

The Book of Luellen Luellen Bernart

translated and edited by
John L. Fischer,
Saul H. Rosenberg and
Marjorie G. Whiting



Luelen Bernart, a member of a prominent Ponapean family, was highly regarded for his wealth of traditional knowledge. He wrote this version of his island's history for his relatives and children, but the style of the text reflects the education he received at the Protestant mission school at Ohwa (Oa).

'The Book of Luelen' is the fullest account of Ponape's history that has ever been written by a native of that island. Luelen Bernart gives a comprehensive account of Ponape from the time of its creation to the first European contact. Myths and legends interwoven with history and botanical lore provide a rich source of information about the island.

Luelen Bernart died near the end of World War II, but the record that he leaves behind gives an insider's view of Ponapean history that will delight all those interested in the Pacific and its people.

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Pacific History Series

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Foreword

With the progressive decolonisation of the Pacific Islands territories, the growth of an educated local middle class and, above all, the establishment of universities with vigorous history departments within the region, Pacific history as a study is becoming increasingly island-oriented and interested in the European only in so far as he affects the development of the local societies.

Anyone who attempts to write what may be termed indigenous, as contrasted with expatriate, history soon discovers, however, that his documentary sources have been written in the main by Europeans and, even if not deliberately or unconsciously vitiated by a Eurocentric bias, seldom contain more than incidental references to local detail pertinent to his theme.

Indigenous history, furthermore, has a greater time span than expatriate, extending from the first landing of man on a South Sea beach to the present day; what may be conveniently described as the Pacific Middle Ages extend over a period of several generations between the prehistoric era, where we are mainly dependent on the archaeological record,

and that covered by documentation.

Hence the paramount importance of local oral tradition: as an offset to racist bias in European literature, and as our main source for reconstructing the history of the immediately pre-European contact period. Historians have in the past been deterred from using this rich mine of information by overenthusiastic deductions based on traditional material and made by early students of Polynesian origin, while social anthropologists of the functional school have followed Malinowski in regarding it merely as validating data for modern rationalisations.

Of recent years, however, the use of oral tradition as evidence of historical fact has been revived through the efforts of ethnohistorians engaged in the study of non-literate peoples, notably in Africa and the United States, who have worked out for checking their sources methods based on those found valid in the case of written records.

Possibly as a result of the early neglect, while many fragments of tradition possessing varying historical value are to be found as articles published in local island periodicals, regional scholarly journals, or the works of early collectors such as William Ellis, Fornander, Orsmond or Westervelt, less than a dozen thematically connected collections of local narratives based on oral sources have been published in book form to date: notably there are those of John Papa Ii, Kamakau and Kepelino from Hawaii, Arii Taimai from Tahiti, Te'o Tuvalu from Samoa, Ta'unga, Tamuera Terei and part of Teariki Taraare's work from the Cook Islands, and the Matorohanga and other traditions from New Zealand.

Such collections are necessarily scarce, since they must normally be transcribed after the advent of literacy and before the authentic

memorising of tradition has withered or become distorted by acculturation. Several more, however, are known or suspected to exist and now that their importance is again realised island historians such as Marjorie Crocombe, who has edited Maretu's *Narrative of Cook Islands History* and co-edited (with her husband) *The Works of Ta'unga*; Katharine Kesolei, now working on the *Traditional History of Palau*; and others in the Universities of Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific, or such organisations as the Micronesian Area Research Center, are actively engaged in locating, translating, editing and publishing what can still be retrieved. If a balanced history of the Pacific peoples becomes more than a dream it will be due largely to the labours of these dedicated field workers.

The Book of Luelen is by far the most comprehensive of all the island oral histories which I have seen, beginning as it does with the formation of Ponape and its first peopling and ending with events which took place well within the narrator's lifetime, the last chapters having been dictated to his daughter shortly before his death. Where other works confine themselves to a particular period or theme, such as the history of a clan or the spread of Christianity, Luelen provides a broad synoptic chronicle of the main events affecting his island, as he learnt them in his youth from elders versed in traditional lore or witnessed them himself.

As one would expect from a writer who had no knowledge of the principles of European historiography, Luelen's work differs very materially from the histories with which we are familiar, including for example much information on local custom, lists of plants and animals, and similar data we should not regard as appropriate. It would be surprising if this were not so, for our own historiography is based on Hebrew, Greek, Roman and later European

models and of this literature portions of the Bible were all that had been translated into Ponapean, influencing Luelen probably in the overall planning of his work and certainly in its divisions into numbered chapters and verses (and, of course, in writing his 'Story of the Romans' in the final chapter).

Yet Luelen has given us what is unmistakably a history: a chronicle of events located in time; albeit one based on oral traditional and employing a sequential and genealogical progression in place of our standard chronological system. As he indicates in his brief preface he has selected and arranged his sources into a coherent and consistent narrative, appropriate in terms of Ponapean culture, which tells us, through his selectivity and interpretation, what an islander, rather than a European, considers of historical significance. Too often we forget that our way of viewing the past is dependent on our cultural conditioning, and that there is no reason why the Pacific Islander, conditioned by a quite different cultural heritage, should produce a history similar in concept or content.

How far we can credit oral tradition as evidence of fact must largely depend on the historical sense and interest of the particular community concerned, but among the historically minded Polynesians and Micronesians, where the accurate memorising of traditional narratives was a highly prized accomplishment, it can often provide acceptable evidence of the nature and approximate date (usually based on genealogies) of the more important events affecting a community over a period of several centuries, with an occasional shaft of light concerning crucial migrations that must have taken place in the prehistoric age and are remembered merely as chronologically isolated incidents.

Luelen himself makes no distinction between history and mythology and it will be for future Micronesian historians to work out, in the light of comparative sources, the extent to which we can consider his narrative as historically valid. At this stage of our knowledge, however, it would seem not unreasonable to hypothesise that, interspersed with much mythology, we begin to get a record of historical events from the time of the Lords of Teleur and the building of Nanmatol; with the proviso that even an approximate dating must await the collection and cross-checking of clan genealogies.

Meanwhile *The Book of Luelen* will be treasured by the islanders of the Pacific, and in particular the people of Ponape and the Carolines, as a literary masterpiece they can be justifiably proud of; and by scholars of all races engaged in Pacific studies as a unique quarry of information on historical and other traditional knowledge written by a Ponapean savant to whom, unlike us, learning had not yet become departmentalised.

The formidable task of translating, editing and annotating this book has been undertaken by three Ponapean specialists: Dr John L. Fischer, Professor of Anthropology at Tulane University; the ethnohistorian Dr Saul H. Riesenbergh, Senior Ethnologist at the Smithsonian Institution; and the research consultant Dr Marjorie G. Whiting. To list their combined publications on the anthropology, history and ethnohistory of Ponape would take several pages: suffice it to say that among them they cover, in their varied specialisations, detailed expertise on the whole range of subjects touched on by Luelen, coupled with a fluency in the Ponapean language and culture gained by extensive periods of fieldwork on the island.

Despite a general consensus of opinion as to the scholarly value of Luelen's book, it proved

impossible to print in full the many hundreds of editorial annotations on linguistic justifications and alternative translations, references to other versions, conjectural explanations, geographical identifications of place-names, details of artifact construction techniques, and the like, the abbreviated footnotes which accompany the text being perforce confined to explanations considered absolutely essential to its proper understanding. As explained elsewhere, however, the editors' commentary in full, with a biological glossary and another of proper names, is contained in a separate processed volume obtainable from the publishers, which all interested in the detailed study of this multifaceted encyclopaedia of Ponapean lore are advised to acquire.

Canberra, 1975

H.E. Maude

Supplementary Volume

Considerations of publishing economics have necessitated the editors' full annotations, as cited by numbered references in the text, being relegated to a separate supplement, with only such excerpts from them as seemed essential to the comprehension of the narrative being included as footnotes to the main volume.

The Book of Luelen, as written or dictated by Luelen Bernart himself and translated by his three editors, thus stands as a classic of Oceanic literature; while those seeking information on the many allusions to Ponapean customs or mythology, the names of people, places, flora, fauna and objects, alternative textual renderings in other manuscripts, doubtful translations, problems of phonemics or etymology, and other points of linguistic and literary exegesis will find them dealt with in full in the supplementary volume. It also includes a glossary of proper names and a biological glossary and may be obtained in an offset edition from the Australian National University Press, or through booksellers, at a recommended price of \$6.95.

In the supplementary volume references to

the main work give chapter and paragraph number (e.g. Ch. 61.3) and to the notes give chapter and note number (e.g. n61.3).

Orthographic Note

A writing system for the Ponapean languages was first developed by American Protestant missionaries in the 1850s. This was used for publishing school readers, hymns, and translations of parts of the Bible, principally the New Testament. This system appears to have reflected principally the speech of the people of Matolenim, with perhaps some influence from speakers of Kiti, where the Protestant efforts were centered. It is this system that Luelen uses here.

Later Spanish Catholic missionaries whose efforts were centered in Net independently developed their own spelling system for Ponapean, which in some respects differed from the earlier American one. In the later American period after World War II studies of the language by the linguist Paul Garvin and others revealed certain deficiencies of both earlier systems, and resulted in the adoption of several changes in the earlier orthographies. Some matters are still under discussion by a government sponsored orthography committee which is advised by personnel from the Pacific and Asian Languages Institute of the University of Hawaii, but the basic set of symbols used in

official documents and to be used in future mission publications now appears to be set. In Luelen's text, whenever we spell a word in the new orthography, we enclose it in brackets, as we do all other interpolations, while parentheses are by Luelen. Words in the new orthography are also italicised throughout this work.

The principal differences between the three systems are:

1. The early American and Spanish systems represented a phonemic distinction between long and short vowels only occasionally, by writing the vowel twice. The new Standard Orthography (generally abbreviated in this volume as S.O.) represents long vowels by a following *h*, which has no other phonological significance — it is *not* a consonant.

2. The American orthography used *j* for a sound that the Spanish and S.O. write as *s*. In modern pronunciation this sound is generally closer to American English *s* than *j*, but there is evidence that the pronunciation of this phoneme has changed over the last century.

3. The American orthography used an *n* with a superimposed dot and the Spanish orthography used an *n* with a tilde for the velar nasal that S.O. represents with the digraph *ng*.

4. The American and Spanish orthographies both used a single letter, *t*, to represent two distinct *t*-like sounds, a front and back *t*. These are represented distinctly in the S.O. by *d* and *t* respectively. Note that the *d/t* distinction in the S.O. is essentially one of position of articulation and has nothing to do with voicing, unlike English. Voicing is phonemically irrelevant in Ponapean.

5. The American and Spanish orthographies distinguish only five vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, with values roughly as in Spanish, whereas the S.O. adds a sixth vowel, represented by a diagraph, *oa*. This is a low back vowel roughly like the *aw* sound in English 'law'. This is written

alternately as *a* or *o* in the American and Spanish orthographies, but is phonemically distinct from either.

6. The American and Spanish orthographies tend to create the appearance of more consonant clusters than occur in Ponapean by omitting some short vowels, more or less at random, especially when unstressed. Both Spanish and English have a greater variety of consonant clusters than Ponapean and the tendency to omit short vowels probably developed from the attempt to transliterate English and Spanish words into mission orthographies with a minimum change from the European languages of origin.

7. Most local dialects of Ponapean, possibly all, contain seven vowel phonemes, although the frequency, functional load, and phonetic quality of the seventh vowel phoneme differ from dialect to dialect. This seventh vowel phoneme has been variously written as *a*, *e*, and *o*, depending in part on the adjacent consonants, which affect its quality somewhat. In the American Protestant orthography the seventh vowel was most often written as *a*, while in the Spanish Catholic orthography it was more often written as *æ*. A proposal to represent the seventh vowel by the diagraph *ae* has failed to meet acceptance because of the variable distribution of this phoneme in the various local dialects, and the phonetic difference in its pronunciation between dialects, including subdialects of the two large dialect areas, Main and Kiti. S.O. generally uses *e* for this vowel, following the Spanish orthography as developed for the Net-U area of the Main dialect. While this is a compromise of the phonemic principle it appears necessary in order to achieve acceptance of the S.O. by speakers of dialects with varying vowel systems. Since Luelen was a Protestant speaker of one of the Kiti dialects, he most commonly wrote this seventh vowel as *a*,

which is most often transliterated by us into *e* where appropriate in the Main dialect. However, the seventh vowel in the Kiti dialect also corresponds in many words of the Main dialect to a different vowel, the low back vowel *oa*. This, along with the fact that the seventh vowel in the Kiti dialect is farther back than in the Main dialect, has led speakers familiar with the Main dialect to assume that the seventh vowel in the Kiti dialect is identical with the low back vowel *oa*, which it is not.

8. American and Spanish orthographies wrote double consonants erratically, often confusing them with single consonants. The following consonants occur doubled: *m*, *mw*, *n*, *ng*, *r*, *l*. In the S.O. double *mw* is written as *mmw*, while double *ng* is written as *ngg*; for other double consonants the letter is simply repeated.

9. The semi-consonants *w* and *y* are found phonetically in Ponapean preceding a vowel at the beginning of words, between two vowels within words, and following a vowel at the end of words. They are sometimes derived from short vowels *u* and *i* respectively, and apparently do not contrast with these. In the S.O. the practice has developed of writing initial and intervocalic phonetic *w* as *w*, while writing final phonetic *w* as *u*; and writing all instances of phonetic *y* as *i*. In the earlier American and Spanish orthographies *u* and *i* were generally used in these places, although the American orthography sometimes used *w* and the Spanish occasionally used *y*.

10. In both the American and Spanish orthographies the rounded labials represented in the S.O. by *pw* and *mw* were written sometimes as *pu* and *mu*, especially before a vowel, and sometimes simply as *p* and *m*, especially in final positions or before *u* or *o*. In the S.O. these are written consistently as *pw* and *mw* in all positions.

A summary of spelling correspondences is given below:

<i>American Protestant</i>	<i>Spanish Catholic</i>	<i>Standard Orthography (S. O.)</i>
p	P	p
pu, p	pu, p	pw
t	t	d
t	t	t
k	k	k
m	m	m
mu, m	mu, m	mw
n	n	n
ñ	ñ	ng
j	s	s
r	r	r
l	l	l
i	i, y	i (as semi- consonant)
u, w	u	w, u (semi- consonant)
i	i	i
e	e	e
a, o	e, a, o	e (‘seventh vowel’)
a	a	a
o, a	o, a	oa
u	u	u
(Long vowels sometimes repeated)		h (sign of long vowel)

Even where two dialects share the ‘same’ vowel phonemes for most shared vocabulary items, different dialects sometimes have different vowels for particular words: e.g., Main dialect *mwohn*, Kiti dialect *mwoahn* — ‘before’, but both dialects *pohn* — ‘above’; Main dialect *sakau*, some Kiti dialects *soakoa* — ‘kava’. Consonant differences between

dialects on Ponape island are rare and the few occurring are not systematic.

Names and other forms cited in the standard orthography in the footnotes, glossaries, and bracketed notes in the text have been divided into morphemes where possible by hyphens (within a word) and spaces (between words) as judged by the editors. In some cases it is clear that a morpheme does not constitute an independent word, e.g. the common prefixes and suffixes and the roots to which they are attached. In other cases, as in the combination of two noun morphemes in a title, the decision is debatable, and has often been made on the basis of an editorial impression of the closeness of attachment existing between the two morphemes in spoken Ponapean. Often there are morphological processes applying to closely attached morphemes, such as vowel shortening and change, and the insertion of prothetic vowels between the morphemes. These have generally been used as evidence of close attachment of morphemes within a single word.

Reduplicated morphemes are not hyphenated, although this would be possible. Two forms of reduplication are found in Ponapean: initial and final. Initial reduplication involves the repetition and attachment of the first short syllable CVC or equivalent to the beginning of the word, with a prothetic vowel inserted between the added syllable and the word proper under certain conditions. Final reduplication involves the repetition and attachment to the end of the word the last short syllable CVC or equivalent, again with insertion of a prothetic vowel in the juncture under certain conditions. Morphemes consisting only of a short syllable CVC show no overt difference between initial and final reduplication, but the form may be assigned to one or the other category according to the form class of the morpheme involved and the

semantic effect on the form in context.

The construct suffix, *-en*, *-Vm*, *-n*, permits some ambiguity as to where it begins when attached to morphemes appearing to end in a long vowel (e.g., *poh-n*, 'top of', 'above'). One would be at least equally justified in regarding this as an instance of a morpheme ending in a short vowel with the vowel of the construct suffix being modified to accord with the preceding vowel and fusing with it phonetically.

Where a prothetic vowel is inserted between two morphemes in a compound word we have generally separated it by hyphens from both the preceding and following morphemes. One could also make an argument for attaching these vowels to either of the morphemes between which it occurs or even to both (overlapping morphemes), but these procedures would increase the variability of the morphemes. Prothetic vowels are ignored in the glosses. They are most commonly *i* or *e*, although other vowels may also be involved through principles of vowel harmony. They are always short in themselves, although at times they may fuse with an adjacent (usually preceding) short vowel to form a single long vowel.

Hyphenation has nothing to do with internal phonetic juncture. It has been inserted as a guide to morphological analysis, not pronunciation.

Note on the Song Texts

Chapters 57, 64, 70, and 85 of this work contain a number of Ponapean songs. Our translations are sometimes incomplete. Passages in the songs are of varying intelligibility to modern Ponapeans. The songs are mostly sung in chorus and used for various traditional dances. The average singer is accustomed to learning many passages by rote without understanding their meaning. Many who know the texts are reluctant to try to explain the meaning, unless the associated myth is well known to them and considered to belong to their clan or home locality. Ponapeans expect that song texts will include some esoteric proper names, names of ritual paraphernalia, archaic sayings, and the like. For public recital or performance in dancing it is enough to know the sounds of the obscure passages. Admittedly, speakers who do not understand the meaning of certain passages are likely to mishear them slightly and make small errors in their repetition. Where multiple Ponapean written versions exist the songs generally show the greatest variability between texts precisely in those passages that are hard to understand and translate in any version.

Since people try to remember song texts

verbatim, songs are less easily changed in response to changing social pressures than the myths that the songs celebrate. Eventually the content of the myth tends to diverge from that of the related song. Of course, these song texts are typically elliptical and present a disconnected series of selected images from the myth in any case, but in some cases the song comes to contradict certain important features of the myth. If the outline of the myth is known these contradictions bother the singers and experts in traditional lore, and they may try to reinterpret passages in the song text or eliminate whole stanzas to get rid of the inconsistencies.

All of these songs were probably composed by one or another single person at some point in the past. When a song is newly composed and is still consistent with its myth there are probably a number of people besides the composer who understand even the most obscure parts of the text. After the song has been passed down verbatim for several generations and has started to diverge from its myth there may be no one who understands certain passages. These passages then become in effect meaningless for the folk audience, although a more thorough study of Ponapean songs, myths, and vocabulary than we have attempted might someday enable reconstruction of many of them, especially where an accurate phonemic transcription of the spoken Ponapean text (more accurate than the ambiguous orthography used by Luelen and his copyists) is available. Probably when too much of a song or stanza becomes meaningless it is likely to be forgotten, but a certain proportion of effectively meaningless passages is accepted as a kind of evidence that the song is old and deals with some important esoteric aspect of tradition.

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Introduction

The manuscript translated herein is one of a number of records of myth and lore that various people of Ponape have made for their own purposes since learning how to write their language from Western missionaries. At the time of our visits to Ponape in the early years of the American administration of the Trust Territory of Micronesia following World War II this particular manuscript, written by the Ponapean Luelen, was the best known and the most highly reputed on the island. It was also the most extensive manuscript any of us saw.

Many copies of Luelen's manuscript exist today on Ponape. They are in different handwritings and are evidence of the strong interest Ponapeans have in the manuscript. Minor differences in the spelling of certain names and other trivial differences in transcription indicate that the three present editors each saw and used different copies. Marjorie G. Whiting saw one made by Caroline, the wife of Henry Nanpei, and worked with it in 1952-54. We will refer to this copy hereafter as Manuscript 1. Saul H. Riesenbergr in 1947 saw a copy (Manuscript 2) in the possession of Oliver Nanpei, Henry's son, possibly one made by the author, Luelen, himself. In 1963 Riesenbergr worked with the longest and most complete version (Manuscript 3) any of us saw; it was made by Sahrihna, Luelen's daughter. John L. Fischer saw a partial copy (Manuscript 4) made by one of Luelen's relatives, who insisted on remaining anonymous, as well as a version (Manuscript 5) of what was described as an earlier draft of the same 'book' by a second anonymous relative. (Hereafter reference to the three editors will be by their initials, W, R, and F) All these versions were used in preparing the present translation, but its primary basis is the Sahrihna manuscript, No. 3.

The existence of this work by Luelen was well known to Americans in the administration interested in Ponapean tradition. In fact, it is likely that any foreigner visiting Ponape and expressing an interest in the history of the island will be told about the book and eventually be shown a copy. Other interested foreign visitors, both Japanese and American, may well have made notes or copies of part or all of the Luelen manuscript. If so, it is to be hoped that these people will be stimulated to publish or otherwise make available to scholars any further information they may have about Luelen, the history of the manuscript, or the interpretation of questionable passages in it.

We ourselves have little information on the writing of this manuscript, beyond what Luelen himself tells us in his prefatory

remarks. However, similar works are still being written by various people, and Luelen's intentions in doing so were probably similar to those of the more recent Ponapean authors. In general, much of the content of these later manuscripts is regarded as valuable esoteric knowledge, which the author has recorded either as an aid to his own memory or for the benefit of certain close relatives, especially children. Typical contents of such works include origin myths, songs or poems connected with the myths, magical spells, lists of old customs and lore, etc. All these are found in the Luelen manuscript, although the emphasis there is on myths and history and, secondarily, on lists of useful plants and animals.

Some of the later manuscripts are primarily notebooks in which the writer records what he hears from various persons whom he considers to be authorities. In such case the writer may not always know the full meaning of what he hears and records, being concerned first of all with getting down on paper the phonological shape of key words and phrases. Others tend more to represent syntheses of myths, legends, and similar forms of oral literature that the author has heard repeatedly over an extended period from a number of other persons. It is our impression that Luelen's book is for the most part such a synthesis.

We have no indication that Luelen wrote this book with the hope of having it published. It does not appear to be an attempt to justify Ponapean ways to missionaries or other foreigners. The preface indicates, despite its typically Ponapean modest disclaimers, that Luelen viewed himself as a historian and as a recorder of native knowledge, concerned that Ponapeans of later times should know their own culture and the events of their past. He wrote for his own people.

The Ponapean intellect has something of a synthetic tendency. Ponapeans are often concerned about the sequence in time of their various myths, and with how apparent contradictions may be explained. It is significant that the first text the German ethnographer Paul Hambruch collected in 1910, from his chief informant, Lewis Kehoe, was an overview of Ponapean history from the time of the mythical creation of the island to that of the arrival of Westerners (Hambruch I: 333-40). It is possible, and even highly likely, that Luelen and Lewis Kehoe when younger had both heard similar and more extended narrations from some of the same sources, especially since the two men lived in nearby parts of the island — eastern Kiti (Uone) and southern Matolenim (Lot) respectively. (Lewis Kehoe, the son of Joe Kehoe, an Irishman from New York who was a settler

on Ponape soon after the American Civil War, was highly respected even years after his death as an authority on Ponapean tradition. His younger brother, Warren, also known as Ricardo, who was living in our time and had a similar reputation, was an informant to both Hambruch and ourselves.)

During Luelen's lifetime very little had been published in the Ponapean language except a somewhat stilted translation of parts of the Bible and some other religious literature. These were prepared in part by American missionaries who were native speakers of English, but even where native speakers of Ponapean helped the translation tended to be too literal. These translations therefore cannot be said to have served as much of a model of literary style, and all the native manuscripts we have seen, Luelen's included, are written in something very close to colloquial narrative style. In some of the manuscripts that we have seen the difficulty of setting down words in writing, due to lack of sufficient practice and to a somewhat confused orthography, has resulted in a rather terse, telegraphic style, but this sort of style is admired in speech, at least for Ponapean males. We have tried in the translation to preserve the flavour of Ponapean speech, in this and other respects, sometimes at the expense of elegance in English.

Probably the Bible has had a minor influence on format in the numbering of 'chapter and verse' in the Luelen text. The numbering of sentences or short paragraphs of myths is, of course, not found in actual speech, but is present in the translated Bible. Luelen's inclusion of favourable references to the early Protestant missionaries further suggests the Bible as a model for the numbering.

Some information about Luelen is given in *The Island of Ponape: An Ecological Study*, by the Japanese anthropologist Kinji Imanishi and associates. Translation by F of a relevant passage is given below with his kind permission.

The village chief Luelen was a white-haired man over seventy years old, and was endowed with a long oval face and a really noble appearance appropriate for a chief. For clothing, moreover, he wore neat trousers and a dress shirt. It is said that when he was young he had gone to Hongkong and vicinity and that his information was very extensive. He was a relative of the Nanpeis of Ronkiti, and following Oliver Nanpei's example, he used his own title as his family name, going by the name of Luelen Nanlik. [He signs his preface Luelen Bernart. His native name was Linnentalu, 'Bright Standing Bowl'.] While his station in life was neither Naniken or Nanmariki [the two highest Ponapean titles in

each of the five formerly independent petty states], it appears that he was recommended for the position of village chief [the second ranking title in the official native governments under Japanese administration; the top title was 'supreme village chief'] because of his moral influence, and he also commanded great influence among our countrymen. In the special guest room with which we were provided, there was hung a souvenir photograph of him in Japanese haori and hakama in the first [government sponsored] group touring our homeland, and a framed letter of public recognition dated August 1920 from the commanding officer of the Temporary South Seas Islands Defense Force for a project in which at personal expense he renovated the paths of his village. Since he did not understand the Japanese language we spoke in English. He said he had learned English in his youth from the elder Nanpei [Henry Nanpei, father of Oliver]. On one table in a corner of the guest room there was piled a Bible and an elementary arithmetic book printed in Ponapean, a school notebook in which he had carefully written down things in Ponapean, a collection of hymns in English, etc. The Roman alphabet is used to write Ponapean, and the Bible, elementary arithmetic book, etc., depend for publication on the American Boston Mission. We, with our attitude of thoroughly progressive foreigners, were a little taken aback, for if we reflect, although it is twenty years since our occupation, I have not yet heard that our country has published books in the island languages. Of course, we may say that there is not such a need for this since we are pouring our efforts into the spread of Japanese, but a person such as Luellen says that he had thought for a long time that he would like to study Japanese, but had not been able to, since no Japanese-Ponapean dictionary had been published.

The two-storey building with which we were provided was specially constructed last year to entertain officials and others on their visits to Wene, and was a splendid building of mangrove woods, such as *Sonneratia caseolaris* and *Xylocarpus granatum*. Attached directly to the back of it is an ordinary structure, and the family lives there. As for what is meant by 'family,' this includes in all the village chief and his wife, their son [Wililinter], over forty years old, and the servant girls added because their daughter [Mihpel], the wife of the supreme chief [the Nanmariki Moses] of Matolenim, had returned with two grandchildren.

Imanishi's book includes a chart (p. 261) providing some genea-

logical information about Luelen, to which we have added some details obtained from other Ponapeans. The total impression given by Luelen's family connections is of a rather high social position. Luelen was of the Lipitan clan, whose members (of the proper subdivision) are eligible in Kiti to hold the title of Naniken, which is the highest title in the second line. His wife, Klara, was of the Jaunpok clan. He had two daughters and one son, Wililinter. One daughter, Mihpel, married the Nanmariki Moses of Matolenim and bore him ten children (but was later divorced from him after Imanishi's book was written). The other daughter, Sahrihna, married a man named Koropin, who was a Ponapean policeman in the Japanese period, and in 1963 bore the title Nanjauririn, which is the third title in the second line of titles. Being a policeman was a position of some importance at the time, although less exalted than that of Mihpel's husband.

One of Luelen's matrilineal cousins (mother's sister's daughter) was married to the Nanmariki Sigismundo of Kiti. Henry Nanpei, the richest Ponapean of his age and himself the son of Nanku, a former Naniken of Kiti, married Caroline, a sister of Luelen's wife. Luelen was thus in the position of being an uncle by marriage to Oliver Nanpei, Henry's oldest son surviving to maturity and his principal heir. Nanku, the former Naniken, was at the same time the classificatory brother of Luelen's mother's mother. Further, when Luelen's father died, Henry Nanpei's adoptive father, who had succeeded Nanku as Naniken of Kiti and had married his widow, took Luelen into his care too.

Luelen's father was of the Tipuinman or Creature clan, which supplies the holder of the title of Nanmariki (the supreme chief) in Kiti. When he died he held the title Tauk, which is the third in the Nanmariki line. We do not know the lineage of the father within the clan, or his relation to Sigismundo, the Nanmariki at the time; conceivably it may have been close, since both men lived in the same, southeastern area of Kiti.

Luelen tells us that he was born November 28, 1866. He grew up in the days before Ponape came under foreign domination, which began effectively on a small scale with the establishment of the Spanish administrative centre on the opposite side of the island in 1885. However, the period of Luelen's youth was one in which American Protestant missionaries had considerable influence in certain parts of the island. One of the first mission sites was in Kiti district. Nanku, the Naniken of Kiti, who has already been mentioned, was a sponsor of this station.

Luelen apparently lived on throughout World War II and died soon after the beginning of the American occupation, in September 1946 one informant says. According to Sahrihna the last portions of Ms. 3, Chapters 66-85, which were absent from any other copy seen by the three editors, were dictated to her by Luelen in his last illness, when he was too weak to write. The book was therefore written over the period 1934 to 1946. But its historical importance is much greater than these relatively late dates suggest, for it is a synthesis of materials recalled from earlier memories, going back to Spanish and pre-Spanish times.

The Book of Luelen

Rentu, Uone, Ononlañ, Kiti

I am Luelen Bernart. I began this book in the year 1934, Feb. 24.

1. I have made this book to serve as a reminder of the beginnings of all the great accounts of olden times; not many accounts, but only certain ones, and they are not so very correct, for there is no person whose accounts are in good sequence, and their accounts of origins are poorly expressed; but this is a reminder of these matters of olden times.

2. Now these matters do not lie well because the way they set down their accounts does not fit together well; moreover there are no times which they recorded in these accounts.

3. However, I want us to try to set things straight and piece them out and fit them together a little at this time; let those who know hear and correct this later. So this book is for reminding us about certain kinds of things that they did in the past, and about certain names that they gave to certain lands, some of the trees, large and small, and also some of the words used to nobles and to commoners. It also informs us about how the reigns and times improved, for the reign of enlightenment has been always increasing.

I, Luelen Bernart, was born Nov. 28 in the year 1866.

Chapter 1

The beginning of the story of Ponape in olden times. In olden times a canoe set forth from the shores of a far-off land. The first voyage arriving in.¹

1. There was a man Japkini who made a canoe that was large and deep, that would be sufficient for many people to ride in. He then hunted together the people who wanted to go along with him; everyone who wanted to go along with him. He then called together the crew of the vessel, for he wanted to go forth² and hunt for Kitoroilañ [Eaves of Heaven] Tapuaijo.³ He therefore called together the crew of the vessel.

2. Here are the names of the people of the canoe. Those who went along with it, all of them, men and women. They are the ones whose names have become names of the parts of the canoe at present.⁴

Names of the men

1. Japkini
2. Jaupeleti [Master of Hewing Down]
3. Jaupelata [Master of Hewing Up]
4. Nipalatakenlañ [... of Heaven]

Names of the women

1. Lijapikini [Woman Turning over . . .]
2. Lipalikini [Woman Hewing . . .]
3. Litorkini [Woman Weaving . . .]
4. Lipuektakalañ [Woman Raising up of Heaven]

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 5. Perenu | 5. Limuetu [Woman....] |
| 6. Lahperen | 6. Lienkatautik [Woman of Little Rain] |
| 7. Jutakono [Mast of the Waves?] | 7. Lieulele [Woman of Clear Weather] |
| | 8. Lioramanpuel [Woman.... Earth] |
| | 9. Lijaramanpuel [Woman.... Earth] |

3. Now, the woman named Lipalikini was the one who hewed out the hollow of the canoe, while Lijapikini was the one who carved the designs of the canoe, along with the outrigger of the canoe, and Litorkini was the one who wove the sail for the canoe, and made fibre from the outer layers of the trunk of banana trees, making thread from this, and then weaving it into a sail for them. This was the sail that was named Ienjamat [Belly of Jamat]. The real name of sails is Ii (meaning something to move the canoe about). The mast is termed Jutakono and was the thing that stood up and supported the sail.⁵

4. Japkini decided that if the canoe kept going on and on, it should really discover land. They thought that the sky was like a house that had eaves, for they saw how the sky came down to the surface of the sea. Supposedly if people went past it and got outside of it they would find that there was a land there.

5. They started out and sailed forth. When they raised their sail, its brightness flashed and calmed the sea. A calm descended and spread out. The man called two women, whose names were Lienkatautik and Lieulele to come up and secure wind for the sail.⁶ They then came travelling on in this direction, for they believed that they would find some good land for themselves.

6. They came on and met an octopus⁷ in the middle of the sea. They greeted it humbly and the octopus asked their identities saying, 'Who are you people in this canoe?' The man replied 'I am Japkini, who is looking about for land, and now I would like you to teach me things, for I do not know true and correct behaviour.' The man also asked the octopus, 'What is your name, and where do you live?' The octopus replied, 'I am Litakika who lives on a submerged reef which extends from the West to the East.' The man then begged of the octopus to be excused. They then set forth and raised their sail, travelling on and on in this direction. As they came they discovered the reef which the octopus had told them about.

7. Now there was an exposed part on the reef, on which there was a little piece of coral. It was somewhat large. It had no vegetation on

it. This place was named Namueiaj [Lagoon of Life], while the reef was named Ponnamueiaj [Above the Lagoon of Life], and they gave the piece of coral the name of Tierenjap [Bit of Land] (or) Tierenjau [Bit of Reef]. They inspected it and supposedly it would be good for becoming land. Now the day when they reached that place, the canoe spanned the bit of coral; that is, the little bit of land came between the body of the canoe and the outrigger float.

8. They then started their work of making land. They built up the land and spread it out so that it might make a *level place*.⁸ Their work kept getting larger and larger. It is said that they called together [magically] all the stones for it from far places. Now the land could not be really good for the waves of the sea kept splashing it apart. They then called for Katiñanik to come and protect the land from the waves. However, this was not successful for the open sea was close to the edge of the land. They then decided that if the land was within an enclosure it would probably be satisfactory. They then called Kateñenior [Stabiliser of the Shore] to come and surround the land. Now Kateñenior is the barrier reef and Katiñanik is the mangrove. The meaning of the mangrove was their surprise. When the mangrove seed first floated in with the tide and then, when the tide went out and became shallow, the seed of the tree became planted, and it stood up and its roots were established, and it began to be established on the reef. They were amazed at it and said, 'Aak!' This is why the tree is named Aak (mangrove).⁹

9. Now this project was satisfactory, and the land became better, and all things were settled, and the work of two women also turned out well. These were Lioramanpuel and Lijaramanpuel. The two of them dug up earth on to the platform and it was improved. When the platform became large and formed a land they gave it the name of Pei [Stone Structure] and everything that was on top of this rock they called Ponpei [i.e. Ponape; On the Stone Structure].

10. They then wanted to return to their true land from which they had first come. Here is how their vessel was at that time. They had a vessel that had only one mast with three sails on it.¹⁰ As for their provisions and such things, they prepared a small place on the canoe, which was suitable for some soil from the land to be put there, so they could plant some food plants that would grow and bear during their long stay at sea.¹¹ In this kind of work, those who had migrated from the foreign place brought much earth. They then decided that one of them should stay and guard the land, so Limuetu and her husband¹² stayed and watched over the land, while all the others accompanying the canoe returned to their home.

11. But Limuetu remained and guarded the land. She then became pregnant and bore children. She bore son[s] and daughter[s]. They multiplied in the land, and the land became populous, but they were more ignorant than those who came and started the land for when they had come they had clothes and changes of clothing. But, after they had stayed there awhile they became naked, for they had nothing with which to make their clothes.

12. Now the woman and her children kept endeavouring to do their work. Moreover they did not have much food, or good food. Such fruit as *Morinda* and the like quickly sprouted forth from the earth. Also the dry land taro. It was foods such as these that first appeared in this land.

The second voyage

13. Later another voyage arrived. The captain of the canoe was a man named Konopuel, and his wife was Likarepuel. This couple also helped the work of the land, and scooped up earth into the stone structure. Now they had no houses to reside in. For a long time they used to live under rocks.

The third voyage

14. Later four men also arrived at Ponape. Their names were Pakilap, Pakitik, Jolap and Jotik. These men came from a place named Imuinkatau [The Extremity of Katau].¹³ Now they came and found that the land was good and it also had inhabitants, but they had no houses, so they began to make houses. Now these houses were like houses, but they had nothing to make thatch with, for there was not yet much vegetation which had grown from the land. Here are those which first grew out of the earth: first grass and certain small plants, and the trees *Ficus tinctoria* and *Morinda citrifolia*. The kinds which the people of olden times could eat were Polynesian arrowroot, wild yams, dry land taro, giant swamp taro, true taro, and so forth, from the earth.

The fourth voyage

15. Later a man named Meteriap¹⁴ [came]. He was the one who propagated the ivory nut palm and provided thatch for the houses with it, and this was the beginning of houses in the land.¹⁵

16. And they named this structure Ponpei [Ponape].¹⁶ The meaning of this is that they made the land on the reef platform.

¹ Luellen's version of the story of the discovery and construction of Ponape provides

more details about the voyage of discovery, including the names of those who took part in it, and has probably gained a greater prestige on the island in recent times than any other version.

³ The place where the Ponapeans thought the underside of heaven came down to earth like the eaves of a house, as para. 4 indicates. The eaves of the native Ponapean house were only a foot or so above the ground.

⁴ This whole account of sixteen people in a canoe of discovery is very probably connected with a certain method of divination practiced widely in the Caroline Islands. The spirits who originally taught man how to divine by this system and who control events to come are seated in a certain order in a 'canoe of destiny'.

¹¹ Conceivably the ocean-going vessels that once visited Ponape may have carried new varieties of plants for planting and the more recent chiefs' canoes may have had an earth box for a small fireplace, as do the canoes of the central Carolines, for preparing fish.

Chapter 2

The story of the canoe coming back again to Ponape

1. Now the canoe, which the women had originally accompanied hither, came back again to investigate the condition of the land, and whether the woman was living well or not. They came and found that her residence was successful and [that she] had populated the land, and they urged her to accompany them and return to her true home. But the woman did not want to do so for she was sorry¹ for her children, and her children also were not used to the others. The canoe therefore returned.

2. The land then had inhabitants and these increased somewhat. They made clothes out of leaves of trees which they would string together, for they had not yet found things for making their clothing.

3. After their mother was no longer with them, they were exceedingly stupid,² for their mother Limuetu became a blind³ woman and very decrepit but she did not die. She was transformed and changed into a small creature which flies about in the air to this day. This is what started the term which we call Tipuinman [Creature Clan],⁴ for this was when the woman's clan separated from those who immigrated, who were named Jaun Air [Masters of the South],⁵ and when the inhabitants of the land multiplied and became numerous, their habitations also improved, for they had houses and the like. And their food supply also became greater. The woman gave birth and the land kept getting bigger all the time. During the generations of people from the women, their mother, to the present, a very long time indeed has passed.

4. Now, the place where they first resided was called Nanmair,⁶ meaning in the middle of Ponape. As for their habitations, they did not live together in a single place. This is why they were not acquainted with each other, and they were not on good terms with each other, but were only considerate of those to whom they were really related. They also ate raw food all the time, for they did not yet have fire, for they did not know how to make fire, and the people of the land became a little more numerous for the women gave birth, and the mutations of the people of that time gave rise to two kinds.

Chapter 3

How the kinds of people differed from each other. The story of the cannibals

1. When people became different from each other and formed two kinds, one of the kinds was named Arem [humans] and the other kind was called Liat [cannibals].¹ This kind originated from among the women. The beginning of the differing of this kind from people originated from small children. When some girls were born they were very frightful for their faces were bad, their skin was also bad, for in the front of their mouths they had two long teeth, and when they got big their nails were also long, for they did not trim their nails, their finger nails and their toenails. They were also wild, unclean, crazy, lazy, did not like to work, would go about idly hunting for something to eat. These were the people that ate the flesh of animals and the flesh of people. They were very cruel. There was no love in them. One of them might kill her father or her mother, or her sibling or child and devour it.² They were also thieves. This is why they were wandering about eating raw food all the time. They also multiplied in Ponape, but the other kind always exterminated them.

¹ A belief in the presence of cannibals on Ponape in early times appears to be general on the island where they are regarded as mutants, of ferocious appearance and temperament, who were sometimes born to normal parents.

Chapter 4

Concerning the humans

1. The human kind was better than the other. They were good. Their skin was good; they were clean, fine looking, and somewhat intelligent. Their thoughts were correct. They also liked to do their own work. They also had love for each other and were kind to other humans. This time was, therefore, better than before. Their houses were a little better. They had begun to make clothes from the bark of trees and such things. With the bark of the hibiscus tree they made their Paian.¹ This was their clothes and their things for sleeping in. They could also wear it in the rain, if there was rain. The hair of their head was long. They did not cut it, but they would tie it up together. This bun was named Muelimuel.²

The fifth voyage

2. Ponape became larger and rose higher out of the sea and also stood out, and at that time a man arrived in Ponape whose name was Mejia. This was the man who started making fire, making it in dry pieces of wood. Now began food which was cooked. They said Inerii, meaning 'cook'. They would speak of 'cooking their food'.

3. Here is how their tools for work were at that time. These kinds of tools were not too good for heavy work for they were weak and small. They were not too good for it. One of them was the shell of the pearl oyster. They used it for a tool to cut up breadfruit and the like, and dry land taro and swamp taro. They could also fight among themselves with it. The second *cutting tool*³ is from a lipuai clam [*Anadara antiquata scapha*]; which they used for small work and also to cultivate land, etc.

4. Later they also decided to make canoes and hunt shell-fish in the sea, with which they could make adzes and they found some and made adzes which were called Kii. They could then use these for such work as they wished.

¹ This article of dress was a small poncho, which covered the shoulders and some of the chest.

² This is the chignon, reported for most of the Carolines.

Chapter 5

The story of a voyage which came here from Kataupaiti. The sixth voyage.

1. There is a land in Kataupaiti [Downwind Katau] named Japani. This land is very great indeed and has many people there. This is why the term Arem became changed so that we say Aramaj, because there were so many of them.¹ There was a woman in that land named Lienpuel [Woman of Earth]. She used to live in a place named Beiro.² At that place she gave birth to three children, two girls and a boy. The name of the elder girl was Lijoumokaiap, while the other was named Lijoumokalan. Now these women decided that they would get a canoe and look for land toward the east. So, the two of them set forth. Lijoumokaiap took along as provisions some Underworld yams,³ and a stone named Stone of Jauar, while the other woman took as provisions a banana shoot for planting. The two came and arrived at a beach named Nanilol. This is why they also called the stone, the Stone of Ilol. The shore where they first arrived in Nanilol is in the section of Puaipuai.

2. The two settled in a place named Nanilol and set the rock down there, and planted there the yams and propagated the short Underworld yam. Now, when the stone was set down in that place it made a great brightness as when the light of the sun hits a mirror. It was like the light of another sun.⁴ It so appeared to people's eyes that if the sun shone on the rock it was like a mirror which was flashing, but the rock mirror was larger, this was why.

3. And, as the two were staying in Ponape, their brother came looking for them from Beiro, and his mother recited over him the spell named Paian Jaurakim⁵ [Fortune of the Rakim Clan] to protect the boy as he was coming so that he might not meet difficulties in his coming. Now when the woman began to recite the spell over the boy she took the flower of the paddle grass⁶ and said a spell over it and gave it to the boy to wear in his ear. This was the spell by which he was protected as he came hither, and this plant started in Puaipuai.⁷

² In other manuscripts Luelen writes this Peiro. Ponapean has no phonemic distinction between voiced and unvoiced consonants.

³ This is a very inferior variety of yam with a red skin and white interior.

Chapter 6

*Lijoumokalañ's return from Ponape*¹

1. Lijoumokalañ came back from Ponape and also took back with her a banana shoot. However, she stopped at Yap² and resided there and planted her banana, stopped and propagated it there. This is why this kind of banana is known as Yap banana to this day. Now, when this banana became established in Yap it was taller than all the other bananas in Yap.

2. A man who lived in a place called Loñen Kiti³ [Canoe Supports of Kiti] used to look downwind toward the west every evening when the sun would set. When the sun would shine on the Stone of Jauar its brightness would reflect on all the lands down to Iappaiti [Downwind Yap]. The man saw that the banana was ripe and that all the birds were flying there and eating it. So the man sent two Jiok birds of two kinds, one a black bird and one a Jie. He took them up to a mountain, one of the mountains of Palañ named Tañaukuk, for this was the place that was higher than all other places in the west of the mountains of Ponape. Now the birds came there and they gave them their names of Muanlaipeip and Joulaipeip. These were the names which the man bestowed upon them. It was the Jiok that was named Joulaipeip because it was lazy in flying about, but the Jie was Muanlaipeip meaning that it was clever in flying and would provide a time for rest in its flying all the time.⁴ The two went to the mountain Tañaukuk and flew forth. Now the lazy one was incapable and went and stopped some place, but the industrious one kept on flying until it reached Yap, then went and joined the other birds of that land in eating the banana, and a seed of that banana stuck in its feathers. It then came back again from Yap and now met the lazy one, and the two of them flew hither and alighted in a place named Pakanut.⁵

3. Now all of the Jiok birds flew and surrounded them and ate the bits of banana that were stuck on the beak⁶ of Muanlaipeip, meaning 'a flying man' who could fly at all times. Joulaipeip means 'lazy in flying about'. So, this is why the banana is called Yap banana to this day.⁷

¹ See also Ch. 21, which continues this story.

