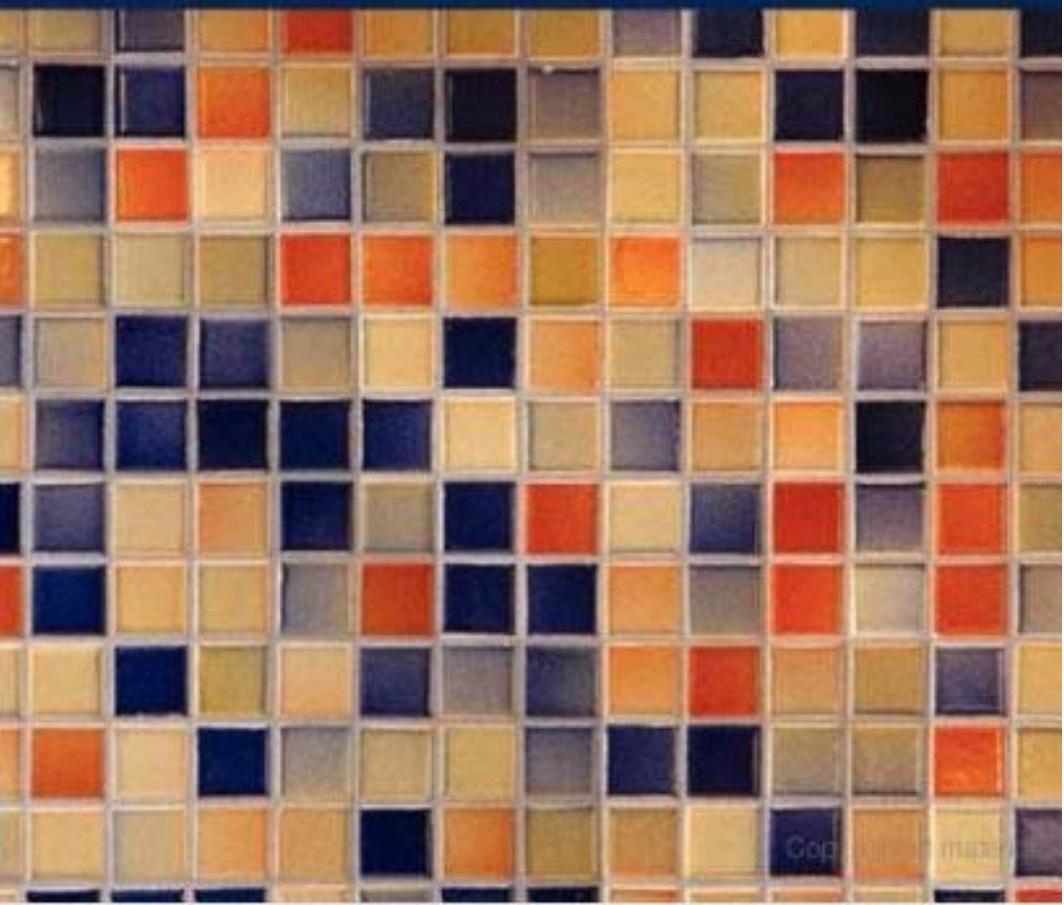


Oceanic Mythology

Roland B. Dixon



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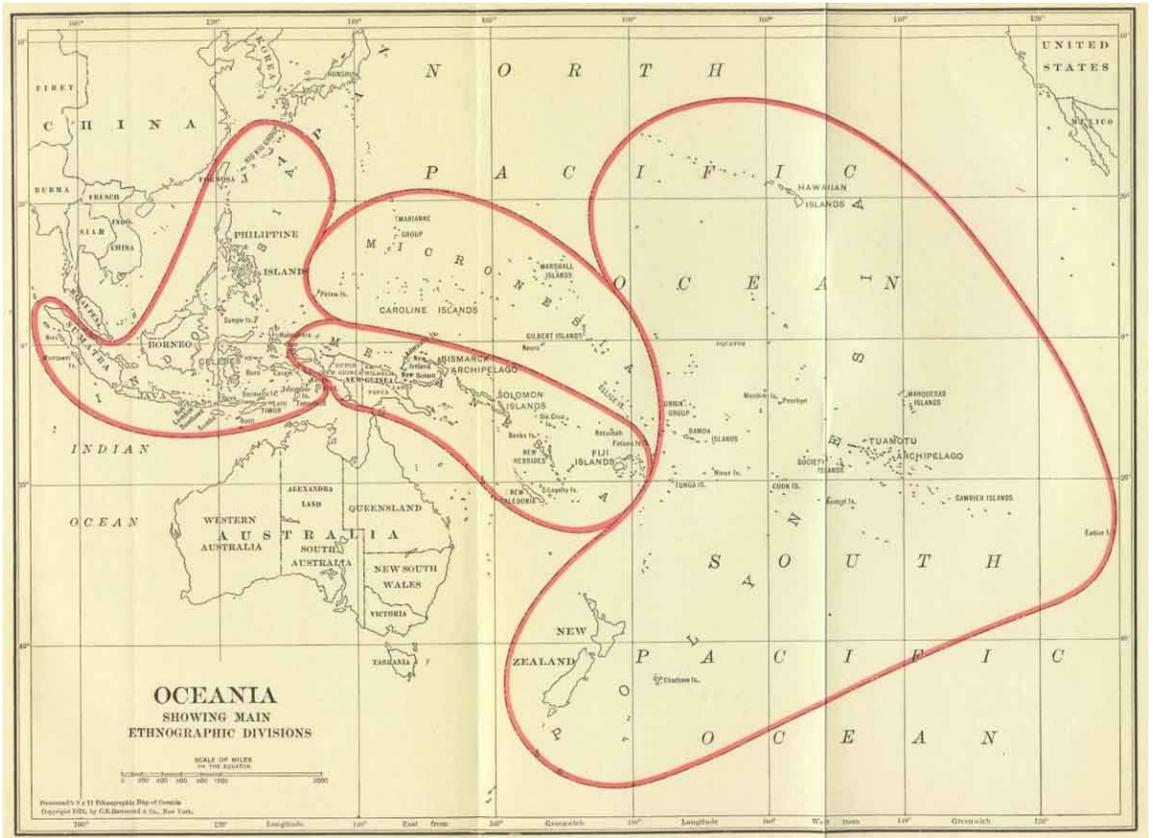
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Oceania *Showing Main Ethnographic Divisions*



