

Tolai Myths of Origin

Edited

by

H. Janssen

M. Mennis

B. Skinner

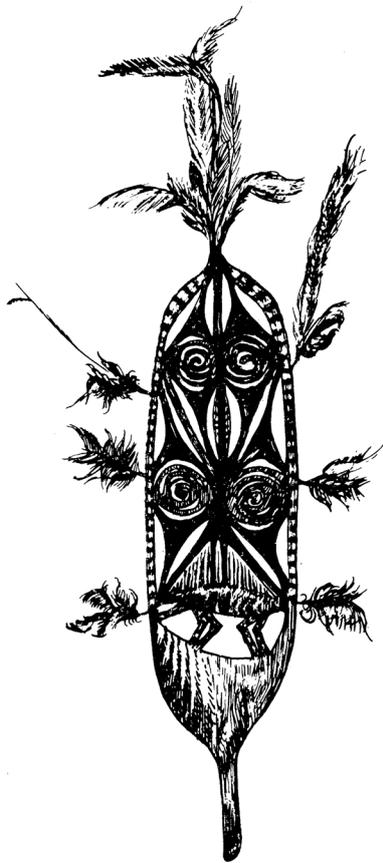
Tolai Myths of Origin

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Note on the second edition

The first edition of *Tolai Myths of Origin* was published by Jacaranda Press, Brisbane in 1973 and is now well out of print. For some time, I had considered that the information in this volume should be placed on the Web for the interest of the Tolai people and for other researchers into their culture. After much effort, this edition is the result.

This second edition of *Tolai Myths* is reproduced with the permission of the original editors and the original publishers, Jacaranda Press. However, Jacaranda Press stipulated that the layout of the original was their copyright and they specifically excluded that from their permission. This prevented me from copying the first edition in its original form.

Since the publication of *Tolai Myths* predated computers there was no digital text available, and it was necessary to re-type the text into digital form by myself with help from my grandson, Joachim Mennis.

As always, I am grateful to my husband, Brian, for his assistance with the editing and presentation of this new edition.

Mary Mennis MBE

Brisbane, 2012.



Lalong Enterprises

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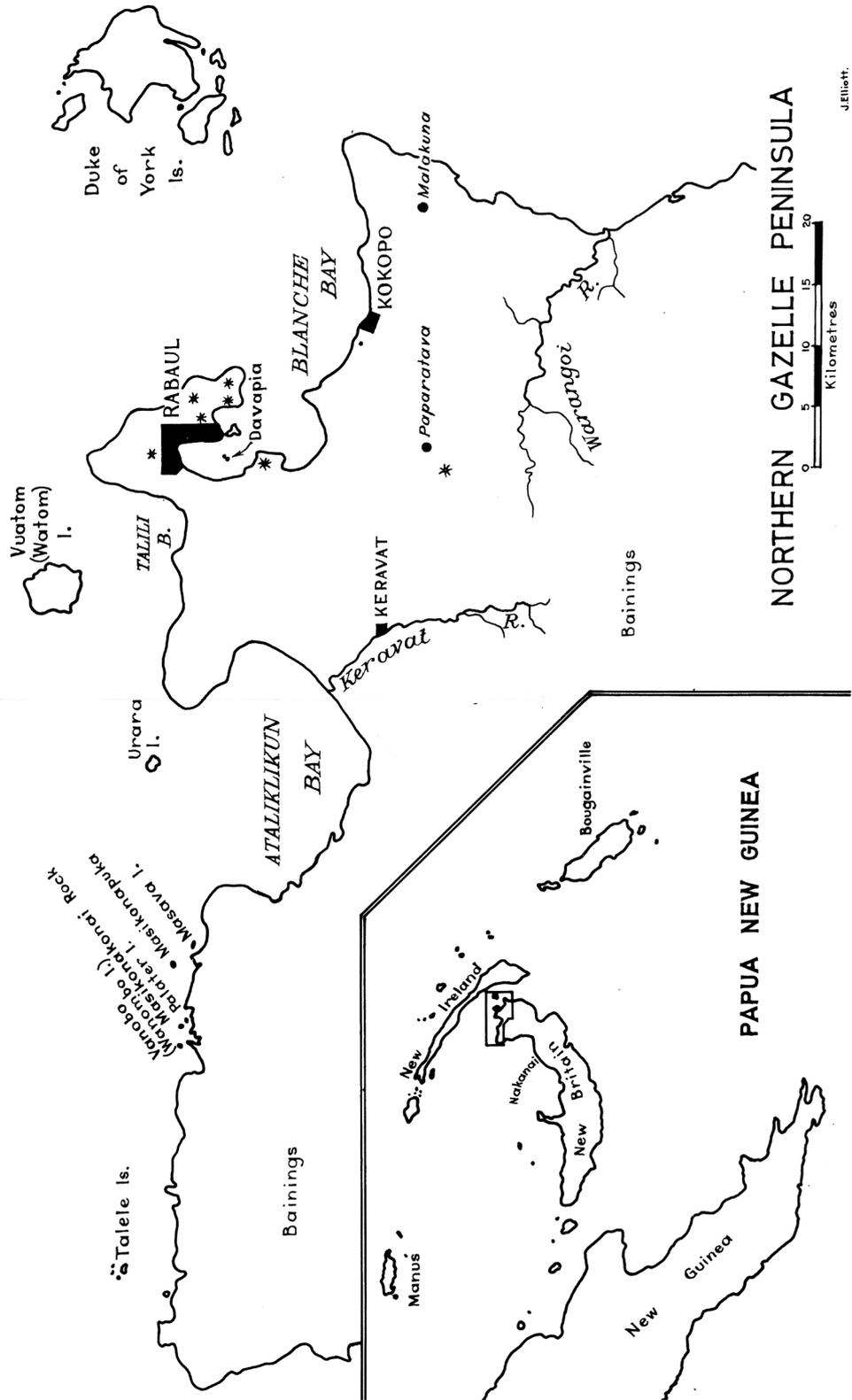
Note:

The initials and numbers, following each title, are intended as reference numbers to assist any reader wishing to refer to the original publications.

J.M. denotes Fr Joseph Meier M.S.C. *Mythen und Erzählungen der Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel* .

O.M. denotes Fr Otto Meyer M.S.C. *Mythen und Erzählungen von der Insel Vuatom (Bismarck-Archipel, Südsee)*.

K1. denotes Fr August Kleintitischen M.S.C. *Mythen und Erzählungen eines Melanesierstammes aus Paparatava, Neupommern, Südsee*.



Notes on the Editors

The late Dr Hermann Janssen, PhD, was born in Freisen, West Germany. After some theological and philosophical training, he studied Anthropology and Sociology at Cologne and Vienna. In 1963/64 he carried out anthropological fieldwork in Central India. He arrived in Papua New Guinea in 1967 to work in West and East New Britain where he collected material on Melanesian religion and mythology. In 1969, he became director of the Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service in Goroka. After returning to Germany, Dr Janssen worked in Aachen with the Institute of Missiology and published a Bibliography on Christology in Africa, Asia-Pacific and Latin America with Angrit Gerhardt in 1993.

Mary Mennis grew up in Canberra, Australia, and studied History before moving to Rabaul in 1962. There her interest in Tolai history resulted in the publication of *They Came to Matupit* and *Tolai Myths of Origin* with Hermann Janssen and Brenda Skinner. Moving to Madang in 1971, she studied the anthropology and oral history of the people there resulting in *A Potted History of Madang* in 2007. Later, in 2008, she wrote about the missionaries in Rabaul in *Tubuan and Tabernacle*. Mary now lives in Brisbane, Australia and is at present an Honorary Research Adviser with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Unit at the University of Queensland. She has Masters Degrees in History and Anthropology. In 2008, she was awarded an MBE for her work recording the oral history and culture of the Madang people. In 2011, her book, *Mariners of Madang* was published by University of Queensland as a Research Paper.

Brenda Skinner became interested in the Tolai people when living in Rabaul in the 1960s, where her fluent knowledge of the Kuanua language enabled her to complement her teaching with helping with the translation of the myths and legends. Mrs Skinner now resides in Auckland, New Zealand, where she

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We are very much indebted to the Anthropos Institute (St Augustin, Bonn, West Germany) for the permission to translate and publish the myths found in the collections of Fr Otto Meyer M.S.C., *Mythen und Erzählungen der Insel Vuatom (Bismarck-Archipel, Südsee)* and those found in the collection of Fr August Kleintitischen M.S.C., *Mythen und Erzählungen eines Melanesierstammes aus Paparatave, Neupommern, Südsee*.

We are also indebted to the Anthropos Bibliothek of Münster, Westfalen, for their permission to translate and publish the myths found in the collection of Fr Joseph Meier M.S.C. entitled *Mythen und Erzählungen der Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel Münster*: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1909.

For the illustrations, we are indebted to the Museum of Volkerkunde in Leipzig for permission to use the illustrations found in an article by Professor Hans Damm entitled *Ethnographische Materielen aus dem Küstengebiet der Gazelle-Halbinsel (Neubritanien)*. Professor Damm was Director of the Leipzig Museum until his death in 1972

We are grateful for the help and encouragement given to us: Fr Joseph Reischl M.S.C. who began the translation; Monsignor (later Archbishop) Hermann To Paivu; William Waldima and Misikram To Uba who checked the translations and gave us information about the Tolai culture; and Dr Theo Braun of Madang who helped with Professor's Damm's article.

For the maps we were indebted to Mr Jeff Elliott of Madang. The spelling of place names in the maps is the same as that found in the collections of myths, though occasionally the modern spelling is included in brackets.

There were many typists who helped in typing and re-typing the manuscript at a time when typewriters were the vogue. Particular mention was made of Miss Judy Shaw, Miss Dorothy Robert, Miss Pirida Penias of the United Church Regional Office and the girls from the Tavui Technical School.

Work was originally done by the people of both the United Church of Rabaul and the Catholic Church in the hope that these myths of origin would be enjoyed and studied not only by the Tolai Community, but also by all who are interested in the cultural heritage of Papua New Guinea.

Preface

Having lived in the Rabaul area for a time, we felt the need to find out more about the myths and legends of the Tolai people. We found that the majority of young people there know little or nothing about the mythical traditions of their ancestors.

We were fortunate to discover copies of three collections of myths and legends of the Tolai people recorded by the early missionaries.

Fr Joseph Meier, M.S.C. came to New Britain in 1899. He collected his myths of origin in Rakunai, Navunaram, Livuan and Ramale Villages. Besides this collection of myths and legend, he published more than forty articles on the Manus, Tolai, Baining and Sulka people. Fr Meier died in 1943 in Allentown, North America.

Fr Otto Meyer, M.S.C. arrived in New Britain in 1902. He recorded the myths of the Watom Islanders in Tarivo, Ramala and Rau Villages. It was while he was on Watom Island that he discovered ancient shards of pottery which led to significant archaeological digs and important information about the Lapita people who lived there may thousands of years ago. The list of Fr Meyer's publications include forty articles mainly on ornithology, physical and cultural anthropology and linguistics of the Tolai people. Fr Meyer died in 1937 in Brisbane, Australia.

Fr August Kleintitschen M.S.C. began his work as a missionary on New Britain in 1900. His collection of myths comes from the areas around Papatava, Vairiki, Viviran, Tanaka and Navunaram Villages. His main publication, besides nearly thirty articles on various topics of the Tolai culture, was his book, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel* (The Coastal People of the Gazelle Peninsula). Fr Kleintitschen died in Vunapope during the Japanese Occupation in 1942.

The original collections of the myths and legends are all written in an old form of the Tolai language and translated into German. There are only a few copies left in New Britain as most of them were destroyed during the war, and we felt the need to print a collection of these myths for today's generation.

Hermann Janssen

Mary Mennis

Brenda Skinner

Introduction

Although we are fortunate that many myths of the Tolai people were collected at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there are few people today who can understand their full significance without some explanation.

The Tolai people in New Britain used to tell stories during the long evenings and in the months of the wet season. Some stories may have been told just for the sake of entertainment, others were meant to give social and moral instruction to the younger generations. The myths of origin have a deeper meaning still.

Myths of origin are a special type of oral traditions. It is not their purpose to present secular history, but rather – if we like to put it this way – a history of Melanesian salvation. They reveal ‘real knowledge’, that is, traditional Melanesian religion.

Religion Explains the World

Melanesians have their own way of explaining the origin and existence of the world. They have their own thoughts about man’s origin, his social obligations and his means of controlling the world. People have experienced good and evil, life and death and Melanesians have their own ‘philosophy’ in these deep existential problems. This is what anthropologists mean when they say Melanesian religion has a cognitive function: myths give an explanation of the realities and problems of life.

Religion Controls the World

Religious or mythical thinking is not like abstract Western philosophy, but it is existential and pragmatic, that is, it deals with the way of life. In Papua New Guinea, life is based on this ‘philosophy’. Religious tradition gives man the assurance that he can control the world by performing the proper ritual. Magic spells, pig offerings, and *singsings* were some of the means to gain food, fertility and prestige, and thus socio-economic welfare. This is the predominant function of religion in Melanesia. Ritual is the means of controlling the world and making men happy.

Religion Forms Spirituality

I think that the people of Papua New Guinea do have their own spirituality, though to speak about supernatural aspects of traditional Melanesian religion has its problems. Melanesian religion is world oriented; it does not separate heaven and earth, super-nature and nature. Gods, ghosts and ancestors live with men, and are very often like men, but still they are not men.

Melanesian religion is a horizontal religion in which the sharing of life between gods, ancestors and men is the main theme. While studying Melanesian religion with dedication, we may come to the conclusion that many religious beings we meet in myth and belief are Melanesian expressions of peoples’ dim awareness of the great mystery which Christians call God.

All Melanesian ritual may be seen as linked to this belief, as somehow expressive of man’s commitment to this mystery, to this sharing between gods, ancestors and man, This is Melanesian spirituality. It is often difficult for the Western mind to grasp the nature of this mystery

Typical Features of Tolai Mythology

The answer that Tolai myths give on the problems of life is that the world in its existence and in its morality has been good and evil since the early days of the two cultural heroes, To Kabinina and To Purgo. This dualistic concept dictates the themes of all the myths of origin, which convey a mood of melancholy, but also one of wit and humour.

The myths may give us a deeper understanding of the word *maski* which is so often used in Papua New Guinea. Maski means, ‘It is like that – what can we do about it but endure and laugh?’

Though it is rather difficult to organize the Tolai myths of origin into groups – they deal with so many problems of life – we have tried to form nine chapters. The first group of myths introduces the two cultural heroes, the other chapters deal with problems of the cosmos, with man’s origin, his social organization, his work and quarrels, with the incongruities of life and finally with life and death.

1. The Two Brothers

To Kabinina, also called To Kambinanai or To Kabanana, is the good, wise and skilful mythical hero. His brother, To Purgo has many names. He is called To Purko, To Purkelel, To Karvuu, To Karivuvu or To Kalivuvu. The Tolai word *kalivuvu*, means ‘whirlwind,’ and this indicated that our second hero caused a lot of trouble. He is the stirrer, the destroyer, the liar, the fool and, in other words, the bad hero.

Both heroes have a second name, which signifies that they are members of a secret male society, the *Ingiet*. To Kabinina’s name in *Ingiet* Society is A Kalau and To Purgo’s *Ingiet* name is To Mora.

The myths have different versions about the origin of To Kabinina and To Purgo. Some myths say that the two heroes originate from ‘Him’ (‘I’). This original being has no name. Tolai informants explained it as follows: “*Ni, i ga tavau lau*” (“he who was first”). Other myths call this being a *Kaia* which has to be translated as ‘the Spirit’. There are many other Tolai spirits, most of them are evil, and also carry the name *kaia*.

Two myths report that To Kabinina and To Purgo originate from a woman, called a *tubuan*, the old woman or the old mother. Finally there is also the tradition that To Lagulagu and Ia Kupia are the parents of these mythical heroes. To Lagulagu is supposed to be a spirit, *Kaia*, residing in Matupi volcano (called *Tarvurvur* by the Tolais), and Ia Kupia, his wife, is reported as being half snake and half-woman. (Some say when the volcano is smoking Ia Kupia is cooking a meal for To Lagulagu who sometimes shows his anger in eruptions).

There are also different versions about the ‘creation’ of To Kabinina and To Purgo. Some myths simply state that the two brothers were the children of the old mother or to Lagulagu and Ia Kupia. In one of the stories, the *Kaia* draws two male figures in the sand and makes the images come alive with his blood. Another version reports that the two brothers originated from the blood of the old woman.

The relations between To Kabinina and To Purgo and their parents To Lagulagu and Ia Kupia vary in the course of their lives. The two are reared and educated by their parents, but then they leave them. At a later date, both of them return to their parents in order to be renewed and strengthened. Finally the two brothers kill their parents.

To Kabinana and To Purgo were married to women who originated from coconuts.

The role of the two cultural heroes is twofold. They ‘make’ or ‘form’ rather than ‘create’ everything in the world and they teach human beings how to behave according to the social rules made by them. On the other hand they seem to be representations of good and evil in the world.

We may call To Kabinana and To Purgo the first makers and teachers and themselves a part of the mythical explanations of the dichotomies and incongruities in the cosmos.

2. Sun and Moon

The collectors of the Tolai myths of origin stressed the role of To Kabinina and To Purgo as sun and moon a great deal. They tried to come to an understanding of all myths by analysing the main features of the myths in relation to sun and moon. By doing this they built up their theories of solar and lunar mythology.

I think it is better not to build a system on myths concerning sun and moon, but rather to see in them mythical explanations for day and night, light and darkness, heat and cold, as well as growth and destruction and food and evil in general.

Some of the myths also seem to express man’s desire to change the roles of sun and moon, and even by this to reverse or even abolish the cosmic dichotomies.

3. Land and Seas, Places and Languages

None of the myths reports on the creation of the earth as such, but there are myths on land and sea and many more on special areas, places, islands and languages. To Kabinina and To Purgo met at Vunadadir; this is almost the centre of the area inhabited by the Tolai people. From there they separated and went in different directions. To Purgo made all the mountains, gorges and rivers, while To Kabinana made

the good flat land. The two brothers cooperated in the creation of most of the islands along the Baining Coast and the North Coast of New Britain up to Nakanai where the Tolais collected shells for their traditional money.

