house, in two rows, 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, 1 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 Saumarek! I do not fear the Saumarek!
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, only go to Ponau,
Take part in the Muasanap' 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.
ie, ie, ie, ie, ie auro!

A related group seem to be the sapei 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 a religious significance.

sapei Dance song

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,
She will prepare longing for me
And hopsa and hopsa,
We go together, we come apart from each other!
Alas, small only is your love, already you want to go
With the canoe from Matolenim, always you only think
Of other women, because they smell good.

Song of the Tiripeiso

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 Pankatra.
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 Senipein.
Through the entrance of the Tau Zokola,
Thus both went in the canoe,
And travelled and paddled, arrived at Lenlapen.
They passed on Take en iap.
And got in the Tau en Senipein.
Kaneki 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.
Nan Dzapue came there:
"It is you Sau, 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 Sakar en iap';
They now left the canoe with their things in front of the shore,
And swam but they were not allowed to land.
The guards watched; they 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 Tiripeiso
All moved the seats together, they looked the Tiripeiso in the face,
then a feather from him fell into the carrying basket of both.
Then both packed, went off, home travelled the canoe,
Which glittered and shone like the lightning in the sky,
But they brought something from the bird Tiripeiso.
In Matolenim they landed then; they brought the gift to the Sau Telur.
Sau Telur died of it, he died through the Tiripeiso,
Because he had ordered the voyages for both.
Both came home.
Lapen asked, where they came from;
Because only one feather of the Tiripeiso had come,
But not his body,
Because the foreigners had not allowed this;
Then they no longer spoke about the Sau Telur
Who had fled from Matolenim,
Who had gone to Ponaulan,
Who had found death in Kamaupunpun.
Thus ends the song.

The *uen* is accompanied by the instruments mentioned (nose flute and frum). For Pereiro it is the old, traditional dance, demonstrates 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*ui, gives the signal for the beginning and the end of the great fishing expeditions and invites to the festivals, *kamatip* and meetings, *kopun*. 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 almost 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 lengthened 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 cracks easily and is very quickly worn out. It scarcely lasts longer than a week. Christian collected a drum in Palikir (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 stick. 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 Nanekin. 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 = ua san en aip; drumskin = sor, from the skin of the spotted ray, met; cord for fastening = kis en aiau en paue; ornamental fringe of bast hanging down = kis en aiau en pa. 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, kas, an en tsuma. (Fig. 28, No. 538 II). In blowing it, it is held in the right hand, and the fingerholes, nil en mein, are, therefore, only on the off side. The inside is called sau, the end with the blowing hold, an en tsuma. 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 kam an lip en ran nil silu, when it has three stops,
kas an lip en rau nil pau, when it has four stops. The blowing hole on the end is called an en aua 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 rau. For the nose flutes, a small blowhole is bored into the internode. But in the case of open reeds, the opening, which is much too wide for this purpose, is narrowed by leaf plugs.
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<td>Pereiro, loc. cit., p. 104.</td>
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<td>185</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>O'Connell Vol. I, page 43, where he is quoted, it concerns his statements in Chapters XI and XIII.</td>
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<td>186</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The son of Li ou Mesilan.</td>
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<td>188</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sharks came and ate the feet and limbs of the people sitting in the boat.</td>
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<td>189</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Request to the reef, to hold fast the giant.</td>
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<td>The fire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>According to Hahl (&quot;Beiträge zur Zennntnis der Umgangssprache von Ponape,&quot; page 13) pomauie = it smells very good.</td>
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<td>197</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>It is supposed to be asked to the Orakel, where the two can hide themselves most securely.</td>
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<td>199</td>
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<td>Matolenim.</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>L. H. Gulick: Vocabulary of the Ponape Dialect, 1882.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>According to Hambruch there is uenipat and uen en tarak.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The song collection is named kap en uen, man en saraui iap, epalap, man esar, kipar en tsap, epeou, etc. and some are supposed to also originate from abroad.</td>
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<td>201</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Slit coconut leaves. Each stripe corresponds to a person invited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>In the middle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The fingers of the hand are lengthened with coconut fronds, with the exception of the thumbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The seri saraui, sacred children, who are supposed to ward off the evil spirits.</td>
</tr>
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<td>202</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pereiro, page 125.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The hanging dress introduced by the Boston Mission is meant.

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

Fragment, untranslatable.

According to another note of Hambusch's, Nis are short songs, of a joking content, which are sung at every possible occasion.

Hambruch in his notes, gives no translation of this word.
The drum is called aip. In Gulick loc. cit., p. 18, kapar means "march in a line" and kapil go round about an object, hover over.

Is carried out during eput festivals.

In Palikir.

Entrance to the Underworld.

Goddess of the Underworld.

Another expression for coitus.

In ancient language.

Formerly mats and fiber cloth.

Gifts of food.


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

Coitus.

Pereiro, p. 125.
Footnotes

221 1 Christian, p. 138: "I firmly believe that between village and village is a regular code of signal-calls almost as effective as our telephone.

222 1 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.