Author's Preface

IN the following pages we shall seek to present an outline of the mythology of the Oceanic peoples. Although certain aspects of the mythic system of this area, as well as the myths of separate portions of it, have been treated by others, the present writer does not know of any recent endeavour to gather all available materials from the whole region, or to discuss the relationship of the mythologies of the various portions of Oceania to one another, and to the adjacent lands. The attempt has been made to go over all the myths of worth which have been published; but it is not impossible that valuable and important material has been overlooked. Some omissions, however, have been due to circumstances beyond control. A number of volumes containing material, probably of considerable value, were not to be found in the libraries of the United States, and disturbances consequent upon the European War have made it impossible to secure them; while other gaps are due to the author's insufficient knowledge of Malay languages, which prevented the use of some collections of tales, published without translations.

The selection of the legends to be presented has offered considerable difficulty, this being especially marked in the class of what may be denominated, for convenience, miscellaneous tales. No two persons would probably make the same choice, but it is believed that those which are here given serve as a fair sample of the various types and include those which are of widest interest and distribution.

In the majority of cases the tales have been retold in our own words. For strictly scientific purposes exact reproductions of the originals would, of course, be required; but the general purpose of this series, and the limitations of space, have made this method impossible. References have in every case, however, been given; so that those who wish to consult the fuller or original forms of the tales can do so easily. These references, and all notes, have been put into an Appendix at the end of the volume, thus leaving the pages unencumbered for those who wish only to get a general idea of the subject. The Bibliography has, with few exceptions, been restricted to the titles of original publications; reprints and popular and semi-popular articles and volumes have been omitted. Every care has been taken to make the large number of references correct, though it is too much to hope that errors have not crept in.

In the brief discussions at the end of each section, and again at the end of the volume, we have sought to draw conclusions in regard to the probable origin of some of the myths and to point out the evidences of transmission and historical contact which they show.

Merely to present the tales without offering any suggestions as to how they had come to be what they are and where they are, seemed to fail of attaining the full purpose of this series. No one is more conscious than the author that the hypotheses offered will not meet with universal acceptance; that they rest, in many cases, upon uncertain foundations; and that, plausible as they may look today, they may be fundamentally modified by new material and further study. Should this essay only serve to stimulate interest in this field, and lead to greater activity in gathering new material while yet there is time, he will be quite content.

ROLAND B. DIXON.

Introduction

THE myths and tales in this volume have been gathered from all parts of Oceania, and it may be wise, therefore, at the outset to indicate just what area is included in our survey; to sketch very briefly the character of the peoples and the environment in which they live; and to state the general plan and purpose of the book.

The use of the term Oceania is, and has been, rather variable. By some it is taken to include only the smaller Wands of the Pacific Ocean, comprised for the most part within the limits of Polynesia and Micronesia, while others extend the application of the term so as to include also Melanesia as well as the whole group of the East Indies. In the present case it is this latter usage which is followed, and the great island-continent of Australia, together with its appendage of Tasmania, is further added. Thus by Oceania will be meant all island areas, great or small, from Easter Island to Sumatra and from Hawaii to New Zealand.