The myths do not mention the South Coast of New Britain. It is also remarkable that New Ireland is only mentioned once, and no indication is given that New Ireland was the original home of the Tolai people.

Besides the language and the dialects of the Tolai people, the myths report on the languages and some of the customs of the Baining and the Taulil people. The Bainings especially are characterized as uncivilised and bad people.

Furthermore, the myths have explanations for some physical characteristics. For example, To Purgo is made responsible for the fact that the people of Vairiki have goitre and the Viviren people have ugly faces.

4. Men and marriage, Tabarans and Ancestors

Tolai mythology relates different traditions of the origin of man. According to the one version, it was the *Kaia* who formed a man and a woman out of clay and made them live by pouring water over them. In order to make the first woman fertile, he put a flying fox, a young coconut and urine into her.

Another version tells us that the first human beings originated from relations of the *Kaia* as well as of To Kabinana and To Purgo with two women.

The first two women are said to have originated either from two coconuts or from a *pit* plant. One myth also says that the old mother changed her skin and gave birth to two girls.

Finally, there is a version that To Kabinana and To Purgo carved some pieces of wood; To Kabinana's carvings became human beings and To Purgo's became evil *tambaran* spirits.

Many myths explain the origin of the Tolai moiety system. This system of social structure is traced back to two women, *tubuan*, one of whom originated from a light-coloured coconut and the other from a dark-coloured one. Because of their origin, one of them had fair skin and the other was dark. These two women were the mothers of the two clans and this is why the Tolai call one moiety *vuna ngenge* (the light origin), while the other one is called *vuna makadoa* (the dark origin).

Because To Purgo committed incest, To Kabinana separated the people into two groups which since then are also called *avet* (we) and *diat* (they). Besides instruction in coitus behaviour, the first people were also told to keep strictly to the regulations of these two exogamous moieties.

To avoid confusion it must be clarified that the term *tubuan* has several different definitions. It can mean the first woman or the old mother, Ia Kupia, who was the wife of the *Kaia*, To Lagulagu. It can also mean the two unnamed women who stand at the beginning of the moiety system. Finally, the ancestresses of sub-clans (*a vuna tarai*) and lineages (*a pik tarai*) as well as any other female ancestor may be called a *tubuan*. This concept is of vital importance in understanding the *Tubuan* Society of the Tolai people. It is also a key word used in the Mataungan Association (politically active in the 1960s and 1970s) which adopted the *tubuan* mask as a proto-nationalist symbol or emblem.

5. Garden Work and Food Production

This chapter tells about the traditional way of preparing and planting a garden. To Kabinana knows the proper way to make a good garden while To Purgo always tries to spoil his work. Some of the myths give a very lively account of the employment of workers for garden work; not only how they are cared for, but also how they are made to work overtime and how they are cheated so that it ends in fighting and cannibalism. Other myths give some details on the production and preparation of food, on the use of fire, salt and fresh water.

6. Houses, Canoes and Drums

To Kabinana shows his skill in constructing houses, canoes and drums, while To Purgo proves a real fool in these skills. There are also some myths which explain the manufacture and use of tools and traps.

7. Good and Evil

There are many incongruities in life which made the traditional Tolai mythologist wonder: why do certain animals attack and kill people? Why does the shark swallow other fish and also attack human beings? Why do certain birds steal the fruit from the gardens? Why does food decay so that people suffer from hunger? Why do people have to die when they fall out of a tree? Why are children afraid of *tabaran* spirits? Why do people spend so much time decorating themselves?

The answers that the stories give are not philosophical or psychological, but mythological, that is the problem is referred to as a traditional one and has its roots in the behaviour of the cultural heroes. Even in our day, the Tolai people compare men with certain animals in order to characterize their specific habits, or to indicate the colourful incongruities in human society.

8. Fighting and Cannibalism

These myths suggest that the Tolai people fought mainly because of arguments over property and women. Other reasons for fighting and warfare were cheating, accusations, and payback. The techniques and weapons described in the myths give a very real impression of traditional fights and warfare. The myths give no religious motivation for cannibalism; it is attributed only to revenge.

9. Life and Death

Tolai mythology relates that originally man was not to die; he would change his skin and enjoy everlasting life as the snakes apparently do. The old ancestry applied this method for renewing life, but To Purgo put the old skin back on his mother so that she had to die. Other mythical methods for preserving life are the use of fire and of green, not dry, firewood.

The snake, fire, coconut, green wood, blood and water are the Tolai symbols of life as is also the well-known *tagete* (or *tanget*) plant

One myth raises the question of prolonging life in connection with the problem of overpopulation – a modern problem indeed. Other myths deal with the death of people falling out of trees or being killed by spirit beings. There is also an account of the origin of sounding the drums when a person has died.

The impact of Mythology and Religion

We may argue that many modern Tolai people have forgotten about their traditional myths or even that they do not want to hear any more about their pagan past. Other arguments against reviving myths may be that myths have changed so much that they are nothing but fairy tales.

These and many other objections certainly have a core of truth, but still, I believe, we cannot do away with the myths in such an overgeneralised and superficial manner.

Myths have changed and will change in future. But what has changed? Are only different words used and new instances and persons incorporated? Has the function of the myths as socio-religious tradition changed? Was the impact of Christianity and Western civilisation so effective that the Tolai people have completely parted from a dualistic world view, from a pragmatic mentality and from ethnocentrism? Or are there new 'myths' and syncretistic forms of the same old mentality with few changes.

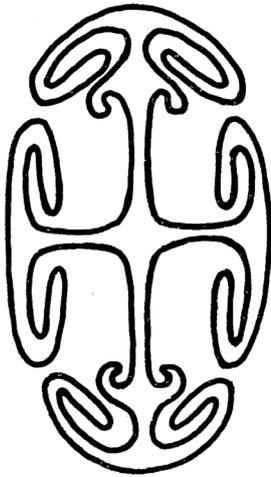
There is still another important problem. African examples teach us that tribal societies come after a few generations of Western contact to various forms of a renaissance of the traditional expressions and values. This can be observed already in some parts of Papua New Guinea and surely among the Tolai people too.

A revitalization of traditional concepts may be painful and may even hinder socio-economic development for a long period but it can, if properly guided, lead to a very fruitful incorporation of traditional Melanesian values into the modern life of the people.

It is common human experience, proven by sociologists and psychologists alike, that nobody – also no society – can live with a peaceful mind and plan for the future unless he has settled his past.

Hermann Janssen PhD. 1972.

The Two Brothers



One of the many figures which the Tolai people drew in the wet sand. The designs are part of a game called, 'Where did I begin?' in which people had to guess where the drawing was begun. Such a game is typical of the Tolai cultural concern with origins.

1. The World

To Kanini of Paparatava

The *Kaia* was still alone; he lived in deep darkness.

To Kabinana and To Purgo had not come yet.

There was deep darkness: only deep darkness.

To Kabinana and To Purgo came, and with them the sun.

Both said: "It is still night, but tomorrow the sun will shine.

So there will be time of day and time of night."

Both created these areas. Both made the gardens.

The two parted. To Kabinana went up to Reimber and To Purgo came here (to Paparatava).

To Kabinana made the land over there; it is almost flat and there are no rivers.

And To Purgo made all the gorges here.

They came together again.

To Kabinana asked To Purgo, "What have you made over there?"

To Purgo answered, "I made all the gorges."

To Kabinana said, "You spoiled the area with those gorges. But I have made this area well."

2. He Our Origin

To Puia of Rakunai

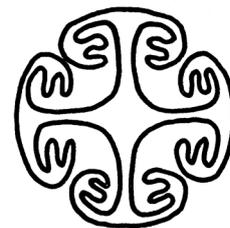
The *Kaia* drew two male figures on the ground, scratched his skin and wet the two drawings with the dripping blood. Then he broke off two leaves and covered the figures with them. Later they became two men whose names were To Kabinana and To Karvuvu.

To Kabinana then ran and climbed a coconut palm, plucked off two unripe coconuts, both light yellow and threw them on the ground. They burst and became two women.

When To Karvuvu asked him, "Where did these women come from?" To Kabinana said to him, "Pluck two young coconuts and throw them down." To Karvuvu threw two coconuts down, but the lower end of the nuts struck the ground. Because of this, his two women had crushed, battered noses.

When To Karvuvu saw that To Kabinana's two women were more beautiful than his two, he did not rest until he got one as his wife, because he liked them so much. His own two he disdained because of their crushed noses.

If now a brother-in-law takes his sister-in-law, it stems from To Karvuvu who insisted on marrying his sister-in-law. To Kabinana found fault with what his brother had done and said, "You corrupt our mortal race."



Sand Figure

3. The Mother

To Kakao of Rakunai

Some people were wading in the sea after mussels, when an old woman felt pains in her arms. She peeled the thorny-edged strip from the pandanus leaf and scratched her arms with it – in the way we do today.

First, she scratched her right arm and put the blood, from which To Kabinana would later originate, on a coconut palm leaf and put it down. Next she cut her left arm and put this blood, from which the left-handed To Karvuvu would originate, on another leaf. She put both leaves on a heap of rubbish, which she had swept together to burn.

While the old woman blew on the fire-stick with which she intended to burn the leaves, the rubbish heap began to swell. As she was making a hole in the heap to set it on fire, she saw two boys in it. She exclaimed, "How nice, my two sons, my two children!"

They grew quickly. The old woman said, "Here we are hiding in a cave where the wild pig cannot find us and eat us. I shall cut down some timber for two spears and clubs for you to use. You must kill this wild pig."

She cut the timber down. "My sons", she said, "a huge wild pig wants to devour us. It roams around here." She carved the spears and clubs and fashioned a sling. Braiding a bag for the sling stones, she put the sling together with the stones in it. "Use them well" she instructed them. "You sit here and you over there. Now you watch me."

To Kabinana said to his mother, "You must wade around near us and search for mussels."



Shell design used in a sand figure.

Then she saw the wild pig as it trotted along the beach and devoured those on the reef. She cried out, "Now then, my sons, it's coming from over there. Are you ready? It will pass this way. Look, it's nearly here. Don't be afraid. Hold your ground and fight well. Here it is!"

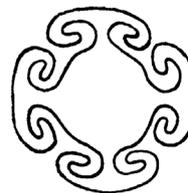
When it was opposite them, To Kabinana stood up with the spears in his hand and threw one spear into its body, but it broke off. He threw another, but this also broke. Then To Karvuvu swung his sling, let it go in the direction of the pig, and the stone hit with a whack and knocked the pig to the ground. Both of them cut it into pieces.

The old woman danced around, "You got it my sons. Now my descendants will live in peace."

Thus from To Kabinana and To Karvuvu we have learnt to spear wild pigs. If we had not, the wild pig would have hunted men forever. From then on they were safe.

4. The Parents.

To Kiga of Papatatava



Sand figure

To Lagulagu and Ia Kupia gave birth to To Kabinana and To Purgo. While they were still little, there were no coconuts, taro, or edible plants. There were no people either.

To Lagulagu sent them off. "You two go and make villages and put men in them," he told them, "Make all kinds of food for these people and make birds and pigs and all things."

The two brothers went and they were still small. They made the villages and created men to live in them. They created birds, pigs, coconuts, *taro*, bananas and all edible plants. They made houses and flower gardens and put fences around them. They brought shell money and gave it to the people.

However, there was still no fire, and the people ate their food raw. Men spoke softly, and their voices were weak because the two brothers spoke softly.

Many years passed and To Lagulagu and Ia Kupia had not heard anything of their two sons. To Lagulagu sent the cockatoo out to look for them, saying, "Search for To Kabinana and his brother for they have not returned and we do not know where they are."

The cockatoo left and flew to a *pao* tree at the entrance to one of the villages. To Kabinana saw it eating some of the fruit, and said to his brother, "Let's snare this cockatoo. It's spoiling our *pao* tree."

"Let me try," said To Purgo, "though I don't know how I'll do it."

“No don’t you try. You can’t do it. I’ll catch him, but you can make a hide to conceal ourselves from the cockatoo.”

So To Purgo made the hide and To Kabinana laid the snare. As soon as he had laid it, he returned to To Kabinana and they ate their food. By this time it was dark and To Kabinana said, “Let’s go now. We can come back early tomorrow morning.”

They went home and slept, and early the next morning To Kabinana said to his brother, “Let’s be on our way now.”

That day they walked and walked; there was no end to their going. Without knowing it, they passed the place where they laid the snare for the cockatoo and they began to follow a different track. It was not an ordinary track, but one To Lagulagu had cut. As they followed it, it became more open.

To Kabinana said to his brother, “Look we are coming to a clearing. There’s a strange house there.”

To Lagulagu saw them and said, “This house shouldn’t be strange to you, brothers. This is the place where you grew up. Come on in.”

They were both afraid, because they did not realise that To Lagulagu was their father. But he said to them, “Don’t be afraid. Come and sit down on this mound of earth.”

They sat down and To Lagulagu said to Ia Kupia, “Give your sons something to eat.”

She came and offered them her snake tail to chew. They were frightened at this, and To Lagulagu said, “Ia Kupia, take your snake tail back to the house and come and sit down with us.”

She returned to them. She was half-snake and half-woman. Her breast was the division, for only her arms and her face were human. Her body and her legs were snakelike. She came outside and they all sat down together.

To Lagulagu stood up and got two betel nuts. They were as big as coconuts and, as soon as he picked them, two new nuts at once grew in their place. He broke two branches from the pepper vine and the leaves were as big as the leaves of a breadfruit tree, except they were yellow in colour. He gave the leaves and the betel nut to the two brothers, but they just sat there.

“Why don’t you chew the betel nut?” asked To Lagulagu.

“How can we when they are so big?” replied To Kabinana.

To Lagulagu took To Kabinana’s betel nut and bit it open and it exploded like bamboo. Ia Kupia then took To Purgo’s betel nut and it also exploded when she bit it open. She gave it back to him and they both chewed their betel nuts.

When they had finished chewing, To Lagulagu got up and picked a leaf off the *tukuru* banana. Another leaf immediately grew in its place. To Lagulagu said to To Kabinana, “Sit here on this leaf. Now lie down and close your eyes.”

To Kabinana lay down face upwards and To Lagulagu cut him open from the neck to his stomach with a bamboo knife. He cut out the bowels, stripped them and cleaned them with water and then he tore off the thin skin that surrounds them. He cut out the liver and heart and stripped the thin skin from them. Next he put the bowels, the intestines, the liver and the heart back into the belly.

Then he worked magic over the lime and blew it over To Kabinana so that everything was fixed in its place. Again he worked magic over some lime and by this time To Kabinana’s heart was beating again. To Lagulagu pulled the two parts of the stomach together so that the belly might be closed over again. He worked more magic over the lime and blew it over To Kabinana and painted his face and belly with it. He became fully alive again. To Lagulagu cleaned him with water and said, “Go and sit in the sun to dry.” So To Kabinana dried himself in the sun.

To Purgo was frightened and cried a lot. To Lagulagu picked another *tukuru* leaf and said to To Purgo, “Lie down on this *tukuru* leaf.” But To Purgo was too frightened to do so.

“Don’t be afraid,” To Lagulagu said to him, “I’ll make both of you perfect in this way.”

He took To Purgo and laid him down on the leaf. He worked magic over him and he died. He cut him open. He cut out the bowels, cleaned them and stripped them. He cut out the liver, cleaned it and removed the thin skin. He put the bowels, the intestines, the liver and the heart back.

Again he worked magic over some lime and everything became fixed in its place. The heart began beating again. He pulled the parts of the stomach and joined them together. The belly closed itself again. He worked more magic and

blew it over To Purgo until he came to life again. He cleaned him with water and put him out in the sun to dry.

To Lagulagu called To Kabinana. “To Kabinana, you two speak now.”

Both of them talked. When he heard them talking, To Lagulagu said, “I have perfected both of you. Your voices are strong now and you will be heard easily. If your hearts had not been cleaned, how could you have helped your people?”

To Lagulagu then asked them, “What have you given your people?”

“*Taro*, coconuts and shell money,” they answered.

“What kind of shell money?”

“The ordinary kind.”

“I do not know this kind. Do they eat it?”

“No, they do not eat it. They use it to buy things with and it serves them when they die.”

“Have all the tribes got this?”

“No there isn’t a great deal of shell money. I only gave it to some of the villages, not to the others. Shell money is rare.”

“Well that’s all then,” said To Lagulagu. “You can go now.”

“If you are hungry,” said Ia Kupia, “Come back and have something to eat. Remember when you prepare your food to cook it on fire so that your bodies will adapt themselves to the new life. If people do not adapt in this way, they will continue to roam in the bush. Do you have many people?”

“Yes many people,” replied To Kabinana.

“We have made one tribe who live in the bush,” added To Purgo. “They have no shell money and they don’t bury their dead. They have no good food. These are the Baining people. All the other villages are good – we made them properly. When we came to the Baining people we were tired and we did not make them properly.”

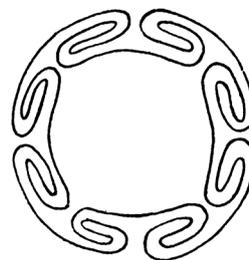
To Lagulagu said, “Go now, because I have made you perfect. When you are hungry always come back here.”

They went and when they arrived in their village, they said to the people, “When you eat, cook your *taro* and bananas on the fire on hot stones. Do this and you will become as perfect as we are.”

Men became perfect then, because they ate food which was cooked on a fire.

5. The Father

To Vangan of Paparatava



Sand Figure

One day To Purgo and To Kabinana were trying to trap hornbills on the *parur* trees. That night they rested and got up when the *kau* birds were calling out before dawn and went to have a look at their traps.

However, To Lagulagu (their father, who was an important *tabaran*), covered over their tracks and cut a new track which the two brothers followed. They couldn’t find their own track and they stumbled into To Lagulagu’s house. His wife, Ia Kupia, was there, and when she saw them she said, “My children, where did you come from?”

“We are lost,” they replied.

“Come here and see To Lagulagu,” said Ia Kupia for she was very pleased to see them.

When he saw them, To Lagulagu said, “My children, where have you two come from? You must stay here – you are two babies.” Ia Kupia was so happy that she made a pool of water, and said, “To Kabinana and To Purgo, this will be our place for getting shells to make shell money. We will also catch fish and get shell money for them. I am pleased with you, my two children.”