2 Pereiro, p. 124.

224 1 In Pereiro, p. 124, they are named parri, in Christian, p. 138, Chup en ro or Chup en parri.


225 1 According to Christian Ro describes a type of reed grass, parri, however, the bamboo. The flute described by Pereiro was of box-tree (cana bojo) and two hand widths long.
VII. Custom and Usage

1. The Festivals

There are supposed to be various societies on Ponape, called marei, which have the purpose of holding festivals with games, song, dance and eating, presided over by a man or a woman. As nothing more definite could be learned about them, it cannot be said with certainty whether these are actually concerned with clubs. The name is interesting, which as marae, is found on Nukuor, where the worship place is designated with this. Only traces could be noticed of youth societies. Women's assemblies, karir, are supposed to be held secretly every month in abandoned huts in forest clearings. The places are kept strictly secret. Girls and married women are supposed to have sexual intercourse with youths and married men here.

The festivals are formerly supposed to have been held in separate festival houses for men and women. O'Connell, however, does not know anything about it and in any case, this custom only has to do with a certain group of festivals. The great festival houses, nas, meeting houses, which at the same time have the character of boat houses through the old boats kept in them, are substantially different from the ordinary dwelling houses. The gabled side is completely open. The three other sides have galleries, which supply places for the nobles. The middle room situated further in serves for the preparation of the kava and the festival food and is filled, besides by those in charge of it, by the low people. Non-nobles were only allowed to enter the gallery when they wanted to hand food, drinks and gifts to the chiefs. The walls were decorated with old boats (cf. vol. I., p. 22, fig. 1).

The numerous festivals have different characters and names according to the occasion. One can look up more below about canoe building and house building festivals. The festivals of the dead have also been considered already (p. 93ff).
The great general festivals are the tribute festivals and harvest festivals, called kamatip and nopui. The people furnish their chiefs, the tenants, the nobles, the taxes due them after the harvest. Six regular and two special festivals of this kind take place. Each has a special name. They include the following:

*garisi mei.* "The breadfruit comes." Such a festival was celebrated in Not on February 4, 1910. During the breadfruit harvest itself, there is no festival, because the fruit gathered must be cooked immediately.

*gotoker* The yam tubers of the new harvest are prepared for the paramount chief for the first time.

*ireisol* A very large festival, for which yams, bananas, taro and preserved breadfruit are prepared. Every participant brings his share himself. The preserved breadfruit is supposed to indicate that there is no more fresh breadfruit. The cooking is collectively and that brought with them is distributed among all. The women and girls bring the kava instead of the men.

*kait isol* End of the yam period. The last yam tubers are brought along for it.

The native describes the *nopui* festival as follows:

This is what happened at the nopui festival, which was given for the chiefs when the harvest time came. The first breadfruits were handed over and cooked for the chief, that was called puatse me'i, after that cooking was again done for the chief, that was called me'i aui; then followed a cooking called pai i ni, which was followed by lili; the lili by tsakalap; after the tsakalap, the kamenem, after the kamenem, many breadfruits were picked, more than a thousand, and mar was made, which was given to the chief. That was called tautau. After the tautau a great *nopui* festival was given, which was called um en lu mei. With this, the rak period was ended.
And now the names of the nopui festival of the isol time. In isol time, the time of the yams and bananas, banana cooking was in the foreground. There was no breadfruit in isol time, but only yams, bananas and breadfruit preserves, which the people ate during isol time. In the isol time the following nopui festivals were given to the chiefs: nopui (cooked in the house), kamatip (public festival in the meeting house)

1. Puke men puel
2. Puke lo pun
3. Kotse kep'
4. I'tiz nopui
5. Um en peli en kep'
6. Um en kep' uon
7. Ire'isol
8. Takatakpenit
9. Ke'itisol Kamatip
10. Karisime'

With this the nopui festival in the isol time, which the people gave the chiefs every year, which is called tau'n tsap' (tribute) for the chiefs.

The Preparation of the King's Meal

When the breadfruit period begins, the people hold banquets for the nobles. All people discuss this and determine a day when they will make tiokamei, and another day when they want to cook. When they have finished cooking, they put the food into a basket, the Peikini, a basket which is made with two sticks. Then all bring it to the Nanamariki. There they gather, put all the many baskets together and sit down. Then the Nanamariki asks the men who knows the charm to rise and pray over the heap of baskets. The man stands up and takes an axe, the silemel, lifts it up, says the prayer and strikes the side props, four times. This is the charm. And it is called charm: kazaeria.

It begins:
Rakim, I have the axe.
And beat down the axe, down the axe,
And where I beat with the axe, where I beat with the axe,
And when I beat, and when I fetch,
Then come quickly, come a little quickly,
Then come quickly, come very quickly

? untranslatable

And when he has finished praying over the heap of baskets then another stands up and distributes them. He begins with the Nanamariki, and, one after the other, the other title bearers follow. And these great title bearers then distribute from their baskets and give food from them to all their people. Then the Nanamariki orders his people to bring kava as a payment for the baskets. Then they fetch kava shrubs. Now the kava shrubs are distributed among the people, who have made the baskets. They sit down together and drink kava, until they are drunk; then they go home again and sleep it off.