This great region may, for our purposes, be conveniently divided into five sections: (1) Polynesia, which may be roughly defined as including all the islands lying east of the 180th meridian, together with New Zealand; (2) Melanesia, comprising the huge island of New Guinea, together with all the islands and archipelagos extending therefrom to the east and southeast as far as Fiji and New Caledonia; (3) Indonesia, which includes all the islands often spoken of as the East Indies, and extends from the Moluccas on the east to Sumatra on the west, and from Java and Timor in the south to the northern extremity of the Philippines; (4) Micronesia, composed, as its name implies, mainly of small islands, and occupying the area north of Melanesia and east of the 130th meridian of east longitude; and lastly (5), but by no means, least in importance, Australia, together with Tasmania. As compared with all the other great divisions of the world, Oceania is unique in that, if we exclude Australia (which, although an island, is so enormous in size as to lose all insular characteristics), it is composed wholly of islands. These vary in size from mere reefs or islets, only a mile or so in diameter, to great land masses, like New Zealand or Borneo, whose areas are to be measured by hundreds of thousands of square miles. Some are low coral atolls elevated only a few feet above the surface of the sea; others are volcanic and mountainous, their summits rising into the realms of perpetual snow. Although the greater part of Oceania lies within the tropics and has the usual features of tropical environment in the way of climate, flora, and fauna, it extends here and there far into the temperate zone, and the snowy New Zealand Alps, with their huge glaciers, suggest Switzerland and Norway rather than anything else. In New Guinea, Borneo, and (to a less degree) in a few other islands the same great contrast in environment is produced by elevation alone, and one may thus pass from the barren peaks and snows of the highest ranges down through all the intermediate stages to the hot tropical jungle and fever-laden swamps of the coasts. Australia, in its vast expanses of terrible deserts, again presents a striking contrast to the other parts of the area, although one of a different sort.

The native peoples of the Oceanic area are almost as varied as are its natural features and environment. Some, like the recently discovered New Guinea pygmies or the now extinct Tasmanians, serve as examples of the lowest stages known in human culture.

With their black skins, ugly faces, and short woolly hair they are in striking contrast to the often little more than brunette Polynesians, with their voluptuously beautiful forms and faces and long, wavy hair, or to the lithe, keen-faced, straight-haired Malay, both of whom attained to no mean development on the material as well as on the intellectual side of their respective cultures.

The origin, evolution, and affiliation of the various peoples of Oceania is a problem whose complexity becomes more and more apparent with increasing knowledge. While anthropologists are still far from satisfactorily explaining these matters., it is patent to all that the ethnic history of the region involves the recognition of a series of waves of migration from the westward, each spreading itself more or less completely over its predecessors, modifying them, and in turn modified by them, until the result is a complex web, the unravelling of which leads us inevitably back to the Asiatic mainland. It is obvious that, while migrations on land are not necessarily conditioned by the stage of culture of a people, in an island area, especially where the islands are separated by wide stretches of ocean, movement is impossible, or at least very difficult, for peoples who have attained only the rudiments of the art of seamanship. A glance at the map will show that, so far as Indonesia, much of Melanesia, and Australia are concerned, the difficulties in the way of the migration of a primitive people are far less than in the case of Micronesia and Polynesia. In the former areas, indeed, some land masses now separated were in comparatively recent times joined together, so that migrations were then possible which now would be difficult for a people without knowledge of any means of navigation; but to reach the widely separated islands farther out in the Pacific would have been impossible to those unprovided with adequate vessels and skill to use them. Thus we are forced to assume that it was not until man had attained a considerably higher development than that shown by the Tasmanians or Australians that these outlying and isolated parts of the Oceanic area could have been inhabited. It is indeed probable that they were, of all the occupied portions of the globe, the last to be settled.

From what has been said it may be seen how fertile and fascinating a field Oceania presents to the student of anthropology. In the following pages we are concerned, however, with one aspect only of the whole complex of human culture, namely, mythology. In order to make clear the differences between the various portions of the area, each of the five subdivisions will be considered by itself alone, and also in its relation to the others, while, in conclusion, an attempt will be made to sum up these results and to point out their wider bearings. Throughout the purpose has been, not only to sketch the more important types of myths, but to draw attention to resemblances and similarities between the myth-incidents of one area and another. In the present state of our knowledge the conclusions which are drawn are, it cannot be too strongly emphasized, only tentative-they must stand or fall according as they are substantiated or disproved by further material, both mythological and other.

A word may be said in regard to the method of treatment and point of view here adopted. In indicating similarities and suggesting possible relationships, individual

incidents in myths have been largely taken as the basis. The author is well aware how easily such a method may lead to wild and impossible conclusions; the literature of mythology and folk-lore affords only too many examples of such amazing discoveries; but where caution is observed, and due regard is paid to known or probable historical associations, the evidence to be derived from a study of the distribution of myth-incidents is often reliable and corroborated by collateral information derived from other fields. It should also be pointed out that in the following pages we have endeavoured to present only the myths themselves, and have purposely refrained from all attempts at rationalizing them or explaining this as a lunar, that as a solar, myth.

Such attempts are, we believe, almost wholly futile in the present state of our knowledge of Oceanic mythology, culture, and history.