³ In the section of Kiti called Tiati: see Ch. 43.

⁵ On a map issued by the Ponape District Office in the 1950s there is a mountain peak in inland Palang marked Pekenuht.

Chapter 7

The story of Ponape becoming a little more enlightened

1. This time the land grew very much and the inhabitants were also a little better off than before. They also had more food than before. This is why bananas and the like became more numerous than before. They were also able to strip off the outer layers of the banana trunk and make thread from it and make *strips of cloth*,¹ which the men used as loin cloths. These loin cloths were known as Kijinmueinpalan.² Another name for them was Lakiot, meaning that they were very expensive. If one of them was sold somewhere it would *cost*³ everything. And they also made a thing to wear on the head which they named Nin. This headband they would put on the head of a person to bestow on them a title.⁴ The men would wear the head garlands, and only men would wear the *loin cloth*.⁵ As for the meaning of loin cloth, the work of weaving caused this term,⁶ but the women used as clothes breadfruit bark cloth.

Chapter 8

Concerning their clothes at that time

1. The way they made their clothes, the clothes were made from breadfruit bark. They would cut down a length of breadfruit, a span long or more. They would then remove the bad part of the skin and they would then make a thing for pounding the breadfruit bark.¹ They would take care lest it tear, and it would be spread apart and become broad, and also become longer. These were the women's wrap-arounds and also their sheets at night. When they slept they were very good, soft and warm. This kind of cloth was called breadfruit sheets because it was made from the breadfruit tree.

2. Now the land became larger and also higher and more populous, but they had no ruler. There were no nobles, there were no states.² The people became numerous but they had no ruler to rule them, and there were also some people who propagated a bad variety of people, who were mutations³ of humans called cannibals.⁴ They were cruel. There were many among them who would eat their

siblings and would kill them and eat them, if they had an opportunity.

3. Now people became numerous and multiplied in the interior of Ponape, and at that time there was a shore on the southwest of Ponape named Jalapuk.⁵ Later the land rose and grew up and increased all the time. And there were many kinds of good food which they found in the earth, and kinds of good fruit were also numerous. They also ate the flesh of crawling animals, which crawled about on the earth, animals with four legs,⁶ and also some kinds of birds which were good to eat.

4. They were also able to catch birds with breadfruit sap. They would spread it and smear it on the *Ficus tinctoria* or *Ficus carolinensis* trees in the evening around six o'clock, and in the morning around four or five o'clock was [the time] when the people would go to collect the pigeon and starling and white-throated ground dove. These were kinds of birds that were caught with breadfruit sap, but some kinds of birds that gave birth in large trees, that had places for laying eggs in holes or nests, they would also catch and eat.

5. They also used to eat fish from the sea. All kinds of fish that were suitable for people to eat, large and small, and all kinds of shell fish, and sea creatures with soft skins, large and small. There were some under stones in the sea. There were also some kinds of shellfish whose shell is as hard as rock. These they would also eat. There were many kinds of these shellfish. Some were larger than others, and some at times crawled about in the sea, like mangrove crabs and so forth. Also some are different from others. Some that they ate were larger than others.

² At the time of the first intensive Western contact Ponape was divided into five independent petty states or *wehi*. Here the author conceives of an earlier time when there was no elaborate political organisation or large organised territories.

⁴ Cf. Chs. 3 and 19.2-3.

⁵ This is today an inland, mountainous section of Kiti, but in later chapters Luelen indicates that Jalapuk once included within its borders what are now independent coastal sections.

⁶ The only quadrupeds would have been domestic dogs, rats, mice and lizards.

Chapter 9

Concerning the things of that time. All kinds of plants, large and small. Plants in the arable land.¹

1. Mai [*mahi* — breadfruit, *Artocarpus atilis*]. (Making) food, (making) canoe.

2. Aiau [*aiau* — Carolinian banyan, *Ficus carolinensis*; F: Ponapeans do not plant this tree but are reluctant to cut it down, and believe that if they do cut it down they must destroy the tree completely]. Medicine.

3. Toon [*dohng* — *Camptosperma brevipetiolata*; not cultivated but abundant]. For canoes.

4. Jatak [*sadak* — *Elaeocarpus carolinensis*; R's notes indicate this as a source of oil]. For canoes.

5. Karara [*karara* — *Myristica hypargyrea*]. For canoes, medicine.

6. Joo [*soh?* — *Intsia bijuga*]. A strong tree.

7. Marop [*marepw* — Polynesian chestnut, *Inocarpus fagiferus*; not planted but spared in clearing land]. Food, medicine.

8. Kalak² [perhaps the karrak of Glassman, *Palaquium karrak*].

9. Marata [*Elaeocarpus kusanot*].

10. Kaama [*keh-ma* — *Terminalia carolinensis?*]. For canoes.

11. Kirim [native name not listed by Glassman]. For oil.

12. Kamau [*Cynometra bijuga*; R: wood used for adze handles]. For oil.

13. Marajau [*Aglaia ponapensis*]. Medicine.

14. Uuinmor [*wih-n-moar* — *Barringtonia racemosa*]. Medicine.

15. Kalau [*keleu* — *Hibiscus tiliaceus*; bark used for twine, fiber kilts, kava wringers, and a variety of other purposes; wood used for carrying poles, paddles, etc.]. For work.

16. Koiei [*Claoxylon carolinianum?*; used medicinally according to Glassman and R].

17. Katol [*Melochia odorata*].

18. Lelej [*leles* — *Laportea kusaiana*; nettle-like; R: medicine]. A painful plant.

19. Kare³ [native name not in Glassman]. Strong good wood.

20. Malejai [name not in Glassman; R: medicine].

21. Aij [*ais* — *Parinarium glaberrimum*; an oil from the nut of this tree used in painting canoes]. For making oil, medicine.

22. Kanpap [*Syzygium carolinense*; branches used for poles in house-building]. For making buildings.

23. Ueipul [*weipwul* — *Morinda citrifolia*]. Food medicine.

24. Karer (motokoi) [*ka-rer* — literally 'shudderer'; lime or wild orange; *Citrus* sp.; R: food, medicine].
25. Apuit [*apuit?* — *Macaranga carolinensis*]. Medicine.
26. Koton ual [*Syzygium stelechanthum*].
27. Aak en ual [*ahk-eni-wel* — appears to mean literally 'man-grove of the forest'; no close relation to the true mangrove; native name not listed in Glassman].
28. Nin [*nihn* — *Ficus tinctoria*]. Used in making cloth.⁴
29. Katieu [*katieu* — *Ixora casei*]. For making weapons, medicine.
30. Kanmant [*Geniostoma stenurum*]. Making weapons, medicine.
31. Kanpuil [*Garcinea ponapensis*]. Medicine.
32. Uhe [*Allophylus ternatus*; R: fish nets]. Medicine.
33. Kaamet [*Melicope ponapensis*; W: used medicinally].
34. Kanit [*kehngid* — mango, *Mangifera indica*]. For drums, food, medicine.
35. Topuk [*dopwuk* — *Premna gaudichaudii*]. Drums, medicine.
36. Marekenlan [*marek-en-leng* — literally Marek of Heaven; *Parkia korom?*; R: canoes].
37. Pur (Jair) [*pwuhr* in Kiti or *seir* in Net — *Fagraea sair*]. For head garlands, medicine.
38. Papa⁵ [*pehpe* — Glassman gives a *pehpe* as *Melicope ponapensis* and a *pah-puh* as *Eurya nitida*; R: canoes].
39. Kalaunant [*keleu-n-And* — literally the 'wild hibiscus of Ant Island', *Kleinhovia hospita*].
40. Katieun lan [*katieu-n-leng*; literally the 'Ixora of Heaven'; native name not listed in Glassman; R: medicine, spears].
41. Paar⁶ [*pahr* — *Erythrina* sp.; F: noted for its light soft wood, and its thorny trunk and branches; blooms in the dry season with bright red flowers; R: canoes, medicine].
42. Keil [*Commersonia bartramia?* R: houses, medicine].
43. Mateu [*madeu* — *Cinnamomum carolinense* and *C. sessilifolium*; a tea with a sassafras flavour made from the bark]. Medicine.
44. Muek [*mwehk?* — *Glochidion ramiflorum*]. Medicine.
45. Jakan [*Aleurites moluccana*]. For oil, tattooing the skin, medicine.⁷

¹ All material in brackets has been added by the editors. The plants listed in this chapter and in those that follow through Ch. 16 are not listed again in the biological glossary in Part 2.

⁷ See Ch. 16, nos. 46 and 47, where two plants have apparently been misplaced.

Chapter 10

Small plants¹

1. Kaimpanial [*kemp-en-i-al* — literally 'kemp of the paths', *Psychotria carolinensis*]. Medicine.
2. Kijetikmai² [*kisetik-mai* — literally, the 'breadfruit *kisetik*', *Melastoma marianum*]. Medicine.
3. Jakauanna [*sekew-en Na* — name not listed in Glassman; literally, the 'kava of Na Island'; probably not kava]. Medicine.
4. Limairpoñ [*li-meir-pwong?* — *Phyllanthus niruri*]. Medicine.
5. Karop [*Urena lobata*]. Medicine.
6. Kauenioj [*Sida rhombifolia*]. Medicine.
7. Kaamalimal [*kahmelimel?* — *Desmodium heterocarpum*]. Medicine.
8. Karamat [*Coleus scutellarioides*]. Medicine.
9. Puaket [*Procris pendunculata*]. Medicine.
10. Katieu [in ink, immediately followed by the pencilled word Kiteu] [*kideu?* Glassman gives a kitieu as *Microsorium scolopendria* and a kittiu as *Rumohra aristata*]. Medicine.
11. Uliñankieil [*ulung-en-kieil* — literally 'pillow of the black lizard', *Davallia solida*]. Medicine.
12. Kamalaua [name not in Glassman]. Perfume, medicine.³

Chapter 11

All the kinds of vines which are in the forest and in the cultivated lands

1. On Kaap [*uh-n keh-p* — cultivated yam vine, *Dioscorea esculenta* and *D. alata*, many varieties]. Medicine.
2. On Balai [*uh-n palai* — a wild yam vine, *Dioscorea bulbifera*].
3. On Likeem [*uh-n likehm?* — *Ipomoea digitata*]. Medicine.
4. Jaal Omp [*sal-omp* — *Ipomoea gracilis*]. Medicine.
5. Jaal Lap [*sal-lap* — literally 'great vine'; native name not in Glassman]. Medicine.
6. Jaal Up [*sal-uh-p, uh-p* — *Derris elliptica*, common fish poison]. For catching fish.

7. Jaal Iol [*Merremia peltata*]. Medicine.
8. Atol en ual [native name not in Glassman]. Medicine.
9. Ueipul en lah [*weipwul-en-leng* — literally 'weipwul of Heaven', native name not in Glassman].
10. Kanok [*koahnok?* *Piper ponapense*]. Medicine.
11. Lamuak [*Galeola ponapensis?*]. Sign of good soil.
12. Taktak [*takatek* — meaning possible 'thorny', *Hoya schneei*]. Medicine.
13. Piten monen Lieumejilañ¹ [*pit-en moang-en Li-eu-mesi-leng* — 'the hair of Lieumesileng's head'; not in Glassman].
14. Ota [*Mucuna ponapeana*]. Medicine.
15. Kaap nair [*kehp-in eir* — literally 'southern yams'; a common kind of edible wild yam; *Dioscorea esculenta?*]. Medicine.
16. Kapeer [*kapehr?* — *Geocardia herbacea*]. Medicine.
17. Liyatauat marer [*li-wadawad-marer* — *Centella asiatica*]. Medicine.
18. Pinipin [*pinipin* — literally 'tangle'; *Hernandia sonora*]. Medicine.
19. Kausalu [name not in Glassman]. Medicine.
20. Tauralah [*Amyema artensis*]. Medicine.
21. Jonjol [*sonsol* — *Ipomoea pes-caprae*]. Medicine.²

Chapter 12

*The kinds of grass there were at that time; also the kinds of grass in the cultivated land*¹

1. Ree patil [*reh-padil* — literally 'paddle grass', *Ischaemum chordatum*; see Footnote 6 to Ch. 5]. Medicine.
2. Ree maikol [*reh-mai-kol?* — literally 'seeded-breadfruit grass', *Axonopus compressus?* *Cyrtococcum patens?* *Digitaria* sp.?].
3. Reejop [*Vrydagzynea micronesiaca?* a kind of orchid?]. Medicine.
4. Reenta [*reh-nta* — literally 'blood grass', *Andropogon glaber* and *Paspalum orbiculare*].² Medicine.
5. Reetakai [*reh-takai* — literally 'rock grass', *Chrysopogon aciculatus* and *Eleusine indica*]. Medicine.

6. Reelikarak [possibly means 'louse grass'; *Cyperus cyperinus*]. Medicine.
7. Uje [*Cyperus javanicus*]. Perfume.
8. Ooñ [oahng — turmeric, *Curcuma domestica*; the common Ponapean word for 'yellow', oangoahng, may be a reduplicated form of this word; cultivated]. Medicine.
9. Ohenpala [*Zingiber zerumbet*].
10. Aulan [auleng — a wild plant closely related to turmeric, *Curcuma* sp.]. Medicine.
11. Ujenant [uhse-hn-And? — literally the 'uhse of Ant Island'. *Cyperus odoratus*].
12. Ratil [a fern, *Nephrolepis acutifolia*]. Medicine.
13. Marek [*Cyclosorus adenophorus*]. Medicine.
14. Kitien manl³ [*Selaginella kanehirae*]. Medicine.
15. Matilinmanl [mwadil-in-mall — literally 'mwadil⁴ of the barren clearings', *Dicranopteris linearis*].
16. Matiliniak [mwadil-in-ak? — literally 'mwadil of the mangrove', *Humata banksii*]. Medicine.
17. Lik [name not in Glassman]. Medicine.
18. Lik in ual ['lik of the forest', name not in Glassman]. Medicine.
19. Limpar [*Lycopodium cernuum*, a clubmoss].
20. Inankereut [name not in Glassman].
21. Kereut [name not in Glassman].
22. Timuir⁵ [*Paspalum vaginatum*]. Medicine.

Chapter 13

Straight kinds of trees¹

1. Kotop [kotop — *Clinostigma ponapensis*; F: a common wild palm; the heart bud is sometimes eaten; the seeds are edible though small]. Food, medicine.
2. Oj [oahs — ivory nut palm, *Metroxylon amicarum*; considered the best tree for thatching]. For buildings and selling the nuts, medicine.
3. Katar [katar — tree fern, *Cyathea nigricans* and *C. ponapeana*]. For houses, medicine.

4. Katai [*kadai*? *Ptychosperma hosinoi* and *P. ledermanniana*, palms with small edible nuts]. Food.

5. Kipar [*kipar* — *Pandanus* sp.; wild varieties have edible nuts, some cultivated varieties have edible seedless fruits]. Food; the leaves make mats.

Chapter 14¹

1. Ut [*uht* — banana, plantain, *Musa paradisiaca*; a number of cultivated varieties]. Food.

2. Jeu [*sehu* — sugar cane; *Saccharum officinarum*]. Food.

3. Alek [*ahlek* — wild cane; *Saccharum spontaneum*].

4. Japalañ [*Miscanthus floridulus*].

5. Japajap [*Hypolytrum dissitiflorum*, a grass].

7. Impai [*Angiopteris evecta*].

8. Paipai ani [*peipei-ani* — literally the 'divine *peipei*', *Histiopteris incisa*].

9. Paipai aramaj [*peipei-aramas* — literally the human *peipei*', *Histiopteris incisa*].²

10. Paiuat [*paiwed* — *Angiopteris evecta* and *Marattia fraxinea*].³

¹ There is an obvious copyist's omission in this chapter.

Chapter 15

Trees that live by means of salt water,¹ and in the mangrove swamp

1. Aak [*ahk* — mangrove, *Rhizophora apiculata* and *R. mucronata*]. Used in work.

2. Katoo (Pulapul) [*koatoa* or *pwuloapwul* — *Sonneratia alba*, a tall tree in the mangrove swamps with pneumatophores something like cypress]. Used in work and for medicine.

3. Piñipin [possibly *Hernandia sonora*, a strand tree whose native name is given by Glassman as pingapin]. For canoes, medicine.²

4. Maropenjet [marepw-in-sed — literally 'marepw of the sea', *Heritiera littoralis*].

5. Joio [*Intsia bijuga*].

6. Kiti [*Ochrosia oppositifolia*; R: house-rafters].

7. Iit [ihd — *Guettarda speciosa*]. Fragrant flower.

8. Pone [pone? — *Thespesia populnea*]. Used in work.

9. Uii [wih — *Barringtonia asiatica*]. Medicine.

10. Kinkin [native name not in Glassman]. Medicine.

11. Nii [nih — coconut, *Cocos nucifera*]. Work, medicine.³

12. Mokenant [mwek-en And — literally the 'mwehk of Ant Island', *Glochidion senyavinianum*].

13. Ramak [name not in Glassman].

14. Tipop [dipwoapw — *Terminalia catappa*]. Food, medicine.

15. Maraj [maras — name not in Glassman; Elbert gives märäs as the Trukese name for *Soulamea amara*, a strand tree with bitter bark and leaves (1947: 112); this name is pronounced maras in many parts of Truk and very likely the Ponapean word refers to the same tree].

16. Ihkau [ngkau — *Wedelia biflora*?]. Medicine.

17. Kaajapaal [keh-sapahl — literally 'bites-back'?; name not in Glassman].

18. Ikoik [ikoik — a strand tree; name not in Glassman]. For work and medicine.⁴

³ Luelen later devotes three chapters (79-81) to this tree.

Chapter 16

Vines that live by means of sea water

1. Kaaoror [keh-oaroahr — literally the 'shore keh'; *Derris trifoliata*]. Medicine.

2. Likatokotajau [*Cassytha filiformis*]. Medicine.¹

46. Makiaj [name not in Glassman].

47. Kamal [*Pittosporum ferrugineum*].²

² See Fn. 9. 7.

Chapter 17

Concerning their clothes and tools and so forth

1. The men at that time wore Kijinmueinpalan¹ (that is, simply, loin cloths) and bound their heads with small narrow cloth strips² for tying up the hair of people, while the women wore barkcloth wrap-arounds and they all of them had sheets of breadfruit cloth. Their hair was long and they rolled it up and made a knot of it. The knot is named Muelimuel.³

2. The men did not go about empty handed to no purpose. They would carry about with them spears to kill people with. They liked to kill people for little cause at that time. The men and the women also carried around with them a shell blade for cutting up things. This blade was made from the shellfish named Pelikenna.⁴

Chapter 18

Their food

1. They ate the fruit of the breadfruit and the Polynesian chestnut, and the mango, and also Morinda and Pandanus and also the fruit of the *Terminalia carolinensis*. From the ground they got yams. This was their great and important food. Taro was second, while giant swamp taro and bananas were not too numerous.

2. To accompany this [food] they ate the flesh of fish along with some kinds of shellfish, which are good, and also the flesh of some land animals, crawling animals, namely the flesh of dogs, and there were also some who liked the flesh of rats, and also [that of] some kinds of birds that fly low and that fly high, and also chickens and the like. And their food improved because they learned how to make fire.

Chapter 19

Concerning names: names of the sections, names of people, names of the large trees and small trees, and names of all the small plants that grow from the earth, and the small vines that grow from the earth, and all kinds of birds, large and small, that fly high and that fly low, and also all kinds of four-footed creatures that flock together on the earth, and the names of large and small creatures, and mountains, creeks and valleys, the seas and the islands, and the rivers and streams and the currents of the sea that make the tides, and so forth, and the names of the reefs of the sea.

1. Now, all these names originate from actions and times and work. These three things are the source of all the names.

2. The people of that time became a little more enlightened for they were not friendly to the cannibals. This was the beginning of enmity in Ponape, and the beginning of killing human beings. The cannibals would kill the humans and eat them, while the humans in turn would kill the cannibals and extirpate them from Ponape until they eliminated them. But sometimes one or two would be born in certain families.

3. And at that time, if anyone could kill a cannibal it was good. Now the people of that time did not know good and bad for there were no punishments to aid those who lacked strength. They also had work-tools with which they could do their work.

Chapter 20

Concerning their speech and their accent

1. They had few words. Their words were not too numerous. Moreover they did not have any great work.¹ Their only great work was to look about for things which they would eat. Many of them had no clothes; they would go naked. They also did not have bed sheets.² They would gather together leaves or vegetation, a lot of this, and crawl under it like a pig which has just given birth.

2. The people of this age are better than those of olden times.

¹ Probably this refers to ceremonies, feasts, building large structures, etc.

² When intensive Western contact commenced Ponapeans used barkcloth sheets to cover themselves with at night.

Chapter 21

*The end of the story of the women who came from Kataupaiti*¹

1. Lijoumokaia² settled in her residence in the upper part of the land named Palienlikatat,² and she gave birth to children there. She bore two daughters. One of them was named Liponjapani and the other Lipeijapani,³ and she also bore Naliām, a barracuda fish.⁴ Now these two women propagated the Rakim clan in Ponape. Their descendants exist to this day, and they used to reside in the upper part of the land called Roienkiti.⁵

2. At that time the people multiplied alongside the earlier people, and the clan of Jaunrakim [Masters of Rakim] became very numerous and they were no longer friendly with each other. They split apart and made two clans. The name of one clan was Jaunpalianpil [Masters of the Side of the Water] and the other was named Jaunroi [Masters of Roi]. Such places as Puaipuai and so forth at that time were on the shore. The tide used to reach the land of Puaipuai at that time.⁶

3. Then Lijoumokalah returned downwind to Yap and settled there and made another clan which is there to this day.

¹ The story Luelen tells in Chs. 5 and 6 is continued now in this chapter. Part of the story is also told in Ch. 70 in the 'Song of a Barracuda'.

Chapter 22

The story of two men.¹ The seventh voyage. A long time indeed and many, many years passed after these stories.

1. Another voyage arrived in Ponape. Two men were in charge of it. The names of the men were Oljipa and Oljopa. The two were in

charge. These two young men were wise and daring in going about in many difficult places, for they were related to the sacred people who had settled here from Kataupaiti.² They rode in a single vessel. It was very large indeed. It had one mast, but three sails.³ Many people came along in this vessel. This kind of vessel was sufficient for one hundred or more people. Now some people say that it was a fleet and others say that it was a sandspit on which they rode from Yap.

2. They arrived and set their course for a small channel. They came and entered in this channel and they went straight on in to a large island that is close to the large island of Ponape, and is named Jaupaip [Master of Basalt Cliffs].⁴ They then made their residence there. They then *surrounded the circumference of the land* with their vessel.⁵ Here is the meaning of this. When they sailed from one place and were going to another place they would seek for a place in the vessel into which they could scoop some earth in which to plant fruit that they would eat later if the food of the vessel became exhausted, for they were uncertain whether they would soon arrive at [a] land. This is the kind of earth that they [later] threw out of their canoes and made the soil of another land from.

3. They settled there and began to make a place for their ceremony; however it was not successful for that place was bad because it was unstable [or moving]. So they gave it the name of Jokaj.⁶ They further changed their residence and took themselves to a place off Net and again started their work there. And they observed that it was also bad. They then went on upwind to Likinmoli,⁷ and it was also bad for them to establish their work there for it was wavy and windy. They further went to the east and this was where it was very successful.⁸ They started their work and it was going to succeed. They gathered all the people of Ponape together, to come and assist them in their work so that it might succeed. And the whole of Ponape joined them in pursuing their work.⁹

4. Now the people of all Ponape were happy and assembled to help them with their work. Here was their work — building up stones which they obtained. They made some large rows of houses and some small ones, building them up out of the sea, making them rectangular¹⁰ with four corners.

5. They also made places for their fighting,¹¹ their house of refuge, (meaning) a place of deliberation for the nobles. They gave this place the name of Nantauaj.¹² They also made a place for landing their canoes. They built up stones from the channel to the sea until it was very high indeed. They gave this place the name of Nanmolujai.¹³ A holy man magically treated the foundation of this

pier with the spell named Kintakenmolujai, and this work was successful.¹⁴

¹ This and the following chapter tell of the construction of the artificial islands of Nanmatol. They may be regarded as the beginning of a long cycle of myths that describe the rise of the Lords of Teleur and their eventual fall due to supernatural punishment for their tyrannies. The career of Oljipa and Oljopa is further described in Ch. 25, according to which it would seem that Oljopa was the first Lord of Teleur.

² This is a reference to the people of the 'sixth voyage' of Chs. 5, 6 and 21. Kataupaiti is thought by Ponapeans to refer to a land in the west, possibly Yap.

³ See Ch. 1.10 for another large canoe with one mast and three sails. One informant says that both were double canoes.

⁸ This refers to the site of the famous ruins of Nanmatol. There are remnants of similar structures built on a smaller scale at various other places along the coast from Jokaj eastward to Nanmatol, supposed to be the places where unsuccessful attempts were made to build which were abandoned.

⁹ The construction of Nanmatol.

¹² The most spectacular among the ruins, with the highest walls.

¹⁴ The 'holy man' is the architect of Ch. 23.3-5 and the spell is mentioned again in Ch. 23.5.

Chapter 23

How the seat of the ruler in Matolenim was constructed

1. This ruler's residence was built with magic power. The name of this ruler's seat was Pankatira.¹

2. The ruler's seat had four corners. Three stone fitters were Ponapean, but one came from Kataupeitak [Upwind Katau, or Kusaie].² This is why of the four corners, one of them is named the Corner of Likapar.³ This is the Corner of Matolenim, which the stone fitter of Matolenim made, while another is the Corner of Peinkatau [Stone Structure of Kusaie], which the master stone fitter from Kataupeitak made, and another is the Corner of Kiti, which the master stone setter of Kiti made, and another is the Corner of Jokaj, which the master stone fitter of Jokaj made. The place to enter this house was named Ririn.⁴ The guard of this place had the title of Keuj [Who art thou?].⁵ There is no time to list the lesser places of entry to this house.

3. Now the master stone fitter who came from Jokaj was named Kiteumanien.⁶ He rode on a length of stone [in the water] from Jokaj,⁷ and when he rode on the length of stone, they gave him the name of Konjai. He then set down the stone as the foundation stone of the corner which the people of Jokaj made.

4. Now the people of Matolenim did not like that man.⁸ He therefore fled from them and came to Kiti. They said his name was Japaltito [Walking Downwind Hither]. He then began the construction of Japtakai [Rock Land]⁹ imitating the fashion which they had made in Matolenim. When he was finished he returned again to Matolenim. He was then named Jaujapal [Master of Walking]. Later he returned to his original land, to the place from which he had come in the beginning, and they gave him the name of Japalatak [Walking Upwind].¹⁰ He then settled in his land and stayed there and they gave him a further title at that time of Lampuaijok.¹¹

5. And his strength and confidence in his stone work was the spell of Kintakenmolujai. He also used this spell in laying the foundation of the stone work in Kiti at Japtakai.

6. There is no time to tell about the corners which the other states made. Now, for all of these corners, if one of these collapses, a time of trouble will occur in the state which made it, for this is what the diviners prophesy for it.¹²

¹ Pankatira is the L-shaped artificial islet in Nanmatol where the successive Lords of Teleur lived.

⁷ Probably not meant literally, but a reference to rafting the prism-like lengths of stone from Jokaj, whence a large part of the building material no doubt came.

⁹ This is a large ruin in the interior of Kiti.

¹² Hambruch took pictures of 'the beautiful Corner of Jokaj' intact on his visit just before the rebellion (III: Plate 9). However, according to modern Ponapeans, just about this time the Corner of Jokaj collapsed and the rebellion ended in defeat, with the leaders executed and the people exiled to Yap and Palau. See Ch. 73.

Chapter 24

*The story of a woman (before the canoe came from 'Downwind Katau')*¹

1. There was a woman who was named Lienlama.² She lived in

Jalapuk. She gave birth and had two children, two sons. The name of one was Jarapuau, and the other was Monimur. The woman was born in Jalapuk, and the children used to be happy and contented all the time. They used to play about hither and thither. Now, one day they took their mother's thing for making woven cloth, a stick of japalaḥ from a loom, a thing for the work of weaving. The name of the stick of japalaḥ was Jarapuau or Puau.³ The two of them dug earth with it here and there and dug a deep hole, they liked the fine earth [dug] from it. Then they dug until finally they reached the underworld, meaning the land that is under the sea. They saw the turmeric leaves of that land flashing. This hole is in Jalapuk to this day and is named Jaur.⁴

2. The two of them went up following the water [or stream]. They then went and set up a length of stone and were playing with it. They gave it the name of Takainlaḥ [Stone of Heaven]. They then went and *turned up a japei stone*⁵ and they took it to Matolenim and set it down at Pontanmai [Above the Leaves of Breadfruit]. They then went on from there and constructed Nānaimual⁶ and they then deposited the canoe provisions there. They then went on from there, going to the land of Yap. They then made a spell with which they towed hither Takainiap [Stone of Yap]. They made it fly hither and ran along under it and brought it down in Uanik,⁷ setting it up and giving it the name of Stone of Yap or Takaieu [One Stone].⁸ They came back to get their provisions. They lit a fire and cooked their southern yams⁹ with it, but it was not yet done so they ate the places [parts] that were done and they threw away the remainder of the places [parts] that were not cooked, throwing them into the forest of Alokap and Etienlaḥ,¹⁰ thus propagating the southern yams of those places.

3. They then launched a length of stone and paddled forth on it. They then went and beached their canoe on Pontolenimuinjap [Mountain of Land's End].¹¹ The two stayed there and piled up a high mountain, Takaieu [Standing Stone].¹² Lapoḥe became angry at this and skipped stones over the water at it and destroyed it. This is why they met and became friendly and made an agreement how they would work. Lapoḥe said to the two, 'I hear that you are two magically potent children'. The two replied 'Yes, why?' Lapoḥe said, 'Let us have a race with work [to see] who will be the fastest'. So the boys built up the mountain while Lapoḥe made the channel of Letau. Now they set to their work. They were working hard in theirs, and Lapoḥe looked and saw that the boys' pile of rock had reached the sky¹³ so he took a *flat rock*¹⁴ and threw it at their mountain,

which tumbled down, so their work was no longer finished, for the mountain fell apart into six pieces.¹⁵

4. They all then returned as companions to Letau, and Lapoñe used to treat the boys haughtily all the time. So the boys made a place for amusement at a place named Panlikej [Below Likej], for the name of the place where they lived was Likej Peak.¹⁶ Now they used to play at Panlikej, at a place where there was a very steep slope, and Lapoñe kept interrupting them and acting haughtily toward them all the time.

5. The two then agreed that they in turn would deceive him. They went and got the leaf sheath of the *Clinostigma ponapensis* palm so they would ride on it and slide down the place which had the steep slope, for this place sloped down into a river, which was named Leenkajame.¹⁷ Now one day they brought tree fern trunks, which were sharp, and they planted these in the river and watched for Lapoñe.

6. Now Lapoñe appeared and discovered that their place of play was good. They told him to join them in sliding. He rejoiced at this. The boys then brought their palm sheaths. They started with one of them on one end and one on the other end, and Lapoñe was between them. They slid down until they were near the tree fern stakes. The two then leapt off of their mount but Lapoñe went on down, but missed the tree fern stakes. But he then went down under the water of the pool and sank. And this was the end of Lapoñe, for he sank in the pond.

7. And the boys then threw stones on the man as well, and really made him sink, but he came up again at certain places and turned into stone himself, for he no longer had any magic power, for the boys took his power from him. The end. The names of the boys at this time were Puilitak and Lejtak.

1 The parenthetical part of this chapter heading is a reference to the heading of Ch. 5. There is a cycle of several tales involving the sons of this woman, Lienlama, which is only partly given in the present manuscript. The story about the two boys and Lapoñe is probably the most popular part of the cycle, and is often told or alluded to by modern Ponapeans in explaining two prominent landmarks in Matolenim; the rock Takaieu, or 'Sugar-Loaf', and the Letau Channel.

6 This is a place with walls around it in Alokap section, Matolenim.

7 Uanik is an old name for U.

9 Of perhaps 200 varieties of yams on Ponape a very few, known as southern yams, are regarded as pre-European.

Chapter 25

*This story was one before Oljipa and Oljopa, which was close together [to it]*¹

1. Now the descendants of Limuetu were more numerous than all. *The story of Oljipa and Oljopa.*

2. When those men made the town of Nanmatol,² decisions [or hearings] about the land were made, for the land had grown large and populous. After Oljipa died, Oljopa was left and became their ruler. Everyone obeyed him, for they were used to his voice from the time when they co-operated in the work of the town. They gave the eastern side of the land the name of Teleur. This same name was a *general name*³ for the seat of the ruler of the land, and the title of the one who ruled this was Jauteleur [Lord of Teleur]. The state of Teleur was divided into three parts.⁴ Now when one of the men died another would replace him and be installed.

3. Here is how the major and minor divisions of Ponape were.

¹ See also Ch. 22. Only the first sentence of Ch. 25 is apparently included in the meaning of the words 'this story', which refers to Limuetu and her descendants (the Creature Clan), and 'close together' means that the Limuetu story slightly preceded the Oljipa-Oljopa story.

² The cluster of 80-90 artificial islets built off Tamon Island, supposedly by Oljipa and Oljopa.

⁴ Luellen condenses into these last three sentences a considerable span of history. Teleur seems first to have been the name of Tamon Island, and perhaps also the nearby reef islands. Then, with political expansion, it came to include more and more. The 'three parts' of Teleur are probably the three areas numbered 2, 4 and 5 in the first column of Ch. 26.

Chapter 26

*The State of Teleur. The lands subject to the Lords of Teleur.*¹

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. State of Teleur | The Island of Teleur ² | The Lord of Teleur ruled it. |
| 2. Jaunalañ [Reef in Heaven] | 1. Janipan | 1. Lapanmor [The High One of the Land] |

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| | 2. Uanik | 2. Lapanuanik [The High One of Uanik] |
| 4. Ononlan̄ [... of Heaven] | 1. Uone | 1. Jaukijanlan̄ [Master of Part of Heaven] |
| | 2. Kiti | 2. Jaukiti [Master of Kiti] |
| | 3. Leenpuel [Pool of Earth?] | 3. Namaton Palan̄ [Lord of the Sea of Palang] |
| | 4. The Island of Ant | 4. Jaulikin Ant [Master of the Exterior of Ant] |
| 5. Pikeniap [Yap Sandbar]; Jaupaip [Master of Basalt Cliffs] | 1. Jokaj [Not Hooked] | 1. Lampuaijok [Noble of Alighting?] ³ |
| | 2. Likinlamalam ⁴ [Outside Proper Ways] | 2. Lapanpalikir [The High One of Palikir] ⁵ |
| | 3. Tipuantonalap [Mangrove Bay of the Great Campnosperma Tree] | 3. Lapannot [The High One of Net]; or Jaukon̄ [Master of the Kong Fish] |
| | 4. Pakein | 4. Jauni [Master of Coconuts] |
| | 5. Kamar | 5. Jau Kamar [Master of Kamar] |
| | 1. Nanmair [In the Interior] | 1. Kirau Mair [Keeper of the Interior] |
- The district of Jaunalan̄ was in the sea, extending to Na Island and extending to kakan kijetik⁶ making a further district in Ponape.*
- | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---|
| 6. Jaunalan̄ | 1. Na | 1. Jaulikin Na [Master of the Exterior of Na] |
| | 2. Ant | 2. Jaulikin Ant |
| | 3. Pakein | 3. Jauni |

¹ In the various lists of this chapter an English translation in brackets is given

following the first appearance of each native name. They are also given in standard orthography in the glossary. What is described in this chapter is presumably the political arrangements in Ponape at some time after the subjugation of the whole island by the Lords of Teleur. The State or Island of Teleur was apparently equivalent to modern Tamon Island. It was earlier called Jaunalang (see Ch. 51.1). The places in the left-hand column numbered 2, 4 and 5 (there is an obvious mistake in the numbering) comprise all the rest of Ponape. With the creation of the seat of the Lords of Teleur at Nanmatol (the artificial islands off Tamon) the name Jaunalang was apparently transferred (or extended) to the mainland of Ponape.

Chapter 27

The various settlements that were in the states¹

		The Lord of Teleur ruled it.
[A] 1. Matolenim [The House Intervals]	1. The town was Nanmatol [The Place of Intervals]	
2. Janipan	2. Janipan Japalap [... Mainland]	Lapanmor
3. Uanik	3. Uanik peitak [Upwind Uanik]	Lapanuanik
4. Animuan [Male God]	4. Animuan	[no title entered]
5. Letau [At the Channel]	5. Letau	Kiraun en Letau [Keeper of Letau]
6. Lapinjet [Stretch of Sea]	6. Lapinjet	[no title entered]
7. Uanik kariau [The Second Uanik] uanik]	7. Uanik paiti [Downwind Uanik]	[no title entered]
[B] 1. Uone	1. Jaukijanlan	1. Uone
2. Kapilañ [Bottom of Heaven] ²	2. Jaukiti	2. Kapilañ
3. Leenpuel	3. Namaton Palañ	3. Palañ

	4. Ant	4. Jaulikin Ant	4. Ant
[C]	1. Jokaj	1. Jokaj	1. Lampuaijok [Lord of Alighting]
	2. Palikir [Carrying on the Back]	2. Palikir	2. Lapanpalikir [High One of Palikir]
	3. Tipuantoŋalap	3. Tipuantoŋalap	[no title entered]
	4. Pakein	4. Pakein	4. Jauni
	5. Kamar	5. Kamar	5. Jau Kamar
[D]	1. Nanmair	1. Nanmair	1. Kirau Mair
	1. Na	1. Na	1. Jaulikin Na
	2. Ant	2. Ant	2. Jaulikin Ant
	3. Pakein	3. Pakein	3. Jauni

¹ The names and titles in this chapter in part repeat those given in Ch. 26. Translations are given for names not occurring in it. It is not clear what the difference in the two chapters is intended to be. Judging from the chapter heading, the first column seems intended to represent the district name, the second the name of the principal settlement, and the third the settlement ruler. But the settlement and district names are the same in nearly all cases. The names of the major areas of the first column in Ch. 26 are omitted in this chapter; instead the subdivisions of these areas occupy two columns, with only slight differences between the two. Perhaps it is intended to show by this that the subdivisions at the time being represented had achieved greater independence, though they are still grouped in the same way. Informants did indeed say that Luellen intended Ch. 27 to show the state of affairs at a later time than that of the earlier chapter. The positions of the second and third columns for the second section of the list, Uone to Ant, have been interchanged. This is an obvious error.

Chapter 28

The well known titles

1. The well known titles at that time all began with Jau.¹ The titles that were high in Ponape began with Jau from the time of the beginning of titles which they gave to people to hold, from the time of that man² who first came to rule Ponape.

2. Now these men received titles, and these titles were titles for holding land in fief which had been divided all around Ponape. These men served the Lord of Teleur from the places that they held

in fief, in all parts of Ponape.

3. Now they called these lands the sections³ of Ponape. From that time on it was long indeed that the Lords of Teleur ruled them.

Chapter 29

*Here are the names of some of the men who were Lords of Teleur*¹

1. Monmuei ['First of the Reign' or 'Foremost of the Age'] — this man followed Oljopa.

2. Inenenmuei ['Straight Reign'] — this man was very respected.

3. Jakonmuei ['Tyrannizing the Age']² — this man was haughty and presumptuous.

4. Jaraitinjap [the last syllable is presumably *sapw*, 'land'] — this man had magic power.

5. Raipuinlah [the last syllable is 'heaven'] — this man was rich.

6. Raipuinloko³ — this man ate the flesh of people.

7. Jau-temoi — he was the man who sank⁴ in the time of war.

⁴ The reference to sinking is to the fate of the last Lord of Teleur after his defeat by the invader Ijokelekel from Kusaie. The conquered ruler is said to have leaped into a stream and turned into a small fish.

Chapter 30

The division of the sea

1. The parts of the sea that were opposite the parts of the land: the person who was in charge of the land would also be in charge of that place. The coral reefs had names and also the deep places in the lagoon and even the little pools had names. Also the channels had names.

2. These things were done to make it easier for people fishing or going about in the sea in the darkness, and so forth. Even the open

sea had names so that it would be easy to go about on it.

3. The title of the men in charge of the different stretches of the sea was Jaujet [Master of the Sea]. This title was found in each of the states. There were three Jaujets in all Ponape, one for each of the states.¹

¹ Probably meaning the Jaunalang, Ononlang and Pikeniap of Ch. 26. But in Ch. 53 a Jaujet of Lapinjet is listed.

Chapter 31

For a long time there was no good report

1. The high person in charge of Nanmatol was Jau-pontauaj. This was the name of the man who was in charge of Matol, and also the town. This Matol was what made [the name] Matolenim.

2. There were also some other titles which the names of their work made. It was the work which brought about all the titles. Here is how we may know which are the high titles and which the low: the deeds [of the holders] brought it about.

Chapter 32

*The story of a youth named Jatokauai*¹

1. At this time in the reign of the Lords of Teleur, there was a woman who lived in a place [in] Nanmatol. The place was named Peilapalap [The Great Stone Structure].² She had a small boy whose name was Jatokauai. This boy liked to go about in the sea all the time. He used to go about in the sea and fish here and there, instead of idly visiting about.

2. One day the boy went fishing. He fished here and there and caught a fish that was very big, [of the kind] named Ualiual

[yellowfin tuna]. This fish was caught in the place named Muei-tenualiual [Reef-opening of the Yellowfin Tuna].³ The fish came and became stranded on the reef. The boy found it and took it from there. He then took the fish to his mother and they ate it up. Afterward they hid the bones in the stone structure⁴ of Peilapalap, so that people would not find them and bring the royal wrath upon them.⁵

3. The dog of the First of the Land⁶ named Aunimatakai⁷ passed by there one day and smelled the scent of the fish bones. He then took the fish bones to the Lord of Teleur. When the ruler saw the bones he was very wrathful, and he questioned his courtiers as to who had eaten this large fish.

4. Some replied that the boy Jatokauai and his mother were the ones who had eaten the fish. The ruler then assigned the boy a task and told him to hunt up a malpur⁸ shell for him. Now this task was truly difficult for the boy.

5. Now Jatokauai and his mother set forth. They went to look here and there for medicine: medicine for walking on the sea, medicine for having long breath under the water, medicine for flowing sea. The boy then instructed his mother to wait for him, for he would return some day. The boy then went and began by diving down at Auankap [Mouth of the Sea Bottom].⁹ He went on walking, going out into the dark sea, going on the flowing sea, going on to the *sinking* sea, and finally finding the bright sea.¹⁰

6. The man then went on until he reached the place of Itaħan-jaralap. The fish then asked who he was and the boy replied, 'I am a person to whom the Lord of Teleur has assigned a task, to go and find for him a little malpur shell. The fish that I ate has brought upon me the royal wrath.' Then Itaħanjaralap replied, 'You should go on then to Itaħanjaritik, because I am getting old and blind and can do nothing for you.' That fish then asked him what he wanted to do. The boy replied that the wrath of the Lord of Teleur was great toward him. Itaħanjaritik asked whether he had come back from the other one [Itaħanjaralap] and he replied, 'Yes'. Then Itaħanjaritik gave it [the malpur shell] to him, and said he would help him by returning him to his place, for he was far from Ponape; he might try to return, but could not reach Ponape.¹¹

7. So, when he got the malpur shell, he went into the mouth of the fish and stayed in its belly. The fish then helped him and brought him back to Ponape.

8. The fish then travelled on into Ponape until it came to Auankap. It then came up and stranded itself on the reef, and was

stuck fast and could no longer move. The Lord of Teleur learned that a fish had come and stranded itself on the reef at Auankap. He therefore deigned to send some people to report to him about the fish. Now this report spread everywhere, including to the boy's mother. The woman then recalled the boy's instructions, so she set forth, gathering together some little ornaments for the boy which she had prepared in advance. She then went to see it [the fish]. Now on that day the people of the whole state of Teleur had a great gathering. The various Laiap [priests]¹² and all the holy men assembled and came to gaze at the fish. And when they got there the people scolded the woman [saying] that she should not approach the side of the fish and defile the fish, which was the royal food of the Lord of Teleur.

9. But some people said, 'Don't stop her and let us see where she goes', so they let her go; and the spirit mediums became possessed, saying that they had caught the fish as a royal meal for the Lord of Teleur and all his subjects to eat.

10. Now all returned to their gardens and prepared something¹³ that would be suitable, that they could prepare for the fish. But the priests and some of the people stayed at the place where the fish was. When the woman who was the mother of Jatokauai arrived there, the woman decided that her boy was in the belly of the fish, for so he had instructed her before he left.

11. So the woman came and went straight to the head of the fish, and the crowd disliked this and scolded the woman [saying] that she should not approach and defile the royal food, this important fish that the gods had brought. But the woman did not heed their scolding of her. She simply came up to the mouth of the fish, and when she was near the fish's mouth she struck the gill of the fish with her staff. And at this the fish opened its mouth. It was at this time that Jatokauai, who had been in the belly of the fish, came forth quickly from inside the fish and put on his ornaments and kicked the fish away, saying to it, 'Go forth and return to your home.'¹⁴

12. So the fish left and the priests and the people were embarrassed that the fish had gone away. Jatokauai then set forth, taking the malpur shell, and went to the Lord of Teleur at Pankatira, at the ruler's seat. He then approached and presented it to the Lord of Teleur. He then said to the ruler, 'Here is the little thing that your highness deigned to have me look for. Here, I have brought it.' The ruler rejoiced indeed at this, for this was the first time he had *acquired*¹⁵ the shell of the malpur.