The Aulik, the head priest, who knows the secrets of the passage of time, can find the right day for every festival. He makes it known early, so that every one can prepare for it. During the time of preparation he goes about in his native land and carries out his conjurations in the individual places, so that no misfortune shall intervene and hinder the celebration of the festival. The tree deities in particular are conjured, to permit the harvest of the fruits for the festival and not to throw the bold climber.

All take part in the great festivals, men, women, and children, festively anointed and decorated. Those who live farther away come in canoes, which are richly decorated. The conchs are heard and Nis songs are sung. The noble waits
for the common people in the Nas. The Nanamariki sits in his place of honor. Soon the dancers begin the uen dance, in which dance paddles are generally used. The round dance is opened and ended by a child, which is supposed to draw away the evil spirits. The wreaths worn in it are handed to the noble, who distributes them to those present. This is followed by handing over of the fruits and other gifts, of which everyone receives a portion according to his rank after the distribution by the chief. The Nanamariki keeps the best part of the gifts for himself and his family. Formerly the Nigurts received the remainder. But the one could also take home what was left.

Time passes with the preparation of food, eating, singing, dancing and kava drinking. More detailed descriptions are found in O'Connell, chapter 7, 8 and 11.

2. The Holy Kava

The legend of the origin of the holy kava is:

The Great Kava Shrub

The kava species which we call the great kava shrub had its origin on Pon paip in the small place, Nan Perou. Its branches were no ordinary branches, but rather were very long and reached from the ground to the sky. Now there was a man called Tsou iap', who was from abroad. Since ancient times he had had a bird for which he was looking, which perceived the odor of the kava whose branches touched the sky. And thus he came to the man who had stolen his bird; this man is called Sumun kapin pil. His children visited him and found Tsou iap'; the two told their father that they had met a man. He had a long beard, which reached to the ground. He said to the two: "The Tsou iap' will kill us." Tsou iap' appeared at the man and said to Sumun kapin pil: "Do you smell the kava?" The man denied it. Then Tsou iap' stuck his stick in the ground and dug out a kava tuber. He said to the men: "Do you know the name of this kava?" The two lifted it up and cut it up
at the small place, Pan kalo in Kamar. They then came again and pounded the kava on the spot. The man, however, cooked the bird of Tsou iap' at the place, Meretil. Sumun kapin pil now took the cooking stones off the bird, then took a red stone, scraped it into taro leaves, made a little package of it and put it on the stones. Then both waited until the little package opened by itself and a very large bird came out. It flew up and came to a large river, then to a waterfall which is in Nanekap and in Nanekapin, the waterfall of Orepil. Both followed it and became reconciled and fetched him out of the waterfall. Sumun Kapin pil then said to the Tsou iap', he should sit on the bird, and in addition said to him, he should not sit on the bird's wings, but should remain on the tail, so that it could not eat him. The bird flew off, Tsou iap' brushed against the mountain, Tamaretamue in sakir." Here one wing tore a large hold in the mountain. Then it carried Tsou iap' skyward abroad.

Without the kava (piper methysticum), the choko, called tsakau by the natives, neither a religious festival, nor a peoples' or family festival can be imagined. The exasperation of the Boston missionary concerning this drink was correspondingly great. "Every religious action begins, continues and ends with festival celebrations. Even a prayer can only be performed over a beaker of kava, and kava is the main thing of every festival." Later Pereiro then writes: "as in all their meetings they always eat, then they discuss their business and also drink their choko. This latter custom has gradually been eradicated by the Methodists."

The narcotic substance a muddy liquid of a dark, earthy color, is contained in the root. It contains two substances which can be crystalized, the kawain or mesticin, and jancoina, and furthermore, two resins, A and B, which constitute the active element and have local anaesthetic qualities, according to Lewin. They can be viewed as belonging to the cocaine group?
In O'Connell's time they were moderately used. It was as good as forbidden to the women. He writes: the kava is a very strong stupifying drink but it seldom is drunk in such quantity that it makes someone unconscious. If it happens once, then three to four hours of heavy, deep sleep are the consequences. Moderately drunk, kava makes people talkative, but seldom quarrelsome. Pereiro describes the effects in still greater detail:

"This beverage produces especially strong, numbing effects, that the drinkers remain lying where they are, sleepily dreaming, with half-opened eyes and feel a great heaviness in their eyelids. They do not speak, and when they say something, they do it very quietly. Their only wish in such moments is to sleep, noises disturb them, and when they get up and want to to on their way, they seem lethargic and totter, which compels them to walk supported by a large stick, which they in general bring with them as a precaution, in order not to fall. Then they fall into a deep sleep. They do not like to speak, and when one makes them, they open their eyes at the first question to see who is addressing them, then they close their eyes and answer slowly, and with such a quiet voice that one thinks they are dying. Then they fall into a deep sleep until the following day. At that time no symptoms of excitement come to light but on the contrary, dullness, stupefaction. While they are under the influence of the beverage, they hear everything that is said to them and the next day, have a complete memory of what happened. When one drinks choko for the first time, outbreaks of cold sweat appear, depression and an extremely great weakness and on awakening, great heaviness in the head.