When they weren’t looking, To Lagulagu put a fence around them. They were very worried, thinking that perhaps they were going to be killed. The fence was made with a snake that was coiled around from the ground up to the height of the lowest leaves on the trees there.

To Lagulagu said, “You two can eat some betel nut.” And he gave them one large betel nut as big as a coconut. When they didn’t eat it he asked, “Why aren’t you eating it?”

“It’s too big,” they replied. “Our mouths aren’t big enough to bite it.” So To Lagulagu bit the husk from the betel nut and the two chewed it.

As soon as they had finished chewing it, To Lagulagu cut off a kind of wild banana leaf. Picking up To Purgo from inside the snake fence, he cut him up. To Kabinana cried when he saw him doing this.

To Lagulagu continued to cut To Purgo up and washed the bits with water and squeezed out the blood. Then he put all the pieces out in the sun and they became completely dried out. As soon as all the pieces were dry he picked them up and put them together again. Then he wet them with a special kind of water and To Purgo was made whole again.

Later, To Lagulagu blew some loose powdered lime from the palm of his hand and To Kabinana saw one of To Purgo’s toes move. Again he blew lime onto To Purgo and this time his chest began to move up and down. He blew more lime and this time To Purgo stood up – he was alive again.

To Lagulagu said to him, “To Purgo, you will not die. I have purified your blood. It is because of their blood that your people die. I have taken you from your people so you will not die. I have washed the blood of your people out of you.”

Then To Lagulagu picked up To Kabinana and cut him up in the same way and To Purgo cried. He cut him up completely and washed the pieces with water and squeezed out the blood. Then he dried out the bits in the sun till they were completely dry. When the bits were quite dry he put them in order and wet them with the same special water. Now To Kabinana was whole again.

To Lagulagu then took up the lime and blew it over To Kabinana and he raised one toe. Again To Lagulagu picked up more lime and blew it over him. This time his chest began to move up and down. The next time he did it to Kabinana opened his eyes and lastly stood up.

To Lagulagu spoke to both of them, “You two must warm yourselves in the sun so that you will be strong.”

They lay in the sun and To Lagulagu said, “You two will not die. Everything we have made will die, but you two will not. You are my children.”

Then he said to them, “Go and pick some leaves from the trees.”

“What leaves?” asked To Kabinana.

“Leaves of all kinds of trees.”

“What do you want them for?”

“So we can make a fire that will rise up to the sky and kill all our people,” replied To Lagulagu.

But to Kabinana said to To Purgo, “Let’s gather poisonous leaves to give To Lagulagu because he said he will kill our people. Those are our people and we don’t want to kill them. We must kill him first.”

They picked some pepper and put poison with it and returned to To Lagulagu. He asked them, “Are those the leaves you gathered for us?”

“Yes,” they replied.

“Let’s burn them then,” said To Lagulagu.

“Let’s chew some betel nut first,” said To Kabinana. “Here is yours.”

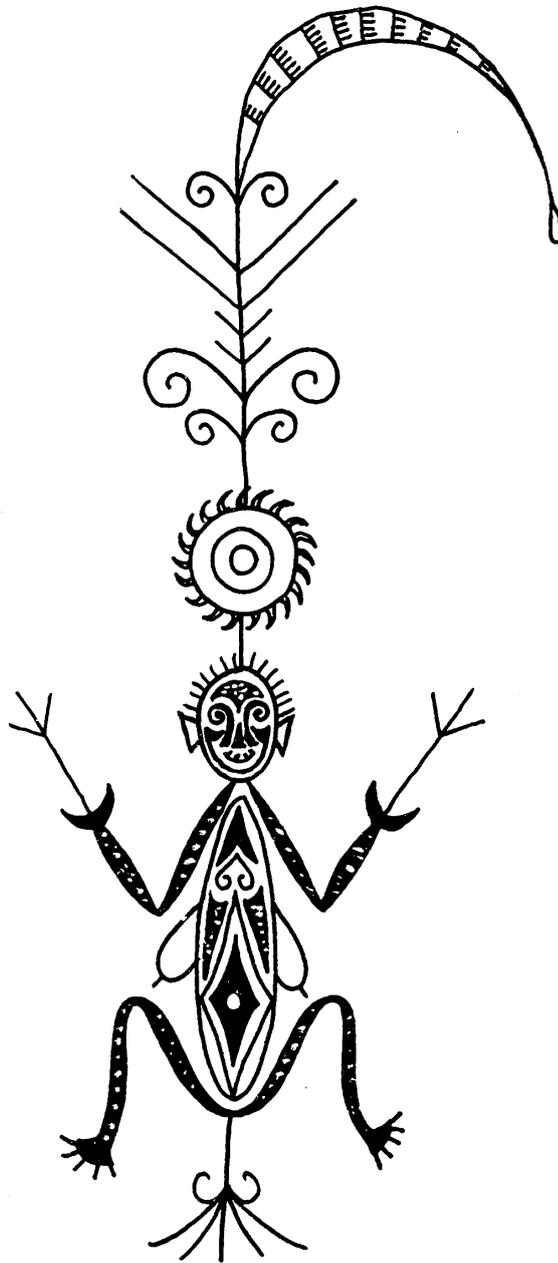
To Purgo gave To Lagulagu the pepper they had prepared and when he had eaten some of it, To Lagulagu said: “My children my stomach is sore. I’m going to die and leave you with the woman who is your mother.”

Then To Lagulagu ran down to the sea and died and his body swelled up till it was enormous. His stomach was huge and reached almost to the sky when it swelled up.

Ia Kupia said, “To Kabinana, we will die now because this great fellow will kill us.”

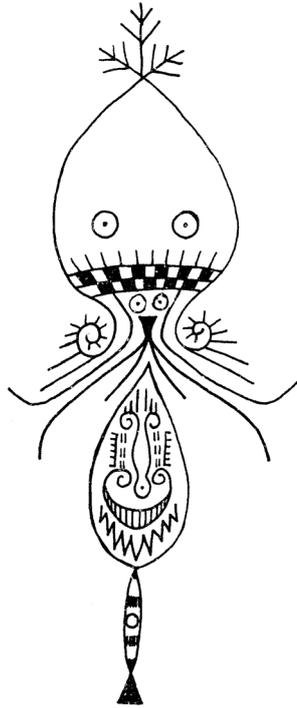
However, To Kabinana took a small stick and went down to the sea and pushed it into To Lagulagu’s body. The water ran out of his stomach and the blood too. The stomach got small again, so small that it disintegrated.

They carried his bones away and divided them up. The people from the villages all got rib bones. They brought one here to Papatatava which was very big like a piece of bamboo.



One of the motifs carried in the *perapere* dance (*tabaran* dance). These decorations symbolize spirits of the dead, which are invoked for love, magic or fertility ceremonies. In the early days they were used only by the members of the *Ingiet* Society and both To Kabinana and To Purgo belonged to the *Ingiet* in their roles as sun and moon.

Sun and Moon



Ingiet symbol used in the perapere dance.

1. To Purgo and To Kabinana as Sun and Moon.

To Titur of Papatava

The sun or To Purgo has two names. In the *Ingiet* Society his name is To Mora. But the name given to him as a child is To Purgo. The moon or To Kabinana also has two names. His name in the *Ingiet* is A Kalau. But the name he got as a child is To Kabinana. He has a kinsman who is the star near the moon. And his name means that he is afraid of snoring. To Purgo's kinsmen are a group of stars which stand together. They are called A Latilot and her children.

2. To Kabinana as Moon

To Titur of Papatava

A man went out pig hunting, but he lost his way and came to the home of the moon. The moon asked him where he had come from. "I've lost my way," he replied.

"How did you do that?"

"I can't find the place where I live. I'm hungry too. Could I roast those *tukuru* bananas which are lying there on the ground?"

"No don't take them from there, that place is too dirty."

"But I'm hungry."

"Well, don't take those, they are too dirty. Here, have some of these bananas."

The man cut a bunch of bananas and roasted them. When they were cooked he ate them.

Later, the man said to the moon, "Tell me, my friend, what is that stuff you use to make your fences with?"

"What do you mean?"

"Why, that stuff over there."

"Oh, that is a vine."

"We don't use that," answered the man, "but we would like to have some. Here is some shell money to pay for it."

"Well what do you use in your fences?"

"We use *mariaga* vines."

"I don't use them," replied the moon.

"I better go now," said the man. "Look it's dark already."

"I will come with you then."

As they were going along, he asked the moon what his name was. "I have two names," replied the moon. "My name in the *Ingiet* is A Kalau, but the name given to me at birth is To Kabinana."

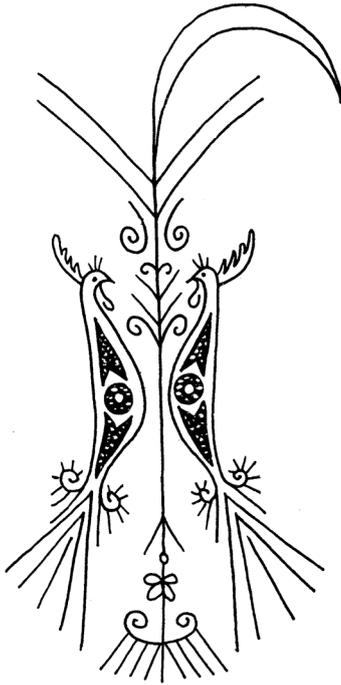
As they walked along A Kalau turned his back on the man and shone as the moon and the man arrived safely back in his village.

3. To Purgo as Sun

The cockatoo in the *Tumau* Tree

To Maumaduk of Papatava

A man saw a cockatoo sitting in a *tumau* tree every morning, so one day he put some glue on the branch where the cockatoo always sat. The



Motif used in decorating the head gear for the *perapere* dance. This one represents two fighting roosters and is called a *totokoi*.

cockatoo, however, dried up the glue with his heat (because he was really the sun). When the man climbed the tree and saw the dried glue, he wondered how it had happened and decided to put a trap there instead. He did this and by the time he climbed down again it was already dark.

Next morning the man came to the foot of the *tumau* tree and saw the cockatoo sitting there as usual. He caught it with a sling and pulling it down, he killed it. Then he put it in a basket and hung it in the top of a tree before going for a walk.

When he returned, the basket felt very heavy and the cockatoo inside it began to talk.

“My friend,” he said, “Who do you think I am? I am really a man. I have trapped you now. You will never be able to escape from my sight now.”

When he heard the cockatoo talking, the man was so afraid he began to shake, but the cockatoo said, “Don’t be afraid, I want to talk to you. You see I am not an ordinary cockatoo I am the sun and I help you with your gardens. Before the rains come, I help you with my sunshine, so that you can burn the dry wood in the garden. I am a *kaia* spirit. I am To Purgu. Now you will never be able to hide things you are ashamed of from me.”

4. The Cockatoo in the *Marita* tree

To Titur of Papatava

One day when a man sat down to warm himself, he saw a cockatoo sitting in a *marita* tree.

“I shall catch this cockatoo with a sling,” he said to himself

A few mornings later, the man brought a sling with him and sat on the *marita* tree waiting for the cockatoo. The cockatoo was waiting for the man to move from the *marita* tree, but he waited in vain.

While he was sitting on the tree, the man thought to himself, “There is something strange happening here. It has been light a long time now, but the sun is not here to warm me.”

He climbed down from the tree and sat on the ground. When he left the tree, the cockatoo flew down and sat there but he sat in the middle of the sling.

The man pulled the sling and caught the cockatoo, but it burnt him because it was the sun. And it said, “I am not only the sun. I am To Mora.”

5. To Purgu and To Kabinana change roles

To Vargu of Viviran

To Kabinana said to To Purgu, “You will be the sun and I shall be the moon.”

To Purgu travelled during the day and he killed the people and burnt all the food in the gardens because of his heat.

To Kabinana said, “I shall be the sun from now on because you kill our chickens with your heat.”

6. The Parrot in the *Gogo* tree

To Tipaul of Papatava

To Kabinana said to To Purgu, “Let us become the sun and the moon.”

To Purgu said, “We must divide the roles. I shall be the sun.”

To Kabinana added, “And I shall be the moon.”

In this way To Purgu became the sun and To Kabinana became the moon.

While To Purgu was the sun, he watched a green parrot eating the fruit of the *gogo* tree. He saw a man creep up with a sling and aim at the parrot.

The parrot fell down and the man wrung its neck and beat it.

To Purgo, the sun, cried because the man had killed the green parrot. He became very bright and burnt the man who ran away to his house. The sun burnt him there too, so he hid in some deep water. Again the sun found him and burnt him. Lastly he hid in a hole, but the sun found him there too and burnt him to death.

To Purgo returned to To Kabinana who asked him what he had done.

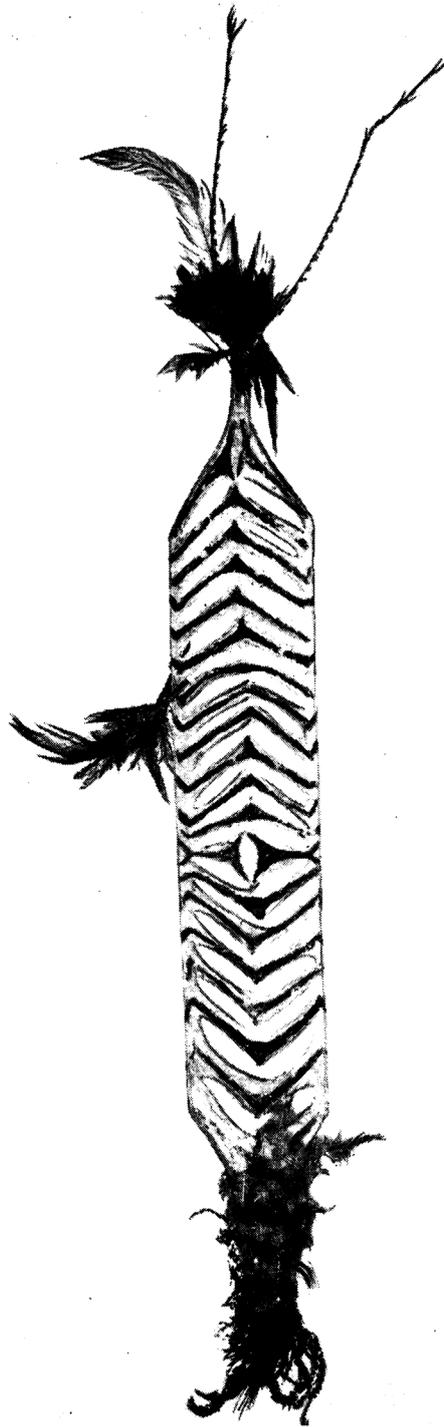
“I’ve just burnt a man to death,” he replied.

“Why do you make our people miserable? We must change roles. You will be the moon and I shall be the sun so that you cannot harm our people and you will travel during the cool night.”

In this way To Purgo became the moon and To Kabinana the sun.

Motif from the *perapere* dance called a *kagal*. This is a feather decoration with an ancestor and a bird. Note the comb-like joints which signify the rib cage of a dead person.





Fish and water motif on a dancing shield.

Land, Sea, Places and Languages



A wooden fishing float.

1. Two Brothers Make the Sea and the Land

A Tolai of Tarivo, Watom Island

In the beginning the sea was only a small pool.

The two brothers cut grooves through it.

And gradually it filled up.

They made canoes and let them float on the sea.

The sea ran towards the land on all sides

And soon they brought it to all the countries.

Parts of the countries they cut off to made the islands.

They also made the land.

To Karivuvu made the land of the islands;

To Kambinanai made the mainland.

2. The Two Brothers Make Tolai Land

To Kopia of Papatava

To Kabinana and To Purgo were making various places when To Kabinana said, "Let's separate. I'll go down there and you go over there." So they separated at Vunadadir. To Kabinana went down past Reimber and To Purgo came to Papatava. He pulled up a *gorogoro*, a wild ginger plant, and jumped up and down with it till he had made a hole in the ground. He then climbed with this *gorogoro* plant until he reached the top of the hill and jumped back down again into the hole.

He ran off then with the wild ginger plant, following the streams where he put many stones. He made the low valleys and high hills and all the places around there.

He took a water container and putting it around his neck, he ran to Vairiki where he decided to make a village. At last he returned to Vunadadir where he met To Kabinana, who asked him, "What about the people?"

"I have prepared for them," replied To Purgo. "I've made many good places for them and at the last place I even hung a water container around my neck."

"Well. Let's go and see how you have prepared for our people."

When they came to Papatava, To Kabinana said, "You made it unsuitable for our people. There are holes everywhere here, and over there is a big river and many big hills. Their life will be hard now."

They went down to the beach then, and To Kabinana said, "Have a look at all the places I have made." To Purgo laughed when he saw the sea, but To Kabinana scolded him, "You make things hard for our people, but I have helped them. To Purgo said, "Brother let me stay here. You go up there where all the rivers are."

"Don't talk to me. You only made things hard for our people. Stop your chatter!"

So To Purgo stopped talking.

3. People and Languages

To Laviu of Vairiki



Flute Design

To Kabinana said to To Purgo, "Let us prepare the different areas. Let's go all over the place and make people that are like us."

So To Purgo went off. First he made the Baining people and taught them their language. Then he made the Taulil people and gave them their

language. After he had done the same in some other places, he rested before going on to Vairiki.

To Kabinana had already made the people there and To Purgo was jealous. So he hung a water bag around his neck and sang as he walked past. To Kabinana met him and said, "What's that around your neck?"

"I have just gone past one of the places which you made."

To Kabinana was angry, "Why have you disfigured these people? Now they will all have lumps on their necks."

4. Places and Tribes

Ia Pueita of Viviran

The old woman who had given birth to To Kabinana and To Purgo died. She shed her old skin and came to life again. When she asked To Purgo to light the fire so she could warm herself, he refused to obey her. He wet on it and put it out. Because of this the old woman died completely and we today die completely.

If To Purgo had not urinated on the fire and put it out, people would not have died, they would have been as plentiful as the pebbles on the beach.

Later To Kabinana said to To Purgo, "Let's go to different places." They separated and To Kabinana came here to Reimber, Malakuna and places like that. To Purgo went to Viviran, Tamanairik and into the gardening lands: Rapitok, Napapa Tinganagalip, Navunaram, Vairiki, Taulil and Baining.

When they met again at Vunadidir, To Kabinana asked To Purgo where he had been.