13. The man then left the ruler. And he called together all the

members of his family. When they all came together, he filled up his house with all of them, and then set fire to the house with all of them in it. He also died with them on that day.¹⁶

14. A little bit of the remainder of the malpur shell remains to this day. It is kept in the state of Kiti in Ononlah in the Lipitan clan.¹⁷
The end.

¹ This chapter and the next tell of punishments, in the form of assigned quests of great difficulty, inflicted upon those who aroused the wrath of the Lord of Teleur. In these two stories the tasks are imposed because of eating what should rightfully have been rendered up in tribute to the ruler. These examples of the tyranny of the Lords of Teleur are not told in criticism of the institution of tribute-giving, which continues even today, but of the excessive demands made by them and of the harsh punishments meted out to offenders.

⁸ The malpur is a legendary sea creature that no one has ever seen.

¹² A level of priests ranked below the jamarau and more numerous.

¹³ That is some cooked breadfruit, yam or taro to eat with the fish. Larger catches of fish are customarily shared on Ponape with other people on the understanding that those who have stayed ashore will prepare starchy food of some kind.

¹⁶ Oliver Nanpei commented that the hero did this so that no more difficult tasks would be given him, which is also what the Hambruch texts say.

Chapter 33

*The story of Lamuak*¹

1. There was a man in Nanpaniep² by the name of Lamuak. Another of his names was Lauinpaniep. This man was the first man to conduct agriculture in Ponape. He was, moreover, a man with magic powers.³ The man was born in Nanpaniep. Later when he grew up and became a man he went to Palañ. Afterwards he came back from Palañ and came upwind to Matolenim to look for good earth. Now when he came up to Matolenim he uprooted a banana sucker [of the variety] that is named Inanpaniep. He then came on to the Japalap part of Matolenim, and he went to Janipan, to [the chief called] Lapanmor. He then found that Janipan had very good earth for agriculture.

2. He then went to Lapanmor, for he was the ruler of the Mainland of Matolenim in the reign of the Lords of Teleur. He then requested Lapanmor [to let him] make his residence in Janipan and

to make gardens there.

3. Here are his tools for work.⁴

1. Nanjuan, made with pelikenna.

2. Likinjuan, made with pelikenna.

3. Nantapañhuan, one side sank.

4. He then prepared a garden there. There were many food trees which grew up spontaneously in his garden. Now, the banana which he had brought from Paniep, he had planted in the garden, and it was this that grew up most quickly and bore fruit. He therefore cut off the first stalk and baked it in a stone oven, as chief's food for Lapanmor. Now the two of them crossed a stream in flood, it was a rainy day, and the man deceived Lapanmor and threw the stalk in the flood, and the current carried it out and it washed up on the steps of Pankatira.⁵

5. The stalk was brought to the Lord of Teleur. He became wrathful at this and inquired about [to find out] whose oven this banana stalk had come from.⁶ They informed him that it was from the oven of Lapanmor and his companion. This is why he assigned a task to Lapanmor. He ordered him to appear before him. The chief then scolded him, and gave him the punishment of fetching a feather of the Tiripeijo bird,⁷ from abroad.⁸

6. This was the second⁹ difficult errand on which the Lord of Teleur sent a subject of his. So Lapan returned to his home in Janipan and prepared for this expedition, and hunted for people who could go along on the voyage, and also for a canoe, and also equipment for the canoe. The equipment for the canoe was made ready and then the canoe was launched at the first landing and the second landing, for Lapan had two landing places. The names of these two landing places were Jakarejet [The Sea Landing] and Jakaramor [The Land Landing].¹⁰ The canoe then set forth. One of the crew of the canoe hid away from the voyage. As they went out toward the open sea, a mud-skipper leaped up upon the canoe and went along with it. Its place was the boom-end supports. A mud-crab also got on the side of the canoe, while a cockroach also boarded the canoe, and a basket also went along with the canoe, a *Kusaie* basket, which was an eel basket. It is this that is named Kemeui.¹¹

7. Now at that time it was difficult for people to catch birds and the like quickly. Now the canoe set forth out into the open sea. They went on and on until they reached a land where there were certain birds, whose feathers were very beautiful. There were no bird feathers of this sort in Ponape. Now they arrived at the land and they had nothing to make it easy for them to get the bird's feathers. Here

is what happened to them when they landed on this land. The cockroach got off the canoe with them, and they also carried the basket off with them. They then went inland to the place where the bird was staying. They found the birds flying about in the trees, in the cultivated land, on up to the forest. They then went and gathered under a tree, in which was the bird. And they sat together there and waited for a feather to fall from the bird so that they might bring it to the Lord of Teleur.¹²

8. Now it was a long time that they waited for a feather of the bird to fall down to them, so they agreed that they would climb up to the bird and remove a feather from it. Now, when some of them would climb after the bird, they would fly apart, so the cockroach said, 'The basket and I will do it instead.' So the cockroach climbed up toward where the bird was. He climbed stealthily up to the place where the bird was staying. He stealthily ascended until he was close. When he found that the bird was sleeping very soundly indeed, he then stealthily climbed up on the head of the bird. This made the bird itch and scratch its head until the beautiful feather fell from the head of the bird, and the feather fell straight down into the basket, Kemeui.

9. Now the cockroach climbed down from the tree and they set forth. When they got to the shore they boarded the canoe and set forth on their way back to Ponape to their high ruler the Lord of Teleur at Pankatira. The Lord of Teleur felt better and felt that Lapanmor was his trustworthy subject.¹³

10. Now this task was the beginning of the nobles saying things to their people because of their anger at their subjects and it gave rise to an important phrase which has a meaning, Kauat, (meaning) something which is difficult for a person to do, but it is assigned to a person to do, and he is then able to do it. This is what a Kauat is.

11. This assignment constituted the beginning of their imposition of difficult tasks on a person to do something, from this happening to the present day.

The story of the work of Lamuak is ended.

¹ Most of this chapter is devoted to the story of the quest for the Tiripeijo feather by Lapanmor and his followers; it is told again in Ch. 84.3-4.

⁹ The first errand being related in Ch. 32.

Chapter 34

*The story of Taimuan*¹

1. There was once a man named Taimuan; he used to live in a place named Namalek [*The Place of Chickens*] in Nanjokala.² That man was indeed magically powerful at that time. This man had a rock shelter for his dwelling place.³ His sister also, a woman named Litapinmalekelek,⁴ lived with him under the rock shelter. The man used to hear stories that there was a beautiful daughter of the Lord of Teleur, and he used to crave her; he wanted to eat a bit of flesh of that girl, for he supposed it would be delicious to eat because she had good food every day. He therefore decided to go and lure her away and eat her up. That man was full of wicked slyness. One day he prepared to go to Letau in Matolenim to go along out with them to the Lord of Teleur's place at Pankatira. So they set forth and he rode in a separate canoe alone.

2. As he went along he kept stopping at the points of the mangrove swamp, leaving behind there his bad defects;⁵ these were his old man's appearance and the like — white hair, swollen legs, swollen testicles, sagging eyelids, and so forth.⁶

3. So Taimuan turned into a fine youth before he arrived at Pankatira. There was no one equal to him in the party bringing the royal food offering; he had a finer stride and build than all of them. This is why when they got there, the Lord of Teleur's royal daughter caught sight of him and conceived a liking for him, for the girl was surprised at how fine this man was whom she had now seen for the first time.

4. So the girl became infatuated with the man and wanted to marry him. And she informed her father the Lord of Teleur that she craved one of the men who had appeared. So her father the Lord of Teleur stood up over the crowd and gazed about over them and discovered the handsome man. He then spoke to him: 'Man, you remain with my daughter as her husband.' This girl was named Kijinintamau [*Bit-of-Good-Blood*].⁷ She was a person who had a good and proper origin from a good family who were happy and ate well and whose surroundings were clean, etc., so they were good looking and had fine skin and the like.

5. When Taimuan heard these words he rejoiced at them. He then settled there and the two were married and lived on Pankatira at the place of their father,⁸ the Lord of Teleur. One day the man told the woman to ask their father to let them visit his land for a while. The man then went and launched a canoe for them to travel

in. They went along until they came to a point of the mangrove swamp, and the two stopped and got one of his defects — maybe his droopy eyelids or his swollen legs — going on and stopping at all the points of mangrove one by one until he had acquired all his repulsive defects again.

6. When they would stop to pick up one of the repulsive defects the girl would cry to see these things happening. And the girl no longer felt good, for she had discovered that this was a demon⁹ who had deceived her. Now when the two got to the shore of the man's land, the man got out of the canoe and took the canoe and put the woman, still in the canoe, on his shoulders and carried her up to his rock shelter. He then said, 'House, open up, open!' And he set the canoe down inside the cave with the woman still on it, and then he said further, 'House, close down, close!' and the rock again descended to the ground. He then went and climbed up on a high peak and called out in a loud voice, saying, 'Demons of the mountain, demons of the mountain! Quick, come together for a little something good to eat!'

7. When the demons heard this cry they all came together on the peak. He then showed off to them. Here is what he did: he would stretch forth his hand to the demons and say, 'Smell my hand; it smells tasty!'¹⁰ Now while the demons were making an uproar in their joy, there was a woman named Litapinmalekelek; this woman was Taimuan's sister. Litapinmalekelek's business was to take care of the house of her brother, Taimuan.

8. Now Litapinmalekelek passed by the rock shelter and heard the sound of Kijinintamau crying, floating forth from under the rock, and she asked, 'Who are you, person in this dwelling?' The woman replied, 'It is I.'¹¹ She then said, 'What are you doing here? Do you know that this is a demon's house? Come out and run away!' The woman replied, 'I can't get out.' The other replied, 'Burrow out toward me and I will burrow in toward you; transform yourself into a little ant and come out.' So they burrowed toward each other until there was a hole through the rock, and the woman transformed herself into a small ant and came out from under the rock. Litapinmalekelek then told the other to run away quickly. Litapinmalekelek said to her, 'As you run along be careful you don't pass any plant'¹² without greeting it politely.' So the woman ran along greeting¹³ all the plants as she went, the big trees and the small plants. But then she went and urinated on the shrub Kampanial [*Psychotria carolinensis*] and left it and went on.

9. When Taimuan returned from calling the demons together all the demons assembled before him, and they surrounded the rock

shelter underneath which was the woman. Taimuan then said in a loud voice, 'House, open up, open!' The house opened up and there was absolutely no one there inside. He was vexed at this, and ran to his sister and questioned her. The woman replied that she did not know where she had gone.

10. The man flew into a rage and insulted his sister obscenely. And when the woman heard the man's words she burst into tears because of them. The man then ran after that woman. He did not pass a single plant without asking it about the woman — the big trees and the small plants. And eventually he asked the shrub, Kampanial, and it said to him that she had come and urinated on it and run on.¹⁴

11. Taimuan then chased her all the harder. He ran along and met two little worms¹⁵ playing in the path. Their names were Likitikitpaj and Lirokorokpaj. He asked them if they had not seen a person in the path.

12. They replied, 'Face that way, face this way, then pull your lower eyelids down and we'll tell you exactly.' He then obeyed them, and faced away and faced back, and pulled down his lower eyelids, and those creatures threw ashes¹⁶ in the man's eyes. The man's eyes were filled with dirt and he could no longer see anything. The creatures further told him to go put his face under a trickle of water to clean out his eyes. He obeyed them and went and turned his face up under the trickle.

13. The trickle poured into his eyes, but the little creatures went up to the source of the trickle and dirtied the water. Mud then came along down into the man's eyes and blinded him so he died.

14. So Taimuan died and came to an end. And Taimuan's insult to his sister is what started the proverbial phrase¹⁷ 'Insult of Jokala'.¹⁸ *The end.*

11 Ponapeans when asked who they are commonly reply simply: 'It is I', and do not give their names.

14 This shrub, Kampanial, is often given to babies to hasten their talking. The logic is based on this myth of Taimuan, in which the plant has the power of speech.

18 The insult of Jokala is 'Your vagina, my penis'. To say this to a sister, as Taimuan did, is particularly reprehensible.

Chapter 35

*The story of the mangrove crab*¹

1. Yap is a land which is to the west of Ponape, where the sun sinks. There was a mangrove crab in Yap named Lijariap [Woman Departing from Yap] who emigrated in this direction from Yap, coming along [by] the different lands. On arriving at Ngatik they named her Lipeinatik [Woman Floating to Ngatik]. She then came up to Ant, and she came up on the land at Ant and would wander about the land. They then gave her the name of Litautaulik [Woman Passing along the Exterior]. She then resided there for a while, and then further left there, coming to the downwind side of the island Kepara. They then next gave her the name of Lipeipanjap [Woman Floating Downwind of the Land]. She then passed by Kepara and swam upwind to Na. She then went and resided off Na. They then further gave her the name of Lipapana. She then came up on the land at Na and resided there for awhile. They then further gave her the name of Liuerna.²

2. She then went on to Likop, and resided there for a while and stayed there. They then further gave her the name of Liaunkapintal [Watchwoman of the Bottom of the Cup]. She stayed there for a while and then further set forth, going down the line of sections until she arrived at Uanikpaiti [Downwind Uanik]. She then went and resided at the mouth of Jokala Channel. Now all the people of Ponape assembled there to gaze at the mangrove crab, and they fought among each other. There were many who were wounded there.³

3. A boy from the state of Kiti, one of the survivors of the people of Uone, whose name was Jamanlo or Peiahata, was under the pile of casualties that day. He went out seaward with the tide until he got outside the reef. Ilake in the form of a freshwater eel appeared to him, and carried him to the land of Uone and bestowed upon him the title of Jaumatonponta. This title is the same to the present day.⁴

The end.

⁴ Ilake is the ancestral spirit of the subclan of the Creature Clan known as Liajanpal, whose history is related in Chs. 60.12-13 and 84.7-10. She was the central goddess of a special cult which existed in Uone, as Hambruch tells in II:132 ff., where her chief priest was the Jaumatonponta, the title that she gives to the boy in this story. Not only was the holder of the title high priest but his political position was equivalent to the Naniken of today, the latter being the title he took when Uone conquered Kiti, as Ch. 60.10 tells.

Chapter 36

*The story of Jau Areu*¹

1. There was a man in the state of Matolenim in Animuan in the section of Areu, who had the title of Jau Areu [Master of Areu]. He was a master fisherman. His work was to fish here and there. Everyday he would set his fish traps about in the sea.

2. One day he went to go fishing and pull up his fish traps. He left instructions with his small boy to make a stone oven full of food for them to eat, along with the fish. He therefore set forth and went fishing. He went and paddled to the place where he had set his fish traps, and when he got there he dived down in order to see if he had some fish or not. And when he got to the fish traps a demon had transformed itself and become like a freshwater eel² and was in the fish trap. Now the demon devoured the man and took instead the appearance of the man, and took the canoe and boarded it and returned to the small boy, and carried part of the intestines of the man, and took them to the boy. He then said to the boy that he should prepare³ some fish viscera for him to eat, left over from his meal in the sea.

3. But the boy did not know that the eel had come to trick him, for the demon had the appearance of the man, and the child believed that it was his father and he did not know that it was a demon, so the boy took the fish viscera and put them in the oven. But the demon went and lay down on the feast house platform, and he kept asking, 'Are they cooked?' And the boy replied 'Not yet!', but a pair of tongs⁴ [which] were in the thatch said to the boy, 'You know that that is a demon who has devoured your father, and who has changed into the shape of your father, and that that, moreover, is the intestines of your father.'

4. The boy replied 'What can I do to escape from this demon?' The tongs said, 'Run away quickly, and I will take your place and reply for you.' So the boy ran away. While he was running on Kinakap Ridge and had finally got away, he [the demon] asked again, 'Is it cooked yet?', and the tongs replied, 'Not yet!' Now the demon did not know that the boy had just run away. He then asked the same question as before. He then got up and looked at the oven, and there was not a single person beside the oven.

5. The demon then ran up and devoured the length of intestine from the stone oven and went on away from it and sniffed at one path, and there was no scent, and so he sniffed at another path and found the scent there. Now at this time the boy was very far indeed.

The demon no longer knew where the boy was so he transformed himself, becoming a large freshwater eel, huge and very long. Now the eel stood up and looked around [to see] where the boy was running so that he would be able to chase him and catch him and eat him up. But he did not overtake him for the boy was too fast.

6. The eel rose and stood up, towering over all the trees, and looked about everywhere. He discovered him running in the forest of Kinakap, so he crawled along the ground, trying his hardest to chase the boy, until he was about to catch him. The boy ran swiftly and the eel likewise ran swiftly. The boy looked back and hey! the eel was close. The two went on in the chase until they came to Japalap. The boy was running ahead.

7. Now when the boy got to Japalap he met a man who was pounding coconut husk fibre in the Letau [river]. The man's name was Jau-kior. He therefore greeted the man humbly. The man asked the boy, 'Why are you running?' And he replied, 'Because an eel is about to eat me up!' Then the man replied, 'Keep on going straight ahead. I'll take care of him if he appears.'

8. Then later the eel appeared. Now before he appeared, the man had been pounding coconut husk fibre, and had been putting the remnants from the fibre downstream, blocking it off, causing it to become a deep stretch of water. The eel appeared and greeted the man and asked him if there was no person who had come near him, and the man replied, 'Yes, a little boy, but he has left.'

9. The eel then said to the man to get out of his way a moment for he was late and he might not catch the boy. The man said that he should go downstream, for the upper part was deep, so the eel did so and went downstream, and the eel trusted him, for he saw that the lower part was dry.⁵

10. The eel started to cross downstream, but the man took advantage of this, and kicked apart the bottom [that is, the dam] of the stretch of water. The water then flowed forth and washed away the eel. He went along with the current of the water, floating out to Nanmatolenim, in a place named Poroj.⁶ He then settled in that place. He then used to tear coconuts and tie them together in pairs. This is what gave rise [to the expression] 'tied coconuts of Poroj'.⁷

11. One day the eel lined them [the pairs of coconuts] all up and crawled between them, riding on them, and floated out downwind to Japarairai [Long Land].⁸ He then went and resided at a place named Pontip, but he was homesick for Areu, in Matolenim. He therefore gave the place the name of Areu. He then resided in the pool of water named Areu in Ant, and his descendants are there to this day.

The eel has the title of Master of Areu to this day.
The end.

⁷ This expression, still current, refers to pairs of coconuts tied together by means of strands of husks which have been loosened and torn back part way from the bottom ends of the nuts. Such pairs are often placed under the arms of little children for buoyancy while they learn to swim, in the same way as the eel uses them in the next paragraph.

⁸ A traditional epithet for Ant Atoll.

Chapter 37

*The story of Luk*¹

1. There was a man in the interior of Ponape. This man ruled the interior of Ponape and served the Lord of Teleur.

2. At that time there was a woman who had three daughters. The eldest among them was named Ilakenpeilapalap [Ilake of the Great Stone Structure], while the middle one was named Ilakentanimuek and also had the name of Liauntanimuek, while the youngest of them was named Ilakenmair [Ilake of the Interior].

3. Ilakenpeilapalap lived in Nanmatol, in a place named Peilapalap.² Ilakentanimuek stayed in the state of Kiti in the section of Puaja,³ Upper Anipein; while Ilakenmair stayed in the hinterland of Ponape at the place of the great lieutenant⁴ who ruled the interior, Kirau Mair [Keeper of the Interior].⁵ It was he who had this woman as his queen. This man was a gardener, an industrious man. He had male workers. Here are his male workers to whom he gave names or titles, Jaumaka [Master of the Banana Plantation] — in charge of the group for planting bananas: Jaumakanmair [Master of the Banana Plantations of the Interior].

4. Kirau Mair married Ilakenmair as his queen. The woman bore children unto him, bearing a daughter named Lipuilmair [Woman Originating from the Interior]. At the time when Kirau Mair made a plantation of bananas of the kind of banana [known as] Karat,⁶ all banana plantations were named maka. The title of the man in charge of the work was Jaumaka. Kirau Mair was the high ruler of all the interior of Ponape, accordingly Kirau Mair's banana plantations were greater than all the [other] banana plantations in



Plate 1 Luelen and his wife Klara in 1947. From K. Imanishi, *The Island of Ponape: an ecological study*, Tokyo, 1944.



Plate 2 Young men and girls of Kiti in 1947.
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Institution.

Ponape.

5. When the bananas bore fruit and became ripe, some of them would ripen spontaneously on the banana trees, and birds would assemble and eat them.⁷ Birds [came] from Ponape and also from all the islands outside of Ponape, down as far as Yap and the like. They would swoop about in the joy of eating the bananas every day. Now Kirau Mair's agricultural workers used to cut bananas and they would be surprised at how some bananas had the marks of the beaks of birds on them, but others not, for some bananas were whole but with no content,⁸ for flying people used to come with the birds and join in eating the banana plantations.

6. They went and hid and discovered that two people were coming along with the birds. So they went to notify Kirau Mair. The man then came and hid at night and watched the people, and when night came and it was dark, the men came along with the birds and flew hither.

7. Now the two men who were coming along with the birds and visiting the banana plantation came from a place named Iapatañ, a land up in the air.⁹ [One of] their names were Jaupualu, and the name of the other one was Kanikiniapatañ [Steward of Iapatang]. Now the man assembled all his courtiers¹⁰ and told them to come along with him and hide in ambush in the banana plantation, so that they could identify these people.

8. They went in a group to the banana garden and hid in a secret place in the evening, for this was the time that the men would come, when it was dark. Now the group hid in the place and after a little while the two flew hither and alighted there. This kind of person came from a land named Iapatañ.

9. There is a story that there are three lands, their names are Iap [Yap], Iaptu [Diving Yap?],¹¹ and Iapatañ. As for Iapatañ, its inhabitants are birds, and as for Iaptu, its inhabitants are like fish, one end human and one end fish.

10. But Iap is some lands that are on the sea, (meaning) magically potent. Now the men ate until they were full, but they did not know that the ambush party had tied the hair of Jaupualu to the trees. And when they were full they flew up and started to fly away, but as they flew, then the hair of the other man was caught. He then returned to free it, and this was the time when the ambush party appeared, and seized him, and tied him up and destroyed his wings, lest he fly away again. The crowd then took the man in their houses to tame him, and he became tame just like a person.

11. Now, Kirau Mair's daughter who was born to him, whom

Ilakenmair bore unto him, married the man. Eventually the woman became pregnant but when she was about to give birth, then Kanikiniapatañ appeared to urge Jaupualu to go participate in the ceremonies of their land.

12. Now Jaupualu felt bad about his wife being near the time to give birth. This is why the other man said to him, 'Don't feel bad about this. Take your wife along with you.' But the other replied, 'But she is pregnant and her belly is large, this is what makes me feel bad.' So they all set forth. Jaupualu took his wife and put her in his hair knot before he was to fly.

13. Now at that time Jaupualu was unable to fly because Kirau Mair and his crowd had broken off his wings earlier. This is why Kanikiniapatañ brought back with him some things to fly with. He could therefore fly.¹²

14. The two flew downwind over the various lands. As they were flying the woman felt pain for she had begun to give birth. And as they were flying a little blood dripped down into the eyes¹³ of the man. The man said to the woman, 'You have broken the taboo of our ceremony which we were going to perform.'

15. The two then flew down low over Tanimuek¹⁴ to the place of one of their mothers who was named Liauntanimuek. When they alighted on the earth the woman gave birth. Now no sooner was the child born than he flew away and flew into a clump of giant swamp taro, and his mother kept calling for him to return for a minute so that she might just cut off his umbilical cord.

16. Now the child just bent down and bit off his umbilical cord and threw it away. They then found that he was a little boy. Now this child was wild and feared people, so they gave him the name of Aunpanmañ [*Watchman of the Giant Taro Stems*].¹⁵

17. Now the couple went on their way that day, and they left word with the woman to catch¹⁶ and tame the child, for they were in a hurry for their ceremony was coming to an end. They therefore went on and went to the place where they were going. Liauntanimuek caught the child and tamed him, and the child became tame and used to stay with the old woman.

18. One day the woman told that child, 'You stay with the man servants for I shall go fishing.' So the boy was staying with the man servants of Liauntanimuek every day that the woman went fishing, and eventually the child got a little larger, and the woman made him a small spear for spearing fish.

19. Now this was the child's work every day, learning how to spear fish, but the woman used to say to the child, 'If you are playing, don't

go upwind of our house, for it is sacred.' And one day the woman was setting out to go fishing and she again instructed him in this.

20. He should not go upwind of this land for it was sacred, so the woman left to go fishing while the child wondered about this, and was saying to himself, 'Why must I not go upwind of this land?' So he went upwind of the land and he found a reef pond¹⁷ with many fish in it. He then came back and got his little spear for spearing fish. He then went and picked out the *best* fish¹⁸ from among them.

21. He then speared and hit the eye of the fish and the fish fled with his little spear. The boy then looked after his spear and cried. He then came to their house and cried there. The woman arrived from the sea and came and found the boy crying in the house.

22. She asked the boy, 'Why are you crying?' The boy replied, telling her all that he had done. The woman said, 'This is why I did not want you to go upwind of this land of ours. Probably you have killed one of Nanullap's fish.' But the woman did not know that it was Nanullap¹⁹ himself whom the boy had hit in his eye.

23. Now Nanullap became sick from his wound and all his subjects²⁰ and courtiers assembled, and formed human mats,²¹ for his sickness got worse indeed. Then some medicine women departed to collect medicine. Limo and Lijara brought medicine for his eye, for the little spear was still in the eye of the ruler. Now Liauntanmuek saw the women going to get the medicine and she said to the boy to follow them, and if they collected a plant he should also collect a plant.

24. And if he finished he should run quickly along the path to get to the man first. The boy then collected the medicines and ran off, running and collecting the medicines. But the women collected their medicines and came and pounded them in the stream of Tanimuek.²² They pounded them on a stone, and this stone broke in two, and is there to this day.

25. Limo, meaning Iomo, is a fish of the sea. Lijara, meaning Jara, is a fish of the sea. This [Jara] is the fish that brought back a little of the blood of the boy which fell into the sea. The fish ate it. The name of the boy was Monimur.²³

26. Now the boy found the medicines and ran to the man Nanullap where he was sick, and as he was running toward that place, the people in the crowd saw him and scolded him [saying] that he should not approach the place where the ruler was staying. Now a married couple was serving the ruler. Their names were Maid Servant and Man Servant.²⁴ Man Servant was a man for serving, and Maid Servant was a woman for serving. The two of them interrupted

the others, and told those who were obstructing the boy to let him go for a minute.

27. The boy then went straight on and leapt up on the platform, went along the edge and on up to the chief's platform and the people shouted together,²⁵ but a pair of tongs which was inserted in the thatch of the building told the crowd that this boy was Luk.²⁶ He then went straight to the man and took the little spear which was stuck in the ruler's eye, and pulled it out and spat the medicine into the spear's scar. And at that very moment the pain stopped and departed.

28. Some of the people of the crowd asked among themselves 'What magically potent boy is that?' and the tongs again said, 'The name of this boy is Luk'.

29. When the man was better he arose and gave an order to all the people in the crowd to assemble and make a feast for Luk, and all were happy. He then returned to his mother.²⁷ Eventually the child became large. One day he said to his mother that he was going to visit his mother, the old woman, who lived in Matolenim.

30. He then went to Ilakenpeilapalap in Nanmatol. Now when this woman saw the boy she knew him, but the boy did not know the woman. The woman asked the boy, 'Where are you going and who are you?' And the boy replied, 'I have come to see Ilakenpeilapalap.' The woman replied, 'Here I am.' and the boy said, 'I have come from my mother Ilakentanimuek. My real grandmother is Ilakenmair.'

31. The woman then said, 'Come then, my child.' The two then rejoiced for they had found each other. The boy did not stay long at that place when he again left that woman. He walked out on top of the sea, going on until he arrived at Kitoroilahn.²⁸ He then rose up along with the spray of the waves, and went to Heaven, and resided in Heaven with his family. A sister of his also lived there, whose name was Laiminpei.

32. He then conceived a liking for a woman who was one of those inhabitants of the second heaven, whose name was Katinlah [Mistress of Heaven]. These people were divine people, for they were inhabitants of the heavens. Luk married Katinlah. One day Luk told his wife that he wanted to go back again to the earth to meet his mother again. The woman replied, 'Yes, it is all right.' Everyone said it was all right.

33. The two then set forth, and climbed down the back of heaven, and made their way under the Kitoroilahn, and came walking hither over the wide and broad sea. As they were coming along, the woman said, 'I would like to eat a ripe pandanus fruit.' The man replied,

'Such talk is bad in a place like this, for it is difficult.' The two came along farther, and the two saw a pandanus tree standing up in the middle of the sea. It was laden with fruit. There was not a branch without a pandanus fruit on it.

34. The woman said to her husband, 'There is a pandanus tree standing in front of you there. How ripe its fruit are!' At first the man did not want to, but the woman insisted so the man stopped and pulled off a fruit from the lowest branch. The woman rejoiced at this, and took it and carried it along with her as she came hither. And as they were far from the pandanus tree, they looked back and saw a tremendous shark, which had appeared in back of them, and was coming to eat them up. Luk then picked off a large key of the pandanus fruit, and said a spell over it, and threw it at the shark.

35. Here is the charm for throwing at sharks: 'I started from Poneit Landing and Auntauaniap [Watchman of Yap Channel, i.e., the shark] appeared on the horizon and konele²⁹ and went quickly in front of the channel. I threw something at him and hit him. I break, break, break the shark; break, shark, break.' So the man threw this at the shark and immediately killed him, and he sank. The two went on their way until they came to a small island, the name of the island being Roj [Finished],³⁰ for this was the place where the pandanus fruit was finished. They came on in to the mainland, and they gave names to the places where they passed.³¹ They then came back to Matolenim, and returned to Heaven. Luk lives in Heaven, and he has many companions and many clansmates and his family and his sister Laiminpei. This woman has supernatural powers, for they are all inhabitants of the heaven of olden times.

36.³² Now some of his clansmen *did not come near*³³ the residence of Luk. This is the point at which the clan Jaun Luk [Masters of Luk] became different, and it was these who became known as Jaunlañ [Masters of Heaven].³⁴ Luk was staying on his land in Heaven, or in Nanpeinlañ [Altar of Heaven], and was gazing down here and caught sight of a woman fishing at Likinmaal [i.e., off Mall Island].³⁵ He therefore scooped her up with a scoop named Teunlañ [Scoop of Heaven]. The name of the woman was Liatijap [Woman Snatched from Land]. This woman was a beautiful woman. There was no woman who equalled her beauty.

37. Her hair was so long and shining and she had a person to carry her hair.³⁶ This was why Luk came to want this woman, for she was indeed beautiful. So Luk scooped up the woman and hid her in the house of his sister Laiminpei, and he would visit her every day.

38. One day Katinlañ came visiting that woman with whom

Liatijap was hiding. It was not a simple visit for she suspected that Luk was doing something. Now on the day that Katinlañ was to appear before the two, Liatijap was sitting in the door of the house, and she looked and saw that the trees everywhere were bending down. And she was astonished at this and asked Laiminpei, 'Why have all the trees toppled over, and everything?' The woman replied, 'Come quickly. Hide under this bowl, for we are dead.'

39. 'For Luk's wife has arrived.' She then quickly hid from her. Katinlañ appeared to Laiminpei and asked the woman, 'Don't you have some woman in your house here?' And she replied, 'There is none, madam' for she was afraid of Luk. The woman replied, 'Don't hide her from me and don't be afraid of me, for I shall do nothing to her.'³⁷

40. Then Laiminpei lifted up the bowl and took the woman out from underneath it and showed her to Katinlañ. Then Katinlañ said to the woman, 'Come and stand her before me.' She then said to her, 'Face away from me.' The woman then came and stood before Katinlañ and faced away from her. She then cut off her long tresses, looking at it *until it was satisfactory*.³⁸

41. Katinlañ then took the woman to Luk, for her to be his wife. The two of them were co-wives for Luk.³⁹ So Liatijap became a wife in the residence of Luk, becoming a second wife. She then became pregnant and wanted to eat fish.

42. Now Katinlañ had a fish pond in which all of the fish were counted, and the total number in the pond was with her. Luk's queen told Luk to take the woman there and give her one of the fish. Now Katinlañ said to the other woman, 'When you eat the fish don't break apart the fish bones, but throw the bones back into the fish pond, for they will again turn into a fish.'

43. 'Another thing, when you come back from the fish pond be careful that you walk behind, as you come, and Luk in front, but you behind.' Now when the two returned from the pond Luk told the woman to go ahead, but the woman did not want to because of the promise of the two. But no, Luk was stubborn, the woman went ahead. Luk seized one of the fish and held it in his hand behind his back. The two went on and he went and gave it as a love gift to two women. The names of the women: one was Lipalapanlañ and the other was Lipaieret.

44. Now after the two reached the house Katinlañ asked the woman, 'Who walked behind as you came?' The woman replied that Luk was the one who had walked behind as they came, so the woman Katinlañ set forth to go and investigate the condition of the fish. She

went and counted the fish and one of them was no longer there. There were only nine, for in all there had been ten.⁴⁰

45. Katinlah was enraged that Luk had taken one of her fish and given it away as a love gift. She became wrathful at this and sent for all the people of heaven to meet with her. She poured water into a bowl and set it down before the crowd. She said to the crowd, 'Everyone in this crowd shall come and douse his hands in this bowl.' They were to come one by one until all the crowd had finished.

46. They all obeyed the words of the woman that she spoke. Now, when everyone in the crowd had dipped his hands in the water, there was no oily film from the hands, except that there were two women in the crowd and it was they who had an oily film when they dipped their hands. As for the names of the women, one was Lipalapanlah and the other was Lipaieret. This made them feel very bad.

47. The two were beaten and shoved down⁴¹ out of Heaven and fell down onto this earth. The people of heaven were all saddened.

¹ Chs. 37, 38 and 40 consist of stories about the god Luk and other individuals connected with him. Evidently at one time these formed an important cycle in Ponapean mythology.

⁸ When a karat banana is eaten raw a small hole is made in the end and the soft flesh squeezed into the mouth with the fingers.

¹⁹ God of fishing and the sea.

²¹ That is, Nanullap was lying on them, or at least on their hands, as was often the practice when a ruling chief was ill.

²² Most medicines on Ponape are prepared from leaves, roots and other parts of various plants, which are laid on a flat stone in running water and pounded to a pulp with a hammerstone.

²⁵ In anger at the apparent violation of a strict taboo forbidding commoners to enter feast (or community) houses except at the ground-level open front or to step on the beam that forms the inner edge of a side platform. High-ranking men may do these things and when the boy was revealed as Luk the people were satisfied.

²⁷ Actually his mother's mother's sister. The word nono (mother) is used twice again for his grandmother's other sister in the next few sentences, in keeping with the Ponapean kinship terminology.

²⁸ Literally the 'Eaves of Heaven': see n. 1.3.

*The story of Lipalapanlañ and Lipaieret*¹

1. On the day that they were beaten and shoved down out of heaven Lipalapanlañ fell down on Lot, while Lipaieret fell down on Poniaiñ.² Now when Lipalapanlañ fell on Lot she used to stay in a rock outside the mangrove of Nantiati in the state of Matolenim, and she would requisition³ people at sea and devour those who passed by that place.

2. Here's how it was. If a canoe paddled by that place, she would ask of them first, 'How many people are in that canoe?', and if the people in the canoe replied, 'Three' then she would say that one should get out and two should go on by. She used to do this sort of thing all the time.

3. There was a man in Kapilañ in the section of Paiej⁴ whose name or title was Jau-in'konpaiej.⁵ He heard reports about this woman, how she was very beautiful and also very wild, so he decided he would go and catch her for his wife. He then prepared some things with which to bait the woman. He prepared some grated coconut⁶ and a bundle of large ants and a bundle of some tiny ants.⁷

4. He then launched his canoe in order to set forth and go up to Lot. He then went upwind of the demon and squeezed the grated coconut on himself and it [the odour] was wafted toward the demon. She smelled it and crawled⁸ forth from the rock. The man then threw the bundle of large ants and the bundle of small ants and the insects climbed up on her, and she was [busy] brushing them off and no longer paid attention to the person. It was then that he was able to seize her and hold her.

5. The demon cried with the voice of a demon until it turned into a human voice, and at this point the man put her in his canoe and took her away with him and made her his wife. They used to live in the section of Paiej at the end of the state of Kiti.

6. The woman became pregnant and gave birth to a boy, and no sooner was the child born than he flew away, for they were relatives of the people of heaven. They gave the child the name of Kereejañ. Now the little child was wild indeed. He used to hide here and there in the forest until he grew up and became a fine man. But from the time he was born from his mother he used to catch the little lizards [known as] Limanman en jeri [*Perocheirus articulatus*] and eat them.

7. This was his favourite food, which he used to eat all the time, the little creatures Limanman en jeri. Here's how he would eat them.

If that man, his father, was going to prepare a stone oven on a certain day, then the boy would get ready for it and go catch some Limanman en jeri in the bush. He would then wait for the time when the stone oven would be covered for he would wrap them up and tie to them a little string which was very long, for he would wait for the time when the stone oven would be covered and then throw the little bundle onto the stones of the oven, and he would also wait for the time when the oven would be uncovered. He would stay in the forest and haul in his little bundle off of the *stones* of the oven⁹ and then have his meal.

8. Now the man did not know about this little bundle but the two would criticise the child all the time, [and remark] how the child was of no use to them, and moreover did not help them, even for a short while.

9. One day the man again made a stone oven for their food. The man lit the fire for the oven while the boy again prepared the small bundle of Limanman en jeri. And he waited for the stones of the oven to be covered, and he threw the little bundle on to the stones of the oven. The man then put hot stones over the loop of the string and it burnt up. When the stone oven was uncovered, the boy pulled in the little bundle. He had the string but not the bundle for the string had burnt up and parted.

10. This was when the boy appeared before them and asked the two about their criticising him all the time. They told him how he did not help them in preparing their food. The man woke up in the morning early and went to work in his plantations while the woman guarded the house and just stayed alone in the house.

11. But the boy came stealing up to the house and said, 'That side become cleared going away, and this side sprout up [with food crops] toward here.' And these things all happened. Now when the woman woke up, this was when the boy's work stopped. The woman woke up because of the brightness of the land shining in her eyes. It woke her up. Now, when the woman woke up there was already a large garden there.

12. There were very many bananas in the garden, [the kind] of banana named Kutut. There were many of these which were ripe, stretching away. Now this kind of banana is famous because it was Kereejan who brought it.

13. Now the boy then said to his mother. 'For what reason did you wake up so early and stop my work?' The two then gave him his title of Jaupeiajaj. One day the boy told his mother to let him go to the other side¹⁰ to meet the other woman Lipaieret and her little boy. His

mother replied, 'All right, dear, go on.'

14. But the mother Lipalapanlah went and got a ripe coconut and split it in half and gave half to the boy and kept half herself. The boy then set forth. He met some people who were dancing. They failed to speak humbly to him about their play¹¹ and the boy got angry at this and said that the dancers would be transformed into rocks. They were then transformed into rocks, every single one of them, the dancers and the spectators as well. He then went on from there and found another crowd who were finishing up a seine. They were fastening the floats and sinkers to the seine. They also failed to invite him to join them. He said further as he passed them that the net should become a stretch of wild cane, and the net turned into a stretch of wild cane. He therefore gave that place the name of Ukalek [Wild Cane Net].¹²

15. He then went on and further met some people who were making the decorations on the end-piece of a canoe, a royal canoe. They also failed to speak humbly about it to the boy. He then spoke quietly, saying 'I wish that canoe would turn back into a tree again.' And the canoe turned back again into a living tree.¹³

16. Those who were making the canoe asked among themselves, 'What is this? — that this canoe was finished and has turned back again into a living tree! Is it not that little boy who just passed us? Probably so!' They then chased after the boy and apologized to him in the path. The boy felt better and told them, 'All right, you go back to the canoe for it has again turned back into a canoe and is waiting for you.'¹⁴

17. They came back and found that everything was all right again.¹⁵ Then the boy went on to Mejeniah [Face of the Wind]. He went and enjoyed the breezes on a certain rock. He then looked up to where his other brother was building a *stone structure*¹⁶ in a place named Jaunintih [Not Tattooed].¹⁷ He therefore went and helped the other boy to make the structure. Some canoes came outside and saw the place where the boys were working, then gave the place the name of 'Not Tattooed' because these two boys were not tattooed.

18. The two then made their stone structure and made it higher. But a stone fell on the fingers of Jaupeiajaj and wounded it. Blood flowed forth and he fainted from it. The other boy dragged him up on top of a rock and then ran to notify Lipaieret.

19. Now Lipalapanlah brought out her half coconut which she had and it had turned red. She then said, 'My child has died.' She then ran following her boy to Mejeniah and looked upwind to Janop¹⁸ and saw her son lying on a stone, dead on the shore.

20. She then went on up to him, and collected medicine and applied it to the hands¹⁹ of the boy and revived him. Then Lipalapanlah took her son along with her and the two went to Lipaieret. They brought along a cluster of small coconuts. They first prepared a fire. They tore strips of coconut husk loose with their teeth, finished tearing them off by hand, and threw them in the fire.²⁰ Finally the fire became large and got hot and the smoke was very thick and spread out. They then held hands, all of them, and jumped into the smoke and went up with it to heaven in their true residence, for they were really inhabitants of heaven.

The end

⁶ Refers here to grated coconut prepared by stone boiling, where the gratings are squeezed with the hands to obtain oil (sometimes perfumed) for anointing the body.

¹¹ That is, they did not beg pardon and ask him to join them, as they should have done.

²⁰ 'Small coconuts' is the name of the special variety of coconut that cannot easily be husked with the ordinary stick-husker, hence the biting and tearing.

Chapter 39

*The story of Uarikitam*¹

1. There used to be a man in Nanjokala in the olden times, whose name was Jomenkapinpil,² while there was another in Yap. The two used to be rivals with each other. Now, in that period there was a man who had the title of Juiap [Master of Yap]. He was the high ruler of Downwind Yap.

2. Juiap was at Yap and sent his Kutoar bird [Kingfisher] upwind to stay on Ponape. The bird came and stayed on the Paipalap [Great Rock]³ of Jokaj. It used to devour the inhabitants of the land as well as those of the interior. Now, one day it attacked some people in the plantations of Mejeniah and the... of the bird's beak sank into the swamp below Peilapalap, and it then died.⁴

3. Jomenkapinpil came and took it inland to Nanjokala and they then devoured it. Now Juiap became impatient of waiting for his bird which no longer appeared to him, so he deigned to send here one of his subjects, a man with magic powers [named] Uarikitam to

come and investigate what had happened to the bird. He therefore set forth from Yap and brought⁵ along with him a bunch of bananas. He ate them as he came. Finally the bunch was finished and he threw the stalk into the sea and made a reef in the sea.⁶

4. He came on and arrived off Ponape. He first reached a small island which is named Pakein. He then met two boys waiting in a channel that fish traversed.

5. The names of the boys were Ueni and Uena. They gave the man a fish to eat raw, and they cut it in two and gave him the tail of the fish. The man then took his share and said, 'My share is small but it has nourishment, while your share is bigger but it does not have nourishment.'⁷

6. The man came on into Ponape. He then went on inland to Nanjokala. He was exhausted from his sea trip and went and lay down and slept very soundly indeed, and was aware of nothing at all because of being tired out from his voyage on the sea.⁸

7. Now Jomenkapinpil came and found him sleeping. He then started a fire and put a glowing stone into the mouth of Uarikitam. He writhed about and a boulder tumbled down from the mountain and he fell under it and died. And this is what forms the foundation of the land Kamar to this day.⁹

8. Now Jaiuiap came up after his subject Uarikitam. He carried on his shoulder an adz named Jilaniap [Adze of Yap.]¹⁰ He then went inland to meet Jomenkapinpil. He then went and met him and the two were conversing, but as they were conversing, Jomenkapinpil laid a hard clod of earth on a leaf and wrapped it up and gave the bundle to Jaiuiap. The man unloosed the bundle and it was transformed, becoming a Kutoar bird. This was [the kind of] Kutoar whose skin is dirtier than the other kind.¹¹

9. Now Jaiuiap kicked his toe against the cut part of a kava root. They then split open the root with the adz of Yap. They then pounded it up and consumed it. Jaiuiap then returned to his residence in Downwind Yap.¹²

The end.

⁴ Mejeniang is the site where the town of Kolonia now stands.

¹² Consuming kava together indicates that the two rivals made peace.

Chapter 40

The story of Ponapean kava¹

1. As for the story of the kava plant in Ponape, in the beginning there was a man in Upwind Uanik in the section of Mallanut² who was named Uitanhar. He was a member of the Tipuilap [Great Clan]. He was a master prayer.³

2. He used to pray to Luk, the god of the Luk Clan. This man was a very old man. He was no longer able to walk about for he was blind. Now when he was a young man he had planted a coconut tree. This coconut tree he planted and dedicated⁴ to Luk, and when it bore fruit the man kept collecting the coconuts at the base of the tree all the time. It made no difference if they sprouted, he would just keep piling them up always. Eventually he became an old man and went blind and the coconuts of that palm tree became offerings to the god, for he had offered them to Luk. This was why Luk appeared to him when he was old. Now Uitanhar used always to lie on his mat, for he was an old man. Now one day he was lying on his mat and he heard what seemed to be a person stepping on his taboo place,⁵ for he used to make offerings to Luk. He then asked his identity, saying, 'Are you man or god?' Luk replied, 'I am Luk. You are to come with me.'

3. Uitanhar replied, 'I am an old man and can no longer see things and can no longer walk about, for I am weak.' But Luk called to him a second time, saying to him, 'Stretch out your hand to me that I may get you.' He then stretched out his hand to Luk, and Luk then took it and helped the man stand up. And when his hand touched Luk's hand he became strong and could see things. Luk then took the man with him and they went and got a banana skin of the variety Karat,⁶ and made a canoe of it and rode in it to Matolenim.