At the beginning of the afternoon, they start drinking choko, which they consider healthy (curative), because as they say, it keeps the body in good order. And in order to keep it in better order, there are people who drink more than a Quartillo."
All kava is put down before the Nanamariki or, when he is not present, before the highest rank holder. He rises and knocks the roots from the shrubs and his friends and favorites help him in this. Only the roots are used to make the drink. The parts of the stem the chief gives the selected or special guests. These latter plant them as cuttings. They fast in advance, or at least, do not eat meat and do not have intercourse. In doing so, they pray.

Kava Charm

Here I plant mine and of the friend's memory kava,
Grow my kava, thrive my kava,
We will race in Otialap around my kava,
The birds sipuerere and kasipuerere, they call, they call:
You have no kava hahahaha!

After about twelve months, according to Hambruch, but really after one to three years, the new plant has grown so much that it is worthwhile to pull it out. Because the need is generally greater than the quantity, thus these gifts are much sought after and a great favor. In more recent times there is less ceremony. Among exultation the individual carriers bring the kava shrubs into the meeting house and knock off the roots themselves, clean them, distribute them on stones, cover them with taro leaves and begin to make the drink. When bringing in the kava they sing:

Kava Song

When the Kava Shrubs are Brought in

Why does one not call? Are the people afraid? o...i...o
Nan i matau, sit down in the good place,
Announce to the Mareniap, that the fleet of the princes stops before the surf, o...i...o
Gen Pant, Mant, the both places they navigate, o...i...o
And blew the shell trumpets. ouo!
The kava is sacred to the Nan Isobau, according to others, to the highest
deity and is consecrated to him in prayers of various kinds, which are said by
the Nanamariki partly already during the planting, partly during the pulling out,
partly during the preparation and also first at the first ceremonial drink.

Kava Song

(is no longer sung today)

Here it is now and comes to the Zapetan, the root of the kava,
It comes, it flies, it hurries to Muasanap',
Pound it there, there on the stone of the sleep.
Make something else of it, make it to the likeness of Li kakei iap,
Squeeze it out into the sacred beaker, Ronalen,
Honor with it the nobles, Ponape, rejoice now about these shrubs, oh!

Kava Morning Prayer

For you is the kava morning drink, Lord Nan Isobau,
It is offered by the priest of this place.
Now turn towards the west, where it is dark,
Now turn towards the east, where it begins to grow light,
Spread out the breast towards heaven, where Nan Zapue stays,

The rest of the kava of the morning, Lord Nan Isobau.

Kava Evening Prayer

This is the name of the prayer: Taskau en Katu sau
I dug the tsakau en Katu sau,
It turns quickly, and shines brightly afterwards.
But now go away
Between Ant and Pakin.
Appear again in the sky of Kusaie,
Spirits of the people remain far from this beaker,
Oh, I am very strong,
And Sirama and Sarama
Go away and come again
As Master and Prince Lampoi, ieh!

Prayer
(during the consecration of the kava)
You Lords Tau Katau, Nan Tsapue, Nan Zarail, Nan Tuenin
Send us out food, breadfruit, breadfruit endless,
Without respite and without interruption,
You Lords Tau Katau, Nan Tsapue, send infinitely much more,
Send and give us the fermented breadfruit,
Also give us fish from the sea,
So that the women, the children, all of them have enough to eat,
You Lords Tau Katau and Nan Tsapue, ieh...e!

Kava Prayer of Palapi
To you I consecrate the beaker, Main Nan Isobau,
To Inos puets, Inos tol
and Inos en Kalak,
Outside of Kalal and inside Kalak,
In Paratik and Paralap,
The places of Paratik and those of Paralap
May the kava here thrive through you,
Main tau Katau, Nan Zapue ie!
Kava Prayer to Nan Isobau (spoken in Meitik)

You speak now, Main Nan Isobau,
And I consecrate to you your beaker
Full of kava from the Pan mei tol,
Mother of Pali, father of Pali.
The young people row outside, row inside,
My two small children
Called Sipe Rou,
Called Sape Rom,
Outside in front of Perou, inside Perou,
In front of Perou tik, in front of Perou lap,
Kava furthers life
Main Nan Isobau ie!

270 and 271 are spoken when the kava is wrung into the beakers.

Kava Prayer of Eireka

Cannot be translated as a whole. It contains the names of the chief settlement
places, of the demons and ancestors of the Nanepei en Mauk.

As a kava prayer Tsakau en Mauk it is spoken at every occasion when kava is
drunk in Eireka.

Charm to Li mot elan and Inas

Here I consecrate to you my kava beaker,
May the place here see the sugarcane of Eir,
From the bush to the shore,
May it thrive like the tops of the reed!
Thus asks you, the Tsau en Kauat,
Mistress Likand Inas!
Kava Consecration in Roi en Iap

Untranslatable

Spirit names and spirit language.