A dextrous imagination can evolve either a lunar or a solar explanation for any myth, and one needs to have but little personal experience with native peoples to realize how hopeless it is for the civilized inquirer to predicate what the symbolism of anything really is to the native mind. The study of mythology has, in the last few years, also demonstrated to what a degree all myths are in a state of flux, new elements and incidents being borrowed and incorporated into old tales and modified to accord with local beliefs and predispositions. Thus, what starts out, perhaps, as a solar incident may come to be embodied in another myth of quite different origin, and in so doing may wholly lose its former significance; or an entire myth, originally accounting for one thing, may become so modified by transmission that its first meaning becomes lost.

Lastly, we may again point out that at present the available material is still so imperfect that all conclusions must be accepted with reserve. Not only are there large areas from which no data whatever have been collected (and even some from which, owing either to the extinction of the population or their greatly changed manner of life, none can ever be obtained), but very little, comparatively, of what has been gathered has been recorded in the language of the people themselves. Misunderstandings, conscious or unconscious colouring of statements to accord with preconceived ideas of what the people ought to think, statements made by natives who obligingly tell the investigator just what they think he wants to hear—these and other sources of error must be eliminated so far as possible before we can be sure of our ground. In spite of all this, however, it is worth while to take account of stock, as it were, and to see, as well as we can, where we stand. By so doing we may at least recognize the gaps in our knowledge and be spurred on to try to fill them while yet there is time.

PART I. POLYNESIA

THAT portion of Oceania whose mythology is both most widely known and to which reference is most frequently made is undoubtedly Polynesia. One of the chief reasons for this lies in the character of the legends themselves, for they are both pleasing and in many respects unusual. We may well begin then with Polynesia in presenting an outline of Oceanic mythology.

The people of these Happy Isles have, from the beginning, been of great interest to anthropologists; but although much has been learned regarding them, the problems

of their origin and ethnic history are still far from being settled. Most students of the subject, however, are now agreed that in the Polynesians we must see a somewhat complex blending of several waves of immigration, bringing relatively fair-skinned peoples from the Indonesian area (or perhaps from still farther west) eastward through Melanesia into the Pacific. That there have been at least two, and probably more, such great waves, and that these have in varying degree mixed with the dark-skinned people of Melanesia in transit, seems clear; but whether other racial elements also enter into the question is not yet certain. Although older and younger waves are probably represented in all the island-groups of Polynesia, the oldest seems especially noticeable in two of the most outlying portions of the whole region, i. e. New Zealand and Hawaii. The detailed study of the spread of these waves can as yet however be said only to have begun.

CHAPTER I. MYTHS OF ORIGINS AND THE DELUGE

IN considering the mythology of these peoples it will be most convenient to begin with the cosmogonic myths, for these are not only in themselves very interesting, as presenting unusual features, but also show, in an unmistakable manner, the composite character of the mythology as a whole. It is usual to speak of the Polynesian origin-myths as if they formed a substantially uniform system, to comment on their rather surprisingly philosophic aspect, and to indulge in somewhat vague theorizing in an attempt to explain conditions and the peculiar resemblances to the myths of other parts of the world. When, however, careful study and comparison of the available material are made, it is clear that the problem is by no means as simple as it looks at first sight, and that we have here one of the most interesting of all fields for mythologic investigations.

Comparing the various myths and myth fragments in which the cosmogonic ideas of the Polynesians have been preserved, it appears that these may be separated quite easily into two types: one (usually assumed to be the normal or only form) in which we have what may be called a genealogical or evolutionary development of the cosmos and the gods from an original chaos; the other, in which there is a more or less definite act of creation by a deity or deities. To make clear the differences between these two types and to define the problem raised by the presence of these two contrasted sets of beliefs, it will be advisable to consider the two groups of myths separately.



PLATE II

Wooden figure of Tangaroa Upao Vahu, a sea-deity, represented in the act of creating other gods and men. From a temple in Rurutu Island, Austral Group. British Museum.

The Genealogical or Evolutionary Type.-Omitting for the moment such variations as exist between the versions current in the different islands, the essential elements of this form of the myth may be stated as follows. In the beginning there was nothing but Po, a void or chaos, without light, heat, or sound, without form or motion. Gradually vague stirrings began within the darkness, moanings and whisperings arose, and then at first, faint as early dawn, the light appeared and grew until full day had come. Heat and moisture next developed, and from the interaction of these elements came substance and form, ever becoming more and more concrete, until the solid earth and overarching sky took shape and were personified as Heaven Father and Earth Mother. At this point, as a rule, the evolutionary sequence stops and all further things, both natural phenomena and all the myriad gods, are the offspring of bright Heaven by Earth or some other female principle. This conception of a self-evolving cosmos, of a universe declared by some to be only the body or shell of a great primal cause, is a most surprising one to find among a people upon the plane of culture in which the Polynesians were living at the time of their discovery. As an explanation of the riddle of the universe, and as a philosophic system, it would seem far more appropriate to early Greek or Hindu speculation; and indeed, in the form which was preserved in Hawaii, we really find an extraordinary echo of the doctrines of early Hellas and India; while the resemblances to Scandinavian mythology are also striking. Before attempting, however, to discuss the origin of these beliefs in Polynesia, it will be necessary to consider somewhat more in detail the varied forms which they take in the different island groups within the Polynesian area.