"Oh, I went to many places and I taught all the people their languages. The people of Napapa, Tinganagalip, Navunaram and Kabaira all say *la* when they speak (for example, *kaum la go?*) and they say *ke*. The people of the gardening areas Rapitok, Tamanairik often begin with *ui* when they speak. The Taulil and the Baining have completely different languages. When I went to Vairiki I hung a water bottle around my neck and now those people all have goitre in their necks and they speak in a different voice. When I went to Keravat I made a hill and put stones on top of it."

To Kabinana scolded him, "You must put the stones on the ground not on top of a hill. You are always making things difficult for our people. Listen to me. I'm always trying to help the people and I've taught them all to speak properly. The language they speak is the correct one for this area. You have made things difficult for them. I have even taught them to cook properly and to use good food cooked in coconut sauce. They put this sauce made from coconut milk on the fowls when they cook them."

To Purgo said, "I went to Taulil where they only scrape one coconut to make the sauce for a large quantity of food. They mostly use water when they cook their food which they just peck at."

"And what about the Baining people?" asked To Kabinana.

"The Baining people? They have no fowls. They only eat pigs."

"See! You have spoilt them. Poor things!" said To Kabinana.

5. Plains and Hills

Tagalir of Paparatava

To Kabinana told To Purgo to go in the direction of Paparatava while he went up to Reimber, Malakuna, and Gunanur, where there is level ground. To Purgo went to Viviran, Vairiki, Tamanairik, Taulil and to Rapirok.

Later, when they both returned home, To Kabinana asked To Purgo, "Where did you go?"

"I went to all the areas where plenty of water is and where there are deep gullies. I tied a waterbag around my neck before I went to Vairiki so the people there all have goitre. I went to Viviran too, and the people there now have sore noses."

To Kabinana was angry, "You have spoiled my people now," he said. "I made the area where I went good and flat, but you have made the people wretched."

"How did I do that?"

"You filled their areas with gullies."

6. Watom Island

A Tolai of Ramala, Watom Island

To Kambinanai wanted to make Watom Island, but To Karivuvu came first and he made the island stony. To Kambinanai became angry and he said, "Why did you come first? I would have made a good island in four days."

He went away and made the shell money in a foreign land. He also made the shell money for the people of New Ireland.

7. From the Islands of Nakanai

Turamagu of Livuan

On the day when To Kabinana made his canoe and To Karvuvu made his *garamut*, To Kabinana was angry with To Karvuvu.

"You foolish fellow," he said, "This is a drum not a canoe. People will drum on it when our children die. Now they must die. You make our descendants miserable."

Later he said, "Come and look at what I have made."

Together they went to look at To Kabinana's canoe and To Karvuvu cried, "What a fine canoe this is. Let's use it ourselves."

"We'll put it into the sea then," said To Kabinana.

They pushed it into the sea and loaded it with earth clods.

"Climb in and we'll paddle around," said To Kabinana.

They sailed out to sea and paddled around for awhile. They used the clods of earth to create Ramoina and the other islands which lie out to sea. Without any trouble they created Watom and Urara, then they sailed along the coast of the main island and created Masava, Masikonapuka, and Palater.

They sailed on and the canoe capsized with them at Talele so they threw out some of the clods of earth. Thus the islands of Talele are grouped together. They sailed on and created those smaller islands Vanobo and Masikonakonai and finally reached Nakanai.

8. Little Lakes

To Titur of Paparatava

To Kabinana told To Purgo to make one area while he went off to make another.

To Purgo asked him, "Where are you going?"

"Down there," pointed To Kabinana.

"What will you call the place?"

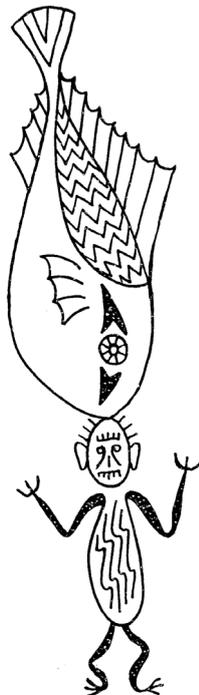
"I don't know yet. You make these places here and you can name them as you like."

To Purgo came to the place here and he called it Paparatava, then he went to Tamanairik and gave it its name, Tamanairik. The other places he named were Rapitok, Rabagi, Tavanamabu, Taulil, Viviran and Vairiki. Then he made Raravat and another place which he also named Raravat because of the two big stones there called *a ura Tirativa*.

He put more stones around the bottom of the rocks to make them secure and stop them falling. He made a sea at Nabuaik and he stood in it and he also made a lake called *Na Boraboroi*.

To Kabinana came to him and said, "What is this? A water-hole?"

To Purgo replied, "No, it's not a water-hole. It's the sea."



Perapere motif

Then To Kabinana put some very fierce biting ants there and they drank up the water so that there was none left.

To Purgo made the sea again at Vairiki, but when To Kabinana came he said, "What's this?"

"It's the sea," his brother replied.

"You silly thing," said To Kabinana, "The ants will bite it and get rid of it too."

The ants did this and To Purgo ran away to Sulugtarai and made the sea there. When To Kabinana saw it he said, "What's this? Is it more sea?"

When To Purgo said it was, To Kabinana declared, "It cannot stay here either."

9. The Origin of the Sea

To Tipaul of Paparatava

To Kabinana and To Purgo were cooking green leaves.

"Where is the salt water?" asked To Purgo. "I'll go and get some to cook our food in."

However To Kabinana said, "Perhaps you better get fresh water."

"No, It's all right, I'll get salt water."

To Kabinana showed him where the sea was and told him to get the water from it. But To Purgo went and just dug channels and spread the sea to other areas. If he hadn't dug the channels the sea would have stayed where it was.

10. Shifting of the Sea

To Varokoi of Paparatava

To Kabinana came and saw the sea up at Tingenaik, where To Purgo had put it. There were conch shells, coral and many other things in it.

To Kabinana said To Purgo, "Who told you to put the sea there?"

"No one did," he replied, "I just thought of the idea myself."

To Kabinana then picked up the sea and put it down in its proper place.

Men and Marriage, *Tabarans* and Ancestors



Dancing shield showing a *tabaran* in a sitting position.

1. The Great *Kaia* Makes man and Woman.

To Kanini of Papatava

The Great *Kaia* was playing.
He made clay and formed a man.
He made his two hands and feet.
He made his sexual organs and his head.
And the man began to live.
The *Kaia* said to this man:
“Wait, I shall make a wife for you.”
He made her hands, head and feet.
He made her sexual organs.
Into them he put the flying fox,
A young coconut and urine.
Then the *Kaia* poured some water over her.
And the woman began to live.

2. The Origin of the Woman from the *pit* plant

Turamagu of Livuan

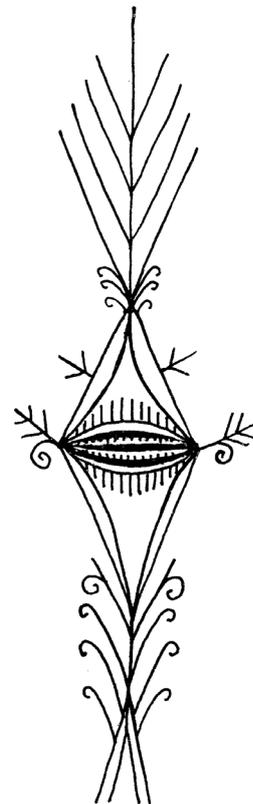
To Kabinana and To Karvuvu were fishing with a net when a *pit* plant got caught in it. They emptied the net and continued fishing, but another piece of *pit* plant got caught in it. They took this piece and planted it and went off.

The *pit* plant grew and ripened. Out of it stepped a woman who cooked some vegetables for the two brothers and roasted bananas for them and they came and ate it all.

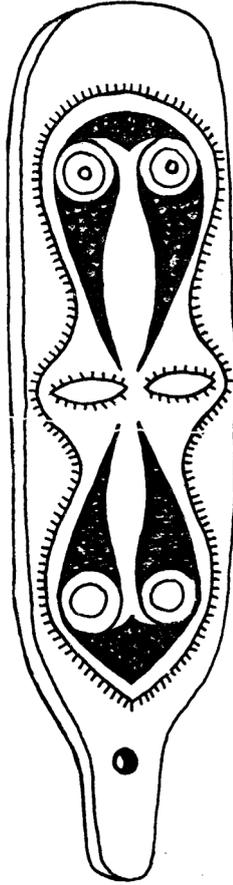
Next day she again stepped from the *pit* plant and cooked vegetables for them.

To Karvuvu said, “We’ll lie in wait for her. The one who cooks our vegetables shall be our wife.”

They lay in wait for her, and once more the woman stepped out of the *pit* plant and began to cook. To Karvuvu seized her but To Kabinana said, “You foolish one, she cooks vegetables, bananas and other food for us. Why do you claim



Fertility symbol on a small dancing shield.



A float used on the fish nets.

her? I will have nothing to do with either of you. Take her away to some other place. I won't stand for this. She cooks our food and vegetables and bananas. She is our sister. I will not touch her."

3. Women and Marriage Customs

A Tolai of Tarivo, Watom Island

To Kambinanai and To Karivuvu were catching fish with a net during the night. To Kambinanai was holding the net and to Karivuvu chased the fish. A piece of *pitpit* drifted into the net, it got caught, and the two brothers threw it away.

The two of them started fishing again, and again the piece of *pitpit* got caught in the net, and the two threw it ashore. To Kambinanai was holding the net again and To Karivuvu chased the fish. Again that piece of *pitpit* got stuck in the net.

To Kambinanai said, "Let's plant it." They planted it, and it grew. It grew and grew and it became big. The two brothers went out to work and the *pitpit* broke open. She (a woman) prepared food in the leaves for the two brothers,

she cleaned the place, she scraped coconuts, and she prepared the food with coconut milk and put it on the table. The two brothers came back and To Karivuvu said, "What have you got there?"

"I have some vegetables and very good coconut food."

Both of them went to work again and later returned. "What is that again?"

"I have some vegetables and very good coconut food." The brothers hid themselves. The *pitpit* broke and the two brothers caught that woman.

To Karivuvu said, "She must be the wife for two of us."

But To Kambinanai said, "No she is our sister, she made our food. I shall buy another woman for you."

The two brothers went to a river. To Kambinanai sat down on a branch of a tree and he spat. He spat on the head of a woman. The woman cried and cried. To Karivuvu caught her. To Karivuvu was pointed out and he hid himself in the bush.

After some days To Karivuvu came back again and he brought a woman for To Kambinanai. To Kambinanai was pointed out. Food was now prepared and it was brought into the bush with much noise, and the people threw dirt at each other. Food was prepared for To Karivuvu by occasion of the dirt-throwing custom. The people hit each other with light sticks.

To Karivuvu went to his house to get shell money for the *tupariarikai*, the marriage custom. He went into the bush and gave the shell money to To Kambinanai who came out of his house and built a house for his wife.

4. The Origin of Woman from a Coconut

To Vaure of Papatava

The mother of To Kabinana and To Purgo died. She was buried by the two of them and later a coconut tree grew out of her head. The two looked after it for there were no coconut palms yet. It gradually grew bigger, and when it was big, it bore fruit.

To Kabinana took one of the young coconuts and dashed it into the ground. It split open and in it he found a little girl. He adopted her and looked after her until she had grown up.

To Purgo saw her and was intimate with her. Later To Kabinana saw her swollen stomach and asked her, "Why is your womb so big?"

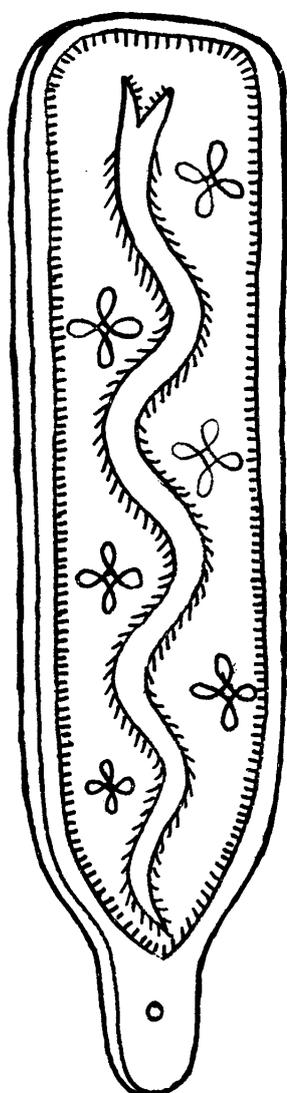
"I'm pregnant," she replied.

"Who is the father?"

"To Purgo."

To Kabinana was angry. "That fellow spoils our people. Now our people are cursed. To Purgo has spoiled them."

Because of this, the two separated the two marriage groups from each other. To Kabinana said "You To Purgo, are cursed because you have done this to our real sister."



A wooden float used on fishing nets. The design represents sea spirits as snakes which are supposed to frighten the fish into the nets.

5. Marriage Instructions

To Kanini of Paparatava

The two young men asked the *Kaia*, "Who are those?"

"They are my women."

"What are they for?"

"So we may know them. Do you want them too?"

"Yes."

"Wait, I will get them for you."

The *Kaia* asked the women, "Who wants to have To Purgo and who wants To Kabinana?"

The two women answered, "Both of us."

And the *Kaia* said, "You two come with me."

The three of them went to To Purgo and To Kabinana, who asked the *Kaia*, "What shall we do with these women?"

"Take them for your own."

"How do we do that?" they inquired. So the *Kaia* took the two women and To Purgo and To Kabinana were instructed by the *Kaia*. When they parted, To Kabinana asked the *Kaia*, "What will happen to these two women?"

The *Kaia* replied, "They will give birth. Each of them will give birth to a child."

"A man child like us?"

"Yes"

After two seasons had passed the two women gave birth to two children. And the *Kaia* said, "You two women will later give birth again. Care for your children and rear them well, for I will divide them into two marriage groups. The sons of To Kabinana and To Purgo will buy wives from the children of the *Kaia*. And the sons of the *Kaia* will buy wives from the daughters of To Kabinana and To Purgo."

6. The First Marriages

Ia Pueita of Viviran

The old woman had changed her skin. She gave birth to two girls. To Kabinana and to Purgo married those two girls. After they were married, the girls became pregnant. The first-born of one was a girl and the first-born of the other was a

boy. And the girl was bought for the boy. Later the woman, whose first born had been a girl, gave birth to a son and the woman whose first-born had been a boy gave birth to a daughter. That girl was bought for the boy who was born later.

And they were separated so that they might form two marriage groups.

7. We and They

To Putur of Rakunai

To Kabinana and To Karvuvu stayed at Davapia, (the Beehive Rocks) where they created our Mother. This is how it happened.

To Kabinana said to To Karvuvu, "Climb a coconut palm and get two unripe, light-yellow nuts. Hide one first, but bring the other one to me."

To Karvuvu went, but he got only one light-skinned nut. The other nut was dark-brown. For although To Kabinana had told him to get two light-coloured nuts, he decided to climb two different coconut trees – one with yellow nuts and the other with dark-brown ones. In this way he mixed up the nuts.

As he had been told to get two light-yellow nuts To Karvuvu hid the dark-brown nut first and brought only the light-yellow one to his brother. To Kabinana accepted the nut and tying it to the stern of a canoe, he pushed it into the sea.



Perapere motif

To Kabinana was sitting in front, while the light-coloured nut was steering behind. He did not listen to the noise which the nut caused by striking now and then against the moving canoe and he did not look back.

The nut turned into a woman and he was aware of her only through the rowing by which she helped to move the canoe. When To Kabinana at last looked around, he saw a beautiful woman sitting at the stern, steering the canoe. She originated the custom whereby the woman sit at the stern and steer the canoe, while the men sit in front and paddle.

To Kabinana landed again at Davapia with the woman. When To Karvuvu saw her, he exclaimed, "What a beautiful woman! Let's both have her for a wife."

To Kabinana, however, reprimanded him with the words, "What an immoral fellow you are! Be patient! You will have a wife soon enough. This woman is our mother."

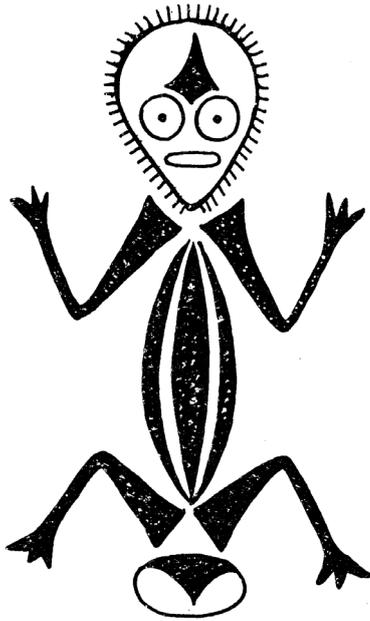
"Let's both have her," repeated To Karvuvu.

"On no account," replied To Kabinana. "She is our mother. Come, we shall get you a wife. Fetch the other coconut which I told you to hide."

To Karvuvu fetched the dark-coloured nut and brought it to his brother. When he saw it, To Kabinana scolded his brother. "You evil fellow! You bring misery to our mortal race. From now on we shall be divided into two clans: the moiety called 'They' and the moiety called 'We'.

They both went and tied the dark-coloured nut to the stern of the canoe. Pushing the canoe with the nut out into the water they sailed around, dragging the nut behind them in the water. As the nut struck the canoe, To Kabinana forbade To Karvuvu to look around at it. Only when the nut had turned into a woman and they felt her helping them did the two brothers look around. They saw a woman at the back of the canoe who had a dark skin, whereas the first woman created by To Kabinana had been light.

Seeing this, To Kabinana said to his brother, "You bring ruin to our mortal race. If we had all been the same colour, we need not have died, but now there will be two tribes – one formed by the dark-skinned woman and the other by the light-skinned one. That dark-skinned woman belongs to the marriage clan 'They' and this light-skinned



A *tabaran* figure burnt into bamboo.

one to the marriage clan 'We'. The light-skinned men will marry dark-skinned women."

To Karvuvu said, "Never mind, we have got this beautiful woman."

"All right" answered To Kabinana, "She will be my sister-in-law. You may marry her."