Requests for Fine Weather

In the times when wind, rain and thunder prevail, then we arrange a request for fine weather so that it will be good again. Then the head priest orders all servants to come together in order to fetch kava shrubs. They then go forth and dig kava roots, especially the rametel. They carry many off; they throw them on a heap. The head priest rises and takes his shell knife, then he cuts the kava branches off and says his conjuration four times. Then he cuts the roots off; now all kava leaves are stripped off. He hands everything to the servants, who now have to clean the kava.

When the cleaning of the kava is finished, then a man takes a conch shell and goes to fetch water in it. Now the people bring the kava. The high priest takes a beaker, a man pours water in it and carries it off. The high priest then appoints a man who has to stand on the stone on which the kava is. The man now climbs on the stone with the beaker, while the high priest wants to say the conjuration. The high priest now begins the conjuration. This conjuration has four verses. When one is finished, then the man pours some water from the beaker. As there are four verses, he will pour water out four times. When this is finished, the people who cleaned the kava gather it together and turn it over four times. Then they begin to pound it. Then rhythmically they beat against the stone four times, then they first begin to pound. Next they pound only a little kava, and the high priest holds a beaker ready and waits for the pauses in the beating of the stones. With three blows they end the beating, then the high priest lifts the beaker and twice utters a kind of groan. Next he turns the beaker over and pours it on what will become
kava. In the same moment the final beating ends. Then the high priest again takes his seat and waits for the kava. Now the kava is wrung out in a beaker and brought the first kava to the high priest. He accepts it and prays to Tau Katau and Nan Zapue. This happens four times. Then the other people also may enjoy the drink. When all are drunk with kava, then the high priest commands a beaker to be brought the last one. He accepts the beaker, prays over it again, drinks a little of it and then empties it outside the house. In the time when this sacrifice is made, on the same day the weather is good, wind and rain stop and the thunder no longer speaks. Then all people are well again; then they separate, in order to meet again on the next day and make the same sacrifice for four days, then it is ended. Now they rest one day, then they meet again and once more make sacrifices for four days, which is the end of it. All the people in TsalapuX, who had stopped work again pursue their work in their places.

The Saulik en Tsokola describes the course of a kava festival as follows:

The Festival of the Thick Kava Tubers

At the festival of the thick kava tubers a conjuration is said called akunsX. If there are especially large kava shrubs, they will be taken out of the soil in order to pound them for the Nanamariki. Otherwise no one is allowed to grow thick kava tubers, unless a charm has been spoken before this kava is fetched which is called: Last Kava. When it has grown big, and has more than a hundred branches, and probably even more, if some one fetches thick kava tubers from the ground without the conjuration, he must die. This is what they do with the large-tubered kava, when it is supposed to be pounded, it is taken to the Nanamariki; if they give him a large festival, the iraisol, then many ovens are prepared and then the kava is pounded on many flat stones. They go and fetch the kava. A man sharpens a spear of mangrove wood, then says a charm, then first sticks the spear
under two kava roots, and puts them on two kava leaves, then he puts the kava shrub on top and calls: "for the prince." Then he also lifts the lower ones, puts them beside it and says: "for the princess!"

Then he takes the spear and aims at the kava shrub, four times. Then he begins to cut the kava shrub to pieces. They all cut it, and thus make many kava pieces. With rejoicing, they carry them to the meeting house. There all kava has been collected. Then it is pounded. Finally everything is all pounded. Then they wring it and the first beaker is dedicated to the Nanamariki. The prince takes the beaker, and a man, the Sau'n toi tsakau, then distributes the beaker to the important people. They then hold the beakers in their hands and wait for the Nanamariki to say the kava prayer, then they drink.

This is the prayer.

"In consecrate the kava to you, Lord, that it may climb to you,
Climb into the sea, climb toward heaven, climb toward life,
Come over me, desist from me, honor for you
Honor from you,
Kava juice flow into the beaker,
May the prince always live, finished is the kava, oh Lord,
Finished also the blessing, oh Lord, ie!

Then all beakers full of kave are pounded, for the prayer is ended. Now they sit down to drink kava until late at night. Then they go home.

In O'Connell's time, the Nigurts did the cleaning and pounding of the kava. The pounding stones were then in the gallery, not far from the seats of the nobles.

The kava pounders endeavor to hit the basalt block with their stones simultaneously. Each time there is a ringing sound like a bell.
"The hammering of the kava forms a ceremonialness in itself. The flat stones are laid down with hollow spaces under them by putting dry coconut shells under them and tuned according to the number of bases. The group of men first carry out a kind of clinging hammering on the stones themselves until they fall on the roots in a rapid thresing rhythm in order to announce the end of their work again with a hammering game on the stones."