As pointed out above, New Zealand presents us with what is, in many respects, one of the oldest and simplest forms of Polynesian culture, and we may, therefore, well begin a consideration of the origin-myths. by examining those found in this extreme southwestern corner of the Polynesian area. From New Zealand a number of versions have been recorded, the forms, traditional among different tribes being often quite variable. A comparatively brief account is given by the Nga-i-tahu of the South Island. "Po begat Teao (light), who begat Ao-marama (daylight), who begat Ao-tu-roa (long-standing light), who begat Kore-te-whiwhia (did not possess), who begat Kore-te-rawea (was not pleased with), who begat Kore-te-tamaua (was not held), who begat Kore-te-matua (without parent), who begat Maku (damp). Maku took to wife Ma-hora-nui-a-tea (great spreading out of light) and begat Raki (Rangi)." After this Rangi, by various wives (whose origins are seldom recorded), begat a great number of descendants, many of them deities; and one of these spouses was originally the wife of Tangaroa, the sea-god of whose provenance little is said. Angered by her faithlessness, Tangaroa attacked Rangi and wounded him in the thigh with a spear.

It will be seen at once why the term "genealogical" has been applied to this class of origin-myths, the successive stages in the development of the cosmos being individualized and personified and each being regarded as the offspring of the next preceding. A different, and in some ways more interesting, version of creation recorded from the New Zealand region is as follows:

**"Te Kore - The Void
Te Kore-tua-tahi - The First Void
Te Kore-tua-rua - The Second Void
Te Kore-nui - The Vast Void
Te Kore-roa - The Far-Extending Void
Te Kore-para - The Sere Void
Te Kore-whiwhia - The Unpossessing Void
Te Kore-rawea - The Delightful Void
Te Kore-te-tamaua - The Void Fast Bound
Te Po - The Night
Te Po-teki - The Hanging Night
Te Po-terea - The Drifting Night
Te Po-whawha - The Moaning Night
Hine-maki-moe - The Daughter of Troubled Sleep
Te Po - The Night
Te Ata - The Dawn
Te Ao-tu-roa - The Abiding Day
Te Ao-marama - The Bright Day
Whai-tua - Space."**

In Whai-tua two existences without shape were formed: Maku ("Moisture"), a male; and Mahora-nui-a-rangi ("Great Expanse of Heaven"), a female; and from these sprang Rangi-potiki ("The Heavens"), who took to wife Papa ("Earth") and begat the gods. The sequence here, leading from the original undifferentiated void through -various stages of darkness and light to space, in which the parents of the bright sky took form, illustrates at once the dual character of this type of myth; for here we find both the idea of progressive development and the individualization of the successive stages in this evolution as a genealogic series.

One more example of this type may be given:

**"From the conception the increase
From the increase the swelling
From the swelling the thought
From the thought the remembrance
From the remembrance the consciousness, the desire.
The word became fruitful:
It dwelt with the feeble glimmering
It brought forth night;
The great night, the long night,
The lowest night, the loftiest night,
The thick night, the night to be felt,
The night touched, the night unseen.
The night following on,
The night ending in death.**

From the nothing, the begetting,
From the nothing the increase
From the nothing the abundance,
The power of increasing, the living breath;
It dwelt with the empty space,
It produced the atmosphere which is above us.
The atmosphere which floats above the earth,
The great firmament above us,
The spreadout space dwelt with the early dawn,
Then the moon sprang forth;
The atmosphere above dwelt with the glowing sky,
Forthwith was produced the sun,
They were thrown up above as the chief eyes of Heaven:
Then the Heavens became light, the early dawn, the early day,
The mid-day. The blaze of day from the sky.
The sky which floats above the earth
Dwelt with Hawaiki."

From these came various lands and gods.

Apparently it has been generally assumed that this evolutionary, genealogical myth was entirely typical of Maori mythology; but in reality the matter is far from being so simple, for the New Zealand beliefs appear to be somewhat confused on the subject of the origin of Rangi and Papa. The version just outlined ascribes to Rangi a long ancestry and development, but other legends allude to a primeval sea, out of which the earth (Papa) grew, later to be taken to wife by Rangi, the Sky Father. Other myths, again, omit all reference to an original chaos, and without attempting to account for Rangi and Papa simply assume their existence, and then go on in much detail to describe the birth of Rangi's various progeny by a series of wives, who are usually given as six. By the first, Poko-harua-te-po ("Pit of the Breath of Night"), he had as offspring Ha-nui-o-rangi ("Great Breath of Heaven"), Ta-whiri-ma-tea ("Beckoned and Desired"), and a whole series of winds, as well as rites and incantations, all personified. By the second, Papa-tu-a-nuku ("Flat, Resembling the Earth"), he was the parent of Rehua, Tane, Paia, Tu, Rongo, Ru, and a host of other minor deities. Now Papa-tu-anuku was the wife of Tangaroa, but had deserted him, coming to Rangi while Tangaroa was away. When the latter returned and learned of his wife's faithlessness, he attacked Rangi and speared him in the thigh; and during the time that the Sky Father was thus wounded, he begat another series of deities.