Thus To Kabinana divided us into two clans – the moiety 'They' and the moiety 'We'. The men from the clan of the light-skinned woman buy the women of the dark-skinned clan and the men from the dark-skinned clan buy those women from the light-skinned clan.

The light-coloured woman grew and gave birth to Ia Mang, whom To Kabinana described as being a sister to him and his brother.

8. Men and *Tabarans*

To Logia of Tanaka

When To Kabinana and To Purgo were born, they were put into the sun to get dry. Then it was night and they were wrapped in cloth. Gradually they grew bigger and bigger and they made the first fish trap to catch fish with.

Then To Kabinana said, "Let's make the sea. Make it very deep."

To Purgo made the sea, but To Kabinana said, "No, not over there; put it in that part over there. Stop! You are not doing it properly, as usual."

Then To Kabinana himself made the sea. Later he said to To Purgo, "Let's carve some pieces of wood so that we can make people to help us." So they made people.

To Kabinana made the humans and To Purgo made the *tabarans*. When To Kabinana saw the *tabarans* he said, "What are you up to? What are these things you made? These are just *tabarans*; they are not like the humans I made. You have made *tabarans*!"

To Kabinana then chased the *tabarans*. He said, "These will go into the bush and do things to frighten us."

9. The Origin of Ancestors

To Luluai of Rakunai

To Kabinana said to To Karvuvu, "Come let's climb a *lutung* tree on the beach."

They went off and after swimming around they climbed the *lutung* tree. They climbed out on a branch which hung over the water. They broke off two withered leaves and To Kabinana said to To Karvuvu, "Let's walk in the bush and crawl into these two leaves. But don't talk."

To Karvuvu asked, "What will happen?"

"We will become extraordinary creatures. When we talk from the inside of these leaves we will assume the appearance of two birds. You will become a *parapere* bird – and you will stay in this creature. And I will be a *pakupak* bird."

To Kabinana hurried and said, "Now then, let's throw the leaves in the water."

When they had thrown the two leaves, they jumped in after them and lay face down on them. Then To Kabinana said to To Karvuvu, "I will do all the talking from now on. You keep quiet, or you will endanger us and we might be killed by the people."

They went into a cave and came out again at To Mariga. They rested then at Tomavatur. To Kabinana ordered To Karvuvu, "Blow the conch shell, so they will know we are here, and we may talk to them from these *parapere* and *pukupak* birds."

To Karvuvu blew the conch shell. The people were afraid and trembled. They asked the two, "What are you? Are you spirits of two of our

people who have died before? What are you doing?" They pressed the two to answer, saying, "Come on tell us".

"Don't you talk," warned To Kabinana, "So that they will not be frightened and kill us." Then To Kabinana spoke from inside the *pakupak* bird, "Who are we indeed!"

"We do not know you," answered the people who were very afraid.

To Kabinana begged them, "Brothers give us something to eat and put it on that rock." The people then put two eggs on the rock.

To Kabinana whispered to To Karvuvu, "Stay here while I get the eggs."

To Kabinana flew down, got the eggs and they both sucked on them. They threw the egg shells at the people, who called to them: "It would be good if you two would come down here. Sit down with us, for we cannot see you properly. You are only two birds. If only you had human bodies instead of those bird ones."

To Karvuvu did not talk, but To Kabinana said, "Put some more food for us on the rock." The people again brought out two more eggs. But they tied strings to them and two men hid behind the rock.

They shouted at the two birds, "Your eggs are up there on the rock."

The two flew down and picked up the two eggs, but could not get them loose. So they sat on the rock. When they started to peck at the eggs, the two men pulled the strings. To Karvuvu screeched like an ordinary bird and they knocked him down on the rock. But To Kabinana spoke like a spirit bird and they were afraid of him.

They set him free, saying, "This is a spirit bird, but that one is an ordinary one which has joined him." To Kabinana returned to the same *ipi* tree they had perched on before and watched what happened to his brother. The people wrapped him up and took him to their village in the evening. Here they laid him under the roof on the rafters. To Kabinana followed carrying a small stone and perched on the end of the ridge-pole.

Then he reached down to the parcel in which his brother was wrapped and whispered to him. His brother moved so he called him by name, "To Karvuvu!"

"Where are you brother?" asked To Karvuvu.

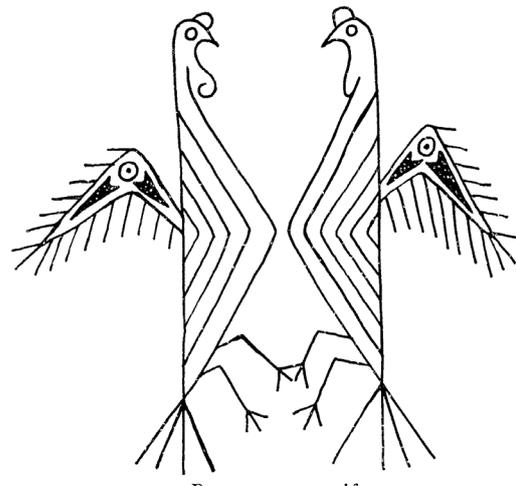
"I am here under the roof on the rafters."

"I am so miserable. Help me escape while they sleep."

To Kabinana untied the parcel and set him free. In his place he wrapped a big stone. They both said to it, "When they put you into the fire to roast, explode so that they will all be killed, both men and women."

In the morning the people took the parcel, thinking it was To Karvuvu, and put it on the fire to roast. As they were cold they sat near the fire. Presently, the stone exploded and they all perished.

Only two men and two women survived. These then became our ancestors.



Perapere motif

Garden Work and Food Production



A leaf design on a dancing shield.

1. To Kabinana and To Purgo make a garden

To Tipaul of Papatava

To Kabinana asked To Purgo to help him cut the bush in their garden. After they had cut it all, they waited for the sun because it was a wet season.

The bush began to grow again, so To Kabinana asked his brother to help weed the garden. Both of them went and cleared the garden by slashing down the bush. They put the rubbish in heaps and burnt it.

To Kabinana then told To Purgo to pull up some banana suckers which he did, but he cut off the

tops and bottoms of the suckers. He took them to the garden and planted them.

“Where are the banana suckers?” asked To Kabinana.

“There they are,” replied To Purgo.

“No, those are only the stems of some bananas.”

“No they’re not,” retorted To Purgo.

“Where are the bottom parts?”

“I cut them off and threw them away.”

“These won’t grow. Throw them away.”

So To Purgo threw them away.

“Now let’s get some banana suckers,” said To Kabinana.

They both brought banana suckers and planted them in their gardens and worked around them.

2. The Clearing

To Kakao of Rakunai

(This legend is a play on words *una mimia* meaning ‘clear it’ and *una mim ia* meaning ‘to urinate’)

To Kabinana said to Karvuvu, “Go to our clearing and weed it.”

To Karvuvu prepared himself by drinking a large bamboo full of water, so that his belly would be full and he could relieve himself all over the clearing. Starting at the upper end, he relieved himself all the way to the other end.

When he returned home, To Kabinana asked him, “Did you weed that small clearing?”

To Karvuvu replied, “Yes, I weed all over the field; it was like a strong shower.”

“Why did you do that?” asked To Kabinana.

“I weed over it like you told me to.”

“You are a foolish fellow. You should have cleared the weeds with a split bamboo. You make fools of our generation. From now on the rain will wet the fields of our descendants and they will not be able to burn off the weeds.”

3. The Fence

To Vuare of Paparatava

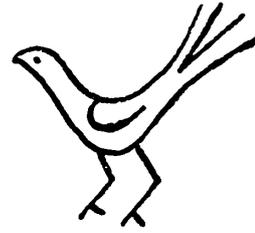
To Kabinana said To Purgo, "Let's make a fence."

To Kabinana made his fence well, fastening pieces of bamboo to upright posts. To Purgo only made a rough fence for keeping pigs out.

"Where is your fence?" asked To Kabinana.

"Here it is," said To Purgo.

"That is not a proper fence," said To Kabinana, "That is only a barricade to keep pigs out."



Dance shield motif.

4. Employing Helpers

To Vuare of Paparatava

To Kabinana employed some people to cut the undergrowth in the gardens that belonged to To Purgo and himself. In the afternoon, he said to To Purgo, "Go and bring the people who are cutting the bush back so that they can rest."

To Purgo went off. He called the people and said, "My friends, keep cutting till you have cleared the whole area."

Then he returned to To Kabinana who asked, "Where are those people, To Purgo?"

"I asked them in vain to stop but they wouldn't do as I asked," lied To Purgo.

When night came the people returned. To Kabinana asked them, "Friends, why didn't you stop work earlier?"

"When should we have stopped?" they asked.

"When To Purgo called you," replied To Kabinana.

"He is lying. He said, 'Work hard with that clearing.'"

On another occasion To Kabinana said to the people, "Go and cut down the trees that are standing in the area you cleared."

They began to cut down the trees. At midday To Kabinana sent To Purgo off to the people saying, "Go and tell the people to come back."

To Purgo called out to them, "You mustn't stop work yet, friends; hurry up and finish cutting those trees down." When they had cut down the trees they went back to To Kabinana. It was

night. They waited then till the rubbish had dried out and finally they burnt it. Then they began to plant To Kabinana's garden.

To Kabinana sent To Purgo off saying, "Go and tell them to come back. If there are any shoots not planted they can leave them till another time."

"Have you finished planting all the shoots?" To Purgo asked the people.

"Not yet," they replied.

"If you don't finish planting all the shoots you can sleep here in the garden," said To Purgo.

To Purgo then returned home To Kabinana who asked him, "Where are the people?"

"They said that because they still had many shoots to plant, they'd sleep there overnight," lied To Purgo.

5. Cheating the workers

To Kiga of Paparatava

To Kabinana and To Purgo employed some Talavurgada people to cut the undergrowth in their gardens. They began to cut the bush. The

two brothers didn't go with them.,but left them to work by themselves. Later, a man from another area came.

To Kabinana said to him, "Go off and buy a bunch of bananas." But he roasted them and ate them all. Then he returned to the two brothers. To Kabinana asked him, "Friend, where are the bananas?"

"There aren't any. I couldn't find any."

Then To Kabinana said to him, "Climb the coconut trees and pick some green nuts for the people who are cutting the bush."

The man climbed the trees, picked and ate all the green nuts and then returned.

To Purgo asked him, "Where are the green coconuts?"

"There aren't any," the man lied.

To Kabinana said to To Purgo, "Go and tell the people who are working to stop and have a rest for a while because they haven't had any food."

To Purgo went off. He called the people and said, "You Talavurgada people, To Kabinana said 'You must NOT stop working.'" So they kept on cutting the bush.

When To Purgo returned, To Kabinana asked him "What are those people doing?"

"They didn't want to stop," lied To Purgo.

Then To Kabinana said to the man, "Go and draw some water for the people who are working."

The man went off and drank the water. Then he went back to To Kabinana.

"Where's the water?" asked To Kabinana.

"I didn't have any bamboo to carry it in, so I just looked at the water."

To Kabinana said to To Purgo, "Go and call those people who are working."

To Purgo called out to them, "Hey! You Talavurgada people, To Kabinana says, 'don't stop work.'"

So they went on clearing the bush. To Kabinana asked To Purgo, "Where are the people who are clearing the garden?"

"They didn't want to stop," lied To Purgo.

Then To Kabinana said to the man, "Buy some pepper fruit and some betel nuts."

The man bought some pepper fruit and betel nut and chewed them all up.

Then he returned to To Kabinana and To Purgo and the Talavurgada people. To Kabinana said, "You Talavurgada people take that fellow for yourselves."

They seized the fellow roughly. They cut out his stomach and swallowed him up.

The man's friends waited in vain for him. Then they went looking for him. The Talavurgada people saw them.

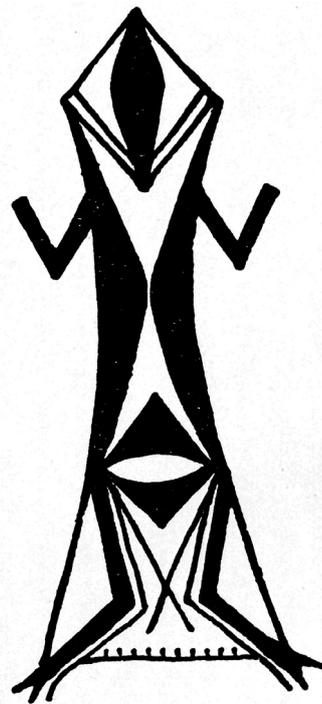
To Kabinana said, "You Talavurgada people, there is no food for you. Eat those people instead." They seized them. If someone killed one of them he claimed the body for his food. They killed and ate them all.

When they had eaten them all, they parted and went to their own places.

6. Preparing the Food

Tagilir of Papatava

One day, To Kabinana suggested that they cook some vegetables for a meal. He sent To Purgo off to get some *taro*. To Purgo cut a long tree and



A stylized animal figure, possibly a flying fox, burnt into bamboo.

lying it along the row of *taro*, he fastened all the *taro* plants to it. He did not pull the leaves off the *taro* nor did he pull them out one by one but instead he tried to lever them all up at once with the trunk of the tree. When the *taro* all remained fast in the ground, he cried out angrily.

Hearing him To Kabinana came and said “What are you doing? Loosen the *taro* so we can pull them out one by one and take them home.” They did this and were going on their way when To Kabinana told To Purgo to cut a bamboo. However he cut it at the root and hacked off the top before picking it up.

“That’s not the way to do it.” To Kabinana said when he saw it. “Only cut a piece of it off.” To Purgo did this and filled it with water. Next To Kabinana sent him off to pick some small tender leaves but he brought back large, tough ones which To Kabinana threw away. Later when he was told to pick some ripe coconuts, he threw only the young coconuts down.

“You are a bad man”, To Kabinana said, “You shouldn’t have picked young nuts but ripe ones to prepare our food with.”

7. The *Taro*

To Kakau of Rakunai

To Kabinana told To Karvuvu, “Take a stick and tie it to all the *taro* so that we can pull them all up together with it. To Karvuvu went and pulled the *taro* and just left it lying on the ground. To Kabinana came and asked him, “Did you tie a stick to the *taro*?”

“I just pulled it up and let it lie on the ground” said To Karvuvu.

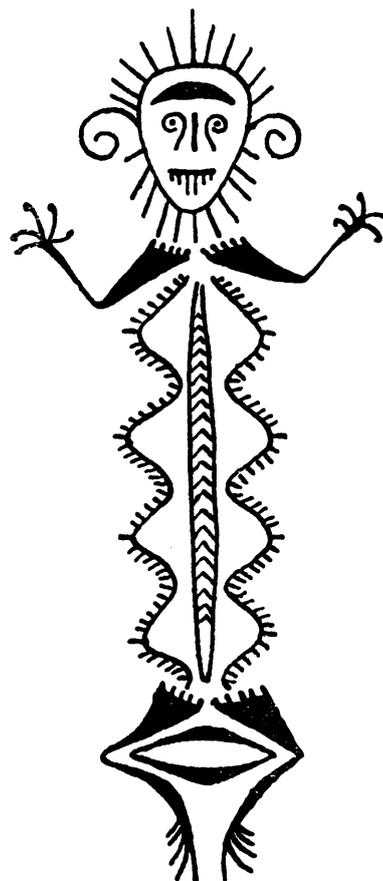
“No! You should have tied the stick to the *taro* so that we could lift the *taro* up by it.”

Because of this when *taro* is pulled up it is just left to lie on the ground.

8. The Coconut

To Ulabom of Ramale

To Kabinana and To Karvuvu were cooking some green leaves. To Kabinana climbed up a coconut palm, picked a coconut and gave it to To Karvuvu so that they could use the milky liquid from its meat to flavour their food. To Karvuvu asked him, “Where did you get this?”



Perapere motif

“I climbed up the tree and got it,” replied To Kabinana.

“I’ll climb up and get one too,” said To Karvuvu.

“You’ll probably do it the wrong way,” said To Kabinana.

“No I won’t do anything wrong. I’ll climb up carefully and get it. Tell me what to do,” said To Karvuvu.

To Kabinana said, “Pick a ripe coconut but do it carefully.” To Karvuvu made a loop to tie around his ankles and then climbed up the tree. He shook a ripe coconut and it rattled so he thought “Well now this thing whispers softly to me.” He climbed down again and went to To Kabinana. To Kabinana asked him “Where is the coconut?”

To Karvuvu replied, “It whispered to me so I climbed down quickly to get away from it.”

“You silly thing,” said To Kabinana, “How did it whisper to you? What did it do?”

“I held it and it whispered to me.”

“You silly thing!” said To Kabinana. “That was only the juice in it rattling.”

9. The Wallaby

To Tipaul of Papatava

To Kabinana and To Purgo brought a wallaby and put it down in front of their house.

“Let’s cook this wallaby,” said To Kabinana. “Stay here and look after it.”

To Purgo sat beside it. He took some black paint and some red ochre and decorated the wallaby with it. One side he painted black and the other side he painted red.

When To Kabinana returned he asked, “What have you done to the wallaby?”

“I have painted one half black and the other red,” replied To Purgo.

“Why did you do that” asked To Kabinana.

“I have made our wallaby a member of the *Ingiel* society.”

To Kabinana sent To Purgo off saying, “Go and fetch some water.” To Purgo went to get the water. He cut a very long piece of bamboo to fill with water. When it was full, it was too heavy for him to carry so he returned to To Kabinana.

“Where’s the water, To Purgo?” asked To Kabinana.

To Purgo replied, “It was too heavy so I left it there.”

To Kabinana then went to draw water. He asked To Purgo, “What is that length of bamboo for? It is too long to carry water in.”

Then To Kabinana said, “Go and get some *taro* for us.”

To Purgo cut a very long stick. Instead of pulling the *taro* from the ground first, he tied them all to the long stick. Then he couldn’t lift the stick so he returned to his brother.

To Kabinana asked him, “Where is the *taro*?”

To Purgo replied, “I couldn’t pick it up.”

To Kabinana went off then and pulled up all the *taro*. “What kind of way is that to pull up *taro*?” he asked. Then he said, “To Purgo, climb the coconut and get us some nuts.”

To Purgo climbed up and plucked a coconut. He climbed up head down, feet up. When he climbed down he picked a short stick and smashed open the nut with it without husking it. He cut it into small pieces and made it into a pulp.

To Kabinana asked him, “Where is the coconut, To Purgo?”

To Purgo replied, “Here it is, I’ve made a mash of it.”

To Kabinana said, “This is a stupid thing you’ve done!”

To Kabinana picked up the wallaby and threw it away in the bush and then he made magic over To Purgo.

10. The Secret of the Salt Water

To Tipaul of Papatava

One day the two brothers cooked vegetables, then, taking a little salt water, To Kabinana sprinkled it over the vegetables. It tasted very nice. To Purgo asked him, “Brother, what did you sprinkle over the vegetables? It tastes nice.”

To Kabinana answered, “It’s just something. You will see it one day.”

Then on another day, To Kabinana said, “To Purgo let’s make two boats in secret. We will not watch each other while we are working, Later, you will see the substance which I put in our food before.”

To Kabinana made an outrigger canoe, but To Purgo made a slit drum.

To Kabinana asked, “Have you finished your outrigger canoe?”

“Yes,” To Purgo answered.

Then To Kabinana created the sea. The earth was shaking and a great storm blew up with thunder and lightning. The sea appeared and the rain began. To Purgo shivered with fear. The ocean carried the canoe which To Kabinana had made right out to sea. He and his two wives travelled around everywhere. To Purgo and his two wives sat on the slit drum and cried. When To Kabinana came to where they were sitting he said, “What’s the matter?”

“My brother, have pity on us or we will drown. You have a good canoe but ours is bad.”

“Your canoe is bad, really bad,” replied To Kabinana.

To Purgo and his two wives came into To Kabinana’s boat and they helped paddle the canoe back to their village.

To Purgo asked his brother, “What’s that you’ve got?”

To Kabinana said, “It’s to spice the food. It’s that substance that I brought a while ago to put into our food, to make it tasty. It is salt water.”

11. Sweet Water

To Kakao of Rakunai

To Kabinana sent To Karvuvu to get some fresh water.

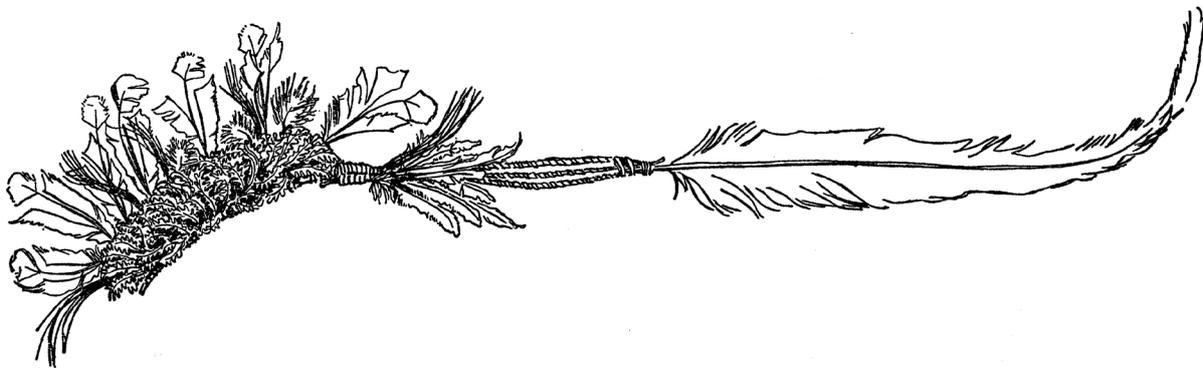
“Draw some fresh water at the foot of the areca palm,” he said. To Karvuvu, however, went to the water-hole which was as big as the sea. After he had drawn water, he swam around in the water-hole and a clam shell bit off his head.

To Kabinana waited a long time for him and at last he went looking for him. He could only

find his body because his head was stuck in the mouth of the clam shell.

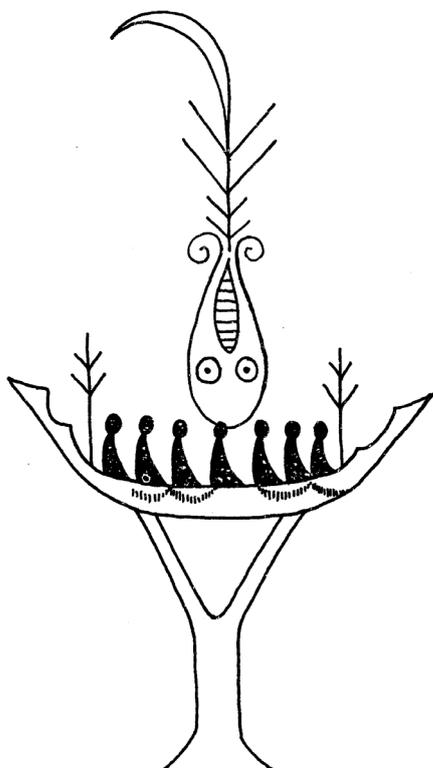
To Kabinana then took a digging stick and drilling it into the ground, he caused fresh water to flow out. The water rushed underground and flowed to the beach, pouring out everywhere. It filled up large areas even spreading to the dry places in the land. In this way To Kabinana supplied the land with water so the people could live well.

If To Kabinana had mixed fresh water and sea water we should not have had a taste for sweet water, but only drink sea water. However, because he was wise, we do not perish by drinking sea water.



Feather decoration from a dance.

Houses, Canoes and Drums



Motif of a canoe on headgear used during the *perapere* dance.

1. To Purgo builds a house

To Tipaul of Paparatava who heard it from a Tolai of Navunaram

To Kabinana created the coconuts, the light-coloured ones and the dark ones, and the coconuts bore fruit.

One day after this, To Purgo was building his house. However, he did not measure an opening for the door. Taking strong bark, he went inside his house. He made the walls with bark on the inside and locked himself in. He cried because he could find no way out.

To Kabinana called out, "To Purgo what's the matter?"

To Purgo answered, "I can't get out. There's no opening."

To Kabinana took an axe and cut a hole for the door and let him out.

2. The Two Brothers Build a House

A Tolai from Tarivo, Watom Island

The two brothers each built a house and they made rain. To Karivuvu thatched his house from the inside, but To Kambinana's house was good because he had thatched it in the right way. The rain dripped through the roof made by To Karivuvu. He said to To Kambinana, "I think my house is not good."

When the morning came To Kambinana saw the house and he said, "Really your house is bad, but mine is well done."

The two brothers thatched his house again.

3. The Origin of the Men's House

Tuturkutu of Rakunai

To Kabinana said to To Karvuvu, "Let's build two houses on the ground." To Kabinana thatched his from the outside but To Karvuvu thatched his from the inside. Then To Kabinana said, "Let's make rain."

To Karvuvu agreed and they prepared a rain-charm which they dipped in water. That night it rained.

To Karvuvu was oppressed by the darkness and he did not lie down. He sat up waiting for dawn and cried because the raindrops annoyed him.

Next morning when it stopped raining he went to his brother and said, "I longed for daylight to come because the darkness and the rain made me uncomfortable."

"How did you build your house?" asked To Kabinana

"I covered the roof from the inside. It is not like yours." They both went and had a look at it.

"I shall break it down and make it like yours," said To Karvuvu.

But To Kabinana had pity on him and said, "No, don't do that. We shall both stay in my house."

To Kabinana thus introduced us to the men's house. Originally one man would have slept in one house and another in another.

4. The Canoe and the *Garamut* Drum

Turamagu of Livuan

To Kabinana and To Karvuvu both agreed to make canoes. "We will not watch each other." To Kabinana said, "We'll each work in secret and when they are finished, we'll inspect each other's work." Well, they finished and To Karvuvu drummed on his.

"What's this that roars?" asked To Kabinana. "This is not a canoe. Let's have a look at it."

"No!" answered To Karvuvu, "We will have a look at yours first."

"I want to see yours first," said To Kabinana. "It's not a canoe. It makes a noise."

They went and saw a *garamut* and To Kabinana was angry. "Why did you make this?" he shouted. "This is a drum not a canoe. People will drum on it at the death of our children. People cannot live forever; they must die now. You are a foolish fellow. You make our descendants miserable. Come and look at the one I have made."

They went and looked at To Kabinana's canoe, and To Karvuvu cried out, "What a fine canoe this is! Let's keep it for ourselves."

"We'll put it into the sea then," said To Kabinana. They pushed it into the sea and loaded it with earth clods.

"Climb in and we will paddle around," said To Kabinana. They sailed out to sea and paddled around for a while.

5. The Canoe

To Puia of Rakunai

To Kabinana sent To Karvuvu off telling him to make a canoe, but To Karvuvu made a *garamut* instead. Later To Kabinana asked To Karvuvu to help him finish making the canoe.

They tied up the outrigger and put the circular piece on the end of the canoe and fastened the canoe and the outrigger together with two pieces of wood.

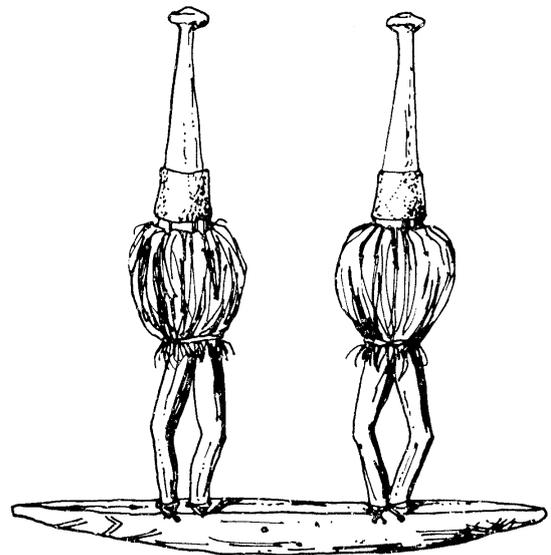
"Let's go somewhere in this canoe tomorrow," suggested To Kabinana. So they went off together and To Kabinana bored a hole in the ground. The seawater gushed into the hole and spurted out.

To Kabinana took his canoe out to sea, but To Karvuvu could only shout and beat his big *garamut*. To Kabinana spread out the sea and marked its boundaries. The sea was very big.

When To Kabinana returned, he went about wearing a very fine *varku*, a decoration of oil. To Karvuvu saw him and asked him "Can this be you? What a fine decoration you have on brother! You must chew some more of that oily stuff and then I can anoint myself with it too."

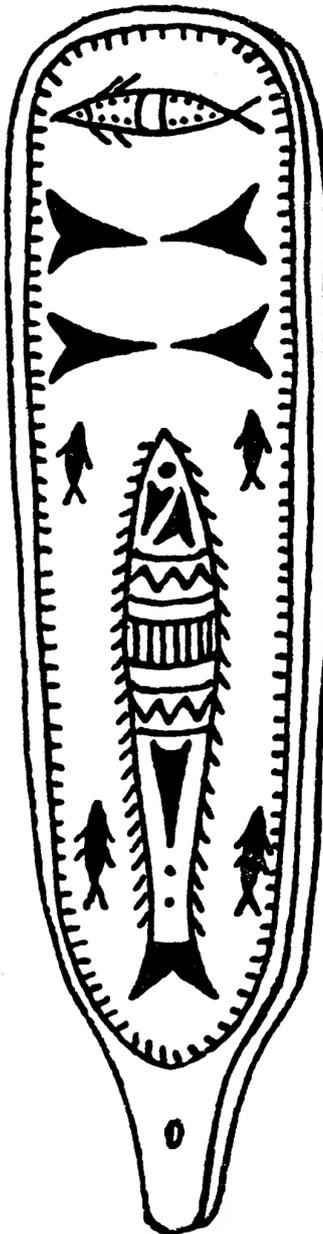
To Kabinana sent him off saying, "If you paddle the canoe and search over there in the beautiful sea, you will find a clam shell. Put your head inside the part that is wide open."

So To Karvuvu went off into the sea. To Kabinana turned around and stuck a stick on the beach as a marker for the canoe so that it would return there. To Karvuvu put his head in it the clam shell and the clam shell bit it off. He shuddered violently and the sea became rough. His blood floated on the sea and the canoe returned to the stick which To Kabinana had stuck in the beach.



Two masked *dukduk* standing in a canoe.

Good and Evil



A wooden float used on the fishing nets. The drawing is about one third of the actual size, although size varied with the size of the net. The wood is decorated with a pointed piece of coconut shell which has been heated. The designs represent sea spirits as snakes and predatory fish which were supposed to frighten fish into the net, although only fish appear on this particular float.

1. The Possum and the Rat

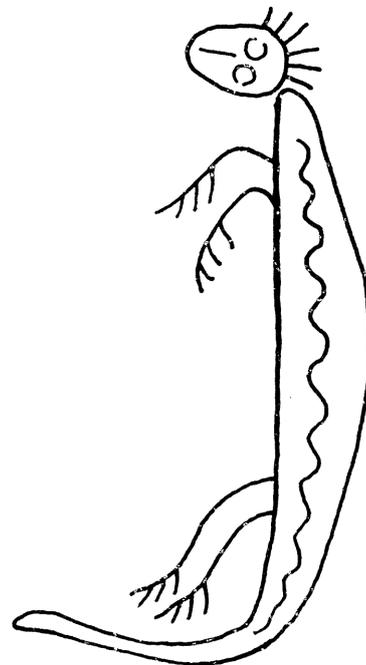
To Luluai of Rakunai

To Kabinana called To Karvuvu saying, "Husk two of those coconuts over there for us. We will play a game!"

To Karvuvu husked the two coconuts. Then To Kabinana said "Let's use the husks to make some animals we can eat." They sat down, "Let's work together and make possums", said To Kabinana. To Kabinana completed his and threw it up into the thick branches at the top of a tree. To Karivuvu hid his by burying it in the ground. Then To Kabinana said, "All right! Let's look for them."

To Karivuvu said, "You search for mine first!" He found it where it was buried. He walked on it and it squeaked. It was a rat, not a possum, so he left it there.

To Kabinana said. "All right, now you must search for mine." But To Karvuvu looked in vain for it on the ground.



Animal figure, possibly a *cuscus* or possum.

To Kabinana said, "If you are clever you will find it by climbing up into the thick branches of that tree."

To Karivuvu climbed up till he reached it. "Here it is!" he called out.

"Bring it down," said To Kabinana, "We will put the two together. But be careful not to handle its tail or it will bite you!"

"Very well, I won't touch it," said To Karivuvu. But when he took hold of it, he held its tail and it bit his hand. So he struck it and killed it. Then he took it to To Kabinana who said, "What happened to it?"

"I struck it because it bit me," replied To Karivuvu.

"Just like you! You foolish fellow. Why did you kill it? Our descendants will also kill this animal of ours."

Then To Karivuvu said, "Perhaps I am a bad fellow. Perhaps I am not like you. Oh well, we'll see what happens next." Then he said to To Kabinana, "Now you pick up my animal."

To Kabinana asked, "How will I pick up the rat?"

"Hold it by its tail," replied To Karivuvu.

To Kabinana said, "You pick it up yourself."

To Karivuvu picked the rat up. He held it by its tail and it bit his hand too. To Kabinana said, "See what you have done! Now you have brought more trouble to our descendants. These animals will both bite our descendants."

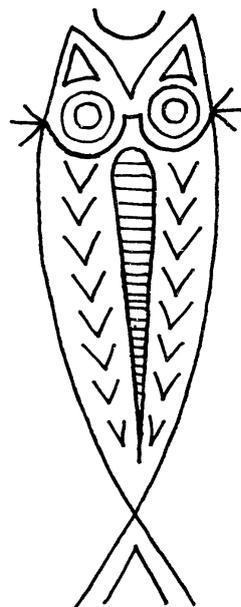
2. The Shark

To Kakao of Rakunai

To Kabinana carved a *batbat* fish and set it swimming out in the sea so that it would always be a fish. The *batbat* fish chased a *malivaran* fish towards the beach. To Kabinana picked it up on the beach and went away with it. To Karvuvu saw the fish that To Kabinana brought with him and he said, "How did you get it? I want to do what you did too."

"Well," said To Kabinana "carve a fish, a *batbat* fish, like I made."

To Karvuvu carved a shark, a very large one. He sent it swimming after the *malivaran* fish but it ate it up completely.



Small dancing shield decoration used during the *kulau* dance.

To Karvuvu went crying back to his brother, "I've made a big fish in vain. It just ate up the *malivaran* fish."

So To Kabinana asked him, "What sort of fish was it?"

"It was a shark that I carved," said To Karvuvu.

To Kabinana just said, "You dreamer. You are a ----. You are always spoiling our place. That shark will eat up the fish and will kill the people of our area too."

The shark ate up all the fish and eats people now too. The shark became a shark forever and it still lives in the sea.

3. The Fish-Hawk and the Frigate Bird

To Luluai of Rakunai

To Karvuvu and To Kabinana carved a shark and a *batbat* fish. When To Kabinana made the *batbat* he said, "Look what I've made!"

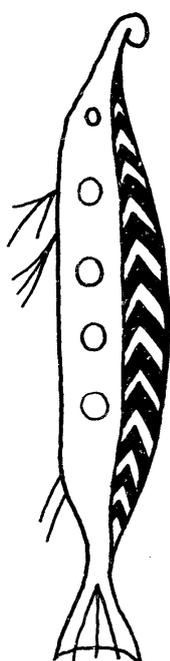
To Karvuvu wrapped his fish up and To Kabinana let it go, saying, "Let's watch it."

The fish went a long way off. A frigate bird came and hovered over Talvat indicating the fish was there. When they saw it To Kabinana said, "That bird is swooping down over my fish."

To Karvuvu then let his fish go. Both of them watched to see what it would do. Realizing what was happening, To Kabinana said, “Just like you! What sort of bird is that hovering over your fish?”

The bird was a fish-hawk, and it followed To Karivuvu’s shark and hovered over the small *batbat* fish.

“Look,” said To Kabinana, “Did you see what happened? Your bird has stolen the fish. You have brought more trouble to our people now. Those birds will always steal fish. What a foolish fellow you are! I’d beat you if I wasn’t so sorry for you.”



Decoration on a dancing shield used in the *kulau* dance.

4. The Large Red Parrot and the Green Parrot

To Luluai of Rakunai

To Kabinana said, “Let us play but don’t you make anything. I will make two creatures for us.”

He made two birds, carving them from two small pieces of wood. The birds he made were a large red *kalangar* parrot and a green *ginigil* parrot. While they were sitting under the tree from which the two birds had been made, he said to To Karivuvu, “Throw this one up high in this tree.” Then he gave him the red parrot.

Instead, To Karvuvu threw the bird into a banana bush. The *kalangar* was hungry so it ate the bananas. To Kabinana asked him, “Where did it go when you threw it?”

To Karivuvu replied, “It went up on top of the banana bush.”

“Who told you to put it there? I told you to throw it to the top of this tree! Just like you, you foolish fellow! That *kalangar* parrot will be a thief. It will steal food from our descendants.”

To Kabinana took the *ginigil* and put it in a hole in the tree. This parrot does not steal.

5. The Wild Pigs

To Tipaul of Papatava

“Let us cut up a pig so that the people will eat pigs from now on,” said To Kabinana to To Purgo. “Then the pigs will always stay here in the village.”

So they killed a pig. “Go and get some sticks; not dry ones but ones that are still green,” ordered To Kabinana. Instead, To Purgo took some dry wood and cooked the pig.

“Why did you get dry wood?” asked To Kabinana, “You have brought trouble to our human race. To Purgo you stupid fellow.”

To Kabinana picked up the pig and gave it to To Purgo. “Take this and prepare parcels of food for us to eat later as our *birbirtenge* (the name given to food prepared in individual bundles to be eaten later for a picnic).

“You have spoiled these pigs. From now on pigs will be wild animals.”

Today all pigs are wild animals.

6. The Pig and the Bananas

To Kakao of Rakunai

(In this story there is a misunderstanding over *birbirtenge* which means a picnic and *bir bir tenge* which means to keep throwing things at a bird called a *tenge*.)

To Kabinana and To Karvuvu were collecting food for a feast when they killed a pig. To Kabinana said, “You take these two bunches of bananas and these two small pieces of pork, and use them to prepare a *birbirtenge* for us.”

To Karvuvu took them and on the way he saw a *tenge*, a small bird like a sunbird. The *tenge* kept flying across his path so he threw pieces of pork at it. Whenever he saw the *tenge* crossing his path, he pulled off bananas and pieces of pork and threw them at it. The food was all gone before he arrived home.

Then he went and sat in their house. Later, To Kabinana came and asked, "Where are our bananas and our pieces of pork?"

To Karvuvu said, "Which ones?"

"The ones I told you to bring here."

"Well, you said they were for the *birbirtenge* and I kept seeing the *tenge* bird. It kept coming to me and I kept throwing things at it as you said, till there was nothing left."

"Just like you," said To Kabinana, "You are like a foolish old man! I sent you here with it so that we could eat it ourselves; I didn't tell you to throw it at the *tenge* or any old fowl. Now we are hungry and our descendants will be hungry too. Our food will decay and our people will stay hungry."

Because of what To Karvuvu did, our food decays and we go hungry.

7. Killing pigs

To Kakao of Rakunai

To Kabinana sent To Karvuvu off saying, "Go and catch a pig." Instead To Karvuvu speared a pig and returned to To Kabinana who asked, "Where is the pig?"

He replied, "I have speared it."

To Kabinana said, "Just like you, you silly fellow! I wanted you to tie it up so that we could have it for a pet."

"Well I have speared this one," replied To Karvuvu.

"Just like you, you silly fellow," said To Kabinana. "You are continually leading our descendants into fighting. They will try in vain to catch pigs but will instead spear them. They will never be able to catch and tie up a pig."

8. The Breadfruit

To Kakao of Rakunai

To Kabinana climbed a breadfruit tree and picked a breadfruit. He took it home to bake.

To Karvuvu asked, "What kind of fruit is that?"

To Kabinana replied, "A breadfruit."

"From which tree did you get it?"

"From that one over there."

"I'm going to climb up and get one too," said To Karvuvu. He climbed the tree and picked one that was still growing upwards and was not ripe and not ready to hang down. He took it to To Kabinana who asked him, "What is that thing?"

"It's a breadfruit," replied To Karvuvu.

Just like you, you silly fellow!" said To Kabinana. "Where did you get this one that was growing upwards and not ripe yet? You should have picked one that was hanging down and left the one that was standing up. Just like you, you silly fellow! Now our descendants will eat immature breadfruit and they won't eat the ripe ones."

9. The Breadfruit and the Snakes.

To Putur of Rakunai

To Kabinana picked up six live snakes and twisted them up together. He climbed with them over a hole where some *tabarans* lived at the foot of the breadfruit tree. He climbed up to the top of the tree.

The *tabarans* were sitting waiting for the breadfruit to drop. They were watching so that no one would climb up after them. When To Kabinana picked a breadfruit, he took a snake and threw down the breadfruit and the snake together. He kept doing this as he dropped the breadfruit on to the ground. The *tabarans* kept chasing the snakes away and didn't notice the breadfruit as the snakes kept falling. To Kabinana kept picking the breadfruit and throwing the breadfruit and the snakes down to the ground and the *tabarans* kept chasing the snakes. As he threw each breadfruit down with a snake, the *tabarans* chased the snake. When he had thrown down all the snakes, he climbed down.

The *tabarans* chased the snakes into the bush, so To Kabinana picked up the breadfruit and took

them to his brother, To Karvuvu, who asked him, “What kind of fruit are these?”

“They are the fruit of the breadfruit tree,” replied To Kabinana

“From which tree did you get them?” asked To Karvuvu.

“From that one over there,” replied To Kabinana, pointing to the tree.

“I’ll run over and climb that tree and get some,” said To Karvuvu.

“You won’t do it properly!” retorted To Kabinana

“Yes I will, and I’ll get some for us to eat.”

“Very well, you can go but you must catch some live snakes first,” said To Kabinana. To Karivuvu found some snakes and beat them to death. Then he climbed the tree with them. He picked some breadfruit and threw them down with the dead snakes.

The *tabarans* didn’t chase the snakes because they didn’t move; they just lay there because they were dead. So the *tabarans* just saw the breadfruit and asked, “Who is climbing up to get our breadfruit? He is deceiving us. Let’s chase him – he’s our victim.”

To Karvuvu shouted out, “*O vui!* To Kabinana, my brother! Blow the conch shell, beat the *garamut*, and drum on the *kudu!*” To Kabinana blew on the conch shell, beat the *garamut* and the *kudu* so the *tabarans* ran away. Then To Karvuvu climbed down and went to To Kabinana who asked him “What did you do in this breadfruit tree?”

“I killed some snakes and I threw the breadfruit down with the dead snakes but the *tabarans* didn’t chase them.”

“That’s just like you! You silly fellow! I told you clearly to take live snakes. How can dead ones run away?” said To Kabinana. “Our descendants will now fear the *tabarans* and the *tabarans* will chase them. Also because of you our human race will fall from trees and be killed.”

That is how it came about that when people fall down from the trees, they die.

10. The Wallaby

To Putur of Rakunai

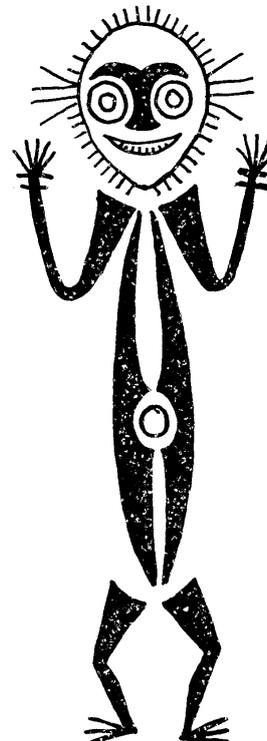
To Kabinana and To Karvuvu were cutting grass when they found a wallaby. To Kabinana sent his brother off to prepare it for them to eat. When To Kabinana arrived he asked, “Have you prepared the wallaby for us?”

“Yes, I have prepared it.” his brother answered.

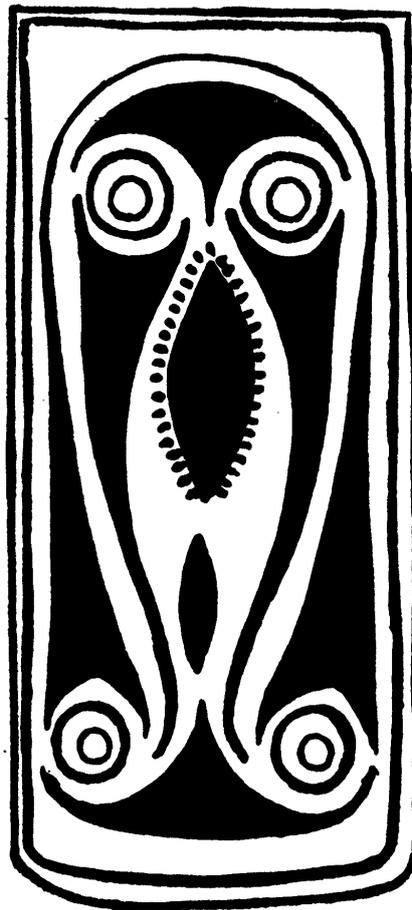
“Then bring it here,” said To Kabinana.

To Karvuvu carried it in on a large mat. He had painted the wallaby’s head with red clay and with black paint made from oil and cinders. A red mark was drawn on the centre of its face and two black marks were near the ears. He had also painted its face with lime down the nose and on its chest, and had put a necklace of possum teeth around its neck.

To Kabinana said, “Just like you! You are a fool! You bring trouble upon our human race. We will spend a lot of time preparing this kind of thing which you have tried out for the first time today.”

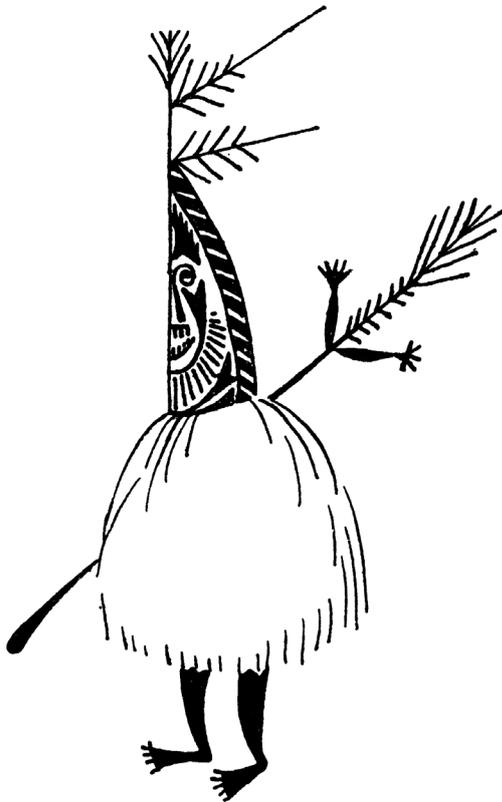


A *tabaran* figure. This decoration is burnt into bamboo.



This is one of several motifs used to denote places of cannibalism in former times. The motifs would be carved into a tree to show that a person had been killed beneath it. As such they were called *a verua*, although this motif was also used as a *taboo* sign or as a decoration for a burial.

Fighting and Cannibalism



Mask design

1. The Origin of Fighting

To Logia of Tanaka

Once To Kabinana said to To Purgo, “Let us fight and establish the method of fighting. We must be careful that no one dies. This will only be a game.”

To Purgo fought with a spear and a club. He killed a man and the victim’s body was cut up. Seeing this, To Kabinana asked, “Who killed this fellow?”

The people there replied, “To Purgo killed him.”

“Let us all beat To Purgo,” ordered To Kabinana.

So they all attacked To Purgo but he ran away from them.

2. Fighting and Killing

To Kakao of Rakunai

(In this story To Karvuvu twists the meaning of the phrase *pul bat kapi ra matana*. This phrase is a technical one used by fish-trap makers meaning to bend over the strips of bamboo to

make the entrance. It also means to roll over and over, and this is the interpretation to Karvuvu chose to make).

To Kabinana had almost finished making a fish-trap by tying strips of bamboo and rattan cane together. He called To Karvuvu and said, “Keep working around this till you finish it off. Do it carefully and make a hole in it for the fish to enter.”

To Karvuvu went and taking his spear and club, he rolled the fish-trap around with them. He struck it with the spear and club and rolled it right over till it was upside down. Then he returned to To Kabinana who asked him, “Have you finished the fish-trap?”

“Yes I finished it off. It’s quite soft,” answered To Karvuvu.

“What’s that? How did you made it soft?” asked To Kabinana.

“I simply beat it to pieces and I rolled it over and over as you told me until it was finished,” said To Karvuvu.

“That’s just like you, you foolish fellow! You bring trouble upon our descendants. Why did you strike it? You should have fastened strips of rattan cane and bamboo onto it. Because of you our descendants will be beaten and they will be rolled over and over on the ground.”

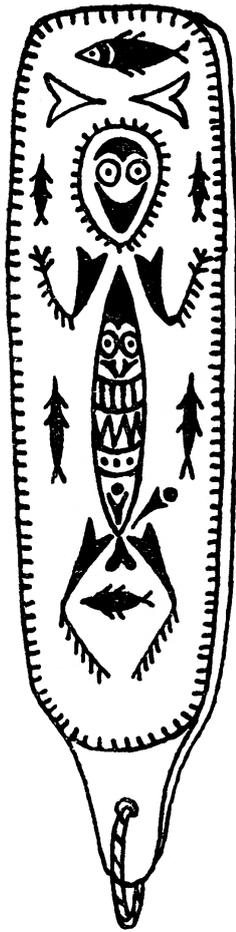
That is how war and fighting and the practice of rolling over one who has been struck down began. When we fight and we roll a fallen person over, we beat him and roll him over again to see that he is really dead.

3. Fighting Over Fish

To Kakao of Rakunai

One afternoon To Kabinana took a burning stick and broke off a *paragum* (a wild *taro* leaf) and dried it out over the fire. Then he covered his head with it and began to follow the net that the *tabarans* were using for fishing.

They were letting the net down and pulling it towards the beach when To Kabinana went to meet them.



A fish net float with a *tabaran* as part of the design. The *tabaran* was supposed to frighten the fish into the net

The *tabarans* said, “Who will carry these fish?”

“I will,” offered To Kabinana.

“Let us press on his head with our fingers to see if it is all right,” they said.

They tried his head by pressing it and found that it was soft. Then they pressed their fingers on the head of a *tabaran* to see if it felt the same and it did.

“Yes,” they said, “You may carry the fish.” So he picked up the basket which was full of fish. It was nearly sunrise and the *tabarans* said, “It will soon be day. Let us go at once!”

To Kabinana heard this and slipped quietly away from them. He went to To Karvuvu and said, “Let’s do some cooking.”

When To Karvuvu saw the fish, he was astonished. “Where did these come from, brother?” he asked.

“Nowhere, I just picked them up,” To Kabinana answered.

“Where did you really find them?” To Karvuvu persisted.

“I followed the *tabaran*’s net,” admitted To Kabinana.

“I want to try too,” said To Karvuvu.

“*Ai* but you won’t do it properly. I did something to help me trick them.”

“What was it? How did you do it?”

“I’m not going to tell you, brother, because you will only bungle it,” said To Kabinana.

“No. I’ll do it properly,” promised To Karvuvu.

Then To Kabinana said, “All right, but you must be careful.”

“Well, tell me the secret carefully,” pleaded his brother.

“Break off a wild *taro* leaf in the early evening and wrap it around your head. You must dry it out over the fire for they will feel it with their fingers. Do not try to stop them from touching your head. Stand there patiently and let them touch it,” explained To Kabinana.

When it was twilight, To Karvuvu followed the net that the *tabarans* were fishing with. When they were pulling in the net, the *tabarans* said, “Someone must carry the fish.”

“I will. I’ll carry them,” offered To Karvuvu.

“Let’s feel his head!” they said and they ran up to him. But when they pressed on his head they poked a hole in the wild *taro* leaf that was wrapped around it.

“O, the wretched creature! He is acting the fool with us and wants to run away with our fish!”

They ran after him and he shouted frantically.

“Help! Help! To Kabinana my brother, blow the conch shell, beat the *garamut* and hammer on the *kudu* drum.”

“Stop shouting,” ordered To Kabinana and he blew on the conch shell, beat the *garamut* and hammered on the *kudu* with his hand. The *tabarans* ran away.

When To Karvuvu reached To Kabinana he asked him, “What did you do?”

“I did everything properly.”

“What did you do?” demanded To Kabinana.

“Well I wrapped a wild *taro* leaf around my head,” said To Karvuvu.

“How did you do it? Did you dry it out over the fire?”

“No, it was a fresh green leaf. They poked a hole in it when they pressed my head.”

“That’s just like you! You senseless creature! You should have dried it out over the fire. Because of you, people will fight over fish. Our descendants will help themselves to the fish in other people’s nets and they will be punished for it.”

4. Fighting Over Women

To Tipaul of Papatava who heard it from Tabu of Navunaram

To Kabinana made a woman. Along came To Purgo and said, “What is that?”

To Kabinana said, “That is a woman. Keep away from her.” To Purgo went away and To Kabinana left her then. But To Purgo came back in secret and took that woman.

To Kabinana said, “To Purgo, you defile our people. Because you have done this, people will always fight over women. Only the man to whom the woman belongs shall have her and no one else may. But now they will always have fights because of this.”

5. Killing Pigs and People

Turamagu of Livuan

To Kabinana and To Karivuvu made a garden, but when it was finished a wild pig destroyed it. When they saw the garden they wondered what to do about the wild pig.

To Kabinana said, “Let’s split pieces from wood of the areca palm and make spears and clubs.”

They did this and decided to lie in wait for the pig that night. When they saw it, they clubbed it, cut it up and roasted it between hot stones.

In this way they taught us the use of weapons and so now we go to war. Sometimes a man is killed with a club and is cut up and eaten and sometimes people are killed with a spear.

6. The Origin of Cannibalism

To Kakao of Rakunai

To Kabinana and To Karvuvu cleared the bush. Then To Kabinana sent his brother away saying, “Go and stay with our mother.”

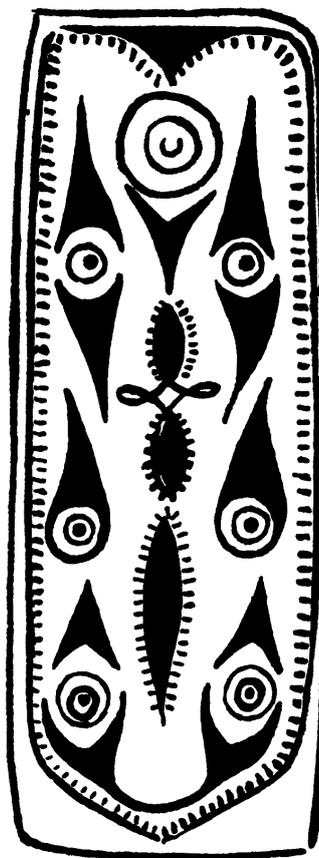
To Karvuvu went. He filled a hollow bamboo with water and poured it over his mother. Next he heated the stones and killed her. Throwing her into the hole with the hot stones, he roasted her. Then he left and returned to his brother, To Kabinana.

To Kabinana asked him, “Where is our mother? Did you stay with her?”

“I roasted her between the stones,” answered To Karvuvu. “I thought you told me to slay her.”

“You will die before me; for you do not stop doing these foolish things. Our descendants will also roast human flesh and eat it.”

Then To Kabinana went and dug his mother up. He cried over her and buried her again.



Another tree decoration sometimes known as a *virua*, meaning a killed person or denoting a place of cannibalism.

7. Cannibalism and Payback

To Manmadik of Papatava

The women were working in a man's garden. He went off to get some coconuts for them to drink. He went to one of his old gardens. There he found a huge python and asked it, "What are you? Are you a man? No, I think you are really a snake. If you are a *kaia* nod your head."

When the snake nodded its head the man said, "You are deceiving me. You are only a snake. You have devoured everything in my garden. Today you mean to devour me."

So the man tied up the snake's head.

The snake said, "Friend, let me go. Don't tie me up. I am only a man."

"But," said the man, "You have finished everything on my garden so I know you can eat as people do."

So the snake said, "Let's say it belongs to us both!"

"No," said the man, "It's all mine. Not yours."

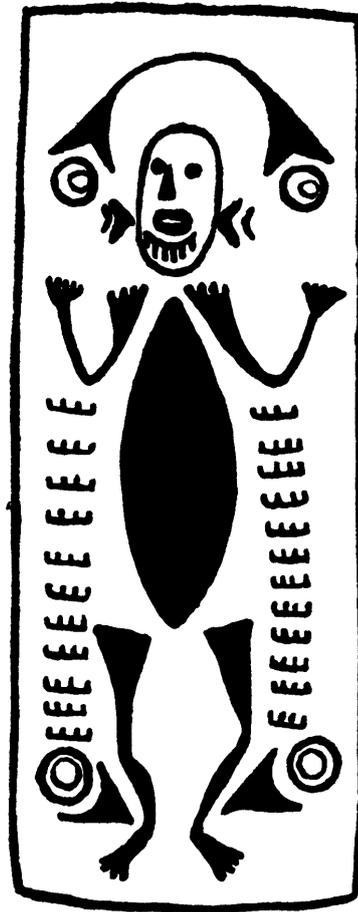
The snake then said, "Then perhaps it won't grow any more. I help you and that is why it is always good. What you people eat is not really yours. It belongs to me because I am To Purgo, To Kabinana's brother. Anything that is alive belongs to us."

"Don't lie to me," said the man. "You are just an ordinary snake. The women will eat you. You are not To Purgo."

So he picked up the snake and went off with it. When he returned to the women, they said, "Tonight that snake will crawl into your body!"

The man began to shout. He held onto a big tree and the women all took hold of the snake and began to pull and pull, but they couldn't pull the snake away from the man. Presently the snake tore the man's liver from his body and he died. The people picked him up, carried him away and buried him.

Later To Purgo came along and said, "I tried in vain to tell him that I was To Purgo! Now I have paid him back for bringing me here for the women to eat me."



Another tree decoration, used for various purposes. When it is used to decorate the bark used for a burial, it is called a *bangil*. Some anthropologists think that the comb motif at the side are joint bones, denoting a dead person.

Life and Death



1. The Old Woman Casts Her Skin

To Kakao of Rakunai

To Karvuvu roasted some breadfruit. To Kabinana who was walking past asked him, “Are you cooking?”

“Yes.”

“Why do you hide this from our mother? Bring her half a breadfruit.”

To Karvuvu went and met his mother; she had become a young girl again because she had cast her skin. To Karvuvu asked her, “Where is my mother?”

“I am your mother,” she replied.

“You are not my mother.”

“Yes, I really am you mother.”

“But you don’t look like her,” said To Karvuvu.

“*Ea!* That’s true, but I cast my skin.”

To Karvuvu then begged her to put her old skin back on again because he did not recognize her.

“You should not look like this. Where have you put your real skin?”

“I threw it in the water and it was swept away,” she replied.

To Karvuvu cried, “I do not like this new skin of yours. I shall search for your old one.”

Getting up, he went away and searched and searched until he found the skin hanging on some bushes. The water had carried it there. He picked it up and returning to his mother, he put it on her again.

When To Kabinana came home he asked him, “Why did you dress our mother in her old skin again? You are a foolish fellow! Now our descendants will die, but the big and small snakes will cast their skins.”

We should have cast our skins, but the snake took our place instead. To Kabinana was very

Snake decoration on a small dancing shield.

angry with To Karvuvu because he had foiled the plan whereby men could have cast their skins.

Because of this, not we, but the snakes cast their skins.

2. Snakes Live and Men Die

A Tolai of Rau on Watom Island

The sawfish wanted to send the two brothers to get fire. He said, “Go and get fire so both of you will live. If you do not get fire you will die. Only your shadow-soul will live.”

But the two brothers did not want to go. The sawfish got angry with them and scolded them.

“I wanted you to live but now you shall die; only your shadow-soul shall live. The *keao* lizard, the *palai* lizard and the *kaliku* snake will live. They will change their skins and they will live always.”

The two brothers cried so that they might be sent again to get fire.

The sawfish said, “You did not want to go, but now you are ready to get fire.”

The two brothers answered “We did not know that you wanted to send us to get fire so that we might have eternal life.”

3. Too many People

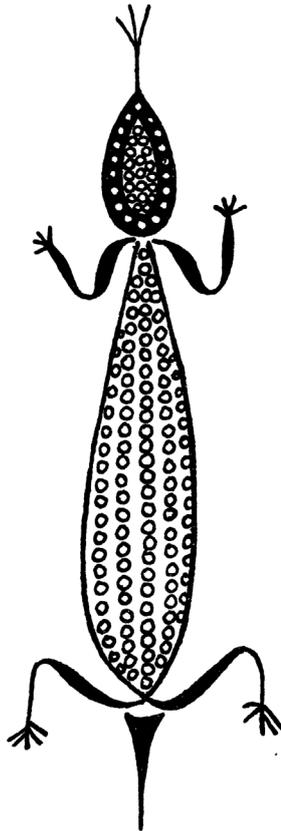
To Pueita of Viviran

The old woman changed her skin and she sat down and asked for fire so that her body would be strengthened.

To Kabinana, however, said, “No you must die and make way for other people. Otherwise we would have to sit together like stones and we would have no space to grow food. We have to die so people can grow food on the land. If we

all lived forever people would fill all the spaces. If we continue to change our skins the people would be without food and we would starve. The land would be filled with people.

To Kabinana addressed the wallaby, “Wallaby put out the fire, otherwise that old woman will live and the earth will not be big enough for all the people.”



Lizard decoration in a dancing shield.

4. The Origin of Death

To Titur of Papatava

The old woman died, but she lived again. She called her two sons, To Kabinana and To Purgo and said, “Bring fire.” But To Purgo said, “There is no fire,” for he thought to himself that the woman was really dead.

The old woman said, “If you had done what I told you and brought me fire, you would have lived forever. Because you did not fulfill my wish and bring me fire to warm myself and keep you alive for ever, you will die as I do.”

5. Fire Brings Life

To Kakao of Rakunai

To Kabinana sent a child off saying, “Get some fire.” But the child said to a snake, “Snake, you get the fire. I don’t want to go.”

The snake replied, “All right.”

When it returned with the fire, the snake said, “Here I am with the fire.”

To Kabinana said, “It was good of you to get the fire. You shall cast your skin again and again because you did this, but that child won’t. When that child dies, it will not live again. His life will end quickly and he will be dead for ever. You child, have set the pattern for our descendants for once they die, they will dead forever. They will not live again.”

6. Green Wood and Dry Wood

To Lagar of Papatava

The old mother of To Kabinana and To Purgo was sick. She asked To Purgo to get green wood, but he only cut dry wood. He made a fire with it and went away.

The old woman warmed herself and the wallaby came along. Now the wallaby was really a *tabaran* spirit and he said to her, “What are you sitting on?”

“I am sitting on the fire,” she answered.

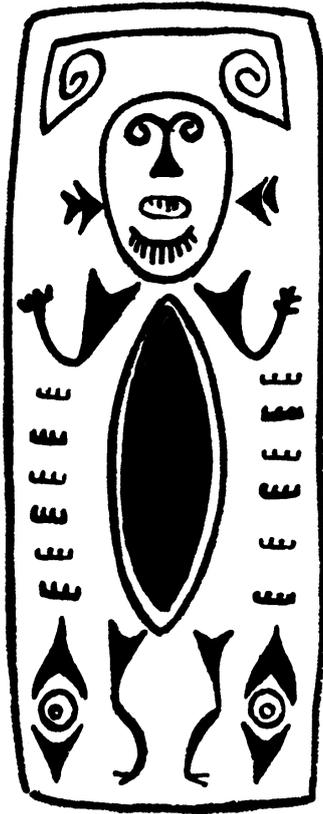
The wallaby put his foreleg on the fire and it became very hot. He said to the old woman, “Old woman don’t sit on the fire. It could burst into flames and burn you. Look over there.”

The old woman looked and the wallaby quickly put the fire out then he hopped away. The old woman blew on the fire, but she failed to get a spark. The fire had died. The old woman shivered with the cold and she died.

7. Firewood

To Kakao of Rakunai

To Kabinana sent To Karvuvu away telling him to get some green firewood. To Karvuvu went, but he only brought back dry firewood and proceeded to cook with it.



Mask design

To Kabinana asked him, "What is the wood you collected like?"

To Karvuvu replied, "It is dry."

"You are a foolish fellow," answered To Kabinana, "You should have got green wood. Now our descendants will leave this world when they die. If you had taught them to cook with green wood, they would have lived for ever."

8. Green firewood

To Varokoi of Paparatava

The woman who had given birth to To Kabinana and To Purgo died.

She was buried, but she came to life again. When To Purgo came to his mother, she said to him, "To Purgo, get me some firewood but remember it has to be green not dry."

He went off, but he only collected dry wood. The woman warmed herself with it, but she said, "To Purgo you are not sorry for me. I have to die again now because you did not bring me the green firewood I asked for, only dry wood."

And then she died again.

9. Falling From a Tree

To Lagar of Paparatava

To Kabinana said to To Purgo, "Climb up a coconut tree and fasten a small bamboo leaf to a rope."

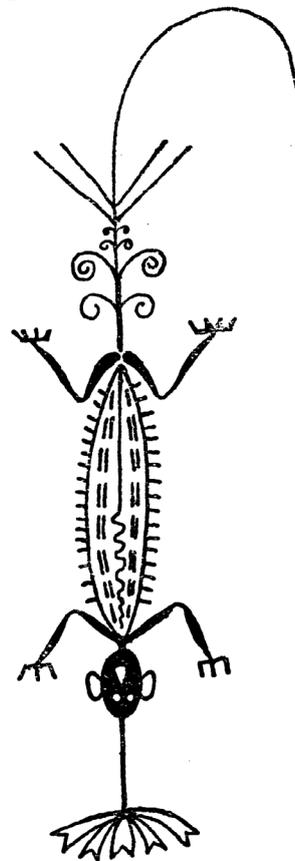
To Purgo went, but instead he fastened a piece of wood to a rope, climbed up the tree and threw it down.

To Kabinana said to him "You always bring misery to our people. You should have taken a bamboo leaf and now because you took a piece of wood instead, the men who fall from a tree will have to die and they were not supposed to."

10. Flying

To Laviu of Vairiki

One day To Kabinana climbed up to the top of a tree with a bamboo leaf. He let it fall and it fluttered away. To Purgo, however, got a piece of rotten wood and climbed up the tree with it. When he let it fall, it dropped to the ground and broke into pieces.



Perapere motif

To Purgo said, “What’s the matter with you, my brother?”

“Why do you always cause trouble?” said To Kabinana, “I took the bamboo leaf up to the top of the tree to show that people could fly. You spoiled their chances with that piece of rotten wood you took up.”

11. The *Kudu* and the *Garamut*

To Putur of Rakunai

One day To Kabinana said, “Let’s make two *kudu* drums for ourselves.”

To Karvuvu agreed so they went off to carve two *kudus*. Now To Kabinana made a *kudu* for light-hearted playing and for dancing, but To Karvuvu made a *garamut*.

This is the *garamut* which is beaten when someone dies. The people beat it to announce a death.

To Kabinana said, “You are a dreamer you silly fellow. You bring nothing but trouble to the human race. Where will you put this *garamut* you have made? It will be beaten whenever someone dies.”

To Karvuvu caused death by making the *garamut*.

12. The *Kudu* and the Conch Shell

To Luluai of Rakunai

One day To Kabinana and To Karvuvu went down to the beach to dive for stones. They found two stones and returned home.

“Let’s go off and see what each of us can make from these two stones,” suggested To Kabinana. He went off and made a conch shell from his stone.

To Karvuvu couldn’t carve his stone at all so he took the wooden *kudu* and scraped out its inside. Presently To Kabinana said, “Well now, let’s see what each of us has made,” and he held his carving up. “Here’s mine, show me yours now.” To Karvuvu hid his behind his back at first, but at last he showed it to his brother.

When he saw it, To Kabinana said, “You foolish fellow! You bring misery to our human race with your *kudu*. I had hidden it so we couldn’t complete it. I have made a conch shell so we

can call our children, but I had hidden that *kudu* from you in case it brought trouble to our people and caused their death. We will use the *kudu* you have made to dance after they have died. You are a fine one, everything I do is different from what you do. You spoil everything.”

13. To Kabinana and To Purgo help a Dying Man

To Vagan of Papatava

Tavakup was sick. Two *kaia* went past where he was and saw him lying in the sun to warm himself. He was half snake and half man.

They told To Kabinana and To Purgo, “Go to Tavakup who is dying. The evil spirits have attacked him. They have felled a tree on top of him and they have stoned him. Go and bring him back or else he may die because he is old.”

“To Purgo go and get Tavakup,” said To Kabinana.

To Purgo went off and plucked a leafy branch from a *katete* tree. Then he broke off some wild ginger stalks and pulled down lengths of *kaika* vine. Taking all these things he went off to Tavakup. He wrapped him up in the *katete* and wild ginger leaves and tied the *kaika* vines around the bundle he had thus made. Then he picked it up and returned to To Kabinana.

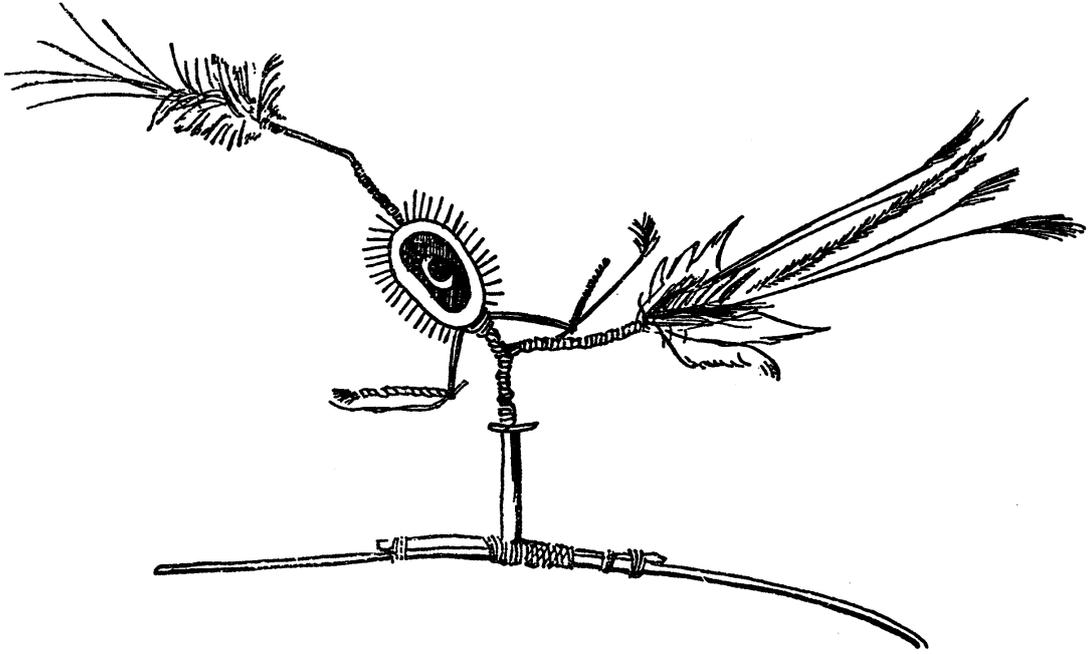
“What’s that To Purgo?” asked To Kabinana.

“What’s what?” asked To Purgo.

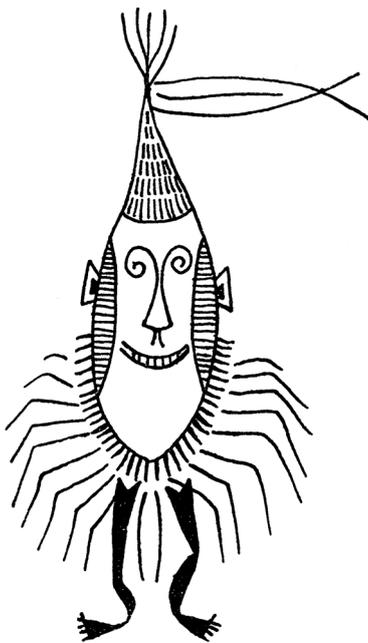
“That thing you’ve wrapped up,

“Tavakup!”

“Why have you harmed that important old fellow?” asked To Kabinana. “You should not have harmed him. I sent you off to help him and not to harm him and perhaps cause his death!”



Decoration use probably in *perapere* dance.



Mask design