4. They then paddled upwind off Alokap. They took out their Kauraap⁷ and anointed themselves with it. They then threw away the squeezings in the sea in a certain pool. Some fish came and ate up the squeezings. They then gave these fish the name of Arihij.⁸ This is what they are named to this day.

5. The two then went on to Kinakap and spent the night on the shore, and then walked on up to Animuan, and then the two went on out to Na. They walked on out to the south of Na. The two then went on until they got to a place named Pejiko. They then met a married couple there, Jau-nok and Kat-nok.⁹

The skin of Uitanhar's foot

6. The woman was preparing a likpuake.¹⁰ This is an ornament

for a man's breast. The woman then conceived a liking for Luk and gave away the likpuake as a love gift, giving it to Luk. Luk repaid her with skin from the man's heel, and told the woman to take it and bury it in the earth for it would sprout and form a plant.

7. Supposedly if people would drink its juice, they would become intoxicated with it and it would change their life. The two then walked on further to another place and found a dead person whom they were going to bury. Luk said to them, "You people bury this person carefully for it¹¹ will sprout and make a plant, and you shall give it the name of sugarcane, and it will be named "Southern Sugarcane".

8. The man now went back. Luk took Uitanhar back to his original home in Uanik, in the section of Mallanut.

9. Various people used to watch and be amazed at how the rats would go and eat at the base of the clump of that plant, and how, after they had eaten the plant they would get weak as if they were sick from it. They were no longer able to run about, but would simply crawl about on the ground and go over to the place where the clump of sugarcane was, and also eat some of it, and then go to sleep, and that was that.

10. Now the people of the land tried eating some of the roots of the plant, and all those who tried it became intoxicated from it. They therefore named the plant 'intoxication'¹² because people ate it and *became light-headed*¹³ from it. And they also tried eating the sugarcane and they found it likewise delicious because it was *sweet*.¹⁴

11. The people of heaven were in heaven and were looking down on the earth, and they saw how the people of that land would consume the kava and would become intoxicated from it. Accordingly one day two of them descended to investigate what the plant was like. They descended to Pejiko to ascertain the nature of kava. The two of them stole a cutting of kava. They took it up to heaven and they gave it to Nanitenlah [Lord of the Eels of Heaven] and to Nanitenpatanlah [Lord of the Eels of Patanlah]. The two of them took it and planted it in Tiuienlah [Garden Plot of Heaven], a garden plot which was in Patanlah.¹⁵

12. The two planted it on that day and had a feast with it on the same day. When the kava was dug up, it was a very big kava plant. The kava was split on that very day.

13. When they were pounding it on that day, a joint of kava bounced out as they prepared the kava and fell down on Mallanut, at Uitanhar's place, and sprouted there. This was the beginning of

the kava plant multiplying in Ponape. Now here are the names of the women who took the kava up to heaven, Lite me and Litopra.
Concluded.

⁵ Referring to the pile of coconuts under the tree.

⁷ A mixture of turmeric and grated coconut meat.

¹⁰ No doubt a sort of pendant or necklace.

¹² The physiological effects of kava and alcohol are different, but there is enough similarity for Ponapeans to use the same word for the conditions that each produce.

¹⁴ Sugarcane is commonly chewed after taking a draught of kava in order to palliate the after-taste.

Chapter 41

*The story of the flood and the beginning of worship in Ponape*¹

1. For a long time after the beginning of antiquity people multiplied in Ponape and became more numerous, but they were poor and there were no differences in rank for they had no ceremonies. Now there was one man who was related to the people of the canoes which came later.² He was a descendant of theirs. He held the title of Jaom en Muajañap [Master of the Oven of Muajangap].³ He was in charge of them at that time. He was the man who started a ceremony to the high god entitled Taukatau.⁴ This was their high god.

2. He was the first person who was a diviner in Ponape, for his god used to assist him to think of everything. Jaom's residence was in the section of Jalapuk at Muajañap.⁵ Jaom prophesied that a flood of water would come one day and would inundate all of Ponape some day soon.

3. He therefore prepared a bowl which was very large, and also braided a rope which was 800⁶ spans long. These things were prepared before the flood.

4. Now, when the flood began, at first a great rain fell, and after several days, a strong wind blew on the land. It increased and eventually became a great typhoon, and the water rose and eventually increased, and eventually inundated Ponape.

5. Now Jaom prepared well, for it was the bowl by which he and

his family escaped dying in the flood. When the water first rose Jaom and his wife and children got into the bowl and they anchored it with the rope. Now it was not all the inhabitants of Ponape who died from this flood, only the ones on the shore, but not the ones in the mountains.⁷

6. For at all times Jaom kept hold of the rope. He would let it out as the water increased, and at 100 spans the water stopped and longer rose, and as it became shallow they climbed out and resumed their work just as before.

7. This one flood of ancient times was before the canoes came from Downwind Katau.⁸

Concluded.

⁴ One of the major gods of Ponape, often defined as the god of rain, sometimes as the god of thunder; and at times identified with the god Nanjapue.

⁸ Presumably before the sixth voyage of Ch. 5.

Chapter 42

The story of a man named Jau-majamaj apual¹

1. There was a man who lived in the section of Pantakaipuetepuet [Under the White Rock],² a section in Japalap in Matolenim. This was a man of magic powers. The house³ in which he lived is still there to this day. This section is in the mountains on the border of the territories of Matolenim and Net and Uanik. This man was a sick man and also a poor man. It is said that if some travellers came to his place he would give them a feast and make a stone oven. His companions would ignite it and bring leaf covering but there would be no [food] contents to put in the oven. And when the stones were spread out, one of his comrades would lie down in the stone oven, and they would cover him over. When it was cooked they would open up the oven, and the person did not die, he was still alive but the stone oven was full of all kinds of food and there was also meat and fish⁴ for the food of the stone oven. There were many who imitated him and did not succeed.⁵

Concluded.

³ Evidently a rock shelter or cave rather than a true house.

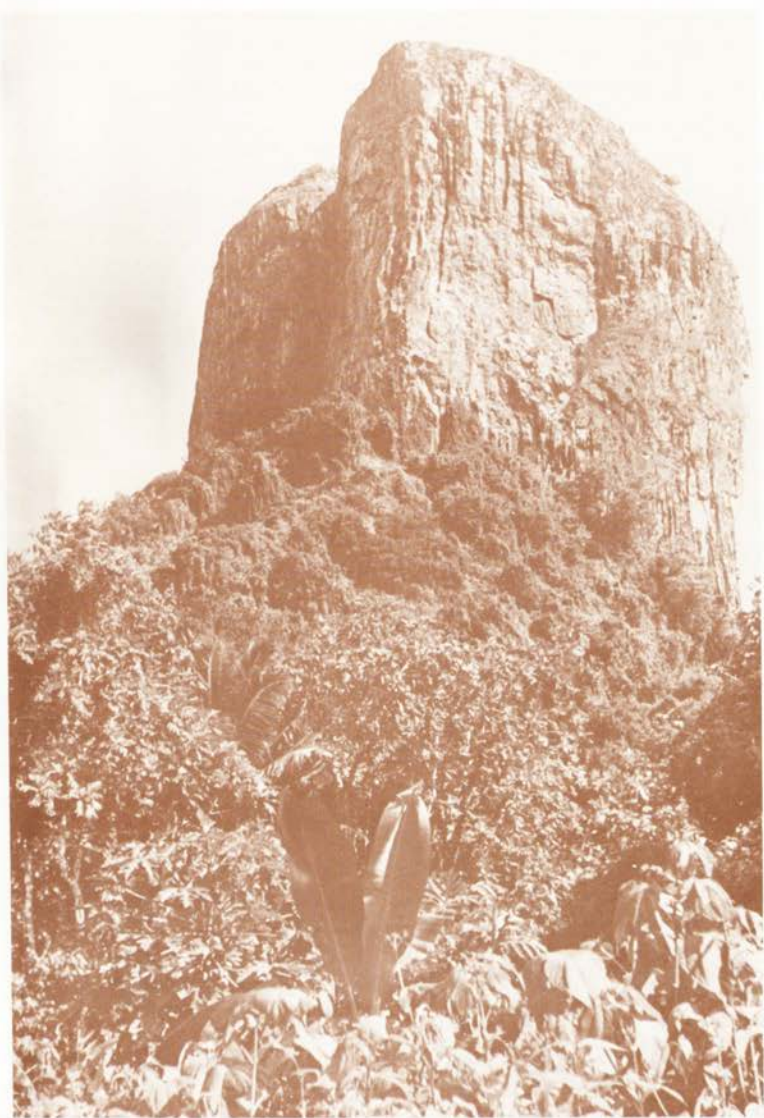


Plate 3 Paipalap, the Great Rock of Jokaj. Reproduced by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.



Plage 4 Nan Madol, Photograph by Marjorie G. and
Alfred F. Whiting.

Chapter 43

*The story of a man*¹

1. There was a man who used to stay at Lohen Kiti in the looh of the state of Kiti in the section of Tiati at Jamaki Peak.

2. In Chapter 5, the sixth voyage was the voyage that came up here from Downwind Katau. Lienpuel's two daughters who came up here from Japan.

¹ This scrap of information is part of the narrative of Ch. 6.2, which Luelen apparently forgot to include there but remembered to add at this point.

Chapter 44

*The married couple who came from Uone and went to Kiti. The story of Muajanpatol [Worm of Patol].*¹

1. A certain couple came from Uone and came to the state of Kiti, the section of Lauatik, to Jau-Makaniro [Master of the Banana Plantation of Iro] in a place named Iro.² One day rain fell from heaven — it was a very rainy day — which caused a great flood, which *flowed out at a very low tide*³ over the mud of Jaumuarapaiei and Jaumuarapailoh.⁴ Two women⁵ went fishing to catch fish in the flood.⁶ Their names were Liuetinpar and Luetiniro. As they were fishing a Jiok bird flew over them and threw down a little stone.⁷ The two then took the stone as their own. They then came in from fishing carrying along the little stone. The people of the place gazed at it and gave it to the couple who had come from Uone. The two then set forth carrying their little stone along with them.

2. The two then went on and eventually came to a place named Pankipar [Under the Pandanus Tree].⁸ The little stone then split in two and a small freshwater eel came forth from inside it. They then carried it along as their pet and put it in some water which there was at Paatol [Under the Mountain] so that it might reside in Paatol in the section of Panaij [Under the Parinarium Tree] at Malanluk-pailoh [The Barrens of Luk Facing In]. The two used to feed it there.

3. Finally it grew up and burrowed out a hole for itself in the water, from the water going underneath their house and extending

to the hearth of the house. It then used to look at its mother and father at all times, day and night.

4. One evening the couple decided that they would eat up the eel. Now their decision was settled, but they did not know that it had heard about their decision. One evening they looked at the door of the house and saw it coming at them with open mouth for it was going to eat them up.

5. They then leaped out of the house and ran into the forest, and the eel pursued them. They went on running and eventually reached a place named Takaiti^{hiti} [Dripping Rock].⁹ Here is the meaning of this: they got to a rock and hid under the rock shelter.

6. The two hid there and believed that they were safely protected by the rock. Then some dripping water fell on them and they looked up and saw the mouth of the creature which had split the rock in two. It then devoured its mother and father.

7. It then went along the mountain and went down into Nanmair. It then met Kirau Mair and his companions. They had made a stone oven of royal food to take to the Lord of Teleur at Pankatira. The man was [being carried] in a litter.

8. When Kirau Mair saw it he told them to put down the litter. The man then put on its head his garland of *Cyrtosperma*¹⁰ flowers. The fish asked the man, 'Where are you going?' The man replied, 'This ovenful of royal food is going to the Lord of Teleur at Pankatira.'

9. The eel said, 'If you go there and they tell you to stay overnight then you say that your vessel of Parinarium oil is on the fire.'¹¹

10. Eventually the man returned and found the fish waiting for him still. The two then proceeded to the man's residence and she became the man's lady.¹² The man presented her with a house and mat and so forth. The creature hated to stay in the house or on the mat. The man then presented her with a stretch of boulders to reside in, and this was the place which she liked.

11. The creature then became pregnant unto Kirau Mair. One day she went fishing, going by way of Kiti. She went *fishing*¹³ for the speedy Palapal fish. She then pointed herself directly at A^hanjaip, the path of the speedy fish. She went there and two boys were waiting at a fish channel named A^hanjaip. She said to the two of them that she would wait instead.

12. She then stretched out along the bottom of the channel and opened her mouth up toward the channel. The fish formed into groups and came into the mouth of the eel and she swallowed them, and a wave went along with [each group of] them until her belly was

full. She then went back and went up on land.

13. She went on following the Kiti river. She went and met a man who was fishing for eels to eat in the river near Mant. The name of the man was Kiraumant. She was then afraid of this and hurried to the *bank*¹⁴ [of the river] and made the hole of Lipuantiaik [foot-print].¹⁵ Her belly was in a turmoil at this for she feared the man.

14. She then gave birth to a daughter there, her eldest child. Before she gave birth she proceeded on to Kirau Mair's place. This was where she had her eldest child.

15. And when she arrived there they brought [a layer of] leaves¹⁶ for the place. The eel then vomited forth the fish, and she said that they should eat the fish and not think it was disgusting.¹⁷

16. This woman was the beginning of the subclan of Lajialap [Great Eel Clan] which is named Jaunlipuantiaik [Masters of the Trace of the Footprint] and there are many other subclans which she made, and the tooñ tree is related to her children. These are the Lajietoñ [the Tong-Tree Eels] and she also made the kotop palm, and the Lajiekotop [The Kotop-Palm Eels].¹⁸ She then went to Matolenim, in the section of Letau, and made her home in the channel of Letau River. She would then ration the people in the canoes in the channel.

17. The various parts of Japalap no longer had inhabitants because the eel devoured those who paddled in the channel. And her tail devoured those who walked along the road on land. Now there was one man named Naaritiñ in Japalap who made a canoe to lure the fish out of the channel. It had no people in it. He put trumpet shells and coconut shell water-bottles on it, things which the wind would cause to sound on striking, and he also put a sail on it so that it might move.

18. This canoe was named Uaramaipual. Now the man sent the boat out in the channel. The eel spoke to it, 'How many people in the canoe?' There were none to reply, so she called again, 'How many people in that canoe?' There were none who replied.

19. The creature followed the canoe out. She had some children. She kept calling after the canoe and going out until she went beyond the small islands,¹⁹ and eventually got to Kusaie. She gave birth there and again came back here to Ponape. It is she who forms the foundation for the land of Net.²⁰

¹ This and the following chapter are the most important parts of the origin myth of the Lajialap or Great Eel Clan. The total cycle involves at least three generations of eels, of which the last gives birth to the human ancestresses of the Lajialap Clan. The use of the word 'worm' for eels is of some ethnoscientific interest.

¹¹ An expression which signifies that one is very busy and provides an excuse to get away.

²⁰ That is, her corpse turned into the rocks under the State of Net.

Chapter 45

The story of Muajenlañ [Worm of Heaven]¹

1. Muajenlañ was a freshwater eel who had as his sweetheart a girl named Lienpeilañ. The names of her mother and father were Jau-niue and Kat-niue. The two found the creature [making love] with the girl. They then agreed with the girl that they would devour it. The creature then suspected that they would kill him and eat him, and he said to the girl:

2. 'If you have decided that you are going to eat me up, you take the head as your share so that you may bury the bones of my head.'

3. The girl then buried the bones of the head of the fish, which was hers to eat, in the earth. It sprouted and turned into the mainue variety of breadfruit tree. The short banana (Yap banana) is not too correct. The utmuaj banana is the right one.²

¹ This is an earlier part of the Great Eel Clan totemic myth, the female eel in the preceding chapter being a descendant of Muajenlang.

Chapter 46

The story of how he¹ came under a supernatural doom²

1. The Lord of Teleur was doomed by the great gods. All his titled men³ in Ponape no longer felt sympathy for him because of his cruelty and oppression of them all the time.

2. The Lord of Teleur was the ruler of Ponape and Na and Ant and Pakein, and there was certain *clear*⁴ sections in Ponape which had rulers. Here are the titles that were known.

3. ⁵	1. Jauteleur	ruler of	Teleur	Ponape
	2. Jaulikin Na	ruled	the island	Na
	3. Jaukijanlah	ruled	Uone	Ononlah
	4. Jaulikin Ant	ruled	the island	Ant
	5. Jauni	ruled	the island	Pakein
	6. Lapanmor	ruled	Janipan	Janipan
	7. Lapanpalikir	ruled	Palikir	Likinlamalam
	8. Lapanuanik	ruled	Likinmoli	Uanik
	9. Kiraun en Letau	ruled	Letau	Japalap
	10. Kirau Mair	ruled	Nanmair ⁶	Nanmair
	11. Jau Kamar	ruled	Kamar	Nanjokala
	12. Lapannot	ruled	Net	Tipuantoñalap
	13. Aunjauna	ruled	Jauna	Jaunalah

4. These were the sections that served the Lord of Teleur at all times from the beginning, and these were the sections that controlled⁷ people in all of Ponape.

5. The Lord of Teleur did as he wished in Ponape. He was *not controlled*⁸ because there was no one whom he was under. Therefore he did not respect any of the high gods. This is why the gods took away his honour⁹ and he became doomed by all of them. They hated him. There was no one against whom he did not do something wrong.

6. He even imprisoned Nanjapue [the Thunder God] but to no avail, for Ninkap freed him and helped him escape.¹⁰ And he also summoned certain favourite people from all the sections who were brought to him, and he then ate them up.¹¹ This was the sort of behaviour that they felt very bad about.

¹ That is the Jauteleur. This chapter is a prelude to the legend of the conquest of Ponape and deposition of the Lords of Teleur by the Kusaiean Ijokelekel. Chs. 32 and 33 give examples of the sort of oppression attributed to the Lords of Teleur.

⁵ The list of titles in this paragraph is not intended to be compared with those of Chs. 26 and 27, from which it differs in some details, but only to show the feudal lords who hated the Jauteleurs at the time of Jauteleur Jakonmuei (see Ch. 29) and his successors and who were to participate in their downfall.

¹⁰ Nanjapue is both the name of the Thunder God and the usual name for thunder. The incident is continued in Ch. 48.1-2.

¹¹ See Trust Territory 1954: 'The Lord of Teleur who Consumed People'.

Chapter 47

Concerning their clothing and food

1. At this time, from the beginning of the period of the line of the Lords of Teleur, the men no longer wore hibiscus [fibre] ponchos, but they made fibre kilts for themselves from hibiscus bark and roots of a *wild pandanus*¹ and wore strips of cloth as loincloths and *Ficus* [barkcloth] headbands, which were tied around their heads. They also began to tattoo their skin, and pulled out their face hair with the scales of fish from the sea.²

2. But the women wore a wrap-around of breadfruit bark cloth, and they were also tattooed on their skins. Their sheets were of breadfruit bark cloth and their mats made of the pandanus leaf. These are what they slept in. For work they used the shell of the pelikenna³ and the pearl oyster shell for cutting their food such as breadfruit and the like, when they were going to prepare a stone oven.

3. Their weapons were *spears* and *javelins* and *sling stones* and also *shell knives*.⁴ Moreover, for making canoes and such things they used an adze. This was a possession which they valued highly. And here are their foods of that time: from the earth the yams, *Colocasia* [true taro], *Alocasia* [giant dry land taro], *Cyrtosperma* [giant swamp taro], and wild yams; for fruit of trees they had the breadfruit, bananas, the *Ptychosperma* palm and the coconuts and such things.

4. They were also able to construct good houses for themselves about four to seven feet high from the ground.⁵ These were their dwelling houses but they also had meeting houses. These houses were four to twelve spans⁶ long. They were four spans wide or if small, two spans.

5. They also had canoe houses. Some of these were large, some small. They also got shells from the sea for making ornaments for their necks and also bracelets for their arms, and they also wore their woven strips of cloth as beautiful beaded chest ornaments.

² Parrot fish scales were still in use for facial depilation in 1947. The edges of the scale were folded back to make it square, then the scale was folded in two to make a pair of tweezers.

⁵ That is from the wall plates to the ground, not the height of the ridge pole.

⁶ A span is between five and six feet. Wall posts and rafters are set one span apart, and thatch sheets are one span long. Buildings are referred to in terms of their length in spans.

Chapter 48

*The Ponapeans in the period of the Lords of Teleur*¹

1. In the period of the Lords of Teleur as they followed one after another, some of them were good, some of them were bad, some of them were oppressive and cruel and bad. This caused the Thunder God to proceed to Upwind Katau [Kusaie] and visit a woman relative of his who was a clansmate named Lipanmai [Under-the-Breadfruit Woman].² He gave her fruit of a tree named motokoi³ to eat. Now when she tasted it, it made her shudder. She then became pregnant and bore a boy and gave him the name of Ijokelekel. Now when the woman shuddered at the fruit of the tree, they changed the name of the tree and gave it the name of karer.

2. It is said that when the Thunder God set forth for Kusaie, he rode on his royal canoe and the royal canoe sank for it was sinkable, so a sea bass transformed a taro *flower* into a needle fish, and it was this which helped the ruler and skipped along with him over the water to Kusaie.⁴

3. As the boy was growing up he used to hear stories about Ponape at all times, and also how the Thunder God was offended by the Lord of Teleur's behaviour. This is why he had proceeded to Kusaie.⁵

4. Eventually Ijokelekel became grown up.⁶ He made preparations for coming to Ponape and called together all his companions. They were then about to sail to Ponape. Now before they set forth they held a consultation for there were many reports which reached them about how these lands were brave and strong in war and the like.

5. They decided that the trip would go first to Jaulikin Ant and get their ideas. So the fleet⁷ came straight to Ant. The fleet was sailing off Ponape and was far from land.

6. There were many people in this fleet, men and women⁸ and some children also were along for they were married couples, all of them. But all of the men who were strong enough for fighting together numbered 333. Now as they were sailing off Ponape and looked at the mountains and the forest they saw the kotop palm trees on the mountains and they thought that they were tall people.⁹ They became afraid of this and retreated from the land.

7. They went straight on down wind to 'Ant¹⁰ to 'Jaulikin Ant. Now this man had prepared some gifts for them, some baskets of breadfruit seeds, 333 of them.¹¹ When they came into the lagoon they landed on the beach of the main island of that country. They

then went to 'Jaulikin Ant. Now 'Jaulikin Ant had already prepared for them exactly enough for the fleet of 'Ijokelekel.¹² They then settled on 'Ant and were getting details about Ponape from 'Jaulikin Ant.

8. Now Ijokelekel and his subjects were well taken care of by 'Jaulikin Ant for a long time, for they wanted to learn about the life of the Ponapeans and also the people of 'Ant learned many kinds of amusements¹³ from them.

9. They then made ready to set forth in this direction. Now they wanted 'Jaulikin Ant to come along with them and guide them into Ponape and also help them with the Ponapean language.¹⁴

10. They then came upwind off Matolenim and entered the channel of Auankap. They stopped there and floated at anchor and divined as to whether they should settle in Matolenim. They then went straight to a place which was near Nanan Nanjapue [Mountain of the Thunder God] and their ceremonies were finally finished.¹⁵

11. The ruler, the Lord of Teleur, finally heard that a fleet had anchored in Auankap. His mind was disturbed at this. Since he was disturbed he sent a welcoming delegation to the princely fleet, inviting them to come ashore. The people of the fleet disembarked and went ashore at a place named Kelepua, a place near the seat of the ruler at Pankatira.¹⁶ The Lord of Teleur wanted himself and Ijokelekel to be in the same place.

12. At this time the plan of Ijokelekel placed great importance on learning particulars of Ponape. And he kept acquiring detailed knowledge and also deceived the Lord of Teleur and his companions for he wanted to conquer Ponape. Now here is what they did to facilitate this. Among them all the young men took for their wives beautiful Ponapean women.¹⁷

13. But Ijokelekel took an old servant woman. This is where he deigned to obtain his ideas from, from this woman, about the earth and its contents and also about their kinds of food and the like and also about their work and warfare and so forth. Now at all times those who had immigrated were hunting for things which would begin to help them in conquering Ponape.

14. One day the little children were playing among themselves and some of them got into an argument. This started them fighting among themselves, the Kusaiean children on one side and the Ponapeans on the other. Now the adults found this [out] and took sides with them, the Kusaieans on one side and the Ponapeans on the other. The fighting increased and became a great commotion and got worse and became a great war.

15. Before this war started, the Ponapeans did not know who was the ruler of the fleet. They used to conceal this among themselves and it was not found out, for Ijokelekel hid from them. No one could know that he was a noble. If they were going to be seated formally Ijokelekel would sit on the floor of the feast house among the common people.

16. But if he and his own people were alone they would sit in honour of him and respect him, but if a Ponapean was present they would not. Now the war became greater on that day and there were many who were sick from fright. Some were lost and some were wounded. Now the war became more severe and the Ponapeans were brave and reckless but the foreigners were more clever in fighting.

17. This is the sort of weapons which they had. They fought with spears. They had javelins about six feet long, and one man would carry one of these. Other men carried slings and others had stingray points. They made shafts for them of the aerial roots of the *Rhizophora* mangrove and one person would carry a bundle of stingray points.¹⁸

18. Now one man would carry one bundle of stingray spines, about ten tied in a bundle, for stabbing people, and as for the slings and the content of these, sling stones (round stones), they also were adept at throwing stones to kill people. This was the equipment of war for Ponape. The warriors from Kusaie had equipment for war just like the Ponapeans.

19. Now the war became greater and the Ponapeans were stronger and braver for there were some men among them who were strong and reckless. This is why Ijokelekel and his men retreated before the Ponapeans.

20. There were two men who were in charge of the reserve troops.¹⁹ The names of these men were Nanparatak and Nanajan. These were in charge of the reserves. The two noticed how the Kusiaeans were weakening. This was what led Nanparatak to stick a spear through his foot²⁰ and started the saying, '*What do we retreat from, men of Kaitak?*'²¹ This is a saying of those, the group of Rulujennamou.²²

21. The meaning of this saying is a man who exposes himself in time of war. Now this man of his own free will speared his foot with his spear and anchored it to the ground, stopping the walking [of the invaders, i.e., their withdrawal] when they were retreating before the Ponapeans.

22. At this they again became strong.²³ The Lord of Teleur was defeated at the hands of his enemies and he *fell*²⁴ into the river of

Janipan. It is said that the was transformed and became a fish which is there to this day.²⁵

23. And all of the warriors of the Lord of Teleur scattered and that was that. When the battle was at its height, there was a young man on the side of the Lord of Teleur named Taukir, who threw a stone at the *face*²⁶ of Ijokelekel and hurt²⁷ it. Ijokelekel called to his comrades and ordered them, 'Note that man and do not kill him, for he is my true brother,²⁸ for he has ruined my good looks with that stone and has hurt my face.'²⁹

24. One of the royal wives *went*³⁰ to Ononlañ and took along one of the royal dogs.³¹ Now Ijokelekel was wounded and became sick and was asking about for the person who had hit the ruler with a stone. He found that it was a commoner, a member of the clan which had brought the feather of the Tiripeijo bird. It was he who became Lapanmor at the time of the distribution of titles.³²

25. This little person became a favourite of Ijokelekel and held the districts of Japalap and Janipan in fief under him in that period.

1 This chapter recounts the defeat of the Lord of Teleur at the hands of an invading force from Kusaie under Ijokelekel.

4 The incidents of this paragraph chronologically precede those of para. 1. The sea bass is a totem animal of the Latak Clan, of the four higher branches of the Masters of Kauat, and of the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan, the last being the clan of the Thunder God.

5 There is some question as to how clearly the Ponapeans understood the geography of Micronesia before Euro-American contact. While the general Ponapean opinion today is that Kataupeitak is Kusaie, Oliver Nanpei and the Jaulikin Jamai insisted that it was in the Marshalls. Possibly most pre-contact Ponapeans had very vague notions of the relations between the Marshalls and Kusaie, and tended to put them all together as 'land upwind'.

9 According to some oral versions the dead fronds or flowers hanging down looked like fibre skirts, which on Ponape are worn by men.

10 In some descriptions of the invasion, obtained from non-Ponapeans, some episodes of the story occur at other islands, before the events at Ant. According to a Pingelap tradition two men joined the fleet there, one being the Nanparatak of para. 20, who was descended from a Kusaie man and hence regarded as related to the fleet members.

21 According to Ch. 62.3 *kaitak* appears to have the meaning of throwing out one's chest as a gesture intended to frighten the enemy.

22 This is the name of a clan in the Marshall Islands. Elsewhere Luelen gives it as Rilujennamo. Both the Lipitan and Naniak Clans of Ponape are said to be descended from this Marshallese clan, which traditionally budded off several successive groups which came to Ponape via Kusaie (which is why Nanajan is regarded as a Kusaiean). Luelen gives more details about the clan history in Ch. 62.

32 See Ch. 33 for the myth of the Tiripeijo bird. The distribution of titles is the subject of Ch. 50.6. The clan referred to here is the Masters of Kauat and the title given to this man is still held by that clan.

Chapter 49

The story of Ponape's defeat at the hands of the foreigners

1. Ponape was lost to the foreigners. A new age started the third age, a new age. They became more peaceful for a time. 'Ijokelekel conquered the eastern side of Ponape and ruled them.

2. They were not industrious people in work. They were lazy in work. This is why their food supply was scarce, because of the food trees.¹ But it was better than in the beginning and the people multiplied greatly. The *clan* of cannibals was not great in number, also the *clan* of giants² was not too numerous, for it was not a *clan*. They were rather deformed people or mutants of people, for they were very tall and very big and some of them had many heads, from two to ten.³

3. Two of their graves⁴ are in the state of Kiti, one in the section of Kipar and another in the section of Mant, but all [the giants] left Ponape. Now, as for those who first came to Ponape in the beginning, their skin was clean like the skin of a Chinese and such people and their bodies were large and tall and strong. But, those who came after had black skin and were ugly.⁵

4. Moreover there is a certain tree which is more valuable than all other trees for it is useful to the whole world, it is named coconut. This was a *later* tree, later than the others.⁶ It also assisted all their work, as well as their food, and was a source of oil for anointing and of fibre skirts, etc., and is useful in all sorts of work.

5. Now in the first period they had few words and their deeds were small. In the second period they had a few more words, for the old words became the commoners' speech, while the second words became the nobles' speech. But the words of the third were more numerous still because the differences among the people increased.

6. Here is the way the commoners and nobles and children of the nobles were:⁷

a.	<i>Nobles</i>	<i>Their Children</i>	<i>[Ordinary] People</i>
	Food [konot, koanoat]	Food [jak]	Food [moha, mwenge]
	Food [jak, sahk]	Food [iŋko, ngko]	Eat [kan, kang] Devour [naminam, neminem] [lomot]
b.	Say [poŋok, poahngoak]	Say [majan, mahsen]	Speak [lokaia, lokaia]

Say [majan, <i>mahsen</i>] Say [inrok]	Say [itauar]	Say [inta, <i>nda</i>] Say [pua, <i>pwa</i>] Chatter [lal, <i>lat</i>][in]
c. See [majani, <i>mahsan-ih</i>] See [ani]	See [majani] See [itauari] Notice [taek, <i>tehk</i>] [lee]	Stare [nar, <i>ngar</i>] See [kilañ, <i>kilang</i>]
d. Come [kat to, <i>ket-i-do</i>] Go [kat uei, <i>ket-i-weí</i>]	Come [kat to] Go [kat uei] Come [apeto, <i>apeh-do</i>] Go [ape uai]	Come [koto, <i>kohdo</i>] Go [koto uai] Run hither [tañ eto, <i>tang-o-do</i>] Run thither, flee [tañauai] Hurry hither [pulakto, <i>pwilahk-o-do</i>] Pluck beard [uj alij]
e. Pluck facial hair [uj komikom]	Pluck beard [uj alij, <i>us-alis</i>]	
f. A thing to pluck the beard, made of fish-scale Tweezers [kameimeija]	Fish scale [un en mam, <i>win-en</i> <i>mwahmw</i>]	Fish scale [un en mam]
g. Pluck white hair [litopitop]	Pluck white [uj puetepuet, <i>uhs</i> <i>pwetepwet</i>]	Pluck white [uj puetepuet]
h. Royal carrier [ropai ijo] A thing to carry sick people.	Litter [roo, <i>roh</i>]	Litter [roo]
i. War [pei kej] Peace [nikej]	War [mueijuet, <i>mwei-sued</i> ; lit. bad era] Peace [mueimau, <i>mwei-mwau</i> ; lit. good era]	War [mueijuet] Peace [mueimau]

j. Make peace [ikej]	Make peace [kamueimau, <i>ka-mwei-mwau</i>]	Make peace [kamueimau]
k. Married couple [petouñ, <i>petohng</i>]	Married couple [papaut, <i>pwopwoud</i>]	Married couple [papaut]
l. Staff, cane [rerei ijo, <i>rere-isoh</i>]	Staff, cane [rer]	Staff, cane [jokon, <i>sokon</i>]
m. Bath water [kerei ijo, <i>kere-isoh</i>]	Bath water [pil en tutu, <i>pil-en duhdu</i>]	Bath water [pil en tutu]
n. Bath water of Heaven [kereiijonlah, <i>kere-iso-hn-leng</i>]. A thing for bathing great nobles in ancient times: water in taro leaves in the morning. ⁸		
o. Breadfruit picking pole [rereilah, <i>rerei-leng</i>]	Breadfruit picking pole [pilet, <i>pilehd</i>]	Breadfruit picking pole [pilet]
p. Penis [kuruptolina, <i>?kurupw-toal- ih-na</i> ⁹]	Penis [ul, <i>wihl</i>]	Penis [ul]
q. Vagina [teepau, <i>teh-pau</i>]	Vagina [pipi, <i>pihpi</i>]	Vagina [pipi]
r. Breadfruit pounder [inaj katau]	Breadfruit pounder [pairar, <i>pei-rar</i>]	Breadfruit pounder [pairai]
s. Bathe [lokpil, <i>lok-i-pil</i>]	Bathe [tutu, <i>duhdu</i>]	Bathe [tutu]
t. Defecate [lokaua,] <i>lokewel</i>]	Defecate [pitok la, <i>pitak-ila</i>]	Defecate [peek, <i>pehk</i>]
u. Wash hands, [jikamuerata, <i>sikamwarada</i>]	Wash hands [omiom, <i>emwiemw</i>]	Wash hands [omiom]
v. Wash face [manlahita, <i>mahn-leng-i-da</i>]	Wash face [matal; opinok; <i>epwinek</i>]	Wash face [matal; opinok]
w. Eyebrow [teken arin, <i>deke-hn-ering</i> ¹⁰]	Eyebrow [pati, <i>pad-i</i>]	Eyebrow [pati]
x. Open the mouth [tauaj, <i>dawase</i>]	Open the mouth [jarapajañ, <i>sara-peseng</i>]	Open the mouth [jarapajañ]
y. Rinse the mouth [tauato]	Rinse the mouth [mukomuk, <i>mwukomwuk</i>]	Rinse the mouth [mukomuk]

z. Nose [kainunu, Nose [tume, *timw-e*] Nose [tume]
 keinuhnu]

The end.

7. There are many kinds of words like these. But there is not time to list them.

¹ We take this to mean that the food trees (breadfruit and coconut?) were the staple foods at that time, and that root crops were less important than now. Certainly yams have become very much more important economically and in social prestige, as new varieties have been introduced in post-European times.

³ The concept of multiple-headed monsters is not common in Ponapean folk tales and we ourselves have collected no other mention of them, but there is a story about two and ten-headed giants in Hambruch (III:300). Possibly the idea is a nineteenth century diffusion from European or American sailors.

⁴ These are large earth mounds or barrows, fifteen or twenty feet wide, beginning in the mangroves and running inland for about 500 yards and rising at the end to a height of about ten feet.

⁷ The three levels of speech indicated by the three columns that follow are discussed in Garvin and Riesenberg (1952) and Riesenberg (1968:45-46). Luelen limits himself to vocabulary only here, and leaves off after using up the letters A-Z of his list.

⁸ Tradition is that at Pankatira, which lacks a supply of fresh water, dew and rain water that gathered overnight in the hollows of taro leaves were collected in the morning and brought to the high chiefs for their bath.

⁹ Literally 'dark immature coconuts of the reef islands'. On the basis of that translation we suspect that Luelen has made a slip here and really means testicles.

Chapter 50

*The story of a canoe that was hewn in Airika*¹

1. Eventually, after Ijokelekel had conquered Ponape and the great leader [Jauteleur] had been defeated and passed away, Ponape became peaceful, for the land had changed and there were no longer such quarrelsome people. Ijokelekel alone had Pankatira as his seat.

2. One day as he [Master of Part of Heaven] was in his seat at Ononlañ, a report came to him, Master of Part of Heaven, in Uone.² A [tree to make a] canoe was being cut down in Nanjokala in the section of Airika which did not topple down to earth. They then sent for Master of Part in Uone, and Master of Part sent the report on to Jaulikin Ant so that he might accompany him to go down and inspect

the canoe. The two then went and took along a Ponapean adze named Kientakipuel.³ This was the adze then which cut through the canoe tree.

3. Now it did not fall, but was rather hauled up into heaven.⁴ And the people were stunned at such a thing as this, for it had never happened before, from long ago to this time.

4. So those men returned to their seats. And later a report came from Jaunalañ, a report of a canoe [made from the tree] which had come down from heaven, eight-man capacity. Now some of them they knew, but others not. They found the canoe suspended raised above the sea at a place named Panakualap.⁵ And the people in the canoe stayed there quietly and responded to no one; they talked to no one, while Luk alone was on the central seat, praying.

5. Master of Part and Jaulikin Ant went to Jaunalañ, and when they got to the canoe this is when the people in the canoe became active. They all had a discussion as to what would be done in Ponape at this time, as to ruling Ponape.⁶

6. Then the canoe of heaven returned up to heaven. Two people jumped up onto it and went up to heaven, Limeitinpalakap and Jaumañai.⁷ Now they accompanied the canoe. After that canoe decisions about the land were made, and the founding of lands and the rulers of the petty states and the conferring of titles was also performed — the titles of those in charge and also their work for them.

¹ This myth is the 'charter' for the establishment of the present five states or districts of Ponape Island. We might speculate that it reflects native Ponapean dissatisfaction with the rule of the Kusaean invaders who had displaced the Teleur dynasty. It suggests that the division of the island into states was made peacefully with religious sanction. It would seem from the various accounts that the Kusaieans had local help in their war of conquest and that perhaps they never achieved firm supremacy over the whole island after the end of the Teleur dynasty.

² Master of Part is an abbreviated form of Master of Part of Heaven (Jaukijanlang).

Chapter 51

About the division of land¹

<i>I the first period</i>	<i>II The second period</i>	<i>III The third period</i>
<i>Jaunalañ</i>	<i>Teleur</i>	<i>Matolenim</i>

1. Now in the first period there were not yet any states. [There were] the large island Jaunalañ [meaning Tamon] and the island Na. But when the foreigners² made Nantauaj they changed the name and gave it the name of the state of Teleur. And in the third period the town of Nantauaj became a new state and they gave it the name of Matolenim. This was the new state: Nanmatolenim.³

The state of Matolenim: from the major boundary of Kiti and Matolenim beginning in Lot and extending to Jokala Estuary

2. Jaupaip: from the major boundary of Matolenim and Jaupaip which begins at Jokala Estuary and extending to Paiej Section.

Kiti: from Paiej to Lot

3. Now these major boundaries were boundaries of states, and there were state [or 'turtle']⁴ ceremonies at this time, for before the Lords of Teleur were deposed two boys came from Nanjokala to view a large feast at Pankatira. The names of the boys were Jinekia and Jinekia.

4. They went and discovered a great ceremony. They then conceived a desire to eat a dog⁵ which was in a basket,⁶ but they were unable to. They then returned to their mother, a turtle named Lianenjokala, and they went and paid for the dog with her.

5. So Lianenjokala was the payment for the ceremony, and this was the content of Ponapean ceremonies. It was this which made the turtle-state. And there were three turtle-states: the states of Matolenim, Kiti, and Pikeniap.⁷

² Meaning Oljipa and Oljopa of Chs. 22 and 25.

⁴ A ceremony involving the ritual feeding of turtle meat to a sacred eel, kept in a pond on the islet of Iteet, at Nanmatol, was formerly celebrated by the priests, and copied elsewhere. Uei (*wehɪ*) is translatable as either 'state' or 'turtle' and an informant maintained that the meaning 'state' derives from that of 'turtle', the turtle ceremonies having apparently been central and critical to political cohesion and development, as hinted in para. 5.



Plate 5

Looking northeast from Jokaj Peak. To the right is Net, with Net Point and its causeway behind; and Jokala Estuary between; to the left is Takatik Island, with Japuetik Island beyond it; and in the centre is Langar, with Parem in the distance. Reproduced by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

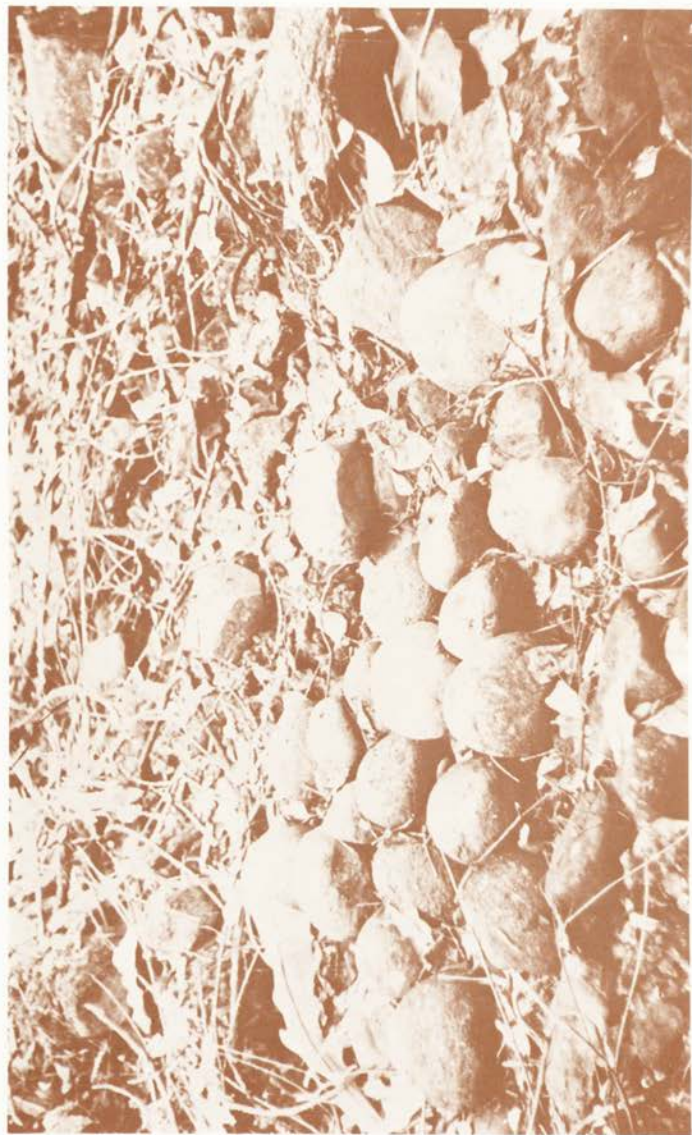


Plate 6 Slingstones from the old armoury of Nan
Madol. Photograph by Marjorie G and
Alfred F. Whiting.

Chapter 52

*The great divisions of Matolenim*¹

[A] The settlements in the sections [of] Uanik:

[B] Settlements of islands:

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Takainiap | Takaieu |
| 2. Peirani | Tapak |
| 3. Paj en mok | Muant peitak |
| 4. Pirik lañ | Muant paiti |

[C] Settlements on the mainland:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1. Tipuankapei | Auak |
| 2. Likinmoli | Nanuein u |
| 3. Mallanut | Jalatak |
| 4. Roiniap | Roi |

[D] These are the settlements in the sections of Uanik. Also they have leaders, they have laws; they should serve their great leader, and work for him.

[E] Animuan: the settlements of Animuan:

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| 1. Alokup | Alokup |
| 2. Kinakap | Kinakap |
| 3. Areu | Areu |
| 4. Oa | Oa |
| 5. Likop | Likop |
| 6. Matip | Matip |
| 7. Tolapuail | Tolapuail |
| 8. Majijau | Majijau |

[F] Letau: its settlements:

- | | |
|----------|-------|
| 1. Letau | Letau |
| 2. Kitam | Kitam |

[G] Janipan: its settlements:

- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Jakaranriau | Jakaranriau |
| 2. Tiati | Tiati |
| 3. Alialui | Alialui |

[H] All the settlements that have small villages:

- | | |
|-------------|---------|
| 1. Lauatik | Ponaula |
| 2. Japuerak | |
| 3. Kapiro | |
| 4. Tamoroi | |

[I] Lapinjet, a great settlement:

Lot, a section at the extremity of the state.

¹ Chs. 52 and 53 duplicate in part the details of Chs. 26 and 27. Uanik (which here corresponds exactly to modern U) is shown as part of Matolenim, hence the scheme

represents the situation of Ijokelekel's time, as described in Ch. 50.6, before U became a separate state. Eight sections of Uanik are listed, as against the fifteen that existed in 1947 and the thirteen of 1954, but the area covered is the same. Under Uanik are represented two columns; the names on the left are esoteric names for the sections given on the right under their modern names. Esoteric names are not listed by Luelen for the sections of Matolenim; instead he for some reason gives the modern names twice, once in each column. Modern Matolenim contains twenty-eight sections, only nineteen of which are here shown.

Chapter 53

*The division of land*¹

[A] [The successive names of Kiti]:

First period, Ononlañ; second, Ononlañ; third, Kiti. The division of section groups in the state: Uone, Pajau, Likop, Kapilañ, Palañ.