Rangi's third wife was Heke-heke-i-papa ("Coming Down to Earth"), by whom he had many children, the most important being Tamanui-a-rangi ("Great Son of Heaven"). By his fourth wife, Hotu-papa ("Sobbing Earth"), he was the father of a host of children, for the most part of little note, though Tu and Rongo again appear among them. The offspring of the fifth and sixth wives were unimportant.

Although Rangi is thus said to have had various wives, a comparison of the different accounts would seem to emphasize the preeminent importance in the Maori mind of the Heaven Father and Earth Mother pair; and, indeed, some versions do

not seem to recognize any other. This conception, familiar in classical mythology and elsewhere, seems very characteristic of New Zealand, and apparently reached a higher development there than elsewhere in Polynesia. For the Sky Father an origin from the primeval night or chaos is, as we have seen, sometimes asserted; but no explanation of the origin of the Earth Mother is usually thought necessary. New Zealand thus exhibits, a type of cosmogony in which the evolutionary element, although sometimes well marked, is not invariably present; and in which the belief in the Sky Father and the Earth Mother seems especially strong. The general character of the variants found in different versions suggests that these may be the result of the blending of several sets of beliefs.

It is pretty well established that when New Zealand was discovered, its inhabitants were composed of two main elements: first, the descendants of the great influx of the fourteenth century, who formed the bulk of the population; and second, some remnants of older immigrants more or less mixed with the earliest dwellers found there by these original invaders. Unfortunately, little attempt has been made to recover the undoubtedly older mythology of these "aborigines," so that we have little evidence as to what their beliefs may have been. Some light may be thrown on the question, however, by the fragments recovered from the Moriori of the Chatham Islands, which were colonized from New Zealand before the coming of the historic immigration. Unhappily, the actual cosmogonic myths recorded from the Moriori are very brief, but, so far as they go they make little mention of the evolutionary theme, ascribing the beginning of all things to Rangi and Papa, of whose origin almost nothing is said. We may, perhaps, regard this as a survival of the older New Zealand belief, which would thus seem to have lacked the evolutionary element, and we should thus be led tentatively to assume that this latter and more philosophic feature represents a later development.

Leaving Maori mythology and turning to the other island groups in Polynesia it is apparent that the cosmogonic myths current in the Marquesas present striking analogies to some of those in New Zealand. Here, again, in the beginning is the primeval void in which "arises a swelling, a seething, a dark surging, a whirling, a bubbling, and a swallowing-there arises a whole series of supports or posts, the great and the small, the long and the short, the crooked and the bent-there arise innumerable and endless supports. They riot in such contrasts and synonyms. There arises in particular the foundation-the firmness-there arises space and light and cliffs of various sorts." The evolutionary or genealogical character is here strongly emphasized, both in its extent and intricacy, and the series of personified abstract qualities and contrasts rivals, and even exceeds, the similar examples from New Zealand. In comparison with New Zealand, accordingly, there seems to be a much greater development of the evolutionary, or, as it might perhaps more accurately be termed, the developmental, theme. The antecedents of the existing universe comprise a bewildering series of abstract and partially personified, contrasted qualities; and there is an evident attempt to carry these, on the one hand, backward to an original, negative void, and on the other, forward to an ultimate, primitive substance. In other words, we have here more of a philosophic



PLATE III

Club from the Marquesas Islands. The decoration of heads and faces in various combinations is unquestionably symbolic, but the precise meaning of the various figures is unknown. Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

system: in New Zealand the briefer developmental series led only to the personified Sky Father; here it is the origin of all substance and of solid matter itself which is sought.

Another version serves as a transition to the forms found in the Society Group. According to this, Tanaoa and Mutuhei ("Darkness" and "Silence") ruled supreme in the primeval Po. In the course of time Atea ("Light") evolved or separated himself from Tanaoa, and drove him away; and after this, Ono ("Sound") evolved himself from Atea and destroyed Mutuhei. From these two struggles arose Atanua ("Dawn"), whom Atea took to wife, and so begat a host of deities, besides creating the heavens and the earth. This second version introduces a new factor in the suggestion of a primeval deity, Tangaroa. This feature is usually regarded as foreign to New Zealand mythology, yet in a recent and most important contribution to our knowledge of Maori mythology there seems to be a clearly expressed idea of a supreme, primeval deity, Io, who was before all things, and who is in the ultimate analysis the origin and creator of the universe and all the gods.