Formerly they beat in a certain rhythm when the Nanamariki himself was present, that is one, two, three—pause—one—pause—one, two, three, pause. If only a lesser chief was present, the rhythm was: one, two—pause—one, pause, one, two. Meanwhile all workers keep the rhythm which one declares who plays the leader and is the most skillful. Through the blows, a continuous, monotonous and pleasant metallic sound is produced which is very similar to that of a bell. But there in the house, there used to be four or five large stones where they obtain this juice and three men work on each of them, and the stones with which they beat, each has its own quite definite sound during striking and results in, from the unison of tones which they produce in their work, a harmonious, pleasant sounding ringing together which pleases the ear. The natives of the Carolines are very clever in managing these stones, which must be described as musical instruments. They can be compared to the culintangan of the Moors or Mindanao and Jolo. Always when they meet to obatin this plant juice, one of the most skilled workers indicates the rhythm, at the finger signal the hammering begins in rhythmic order until he gives the signal to stop. The beats come quicker and quicker, more eager and finally end in a flurry. During the pounding they sing:

During the Pounding of the Kava

Now it leaps out, ah! Now I let the lie be exposed,
The woman here, this woman, she has bewitched me,
She has put me in flames, I burn as if in the sun,
She has put me in flame, she has lit my heart here always,
Be not sad, I give you the advice, do not take any wife, because you will be bewitched,
I am already bewitched.
Our loving goes badly together.
pou mau e!

Hahl describes the procedure as follows: When everything goes exactly according to the good, old custom, the partaking of the kava is always a sacred affair, accompanied by the ancient songs (ap) designated for this occasion following the rhythm of the drums (eip). (According to Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt II, p. 2, the kava drink with the ap songs also takes place during other religious ceremonies.) Only a few now know how to touch the drum with an experienced hand and to perform the old songs. The understanding of words has generally been lost, even if their meaning is not intentionally concealed. The language now in use on Ponape is not sufficient for their translation.) The following is such as ap:

In the meantime the roots have changed to a dripping wet mass, which has been moistened with water in time intervals, so that the juice drips better and the extract separates better. The mass is kneaded with the hands. Then they pour it on hibiscus fiber strips and wring these out. The obtained juice is caught in coconut shells and handed to the highest present by the commoner, formerly the nigurt. He tastes it and has the beaker handed to the next in rank or another person designated by him. Giving and receiving occur in this way, that the left hand clasp the wrist of the giving or receiving's own right hand.
A custom which is always observed between persons of different rank. The man offering must turn his face away, kneel down and cross his arms, until the other has drunk. Then it is called "iee...e! The chief must be offered some of every drink, whether he takes it or not, and he designates who instead of him is to drink. After the deity has been sacrificed to, the actual kava feast begins. Only the king and his followers drink from the kava made first, all receive some of the liquid pressed out later.

Those present sit in an order exactly determined, the king in the middle, the queen at his left and beside them, according to their rank, the other title holders. To his right sit the other men, next to him the highest of these.

Expressions for the Kava Drinking

Kava Procession. The shrubs are shouldered and carried with the roots pointing forward.

Song
Blowing of the conch
kava shrub decorated with flowers
putting down of the kava shrubs in a pile
place where the shrubs are put down
kava root
separating of the root from the shrub
cleaning of the roots of earth
support for the kava pounding stones
flat kava pounding stones
putting down of the erected pounding stones on the support
kava pounder
kava pounding
accompanying music for pounding
rhythm
kava pulp
kava wringing material from hibiscus bast
wringing out of the kava
kava juice  
kava beaker of coconut shell  
kava presentation  
Chairman of the feast  
call during drinking (Cheers!)  
the first obtained beaker  
the second obtained beaker  
the third obtained beaker  
the fourth obtained beaker  
beaker for the nobles  
the last beaker of the first pounding  
the newly obtained kava  
the last beaker of the feast  
new kava is added to the old  
jokes during the feast  
to drink kava  
kava froth  
prickling of the kava on the tongue and palate  
dregs, unpalatable  
to hand around the beaker  
kava song  
entrance music during the pounding of kava  
frinal music during the pounding of kava  
muffling of the music  
shout of joy  

3. The Eating of Dogs

The festival food, the favority roast of the Ponape people was and is the roast dog. A festival without this is inconceivable. They value the animals so highly, that the women put them to their breasts if necessary. They do this, as O'Connell probably correctly assumes, in order to prevent the bitch from losing its value as a roast by too long or too frequent nursing. Nevertheless,
the animals are kept solely for eating. They are unsociable, quarrelsome, and noisy. Like the kava they form the private property of the owner and their use is reserved for his choice. According to Kittlitz, the Ponape breed of dogs forms something between those which the natives of Sitcha kept and the larger European dachshunds. The color of the hair was white with a few black spots.

While the kava is prepared in the festival house at the same time, the hearths are prepared and in the meantime, the dogs are slaughtered in front of the house. The dog butcher is the sau en sap man. After they are cleaned, the hair is singed and the skin scraped off. After they are taken in and put on glowing stones, according to Hambruch, four are also put in each dog, they are covered with a layer of stones, and green leaves are spread over this in order to prevent the steam from escaping. After half to three quarters of an hour, the roasts are steamed. The nigurts, who are also the cooks, put them in baskets of coconut leaf plaited especially for this purpose, which is not allowed to be used again afterwards. The highest chief present at that time does the carving with a bamboo knife. He keeps the legs for himself as the best pieces. Also in the case of the pig, the front quarter is considered to be the chief's share. What he does not eat, he takes home. The rest he distributes to those present. Only a few dogs are slaughtered for every festival, as they are very valuable, and they are considered only a side dish to the abundantly served yam and breadfruit dishes. The nigurts get the head thrown to them if they are lucky. But generally they go away empty handed and must last on fish. The heart of the dogs (also of the pig) is especially roasted in fat for the chief and offered to him in a little basket. After he has the katiani spoken over it, he eats it.

How the Dog is Killed and Roasted

A man stands up, takes it and puts it on the oven. He turns it and beats it
with his right hand, turns it again and beats it with his left hand and does that four times. Then a man takes it and singes the hair off. Now a man comes in order to clean it. First he cuts into the left front paw, then he cuts into the right hind leg, then the right front paw, then the left hind leg, then he cuts through the throat, then cuts off the left paw, then the right leg, then the right paw, then the left leg; then they grasp into the rectum of the dog and pull the intestines out, tie them and put them in again; then they cut it open, first take the fat of the heart out and put it aside; then they take the esophagus out, tie it and put it in again. Now they grasp the spots where they had cut in and take out all the intestines. They separate all the fat and put it aside, then they take the two kidneys, wrap them in leaves and make two little packages of them, then they cut the liver out, also wrap it in leaves, make four little packages of this and put them aside. Then they cut the tail off, and put it into the oven until it is done, then they take it out and put it aside; then they take four hot stones, put them on banana leaves and put the fat on top. When it is thoroughly roasted, it is put aside. Now a man goes away and fetches coconut leaves and goes up to the sitting gallery with them. There the Nos cuts them and plaits them. Then a man carries it away; he puts eight breadfruit leaves on the plaiting and two banana leaves and puts the heart fat on this and the tail of the dog, then he takes a basket and puts ten breadfruit leaves and two banana leaves in it and puts the remaining abundant fat on top; two men take these plaitings, bring them to the sitting gallery and put them down there, then they go away again; he then takes a palm frond and puts the dog in it. Then he takes a stone out of the oven and puts it into the dog, then four fronds are taken with the left hand and three fronds with the right hand and they are firmly knotted to each other. Now a piece it cut off from it and put on the dog, then it is put into the oven and the dog is covered. When it is done, the oven is opened, the dog
is put into a basket, pieces of the intestine are taken and wrapped around it; then they take it to the sitting gallery, the small packages are likewise taken out of the baskets. Then the Uasai rises, the second paramount chief, and carves the dog, because no one else understands it. He takes a knife and first cuts through the neck, then the left front leg, then the right front leg. He puts them under the neck. Then he cuts the head off and puts it aside. Next he cuts the left hind leg off, then the right hind leg; then he separates the back from the shoulder blades, then he detaches the right, and then the left part of the stomach, then the breast meat, then the meat of the left shoulder blade, then that of the right shoulder blade. Then he cuts the neck off and makes four little packages of dog meat from it, which he puts aside, then he takes the front legs and cuts the Kil en seriso out from between them, wraps it in leaves and hands it to the Naneken.

One of the Sau en nene, who has the title, Auntol en Kiti, now distributes the dog among those present.

The cleaning, preparation and carving of the dog are shown in the sketches, to which Hambruch makes the following remarks:

1. kemuti maun 1. Cuts for separating the neck
2. tekuti mein 2. These parts, still hanging together in
3. pe mein 3. front, are put under the head.
4. tauie maun
5. mona
6. pe maun
7. tauie mein
8. pe mein
9. tauie mein
10. puatai
11. kauue
12. katiu
Before the dog is tied on to the leaf (Illus. 37c) the belly is opened at 12 (Illus. 37A), katu, and the heart fat, keisar, and the intestines, kapue en man, are taken out. The breastbones are taken out too, kapin uora. The separation of the heart fat from the intestines is called muasau. Then the dog is tied. The four knots are called bugebug. The heart is roasted for the Nanamariki over four hot stones in intestinal fat, peisaralap, and handed to him in a little basket plaited from six fronds. The tail is cut off and together with the heart fat, is packed in a special little basket lined with breadfruit and banana leaves. The intestinal fat is put in a similar one. Both are baked separately. The liver, q, is cut into four parts and these are wrapped separately in breadfruit leaves and tied together. Likewise, the bowels which are taken out at 11 (Illus. A) are cut into two parts and then tied together. All this is put into an earth oven which has been torn apart.

Carving the Roast

Everything which is above 5 (Illus 37A) counts as the head. The neck part, between 1 and 2 (Illus. 37B) is cut out. The front and hind buttocks are detached. The piece between 7, 9 and 10 (Illus. 37A) with the four last ribs is separated by a cut (II). Then the ribs are broken off. The neck is divided into four parts. The shoulder piece is also divided further.

At the feast visited by Hambruch, he himself received the back, which he passed on to the Nanekin. After the latter sent it back to him, it took its path via the Nos, the Uasai, until reaching the latter's mother, who kept it. The Nanekin received a shoulder piece, the other the Uasai received. Parts of the right and left sides were given to Hambruch's servant. The tail was given to Naulik, the throat was given at will.
4. Various Customs

The old customs are considered to be law. They are called lamalam. Foreign customs and foreign law is called lamalam en muiua, as contrasted with Ponape law, lamalam en Pon'pei. The opposite of these two is called lamalam toror.

Most of the customs and habits have already been discussed in connection with the events and conditions to which they refer. Here is added only that which is less closely related.

In order to honor or distinguish someone, an honorary present is sent to him, a kasanalean uauen en limpok. It is usually a large sugarcane. If it concerns any other thing, and if the gift is supposed nevertheless to have the precious mentioned character, the sugarcane is added.

If someone carries food and meets another on the way, he must offer him some of it and present him with some of it, kisakis.

When one canoe comes from fishing and meets another, the ceremony of the sakom mam is carried out. One gives a fish to the other (kisakis) and asks where the canoe is going.

When passing a house one receives an invitation to eat from the "basket." But this always means cooked food. Uncooked food items which are demanded, must be paid for.

When a family is sitting at their meal, and someone comes into the house, the person in question is invited, komatsimats. A stranger will refuse, a friend accepts. This is what politeness requires.

When someone makes a present to someone, sapal mau and an abundant one, the other must act in the same way, sapal gatek.

He who gives presents with pleasure and abundantly is a sapan.

The rules of etiquette require the men to sit "like the turks," on their
The women squat on their heels. When a woman meets a man, she must not look into his face. This is also forbidden vis-a-vis the chief.

The Nanekin is greeted with: "gatsalilia isoka!", the Uasai, with "gatsalilia uasai lapalap!"

The greeting, gosomoson, for a man, is gatsalilia main, i.e., good, master! If several are greeted, especially nobles, one says gatsalilia main kau, i.e., good, all gentlemen! or gatsalilia monsapaka! A common woman is greeted "gatsalil," and the name, if known, is added, in the case of a noble woman, the title instead. A large group of people are greeted with gatsalilia seriso, a boy: "gatsalil bau." The most general formula of greeting is: gatsalil ia, i.e., good!

On entering a house the following charm verse is said:

Charm on Entering a House

I look around the corner,
I jump around the corner,
It shines, what shines?
It shines, beautifully it shines.
His appearance, what sort of appearance?
His appearance, a beautiful appearance.
He is surprised, he is blinded.
Who enters the house here
and brings us fish?

The food prohibitions forbid the common man any consumption of fat. Special care is given to the drinking water. No one is allowed to draw from the well of the chiefs or priests. Every house possesses special calabashes isak, for fetching water, from which is drunk ceremonially after the magic, ounani, was performed.
over it. Head chiefs and priests change the vessels for this.

5. The Games

There are as good as no notes made about the games practiced by the natives. They call the sting game, talele. Furthermore they have a curious custom, which is not further explained, a dance, in which one has to touch the holy stones as quickly as possible. Care is taken that this happens very quickly. As the stones in question are sacred, it cannot be assumed that it is a game for amusement, at least not from the start, but rather originally some kind of ritual action.

Also, the children's toys pictured here mostly lack explanation. The top consists of a mangrove fruit, through which the rib of a coconut leaf is stuck. According to the collector, Vice-governor Berg, the top is spun between one's hands, caught in the palm of the hand and tossed into the bend of the elbow. They also let it run down on the arm.
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<td>227</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Christian, loc. cit., p. 95, mentions another religious festival, <em>Arbungenlap</em>, that is held in May-June on the island, Nangutra (Pankatara).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 breadfruit</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 breadfruit</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30 breadfruit</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50-100 breadfruit, peeled, steamed and pounded.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50 whole breadfruits</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30-40 whole breadfruit</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>All ripe breadfruit are plucked and processed.</td>
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<td>228</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pieces of wood are stuck through the core of the breadfruit.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>side bracing.</td>
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<td>229</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Comet's tail, thought of as a spirit.</td>
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<td>230</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hahl, Ethnologisches Notizblatt III, p. 95.</td>
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<td>231</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>After a paddle song.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pereiro, loc. cit., p. 112ff.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pereiro, p. 115. According to Hamburgh, the taste is bitter, cool and stimulating. It makes the legs heavy and leaves the head sober. Until late in the night it keeps the talkative drinkers together. The effects show in feelings of intoxication, headache, heavy tong, tirednes- and the failure of the legs. They fight the hangover with Toddy, sikalui or sugarcane. Heavy drinkers in time receive a rash, which makes them appear powdered yellow-green.</td>
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<td>Footnotes</td>
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<td>239</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>White branches.</td>
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<td>241</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The charm could not be obtained.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The spear was grasped with both hands, pushed down from above on the kava, without touching it.</td>
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<td>242</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>One who presides over the kava.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pereiro, p. 113.</td>
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<td>244</td>
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<td>Pleasant smell!</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Writing of the native.</td>
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<td>245</td>
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<td>Pereiro, p. 114.</td>
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<td>246</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>According to O'Connell, Chapter XIV and VI.</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>von Kittlitz, II, p. 77.</td>
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<td>248</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>because the dog had already eaten in the morning.</td>
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