[B] [Successive names of Jokaj]:

First, Jaupaip; second, Likinpikeniap; third, Jokaj. Large sections of the state and how they were divided:

- | | |
|------------------|---------|
| 1. Likinlamalam | Palikir |
| 2. Pikeniap | Jokaj |
| 3. Jokala Jokaj | Jokaj |
| 4. Tipuantoñalap | Net |

[C] Two large islands, located outside the barrier reef of Ponape, are named Ant and Pakein. They also have their rulers:

- | | | |
|-----------|----------|--------------|
| 1. Ant | ruled by | Jaulikin Ant |
| 2. Pakein | ruled by | Jauni |

There was a great god whom they worshiped, named Uajaijo, he was related to the major gods who lived above the world.

[D]² The new state of Matolenim — conferring of titles was performed:

The greatest title of all: Ijipau.

I. Ijipau: 1. Nanmariki of Matolenim

2. Nanmariki of Kiti

<i>Ijipau</i>	<i>New Title</i>	<i>Title of Address</i>
1. Matolenim	Nanmariki	Uajalapalap [The Great Place]
2. Kiti	Nanmariki	Roja
3. Jokaj	Nanmariki	Ijoani [Godly Prince]

[E] *Concerning Matolenim:*

<i>Large sections:</i>	<i>Ruled by:</i>	<i>Their rulers' great gods:³</i>
------------------------	------------------	--

Uanik	Lapanuanik	Jaḥoro
Animuan	Lapananimuan	A male god
Janipan	Lapanmor	Inaj
Lapinjet	Jaujet	Some great gods

[F] *Concerning Kiti, [which] worships Taukatau:*

Uone	Jaukijanlaḥ	Taukatau
Ononlaḥ		
Kiti	Jaukiti	
Palaḥ	Namaton Palaḥ	

¹ Cf. Chs. 26 and 27. The titles Lapananimuan and Jaujet are given here as the ancient rulers of Animuan and Lapinjet respectively, whereas they are omitted in Ch. 27.

² This section lists three titles of address of rulers, respectively, of the states of Matolenim, Kiti and Jokaj. In Ch. 54.16[A] four titles are given, that for the state of U being added. It would seem that Luellen is here amending the earlier list to take account of the creation of the state of U, which he has just described in Ch. 54.16. In Ch. 83[A] Luellen gives us the same list, but evidently it represents a still later period, for he has added the state of Net. The arrangement of names in this section might suggest that Luellen is saying that Ijipau was the title of the rulers of Matolenim, Kiti and Jokaj, and was later replaced by the title Nanmariki. Actually the title Ijipau pertains properly only to Matolenim, although it is sometimes used for the ruler of U also.

Chapter 54

The ruler of Matolenim. Ijokelekel who was Nanmariki of Matolenim¹

1. The Nanmariki took two women as his queens, one of the Liarkatau Clan and another of the Tipuinuui [Foreign Clan]. They used to stay in the ruler's centre at Pankatira. He also had a woman of taboo relationship [his sister] and another queen, a Great Eel Clan woman.

2. One day the ruler spoke to his Great Eel queen — for the woman had become pregnant and was about to give birth — saying, 'I am going to go to Tamoroi. If I have gone and you give birth to a

boy then kill him; but if it's a girl then take care of her.'²

3. So the ruler proceeded down to Tamoroi, and the queen's pains started and she gave birth to a little boy. No sooner did the child fall out than he ran away with the afterbirth, but his mother said to him, 'Come back here a moment so I may just cut off your umbilical cord.'

4. The child then just bent down and bit off his umbilical cord.³

One day a certain man was bringing an ovenful of food as tribute to Pankatira. His name was Jaujetenroti and he was of the same clan as the woman.⁴ The man came and the woman was crying on that day. The man then asked the woman, 'What are you wailing for?' The woman replied, 'Because I am sorry for this child of mine, for the ruler left word with me that if it was a boy I should kill it.'

5. 'But if it was a girl I should raise it.' And the man replied, 'Please present him to me as my own child so that I may humbly care for him until he grows up.' The woman said, 'It is well that you should take him away before the ruler returns.' So he took away the little child.

6. The man took the child, and the two went to the place from which the man had come, a place named Kereñke.⁵ Now the boy used to like to spear fish every day. One day the boy went fishing and was spearing fish on the downwind edge of the reef, when the ruler's vessel came out towards him downwind of Mutokalap, and the royal attendants were talking among themselves:

7. 'From where is that little boy that is fishing there?' Now the ruler heard their conversation, for he was under a Ponapean cabin [on the canoe], and he told them to turn off course for him to bring a fish. So they called the boy to bring a fish.

8. He then speared two Kajapal, strung them through their gills and tied them together, and carried them along in the water to the royal vessel, went straight to the outrigger float and climbed up on the outrigger float of the royal vessel on the little step⁶ which is on the floats of all canoes. He then leaped on to the central stretcher⁷ of the royal vessel and sat down beside the ruler.

9. And handed the ruler the little fish.⁸ The man simply took the boy's hand and had him sit down beside him on the central platform of the canoe. He then said to him, 'You must come along with me this day and go to my house, for I am going to give you a feast this day in payment for the fish.'

10. As soon as the royal vessel reached Pankatira the oven fire for the boy's feast was lighted. When the canoe touched shore the boy leaped off and lay down taking his place on the chief's platform on the Naniken's side of the back wall. Now the boy was sitting in the

doorway on the side of the back wall. The ruler said to him, 'You shall be Naniken of Matolenim as my payment for your fish.' And at that time the little boy again took his little spear, for he was going to spear more fish.

11. When he left to spear fish the ruler's sister⁹ called him, saying to the boy, 'Bring me one of the fish.' So the boy stopped off at the woman's place and lay down with her. And the royal beverage was pounded, and someone came to notify him that the kava had been pounded. And the woman urged him to go, for if he were late then the 'walking cup' would come, 'And what about this? Who knows the spell for the 'walking cup' and can do it?'¹⁰

12. Now the boy was late in going back, and those bearing the cup appeared. The woman then said, 'Do you know the spell for the 'walking cup'? The boy replied 'No'. The woman said further, 'You drink it and I will perform the spell over you.' She then performed it over him:

The Spell of the Walking Cup¹¹

My descent at Pein Met,

And my ascent at Pein Katau.

Descend, wade hither, turn the corner this way,

Turn the corner that way.

Walking cup hither, walking cup thither.

My descent at Pein Katau,

And my ascent at Pein Met.¹²

13. The Naniken then took the woman who was his father's sister as his noble spouse. She bore children to him, giving him a group of males. One day the man was twisting coconut fibre into cord, and the children were playing darts, and one of the darts flew off and hit the man's face, and the man then resented this.¹³

14. He got in his canoe and paddled out downwind off Animuan. The children went along after their father and caught up with him off Majijau. They apologised to their father, but he simply did not heed them. He said to the eldest of them, 'You go back, for you will take the place of your father'¹⁴ and in turn become Nanmariki of Matolenim some day.'

15. They then said farewell to each other and separated at the place called Puilipajan en Nanmariki [Separation of the Nanmarikis], at a certain reef named Ponnintok. And the Naniken sailed downwind with the lesser end forward, while the children sailed upwind with the greater end forward, and returned to Matolenim.¹⁵

16. The Naniken had the personal name of Nalapanien. He went downwind and became ruler of the state of Uanik. This then became

a state named the State of U. Now at this time Ponape came to have four states.¹⁶ It was Nalapanien who made a house at Nan U. It is said that a rainstorm threatened and the house was measured and the framework raised and finished before the rain fell.

The end.

[A] *The high titles in all the districts of Ponape and also the great titles in the various places of Ponape:*¹⁷

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Uajalapalap | Nanmariki of Matolenim |
| 2. Jañir[o] | Nanmariki of the State of U |
| 3. Ijoani | Nanmariki of Jokaj |
| 4. Roja | Nanmariki of Kiti |

[B] Those who ruled the small states off Ponape:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------|
| 1. Jaulikin Na | Na |
| 2. Jaulikin Ant | Ant |
| 3. Jauni | Pakein |

[C] Those who ruled the large sections in Ponape — Matolenim:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------|
| 1. Lapananimuan | Animuan |
| 2. Kiraun en Letau | Letau |
| 3. Lapanmor | Janipan |
| 4. [no title entered] | Lapinjet |

¹ This myth is the charter of the ceremonial precedence of Matolenim over U at feasts and gatherings, and also for the precedence of U over the other states. The unorthodox behaviour of the boy Nalapanien (who is to become Naniken of Matolenim and later Nanmariki of U) is also the charter for the privileged and sometimes indecorous behaviour that is attributed nowadays to title-bearers of the second line of titles, who are all regarded as children, real or fictitious, of the Nanmariki and the other title-bearers of the first line of titles. See n. 54.8.

⁸ The series of acts that culminates here — clambering on to the canoe from the wrong side, stepping on the stretcher, sitting down beside the ruler (his father), and handing the fish directly to him instead of through an intermediary — are all highly improper. From this time on such privileged behaviour became the prerogative of the second line of chiefs, as described in n. 54.1.

¹¹ This famous and valued spell is used mainly when a cup of kava is taken to a Nanmariki or Naniken outside the community house. The cupbearer recites it nowadays, though it appears that anciently it was the recipient of the cup who recited it.

¹³ There is clearly some feeling against marriage to a father's sister, although no informant explicitly termed the marriage incestuous. Marriage with a father's sister's daughter is practised on Ponape, especially among people of high rank or wealth in order to keep titles and property for the descendants of the men as well as the women.

¹⁵ The greater and lesser ends of the canoe are respectively the lower and upper ends of the tree trunk from which the hull of the canoe was fashioned. The lower end is of course larger in circumference, and even when the canoe is finished that end is a little bigger. Ever since the time of this separation, whenever a high chief in a canoe approaches an U or Matolenim canoe engaged in fishing or the like, the U canoe must

turn its lesser end, the Matolenim canoe its greater end, forward and wait until the chief has passed.

¹⁶ That is, Uanik, later to be known as U, was the fourth after the three named in Ch. 51.5.

¹⁷ The lists which begin here would more logically have been placed at the beginning of the next chapter, which contains more. They are in partial duplication of Chs. 26, 27, 52 and 53.

Chapter 55

[A] *Those who ruled the state of Kiti:*

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| 1. Jaukijanlah | Uone |
| 2. Jau puaja | Puajau |
| 3. Lapanteleur ¹ | Teleur |
| 4. Namaton Palañ | Palañ |

[B] *Those who ruled the state of Jokaj:²*

- | | |
|-----------------|---------|
| 1. Lapanpalikir | Palikir |
| 2. Jau Kamar | Kamar |
| 3. Lapannot | Net |

[C] *Those who ruled the state of U:*

- | | |
|---------------|-------|
| 1. Lapanuanik | Uanik |
|---------------|-------|

[D] *The ranking of the high titles, from those who were Nanmariki and from those who were Naniken:³*

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--|
| 1. Nanmariki | his opposite | 1. Naniken |
| 2. Uajai | his opposite | 2. Nanjauririn [Lord
of the Masters of
the Gate] |
| 3. Tauk | his opposite | 3. Namataun tet
[Lord of the Sea
of Eels] |
| 4. Noj | his opposite | 4. Lapanririn [High
One of the Gate] |

[E] *The titles that were close to the high titles:⁴*

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Nanmariki or
Ijipau | 1. Muarikietik [The Lesser
Muariki] |
| | 2. Aronmuar [Near the Titles] |
| | 3. Luanmuar [Remainder of the
Titles] |

4. Aunmuar [Chief of the Titles]
5. Lampuain ijipau
6. Jauelen ijipau [Master of the Forest of the Ijipau]
2. Uajai (or) Putak [Boys] = Nanputak [Lord of the Boys]
 1. Aronujai [Near the Uajai]
 2. Lampuain uajai
 3. Jauelen uajai
 4. Aronputak [Near the Boys]
3. Tauk
 1. Aronau [Near the Mouth]
4. Noj
 1. Aronno [Near the Waves]

Now these were the titles that were evident to the people of that time. There were also some other titles, which originated from their work. This is how we may know the height of the titles of the various people: who were great among them and who were little among them.

³ This section lists the first four titles in each of the two lines of chiefs as they were in pre-Christian times. The titles of the first line are still in the same order today but those of the second line are not. The titles of the two high priests, Nalaim and Nanapaj, are nowadays ranked in the second and fourth positions of the second line, after Naniken and Nanjauririn respectively.

⁴ The persons listed in the right-hand column were in the retinue of the respective title-holders named in the left-hand column. The word 'titles' is to be taken as 'title-holders' and 'close' refers to the physical proximity of the servitors to their masters. Only the very highest title-holders would have a titled retinue of this sort. Luellen's list, incidentally, is not exhaustive.

Chapter 56

Concerning the Spirits

1. There were certain high spirits: these were the gods.¹ These kinds of spirits were different from people who died and became spirits, for the gods were rather simply there of themselves: no one gave birth to them.

2. [A] The high spirits included all of the clan spirits, but there were many other lesser spirits. But there was one who was greater than all of the spirits, who had as his seat the Third Heaven, whose

designation no one in heaven or under heaven or on the earth below or in the Underworld knew, no one at all.²

3. [A] Here are the names of some of the high spirits on the earth:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Nanjapue ³ | Tipuinpanmai [Under-the-Breadfruit Clan] |
| 2. Jahoro ⁴ | Tipuinuai [Foreign Clan] |
| 3. Olapat ⁵ | Tipuinman [Creature Clan] |
| 4. Luk ⁶ | Tipuinluk [Luk Clan] |
| 5. Lukeijet [Luk of the Sea] | [no entry] |
| 6. Nanijopau (Jahoro) | [no entry] |
| 7. Lukalapal [Luk the Great] | [no entry] |
| 8. Inaj [Living Mother] ⁷ | Female spirit of the Jaunkauat [Masters of Kauat Clan] |
| 9. Limotalah [Female Sitting in Heaven] | Female spirit of the Tipuilap [Great Clan] |
| 10. Ijokaniki [Lord Steward] | [no entry] |

2. [B] In the second period, in the reign of the Lords of Teleur, they all followed their whims, whatever they wanted. But now it was different, for there was separation of status, and there were also ceremonies.

3. [B] Master of Part was in Ononlah and was in charge of the ceremonies of Uone, and the first group in the group of high priests; while Jauene [Master of Uone] was the leader of the lesser group of Uone. And Jaom en Muajahap⁸ was the high leader of the group for the state [of Kiti]. His residence was in Jalapuk.

4. Now Master of Part was in charge of the first group of priests in Uone. Now all of these priests were the same with respect to the worth of their ceremonies performed for their spirits. The ceremonies of Matolenim were also just the same, for this system of worship started in Matolenim and was transmitted to the state of Kiti.

5. Now the spirit who was greater than all the other spirits was named Nanjapue, who used to ride dark clouds here and there under the *white*⁹ of heaven, and used to rumble and cause the lightning to transmit its brightness to the earth below.

6. Now they used to call Nanjapue by the high title of Taukatau,¹⁰ and he used to live above the earth in the place where all the great spirits stayed. These places were named the Second Heaven. At

certain times they would appear to people in the form of fire.

7. These ceremonies were called '*nights*'.¹¹ They used to pray to Nanjapue and the other spirits for everything which they desired, and the high spirits would hear and pass on the request to the spirit who was greater than all the other high spirits, who lived at the Second Heaven. They would propose it to the Ruler of All Nations who had as his seat a place of such beauty that people could not describe it.

8. This seat was in the Third Heaven. This was the spirit who was greater than all other spirits, whose name no one knew; there was no one in heaven or below heaven or on the earth or below the earth or in the Underworld who knew his name.

9. The great god Nanjapue was the one whom they used always to worship. Some people also worshipped their own true clan spirits. They were aware of their prayers and used to cause good fortune for those who respected¹² them.

10. At this time the Ponapeans became different and were better than before. Here are the states in the third period:¹³

1. Matolenim. The title which ruled was Ijipau or Uajalalalap.
2. U The title which ruled was Ijipau or Jañiro.
3. Jokaj The title which ruled was Uajai or Ijoani.
4. Kiti The title which ruled was Nanmariki or Roja.

11. The priests, moreover, were divided into two groups, making a first group and a second group. There was also a lesser group called Laiap;¹⁴ they were lower than the group of priests proper, and their work was to serve the greater ones when they were performing ceremonies. Now Master of Part was the high priest of Ponape. It was he from whom all the Ponapeans used to obtain permission¹⁵ for everything.

12. Here are the places¹⁶ of the various spirits. The Underworld was the place of the spirits of the persons who had died. This was the place for a great crowd of all the people who had died and left the earth, all the people of the whole earth; this was the First Heaven.¹⁷

13. The Underworld was the land for the spirits of the people who had died and been buried in graves or sunk in the sea or streams, or burned up in fire or killed, etc., anything. Their spirits would go and live there for a while and then afterwards they would continue on from it.

14. The Second Heaven. Pueliko was the place for people who had poor voices in singing. Here is how it was: the spirits would go from the Underworld to go into Heaven, into the Third Heaven. Now they would go first to a bridge. Under the bridge there was a

hole which was very deep and dark. It was this hole which was named Pueliko.¹⁸

15. They would go there, and one of them would sing first. If his voice was good he would pass onto the bridge and reach the other side, but if his voice was bad he would pass onto the bridge and the bridge would twist and he would fall down into the deep hole and would not be able to get out of it for ever and ever.

16. But those who had good voices would reach the other side, and a person to take charge of them¹⁹ would be there and would lead them to join those seated in honour before the First of the Land.²⁰ Now this bridge was called Kankapir [Twisting Bridge], for it would make the spirits topple down into the hole. Another name for it was the Uajanjoupur [Place of No Return].

17. Now as for the Underworld, the spirits which inhabited that place used also to show themselves in the form of people and be evident to some, while others used to appear to certain people when they acted as spirit mediums.

18. There were also many spirits related to those gods who crossed over from the earth. They also used to possess those who acted as spirit mediums.

19. In the Underworld all the spirits could return to their loved ones. And these were the spirits whom some people made possess them, and whom they could also call up from their places in their graves, and who would then tell stories about the times which were to come.

20. Some people whom the spirits used to possess would become homes for the spirits; their bodies would become vessels²¹ for the spirits. When the spirits would possess them the bodies of the mediums would change greatly. He no longer had the appearance of people nor the voice of people. His eyeballs would be like the eyes of a wild beast²² and his voice would be a different voice, the voice of an animal or a really frightening voice.

21. At some time the spirits would appear and *rise up*.²³ They would talk as people talk but their bodies would be hidden and no one could see them.

22. In that period all the people of Ponape believed in spells, spells from certain words which they would prescribe in certain phrases which would form a *palm leaflet for divination*.²⁴ This was a spell.

23. There was also another Heaven named Laḥapap.²⁵ Laḥapap was the place where the great gods resided. It was from here that they say all the gods descended to earth. And it is said that Laḥapap was

low down towards earth.

24. When ceremonies were to be performed, the one who prayed would pray in a loud voice or in a small voice; they would quickly hear because it was near.

25. Now Nanjapue would quickly reply to the priests in the voice of Thunder. Reportedly he would rumble. If Taukatau was displeased with the people of the earth for something he would start rumbling for a long time until the priests would inquire in their prayers and then he would stop.

26. And if the Master of Part passed away the high men of Kiti²⁶ would assemble and choose from among the group of high priests one of them who was wise and knew all the important spells to replace him and be in charge of them.

27. There was a place for installing the Master of Part. It was an important place, a sacred place. No [ordinary] people could go there, only the group of priests.

28. When the Master of Part passed away no one knew this. Until they buried him no one would know that the ruler had passed away, except the people of the house in which he died. They were also unable to wail, for they would wait for the time when someone else had been in turn installed and replaced the one who had passed away. And the ruler would be buried at night when it was dark so that no one would see. And the people of the house in which the Nanmariki had passed away would invent lies and be saying to the crowd attending the sick one, 'He says you should humbly pull up some kava for him to consume', but they were lying for the ruler was deceased.

29. Now the priests and all the chiefs²⁷ and their companions would assemble in the section of Olapal, (meaning) 'Holy Man', in order to promote someone to take the place of the previous one. The place of promotion was called Paler. And they would call the man to be promoted among them to the sacred stone structure of Paler. They would then tie some beautiful cloth strips on the man's body and on his arms until they were covered and they would then spread out his arms and walk him around on the stone structure.

30. When these things were finished, the man would climb on to a certain rock and face up to Heaven and call in a loud voice saying, 'Nanjapue, I have become Master of Part.' And it was at this time that the crowd would start to wail, and the people of the ruler's house and all his family, and the people of all houses who had heard their wailing would also join in and start to wail, for they had not known that the Nanmariki had died, and they were taken aback and cried.

And these things were done when all the Nanmarikis died. This was what caused it: so that 'outside waters might not flow', meaning 'so that another Nanmariki would not come and make war against the state and conquer it and rule it instead'.

31. Now that man would become Master of Part and would rule Uone or Ononlañ.

³ Nanjapue is the common modern Ponapean word for thunder, which was originally identified with the god of this name.

⁹ This refers to the sky conceived of as a solid layer, the underside of which is visible to men.

¹³ This paragraph partially duplicates Ch. 54.16[A]. But there the highest chief of Jokaj is called Nanmariki, as he is in all the other states, while here he is Uajai, which is the second-highest title in the other states. The tradition is that for a period of time the highest title was not used in Jokaj because of a series of misfortunes that befell one of its holders. The titles Ijipau, Uajai and Nanmariki are titles of reference; the others titles of address. See also n. 53.2.

¹⁷ This is the only reference to the Underworld as a kind of 'heaven' that we are aware of, and very possibly it represents a confusion induced by an attempt to reconcile native tradition with missionary teaching.

²⁴ A spell might be used in preparing a palm leaf for divination but would not constitute or become one, as the text seems to state.

²⁶ 'Kiti' would appear to be a slip by Luellen for 'Uone', the period of time under discussion apparently being that before the wars (about 1800) which united Uone and Kiti-proper to create the modern state of Kiti.

Chapter 57

This is how to talk to the nobles at night. 'Waters of the Night' meaning 'Telling the Nanmariki stories'.¹

This song would start it, and after it the story would be told:

1. Waters of the night, lord, Kuor:
Flap, flap, cock-a-doodle-do;
Fowl down, fowl up, great fowl.
2. Flap, flap, cock-a-doodle-do, woman walking from Kapine.
Telenataral alu en Matip;
Visit Majijau, go across Oa.
3. Jepetik net, shining at Alokap;
Quickly at Jokala, asked news at Paniep;

- Heard about it at Palikir, carried on the back at Palañ.
4. A land of beauty is in Kiti;
A land of slime at Pok; a small sack at Pajau,
A large sack at the supporter of the conger eel at Uone.
 5. Shouting joyfully at Lot, you may step down at Uapar,
But you may step up at Akak; a falsetto shout at Tapa.
Pounding at Tian pond, roll it forth to Tamoroi.
 6. Kick it to Kapiroi, echo to Japuerak,
A land of quarreling is Lauatik, a small land is Janipan,
The great land of Ponape is the land of Letau, lord, Kuor.
 7. My wrapped Japau-fish were caught from beneath Kerepun
[waterfall?],
And splashing; cook it well, pick it up and eat, you are not
satisfied;
My heart wants my group of children; the first is you, the
second is you.
 8. The third is the sweat of beauty, the luck of beauty, go to
Kirau Mair;
The rats have not agreed on their bundle of banana-hands
[and] breadfruit;
Twenty-two, Jautikitik [Little Master], Jaumokoko [Thirsty
Master].
 9. The fist of Uorepal, Tauna;
Ilaki Malujai Lapalap [Sea-goddess of the Great Breakwater],
Lord, Kuor.

The end.

10. About counting the stars. There were twelve stars,² which we used to count from the beginning of the year to the end of the harvest season. It is said that this count began at the time the Erythrina tree came into blossom. Now when the flowers opened up and were beautiful they gave the time the name of Period of Erythrina [trade wind season, winter]; and when the blooms fell down and were finished and the seeds started growing, the name of that time was changed to Period of Growth. This was the time of harvest.

The names of the stars of the year

1. Timuir [Antares]
2. Mailap [Altair]
3. Panumar
4. Lanmuir
5. Naneipur
6. Patonmuar

7. Euroj
8. Enman
9. Uarenman
10. Lañkeroto
11. Mejilep
12. Muakeriker [Pleiades]

Now these are the stars which we know to tell of. Some of these stars make good times, while others make bad times — rain and big winds from the west. And Muakeriker is the greatest of all the stars. It is big and strong and it makes a good season and good winds. Now these twelve stars are the great stars which constitute the stars of the breadfruit season. And there are eighteen stars that are companions of the stars which are called the jepi of the various stars. It is said that these stars start in the west and go on and on toward the east until the breadfruit season is over. Thus at the beginning of the year they again come back downwind from the east, by which we may know the good and bad times of the year as well as the wind from the east. Now here are the names of the stars from the east, which are called stars of the year:³

*The names of the eighteen stars*⁴

1. Puñunair
2. Jerpuel [Corvus]
3. Lijaralah
4. Timuir [Antares]
5. Palantimuir
6. Kienua
7. Maitik [Herculis?]
8. Lienua
9. Lañmuir
10. Likatat
11. Panmuar
12. Likomoremej
13. Naneipur
14. Euroj
15. Kananpur
16. Patonmuar
17. Liponiañ
18. Mailap [Altair]
19. Enman
20. Uaranman
21. Limejirikirik
22. Kielua

23. Kieliman
24. Lapuet
25. Mejilep
26. Menpuekoto
27. Menpuekolok
28. Mel [Vega?]
29. Teu [Corona Borealis?]
30. Kajak

¹ The first nine sections of this chapter consist of a text for a spell or song. The text seems highly elliptical and allusive, and our translation must be regarded as quite dubious. Informants stated that it was a song that had to be sung before telling a Nanmariki a story. This would serve the function of restricting commoner access to him. In the chant a succession of place-names is given, most of them names of sections, beginning with Kapine in central Matolenim, proceeding counter-clockwise around the island, and ending at Letau, near the beginning point. Ordinarily the reciter would be expected to be able to explain the cryptic comments on each place, which ideally he should have visited and learned something about at first hand from its inhabitants.

Chapter 58

There is a peak in Ononlan¹ which is higher than all the other peaks of Uone. It is named Tolenne [Leg Peak]. This peak is the [place for] visitors¹ in Uone.

1. A certain man used to live on the apex of this peak, who was named Manintolenne [Man of Leg Peak]. He had made a small house to dwell in on the peak, and this is what caused a kind of residence like this: all people who were concerned about their dwelling place would do the same as Man of Leg Peak [i.e. build in the mountains], for they would be afraid that their enemies might come and kill them.

A certain demon used to live on the island of Paniau [Under the Mouth]. It was called 'Giant',² and it had a fishpond³ at Paniau; the kind of fish called Liarpuater [Butterfly Fish] was in it. Some days the demon would go to sea to fish, but every day Man of Leg Peak would be in his house and would look down into the pool of fish. When the sun first shone on the pool the fish were very shining-beautiful.

2. Now one day the man went to see what the fish were like. He stole some of the fish and ran away with them and returned to his



Plate 7 Ponapean canoes. Reproduced by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.



Plate 8 The 'seat' (a pillar of basalt) of the Jauene at Paler in Olapal, Uone, with the Naniken of Kiti in 1947 standing beside it. The title Jauene was converted to Uajai after Uone and Kiti were united. Reproduced by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

land and ate them up. The demon returned and found that his fish had been stolen from him. He suspected that it might have been Man of Leg Peak and went hunting for him. He went ashore and passed through Lohene [Leg Range] and went straight for the peak. But the man went and prepared well for the demon's coming.

3. Here is how he got ready for the demon's coming. They say he prepared pounded taro balls with coconut cream for the demon. And when it got there and appeared before the man as he was preparing the pounded taro, it said to the man, 'Hey, you are the one who stole my fish!' The man replied, 'Please come and partake of this pounded taro which I have prepared for you.'

4. Now this pounded taro constituted a pudding of apology, for the man was acting kindly¹ to the demon by means of it. And the man then changed the name of the mountain and it came to be called instead Toletom [Apology Peak] because of his apologizing with the pounded taro. The peak then took this name and bears it to this day.

¹ Visitors to certain parts of Ponape were supposed to visit a particular rock in the mountains and present a branch there, evidently to pay their respects to the local gods.

Chapter 59

About Ponape after Ijokelekel had conquered Matolenim

1. All the people were free to do their own will, for the ruler of the state gave them permission for all their wishes, and the little people¹ used to hunt around by themselves for good places to live in. And some of them were fortunate and others not—they were badly settled. And in the great sections it was like this. The Matolenim subdivisions: the sections clung together and made one cooperative group of sections in a state. Here are those which had an inclusive name: Matolenim: Animuan, Letau, Janipan, and Lapinjet; and Kiti: Ononlah, Kapilah, and Palah; [and] Jokaj: Pikeniap, Likin-lamalam, and Net. And there was also Upwind Uanik, etc.

2. Now as for all the citizens of the various states of Ponape, the ruler of the state had all the people as his subjects² and assigned them their places of residence. And some of them were industrious in

work; they would of themselves go around looking for places with soil good for agriculture or coconuts, a place with a good site. They would then clear it off and plant all kinds of food plants there and some kinds of flowers that are fragrant and beautiful. Now work like this was called 'fruit of the fingernails' or 'fruit of the shell knife', and land like this would constitute a family³ inheritance, and would be inherited continuously.

3. There were changes in land like this, if they sold it or committed a great sin and were expelled from it under the authority of the nobles, or were defeated when enemies conquered the land. There were certain times when industrious families did much work; their lands greatly increased, and their work came together and constituted a small section in the large sections.

4. Now this kind of section was called a 'lineage section'⁴ and it would just keep on going. And such was the relation of all the Ponapeans to their land. But their cultivation of the land was not great [enough] for them to live together there, for here is the way they thought: the people of olden times used to cherish their boys more than their girls.⁵

5. Their men children were cherished for the day of war and the day that they would fight another person who was their opponent. Now in the work of people when they were working for their ruler, at this time the ruler would take note of how each one's work was. And he would know that among these this is the one who always behaves well. And he would promote him so that he might in turn become a section chief.

6. But the nobles proper and noble children⁶ would, according to the procedure of families,⁷ promote their lineage mates⁸ from among the ranked series in their families who would constitute the state title-holders.⁹

¹ Or 'commoners'.

⁶ This refers to the second line of titles, headed by the Naniken. It can also refer to all the children of royal men, whether or not in the Naniken line.

Chapter 60

*A story of the state of Kiti*¹

1. In olden times Master of Part of Heaven ruled Ononlaḥ from Jamai to Roi of Yap, while the Nanmariki of Kiti ruled Kapilaḥ and the Lord of the Sea of Palaḥ ruled the state of Palaḥ.²

2. Now Master of Part of Heaven was a member of the Creature Clan, which was born from a shellfish that used to be in the sea in the deep places named Likapijino.³ This is why they are called Creature Clan. And the Lord of the Sea of Palaḥ was of the Tipuinpapa [Papa-Tree Clan]; they ruled the state of Palaḥ. But those of the Jounkiti [Kiti Clan] ruled Kiti.⁴

3. One time the Palaḥ people came and fought the state of Kiti and conquered the state and ruled them for a short time. The Kiti Clan people fled from their own state and were exiled to Net and Jokaj. And the Nanjaujet [Lord of the Masters of the Sea] of Net took a voyage to Master of Part's place in Uone. They came and anchored and landed. Nanjau[jet] was in a litter for he was sick with ulcers.⁵

4. They proceeded on up to Master of Part at his seat. They then conversed about how the state of Kiti, a state of the Creature Clan, had become a state of the Papa-Tree Clan. The man from Net then agreed that they would have a war against the state of Kiti and take it back.⁶

Now there was a certain man among the Palaḥ people with the title of Nanjaujet of Palaḥ. He was the most powerful of the soldiers. This man was indeed strong and brave. It was he who was the leader of the soldiers [who had conquered Kiti].

5. All the people of Kiti feared this man, for the reputation of the man extended all through the state of Kiti and made them afraid. This report reached all places and caused people to talk about him to each other. Now when the discussion of Master of Part and Nanjaujet of Net was settled it was certain that a war was to develop between the Kiti people [now under Palaḥ] and the Uone people. Now there was a certain Lipitan Clan man in Uone named Majoor who would hear various people telling of the strength of Nanjaujet of Palaḥ. He therefore said, 'Don't you all make this kind of a story, for it will weaken the hearts⁷ of the warriors.'

6. He then said, 'I will take on that man [Nanjaujet of Palaḥ] as my task, and I will have the title of that man', because that man had the title of Nanliklapalap [High Lord of the Exterior] of Kiti.⁸ And Master of Part said, 'It is all right if you can do it.' At that time they were preparing ivory nut palm thatch, for each man would carry a

thatch sheet and a string, things for making a house when the state would have fallen to them.⁹

7. When the war was about to be waged, Master of Part agreed with the Nanjaujet of Net that he should go and keep count and when the ceremonial days¹⁰ of Uone were finished then the war would take place. So that man left. And Master of Part called all his noble associates so they might decide how they would conduct war. And first, before the war, they sent out some messengers to run around and give notice of Master of Part's words.

8. These messengers were to go to all the sections, reaching first Pajautik, Pajaulap, Nanponmal, Japuenleu, Japuenalamau and going on to Palienlikatat until all were completed.¹¹ They then divided into two groups: all the strong men would walk on downwind and take along all the young men of the sections who had received their words; but the old men and those young men who were somewhat weak would go by sea and ride in a fleet of canoes.¹²

9. Now they all set forth — those who were walking set forth, and those who were going by sea also set forth. Now the canoes were many but the people were few. They then took some lengths of wood and some coconut frond stems and the like and set them up on the canoes, and so much for that: it looked like very many people. When the Kiti people saw the fleet they were afraid and quickly divided their soldiers, making two groups. The group awaiting the fleet was at Imentakai in a palisade of mangrove wood, while the other was at Japtakai in a fort.¹³

10. The fleet of the Nanjaujet of Net was downwind of the Ajil Straits. Now on that day the fighting became great and the state of Kiti fell to the Uone people. They bestowed titles: Master of Part became Nanmariki; Master of Uone became Uajai, Matau [Sea] became Tauk; Jaumatonponta became Naniken; and the Lipitan man [Majoor] became Nanliklapalap. And this is the way these titles have been to this day.¹⁴

11. And it was at this time that Uone and Kiti joined together and were under a single rule, and worked together as one. And after the various titles were bestowed all the high title [holders]s of the state divided all the sections of the state of Kiti among themselves, for they would hold these in fief under Master of Part. This is why it is the Creature Clan alone which rules the state of Kiti to this day. The high clan of the state of Kiti consists of those who have as their mother the marine creature Likapijino.

12. Now as for the division of the clan into subclans in the state of Kiti, there are in all four,¹⁵ and these are their names. There was

woman in Ononlah who gave birth to four daughters:

1. Liajanpalap
2. Liajanpal — this one is extinct
3. Liponraloh
4. Lijirmutok

13. There are still descendants of Liajanpalap to this day, but Liajanpal is extinct, and as for Liponraloh, there are only some, it is said, while there are still some of Lijirmutok, but as for the others, they are of certain [other] clans.¹⁶

The end.

¹ The story of the wars in this chapter appears to be a fairly accurate historical tradition of events, which probably took place not long before the beginning, about 1830, of extensive foreign contact.

² This three-fold division of what is now Kiti should be compared with the arrangements described in Chs. 26-7 and 52-5. At the time of the wars with which the present chapter is concerned the word Kiti was apparently applicable only to Kapilang.

³ Likapijino is actually a species of sea-cucumber (or bêche-de-mer): see Chs. 69 and 80.1-2.

⁴ Luelen's description here might seem to suggest that three different clans ruled Ononlang (or Uone), Palang and Kapilang (Kiti proper) respectively. Actually the 'Kiti Clan' is a branch of the 'Creature Clan', as para. 4 makes clear; the rulers of Ononlang and Kapilang belonged to two different branches of the same clan.

⁶ The Nanjaujet of Palang, the leader of the Palang forces, had conquered Kiti-proper, or Kapilang. Luelen barely refers to Nanjaujet of Net's participation in the battle for its reconquest (in para. 10), stressed in other sources, and does not mention the rewards given to Nanjaujet by the grateful Jaukija.

⁸ The Nanjaujet of Palang had, according to the Jaulik of Jamaï, taken the title of Nanliklapalap after conquering Kiti. Majoör is now proposing to take the title for himself as his reward for getting rid of the enemy. This is bold behaviour. Most Ponapeans would wait and accept, often with modest protest, whatever title the chief offered them. In the olden days it is said that bravery in war was often rewarded by promotion in the title system.

¹⁰ Literally 'nights of sacredness' (Ponapeans count nights instead of days). See Chs. 56.7 and 74.9-10 concerning these ceremonies. Presumably it was taboo for them to start a war while the ceremonies were being held, and the enemy would probably also respect the prohibition for fear of supernatural punishment.

¹¹ These are ancient or esoteric names for the sections of modern Kiti now called, respectively, Upper Anipein, Jamaï, Lower Anipein, Pok, Kipar and Ronkiti. These places were known collectively as Likop (see Ch. 83.6), a group of semi-independent sections, apparently not under the sway of Kapilang (Kiti proper).

¹⁴ These older titles were those of Uone (see Ch. 84.10) and were ranked in the order of the newer titles to which they were now converted.

¹⁵ Actually there are more than four.

¹⁶ Luelen discusses these groups and their history in Ch. 84.6-10.

Chapter 61

The story of the third period

1. Many ships came to Ponape. Many were the foreigners who settled on Ponape, and foreign things also became numerous, the kinds of animals and the kinds of plants, both large and small plants, which could grow on Ponape. Moreover white people and black people — all kinds, as well as certain kinds of sickness, etc., also became numerous. And certain different kinds of enlightenment¹ also became well established in Ponape.

2. The descendants of one kind of people² were numerous and continued to increase, and they gave birth to many children who did not behave well towards the other people. Some of them were great thieves, for they stole owing to their evil cleverness, which their fathers used to display, and they also told more lies than the others, and made arguments, and moreover had no sense of shame in front of other people; they were indeed very bold.

The end.

¹ The 'kinds of enlightenment' are presumably the Protestant and Catholic missionaries.

² The 'one kind of people' are probably the European and American deserters from whaling and trading ships (see n. 63.3). These settled on Ponape in large numbers; several dozen were present on the island in the mid-nineteenth century at any one time. Many of them were taken on by chiefs as interpreters and advisers and thus achieved a fair amount of influence. Cf. also Ch. 63.2-6.

Chapter 62

A story of the Ralik and Ratak island chains¹

1. There is an island in the Ralik island chain named Namo,² where there was a woman who had no friends,³ and who had four daughters. After she became a widow owing to her husband's dying this family was poor and in low favour with all the people. They had no food to eat, for various people confiscated their lands.

2. One day the eldest daughter went strolling about on the reef when the tide was low. She met a Ratak fleet. They had returned from a voyage down in this⁴ direction; they were going back upwind

to their land. They then stole the little girl and took her on upwind to their land. The girl got married and bore children, producing⁵ descendants in the upwind area. They thus started many subdivisions of the clan in those lands.

3. They next produced descendants downwind in Kusaie and also multiplied there until they were numerous there. When Ijokelekel took Ponape many of their members came along with him to the war. Nanparatak and Nanajan were among them.⁶ The phrase 'Men of Kaitak' was a saying of theirs in time of war, (meaning) '*showing the chests of men in time of battle*'.⁷

4. At that time two women came to Ponape, whose names were Lipeitato and Lipeijan Katau. Their husbands were Marak and Akau. They rode hither in a little canoe. They brought as cargo the lipuai shells off Toletik. They came in off Kiti and they set down⁸ their cargo off Toletik. They then went on in to Jainuar, and landed at the shore of Jakarantu, and put their canoe⁹ down there; and their provisions of water formed a stream,¹⁰ and their shelter of Koomuje branches¹¹ took root and established the Koomuje tree in Jainuar section. Now it is this clan whose true name is Rulujennamou.¹²

5. Now the women produced descendants in the state of Kiti, and their children married the native Ponapean children; and some children of those of high rank also married them, and some noble men also married them, making them born of nobles, which caused them to rise quickly in the affairs of the state and receive certain high titles, including various of the Naniken line.

One woman ran away to Uone to a male clansmate who lived in Poleti; the man was of the Lipitan clan. Now it was this woman who was the beginning of the Lipitan clan in Uone. This happened before the war that occurred between Kiti and Uone.¹³

The end.

¹ This chapter, despite its title, describes the origin of the Lipitan Clan, to which Luellen belonged.

² Namu Atoll. The Raliks and Rataks are the two chains comprising the Marshall Islands.

⁴ Referring evidently to Ponape, or possibly nearby islands.

⁶ Nanparatak and Nanajan, it will be recalled (see n. 48.22), were respectively members of the Latak (or perhaps Liarkatau) and Naniak Clans. While the Naniak Clan is of the same origin as the Lipitan Clan, and Luellen, a Lipitan, legitimately takes pride in claiming a relationship to Nanajan, a Naniak, his inclusion of Nanparatak here seems unjustified.

⁷ Perhaps this phrase refers to a posture of sticking out or 'up' the chest with the meaning of assertiveness or aggressiveness.

¹² See n. 48.22.

1. Many more ships from America came to Ponape than ships of other lands. Now the whaling ships were more numerous than trading ships and *labour* ships.¹ They often came and anchored in these channels, namely, Lot Channel in the state of Matolenim, and Mutok and Ronkiti in the state of Kiti, and Tumenpuel in the state of Net. But in this channel not too many ships came.²

2. Now these ships used to like to come to Ponape to get firewood and water, and they would pay for these with foreign food and used clothes, etc., for they had no trade goods that they carried about. And it was these ships that brought very many bad foreigners³ to Ponape, for they would escape from the ships and go on up into the forest of Ponape. They then married Ponapean girls and produced many descendants of bad birth.⁴ This is why this sort of evil sly people started to grow more numerous on Ponape.

3. They also sold much tobacco to the Ponapeans and many firearms, all kinds of firearms, and also foreign liquor, and they also taught the Ponapeans the custom of making foreign liquor. So they came to learn how to make their own liquor and consume it when they wished to, and fought among themselves. There were people who were killed owing to drinking liquor and becoming crazed with liquor and fighting among themselves.

4. The Ponapeans liked to carry around knives in their hands in place of the spears which they used to carry around all their lives. They became used to knives and expert in using them and would carry knives in all their activities. These were the contents of their hands in all places. And these knives were whetted until they were sharp, for they got them ready before they would go about in case they met something in the paths which obstructed the path when they were walking about, and also for helping them in their food [preparation] and the like. But here is what was more important: when they met bold men in the paths they would start a fight to see who was the stronger and to kill the other if they could — this was the meaning of their carrying about knives.

5. Now the foreigners wandered about Ponape to no purpose and had no fixed place. They also had no work, for they did not accept the practice of Ponapean customs which were unenlightened.⁵ This is why the Ponapeans came to think that this was the way all foreigners were, and used to use them as bad examples. They would say, 'How like you are to a foreigner who is stupid and lazy, begging and treacherous', for the other foreigners were the reason.

6. The inhabitants of Ponape did not like foreign ways, clever ways or right ways, for it was their own ways that they liked. This is why they were slow in becoming accustomed to the foreign rule and the rule of Christianity.

The end.

¹ Perhaps ships recruiting native labour for plantations on other islands and in Queensland, although Ponape for the most part remained unaffected by the blackbirding of the last century.

² In the days of the whalers Lot Harbour, often called Bonatick or Middle Harbour by the ships' captains, and Ronkiti (or Lee) Harbour, bore the heaviest traffic in these vessels. Mutok or Paniau also had an occasional visiting ship, as did two others not mentioned by Luelen, Matolenim (Weather) and Jokaj Harbours. The harbour Luelen calls Tumenpuel, in Net, was referred to in whaling days as Poitik, Jamestown or Santiago. The name is nowadays applied to Net Point.

³ Many original sources could be quoted regarding these 'bad foreigners', Cheyne's remarks of 1842 (in Shineberg 1971: 158-159) being typical.

⁵ That is non-Christian or uncivilised.

Chapter 64

A story about Luk-of-Heaven¹

1. Luk-of-Heaven was a Uone man. Reportedly he was a master speaker who knew all the stories of olden times. When he became an old man he got sick, worsened, and died. Now when he had closed his eyes in death those beside him did not decide to bury his body quickly.

2. When he had died and was lying on his mat, his body was lying there but his spirit was going about everywhere, reportedly walking on the seas and under the seas and going to the lands abroad and the lands nearby, until finally his spiritual voyage was finished, and his spirit returned again into his body, and he came to life again.

3. He then composed a song, supposedly a song about his spiritual travels around this earth. And there were many who were astounded at this man's travels, and also at how he could compose this song after having died and come to life, and was again clever and could fit the words of the song together so that they would go along well. And those who were with him learned the song:

1. [a] I just want to die.
 [b] And go to Mejeniah,²
 [c] The place of magic power,
 [d] So I might come back,
 [e] And sit as a [live] person.
 [f] My voice of the Underworld
 [g] Had a cracked sound;³
 [h] A trembling accent.
 [i] I will come back later
 [j] And go to Namanair [Southern Harbour],⁴
 [k] Harbour of Mejeniah,
 [l] Go to Nami Tipan [Tipan Harbour].
 [m] And I settled down,
 [n] And I did not return from
 [o] Piken Jero [The Beach of the Light],
 [p] At Pikenlenpoh [The Beach of the Pond of Night]
 [q] In Japen Jaunipoh [The Land of the Moon];
 [r] Its light is different;
 [s] [?] I no longer have my report, lao⁵.
2. [a] The giant Lijarapajet
 [b] Took me along
 [c] To Nalipuijet,
 [d] To visit at her place.
 [e] I was led along
 [f] Up into the noble town;
 [g] But I walked with trembling gait,
 [h] Walked hanging back.
 [i] Where are you, Lijipuaque?
 [j] Come and prepare for me
 [k] My coconut to hold in my palms,
 [l] The Paiian Jaunair [Fortune of the Masters of the
 South],⁶
 [m] So I may benefit by it
 [n] In the Naman Paraj [Harbour of Paraj],⁷
 [o] The Japueni paik puet [Land of White Necks],
 [p] The place of creeping spirits, eh,
 [q] White-headed
 [r] And blind.
 [s] The Jauparajaj [Master of Parajaj]
 [t] Took me up out of
 [u] Namanijor [The Harbour of Jor].
 [v] The dazzle of magic power

- [w] Was present at Nanimalu
[x] At the place of Limalulu
[y] And Nalikeneuneu.
[z] The two of them seized for me
[a'] The horned headdress of the left
[b'] And the horned headdress of the right;
[c'] So I might sink down and vanish,
[d'] So I might rise up and appear;
[e'] For I am a full god,
[f] I am Jaomenjet [Master of the Oven of the Sea],
[g'] So I might have magic power, lao.
3. [a] I wanted to go visit
[b] Jokalainpajet [Jokala-of-the-Underworld],
[c] At the place of Aunjokala [Guard of Jokala]
[d] And Jauenpajet [Master-of-the-Dance-of-the-Underworld].
[e] They two did not want me to go
[f] To the Uaunpajet [Valley-of-the-Underworld];
[g] There was a chattering bird there
[h] Which stood guard
[i] To swallow up
[j] Arriving spirits.
[k] I then came back from
[l] Nanpuajaj,
[m] To the Marain pajet [Dance-Ground-of-the-Underworld]
[n] At Nanullap's place.
[o] They were finishing a seine
[p] At Mejeniah;
[q] They came and shouted
[r] Bearing Kiolap on a litter.
[s] Where is Jaukiolap [Master of Kiolap]?
[t] He should come and hold in his palms
[u] The kava of Puilok,
[v] And climb with it on board
[w] The noble fleet,
[x] And keep praying, lao.
4. [a] Lienimajajak [Woman-of-Majajak]
[b] Should come and bring
[c] Medicine of the Underworld,
[d] *Cassytha filiformis*,
[e] Leaves of ualieki la

- [f] Put it in my face;
 [g] It should go around me,
 [h] It should hold me down firmly,
 [i] My mouth should be open;
 [j] And my skin was numb
 [k] My spirit skin,
 [l] My skin of the seaside, lao.
5. [a] Ijautapa ki
 [b] In Namanikiep [Spider Lily Harbour]
 [c] In Namaniuait [Harbour of Cruelty];
 [d] The place of a true god;
 [e] One side was black,
 [f] The other half was spotted;
 [g] The eijon of Nanjilop
 [h] Phosphorescent, lao.
6. [a] Where is Lienimahil [Woman-of-the-Handle]?
 [b] I should call her hither.
 [c] She should come and apply
 [d] Her medicine of comforting;
 [e] The two of them should weep over her
 [f] So she might return
 [g] To Nam en Nanjilop [Nanjilop Harbour].
 [h] Auni Mejeniah [Guard-of Face-of-the-Wind], eh,
 [i] Set a place for me with
 [j] Leaves of the Iapmuan banana,
 [k] Fanned me with
 [l] A bunch of red Cordyline;
 [m] That I might turn to the left,
 [n] That I might turn to the right,
 [o] Spinning about, lao.
7. [a] Come, Manin Jiek,
 [b] And go around;
 [c] Let us go to see
 [d] My turmeric-coloured fish;
 [e] Whether it is in the coral rock
 [f] At the place of Lipereutik [Lesser-Rock-Woman]
 [g] And Lipereulap [Greater-Rock-Woman];
 [h] The two of them should give it
 [i] Its cup of anointing oil,
 [j] Cup of oil and turmeric,
 [k] Kijiniaṅgonlaṅ [Turmeric-of-Heaven], lao.
8. [a] They two hated that I should go

- [b] To Japuejapuen Katipin [the Sun's Land]
 - [c] On Pik Marain [the Bright Beach];
 - [d] Lest I have a sunstroke
 - [e] And be laid on my back by it.
 - [f] Where is Litarnakanok?
 - [g] She should come and bring
 - [h] Medicine of rocks exposed
 - [i] Above a line of water Ioo
 - [j] She should come and give it to him [?].
 - [k] So that he might rise by means of
 - [l] Bath-water of the scorpion fish.
 - [m] He came and awoke me,
 - [n] And sent me off hither;
 - [o] I was to hasten, I was to hurry,
 - [p] My hand was to hasten, my hand was to hurry,
 - [q] That I might spin,
 - [r] That I might hasten
 - [s] I then made haste on up
 - [t] To Southern Harbour
 - [u] Because of Lipuhjet;
 - [v] Where is Likapinjet [Sea-Floor-Woman]?
 - [w] The two of them were washed [?]
 - [x] Into a dark deep;
 - [y] Majaunpajet [Eel-of-the-Underworld]
 - [z] Came from it;
 - [a'] For where is *Lord-of-the-South*,⁸
 - [b'] The contents of the dark harbour?
 - [c'] I was going to look up toward him, lao.
9. [a] I could no longer go forth
- [b] In the sticky sea,
 - [c] Underneath the fixed sea,
 - [d] In the spirit's water
 - [e] Apa maroiroi
 - [f] Here is where I have arrived:
 - [g] At Nam en ran [the Harbour-of-Day],
 - [h] At the bright sea,
 - [i] Underneath the white sea
 - [j] At the clear sea;
 - [k] They performed on me
 - [l] The bath of the Underworld;
 - [m] I was to submerge, I was to emerge;
 - [n] This is what made

- [o] The Fruit of the Stem [?].
 [p] Where is Likerekerejet?
 [q] And Likarajet?
 [r] They had cried,
 [s] They were at Auankap, lao.
10. [a] I then came on up
 [b] In a favourable current;
 [c] A current flowing hither
 [d] To Lot Channel
 [e] Of Purepurenijau [Balsam-Tree-Drill]⁹
 [f] But I stepped from
 [g] Namani Paniau [The Harbour of Paniau]
 [h] At Jaukeniau [Waving-of-the-Banyan]
 [i] At Kalauanaiau [Root-of-the-Banyan],
 [j] For it is a land of giants, lao.
11. [a] I then proceeded on downwind of them,
 [b] As they were singing dance songs
 [c] At Naman Takaiior [the Harbour of Shore-Rock],
 [d] At Naman Kuru [the Harbour of Kuru].
 [e] They were praying over
 [f] The kava of Peilam,¹⁰ eh.
 [g] Ijo Nanjau [Noble Lord-of-the-Masters]
 [h] Kept on asking,
 [i] 'Spirit drifting hither,
 [j] 'From where do you come?'
 [k] 'I started at Pali ejēt [Sea-Side?],
 [l] 'At Nanullap's place;
 [m] 'I came from Lañ puek [Cloudy Heaven],¹¹
 [n] 'In the kurukur house,
 [o] 'Went to Paraina;
 [p] 'Lienilañina [Woman-of-Lañina]
 [q] 'Lienkolaem [Woman-of-Kolaem],
 [r] 'Children of Nan Kaon
 [s] 'Were in the hair knot.'¹²
 [t] 'Where is Poloti?
 [u] 'Where is Polota —
 [v] 'The children of Lañina?'
 [w] 'They two are in Naman Ereĸ [Ereĸ Harbour].'¹³ lao.
12. [a] 'I then went on shorewards
 [b] To the Ghostly Harbour
 [c] To the land of Jañaul,
 [d] To Tipuantanuol [Point of Tanuol],¹⁴

- [e] To the place of my god,
 [f] To my lesser god
 [g] And my greater god;
 [h] They wept over me;
 [i] They presented to me
 [j] Their Limatinjet
 [k] I was to katinlopue it;
 [l] I did not want to katinlopue.
 [m] Came along with it,
 [n] Stem, Brittle,¹⁵
 [o] Their foods in Heaven.
 [p] I was to follow the high nobles in eating;
 [q] The sea spume is gone,
 [r] It is already calm, lao.
13. [a] Bring here Lihinair [Brightness (?) of the South]
 [b] He should come and lift it,
 [c] So it might be in Paliejet
 [d] (?) Near the clear sea,
 [e] Baited the ghost,
 [f] Went back out, lao.
14. [a] Lienipataka [Women-of-Teaching]¹⁶
 [b] Hopping,
 [c] Turning,
 [d] Bowing hither,
 [e] Aikikir hither
 [f] Marir of Jauietik [Master of the Small Belly]
 [g] The current of Jauialap [Master of the Large Belly];
 [h] This is what I cried about
 [i] They came on down with me, lao.
15. [a] I went on in
 [b] To Marain Pajon [the Dance Ground of Pajon]¹⁷
 [c] In Lorani;
 [d] They sang loud songs for
 [e] Lienipotakai [Woman-on-the-Rock (?)].
 [f] She was to come look at me
 [g] And was nodding
 [h] For it was her wish, lao.
16. [a] I then came and took possession of
 [b] Eueretik
 [c] And Lipaireue;
 [d] And used to chatter wildly
 [e] And jikejikairoir

- [f] And became exhausted from it;
 [g] But I hated to die
 [h] And went away under pressure, lao.

It is finished.

¹ For a discussion of the metrical pattern of this song see Fischer 1959. In brief the lines generally contain seven moras, with a tendency to accent the odd numbered moras, although syncopated lines are also found. The lines are generally grouped in couplets or triplets, with the end of clauses, phrases or sentences generally coming at the end of a couplet or triplet. The vocabulary and forms are poetic; i.e. there are obscure allusions, obsolete words and elliptical phrasing. Most of the translation should be regarded with some uncertainty, and some lines are simply left untranslated when it is impossible to make even a plausible guess. The general organisation of the song is clear, however, and involves references to a series of mythical and real places which the composer allegedly visited in spirit form. At these places he met with a varying reception, sometimes being welcomed, sometimes treated hostilely or indifferently. The division of the song into sixteen stanzas is Luellen's; but the division of the stanzas into verses is based on metrical considerations in the Ponapean text.

² Mejeniang is the place in Net where the town of Kolonia is now established.

³ A reference, according to an informant, to the allegedly quavering articulation of the Net people.

⁵ This word, which occurs at the end of each stanza, can possibly be translated as 'my good fellow' or another familiar term.

⁶ In Ch. 2.3 an identification, or at least a connection, is suggested between the Creature Clan and the Clan (or Masters) of the South. Luk-of-Heaven is apparently here receiving the spell or fortune of this clan, with which he is in some way identified.

⁹ 'Drill' is said to mean 'whirlpool'.

¹² The element of hiding children or women in one's hair knot is fairly common in Ponapean mythology.

Chapter 65

The story of the beginning of the third period

1. Now the woman¹ who ran away to Uone produced descendants and they became numerous. And those who stayed in Kiti also produced descendants. Now some of these were of high rank because of their high birth, being the children of the nobles. Now a long time passed after the Kiti war, after Kiti fell to the Uone people. This was the time when some of the Lipitan Clan members who were children

of the Nanmarikis received some high titles, until finally they were promoted to Naniken because of their birth.

2. In the year 1852 the rule of God came to Ponape.² At this time there was a man with the personal name of Nanku. Nanku is a state title that is found in all of the states. Now the reason these things³ were done was that these children were respected. And Nanku was born in the year 1810.⁴ This man was one of the descendants of the woman who ran away to Uone, and they were of noble birth.⁵ Now Nanku was born after the war took place between Ononlañ and Kapilañ,⁶ and at that time Master of Part joined together both titles, Master of Part and Nanmariki, and both titles were in Uone. Now the Naniken of that time used to live in Ronkiti, for they made it the Naniken's capital from then on.⁷

3. Eventually when the foreigners became numerous in Ponape the Naniken used to like to have foreigners in his establishment.⁸ He did not care what kind of person, whether white or black, any kind. It was at this time that a small ship (they say a schooner) brought missionaries to Ponape. The name of the missionary was Mijter Jiteijej [Mr Sturges], he and his wife.⁹ The ship came and anchored at Ronkiti. The Naniken quickly welcomed the teacher and established him at Tukenijau. The man then built a house there.

4. When that man started his work of teaching the Ponapeans, there was no one who was favourably inclined toward this behaviour. Now [as to] this kind of teaching behaviour, the Ponapeans at that time did not understand the value of people helping to assist it. And there were very few who concurred with it. One Filipino and his family and certain native Ponapeans wanted to go along with it.¹⁰ Now the minister built a house and a church at Tukenijau. Now at that time foreign goods became numerous in Ponape, and many Ponapeans acquired many kinds of foreign goods, as well as certain kinds of tools — adzes, knives, etc. — and also weapons — guns, etc. There were many large and small firearms and much gunpowder at that time.

5. At that time there was much treachery among all the Ponapeans, such as stealing and killing people. This is how it was: those from one state would go into another state and kill people indiscriminately, men or women, many or few. This thing happened in all the states of Ponape, for they used to fight vendettas among themselves. And there were many people killed uselessly between Kiti and Matolenim. This was why the Naniken of Kiti sent a letter to the Nanmariki of Matolenim which said, 'It is bad for us to kill people without reason; later there will be no people in the states.'

6. So Ijipau [Nanmariki] of Matolenim replied saying, 'It would be better for a war to be held between Kiti and Matolenim than to kill people idly without reason.'¹¹ At that time they had a few supplies for fighting. They had the old-time kind of gun and also some large guns, which were about five or six feet long and twelve inches or more in diameter. And the war developed between Matolenim and Kiti in the reign of Luk en mui u as Nanmariki of Matolenim, while Luk en mui mau ruled Kiti.¹²

7. Nanku was the Naniken of Kiti, and he was the leader of the warriors of Kiti. The Nanaua¹³ of Matolenim was the leader of the Matolenim warriors. This battle took place at sea, by a little island in Matolenim named Nalapenlot [Nalap of Lot]. Now the Kiti people had good luck and beat the Matolenim people. Few escaped from them, and all the war supplies fell into the hands of the Kiti people. The Naniken himself went to a section of Matolenim by the name of Japuerak and killed its inhabitants; afterwards he also went to Lower Lot and devastated Nantiati, and killed its inhabitants.¹⁴

8. Afterwards things became peaceful. This was when the Christian religion came to Ponape, 19 December¹⁵ in the year 1852. At this time Nanku became the Naniken of Kiti in the reign of Luk en mui mau. The Naniken took as his wife a girl of the Jaunant [Masters of Ant subclan], whose name was Meri-An [Mary Ann]. Her father was an Englishman named Jem-Hadly [James Headley]. Her mother's father was a former Nanmariki.¹⁶

9. Eventually the woman became pregnant and gave birth to a boy. They then gave the boy the name of Nankiraunpeinpok, but his grandfather gave him the foreign name of Henry (Enri). He was born in the year 1862. Now this child grew up in the midst of all the important Ponapean customs, but he did not like all the customs and behaviour of Ponape. And his father, the Naniken, passed away. Now before he passed away he deigned to become a Christian through the minister Mr Sturges, an American missionary.

10. After his father the Naniken passed away his noble wife Meri-An had been a widow for a short time, when a new Naniken was installed. This man had the personal name of Nanauanmutok. This man was an aggressive man who was exceedingly cruel. All the people feared him. He also liked foreign liquor. This is what caused his end and he then passed away.¹⁷

1 See Ch. 62.5 for the earlier part of this narrative.

2 The year the Protestant missionaries arrived.

4 This is clearly wrong; other evidence indicates a birth date between 1822 and 1827, the earlier year being the more probable.

⁵ That is, their father was a noble of the line of titles headed by the Nanmariki; apparently the Nanmariki's equivalent in Uone, the Jaukija, is meant.

⁶ See Ch. 60. Ononlang is synonymous with Uone, Kapilang with Kiti proper.

⁷ That is, from the time of the war. Luellen does not make clear, in referring to Nanku and the Naniken, that it was Nanku who held the title of Naniken of Kiti in 1852. Nanku was by all accounts a remarkable personality. The Naniken title is the first title of the second line, the Nanmariki (or 'king') being the first title of the first line and hence superior in position in the other states, but in Kiti Nanku's strength of character caused the Naniken title, while held by him, to be elevated over that of Nanmariki.

⁸ Many of the chiefs in the mid-nineteenth century had foreigners attached to their 'courts' to serve as advisers and interpreters and to handle relations with visiting foreign ships.

⁹ The vessel was the schooner *Caroline*, bringing the missionaries Albert A. Sturges and his wife Susan, Dr Luther H. Gulick and his wife Louisa, and the Hawaiian Berita Kaaikaula and his wife.

¹⁰ The first baptism did not occur until November 1860, when there were 157 converts, among them the Filipino Narcissus Santos, who has many descendants in Kiti today.

¹² Luk en muei u (Luk of the Whole Reign) of Matolenim died in June 1855, according to missionary letters. Luk en muei mau (Luk of the Good Reign) of Kiti apparently died on 1 October 1852.

¹³ The title Nanaua is ranked fifth in the first (the Nanmariki's) line of titles in each of the five states.

¹⁴ The chronology of paras. 5-7 is confusing, but from other accounts we learn that in 1850 Nanku assembled an army from among his followers of nine sections of Kiti. Many were slain and the battle ended in a decisive defeat for Matolenim. However, sporadic skirmishes resumed and on 15 April 1855, Nanku sent a note to the Nanmariki of Matolenim, Luk en muei u (who was to die two months later), challenging him to battle, as he had done five years before. Luk en muei u told L.H. Gulick that he did not want to fight, it was useless, it would serve only to depopulate the island further, and he arranged for Gulick to write a message of peace in reply. The answer from Nanku was that there would henceforth be no more war between Kiti and Matolenim. In consequence of this 'treaty' Nanku became overlord of the Japuerak section of Matolenim, placing the chief of the Kapine section of Kiti in charge. Ch. 82.3 also tells of this settlement.

¹⁵ Actually 6 September.

¹⁶ The name is spelt Hadley by his descendants, among whom is the present Nanmariki of Matolenim. James Headley was a sailor from the *Falcon*, which was wrecked on Ponape in 1836 and plundered by some Matolenim people, led by the then Nanaua. He remained on Ponape as a pilot, took part in the battle of 1850, and died in April 1868. He married a daughter of the Nanmariki of Kiti.

¹⁷ There are many references to Nanaua en Mutok in the missionary letters, none of them flattering. Soon after he took office he burned down the church in Kiti while drunk. 'Horrid butcheries' were committed, he confiscated the missionary premises, and forced women into his harem (D. and L. Crawford 1967: 146 ff.).

*The story of Henry Nanpei*¹

1. After the erstwhile Nanikens had died — they of whom it is told everywhere in Ponape how brave and rich they were, and the like — Henry Nanpei and his mother and their workers, male and female, not very many, lived alone together in a certain place; for they had no friends, since the two of them were not co-operative with those who were fond of the ancient customs of Ponape. They rather preferred the clean customs of enlightened people; this is why they did not wish to attach themselves to anyone else.

2. Eventually the boy Henry Nanpei reached his fifteenth year and decided he would join the school of the religion of Jesus Christ; for at this time the era of God had become established everywhere in Ponape. There was a great congregation in Oa; the great school of Ponape was there, where children of all the congregations assembled, and also children of all the islands outside of Ponape assembled there to attend this school. So Henry Nanpei began to attend this school. And he was not so rich because his two fathers,² men of olden times, were said to have had foreign goods but not much money.

3. Now this man stayed a long time in school because he was slow to become intelligent, but if he once learned something he could never forget it: he learned everything that he was taught. The teaching of that time was less than the intelligence of nowadays. Moreover the goods of that time were not as good as the things of nowadays.

4. But here is what happened to him. He owned more land than all the other Ponapeans, for when his father the Naniken was living he deigned to acquire many pieces of land, some villages and some farmsteads and some low islands that are outside Ponape. The man received these lands for his great work for the state from the Nanmariki of Kiti and his dignitaries.³

Here are the names of the lands that he acquired:⁴

Sections	Farmsteads	Islands
1. Ronkiti	1. Paliapailon	1. Nalap
2. Mant	2. Peikap (Mutok)	2. Ant
3. Puaipuai		
4. Pok		
5. Kapine		
6. Nanpalap		
7. Pantopuk		

5. However, there were many lands that he bought later, paying

money for them, but these [listed above] were from his good service. Now all these things could be done because of his father the Naniken, whose Christian name was Jalomon [Solomon]. He deigned to take pity on all foreigners who hid away [as deserters] from the various ships that appeared at Ponape. This was where he obtained some correct practices toward land and the like. This is why Henry received an inheritance of many lands, for his father acquired papers of agreement about the lands, and this was why all the lands fell to his child Henry Nanpei.⁵

6. Now when Henry Nanpei had spent a long time at the school at Oa he married a girl from the family of a Filipino named Narjijo Tiloj Jantoj [Narcissus Tilos Santos].⁶ He was one of the foreigners who was befriended by the Naniken Jalomon. And the man became a Protestant Christian and became a great teacher in Ponape. Later he became an ordained minister and was in charge of the church at Ronkiti. The name of the girl was Karolain [Caroline], and she was born on 19 January 1858,⁷ and the woman made a family for the two of them. Now Henry Nanpei was well reputed in Ponape as well as in the islands outside Ponape and as far as some of the great lands abroad. The cause of this was that he had great thoughts and he was also filled with good thoughts by his teachers of the religion of God. He became a Protestant Christian who loved God and believed in Jesus Christ and trusted and relied on the name of Jesus Christ, who is the saviour of the whole world.

7. He also helped the Ponapean teachers in the work of their congregations. This is why the nobles and people of all Ponape knew him and believed in him and trusted him in everything, for his kindness to all kinds of people was clear. He was a great man, kind to all without discrimination in his kindness, for he helped them in all times of trouble, but he was not himself a teacher.

8. Concerning his wealth, he was not a man richer than all other Ponapeans, but he was careful of the property that he acquired at various times. But also, for other people there was nothing that would cause money to increase. This is what made it possible for him to have a little money: copra and ivory nuts. These were the only things for making money. Now Henry Nanpei had a little copra from the low island of Ant, which could produce about twenty tons or so. But the copra workers did not pick up all the coconuts from under the trees, and the workers enjoyed drinking the green nuts. And when he sent workers to Ant to make copra he would sell the copra and then he would have to pay them but if they wanted some little things or the like he would give them what they wanted. This was

when he began to make more money.

9. Henry Nanpei did not talk about money or about all the fine goods. I never heard from him this kind of talk.

In the year 1887, on 20 March the Spanish came to Ponape⁸ and made a settlement for themselves in the state of Net on a flat piece of land in Mejenian so that it would become a place for them to live. They then called the place Jantiako [Santiago, now Kolonia]. They placed there two groups of soldiers: 100 Filipino soldiers; while the rest were real Spanish, they were [also] 100. These stayed in the sea aboard a man-of-war that remained anchored (and served as their barracks). The officials wanted the people of all the states to help them clear away the vegetation of Jantiako until it was bare. And at that time there were four⁹ states; this resulted in [there being] 120 people as workers. And they were supposed to bring their own tools and food, and the pay for one day was one peso.

10. Now the Ponapeans did not know the Spanish language. They looked for someone to interpret between the Spanish and the Ponapeans. And the people of the state of U found someone for them, a foreigner named Manuel, while the people of Kiti found a Filipino for themselves named Makarieu [Macario] and also a black man accompanied the two whose name was Kirijtien [Christian].¹⁰ Now there was an agreement for work with the government, that the workers should bring their own food and adzes and knives and the like, while the pay for one day's work was to be one peso in Mexican money. But the interpreters explained to them that their work was not to be paid for.¹¹

11. The Ponapeans worked until the 30th of the month of June, 1887. The workers then became angry at the three men scolding them. They became angry at them and went downwind to Jokaj from Jantiako. The Governor then learned that the workers had departed from Jantiako. The Governor ordered them to return, but they did not want to return. The Governor then deigned to send fifty Filipino soldiers to Jokaj with three Spanish in charge of them, and the interpreter Manuel was the one who guided them. And the Ponapeans killed some of them; those who escaped them were few.¹²

12. These things happened on the first of July. Four days later the Ponapeans killed the Governor and all his officials and destroyed Jantiako and burned up all the buildings and seized much property.¹³

13. After these things had happened all the Ponapeans became afraid. And seven Spanish men-of-war arrived at Ponape. It is said they carried 2000 soldiers and a new Governor who was to replace the

one who had been killed.¹⁴ And the Governor sent word for all the Ponapeans to assemble, for a trial was to be held before the soldiers would destroy Jokaj. So the meeting was held.

14. The Governor then stated that it was not proper for a war to be held, for the people of Jokaj did not comprehend the nature of the things that they had done to the former Governor whom they had killed; that it would be proper first for the Nanmariki of Jokaj to appear before the Governor. But what about this? Who could bring all the nobles of Ponape? They decided that Henry Nanpei would be good [for this purpose]. This is why Henry Nanpei set forth, three people accompanying him, and went to Jokaj.

15. And the Nanmariki of Jokaj accompanied H. Nanpei to Jantiako. And the trial was held, and it was only the person who killed the Governor who should give up his life in return for the life of the Governor, and one man and his younger brother should leave Ponape.¹⁵ This was the beginning of H. Nanpei's great deeds which he accomplished and which led him to receive a great medal. The first one. Later, the officials wanted a fine road to encircle Ponape until it met [its other end].

16. And a certain group started it [the road], there were sixty of them, all were [Spanish] soldiers.¹⁶ They started in Jantiako and came on to Palikir and eventually reached the state of Kiti. They arrived at the place of the Nanmariki of Kiti and requested the Nanmariki to permit them to rest some place. They then made a place to stay near the residence of the Nanmariki.¹⁷ They made a fort there and they stayed there for a year, making the road, going upwind to Japuerak and so forth, eventually reaching Japalap.

17. They then moved on to Matolenim to the section of Oa and also constructed a place to stay there for a while, and a [Catholic] father¹⁸ also was with them, and a brother was also with them. And much argument developed between the father and the Protestants, for the father wanted to build his church, which would block the door of the Protestant church. And the officer in charge of the soldiers conducted the discussions about this and told them that if they didn't give in to the father the soldiers would kill the people of Matolenim.

18. At that time there were two woman missionaries in Oa conducting a girls' school.¹⁹ And the people of Japalap assembled and went to Oa along with the people of Oa and Areu and Kinakap and Alokap. They assembled and agreed to kill the Spanish. And their top leader was Kiraun en Letau; he was a senior man. In the year 1890 the people of Japalap and Animuan killed sixty Spanish

and captured sixty rifles along with all the supplies.²⁰

19. H. Nanpei tried to save all of them but was unable. It was only the father and certain soldiers who escaped from death before this killing took place;²¹ the leader of the soldiers and others died. And this was the second good deed which he accomplished and which magnified his good name. The second. He therefore became more and more well reputed among all the foreigners.

20. The deeds that Kiraun en Letau did brought a great evil to the state of Matolenim. A great war developed in Matolenim. Many people died on account of this war and many foreigners also died. The evil lasted for two years and then things improved. And it was H. Nanpei who carried good [words] between the Ponapeans and the Spanish.²²

21. Later he deigned to take a voyage to the island of Oahu in the Hawaiian Islands. Later he also made a voyage to China and to the city of Hongkong. After this he also made a voyage to the United States, going by way of Japan to Hawaii to California to the city of San Francisco, and again returned to Ponape. After these things on 20 April in the year 1896 another great war was held between the Catholics and Protestants of Ponape.²³

22. In this war the Protestants were the stronger. Many Catholic people died in this war, for it was part of Kiti and part of the state of U and the state of Matolenim against part of the state of U and the state of Jokaj and part of the state of Kiti. The states of Ponape divided evenly: these were the ones that fought among themselves. It was at this time that the Spanish suspected that H. Nanpei had incited this war.

23. The Governor then seized H. Nanpei and put him in a prison and kept him under detention, him and his wife and his children. And this war did not stop. This was why they decided that if Nanpei were freed it might stop the fighting. So they set him free, and he deigned to bear good words between the people of U and the people of Auak.

This was the third of his good deeds (III).

¹ This and the following chapters are written by Luelen in terms of devotion and near fawning adulation of Henry Nanpei. A very different view of Nanpei emerges from reading Hambruch, Fritz and Cabeza Pereiro.

² His real father, Nanku, and his adoptive father, Nanaua en Mutok. See Ch. 65.

⁵ For these 'correct practices' and 'papers of agreement' see Bascom 1965:34. Nanku, the Naniken, made the first breach in the matrilineal rules of land inheritance, although his predecessor had sold land to foreigners. These rules became patrilineal formally with the issue of deeds to land during the German administration.

⁶ There are several references to this man in the Albert Sturges letters and journals at the Houghton Library, dating from 1859 to 1865.

⁸ The dispute between Spain and Germany over the sovereignty of the Caroline Islands was resolved in favour of Spain on October 22, 1885, by Pope Leo XIII, to whom the question had been referred. On July 27, 1886, the Spanish man-of-war *Manila* appeared at Ponape and hoisted the Spanish flag. On March 13, 1887, the Governor of the Eastern Carolines, Captain Posadilla, arrived (Hambruch I:194-7).

⁹ This was during the short period when Net and Jokaj were ruled by a single Nanmariki; hence only four states were reckoned to exist.

¹⁰ Manuel Torres, Christian Barbus and Macario: described as unreliable and unprincipled, and a major cause of the troubles that followed.

¹¹ Manuel Torres and his two accomplices embezzled the money instead.

¹³ The Governor, the Second Lieutenant, and the Doctor were killed.

¹⁴ On October 29, 1887, the new Governor, Don Luis Cardarso, arrived with 700 soldiers and three Spanish men-of-war (Hambruch I:203).

¹⁸ Father Augustin.

¹⁹ Lucy M. Cole and Annette A. Palmer.

²⁰ On June 25, 1890, Lieutenant Porras and 32-5 men were killed at Oa in Matolenim, with most of the forty reinforcements sent from the *Manila* and five soldiers sent from Kiti to Santiago by canoe (Hambruch I:209; Dewar 1892:430; Fritz 1912:24-31).

²¹ Nanpei received a medal for saving the Capuchins in Oa (Hambruch I:221).

²² On 1 September 1890, two Spanish cruisers and two transports arrived at Ponape, with 500 men. Oa was assaulted on 17-19 September and completely destroyed (Hambruch I:211; Dewar 1892:426-30). On 22-3 November the Spanish defeated 500 Ponapeans entrenched at the Kitam Protestant mission station in Matolenim (Hambruch I:222-3). In 1894 there was a new revolt in Matolenim, with indecisive results, although attacks on Spanish parties and the killing of individual soldiers continued until German times, which began in 1899.

²³ Actually 1898. According to Hambruch (I:227-30) this religious war was initiated by the Spanish Governor's acquittal of a Catholic chief, the Jaulik of Auak, on a charge of murder. The acquittal outraged Nanpei and his Protestant 'tools' (as Hambruch calls them). The Catholics of Auak and their allies were twice attacked by Protestant forces, mainly from Muant and Matolenim. The Spanish intervened and Nanpei was arrested as the instigator of the disturbances. The outbreak of the Spanish-American war necessitated the withdrawal of the Spanish ships, and Auak was again attacked and in a perilous situation when the Spanish once more intervened. The American victory over Spain and Germany's purchase of the Caroline Islands brought the fighting to an end.

The story of the Germans

1. The Germans came to Ponape in the year 1899 on 2 October. In the year 1885 the German [first] came to Ponape and raised their German flag, and it is said that the Spanish heard that the Germans had raised their flag on Ponape and they came and took it down and replaced it with the flag of Spain, for supposedly the Spanish had discovered the Carolines first: this was why the flag was taken down.¹ And the Germans went home from Ponape until the year 1899 when they came again and in turn assumed the rule of this group of islands. Now the Ponapeans liked the Germans better than the Spanish. This is what caused it: the German Governor who came to Ponape and began the work of the government was intelligent and knew ways of softening the hearts of ignorant people, for he showed the appearance of a common man to the Ponapeans.²

2. The soldiers of that time were New Guinea people, in all fifty, and there was also a policeman and a doctor.³ And the Governor used to let the nobles hold the trials of Ponapeans by themselves and they would later have a trial before the Governor. But if a major trial arose it would be sent to the colonial administration, while if it was a minor trial the nobles themselves would settle it. For there were two kinds of trials that were subject to law. The first was a major trial, which was difficult for the Ponapeans. The second was a trial that Ponapeans could conduct.

3. One great task was to settle the debts among all the Ponapeans. A second was the work of cultivating the land, planting coconut trees on all farmsteads, ten coconuts per month. Here is how it was: the people of a farmstead would clear land; they would rake over the earth and dig up the stumps of the big trees and burn up all the useless vegetation until it was all gone.

4. Holes were to be made in the earth, one metre broad and one metre deep, nine metres between two coconuts, and ashes from fires and sand from the sea and the decayed stumps of dead trees would all be mixed together and they would fill the hole with it. It is this that the coconut would be planted in. And it was this kind of work that was to be conducted for three years.

5. In the year 1902 a report reached the government at Ponape that three states in the land of Truk had begun a war among themselves, one fighting against two. So the Governor of Ponape instructed Henry Nanpei to go to Truk and set them aright and bring them to Ponape. So Henry Nanpei and a man who accompanied him

went [to Truk] aboard a small man-of-war named the *Quiros*.

6. When the ship arrived in Truk, Henry Nanpei disembarked and went ashore to the one chief and had a discussion with him. Afterwards he went to the other two, and all of them assembled aboard the ship, and they greeted each other aboard the ship. And Henry Nanpei then took them all to Ponape.⁴

7. The Governor rejoiced at these good deeds being facilitated. And it was this which was his fourth good work before God and mankind. The various good works which Henry Nanpei performed were:⁵

- I. Saving the Nanmariki of Jokaj named Raponai from the Spanish.
- II. Saving the father and six soldiers and a medical man and sending them to the man-of-war.
- III. Carrying good words between the Spanish and the people of Matolenim.
- IV. Improving relations among the three chiefs of Truk who were fighting each other.

8. It was all these great good works which he had performed, as well as the many little works which he had performed for various people, which they used to be glad for and serve him well [for]. He also built a store in Ronkiti. The store started in 1890. A Japanese man was selling in it. The name of the man was Seikinejan;⁶ he was the merchant. He deigned to construct a store in order to put in it all the goods which Ponapeans coveted. Such was the way [in which] he liked to help all people in their desires.

9. Henry Nanpei started the Ponapeans wearing trousers, shoes, jackets, hats, and the like, for formerly they used to be ashamed to be in trousers. They also did not know musical notes. And the foreigners who were singing leaders at that time were American teachers.

10. It was also he who began using many boats in Ponape, and he distributed them through sale to certain people who wanted them. And these boats were cheaper than the boats of this era. Some boats were as cheap as 50 pesos, on up to 100 pesos or 150 pesos, for these boats were large.

11. It was also he who first acquired a sewing machine, and also acquired musical instruments, an organ and a gramophone. The Ponapeans really admired the way he could become rich at that time, for copra had a very poor price with the foreigners. The price of copra was really one cent per pound, but if it was Nanpei it would be a little better than this: 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents, 2 cents or 2 cents or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents. This was better.

¹ Though a ship may have arrived on 2 October, the German Governor, von Benningsen, arrived on the 11th and the German flag was hoisted the next day. The reference to a flag-raising in 1885 is to an abortive event on 13 October, which caused the dispute with Spain eventually settled by the Pope (see n. 66.8 and Hambruch I:188, 281).

² Von Benningsen appointed Dr Albert Hahl as Vice-Governor, to be the first German Administrator at Ponape. Hahl stayed a little over two years (Hambruch I:282-4).

³ Fritz (1912:32) describes the police force as consisting of twenty-five Malays from Macassar. In later years Melanesian police-soldiers were brought in, and when the Japanese took over there were 100 Papuan police (Matsuoka 1927:4). The doctor is Dr Friedrich Girschner, the author of several useful papers on Ponape.

⁴ Paras. 5 and 6 refer to Governor Hahl's trip to Truk in January, 1901, to settle local fighting and murders (Hahl 1901:318-21), when Nanpei was of great value to him because of his influence with the Trukese.

⁵ See Ch. 66.

⁶ Sekine San (or Mr Sekine), who began a commercial career in Micronesia in 1889, helped to organise the South Island Company (predecessor of the South Sea Development Company), and in the 1920s was head of the branch office at Truk of the South Sea Trading Company (Keiyosei 1930:27). According to Matsuoka (1927:6) Sekine was in 1914 the Company's representative on Ponape.

Chapter 68

The story of a great typhoon

1. In the period that the Germans were in Ponape a great typhoon came to Ponape in the year 1904, on the 20th of the month of April.¹ This kind of typhoon is called a 'fire of spray', meaning a twisting wind, like this [diagram in original text], which twists about. And there were many people who died because of this wind, for the wind began at about 10 o'clock in the morning and ended by 2 o'clock. And this wind overturned all the large trees.

2. Ponape became completely bare, for there was not a single large tree left. All fell down, as well as the small plants and grass and the like. There was not one house left, all were finished. And all the low islands outside Ponape were destroyed by the typhoon. Many people died from the typhoon on the small lands outside Ponape.

3. In the year 1914 the Japanese arrived on Ponape, on the 5th of the month of October.²

[drawing in original text] A spear, length six feet, 1½ square

inches. Names Katieu or Kaanmant.³ People of olden times used to carry about with them this spear or lance of theirs, because of their spell which became the thing in which they trusted as they went here and there at any time.

[*The spell*]

My Good Spear

What is it that is good? My good spear.
Going far behind me, far in front of me
Going far in front of me, far behind me
My nails are firm, my eyebrow settled
My eyebrows are settled, my nails firm⁴
Jamooli jamol Tole
Jamooli jamol Tole
Jamooli jamol Tole
Jamooli jamol Tole⁵
The great fleet is settled,
the great fleet is established.⁶
So be it

4. This spell was one that the spell-masters of Rakim⁷ used to perform when they went about in another state or the like. When they set forth on a voyage to another state it is said that they would proclaim this over the canoe until it was good. This is the time of their using this spell.

¹ Actually 20 April, 1905.

² Matsuoka (1927:3), who headed the landing party, says the date was 7 October, 1914.

Chapter 69

*The story of the Creature Clan*¹

1. There is a land that is named Air [South] from which the first canoe to come to Ponape came. There is a lagoon beside the land which is called Southern Harbour. The lagoon is full of the kind of sea creature called Likapijino.² It was this kind of creature which gave birth to people, and these people were the beginning of the clan

Masters of the South. And when the lagoon became full of them and they appeared at the surface of the water they then turned into people. Now these people had no land of their own where they could construct their residence.

2. This is why they went here and there looking about for a place to stay. Their name was Masters of the South, and they are the ones who are multiplying around Ponape at this time.

3. It is said that one man of the Masters of the South became sick and died, and they buried him in the earth and eventually a coconut sprouted from his grave and made a coconut palm. This was the beginning of the first coconut tree in the world. And it multiplied in that land and a ripe coconut floated hither from that land, floating here and there in the sea until it reached Ponape and washed ashore in Matolenim.

4. And the Creature Clan and the Foreign Clan argue with each other whose coconut this was. Some say it was theirs and others say it was theirs.³

Finished.

¹ This chapter repeats the identification between the Creature Clan and the Masters of the South that is made in Ch. 2.3; see also n. 64.6. It also introduces the subject of the origin of the coconut to which Luellen reverts in Ch. 79.1 and presents more fully in Ch. 80.

³ This dispute between the two clans is described again in Ch. 79.1.

Chapter 70

[A] Concerning Nantauaj, (meaning) 'Their Place of Speaking'

1. The enclosure of Nantauaj.¹ This fort is large and firm and beautiful and also difficult, and this is the place that they relied on. And they also made a place for mooring their canoes which is very good and beautiful; this is called Nanmolujai.² This enclosure was a fort for war at that time.

2. The person in charge of Nantauaj had the title of Taupon-tauaj. He was their great leader under the authority of the Lord of Teleur. There is a place to store away their fine equipment and also some stone crypts. One is large and some are small.

3. The islands are many which were not finished. It is said they did not have time for it. And some of these islands became the graves of the various holy men. On one of these islands there are slingstones, 333 slingstones, ammunition for the slings of Ijokelekel and his companions. This island is named Iteet [Eels].³ And other islands are holy islands for there are stone structures on them in which there are crypts. It is these islands that are holy islands.

4. And some of these islands are finished but others not. And it is all the islands that were finished on which houses could be erected. Moreover, between all the islands there are channels that are called 'passes'. And some of the passes are large and others small. And of these passes some of them have names and other not. One of these passes is called Mueitenuaiual and another is called Mueit en Kiti [Pass of Kiti].

Here are the names of some of the islands:⁴

1. Tau [*Dahu*, Channel]
2. Pualan [*Pwalahn*, Commotion]
3. Kontarok [*Kondoarok*]
4. Peiniot [*?Pei-n-iod*, ?Sacred Stone Structure of Taro]
5. Ujantau [*Uhse-hn-dau*, Continuation of the Channel]
6. Pulak
7. Peilapalap [*Pehi-Lapalap*, Great Sacred Stone Structure]
8. Peinarih [*Pei-n Ering*, Sacred Stone Structure of the Ripe Coconut]
9. Panior [*Pah-n-i-oar*, Below the Shore]
10. Ponial [*Poh-n-i-al*, Above the Road]
11. Peikap [*Pei-kapw*, New Sacred Stone Structure]
12. Panmuck [*Pah-n Mwek*, Below the Glochidion Tree]
13. Palakap
14. Iteet [*Idehd*, ?(Place of) Eels]
15. Kelepual [*Kel-e-pwel*, ?Earthen Wall]
16. Uajao [*?Wasa-o*, ?The Place]
17. Ponkaim [*Poh-n Kaimw*, Above the Corner]
18. Japaton (Japatil)
19. Jauatpaiti [*Sawad Pei-di*, Jauat Downwind]
20. Jauatpeitak [*Sawad Pei-dak*, Jauat Upwind]
21. Reitipup
22. Palil
23. Nanpulak
24. Peitoo [*?Pei Doh*, ?Far Sacred Stone Structure]
25. Karian [*?Ka-ria-hn*, ?Full of Doom]
26. Nanmolujai [*Nan Mwoaluhsei*]

27. Lukapankarian [*Luk-ep-en Ka-ria-hn*, Middle of Full of Doom]
 28. Lamenkau
 29. Lipuinaak
 30. Panmueit [*Pah-n Mweid*, Below the Pass]
 31. Nanlitaup
 32. Nanleenmok [*Nan Leh-n Mok*, At the Pool of Mok]
 33. Imuinmap [*Imw-in Map*, The End of Map]
 34. Peinmet [*Pei-n Med* or *Pei Med*, Sacred Stone Structure of Met]
 35. Peinkatau [*Pei-n Katau*, Sacred Stone Structure of Kusaie]
5. The island that was named Peinkatau was the one that was [also] named Pankatira. This was the true seat of the great ruler, the Lord of Teleur, the place where he resided at all times and whence all great works began and whence the royal decisions had their source. This was the seat of all the Lords of Teleur in sequence from the beginning of antiquity.

[B] *Song of a Canoe*⁵

1. A canoe set forth
from Jaunalah;
It set forth to go
to Likinlamalam, oh!
For it went to fetch
the Lapanpalikir.
They came and disembarked,
coming on hither;
They ask, 'Where is the crew
of the moored canoe?'
2. Jirintokra,
Muauintok, oh,
Enjij [and] Paire
came along;
For I know not the names
of the others.
They have taken down
the holy canoe,
Pihale [and] Jenale.
ianua⁶
3. *All because iar*⁷
for they have come quickly;
Not those others

- for they have been slow.
 Come and lower
 tuanke for them
 Would be chattering,
 the marks jaulél ko jeu kon
 The two present
 Nanikarak ejét
4. It should be turned face down
 on the outrigger platform
 It then appeared at
 Tolenikatau [the Peak of Kusaie]⁸
 At the Place of No Return⁹
 Utunjatau¹⁰
 Jakara jen ale
 The great mast.¹¹
 Those below do not know,
 for I know not the woman [who] made the sail.
5. She called forth her child
 to use him as a sail
 In order to go quickly
 to Pankatira.
 It was the younger one
 who voyaged yesterday.
 The end of the people
 has arrived, oh;
 Put me away in this era;
 [I am] put away.

[C] *The story of Nankieililmau [the Lady of the Good Lizards]*¹²

A certain lizard [who] used to live in Jokala,¹³ of Jokaj, gave birth to a fine daughter whom the Lord of Teleur observed and coveted, and then took as his queen.

This is the song of the lizard:

1. Come, little Lue,
 Let us divine.
 We two shall divine
 [concerning] our going about.
 Do not go through
 Naniuauniap [In the Valley of Yap],
 Just go on through
 Loñontipel [Above Tipel]
 In the banana grove

- At the bare hill top.
2. A creature of where is this beast
whom they are talking about?
It is a creature of Yap
That they are gossiping about.
It is she who [devours?]
The young men of Yap,
The children of Yap
Kakaia kakajau¹⁴
3. For they do not know
that it is a queen
who slithers in the sea.
It is for this that this narrative
peuki lar
She then went and came ashore
at Imuinkoj [End of Koj]¹⁵
kin peipeikaj
Ma en uilian lao
jemok puki en anter
4. You have arrived;
you have come along the reef
and gone to where?
You have gone on beyond
Pukieniap [Knee of Yap].
What point is it
that you come searching for
off the sacred land,
the small beach
Nantaumokota [In the Channel of Mokota]¹⁶
5. Channel of Jokala
poketo ai kere lol
I have arrived.
Just come searching for
the cliff of Matatar¹⁷
Nakjapual ajañ
goes to Kapijau
and gives birth,
giving birth to
Lijirei [Fire Dart Woman].
6. They two go and possess
the Pil en Puar [the Water of Appearance].¹⁸
Her oil¹⁹ floats away

- to the Lord of Teleur
in Matolenim.
Lujuj²⁰ of Yap,
Uatat of Yap,
for you shall hasten;
Hasten to go
to Pankatira,
7. To the Lord of Teleur
in Matolenim.
She has been waiting eagerly
They two have not returned
Crawl upwind from
under the cliff.
She has gone along with
Lijir [Dart Woman], Limau [Good Woman],
Lielele [Woman of Calm].
They encounter them
as they go forth.
8. [Lizard]: 'You go back,
for I am a beast;
I am hunting for
my two²¹ children
as I go forth,
searching the sections,
searching as I go forth.'
'For you want to go forth,
For you are lonesome,
panpei morepe.'
9. Offshore island of til,
Offshore island of walking.
She then went and made
Taukieil [Lizard Channel],²²
The far deep channel.
[Lizard's daughter]: 'Mother has arrived,
Lord of Teleur.'
[Lord of Teleur]: 'You invite her
into this two-span²³ house.'
10. [Lizard's daughter]: 'It is not enough
for our mother.'
[Lord of Teleur]: 'You invite her
into this eight-span house.'
It was then enough

for the queen
to stretch out in.

Tau eniuoke

[Lord of Teleur]: 'For I shall go to see
our mother.'

11. [Lizard]: 'Do not stare at
the face of your mother-in-law.

Do not burn me up
and kill me.'

The creature of talin Likilañ
has appeared in the distance.

- [D] *The song of a turtle named Lianenjokala*²⁴

1. Jinekie, Jinekia,

They two have set forth.

They were going to go
to Matolenim.

They went and discovered
a great ceremony;
they became covetous [of a cooked dog]
and wanted to eat.

2. They paid for eating
by [giving] their mother.

Lian used to sit there [at home]
and would be making weft-yarn.

She sat in the house
and would weave;
she would sit
and sweat [apprehensively].

3. She used to be suspicious:

'Jinekie, Jinekia
have given me away.

[I will] fold up [my work], put it away [?],
go from it.

I ought to hide a while;
those children are cruel
and have given me away.'

4. She then went and sat

at Kamar Landing, and was sitting there.

The children returned,
arrived after her.

'We shall go and look a bit
for the woman [for whom] we made a deal.'

The two stopped at the place
where she was seated.

5. She was filled with despair
at these, her children.

'You two lift me up
and turn me on my back;
anoint me with turmeric oil,
I must be clean
for Nanjamol [the Lord of Chiefs].'²⁵

6. The canoe has made its turn²⁶
and goes on upwind.
They then disembark
and offer her up.
The Lord of Teleur
is overwhelmed with joy.
'Your ceremony has been blessed.
Lian has joined it'
Fragrance.

[E] *Song of a barracuda*²⁷

1. Naliām grew up
in Nam en kalani [the Harbour of Kalaḥi].
[He] set forth to go to
Matolenim.

He then went and washed ashore
at Lenjapani [the Pool of Japāni].

Liponjapani took pity on him;

Lipeijapani
has gone on beyond
and gone to Kiti.

He then went to Namenjaulaḥi [the Harbour
of Jaulaḥi]

and was stranded at Puaipuai²⁸
and exposed to the sun.

2. The women are setting forth,
they two will go fishing

Joḥ calling

'Come, Lijaproi [Woman facing Roi],
let us two go.'

Lipoproi [Woman Falling at Roi] sets forth,
takes with her the leaf of the dry-land taro.

'Let us go to look at

our fish of vengeance
exposed to the sun,
Jarauanmor [Barracuda of the Land].'

It went to the Harbour
of Jaulahi,
went on beyond
going to Kiti.

3. It then washed ashore
at Jakarapaiti [the Downwind Landing],
going right on to
Leen paaini [Pool of the Coconut Frond],
covered with coconut frond.
This is Jakarpeitak [the Upwind Landing],
this is the lar landing.
The Kirauroi [Keeper of Roi], eh,
sets forth with his canoe.
'You have been turned around,
have gone back out;
return to your land.'
It has been fragrant.

[F] *The song of Lienlama*²⁹

1. Lienlama was born
on the Peak of Jalapuk.
She gave birth to
two children;
the children were playing,
digging in the earth;
[they] dug up some good earth,
earth of the Underworld.
2. Turmeric leaves of the Underworld
were flashing up,
going along the stream,
ascending forth.
The two went and erected
a column of stone
[and] were playing with it.
They gave it its name
of Stone of Heaven.
3. They went and turned up
a japei stone³⁰
and leaped with it

- to Matolenim,
going along the lands
as it went forth.
The two went and built
Nanaimual.
4. [They] set down their lunch,
their provisions for the voyage.
They have arrived
at the lands of Yap.
They go and perform
a powerful spell
[and] ensnare with it
the Stone of Yap;
[they] make it fly forth
[while] the two run beneath it.
5. They then go and set it down
at One Stone.
[They] stop by their lunch,
by their provisions for the trip;
turning them over in the fire [to cook],
[but] they are not [thoroughly] cooked;
they eat a bit from them
and then throw [the rest] away,
6. Hurl it into
the forest of Alokap
and Etienlañ.
It is propagated first
in Matolenim.
They lift down a long stone
[and] sail forth;
they go and hang up
their fine canoe
7. On the Mountain of Land's End
and come down from it,
building up first a high mountain.
Lapoñe is angered at this,
japuata
hurls it down,
returns to his own land.
Fragrance, eh.

[G] *Song of the woman named Liatijap*³¹

1. Would that we two had become
people of antiquity
who spoke with magic power
as they walked about.
Luk was clearing land
at Nanpeinlañ,
was gazing down over
Ponpikalap [On the Great Sand Bank]
at Liatijap's
long tresses
moving about;
[he] put down the Scoop of Heaven
and with it scooped up
Liatijap.
2. He then took her up
to the place of Laiminpei
at Nanpeinlañ.
He has been visiting her secretly,
having a love affair.
[Liatijap]: 'What is it that causes
all the trees
to bend down to the ground?'
[Laiminpei]: 'Katinlañ is here;
we two are dead!
Run and hide
underneath the bowl.'
She then went and uncovered³²
Liatijap.
3. All the dwellers of heaven
have come together,
assembling to see
whether there is no oil
on their hands.
The two have parted,
are no longer married.
He then went to stay
at Nanpeinlañ.
My child, do not cry.
Fragrance, oh.

[H] *Song of Tapau*³³

1. Where is the canoe from
that they gossip about?
Is it a canoe of below [earth]
or a canoe of above [heaven]?
Kaniki en Tapau
[and] Aun Tapau,
they two were at Tapau
doing wondrous things.
2. The two transformed a rock,
made of it a canoe;
took from it a chip,
made of it a bailer;
they made of it a paddle;
made a punting pole.
With it they made a circuit,
round all of Ponape.
3. All the people of heaven
became desirous of it.
They took it up to themselves,
the canoe from below.
It is now above us;
it became complete in heaven.
Fragrance, oh.

[I] *Names of the parts of the canoe:*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Board ³⁴ of canoe | Lipualkit ³⁵ |
| 2. Platform of canoe | Lijaunankit |
| 3. Mast of canoe | Ree |
| 4. Cord [or rope] of canoe | Mool |

The waves under the end of the canoe: Lijapliti

The waves under the end of the outrigger float: Lijaplele

¹ Nantauaj is the most spectacular among the stone structures comprising the so-called ruins of Nanmatol, built of basaltic boulders and prisms in the lagoon off the eastern shore of Matolenim. As Luelen says, it contains a number of crypts.

² This is the space of quiet water between great walls that serve as breakwaters to protect Nantauaj.

³ This is the island where the sacred eel was kept. The so-called slingstones, far fewer than 333 in number, are shown in Plate 6. They are too large for ordinary slings, and Hambruch (III:28) speculates that they were used in a catapult-like machine.

⁴ Hambruch (III:21) gives a list of 130 place names in Nanmatol, many of them names of waterways, lagoons and reefs. About ninety are names of artificial islets.

Only four (Nos 10, 23, 29, and 31) of Luelen's list of thirty-five names cannot be matched with Hambruch's names. The names are not included in the glossary unless they occur again in the manuscript.

5 This song tells elliptically the story of a Lapanpalikir, who had the form of a chicken; the Lord of Teleur sends a canoe to fetch him; the crew transmits the message; the Lapanpalikir is angered at this act of presumption; he goes and kills the Lord of Teleur.

9 Luelen, in Ch. 56.16, calls this place-name a synonym of Pueliko, which is the deep hole that lies between the Underworld and the Third Heaven and is crossed by means of the Twisting Bridge.

12 The song given here is a telescoped version of the story, which is as follows: The Good Lizard goes to visit her daughter; she creates, as she crawls along, various identifiable channels and passages; her son-in-law, the Lord of Teleur, who has never seen her and does not know that she is non-human, prepares a house for her, but it is too small; he prepares bigger and bigger houses until finally one is large enough to fit her, though she fills it completely; he visits her to bring her food; she warns him not to look at her face (Ponape has a mother-in-law avoidance pattern) but he does, is frightened, and sets fire to the house; the daughter realises what is happening, comes running, and leaps into the flames; the Lord of Teleur, out of love for his wife, leaps in after her, and all three perish.

19 That is her body oil.

20 The Lujuj of Yap is a magical, self-propelled boat that obeys verbal orders. It belongs to the Lord of Teleur.

24 The myth on which this song is based is given briefly in Ch. 51.

25 A reference to the sacred eel kept in a pool at the islet of Iteet, in the Nanmatol complex, to which turtles were ceremonially fed by priests.

27 The narrative of this song appears to be part of the cycle related in Chs. 5, 6 and 21.

28 Puaipuai is an inland section of Kiti, and a fish could hardly have been stranded there, but in Ch. 21.2 we are told that it was formerly on the shore. Perhaps Luelen means that Puaipuai's borders once included coastal areas which are now independent sections.

29 This song tells the first part of the Lienlama story; it recapitulates almost word for word the first two and a half paras. of Ch. 24.

31 This song is part of the Luk cycle. The portion given here is quite close to the narrative of Ch. 37.36-46, though in abbreviated form.

32 The song has skipped here the events of Ch. 37.39.

33 Tapau is one of the islets in the Nanmatol cluster.

34 That is the central seat of the canoe. This is the highest ranking seat. It is the place where (in Ch. 50.4) the god Luk sat in the magically suspended canoe and where (in Ch. 54.9) Ijokekel's son, Nalapani, sat when his true identity was revealed.

35 These names in the right-hand column are ancient or esoteric; they are not the common names for canoe parts.

Chapter 71

Part of the First Period

How the ruler's seat at Pankatira was built: this seat of the ruler was built with magic power.¹

1. The name of the seat of the ruler was Pankatira; there were four corners to this ruler's seat. Three stone fitters came from Ponape while one came from Kusaie. These were the four corners: one was named the Corner of Likapar, which was the corner of Matolenim, which the master stone fitter of Matolenim built; and another was the Corner of Peinkatau, which the master stone fitter from Kusaie built.

2. And another was the corner of Kiti, which the master stone fitter of Kiti built; and another was the corner of Jokaj, which the master stone fitter of Jokaj built. And there is no time to tell of the various places in this house which the stone fitters of the other states built. The name of the place to enter the house was Ririn. And the guard of this place of entry had the title of Keuj. Here is what it meant: if the guard discovered a person he would ask his identity. Here is what he would say: keuj, meaning 'Who are you?'

3. There is no time to tell about the lesser entrances to this house. As for the story of the master stone fitter who came from Jokaj, his name was Kiteumanien; it is said that he sailed on a column of stone from Jokaj as his contribution. And when he had sailed on the column of stone they said that his name was Konjai. He then used this column of stone as the foundation for the corner named the Corner of Jokaj. Now the people of Matolenim did not favour him, so he fled to Kiti.

4. The Kiti people then named him Japaltito. He next went back again to Matolenim and the Matolenim people called him Jaujapal. He then returned to the place from which he had come earlier and they gave him the title of Lampuaijok. Now with all of these corners, if one of the corners should be destroyed and fall down the state that built it will be destroyed in an evil time.

And it is twisted, what I am saying.

¹ This chapter is nearly identical with the earlier Ch. 23, and why Luelen should have written it a second time is unknown to us. Perhaps his daughter copied it from some other book Luelen had written, not realising that Ch. 23 covered the same subject.

Chapter 72

The First Period

The story of a man named Lapanuanik

1. There was a man long ago who had the title of Lapanuanik. This man lived in the state of Downwind Uanik. And he wanted to take a trip to the state of Kiti. He therefore went around by way of Matolenim. He then sailed on upwind and looked over toward Matolenim and was astounded at the way the land stuck out into the sea, and there was no place for him to sail.¹

2. He therefore stopped in order to sleep at a place named Panpueiti [Will Sleep]. He had two houses there and their names were Stone Structure of Uanik and Stone Structure of Roi. He moored his canoe at a place called Peitoo. He then went to sleep in a house named Panpueiti, meaning he would not go on downwind to Kiti. He then returned to Uanik. So he went back downwind. But there is no time to tell the various other things he did.

What I am saying is twisted. Let those who know set it straight later.

Concerning the preparation of Ponapean kava:

Concerning the calling of the people who will go to get the hibiscus bark to serve for the fibre wringer: it is said that the person will go and stand in the working area in front of the feast house and will call out. He will stand facing the king post and will call out, saying:

‘Wringer of the reef island, wringer of Heaven

In the cup, in the cut, on the other side

Wringer of the reef island, wringer of Heaven.’²

A spell: the driving back of Ijokelekel³

Ijokelekel go forth; Jaulikinlor and Nanparatak are protected; protection is made firm; protected are three hundred and thirty three men;

some woman or you, Lipanmai [Mother of Ijokelekel];

some man or you, Ijokelekel;

they are to say it should have power;

and I am to say it has power; so be it.

Another one⁴

Mother of protection, father of protection;

Protection of what? Protection of thy legs;

Protection of what? Protection of thy trunk;

Protection of what? Protection of thy arms;

Protection of what? Protection of thy mouth;
 Protection of what? Protection of Molujai;
 Protection of what? Protection of Tauaj;
 Mother of protection, father of protection; so be it.
 (Death) The passing away of Ijokelekel was by Tariak of Kusaie.⁵
 His grave is in Peinkiten [Sacred Stone Structure of Kiten]. But supposedly it is not.
 It is said that they sank him in a small pool which is opposite to Iteet on the side facing the mainland.⁶

¹ That is, the shore of the mainland touched the barrier reef, leaving no room to sail in the lagoon. The reference is to Lot, in southern Matolenim, where the lagoon becomes very narrow and virtually disappears.

² Several variations of these ritual phrases are recorded from various parts of Ponape (see Riesenbergh 1968: 106). They were addressed by the appointed caller to the party that had been despatched to fetch the hibiscus bast.

³ Nanparatak we have encountered before, as the hero of Ch. 48.20; the other man, who is also called Meilor and who is another of the expedition's leaders, seems to be the second of the two men supposedly picked up at Pingelap en route to Ponape (see n. 48.10). These two men, according to some traditions, are leaders of a plot against Ijokelekel during the voyage from Kusaie. Lipanmai we have also met before as Ijokelekel's mother, the old woman impregnated by the Thunder God by magical means.

⁴ This spell was allegedly used by the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan, to which Ijokelekel belonged, in pre-Christian times.

⁶ Peinkiten (Sacred Stone Structure of Kiten) is one of the artificial islets of Nanmatol, built half on the island of Tamon, half in the lagoon.

Chapter 73

The era of the Germans

1. The story of a war which took place in Jokaj on 18 October in the year 1910. Here are the things that brought it about that these things could happen.

2. A state project in the state of Jokaj was to build a state road to encircle it, so that people would be able to walk on good roads at all times; and it was to be the people of Jokaj themselves who would build the roads. The person in charge of the road was a foreigner named Mr Olpon [Hollborn]. The leader of the Ponapeans was

Jaumatonjokaj [Master of the Ocean of Jokaj]. The Ponapeans argued with the foreigner and they were going to fight with him. The Governor heard that the people of Jokaj were angry at Mr Olpon and assembled his officials. The Governor, Secretary, and a surveyor went downwind to settle the dispute so that things would be right. And the people of Jokaj made ready and killed them all. Mr Olpon also died and six people from Truk. Thus Jokaj went astray.¹

3. Now on 20 October all the states of Ponape came together at Kolonia to guard it. And the doctor, his wife, the Governor's wife and the policeman and fifty soldiers were left. Then, two months after they were killed, five men-of-war appeared and began war until over four hundred people of Jokaj fell prisoner to the Germans — men, women, little children, everyone. And over four hundred were jailed and sent off to Yap and Palau.²

The names of those who were killed owing to the war of Jokaj are:³

<i>Their names:</i>	<i>Their titles:</i>
1. Niue	Jaumatonjokaj
2. Toleniap [<i>Dol-en Iap</i> , Yap Peak]	Lapanririn (his brother) [High One of the Gate]
3. Jamuel [Samuel]	Nanauantomara
4. Aronlanenjarak	
5. Lejkemi	Namatonpaniep [Lord of the Sea of Paniep]
6. Pailah	Auntol en paniep (his sororal nephew) [Watchman of the Mountain of Paniep]
7. Lapanjakara	Kaniki en japoon [Steward of Japoon]
8. Lañinjom	Nanit [Lord of the Eels]
9. Jeilañ	Lapanmaton jokaj [High One of the Sea of Jokaj]
10. Parakap [<i>Par-a-kapw</i> , New Year]	Kaniki en tomara [Steward of Tomara]
11. Apaiu	Jaumakan piken iap [Master of the Banana Groves of the Beach of Yap]
12. Maninkatau	Lampuain ijipau
13. Kaunop	
14. Manintokalah	(his sororal nephew)
15. Jaronlah	Nanauan lukapoj

The names of those who were to be killed in Yap were:

	[Title]	[Clan]	[Religion]
1. Jakotalan ¹		Naniak	Catholic
2. Jemei	Nanliken tomara	Naniak	Catholic
3. Uerik	Muarikietik	Creature Clan	Catholic

However, they were not killed; it was said they had no guilt.

Those who were killed were:

	[Name]	[Clan]	[Religion]
1. Niue		Under the Breadfruit Clan	Catholic, Capuchin
2. Toleniap		Under the Breadfruit Clan	Catholic, Capuchin
3. Jamuel		Under the Breadfruit Clan	Protestant, Evangelist
4. Aronlanenjarak		Under the Breadfruit Clan	Catholic
5. Lejkemi		Masters of Kauat	Catholic
6. Pailan ¹		Masters of Kauat	Catholic
7. Lapanjakara		Masters of Kauat	Catholic
8. Laninjor		Masters of Kauat	Catholic
9. Jeilan ¹		Masters of Kauat	Catholic
10. Parakap		Masters of Kauat	Catholic
11. Apaui		Latak	Catholic
12. Maninkatau		Masters of Jamaki	Catholic
13. Kaunop		Creature Clan	Catholic
14. Maninkotalan ¹		Creature Clan	Catholic
15. Jaronlan ¹		Naniak	Catholic

¹ The events of 18 October, 1910, were preceded by a long series of difficulties between the Jokaj people and the German administrators, but the immediate cause was the whipping by black police soldiers of one of the workers for insubordination to the overseer, Hollborn (Luelen's Olpon). Jaumatau of Jokaj, who was Hollborn's subordinate supervisor, met with the eighty workers and they decided on resistance. On 18 October Hollborn, Häfner (a road construction specialist), Secretary Brauckmann and District Administrator Boeder were killed (Hambruch I:301-2; Girschner 1911:127-30).

² About 500 men were sent by Net, U, Matolenim and Kiti to defend Kolonia, as Luelen describes. Dr Girschner, Land Surveyor Dulk, Policemaster Kammerich and Pastor Hagenschmidt were the German defenders, with fifty Melanesian police troops. Warships bringing reinforcements arrived and a series of sieges and battles followed. The approximately 250 Jokaj rebels were gradually hunted down. Jaumatau and his five remaining followers surrendered on 13 February, 1911, and his lieutenant, Samuel, with his followers, on 16 February. Trials were held on 23 February and seventeen men were condemned to death. 426 Jokaj people were exiled in Palau; 109 men went to work in the phosphate mines. The exiles were allowed to return in

Japanese times (Hambruch I:301-8; Girschner 1911:130-1; Kolonialamt 1912:170-2).

³ We are not aware of any published source that gives the names of the condemned men, as Luellen does here.

Chapter 74

*The fall of the state of Matolenim*¹

1. Ijokelekel was the first Nanmariki in Ponape. When the titles were given he was the Nanmariki of Matolenim and his true son was the Naniken of Matolenim. He [the Naniken] became angry at his children and was exiled to Uanik and took rule over them and made it into another state. It then became another state in Ponape; becoming the fourth of the states of Ponape.

[Names of the four states]	[Titles of address of] the Nanmarikis
----------------------------	--

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Matolenim | Uajalapalap |
| 2. U | Jahiro |
| 3. Kiti | Roja |
| 4. Jokaj | Ijoani |

2. Now the new state was Matolenim, but formerly it was Jaunalañ while Uone was Ononlañ. This [Uone] was the seat of the first ranking priest of Ponape [who] used to live there from olden times on. And this priest held the title of Master of Part of Heaven, he who used to conduct worship of the various gods in heaven.

3. And the place of worship, which was called Paler, was in the section of Olapal in Uone.

4. They used to worship their god Nanjapue, who also has the title of Taukatau. And the gods above the lands of the world whom they worshipped were high gods [who lived] above the world.

5. But there was one god greater than all these whose appellation no one knew; there was no one who knew his appellation in heaven or [in the sky] under heaven or on earth below, or under the earth or under the sea. And his seat was in the Third Heaven; this is the seat of the high one.

6. Now Master of Part was the greatest priest of all Ponape. There were many other priests in Ponape in all the states. And their

performances of ceremonies differed from each other, for the other priests used to worship certain spirits of below [i.e., on earth] and certain holy men of olden times who had died long ago. And priests like this were lesser, not like the Master of Part. There was yet another kind which was greater than the others; they used to perform ceremonies for primal gods, but for certain lesser primal gods which did not have so much supernatural power.

7. In the third era they had Nanmarikis, and also their lesser officials to help the various great rulers in their states. There were state titles and also section titles, and titles for officials in charge of certain work, and also titles for their priests. And these titles were not similar, for it was their work that made them; this is what differentiated them.

8. And the high priests were the highest ministers, while the lesser priests were like the deacons; these were the Laiap.²

9. The days of the holy week. The counting of the holy days. These days were called Kampa. And they also had a counting of years.³

Here are [the names of] the days which they regarded as holy:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1. The first | Jaḥkenkomoni |
| 2. The second | Jaḥkenkomona |
| 3. The third | Leleti [Restriction] |
| 4. The fourth | Leleta [Releasing] |
| 5. The fifth | Paitale [Farming?] |
| 6. The sixth | Kakuniai [<i>Koakuniei</i> ,
Putting out the fires] |
| 7. The seventh | Tarir [Rest] |

10. In Kampa nothing should be done; no work nor songs nor any kind of noise should be made; there was no fishing or the like. It was a great fast.

¹ This chapter is largely repetitious of earlier ones.

³ Luelen seems to say here quite clearly that the priests numbered the years. We know of no other statement to this effect. If there was indeed some sort of calendar it has vanished, along with the cults and priests. The list of seven days must almost certainly be an adaptation of the Western week, particularly since the seventh day is given as a day of rest. Further, seven is not a significant number on Ponape, the ritual number being four. We can only speculate on a possible European source. There was a Picpus missionary, Father Désiré Maigret, on Ponape in 1838. But he lived on Na, off Matolenim, not in Uone; he stayed only seven months and made no converts. Perhaps we have to do with an early unrecorded visit: Gulick (1857:59), Hambruch (I:4), Wawn (MS, 1872) and Christian (1899:217) mention relics or traditions of supposedly Spanish visitors or castaways.

Chapter 75

The story of the state of Matolenim in the third era

1. The state of Matolenim was a strong state in Ponape. They were clever and fortunate in all things. They were also brave and strong in fighting. On certain occasions they organised fleets and went completely around Ponape. These kinds of things were all easy for them.

2. But this was another great task for Ponapeans: they used to like to go into another state and kill people for no good reason at times. This evil activity began at the time when the states of Ponape became divided, and the people of the various states developed feelings of separatism and were no longer friendly with each other. And the people of one state would go and secretly rob people of another state and kill them and flee. And the people of the state whose people had died would in turn respond, so that it would be just the way the others did. And this sort of thing used to develop all the time in Ponape.

Chapter 76

The diviners

1. There were Ponapean diviners. These people used to dream when they were sleeping on various nights, and they would then tell certain people these [dreams] and these would become a story. And at certain times they would spontaneously think up something from their belly,¹ and would make this into a story. But at other times they would observe how the stars were in the heavens, and how the clouds moved here and there in the heavens; they would estimate from these that something would be done, or also the things that would *fail*² and not succeed.

2. All these kinds of diviners were all over Ponape.

¹ Less literally 'mind', i.e. they would imagine certain things while awake.

Chapter 77

A certain diviner

1. It was said that there was a certain man in Kiti long ago; he lived in that state before there were any foreigners in Ponape. Reportedly he dreamed that he went abroad to a certain land, a splendid land in which there were many people. And moreover their houses were very strong and large as well as tall. Their vessels were large but lacked outriggers. The mast was very huge; a few people could not erect one of those masts by themselves. And one person [alone] could not sail this vessel for it was too big; a hundred or more than a hundred would be able to sail it.

2. There were also some people who had supernatural powers, for they were strong by virtue of their spells which gave them the name of 'holy ones'. They regarded such work highly for this was their salvation; this was what helped their work. Some of these spells were good; but some spells were bad, things to destroy people or destroy land or spoil various occasions. With some of these spells all the crops would stop bearing, or the various fish in the sea would stop coming up on the reef.

3. Or one person would not kill another, or a plot of land would recover its fertility, or cause or prevent something which would destroy our livelihood.¹ And it was this kind of spell in which the Ponapeans used to put their faith above all; this kind of faith was greater than their faith in all other things. And they also had medicine, medicine for all kinds of sickness, but not only for sickness, but for everything: if something was broken or the like some medicine was good for it.²

4. Now these two things, spells and medicines, would reinforce each other. This is what the Ponapeans used to regard as effective.

5. Moreover, certain states would engage in battle against other states, and also certain sections would engage in battle against other sections, and their spells would aid them.

¹ In this passage both good and bad effects of various spells are mixed together.

² In this particular context *uini* (*wini*), translated throughout the sentence as 'medicine', could alternatively be 'magic'. However, the most common kind of *uini* is medicinal.

Chapter 78

Service (work for the rulers)

1. And here is something else that occurred in Ponape, in all the states: the people of all the states used to serve their ruler, the Nanmariki. They used to serve them with little products. Here is what it meant: their tribute to the rulers for their land. And also with the crops from their lands; and also with work for them. Here is the way it was done, during a year feasts were held. And if it was in the breadfruit season the people of the various lands would give the Nanmariki breadfruit:

2. To the Nanmariki: I. First of the breadfruit
- II. Feast of breadfruit
- III. Lili [breadfruit pudding with coconut cream]
- IV. Oven of the remainder of the breadfruit

And if it was in the winter, during the time when the fruit of the breadfruit were finished, they would then instead give to the Nanmariki part of their work at gardening, such as yams and the like.

- To the Nanmariki: I. Cutting [?] yams
- II. Grating [yams]
 - III. Oven of the leaf of the basket
 - IV. Putting an end to winter¹

3. These things were done in feasts, but here is what was more important than anything else: that they should join in battle when battles would be held. Here is what would happen at various times: these kinds of service and tribute from the land were called 'work'. There were two kinds of work. Their names were:

Lesser work (meaning) I will join the battle, live or die.
Greater work (meaning) I will work for the Nanmariki with food and the like.²

4. These kinds of work were pay for our good life under the authority of the high ruler of the state. And here is another thing that used to be done in olden times. The people of the various sections would assemble at the place of their section chief to discuss and agree upon a place to fight their opponents. Here is how it would be: they would look for a mountain peak, which would be high, and [too] formidable to fall into the hands of their enemies.

5. They would then prepare a fort there and make the place difficult of access, so that their enemies would not be able to climb

up there easily. And they would then send word to another state to come fight them and try to destroy the place if they were able. And if the ones that came were strong and captured it and killed all the people of the fort they would take possession of the fort instead. This was called 'seizing land'.

6. They also used to make canoes and sails and mats and the like, and twine and strips of woven cloth and the like. They would then sell these to whoever wanted them. Another thing, if they got sick at certain times, they would look for a person who knew a medicine for that kind of sickness to come and given them medicine.

7. And here is the way of payment for medicine: they did not set the price of the medicine, but they performed the sort of payment known as 'medical presentation',³ many goods that they would present to the master of medicine. This kind of payment was large, since medicine and spells were both performed over the sick person.

8. And if a person died they would bury him in a place which was good for him to be buried in; this was done like this in all the states of Ponape except that Uone in the state of Kiti was different, for their graves had a way that was correct; it was like this: the graves of people who had died should not be close to the places which they cultivated; if one or two sections jointly used a single burial place the burial would be far from their places of residence.⁴

9. But concerning the Masters of Part, their graves were in the section of Ononmakot, at a place called Ninlepuel [At the Taro Swamp].⁵ When the Master of Part passed away he would be buried at night, so that the common people would not know about it. And they would take the bones of the Masters of Part from their graves, and they would then make a sacred stone structure and deposit there the bones of the ghosts [i.e., bones of the dead]. They would then consecrate that place and it would become a place of worship. Such were their doings of olden times.

¹ The eight feasts listed here are not a complete inventory of Ponapean feasting around the calendar. A fuller list and descriptions of each occasion are given in Riesenberg 1968:77-90.

² It might seem to the Western reader that the definitions of greater and lesser work should be reversed; but Luelen's definitions are in accord with those given by other Ponapeans. Probably the reference is not to the relative worth of the service but to the period of their duration. Furthermore, Ponapeans viewed war, which was rarely very bloody in pre-contact times, as a species of entertainment and an exhibition of manly sport. Both forms of service resulted in promotion in the hierarchy of titles, as greater work still does, but lesser work produced more rapid progress.

³ A term used only for payment for the services of a medical practitioner. Other terms are used for payment for other kinds of service.

⁴ Informants have denied that Uone had distinct burial practices, stating that throughout Ponape every section, or sometimes two together, would have a cemetery. These were distinct from the stone structures and chambers in which the nobles were buried, as described in the next paragraph; these structures still exist but are no longer used.

Chapter 79

The story of the coconut; concerning the coconut tree

1. The coconut was not originally a Ponapean tree. This is why it is not abundant in the forests of Ponape or on the mountains. This tree sprouted up from the grave of a certain dead person and was then propagated. And when it arrived on Ponape it floated hither on the sea in the second era and first came to Matolenim. And it is said that the dead person from whom the coconut sprouted was a relative of the Masters of the South. And he also had a brother, who was a member of the Foreign Clan, but the two were brought together by adoption by a single father and mother.¹

2. The coconut then reached Matolenim and made Tauenariñ [Coconut Channel].² Now the coconut arrived on Ponape before the foreigners³ had reached Ponape. And this fruit is very useful to all the people of Ponape. When this fruit is planted in the earth they give it the name of 'Ripe Coconut' and when it has begun to sprout it is called 'Sprouted Coconut', while once it has been planted and sprouted and grown for perhaps two years or so it will be called 'New Coconut'. And when it finally has borne fruit they say that it 'has become mature', while when it produces a flower bud and blooms and little immature nuts are on the stalk, and it finally gets bigger than this, it is called 'Drinking Nut'.

3. Drinking coconuts can already be eaten by people, for there is a liquid inside which is very delicious to consume, while the meat of the drinking nut is also good to eat. And when the flower stalk appears from the trunk of the coconut tree they make from it 'coconut toddy'. This is a foreign practice.⁴ They cut the flower stalk with a sharp knife and they then place a bottle under the end of the flower stalk where the knife has cut it, so that the liquid from the flower stalk will drip into the bottle. Now this liquid is very sticky.

People then take the liquid and put it in a large iron pot and they then heat it over a fire and boil it, and its sweat [distillation] will then drip down into a bottle and become foreign liquor, much stronger than Joju⁵ and the like.

4. Now when people would consume drinking nuts they would save the husk of the nut for they would bury it at the shore [until it became retted] to produce coconut fibre, for making twine for building houses or lashing canoes and the like. This was a kind of goods that was valuable for them. They also called drinking nuts *kaki*, for instance 'sweet *kaki*' or 'delicious *kaki*' and the like. And when the drinking nut had become dry [i.e., ripe] they said that it was 'heavenly *kaki*'. And if it had started to sprout before it fell they said it was 'sprouted coconut of heaven' or 'sprouted *kaki* nut of heaven'. And if it fell they said '*kaki*-down' or 'earth *kaki*'. And another name of the drinking nut was *peen*, while when it had dried out it became *muahaj* or *arih* ['ripe coconut']. Now when we look at all coconuts and ask how they are, we will find that all coconuts have the appearance of the body of a person, which has a belly and also the appearance of a backbone and also has a mouth.

5. And if people husk the ripe coconut we will then confirm the nature of its appearance, for indeed it will become just like a person, since it has a mouth and holes for eyes and browridges. It also has a little nose. There is a thread on the centre of the back which is called 'thread of heaven'.⁶ Now if the coconut is cut into two halves [transversely] the face half of the nut is called 'front *kaki*' and bottom half is called 'back *kaki*'. The empty shell is used for a cup for Ponapean kava, while the meat of the coconut is indeed important for them for it is part of all their important foods and also made their hair oil and the like.

6. When the flower stalk dried it would make a torch with which they could walk about at night, and the like. The young coconut leaves would be made into fibre kilts for all men to wear. And when the palm frond became mature it would make a basket for storing their fine goods and also a basket for storing their stores of food which were the remains of their meals. The name of that [second] basket was 'climbing basket'. The central ribs of the leaflets would make a broom for sweeping houses. When the frond dried it would become a torch; with it they did their torch-fishing, a way of catching fish at night when the tide is low and the night dark.

7. The trunk of a coconut tree would form the substance of their spears for aiding them in their fighting with each other. From the coconut tree would come many good medicines. Moreover, from the

palm frond — this is the container [for food] for the stone oven; they make a leaf basket from it to contain food, for it is this which has honour in it for the chiefs, but not the leaves of other trees. So the coconut tree is more important than all the other trees that are on Ponape. And it is also a tree for making peace in the hearts of the chiefs when they are annoyed at their people.⁷ This is when they will take a green coconut and put it in a small leaf basket which is tiny, not very large, which is just the size for one or two green coconuts to be in it; they will then take it to those who are annoyed and apologise to them, so they will feel well disposed. Here is the way to make formal apology: they would before making apology first search for a person suitable to bear peace between the chiefs and commoners; if it were one of the First of the Land then a Royal Child would be suitable to bear peace, but if a Royal Child was the one who had become annoyed then a Royal Man would bear peace between them.⁸

8. Concerning the carrying of the green coconut, the man who bears peace will take the nut and a knife which will slice off the bottom of the nut.⁹ Then he will ceremonially present it to the chief.¹⁰ He will then beg him to drink¹¹ (meaning 'to ask'). You will then give it to him to drink a little of it; you will then know that his feelings toward you have improved. Such is the custom of formal apology.

9. From the palm frond [they] also make fine fans, beautiful indeed, and fine, beautiful hats¹² which cost very much and many other things, such as splendid little mats and the like. There are many kinds of work that the coconut tree does for all the people. And it was in this foreign period that we first learned that it is of great use for the people of the whole world. So this tree is more useful than all the other trees of Ponape; but it is not only for the Ponapeans, for it has brought success to all the farm plots on this side of the sea and all honoured work begins with the coconut tree.

10. Also at the time of feasts and the like they use drinking coconuts as the 'water of the stone oven'¹³ or they use ripe coconuts as payment for fish. And another important thing, this is what all the foreigners want to buy from this group of islands and take to the lands abroad and sell here and there to all the lands abroad, bringing very abundant money.

There are many uses which I have not recited. What are they all? Now this is not the direct story, for what I say has glanced off it, but let those who know hear later and set this story straight.

¹ This paragraph recapitulates Chs. 69 and 80.

³ Meaning Europeans.

⁴ Sour toddy is said to have been introduced to Ponape from the Gilbert Islands, together with its name: jikalui. The practice of distilling was apparently begun about 1836 by Captain Charles H. Hart, also known as 'Bloody Hart' from his massacre of the entire male population of Ngatik Atoll in 1837 (Riesenberg 1966:11).

⁵ Distilled spirits from sweet potatoes, sugarcane, etc. Japanese *shōchū*.

⁶ On a husked coconut the surface of the shell is divided into three sections by as many ridges. One is wider than the others and called the front, the others being considered as the back. The ridge dividing the two smaller sections is the 'centre of the back'. A fibre remains along each ridge: the one on the 'centre of the back' being the 'thread of heaven'. The ridges converge at each end of the nut; in each section, close to the point of convergence is a depression; the one in the wider section is called the mouth, the others being the eyes, and the actual place of convergence, a raised area between the three depressions, is the nose. The browridges lie over the eyes. Coconuts are always planted with the thread of heaven up and the mouth down. When the nut is cut transversely to produce two drinking vessels the half containing the 'face' is the 'front kaki' and the other the 'back kaki'.

⁷ This refers to bringing green drinking coconuts to the chiefs along with kava and sugarcane when making a formal apology to them.

⁸ The Royal Men constitute one of the two lines of state title-holders, the line in which the Nanmariki holds the highest title. In theory, but not always in practice, the higher titles of the line belong to the men of a single subclan and the titles are given out roughly in accordance with the rules of clan seniority. The Royal Children comprise the second line of state title-holders, in which the Naniken is the highest. In theory again these are children of Royal Men. Actually, in former times men of one line supposedly married only women of the other, so that a titled man of either line would find both his father and son in the opposite line. This pattern of marriage is nowadays held as the ideal, but seldom followed. The expression Royal Men is heard much more rarely than Royal Children. First of the Land, which is more commonly used, was apparently once synonymous with Royal Men but nowadays has various extensions, and is often used for 'chief' in general (see Riesenberg 1968 for a detailed discussion). The titled men of the two lines perform reciprocal functions for one another. A title-holder cannot approach an offended chief unless he is in the opposite line, as Luellen says.

⁹ This refers to a special way of opening a young coconut for drinking.

¹⁰ 'Present' refers to the special posture and attitude an attendant assumes before the man whom he is serving.

¹² Evidently referring to hats made on the model of imported Panama hats.

¹³ In the absence of kava, drinking coconuts are a suitable beverage to accompany food cooked in the stone oven.

Chapter 80

The beginning of the story of the coconut tree

1. There is a land in the south whose inhabitants came to Ponape and populated it in olden times. It is said that there is a lagoon on the northeast shore of this land which is quite near the land in which the sea creature Likapijino¹ used to reproduce and was most abundant. Now when they became numerous they eventually appeared at the surface of the water, since they had become so many [and filled up the water below]. Those which gave birth at the surface of the water bore some little boys and girls. And the true inhabitants of the land discovered them and adopted them. And when they grew numerous they married among themselves or also married the natives of the land until they multiplied in that land. But they had no land of their own in which to be able to clear and plant food crops.

2. The sea creature Likapijino is large and long and also full of breasts like the breasts of women.² There are some in Ponape but they are not too numerous with us. But there are many with them [in the land of the south]. We do not know the name of this land, but we do know that it is to the south of us. We call it 'South' because it is to the south of us. Now when the natives of that land made some food for themselves, such as a feast or the like, they would give them something, but they would then pay those others.³

3. Now there was a couple in that land who had two children, a boy and a girl. The boy's name was Jaujamtakeria. He was a weak boy, reportedly sick with yaws and did not work at any time. His father used always to feel bad about him for there was no longer anything with which they could repay fish and the like which they ate at various times.⁴ So the sick boy was dissatisfied with [the fact that] he and his sister were of no use to their father and mother. But after they already had these children they also adopted a boy of the Foreign Clan named Kanikienjamtakeria to take the place of Jaujamtakeria, since he would probably soon die because he was sick.

4. Some ripe coconuts of Jaujamtakeria were stored in the purlins of their house. He put them there when he was going to die. He then left instructions with his father that when he had died they should bury him in a grave and set down his coconuts at the head of the grave. Eventually the boy got worse and died. So the family buried him along with his coconuts. And here is a little thing he took pains to leave instructions about: when the coconut had sprouted and borne fruit it would be for the Foreign Clan boy to eat and to use for anointing. Now the Foreign Clan boy had the name of Lakam, while

the children's mother was of the Masters of the South and their father was of the Foreign Clan. Now that boy [Jaujamtakeria] died, and the coconut sprouted and became a coconut tree, and at that time that girl became pregnant and gave birth to a litter of dogs. And one day the man went to the other children's place. He went and entered where they were and asked the girl, 'How are you?' The woman answered, 'I have given birth to some puppies.' The man said, 'Well, where are they?' The woman answered, 'They are hiding in the stone foundation of the house.' So the man looked down beneath the door and clucked together the little group of dogs [i.e., called them together by clucking] and they squeezed out from the foundation and sat together, turning their faces to the sky and all howled. The man then felt tenderly toward them.⁵

¹ This creature, a sea-cucumber (or beche-de-mer), has already been introduced to us in Chs. 60.2 and 69.1. Its connection with a Land of the South, its ancestry to the Masters of the South, and the identity of the Masters of the South and the Creature Clan, alluded to here, have been the subjects of Ch. 2.3.

² This refers to the knobs or bumps on the skin of these animals.

³ That is the landless descendants of the sea-cucumbers were under obligation to repay the owners of the land for the food received from it.

⁴ It is customary in Ponape for fishermen to share their catch with other members of the community. Those receiving fish are supposed to repay it with a return gift of staple vegetable food to be eaten with the fish.

⁵ The story is said to be unfinished.

Chapter 81

The way coconuts are propagated

1. The coconut must be picked and hung up on a tree or a drying platform which will be made, the nuts being arranged on top of it; finally they sprout and will then be planted; and that's that.

1. Concerning drinking nuts

Sweet kaki. Its liquid is sticky and good to drink, and it is also a great help for relations between nobles and people, for it is

Ripe coconut	Ripe kaki	what the people may use to make apology with to the nobles. ¹
	Heavenly kaki	The coconut when it is in the tree and has not yet fallen down.
	Kaki-sprouted-in-Heaven	The sprouting of the coconut in the tree.
	Kaki-down	The falling of the coconut to the ground.
	Sprouted kaki	The coconut sprouting on the ground.
	Desired kaki	Coconut for food. People will desire it, saying, 'Give me a little to eat'.
	Front kaki	The face side of the coconut.
	Kakipuen	The bottom half of the nut.
Coconut leaflet	Heavenly thread	This thread is on the back ridge of the nut.
	Coconut leaflet	All men's fibre kilts are made from coconut leaflets.
Coconut frond	Kiam ²	A thing to put food and the like into; [there are] many other jobs which it is good for doing.
	Ilail ³	A thing in which to put pounded breadfruit and the like.
	Thatching ⁴ houses and the like	A thing for making shelter at certain times.
	Kelek ⁵	For containing things at certain times.
	Kopou ⁶	Climbing basket; for containing food, containing little things.
	Hat	People may be shaded from the sun.
	Mat	Mat to sleep on.
	Torch	For fishing on dark nights.

Ribs of leaflets of palm frond	Broom	For sweeping house and also medicine for rats [to prevent them from] biting fishnets and the like.
Flower-stalk	Make palm toddy with it.	Make palm toddy with it and also foreign liquor with it, very strong, just like Scotch whiskey or the like.
Eyeshade	Hat	Hat for fishermen so they can see well at sea.
String	Husks	Husks of drinking coconuts which people soak in water until soft; they then wash out the dirt and expose in the sun until dry; they then roll it and make of it twine for making house, canoes, or the like.
Trunk of the tree	Spear	Their equipment for fighting and battle and the like.
	Medicine	Many good medicines that the tree does [provide] for people.
Coconut oil	Coconut oil	From the coconut. Fine oil comes from within it. When it is not cooked it is good for eating in lili ⁷ or in boiled ⁸ food or the like. This oil is important for the people of Ponape.
Empty coconut shell	Coconut shell	An empty coconut shell is the cup for kava.
Patenlaji [eel basket]	Kopou en Katau [basket of Kusaie]	This kind of basket was made by the people of Kusaie and such places; and this basket caught the stone in which Muajanpatol ⁹ was.
Kemeui	Kopou	It was this kind of basket

that went with Lapan-
mor's canoe and brought
the feather of the
Tiripeijo bird.¹⁰

Stories of the coconut tree are important for all us dark people, for its usefulness is great for us and our clansmates, and it continues always.

¹ In the formal apology, presentation of kava is far more important than coconuts or anything else. Luelen's failure to mention it may be due to his being a Protestant at a time when church members were not supposed to use it.

² A coconut leaf basket, loosely plaited. It is quickly made, and discarded after one or two uses.

³ A flattish tray, made only for the dish of pounded breadfruit known as lili.

⁴ Thatching is far more often made of ivory nut palm leaves than coconut.

⁵ A kind of basket even less permanent than the kiam, but bigger.

⁶ A general term for carefully made and more permanent baskets.

⁷ Pounded breadfruit (sometimes other starches) with coconut cream over it.

⁸ Ainpot, from the English 'iron pot'. There was no native word for boiling, which was little used, if at all, before métal utensils were introduced.

⁹ Ch. 44 tells the story of Muajanpatol, although the incident of the basket is not mentioned in that version.

¹⁰ As told in Ch. 33.

Chapter 82

In olden times, in the reign of Nanku, who was Naniken of Kiti, a man from abroad lived in Upper Lot. Reportedly he was an American named Kapteinpij [Captain Pease].¹ He made his dwelling there; he made a foreign-style house at that place, which had board floors and walls, and the windows were set with glass.²

1. During the reign of Nanku who had the Christian name of Solomon — he was the Naniken of Kiti — when he learned that there was a certain house in Lot he deigned to conceive a liking for it and bought it from that man and took it to Ronkiti and set it up there and made it the seat of the Naniken of Kiti. And at the time when he was about to get the house, he assembled all his clansmates and they went and got the house. The man who was the leader of all of them

had a cane which had a sword within it.

2. This sort of cane was startling to the people of that time, for there were few foreign goods at that time. And the house was moved and erected on a mountain in Ronkiti named Pommoli [Above the Boulders], for he had one residence below there at a place named Poreti, but this house received the name of Ponpeimajak [Ponape is Afraid].³ And the house at Pommoli was standing and completed. This house was honoured and very fearsome, because of the fear of them which was on all the people, and also because of their boldness. And this house was indeed fearsome, for some primal gods also lived with them⁴ in it.

3. And after the war of Kiti and Matolenim had been held⁵ these states made an agreement among themselves that they would be brothers forever. Here is how it was: a sleeping mat was spread out and the nobles then sat together on it and made this agreement. They made a true sign of their agreement; this is it: 'The Nai-iken of Kiti should hold the section of Japuerak under the Ijipau [Nan-mariki] of Matolenim; just one man would be in charge of these lands: Japuerak and Kapine in Uone.' So the Jaulik of Japuerak is also Jaulik of Kapine. And this sign still exists to the present day.⁶

4. When Kapteinpij was in Lot he had many cows. This was the first time Ponapeans had seen such creatures. There were not many people who went to Upper Lot, for they were afraid of the cows.

5. A pair of sisters lived in Matolenim. The elder lived in Tamon, while the younger lived in Lower Lot. The woman of Tamon gave birth, and her eldest was the Uajai⁷ of Matolenim, while her next younger was the Nanaua⁸ of Matolenim, and there were also some others. And the younger [woman] gave birth and had a strong son whose title was Aunjapauaj and all his siblings. And this family used to live at Lohtakai [Stone Canoe-Supports] in the section of Nantamoroi.⁹ And the younger made a voyage of homesickness upwind to Tamon to see her sister. And she stayed with her for a little while, but one day they got into an argument and the elder became enraged at the younger and chased her out of Tamon and said to her [tauntingly] that she had no sons. The woman went in tears back downwind to Lot.

6. It then happened that the woman informed her son Aunjapauaj and he was angry about it. Now one day Nanaua wanted to take a trip to see Aunjapauaj. So he prepared an oven of food for provisions at dawn, rising early. And when they reached Nanmailap¹⁰ his highness the Nanaua became hungry and took forth a ripe [cooked] breadfruit from one of the food baskets. And he split it

in order to consume it, but when it was split open blood came forth¹¹ from the breadfruit. So he put the breadfruit back into the basket. They went on to Nanlikop in Upper Lot. They finally arrived at Lohtakai. As they reached the place they saw an unlit oven¹² which had as firewood green wood and pieces of banana trunks and the like.

7. And none of the men of the land were there, only the wife of Aunjapauaj was guarding the house. The rest were not there because they had gone to dig up kava. His highness the Nanaua then asked the wife of Aunjapauaj if there was not something in her husband's food basket. The woman then gave him another ripe breadfruit. He then split it open in order to partake of it, and again there was blood in it, so he put it back in the food basket. A little later those who had gone to get kava appeared and came and pounded their kava. And later Aunjapauaj appeared and came and filled the leading kava stone, in a hole in the [platform] floor, and Nanaua was facing down from the wall.¹³ And the man simply started to pound his kava stone and suddenly faced Nanaua and stabbed his kava pounder at the countenance of the other, and it struck his forehead and crushed it in. He then collapsed and died.

8. They then killed Nanaua and all the rest. Only one small boy¹⁴ escaped from this slaughter. His head was wounded but he did not die. He then ran off into the forest of Uapar and hid there all night until day dawned. He then got to Leeak [Mangrove Pool]. He went there and the Uajai and his companions were digging a pit for preserved breadfruit. The Uajai saw the boy and burst into tears because of it, and it spoiled their digging of the pit *at Mutoketik and it fell in*.¹⁵ They then wept over his highness the Nanaua. And the Uone people came and carried off the body of his highness the Nanaua and took it to Uone and burned it there. The Uajai wept over his brother for a long time and would not cease.

9. There was a man who owned the little island of Nakap in Matolenim. This man was a clan relative of the Nanmariki of Kiti. It was he whom the Nanmariki [of Matolenim] and the Uajai sent to Uone to go bring back the body of his highness the Nanaua to Matolenim. He then set forth, going outside the reef, for the tide was low. He raised his sail and went on downwind and looked out over Uone and caught sight of some smoke which rose from over Ononmakot. He then said, 'Let us return, for the Uone people have probably burned up that man.' So they returned upwind to Matolenim.

10. Some days after they had attacked his highness the Nanaua at

Lohtakai the Uajai of Matolenim sent to the Lapanmor to come and visit him. That man then set forth and went to the Uajai's place in Mutoketik, for they were going to make an agreement about how they would have a [mock] battle with each other. So Lapanmor deigned to go the Uajai's place. The Uajai then said to him that the two of them would fight each other and this is the way it would be: supposedly they would deceive the state of Matolenim; they would fight but no one was to die on either side. And this discussion was agreed upon by the two of them, but none of their people on either side knew about it. The Lapanmor then returned and went back to his land and began to prepare for the day of battle.

11. After some days had passed the Uajai was staying at Mutoketik and the Lapanmor and his people assembled a fleet and went forth off Mutoketik, poling [their canoes]. And the Uajai's people asked their identity. And when the people on the canoes heard the voices of those asking their identity they immediately stopped by them and they began to fight and a battle started between them. They fought with spears and slings using stones as ammunition. There were many who were wounded. It is said that they were hit by spears made with stingray points. And the party of the Lapanmor retreated and fled before the fleet of the Uajai. They then went and stopped off Japuerak and again began to have a battle with the fleet of the Uajai. It is said that the fleet of the Uajai was stronger than the fleet of the Lapanmor. But this was a trick, and this trick was in order to make it easy for the Uajai to be able to kill Aunjapauaj and avenge the death of his brother the Nanaua.

12. Then the Lapanmor sent a messenger to Lot to notify the people of Lapinjet, as far as Lot and so on, to come help them fight the Uajai and his party. And the battle was prepared for a certain day, that they would again have a battle. And the people of Lot joined in it, for Aunjapauaj had gathered together all his people to go and join the Lapanmor and do battle against his clansmates. So the people of Lot set forth and departed. They all walked upwind to Janipan. But as these people went forth on the paths they did not know that the people of the various sections, Kapiroi, Tamoroi, Japuerak, and as far as Ponaulaḥ and so on, had formed ambush parties, each section forming one ambush party. So they went *confidently*¹⁶ on the paths and did not know that ambush parties for them were everywhere.

13. And finally when they reached Ponaulaḥ the ambush party of Ponaulaḥ attacked them, and they started a battle. As they fought the people of Ponaulaḥ prevailed and the people of Lot fled from

them. They reached Japuerak and the people of Japuerak in turn seized them and started a battle with them. And all the people of Lot were casualties and died except for Aunjapauaj and one boy who remained and fled on until they came to Tamoroi. The people of Tamoroi had then hidden beside the path. And it is said that a certain boy who was a little crazy hid near the path and grabbed the leg of Aunjapauaj and seized him. This is how he was captured, for he fell to the ground and they seized the two of them and bound them and carried them to Ultai.¹⁷ Then they came and lit a fire in which live wood was the firewood. They then bound the men and tied them on poles and slung them face downward under the poles. Then they hung the two of them over the fire. But before they were hung up they burned their fingers and toes with fire and put out their eyes.¹⁸

14. And the two of them were hung there that day until they died. And the Uajai was satisfied, for Aunjapauaj had died. And such is the way that the people of the state of Matolenim are, pitiless toward each other; they do not co-operate smoothly with one another from that day to this.

Finished.

1 Captain Benjamin Pease, a prominent associate of the notorious 'Bully' Hayes.

2 The long title of this chapter applies only to paras. 1-4. The rest concerns a completely unrelated, but apparently historical, series of events. The omission of guns among the weapons used suggests a pre-European time for the incidents.

3 The houses of high chiefs often receive individual names.

4 The references to 'them' in the last two sentences are to the Naniken and his entourage. Primal gods include clan deities, who have always existed, but not ancestral ghosts, who were once human, though either could be a spirit familiar supporting the authority of a chief.

5 See Ch. 65.5-7 regarding this war.

6 This settlement is discussed in n. 65.14.

7 Second in rank to the Nanmariki in the first line of titles.

8 Fifth in rank in the first line.

11 A portent of death.

13 In the community house two rows of kava stones are set up in the central area during a feast. In former times there were also two such stones on the edge of the main platform, where the chiefs sit facing the central area, with their backs to the rear wall so that the stones are to right and left. The leading stone is the one on the right.

14 Nanaua's younger brother.

18 Despite this example, torture is rare in Ponape.

Concerning the seat of the ruler of the state of Kiti

1. These places are not too clearly apparent to people to be able to see them with their own eyes.¹ This is the place where ceremonies were held in Kiti; this is the place where the ceremonies of the state were held, and this is the place where the [holders of the] high titles of the state of Kiti used to stay in olden times. The Master of Kiti was the high ruler before there was a Nanmariki in the state of Kiti. There is no longer any sign of his seat at this time for it was destroyed at the time that the people of Palan captured the state of Kiti.² They then destroyed the stonework completely. They called it Kareraua. Here is the meaning of it: the family of the Nanmariki³ made their place of residence in a certain place and gave the place the name of Peinkareraua [Sacred Stone Structure of Kareraua]. This was the capital of the state of Kiti at that time from the reign of the men who were the Masters of Kiti before Kiti had become a state; so to speak, it was only a section at that time. Moreover, there were no sections in states at that time, for the group of sections which exist at present from Putoi to Lauatik and Jalapuk are [now] the great sections of Kiti which have important tasks under their rulers.⁴

[There is no paragraph 2 in Luelen's text]

3. Jalapuk was the place where the great priests resided. It was like this: there were two men in the sections whose work was important. One of them was in the section of Mant, who had the title of Kaja, and the other was in Putoi and had the title of Luanenputoi.⁵ The two were lesser priests, and it was their task to hew two bowls which were taken to their ruler at Peinkareraua. It was these bowls in which was served the food of the ruler at all times.⁶ One of the bowls was named Malaikete, the one made in Mant. But the one from Putoi was called Muanlaekeik. They used to carry the two to the capital.

4. Here is how the work of these bowls was, every day: if one of them was turned up, the next day it would be full of all kinds of food, and protein relish would also be under the bowl. This food was not too clearly evident, since it was sour, for it was uncooked, for the people of old, the people of Kiti, used to like sour things, for this is what made the expression, 'the little food of Kareraua'.⁷

5. Japtakai was at Peak of Kiti, and Peinkareraua was next to it.⁸ Here is what Kiti was: the shore area of Jainuar. And at the period when Ponape was divided and became several states and they started to worship the turtle,⁹ the group of sections that begins with Putoi and the others became the sequence of sections of Kiti, to which the

- the-Breadfruit Clan]
 2. Lajialap [the Great Eels]
 3. Tipuinman [Creature Clan]
 4. Tipuilap [Great Clan]
 5. Jaunkauat [Masters of of Kauat]

2. U Jahiro
 3. Kiti Roja
 4. Jokaj Ijoani
 5. Net Pauto

[B] *[The Royal Men line of titles, in order of rank, after Nanmariki]¹⁴*

1. Uajai
 2. Tauk
 3. Noj
 4. Nanaua
 5. Nanpei [Lord of the Sacred Stone Structure]
 6. Nankiraun pontake [Lord of the Keepers of the Reserve]
 7. Nanliklapalap
 8. Nanit lapalap [High Lord of the Eels]
 Certain holy men also are included.

[The line of high priests, in order of rank]¹⁵

1. Nalaim [Lord of the House Men]
 2. Nanapaj [Lord of the Residence]
 3. Nankai
 4. Jaulik en Kiti [Master of the Exterior of Kiti]
 5. Nanjaum [Lord of the Masters of the Oven]
 6. Jaulikenjapauaj [Master of the Exterior of Japauaj]
 7. Nanauaijo
 8. Nanjou uei [Lord of the Masters of the Turtle]

[C] And here are the clans of those who served as Nanikens for them:

Here are their names:¹⁶

1. Tipuinuai [Matolenim]
 2. Lajialap [Matolenim]
 3. Puton [U]
 4. Lipitan [Kiti]
 5. Tipuilap [Net]
 6. Jaunjamaki [Jokaj]

Here are the Naniken titles [i.e., the series headed by the Naniken]:

1. Naniken
 2. Nanjauririn
 3. Namataun tet
 4. Lapanririn

[D] The Royal Men and the lesser priests and the Royal Children were the ones who used to handle decisions of state. They were called the helpers of all the states in the whole of Ponape.

Here are their titles:

1. Lampuai lapalap
2. Jautel
3. Ijolap [Great Sir]
4. Nantu [Lord of Meeting]
5. Kilop
6. Auntoleririn [Watchman of the Mountain of the Gate]
7. Muarikietik
8. Kanikienjapauaj [Steward of Japauaj]
9. Nanauaijo
10. Jaupuan
11. Nanjou uei
12. Nanjaujet

² As told in Ch. 60.

³ As in this instance Luellen frequently, and probably unconsciously, resorts to an anachronism in speaking of the Nanmariki.

⁵ Both of these titles still exist, and their holders are the chiefs of the two sections mentioned.

⁸ This and the next sentence are obscure to us.

⁹ This implies that turtle worship began only after the overthrow of the last Lord of Teleur. See Ch. 51 and n. 51.4.

¹⁰ The events resulting in the unification of Kiti are related in Ch. 60.

¹¹ This seems to mean that there had been twelve Nanmarikis from the time of the unification of Kiti to Luellen's time, though other evidence suggests nineteen. It may be, however, that Luellen is talking about the times before the unification.

¹² See n. 79.8 for an explanation of these terms.

¹³ The clans listed in this column hold the high titles of the first line, including that of Nanmariki, in the five states shown in the second column. But the ruling clan of Jokaj has been since two or three generations before European contact the Jaunkauat (Masters of Kauat), as it is also in Net. Before that it was the Tipuinman (Creature Clan) and before that the Lajialap (Great Eels). We do not understand why Luellen shows the Tipuilap (Great Clan) here.

¹⁴ To the eight titles listed here are to be added the list of lower titles in Section D beginning with Lampuai lapalap. All belong to the first line of titles, headed by Nanmariki. The sequence of twenty titles agrees fairly closely with the sequence employed today in Matolenim and elsewhere.

¹⁵ This list of eight titles (beginning with Nalaim), the list of four that follows in Section C (beginning with Naniken) and the list of eight (beginning with Jael lapalap) in Ch. 84.1 [B], today constitute the Jerijo, or Royal Children, who form the second line of titles in each state. But the sequence is not the same: see n. 55.3. The first two titles were formerly the first and second highest priests, and probably titles 3-8 were also priests. It is said that King Paul of Matolenim fitted the sets together in Spanish times, after priestly duties had become defunct, and the other states followed suit. So today the Royal Children begin with Naniken followed by Nalaim, Nan-

jauririn, Nanapaj, Nanmatonitet and Laparirin, and finally the eight of Ch. 84.1 [B].

¹⁶ These are the six clans of the Royal Children, which traditionally provide the holders of the titles of the second line, headed by the Naniken. The first two apply to Matolenim and the others to U, Kiti, Net and Jokaj. However, in U and Jokaj other clans have now come to hold the Naniken title.

Chapter 84

[Concerning Matolenim, etc.]

1. These were connected with them, but they later split off and formed several groups, greater and lesser groups for the state.¹

Concerning the passing of Ijokelekel:² Ijokelekel went to dispel his loneliness at a place named Peikap. At that place he had two small pools which he used for mirrors. He discovered that his body had become aged, and he deigned to resent this.

[A] <i>The name of the places:</i>	<i>The guards of the places:</i>
1. Peirot [Dark Sacred Stone Structure]	1. Aun Namueiaj [Watchman of Namueiaj]
2. Peinnamueiaj [Sacred Stone Structure of Namueiaj]	2. Aron Namueiaj [Servitor of Namueiaj]

The passing away of Ijokelekel [constituted] Tariak of Kusaie. The place where he was laid away is called Peinkiten.

[B] *Those connected with those who serve as Nanikens of the states:*

1. Jauel lapalap [Great Master of the Forest]
 2. Kanikienririn [Steward of the Gate]
 3. Auririn [Watchman of the Gate]
 4. Nanponpei [Lord of the Top of the Sacred Stone Structure]
 5. Aunponpei [Watchman of the Top of the Sacred Stone Structure]
 6. Nanku
 7. Kanikien uei [Steward of the State; or, Steward of the Turtle]
 8. Aunjapuaaj [Watchman of Japuaaj]
2. These high men joined together in doing things for the state.

There were two places for installing the Nanmariki in the state of Kiti.³ One was in Kiti at Peinkareraua and another at Paler in Uone in the section of Olapal. The Nanmariki of Kiti would be installed:

1. In the section of Olapal, at the place of worship, Paler.
2. At Japtakai in Kiti.

There were three places for installing the Nanmariki of Matolenim:⁴

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1. Ijokelekel | 1. Pankatira (on land), at the new capital of Matolenim. |
| 2. A Nanmariki | 2. Ponnintok (at sea), off Animuan. |
| 3. Nanmarikis | 3. Peipuel [Sacred Stone Structure of the Earth] (on land), Uapar in Lapinjet. |

3. Jañoro's favouring of the Lord of Teleur had come to an end.⁵ Jañoro was a great and powerful god. When he came away from visiting Nanjapue⁶ he went and considered the nature of the Lapanmor, how he was clever and powerful, since he ruled over two states⁷; and he also had many clansmen; famous people were numerous in this clan. And also their great goddess entitled Inaj⁸ had not gone along in accusing the Lord of Teleur.

Jañoro then sent to the Lapanmor a clansmate of his named Lauinpaniep or Lamuak. This was the man who brought a sprout of the banana Kutut,⁹ and then came and tricked the Lapanmor with it, and so on, saying that it had sprouted up spontaneously in his garden which he made on the plain of Janipan.

4. It was this banana which the man gave to the Lapanmor for him to consume, and then brought an accusation against him, and brought upon the Lapanmor a great task which the Lord of Teleur devised for him. This accusation made the Lapanmor appear guilty. This is why the Lord of Teleur told the Lapanmor in anger to bring him a feather of the bird Tiripeijo.

This was the first occasion that the Lapanmor joined in accusing the Lord of Teleur.

Lapanmor's canoe had been launched, for it was prepared for departure. Lapanmor had two landing places. The crew of his canoe had been chosen, and titles were bestowed upon them all.

5. The first selection of the people for the Lapanmor's errand was at Jakarejet. Here are the various personnel of the canoe at Jakarejet:¹⁰

Their names:

1. Jautaire

Their titles:

1. Jaumaton palap [Master of the Sea of Palap]

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 2. Taitaire | 2. Jaulik en palap [Master of the Exterior of Palap] |
| 3. Tairemau | 3. Jauan en Palap [Master of the Dance of Palap] |
| 4. Tairalañ | 4. Kiraun en palap [Keeper of Palap] |

The second selection of the people for the Lapanmor's errand was at Jakaramor:

Their names:

1. Lañtaire

Their titles:

1. Nanjaom en palap [Lord of the Masters of the Oven of Palap]

This is the one who hid himself from the voyage; but these next leaped aboard the canoe and went along with it:

Name

and Title:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. A mud-crab
(it stayed under
the cheek of the
canoe) | 1. Jauel en ni oror [Master of the Forest of the Shore] |
| 2. A mud-skipper
(it stayed in
the boom-end
support
connectives) | 2. Kaniki en nioror [Steward of the Shore] |
| 3. A cockroach | 3. Nanjau en leak [Lord of the Masters of the Mangrove Swamp] |
| 4. A kemeui basket. | 4. Aunura [Watchman of Ura] |
6. *The story of the Inanuaij [Mothers of Uaij].¹¹*

Liajanpal gave birth to children *Their names:*

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Twin boys | 1. Puplik |
| | 2. Uailik |
| 2. Twin boys | 1. Jimot |
| | 2. Ramot |
| 3. Twin girls | 1. Lijiralañ |
| | 2. Lijirelañ |

The passing away of the Nanmarikis of Matolenim:

The Naniken would be in charge of the title-installation party. He would set forth at night and no one would come in contact with him. They would then come and land at a beach named Peiie [on the shore of Uapar, in Matolenim]. Nantu would meet the Naniken and the installation party and would lead them along. And they would finally get to a place where there was a long piece of stone. And the man who held the title of Kiraunaip and others would put into good

order the first drum [called] Maninjapitik. And then Nantu and Kiraunaip would lead the whole installation party forth to the place called Peipuel.

7. And the Naniken would take the turmeric of the Nanmariki and with it strike the man who would be the next Nanmariki. They would then, further, take a long piece of stone on which there were two horned palm leaf head decorations; and he would set these on the head of the man who was to be the next Nanmariki and say 'E namuei'¹² e'. And if the chief blinked he was supposed to die soon. *It is finished.*

Concerning the sequence of the stories about Jañoro:

Jañoro deigned to take to his country of Likinlamalam two packages of giant swamp taro and tied them to a length of sugar cane. And a wicked bird deceived the ruler; it ate away at the cane on his shoulder until it snapped in two and fell from his shoulder and became two islands; 1. Muahpaiei [Outer Taro], 2. Muahpailoh [Inner Taro].¹³

Jañoro also took a clanswoman as his queen and carried her down to the Underworld. They stayed there for a little while, and he gave the woman some turmeric to eat.¹⁴

Later Jañoro met a woman of the Creature Clan at Nanpaiienlam [in Nanpalap section, Uone]. Her name was Liajanpal, and she was a member of the subclan of the Creature Clan which is called Inanuaiaj. And it was this woman who was the origin of this name, Inanuaiaj.

8. This woman was hunting about for Jañoro, so that he might chew a [stalk of] sugar cane from the outside of the bundle¹⁵ [that she carried], so that the god might help her by giving her good luck, for her true clansmates did not co-operate with her, and she also lacked children.¹⁶ And she used to drink kava alone in her land at Panaij. And the sound of her [kava] stone used to be heard as far as Nanroloh all the time.¹⁷ Jañoro moreover said to the woman when they met that she should erect a place¹⁸ for him to sit in her house. The woman fulfilled all these instruction, and she prepared a place for the god in her house and she would pound kava and offer it to the god.

9. Now one day the woman offered a cup of kava and at that very time Jañoro stretched forth his hand from his seat and took the cup with it;¹⁹ he then inquired, 'What is this kava for?' And the woman replied, 'Kava for stretching out the hand.' It was then that the woman became pregnant and gave birth to all her children. Jañoro

finally became aware that his helping of Liajanpal had become successful. He then went on inland to a place named Ponjalili [in Panaij] and cried 'Uj' towards Nanroloñ.²⁰ And the senior subclan, [that] of Liajanpalap, were chilled with fear at hearing that [call of] 'Uj' and they became very frightened and ran away from their homes and swam upwind to Roi and Mutok and erected new residences on the plains of Roi.

10. Jañoro and Liajanpal had thus conquered the capital of Uone. And Jañoro installed Liajanpal's eldest son as Master of Part and another as Master of Uone and another as Matau [Sea] and another as Joom [Master of the Ovens].²¹ They expelled the descendants of Liajanpalap who had had greater titles than the descendants of the younger woman, and they were exiled and spread all over Matolenim and went as far as U and the like. And they, the descendants of Liajanpal, have in turn ruled Ononlañ [i.e., Uone] to this day.

At this time, in the reign of the Japanese in the year 1943, the descendants of Lijirmutok have taken over the rule of the state of Kiti. Jekijmunto [Sigismundo] is Nanmariki in this year.²²

It is finished.

The titles of Jesus Christ:

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Jesus | 9. Gate of the Sheep |
| 2. Christ | 10. The Bright Morning Star |
| 3. Giver of Life | 11. The Forgiver |
| 4. Son of God | 12. The Lion of Judah |
| 5. Son of David | 13. The Gate of Heaven |
| 6. Root of Jesse | 14. The Cornerstone |
| 7. Son of Man | 15. The Firm Foundation |
| 8. Star of Bethlehem | |

It is finished.

¹ Presumably this sentence refers to the last list of titles in Ch. 83.

² See Ch. 72.

³ Luellen uses the word Nanmariki here in its general meaning of ruler. He also anachronistically uses the word Kiti in its present-day connotation, i.e. including Uone. It was the Jaukiti (or Master of Kiti) who was installed at Peinkareraua (see Ch. 83.1 and 83.5), while the Jaukija (or Master of Part) of Uone was installed at Paler (see Ch. 56.29).

⁴ The anonymous Nanmariki of the second place named is the son of Nalapanien (see Ch. 54.14-16). The third place mentioned, Peipuel, was the place of crowning of all the subsequent Nanmarikis of Matolenim until recent times; the installation is described in paras. 6 and 7.

⁵ That is he had withdrawn his approval. This paragraph and the next two tell the

story of the quest for the Tiripeijo feather, already told in Ch. 33.

⁶ This 'visit' is apparently a reference to the rescue of Nanjapue, the Thunder God, from imprisonment, after the Lord of Teleur had captured him (see Ch. 46.6).

⁸ Inaj (*Inahs*) is a goddess of the Masters of Kauat Clan, to which the title of Lapanmor belongs.

⁹ Also mentioned in Ch. 38.12; but in Ch. 33.1 it is a differently named banana.

¹¹ This scrap of information about Liejanpal and her children is part of the story which is continued at the end of para. 7. Liejanpal is one of four Creature Clan sisters who are listed in age order in Ch. 60.12-13.

¹² Possibly meaning something like 'long and peaceful reign'.

¹⁸ Meaning a small enclosure made by a sleeping mat stood up on one edge and formed into a circle around the occupant. Such enclosures were frequently made for diviners as places of concealment during their state of possession.

¹⁹ Ideally, whenever a chief is ready to drink he is supposed to be able to reach out his hand, without looking to see if the attendant is ready, and take the full cup which is supposed to be waiting to be grasped.

²⁰ 'Uj' is a shout, with the vowel-sound prolonged, which people use in the mountains in calling to one another.

²¹ These titles are also the subject of Ch. 60.10.

²² The last two sentences are probably an insertion to bring up to date the previous sentence, which was perhaps the traditional termination of the narrative. The Inanuaiaj or descendants of Liejanpal became extinct, as Ch. 60.12 tells us. Jekijmunto (Sigismundo), who became Nanmariki in the 1920s, was the first and only member of the subclan Lijirmutok (the fourth sister) to do so. He died in 1945 and was succeeded by Benito, who was a Liponralong, a descendant of the third sister. In 1947 only one survivor of the Lijirmutok remained alive.

Chapter 85

The story of the Romans

- [A] 1. Paul, they cut off his head.
 2. Peter, they crucified him, after Jesus died in the year 66.
 3. Andrew was crucified and stayed on the cross for two days.
 4. James the Greater, son of Zebedee, they killed in Jerusalem; and his disciples dug up his bones and carried them into the country of Spain to the town of [Santiago de] Compostela, the town of James.

5. John died naturally in Rome after he had been exiled in Patmos and made his epistles.

6. Thomas went to teach the foreigners to the east in the lands of Persia and Ethiopia and India; they later killed him with a bow and arrow.

7. James the son of Alphaeus and James the lesser of Judea they stoned and they died.

8. Phillip, some foreigners stoned him and killed him, and the Christians later took him to Rome and buried him there.

9. Bartholomew went to Armenia after Pentecost. There they tied him to a tree and stripped off his skin and he died.

10. Matthew taught in various places in foreign lands, in Ethiopia and the lands of Persia, and eventually got to the east of Africa to a place called Luk. This is the place he was killed.

11. Simon, there is no report as to how he died. It is said that he died in Africa in the town of Jainij. This town is between Egypt and Abyssinia.

12. Judas went to Africa and then returned and went to the land of Armenia and was killed there.

13. Matthias took the place of Judas Iscariot. His death was like Simon's.

14. Mark who was John Mark was a companion of Simon when he stayed in Rome. After he composed the book of Mark he went to Egypt and took charge of the congregation of Alexandria in a great town for twelve years. The people of that place then caught him and dragged him around over the ground until all his skin was worn off and he died.

15. Luke was intelligent and was a physician and also a painter. He was also a companion of Paul. He went as a minister to Italy and was killed there.

It is finished.

[B] 2. *Concerning the wealth of King Solomon about which there is a description in the holy book:*

The leaders of the workers:

1. The high leaders of the workers	550
2. The quantity of gold which came to him in one year	6666
3. The quantity of chariots	1400
4. Men who rode on horses	12000
5. Solomon's noble women	700
6. His concubines	300

It is finished.

[C] *This dance song is a song of the beginning of the story of the beginning of antiquity.¹*

A canoe set forth

at the Jakaren Uai [Foreign Landing]
beyond yesterday.

It was Japkini who sailed on it,
came hither downwind.

He has called together
the people of his canoe.

'Where is Jaupeleti
and Jaupelata
and Nipalatakenlañ?'

They have set forth,
they are going to go to
Ponnamueiaj.

They try to raise the sail;
it does not go up.

'Where is Lipuektakalañ?
She should come,

Come to raise up
the sail Ienjamat.'

No sooner is it raised
than its brightness flashes.

A calm has descended
and spreads forth.

'Lienkatautik,
Lieulele,

You two come get wind,
wind for my sail.'

They then sail downwind
beside Aroreilan [Shore of Heaven]
[and] Tekenianñ [Isle of the Wind].

They then go and land
at Tapuaijo,

Perform divination
to find where to go.

Aronponuar [Gatherer on the Canoe; a form of divination]
will find land;
they have found it.

[They] bracket, between hull and float,
the bit of land;
Ponape is established.

[They] leave Limuetu
 to give birth to children
 and multiply,
 To make some evidence
 of their coming here.
 They then returned
 to the foreign land,
 To Lijapikini
 and Lipalikini.
 I hate to reveal
 some of these things.
 Let those who know listen
 and set them straight,
 tell them in sequence.
 What I say is twisted.
 Ponape has changed,
 has come together [?].
 It was Uajaklañ who made this.

[D] 3. *Lament for the Jaumatau of Jokaj*²

There was a woman in Matolenim whose name was Likonpanui. Her Christian name was Atina. She composed several songs. She was a member of the remnant of the clan [the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan] of the Jaumatau of Jokaj.

I. Song

Jaumatau was
 at Malok in Jokaj
 Pukepuketoñ er
 the foreigners.
 All the clans
 rejoiced at it
 For they said the end of it
 would be something good.
 They have held an assembly
 and made an agreement:
 They will eliminate
 the one who is high chief
 in Ponape
 Because, as they say,
 they are very rude.
 He has set forth
 and goes downwind [i.e., west toward Jokaj],

Moors the boat at Jokaj,
 at our land.
 He has been asking for
 the Uajai and Jaumatau,
 For he wants to know
 what they want to do.
 They have appeared
 and give him goods
 And deceive
 a certain noble [i.e., the Governor]
 and defile him.
 They misuse him
 outside Tanipei.
 Three are with him
 to support him.
 They are disintegrated
 in the sea called
 Jet lollap [the Sea of Ambition.]
 Their vessel has arrived
 and takes them hither;
 Put them away in the earth
 of Kolonia,
 Bringing all to tears,
 bereaving.
 4. *II, Song*
 The junior one is left
 at Mejeniah;
 He does not sleep,
 preparing a report
 night and day,
 Waiting impatiently with it [the report]
 for the ship, till finally
 The ship has sailed in.
 It takes the news and goes back
 off Jakire [Sekire],
 Takes forth the news of
 the people of Jokaj,
 How they deceived
 a noble chief.
 They send on inland
 a man who is to come
 and fetch the Jaumatau,

Take him to the place
 where he will be killed.
The Uajai sets forth
 from Jokaj Island,
Is already in Palikir,
 has not returned.
Moving in a line at sea are they,
 the fleet of vessels;
Four are the vessels
 they have sailed here in.
They have dropped anchor
 in the reef channel.
A great bombardment
 is causing fear to
 the people of Jokaj.
One ship withdraws
 and goes downwind around
The Great Rock of Jokaj
 as it makes battle.
Luk of Jokaj is wounded;
 they were demoralized.
Fragrance.

5. *III. Song*

The Governor is back
 and overcomes
Their stronghold
 on Pontol lap [The Great Mountain].
The battle goes on,
 the people in it fall.
They have appeared;
 some are taken alive.
Some escape from
 the isle of Jokaj,
Fleeing into the forests
 of all the states.
They have appeared
 in the state of Kiti.
The Uajai has returned
 and begs for mercy.
All the states have joined
 with the foreigners
In hunting the Jaumatau,

encircling for this [purpose]
 all of Ponape.
 Here, he has appeared,
 presenting himself bravely;
 He is in the midst
 of his pursuers.
 This will cause you to wail.
 Its fragrance.

The end.

[E] *The names of the women³ with whom Ijokelekel slept on Ant*

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Likamatau [Woman | 2. Lipatak tau [Woman |
| Causing to Think?] | Teaching the Channels] |

[F] 6. *An account of performing evil magic:*

Concerning the various kinds of evil magic which the people of Ponape perform among themselves when they are feeling ill towards each other, these have their origin in the supernatural power of people.

Here are their names:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Destruction ⁴ | people will be hurt or die |
| 2. Making blood flow | people will die |
| 3. Swimming fire ⁵ | fire causes death |
| 4. Clouding the water ⁶ | blinds the eyes of people |

[G] *Concerning those who died in olden times:*

After those who were supernaturally powerful had died, some of the autochthonous gods came from heaven and the Under-world and they populated Ponape instead and joined in the worship of the various supernaturally powerful men after the people of olden times, of whom some used to fly and others used to walk.

7. Four kinds of people descended hither on the earth. They were powerful and kind, but at certain times they could also bring a supernatural doom on people, if their people were not careful of their behaviour in their presence or did not respect them or acted toward them with the pretence of authority, for there was nothing that could be kept secret from some of these gods.

Here are their names:

- | | | |
|-------------|----------|------------------------------|
| 1. Nanjapue | clan was | Under-the-Breadfruit
Clan |
|-------------|----------|------------------------------|

- | | | |
|-----------|----------|---------------|
| 2. Ja'oro | clan was | Foreign Clan |
| 3. Luk | clan was | Luk Clan |
| 4. Olapat | clan was | Creature Clan |

The great clan gods

[H] There were also some other kinds of magic powers which had their origin in certain kinds of magic power by means of which they could talk and kill some people. And some of these powers had their origin in the leaves of plants and helped them in both good things and bad.

Here are their names:

1. *Expelling medicine*⁷
2. Sending back destruction
3. *Causing to drift*⁸
4. *Making the inside well*⁹

[I] *Kinds of people*

There were four kinds of people who came from the surface of the earth. They were cruel and treacherous. Some of them had hairy skin and were huge, and some were black and small, and others were stunted.

Here are the names of these kinds:¹⁰

1. Kaona [giants]
2. Lipapaunual
3. Jiat or Liat [cannibals]
4. Jokalai [dwarfs]

[J] 8. Here are some other kinds of supernatural power that had their origin in the power of people, that were aids to people.

Here are their names:

1. Making fortune
2. Spells on canoes
3. Protection of pressing down¹¹
4. Sitting like a stone¹²
5. Breaking arm
6. Preventive magic
7. Divination

[K] *I. A song for a paddle dance (Dance-Song)*¹³

A piece of heaven will arise
above these lands.

Our heavens have arisen
 and oppose each other;
 The heavens of the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan
 and the Foreign Clan.
 And likewise for the Great Eels,
 they are deadlocked.
 Its effects will remain
 at our place.
 It will explode
 over them,
 Because it is a bad clan —
 the Under-the-Breadfruit clan.
 They eki ta hither
 a scale [?] of the Koñ fish
 So they might come to desecrate
 the Nanmariki,
 And win and possess
 these several lands
 [?] and a belt.
 That day was flashing,
 this day was decorated.
 They handed forth to us
 a cup of cruelty,
 Women's cup, men's cup,
 unknown cup.
 What is it? We know not
 these several cups.
 They have prepared it for us;
 they have prepared it
 for these lands.
 They have ignited toward me
 the Swimming Fire,
 Inama [*Ineme*] and Tanmek [*Denimek*]
 fired in rapid succession.
 And I am crying inside,
 I am crying secretly
 this very night.
 You two just remove
 the force of their act
 nnta jañijañit
 strengthen him.
 They say it is about to

explode on us
But see, it has exploded
but see, it has exploded
over them all.
[They] are bewailing
their coming to say
that they have gathered.
The manta ray [?]
forgive us, we regret it.

[L] *II. The song of the Kiraun en Letau*¹⁴

Jaulikin Na
sent for something at Letau.
They sent to him
a pregnant corpse, eh.
He was enraged at this
and sent therefore
Naliejenlam¹⁵
to perform his errand, eh.
They lined up from
Panikapinjav [Below the Land's End]
all the way to Peipei, eh.
A lisping woman
came and transformed
the base of her voice
Thus deceiving
the Kiraun en Letau.
'Your canoe is there', eh.
'Wait just a minute
for me to light this torch
to light my way', eh.
'Don't use a torch;
use for your torch only
the tips of your toes', eh.
No sooner did he leap forth
than he slipped on her shoulder
and was flipped on down, eh.
He was moved along
Kapitau Rairai [the Long Channel]
to their land.
They shoved him up
on the sands of Na.

'There is what you sent for', eh.
 They sent him back in,
 flailed him to
 [and thereby made] Nam en pani kapinjak [the Deep Below
 the Land's End].
 'You take a little place
 and make it your own,
 Kiraun en Letau', eh.
 The Kiraun en Letau
 came to his end at Na, [at]
 Below the Land's End, eh.

The end.

- [M] III. [No title]¹⁶
9. In the very start
 of my becoming sick
 The pain pierced
 my breast.
 I carried it inside
 but had no soul;
 I had become doomed
 by Nanjelañ,¹⁷ eh.
 I suddenly hated dying
 for I was unloved
 by them.
 You two take care of that man
 after me some day,
 Lest he become homesick,
 weak in thoughts,
 So that I may proceed, oh,
 so that I may proceed
 on the path of men.
 This current has arisen
 in my breast.
 The current of death [death rattle]
 has reached me.
 Fortunately mother
 came to me as a spirit
 And roused me up
 from my sleeping mat, eh,
 Dragged forth from me, oh,
 dragged forth from me

my sickness, eh.
I want to get magic power
and regenerate myself
That I may recapitulate
the times of long ago
In the reign of Jaukitik [Master of Rats],
Jaulamer [Master of Geckos], oh.
After the late words [of Mother],
after the late words
I then died.
The power of their cruelty
came and hit me [killing me].
We later met at the Underworld¹⁸
at the Twisting Bridge
and shoved each other.
They two shoved me off
down to Pueliko.
I then stayed there
and lamented there, eh.
Looking up hither, oh [from Pueliko],
Looking up hither
I could not come up, eh.
I have climbed up to
the Twisting Bridge.
I performed on myself
Darkness at Noon [an invisibility spell].
Liejineh [Woman of Jineh]
and Olenjineh [Man of Jineh]
have shown me the way.
I have arrived
at the side of the spirits, eh,
On the Royal Reef
in the Clear Heaven
With a yard of sea,
a yard of sky.
Its brightness flashes
on the leaves of the trees,
the brightness of the Underworld, eh.
A party of souls
wanders about, eh.
Here is the thing for which
I lie down [at night]

and do not sleep:
The end of my wandering
will some day be arriving;
I will then be forced to leave,
going under protest.

[N] IV. [No title]¹⁹

10. Why are they claiming falsely
a canoe from abroad, eh?
They did not construct
the sacred canoe, eh.
Its trunk was in Airika
beyond yesterday, eh.
The Adz of Takipuel
was what cut it down, eh.
The gods have seized it,
did not let it down.
They send for Master of Part
over on Uone.
'You make it firm,
give it its finishing, eh.
Where are the crotch,
the branch? [for making an adze]
Where are the crotch,
the branch?'
They send it up with shouts,
it goes to Heaven.
They go and are making it,
preparing it;
The poles were painted red,
all its equipment.
Luk is on the middle seat
performing ceremonies;
Luk is on the middle seat
performing ceremonies.
'For how many [people] is the royal vessel
descending hither?' eh.
'It was Janmo and Nanmo
of whom I hear.
It was only their people
of whom I tell;
It was only their people

of whom I tell.'
Euok came and anchored
at Panakualap
Waiting for the coming of
Jaulikin Ant.
He is to come and install
the Nanmariki, eh.
Limeitinpalakap
and Jaumañai, eh,
Leaped on to the heavenly vessel,
ascended with it.
'You two have [thereby] obtained
a choice country;
You two have obtained
a choice country.'
This is my lie
which I am making.
I shall cease from
telling this story, eh;
Let them talk instead,
I in turn will listen.
We used to weep over
this era, eh,
But I have stopped joining in
swaggering.
Ponape is improved
all around, yes.

The end.

- [O] *The song of the Nanaua of Matolenim*²⁰
Nanaua was staying
on the isle of Muant
Kenen api tier
kouan itan
Jimmy the Cooper
was the one who went down.
They went and moored
and went on a hunt,
Hunting for Nanaua;
he was not found.
Nanaua has appeared,
preparing perfume,

Anointing himself with turmeric,
 wreathed with climbing fern [*Microsorium*].
 He bids farewell
 to his sisters:
 'Take care of our child,
 I am going to be arrested
 this very noon.'
 Nanaua's canoe stops
 by the ship's side;
 He is on the ship,
 his highness Nanaua.
 The Captain is asking,
 what would Nanaua
 prefer [to be killed with].
 Nanaua prefers
 the rifles of Abroad.
 They simply hang him
 from the masthead,
 swinging.
 They take him down
 and perform ceremonies.
 Nanaua was convicted,
 Ijipau has passed away.
 Fragrance, yes.

The end.

[P] *A paddle dance song*

11. A star is established
 over these lands, eh,
 A downwind star;
 [in the] harbour of Rakim,²¹ oh,
 In the harbour of Ratak [Marshalls]
 they have arrived.
 In the harbour of Ratak
 they have arrived, oh.
 Now they have arrived
 this very night, oh.
 Lightning flashes from it,
 rain has fallen from it.
 The rain rattles
 on the fleet,
 The rain rattles

on the fleet, eh.
 Alimaui iap [Good Road of Yap],
 Limoolejet [Woman Sitting (in the) Sea], oh,
 You two, watch uot oh
 ni kei uet
 A man is under the reef;
 we are dead;
 A man is under the reef;
 we are dead, oh.
 ai puara mi er
 poni puala e
 It goes along the shore,
 goes along the mountain, oh,
 Sends Ankon
 on to the reef, oh
 Eik muei
 outside of Kiti, oh
 Repel the royal fleet
 beyond yesterday;
 Repel the royal fleet
 beyond yesterday.
 The royal fleet [crew members] are on board
 performing divination;
 They are discovering
 their fortune;
 Aronponuar [Gatherer on the Canoe; a form of divination]
 has been found;
 Aronponuar
 has been found;
 [Also] Protection of Children [a charm].
 On the long reef, eh,
 Disembarking at Aurejei [reef at the north tip of Jokaj
 Island],
 going on inland, eh.
 The casualties have fallen
 near to these lands, ah;
 this misfortune.

The end.

¹ This song is essentially the same as the story of the discovery and construction of Ponape related by Luelen in Ch. 1. It is arranged here in verse form; Luelen's Ponapean text has it in prose style.

² The lament for Jaumatau presented here by Luelen recapitulates the events already

related in Ch. 73. The reference to defilement and misuse are to actual indignities inflicted upon the corpse of the dead Governor Boeder. The men 'disintegrated' were Hollborn, Häfner and Brauckmann. In Song II the 'junior one' is Dr Girschner. The Uajai was the highest chief of Jokaj in the first line of titles at the time.

³ See Ch. 48.17.

⁴ Black magic done, for example, by burying a type of sennit lashing or some river pebbles under the corner of an enemy's house.

⁵ Black magic performed by sending the flames from burning coconut leaves to an enemy.

⁶ Washing hands in water upstream of where the victim bathes, or putting a magical infusion in the water there, while saying a spell.

¹⁰ The giants and cannibals are described in Chs. 8.2, 19.2-3 and 49.2-3. The dwarfs are creatures who dwell underground.

¹³ This song is said to have been composed by a man from Areu section, in Matolenim, named Luhkenlengsong (probably his death name), who became Uajai of Matolenim. It celebrates a sorcery contest between himself and the people of Tapak Island, in U, held about the beginning of the nineteenth century..

¹⁴ For narrative versions of this song see Riesenbergs and Fischer 1955:17-18; and Hambruch III: 338, 339-40.

¹⁵ Honorific title of the sting-ray.

¹⁶ Referred to as a Kepir (paddle-dance song).

¹⁷ A god concerned with fishing and the growth of breadfruit, according to Hambruch II: 99.

¹⁸ The reference which follows to the underworld, the Twisting Bridge and Pueliko is explained more fully by Luelen in Ch. 56.12-16. The Man and Woman of Jineñ are guardians of the Twisting Bridge, which is the entrance to the afterworlds (Hambruch II:115-16, 119).

¹⁹ This song is essentially the same as the narrative account of the same events in Ch. 50.

²⁰ The infamous affair of the *Falcon* is sketchily related in this song, which provides a good example of survival for more than a century, in accurate oral tradition, of historical events. Most of the events are told in Blake: 1924.

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