The versions given from the Society Islands accord with that from the Marquesas in which Tanaoa (= Tangaroa = Taaroa = Kanaloa) is regarded as a deity existent from the beginning, but carry this ascendancy of Tanaoa considerably further. One text recounts the origin as follows:

"He existed. Taaroa was his name.

In the immensity There was no earth, there was no sky, There was no sea, there was no man.

Taaroa calls, but nothing answers.

Existing alone, he became the universe.

Taaroa is the root, the rocks (foundation).

Taaroa is the sands.

It is thus that he is named.

Taaroa is the light.

Taaroa is within.

Taaroa is the germ.

Taaroa is the support.

Taaroa is enduring.

Taaroa is wise.

He erected the land of Hawaii,

Hawaii, the great and sacred,

As a body or shell for Taaroa.

The earth is moving.

O, Foundations, O, Rocks,

O, Sands, hither, hither,

Brought hither, pressed together the earth.

Press, press again.

They do not unite.

Stretch out the seven heavens, let ignorance cease.

Create the heavens, let darkness cease.

Let immobility cease.

Let the period of messengers cease.

It is the time of the speaker.

Completed the foundations,

Completed the rocks,

Completed the sands,

The heavens are enclosing,

The heavens are raised.

In the depths is finished the land of Hawaii."

A second version is interesting in comparison with this. "Taaroa (whose origin is not described) embraced a rock, the imagined foundation of all things, which afterward brought forth the earth and sea... Soon after this, the heralds of day, the dark and light blue sky, appeared before Taaroa, and solicited a soul for his offspring-the then inanimate universe. The foundation of all replied, 'It is done,' and directed his son, the Sky-producer, to accomplish his will. In obedience to the mandate of Taaroa, his son looked up into the heavens, and the heavens received the power of bringing forth new skies, and clouds, sun, moon, and stars, thunder and lightning, rain and wind. He then looked downwards, and the unformed mass received the power to bring forth earth, mountains, rocks, trees, herbs, and flowers, beasts, birds, and insects, fountains, rivers, and fish. Rai-tubu, or Sky-producer, then looked to

the abyss, and imparted to it the power to bring forth the purple water., rocks and corals, and all the inhabitants of the ocean."

It is obvious that we are now dealing with quite a different aspect from that with which we started. Tangaroa is here a sort of world soul; a self-evolving, self-existent, creative deity, who alone is ultimately responsible for the origin of the universe. The idea of a primeval, creative deity is, however, not wholly absent from New Zealand, as is shown by the following:

**"Io dwelt within the breathing-space of immensity.
The Universe was in darkness, with water everywhere,
There was no glimmer of dawn, no clearness, no light.
And he began by saying these words,-
That He might cease remaining inactive:
'Darkness! become a light-possessing darkness.'
And at once light appeared.
(He) then repeated those self-same words in this manner,
That He might cease remaining inactive:
'Light! become a darkness-possessing light.'
And again an intense darkness supervened,
And a third time He spake, saying:
'Let there be one darkness above,
Let there be one darkness below (alternate),
Let there be a darkness unto Tupua,
Let there be a darkness unto Tawhito,
It is a darkness overcome and dispelled.
Let there be one light above,
Let there be one light below (alternate),
Let there be a light unto Tupua,
Let there be a light unto Tawhito,
A dominion of light, A bright light.'
And now a great light prevailed.
(Io) then looked to the waters, which compassed him about,
And spake a fourth time, saying:
'Ye waters of Tai-kama be ye separate
Heaven, be formed' Then the sky became suspended.
'Bring-forth, thou, Tupua-horo-riuku.'
And at once the moving earth lay stretched abroad."**

The cosmogonic ideas of the inhabitants of the Cook or Hervey Group are not clear. The form in which they are given is quite divergent from that in other islands, but the account really gives no true cosmogony, for it describes only the origin of several deities.

The universe, of whose beginning nothing is said, is pictured as a hollow shell, in form like a beet, at the lower extremity of which is "The Root of All Existence," above which comes "Breathing All Life" and the "Long-Lived." Next above, where

the walls of the shell come together, is Vari-ma-te-takere ("The Very Beginning"), a female deity who creates six other deities-Vatea (called Atea in the Marquesas, and Wakea in Hawaii), Tinirau ("Innumerable"), Tango ("Support"), Tu-mute-anaoa ("Echo"), Raka ("Trouble"), and Tu-metua ("Stick by the Parent"). Vatea, whose abode was "The Thin Land," espoused Papa ("Foundation" or "Earth"), the daughter of Tima-te-kore ("Nothing More"), and became the parent of the five great deities, Tangaroa, Rongo, Tonga-iti, Tangiia, and Tane.

The account does not harmonize well with any of the preceding beliefs, almost its only point of contact being the union of Vatea (associated with the light or bright sky) and Papa, and their consequent begetting of the gods. It seems very probable that the real cosmogonic myths of this group have not been recorded.

Summing up the material thus far presented, it may be said that we have in New Zealand one form of cosmogonic myth which indicates a belief in the origin, from an initial chaos, of a Sky-God, Rangi, who, in conjunction with Papa ("The Earth") and other female powers, becomes the father of gods and men. The accounts, as we have them, give the impression of being somewhat fragmentary, as well as composite, and they represent, it may be suggested, the overlaying of an older stratum by the type of originmyth which was current in the Cook and Society Groups in the fourteenth century-the time of the historic emigration from this portion of central Polynesia which brought to New Zealand the ancestors of the great bulk of the population found there at the period of its discovery. This central Polynesian form of myth appears to be strongly developed in the Marquesas also, though with some modifications, notably in tracing the origin of Papa more definitely. Here, however, this type appears itself to be strongly modified in some versions by still another class of myth, that, namely, in which Tangaroa plays the part of a real creator. In the Society Group this feature is still more pronounced, and we have Tangaroa treated almost as a world soul, a deity of whom the cosmos is only a manifestation.

One of the most curious and interesting of Polynesian cosmogonic myths is that found in Hawaii, which, although differing in several important particulars from those just outlined, must yet be considered as belonging to the same general type. In the very beginning, however, a striking variation occurs, in that although we have the source of all things from chaos, it is a chaos which is simply the wreck and ruin of an earlier world. "And so, creation begins in the origin of a new world from the shadowy reflex of one that is past...

"Unsteadily, as in dim moon-shimmer,
From out Makalii's night-dark veil of cloud
Thrills, shadow-like, the prefiguration of the world to be."

The drama of creation, according to the Hawaiian account, is divided into a series of stages, and in the very first of these life springs from the shadowy abyss and dark night. There is here, however, no long series of antecedent, vaguely personified entities ranged in genealogical sequence, but the immediate appearance of living things. At first the lowly zoophytes and corals come into being, and these are followed by worms and shellfish, each type being declared to conquer and destroy its predecessor, a struggle for existence in which the strongest survive. Parallel with this evoluti-

on of animal forms, plant life begins on land and in the sea-at first with the algae, followed by seaweeds and rushes. As type follows type, the accumulating slime of their decay raises the land above the waters, in which, as spectator of all, swims the octopus, the lone survivor from an earlier world. In the next Period Black Night and WideSpread Night give birth to leafy plants and to insects and birds, while in the darkness the first faint glimmering of day appears. The sea brings forth its higher forms, such as the medusae, fishes, and whales; and in the dim twilight monstrous forms creep in the mud. Food plants come into existence while all nature is thrown into an uproar under the stress of its birth-pains. The fifth period sees the emergence of swine (the highest mammal known to the Hawaiian), and night becomes separated from day. In the sixth, mice appear on land, and porpoises in the sea; the seventh period witnesses the development of various abstract psychic qualities, later to be embodied in man; while in the eighth, the turmoil and uproar having subsided, from peace and quiet, fructified by the light, which is now brilliant, woman is born, and also man, together with some of the higher gods.

The principal difference between this conception-which is truly remarkable for a savage people-and the myths previously outlined are fivefold: first, the derivation of the present world from the wreck of an earlier; second, the omission of much of the cosmic development, if it may so be called; third, the ascription of the origins of life to the earliest period of creation and the tracing of its evolution from lower to higher forms; fourth, the suggestion, at least, of the building up of the solid earth as due to the gradual accumulation of the products of decay of the first life; and, lastly, the absence of the Heaven Father and Earth Mother, figures which form so characteristic a part of the New Zealand myths. In spite of these divergencies, however, the fundamental idea of evolutionary sequence, as opposed to creation, is clearly marked; and here, as in the New Zealand myths, the gods; are a product of, or an emanation from, the universe, rather than the preexistent germ of all development. Nevertheless here, as in other Polynesian groups, there were several conflicting versions of the origin-myth; and we find, among others, one in which a triad of gods (not including Tangaroa, however) is said to have "existed from and before chaos." The evolutionary myth, moreover, which has been outlined. above, itself shows indications of a complex origin; so that in Hawaii, as elsewhere in Polynesia, there is evidence that the beliefs of the people in regard to origins are far from presenting a uniform type.

The evolutionary motive has been shown to be well developed both in New Zealand and in Hawaii as well as in the Marquesas; but in the West it appears to survive only in more or less fragmentary form, being largely overlaid and supplanted by other themes. In Samoa one version of the origin-myth begins with a genealogical series of rocks or cliffs, from which at length arises the octopus, whose children are fire and water. Between their descendants arises a mighty conflict, in which water wins and the world is destroyed by a flood only to be recreated by Tangaloa. This element of world-destruction and re-creation suggests the Hawaiian myth already outlined, but the evolutionary feature is here reduced to a mere fragment. Another version, in giving the genealogy of the Malietoa, or ruling chief, carries the ancestors back through a long series of pairs of deities or natural phenomena to "The High Rocks" and the "Earth Rocks," as follows: