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Palau

By
Prof. Dr. Augustin Krämer

Volume 3

Section V.
Material Culture

Section VI.
Intellectual Culture

Hamburg
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Foreword.

Seven years have passed since Volume 2 appeared. The writings of the subsequent volumes were also available and ready for print at that time, in 1919, but the unfavorable circumstances and situation at the time held back their printing.

The 7 sacred Palauan years of hesitation also had advantages. This spring, I finally received more news from my translator, William Gibbon, conveyed by the German ambassador in Tokyo, Exeq. Dr. Solf, to whom I would like to extend special thanks here. Mr. Gibbon sent in a long work about the social structure of Palau, which was already covered in Volume 2, and he also reported on various other developments that have taken place in the meantime. Anything that was important for this volume, I added, to counter the potential charge that what is recorded here is outdated.

Many thanks to the museums of Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Leipzig, London, and Stuttgart for their help. The photographs of Palau (except for a few by Kubary) are my own; some of the illustrations are by Elisabeth Krämer, others were created at the Hamburg museum.

Stuttgart, August 27, 1926.

Augustin Krämer
Division of labor: The men are responsible for the following: war, hunting, fishing, care of the trees, cutting for palm wine, woodwork, construction of houses and canoes, navigation, rope-making and preparation of fibers, and the drilling of money. The women are in charge of: taro patch, weaving mats, pottery, making clothes, tattooing, cooking. Clothing, Ornamentation, Tattoos

a) Clothing

Palauans’ clothing has always been very limited. There were no headdresses; in fact, the islanders were forbidden to wear them, as this was considered a privilege of the gods, as Samoan correctly states in Vol. II. The Galid of Ngarau, for example, appears with his head covered (Plate 18). Only title-bearing high chiefs, who were considered mëang “sacred” as in Polynesia, were allowed to cover their heads, not with a hat, but with a teluta mat, so that unholy things could not touch them; this fact was previously reported about the Ifaluk on his visit to Ngasiias (see Vol. 2).

For protection from the sun, women working in a taro patch wear a banana leaf as a headdress, and fishermen at sea wear a similar covering, called lkóu (also known as bedebúd, see Fishing). Reports by the first discoverers reveal that the men originally went naked most of the time, or at least went unclothed on canoe trips. Fig. 4F in Vol. I, shows them, as the Spanish added, “entirely naked.” Henry Wilson reported in 1783 that the king appeared totally naked, and James Wilson verified this in 1797. Even v. M. M., in 1876, saw many people working in the nude, and noticed that they conversed with passing men and women without bashfulness. Nudity is also quite visible in the pictorial stories in the bai, in which the strong man displays “his spear” (lisél) as a sign of his vigor. Occasionally, however, bundles of leaves were used to cover the privates, as reported in Vol. I.

It is difficult to establish positively whether the loincloth, the úsakĕr (poss. usekerél), was introduced by outsiders or has been around since ancient times, as there are no references to it in the literature. K. Kub. in Vol. VIII, pg. 209, believes that in old times only chiefs wore the úsakĕr, while the common people (armea) went about in the nude, and that this explains the origin of the term; there is no proof to back up this view, however.

The loincloth, whose use was widespread, was put on in the following manner: you take a piece of cloth 1 foot wide and as long as a man is tall, pass its middle under the perineum; the front end is pulled, at navel height, sideways to the back, while the back end is pulled sideways to the front. The ends are intertwined in the back and the front, so that a little piece is left hanging over in both places (see Vol. I). In earlier times, breadfruit tree bark was probably used for the loincloth, as K. Kub. states in Vol. VIII. Today, imported cotton is used to make the úsakĕr, which was worn by all in 1910.

In contrast to the men, women were always clothed once they reached maturity. Their embarrassment and the lengths to which they go to avoid appearing nude, is in direct contrast to their liberated love life, which is discussed in detail in Section VI in the discussion on family. Their dress is the grass skirt geréuot, which sounds like greud (poss. geritél); it consists of two aprons, one in front (madál) and one in back (dél), held in place with a cord. I call this cord a hip cord, in contrast to the belt cord. Both are shown in Vol. 2, and in Fig. 1.
As I have explained previously, the former runs around the hips or haunches, between the crest and the round head of the femur, while the latter runs around the waist, the sides, like a real belt. They are tied in front. In the past, the hip cord (poss. tăgăl) consisted mostly of dugong skin and was called tăgăl l mesekíu (Fig. 2), or it was simply a cord with little slices of coconut shell (galevĕs or galeús) (fig. 3) or turtleshell (golúiŭp) (fig. 4), often double, i.e. two strands together. Cords that are entirely black are called migŏ “band” (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 187). Two double cords (Figs. 5 and 6) come from the GONERŁÍVÓ collection, which is now in Leipzig; they are 73 and 68 cm (Mi 1650 and 1634 Mi) long, respectively.

Our collection in Hamburg includes a cord of the same type (4703) without the white shell ornaments and the connecting pieces (Fig. 6), which bear a strong resemblance to central Carolinian models. 2830 is a band that was acquired in Palau but was imported; it is of the type made in Ngaleu, Feis, etc.; 2829 is a specimen that consists of many strands woven from human hair, of the type commonly used in Eastern Micronesia, but which appears only occasionally on Palau, as hair ties togúl a gúi.

Kub. VIII, Plate XXII, Fig. 17 and 16, depict both types; Kub. Fig. 15 is another double strand, of which Kub. speaks in Vol. I, pgs. 17 and 60, that this Kau-band was made in Ngaregolóng and consisted of 150 to 200 smoothly polished pieces, each broken out of the red-colored hinge of a shell, which would often take a man years to make. Kub. VIII, pg. 186, mentions the difficulty of catching the Hippopus shell Blūs in Ngaregolóng, the only place it occurs, and where, in the village of Gölę, the hip cords are made. This double belt is about 1m long; towards the ends of the strands, the little round disks become long and quadrangular (44mm long, 8-10mm thick, and 5mm thick). (Fig. 7). There are a total of 850 pieces, each polished by hand and with a hole drilled with a sort of flint. In the middle of the strands, the little disks are only about 5mm wide and are interspersed with little disks of Conus millepunctatus and coconut.

The red hinge of the shell (Spondylus, Hippopus, Chama) is knocked off using a piece of glowing coal and is ground on basalt. For polishing, the pieces were then placed into a running channel.

Kraut, Plate 6, also shows the kau, but with a single strand. During my stay, no trace of this could be found, and I cannot help but speculate that the kau is a material culture from Yap, from whence it was introduced to Palau, where it has since found temporary usage. Of course, Kub. says that the Yapese, who were more hungry for ornamentation, came to Palau to quarry their stone money, and eagerly bought up the kau, in order to wear them as highly prized necklaces. Indeed, I often saw them worn as necklaces on Yap, but never in Palau, seeing as jewelry is not considered so desirable by Palauans, and in shape and material they are entirely central and east Carolinian. We never saw one in Palau, and there is probably not a single one left in the archipelago. So even if one admits that the kau hip cord has been in use on Palau since ancient times and was probably also made here, it was probably adopted and should not be considered typically Palauan.

The belt ptet (poss. ptetél), which is worn around the flanks and usually cuts into them quite a bit, most often consists of woven ptet l blubëu and commonly has a black diamond pattern (Fig. 8).

Fig. 1. Women’s dress.

Fig. 2. Dugong hip cord He. 1083.

Fig. 5. Black and white hip cord.

Fig. 6. Hip cord with clasps, Leipzig.

Fig. 4. Turtleshell hip cord K. 39 (Hamburg 2828iv).

Fig. 7. Kau hip cord.

6 Called goli here, i.e. the same name. The necklaces made out of roughly cut red shell pieces are called daua on Yap and are shown in MÜLLER Plate 123. When VÖLKENS says (About the Caroline Island Yap, Journal of the Geographical Society, Berlin 1901, pg. 72), that the Thauie is Palauan work, I just note this as not applicable.

7 Hubie indicates the whip-like weaving.

1 Hawaii, Eastern Micronesia and Samoa, Stuttgart 1906, pg. 339.

2 WaLL. tachull, tachellél “belt,” KUB. thogúl.

3 Apparently, this word is derived from lius coconut.

4 According to P SALSEUS in Yap, this is the Chama pacifica, see MÜLLER Yap I, pg. 27.

5 MÜLLER Yap, Vol. I, pg. 27, presents additional similar statements by KUBARY, reproduced from his “Catalog,” which add a lot to the discussion, Plate 123, but the belt shown there is not a typical one.

6 Called goli here, i.e. the same name. The necklaces made out of roughly cut red shell pieces are called daua on Yap and are shown in MÜLLER Plate 123. When VÖLKENS says (About the Caroline Island Yap, Journal of the Geographical Society, Berlin 1901, pg. 72), that the Thauie is Palauan work, I just note this as not applicable.

7 Hubie indicates the whip-like weaving.
Women’s skirts

1. back apron
2. & 3. *viriamel* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 4964)
4. & 7. *kerikile* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 3793)
10. & 11. *vang* skirt packed in mats. (12 and 13)
12. & 13. *vang* skirt packed in Areca palm leaves (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 3724)
14. *vang* skirt packed in mats. (12 and 13)
15. *sosoli* skirt (10 and 11) packed in Areca palm leaves (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 3724)

Occasionally, the dugong hip cord is also worn around the flanks, in which case it is called *ptek l mesekiu*. The grass skirt *gerévut* comes in many varieties of shapes and colors. KUBARY mentions about 20 names, some of which are only valid under certain circumstances, however. One must take into account that those made for temporary use, such as those for fishing, are not called *gerévut*, but *kelkal*; the natives put them on at home and wear them to work. Two types are most common:

1. *mëolt* (Hamburg 4713) made out of young, fine “coconut pinnae” after they have been boiled, dried in the sun, and woven; or out of hibiscus leaves, often dyed with *reng*.
2. *vang* (Hamburg (Kr.) 3728, Plate 24 “dried Pandanus leaves,” split into wide strips in the manner of the *ter’rói pelú*.

Then, of course, there are more simple clothes for women that are made in the field and worn to protect the good skirt. This simplest form is called *gongoatélo*. If banana leaves are used, for example, the skirt is simply called *lél a tu*, etc. Other types that are still considered *gerévut* are not as durable and are good only for a short time and for a particular purpose. These are:

1. *samok* “root fibers” of taro, washed, sun-dried, then woven and dyed with *telekog* (a mixture of *reng* and oil).
2. *lambel*, the aromatic herb of the taro field, from which the skirt is made. A mongongong Areca leaf sheath is soaked in oil, and leaves of the *garimu* Parinarium tree are laid in it, grated turmeric root is sprinkled on this, then the root of the *maridel* orange tree and *keski* lemon grass are crushed and sprinkled over the little *lambel* plants, which are placed in the leaf sheath. The whole preparation is warmed overnight on a low fire. The following morning, the plants are taken out and woven into the skirt, which can be done in a single day.
3. *tôvëgel* (Kub. towekel) leaves of the “Nipa palm” are gathered when they are green, the ribs are removed, and the leaves are then twisted and broken, dried in the sun, woven, and dyed with turmeric oil.
4. *uôrok* dried “taro leaf stalks” are picked from the field when the field is dry, woven, then split by hand, sewn, and dyed with turmeric oil.

Of course, none of these pieces of clothing are durable. The following are clothes that are durable but also serve as ornamentation and income:

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*1 KUB.: “Hallowed” is the term for the other known types of women’s skirts, which are less important.*
5. bîngangau (Kub.: Butan), the “red” skirt, which was formerly the primary and best type, but is not used any more these days, can often be seen in red on the logakk (bai pictures). In Schmeltz-Krause, pg. 412, nr. 542, an orange-yellow Bungau is mentioned. Young garamál sticks, sacred blâbuk, are soaked in saltwater for 10 days, then skinned, and after the bark has been stripped, the fibers are dried in the sun. After this, they are woven and skinned with the tóggé comb. Following this, red earth (gorti) is mixed with expressed coconut milk and some water in a wooden bowl of about arm’s length, called gomlútël. The skeins are individually washed in this mixture and then hung in the shade to dry. When they are dry, they are sewn together. This was the klepkál` privilege of bái Tégêki in Goréêr. According to Kúb., it was considered most prized ornamentation and was placed in the grave with the dead.

6. gâramal ulálak (Kub.: Ulâleki Hé. ulálak), this is like the one just described, but dyed “black;” depending on the taste of the individual, it may contain yellow lap fibers, privilege of the royal families, as Kub. tells us. This means a Uds in Melekéisk and a lîdî on Goréêr.

7. rivâmé (Hamburg 3285 ii, 3729 ii, and 4964-65 ii), nowadays the primary and most valuable skirt. Kub. says: “riirémêl, all parts made of lap fibers dyed yellow; a woman’s skirt, very expensive, sometimes costing an adobûlök.” The name comes from the light yellow color of the falling (rir) leaf of the niámël tree, the Pangium edule, and is a reference to its beauty. Contrary to what Kub. believes, however, it is not made only from the fibers of the lap tree, but also from the fibers of galâu and giigâp, even if lap is preferred. The fibers of lap feel like wool in your hand, but must be soaked in sea water for 10 days to soften them; they are lightly dyed with red reng, but not much, then they are split, etc. The front apron has 13, the back one 12 delîl (see below). A special type is the tirînâmêlblîlëk, from blîlëk, the term for “row” (Kúb.: pelskul), because it has white and yellow spots, arranged in rows. Kub. mentions that the skirt is decorated with tropic bird feathers for dances and that it is a privilege, a klepkál`, of the a Mid family in Melekéisk. I was also told that it is the privilege of the family Nr. II Ngaraikêlal. We also mentioned something about this skirt in Vol. 2, p. 136, nr. 546, correctly describes a ririamel:

1. blai VII. a white one (Nr. 13) at the hut outside, the back of the house
2. blai IV. Tégêki a red one (Nr. 5)
3. blai II. a lîdî a light yellow one (Nr. 7) the white and black skirts are particularly visible
4. blai I. a black one (Nr. 6)
5. blai III. Jûlîlîdî a light yellow one (Nr. 7)
6. blai V. Ngaraîbuâk a brown one (Nr. 8)
7. blai VI. Gîlîlî a white one (Nr. 13) at the madal a bai, the front of the house

a) gathered when green, pulled off the ribs (melëkkâl), and split into narrow strips (tilenggûlël); placed in the shade to dry, so that the strands turn white or at least get lighter,

b) then broken by rolling on a rock or rubbing between the hands. The act of breaking is called gîlêlëkkêlëk (verb mangelëlëkkêlëk), split into wide strips like the ter’rópelul, sometimes dyed with reng.

1. blâ (Hamburg 2838 ii), the wide Pandanus (the one from Pelllîou, called lîolî, is highly prized). Leaves are gathered when they are still green, placed over taro and boiled or heated on stones. Strands are either split with the tóggé comb before drying or are cut with a shell like the ter’rópelul. Sometimes they are dyed black blâulëk (Kúb.: Burg. 2838 ii) Purchased for about 4 marks.

5. galâpulul a the “trunk of the banana.” Kub. calls this skirt Ulâleki, like Nr. 6, but says that it is made out of the pith of the banana trunk, with hibiscus fibers affixed to it. The skin is stripped off the trunk and the inner fibers are taken and dried in the sun; these are then woven and split by hand; dyed black or with reng.

16. le- or gorâdfûl (Hamburg 2837 ii, 3726 ii, and 4966 ii) “grass tree.” Leaves are gathered while still green, boiled, combed very finely using the tóggé, woven while still green, then washed well in saltwater, wrung out, then finally dried in the sun; dyed black or with reng. Because of the delicacy of the fibers, it has 15 delîl in front, 14 in the back; gorâdfûl is suitable for geongol sitting too, however (see skirt 10). Kub. mentions a skirt by the name of Horôdâkl-Daugolîguî, Drinaea leaves, blackened in the taro patch; augolîkîlì means “with something behind me.” Purchased for about 2 Marks.

17. nggel ngabárd; recently, pineapple was also used. The leaves are boiled while still green, combed with the tóggé, then dried and woven, dyed black or yellow.

18. rekêlûl, also modern, made of wool yarn.

These gorêûs are undoubtedly old types that have existed since early times. I must also mention something about the privilege klepkál` (poss. klepelël`), some of which originated in Ngånuangël, according to Kub., Vol. II, pg. 119. Indeed, privileges apply to some types of skirts, at least for celebrations. For instance, in Goréêr, 7 families have the klepkál` of wearing colored skirts when dancing in the dance house:

1. From materials below.
2. When the lower part appears nicely reddish, one speaks of “its redness” bîngangau (from bîngangau “red); it is called bîlûl if the roots are still attached at the bottom.
3. Kub. says: “riiriamel, all parts made of lap fibers dyed yellow; a woman’s skirt, very expensive, sometimes costing an adobûlök.” The name comes from the light yellow color of the falling (rir) leaf of the niámël tree, the Pangium edule, and is a reference to its beauty. Contrary to what Kub. believes, however, it is not made only from the fibers of the lap tree, but also from the fibers of galâu and giigâp, even if lap is preferred. The fibers of lap feel like wool in your hand, but must be soaked in sea water for 10 days to soften them; they are lightly dyed with red reng, but not much, then they are split, etc. The front apron has 13, the back one 12 delîl (see below). A special type is the tirînâmêlblîlëk, from blîlëk, the term for “row” (Kúb.: pelskul), because it has white and yellow spots, arranged in rows. Kub. mentions that the skirt is decorated with tropic bird feathers for dances and that it is a privilege, a klepkál`, of the a Mid family in Melekéisk. I was also told that it is the privilege of the family Nr. II Ngaraikêlal. We also mentioned something about this skirt in Vol. 2, p. 136, nr. 546, correctly describes a ririamel:

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6. blai V. Ngaraîbuâk a brown one (Nr. 8)
7. blai VI. Gîlîlî a white one (Nr. 13) at the madal a bai, the front of the house

Details can be found in the discussion on dance in Section VI 3°.
Weavings and women’s skirts are made from the following materials:

1. **gongór**, Pandanus of the heath; its dry leaf is called **vang** and is available year-round, young plants **sug** (Hamburg 2871ii, 4791ii). The pineapple, named **gongól ngabárd** after the Pandanus, is also used (see skirt 17, mats, roof for house).

2. **būk**, wide Pandanus. (**būg** or **búg** is the betel palm Areca sp.), see skirt 14.

3. **gáramal**, the flame linden hibiscus tiliaceus, see skirt 6.

4. **lap**, a type of hibiscus Althaea mollis P.D.c. (material Hamburg 2876ii, 4792ii).

5. **galsa**, Trichospermum Richii Szem, see skirt 7.

6. **gúgap**, a forest tree with sulfur yellow blossoms, see skirt 7.

7. **gorēdákl**, grass tree, see skirt 16.

8. **kěrdíkĕs**, a hollow, rush-like grass, particularly abundant in Ngaregobatáng (Hamburg 2872ii), see skirt 12.

9. **ëámĕl**, a plant in the taro field, candelabrum-like, aromatic, see skirt 2.

10. **sósol**, like **kesól** the turmeric plant, a zinziberacea, see skirt 13.

11. **líus**, coconut palm.

12. **tŏvĕgĕl**, Nipa palm, see skirt 3.

13. **tu**, banana, see skirt 15.

14. **taro** (Arum).

Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 209, also mentions **galido** (gar, see Fishing Nets), **uósŏg**, fig, **bëdëgál**, **gosúgĕd gui** **Urena**, **gartókĕt gíuĕl** types of Freycinetia, **karángĕl** vine, **ngidĕg** fern, **aulúi** vine, **gogáol**, **golibĕg ra kikói**.

The **preparation of plant materials** varies. (Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 213: The peeled-off bark of most plants is softened in water, usually sea water, and then scraped using mother-of-pearl shells (**melábak**)) to remove the epidermis and the slimy parts (**ngapdél**), and is finally thoroughly washed and dried in the sun. The aromatic **ëamĕl** herb is treated in a special manner.

**Vang** leaves are gathered dry (see above, **gongór**), at any time of year; they are broken with **gasívŏg** shells.

Banana leaves, **lél a tú**, can be used green at any time; soaking them in sea water is called **melílĕg ra dáob** (Nr. 7); gathered while green and then boiled, see skirts Nr. 14, 16, 17; dried in the sun **samk** Nr. 3, 5, 11, 15, 16; (**bilingīs** ra **sils** to bleach in the sun); dried in the shade Nr. 5 and 15.

Often breaking (**gelīlekélĕk**) is necessary, Nr. 3 and 13; Pandanus leaves (1 and 2) are split by hand (**melíud**), Nr. 4 and 15; otherwise, splitting (**mangíut**,** melíud**) is done with pieces of shell called **gongíut**, which are usually triangular, or with whole mother-of-pearl shells **gasívŏg**.

To split into wide strips is called **ter’rói pelú** (compare gable board in a Bai); this is applicable to vang leaves; to split into narrow strips **telngúdĕl** (1, 3): split all the way down **ultobĕd**: split with comb **telógĕd** (5, 12, 14, 17): not split all the way down **gouhesiis** (Nr. 10 and 16), rustles when the skirt-wearer walks, like the leaves of lilies.

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1 KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 210, says: The gathering of suk leaves, omús a Suk, usually takes place in the dry season.
Tools. As mentioned, fibers are split by hand or using shell pieces gongiāl (from muŋgijut) or whole mother-of-pearl shells gaušilg. More delicate splitting is done with the comb ŋgōl₁, telēgōl₂ “split” comes from melōgōl “to split with a comb.” The comb can be the lower jawbone of a Halfbeak, Belone, with sharp teeth, or it can be a piece of wood into which fish spines or thorns from trees (for example, from the lime) have been embedded and tied down. (Fig. 9, Humbourg 283⁹, 475⁰).

Sewing resimél (from mérutnō “to sew”) is done with the needle rašam, which has different shapes depending on its use. Fish bones are used for delicate work. Then there are the thin needles made from ray barbs (ruš) filed to the right side, which are used primarily for making the deliāl bags (see below, Weaving), which is why they are called rašam ra deliāl. Thicker ones with eyes are called rašam ra sug, and are used for the younger gongōl leaves. For the tough buk leaves, however, needles made of bamboo are used; these are spindle-shaped, with an eye in the middle (rašam ra buk). Details and illustration are found in the section on roofs.

Dyeing omulōl (it. KUB.: warēl; smuíra) is either done with red earth gorīl (see skirt Nr. 5), resulting in red, or with the red (Nr. 7, 12) and yellow types of turmeric dye reng, resulting in yellowish red or yellow. A mixture of reng and coconut oil is used for the younger gorīl leaves. The latter can be produced quite well, for example, with the vang skirts, for their thick Pandanus strips are combed out and frayed all the way down, except for the last 3 cm, and these little unsplit end panels knock against each other. They are called gogōshēni because of their resemblance to orchid leaves. The full, silky rustling is the result of the swinging of the rushes when the wearer of the skirt walks. This skirt made of kōrōntul时间节点(rushes), which is the one that is worn most often, is the one I want to describe here.

Rushing grows in fallow taro swamps are pulled out and bleached in the sun until they turn light yellow. Like many species of plants, these rushes are dark reddish near their roots, and these red portions constitute the fringe ends of the skirt, producing a lovely color effect. Vol. 2 shows this very clearly on the standing girl and also serves as an example; all of the women in the bottom photo are wearing rush skirts. If we examine these little skirts more closely, we can see that they are divided into a front apron and a back apron, which are held together over the hips with a pretty cord and leave a larger or smaller gap at the side (see the dance photo and Fig. 1). The opening at the side is covered to a certain degree by thick bundles of fiber, usually flax-like frayed hibiscus fibers (garōmi), which constitute the side ends of both aprons left and right. Two additional fiber bundles are sewn into the apron at the back, and their thick knots hold it in place.

This is necessary because, although the upper end of the front apron is tucked all the way under the hip cord and held in place by it, in the case of the apron in back, only the knot is tucked under. The rest hangs loose and kind of billows out the back. Nearly every woman has in her front apron a small, woven bag (garōmi), containing betel leaves, Arecus nuts, and similar things. You can see the upper edges of these bags clearly on some photos (see Vol. 2). I observed an unusual practice that I found to be common among Palauan women, namely the lacing of the waist. While most native peoples wear their clothing, be it matting, bundles of leaves, or, as here in Palau, a skirt, not over the waist, but below it, in the hip area, directly over the perineum, leaving the waist exposed, Palauan women wear a tight belt made of woven material, cloth, or sometimes strips of leather. When I inquired about this, I was told their stomachs feel better with the support.

But let us return to the discussion of the making of rush skirts. After the rushes have been dried and bleached, they are arranged in little bundles or weaving strands (tāšèngōl), usually 3-4 in, and these are woven with a thread (garōmi) of hibiscus fiber (garōmi) or strips of the Areca sheath (bgā). This thread is split into three parts, and the bundle of rushes is laid between these parts in such a way that it covers the upper and lower part of the split thread, leaving the center one on top of the rushes (Fig. 10a). The rushes, in turn, are arranged in such a way that the nice, long pieces with the reddish ends point downward; what poking out at the top is shorter and less conspicuous.

To remove all doubt, I shall name the top thread o, the middle one m, and the bottom one u. The bundle of rushes in the upper part I will call o-B₁ – upper rushes. The u thread is bent upwards, laid over m and under o and o-B₁ (Fig. 10b). This work of weaving and binding strands is called melōl. The o thread is combined with the upper rushes o-B₁. A new bundle of rushes o-B₂ is laid under o and o-B₁ and over m (Fig. 10c). Now the m thread is

1 mangō flip the waving of the skirts when walking.
2 Something similar has been reported from Melanesia, for example, in southeastern New Guinea.
pulled up and laid over o and o-B’. The u thread is combined with the new o-B’, twisted between the fingers like a string, then bent downwards from left to right across m, while this latter thread points upwards (Fig. 10d). The m thread now points upwards, u runs horizontally from left to right, and o points downwards. The upper part of a new bundle of rushes (o-B’) is combined with m and laid under u and over o. o is freed from the o-B’ rushes with which it was combined (these are left hanging down), and laid upwards over u and under m, after which m and its o-B’ rushes are twisted together and bent downwards over o. o now points upwards, m points to the right, u points downwards, just as in the beginning. In the process just described, three strands of rushes were woven in (Fig. 10e).

The same steps are repeated continually; the upper end of a new bundle of rushes is laid over the upper thread and under the middle thread with its rushes. The lower thread is separated from its rushes, bent upwards over the middle thread with its rushes and under the upper thread with its rushes. The middle thread is twisted slightly with its rushes. When about 15-30 such weaving stitches have been made and an equal number of bundles of rushes have been incorporated, the three threads o, m, and u are woven into a small braid (delidái) into a tight braid and tightened somewhat. The pin now makes a path back through the next eye in the second ulálek thread, through the second stitch of every piece, and through the eye of the first ulálek cord. The sewing thread follows in that direction, thereby stitching all of the pieces together a second time.

Between the first and second sewing stitches, the side closure goloiĕdēl is added, the thick, fluffy tail mentioned earlier made of frayed hibiscus fiber garamul or of kap, a subspecies of same, which is even finer. This is done in such a way that a strip of fiber about as thick as a little finger is inserted from top to bottom between one piece deli and the next, so that the short end disappears inside between the pieces, and the other, longer one hangs down to the side of the deli pieces.

Sewing continues, first from the inside outward, then from the outside inward, until all of the stitches of the woven pieces have been incorporated, and the fiber strips of the other side closure goloiĕdēl have been worked in between the next-to-last one and the last one. The stiff sewing thread is not pulled tight during sewing, but is at first left in little loops. The stitches are pulled tight one after the other once the sewing is completed. When they do this, the women are seated; they press the skirt up against the wall of the house with both feet and pull the thread with all the strength in their hands. The even sewing of the stitches of the individual pieces creates transverse ridges at the top = bled. After the sewing thread has been pulled tight, these become more prominent and are then called deli knots. The whole area of the ridges is called geisingel (poss. geisingel = seam area (Fig. 10g).

In the case of the back apron, two more thick bundles of fiber known as goloiĕngul are included (as whole tails, not divided up) in addition to the side pieces goloiĕdēl. These are laid in a little more towards the middle, approximately between the third and the fourth piece, where they are sewn in. The lower part of the tail is hidden between the deli, while the upper part rises up between the tightly packed weaving stitches, the seam area as I call it, and is wound hard over the latter into a simple knot alibuk. This knot, as previously mentioned, serves to hold the apron in place with the hip cord (Fig. 10h).

The various golli threads, the beginnings and the end braids, which were used to weave together the individual pieces and that hang to the right and left underneath the tails, are combined with the ends of the ulálek cord into a tight braid delidái, to create the fastening on the sides. These two braids, right and left, are tied together inside, between the middle deli pieces of the apron. This explains why some claim that the skirt is divided into a front piece and a back piece; rukli “its piece,” from merius “to divide”; blingelél, from omi “to divide into two pieces.” The last thing left to do is to embellish and relieve the side closure, the tail goloiĕdēl. For this purpose, the knot of the strong korol cord (which fastens the pieces together) is untied, and a strand is isolated and laid across the seam area (those tightly compressed, bulging upper edges of the individual pieces) (Fig. 10i).

Starting at the base of the strand (from right to left in the illustration), small pieces are separated one after another from the fiber tails of the side closure and laid around the korol thread with a simple running knot, as shown in Fig. 1, while being twisted with the fingers and pulled tight. This continues until the korol thread is covered with small running knots across the entire seam area.

1 I recorded golaiĕs, from meliĕs “to sew”; also called niĕs a garoève “needle for general”, usually fashioned out of short wood (Afzelia).
This knotting technique is called melãoiĕs, and the ridge that it creates is called klováiĕs (Fig. k). When this is done, the end of the strand from the koreol cord, which is covered in running knots, is guided under the fringes of the skirt and knotted together at the bottom with the other strand (2), which had been left hanging on the right. The result is a neatly made side. Naturally, the other side is treated in the same manner, as are the two sides of the other apron. When the double apron is almost completed, the person who is to wear it ties it on, and another woman trims any rushes that remain uneven so that the skirt is knee height when judged by eye. The woman wearing the skirt turns slowly during this process. The side pieces and the back tail, which up to this point consisted of unimpressive, contiguous fiber, are combed out (melógŏd) and frayed using a comb-like instrument called tógĕd (Fig. 10l), until they spread out nice and fluffy. Some women like to comb out the rushes to a certain degree, as well, but this is done less frequently. Now the skirt is finished.

1 The rest left over when the lap fibers are comb'd out is called ngamngam (KUB. ṅamṅamk), see Section VI. 5.

Grass skirts can become caught very easily between the wearer’s legs and become bothersome, so occasionally a small protective mat klebitáng is worn on the inside of the front apron to prevent this. The rushes of the undermost layer of the apron itself are used to weave this.
Girls from Peliliou on Goreeit, wearing various types of Palauan skirts. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.
Making of the *klebitáng*,
the Small Protective Women’s Mat attached to the Grass Skirt

When a woman wants to weave a *klebitáng* mat into her grass skirt, she lays the front apron – only this one is provided with a mat – on her lap, with the inner side facing up and the upper finished edge, the seam area, pointed towards her, and begins weaving with the first rush on the left. She crosses it over the second rush with a quarter turn to the right. She leaves the second rush there, bends back the third rush, and crosses the fourth rush over the first rush, with a quarter turn to the left (Fig. 11a). The second rush lies over the fourth rush in a half turn to the right, forming the edge. The third rush, which was bent back, returns in that direction and somewhat to the right, so that it also crosses the fourth rush (Fig. 11b). The first rush is bent back over the fourth, which covers it, and a new rush (*ongorúl*, the weave-through rush), the fifth, is added. It is laid across the woven strip with a quarter turn to the left, so that it crosses the second and third rushes (Fig. 11c). The weaving proceeds in this fashion. Repeatedly, the rush on the left edge is bent to the right with a half turn, the one following it (the first, third, and fifth, etc.), is laid back, the ones previously laid back (the second, fourth, sixth, etc.) return in that direction and are covered by the newly added rush from the right in the direction of the woven strip (with a quarter turn to the left) (Fig. 11d).

The weaving proceeds at an angle until the last rush on the right is reached. Because there are no new rushes left to weave in, one bends the rush that is protruding the most to the right in a half turn to the left and lays it to the left over the woven strip (Fig. 11e).

The second one follows, then the third, fourth, etc., in each case after the rushes to be woven through have been bent forwards or back, whichever is necessary for the type of weaving being done. This creates the edge on the right side, *sokal*. The weaving continues until it is as long as a hand span, then the finishing edge *aulísul* begins (Fig. 11f). This is begun on the left edge, after it has reached the length of a hand span. Here, the last rush (l) of the side edge lies bent in a half turn to the right, thus covering the first rush (the first rush of the finishing edge) and the rush just laid down, the second rush. Now the first rush is bent back over l (the last one just mentioned), over the strip of the second rush, thus covering it, in the opposite direction, of course (Fig. 11f'). Then the rushes of the woven strip are adjusted, as already described, the ones bent backwards are straightened, while the straight ones are bent backwards. The next weaving rush, the third one, is bent over the woven strip and covers all of the extending rushes of the strip except the last one, which sticks up next to rush l. Rush l now makes a half turn downwards to the right, covers the aforementioned last rush of the strip and the third rush, over which it lies, pointing in the opposite direction (Fig. 11g).

The weaving proceeds this way, with the new weaving rush being laid over the prepared strip, but not covering the last rush of the strip or the one to the left of it. The latter is bent in a half turn over the last rush of the strip and is laid so that it covers the strip of the last weaving rush. This moves the finishing edge *aulísul* to the right, until it is completed, and the ends of the rushes hanging out can be trimmed.

*Words associated with gerévut making*

- mangabage͡ iĕp: to sway while walking
- vang: dried Pandanus leaf
- goubesós: “lily leaf,” i.e., solid pieces of Pandanus at the bottom edge of the skirt that have not been combed out like the upper strips.
- kĕrdíkĕs: type of rush
- gerévut: women’s skirt
- garamál: Hibiscus
- bagăbung: thread made from the Areca sheath
- goll: thread for incorporating skirt fibers in the creation a delīl = piece of a skirt, a fringe layer, so to speak
- melái: weaving ties from strands on a skirt
- telbęngĕd: weaving strand of a women’s skirt
- mangiuat (a suk): to slit (Pandanus) into fine strips
- omud: to turn into thread, to twist
- mangaravel: to turn (two threads) into a cord on one’s knees
- golằül or goálằül: awl, stick made of bone or wood, used to poke holes for the sewing thread (women’s skirt).
- gololikằ: side closure of the skirt
- golaledı̀t: tied closure of the skirt
- golobangkíl: knotted tail of the rear apron
- délúbik: knot on the tail of the rear apron
- déliâkl: knot in the sewing thread
- déliâs: braid
- gësíngĕl: seam area, upper finished edge of the skirt
- melológ: to tie on the little fiber pieces of the side closure of the women’s skirt
The bow part of this ornament is made out of turtleshell. More on this shortly. The actual earring, however, is a small rectangular plate of turtleshell, called *khabē*1, its one short side is tapered towards the top, to accommodate the hole for hanging it (Fig. 13). Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 192, says the earrings fall into two categories: *sahut* and *gēro*, "the latter (Plate XXIII, Fig. 21) are made from the thin sheets of a stomach plate and are worn primarily by men."

Nevertheless, the 1914 mission report shows a few children in cotton dresses, a premonition, it seems, of the inevitable. When those who hold influential positions out there, and who after a short while no longer notice the nudity, express their support for the retention of this custom, they are hounded and swayed from their original position by the public interest can intervene. Should it not be possible in this wonderful country, with such highly developed native artistry and so little fertile soil, which is not suitable for the crops of whites, to retain this beautiful little piece of Earth? In 1914, I indicated (Kr. IV) the need to keep Palau as a national park, and I renew this call here, before it is too late.

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This plays only a minor role. first there is the necklace, called *kau*. Here at the end of this discussion on the elaborate skirts worn by the women with so much pride and grace, i would like to remark (and this applies to the houses and the canoes and the overall unique way of life of the people as a whole) that all possible attempts must be made to retain this in Palau. One need only look at the lovely figures in Plate 1 of Part 2 and Plates 16 and 17 in this volume to understand why even the catholic missions have spoken out in favor of preserving this traditional native dress. This is stated in the journal of the 1908 missions: “As the islanders consider their grass skirts to be decent and beautiful, this should not pose an obstacle for sanctioned missionary activity.”

Of course, this statement resulted from the fact that the Palauan women, trying to hold on to their customs, did not heed the request of the Spanish and German missions to come to church in European clothing, and instead refrained from attending mass at all. Another sentence follows: “The next generation will certainly approach the issue of clothing with more understanding.” But the cultivation of Christianity proceeded just as well in grass skirts, as we can attest. When my wife took leave in 1910, she appealed to the sisters to keep their distance from the clothing of the whites, and they unanimously agreed, also with respect to the fact that it would be best to continue work in the taro patch in old skirts.

b) Ornamentation

This contains only a minor role. First there is the necklace, called *leba*1 (poss. *lebengan*). Usually this is a string *sákēr*, called *gonoango* with a pendant *golbün*lg. Vol. 2 shows two women in daily garb. The skirt, the belt, and a small piece of money on a string around the neck is all they wear. It shows Bilung this way, and the women are not even wearing money ornaments. This ornamentation is worn less for beauty and more as a sign of rank. Children and young girls wear green goldādī glass, older women wear the pretty *merind* or the red *mōngāng* piece, or the yellow be*rak*, which in Palau is comparable to wearing a large gemstone in Europe. Bilung and the woman in Vol. 2 wear such pieces of money, which is described in more detail in “Money,” below. There is more about the *sákēr* necklace below in the section on weaving, where there is also a lot about coconut frond ornamentation. There is more on the *kau* chain above, in the discussion on the hip cord. Vol. 2 shows a girl with an *earing* on the right, which is generally called *tēlō* (poss. *tēlōl*). It is in the shape of a horse shoe, with one or two glass beads at each forked end, i.e. a total of two or four beads on one earring (Fig. 12).

The bow part of this ornament is made out of turtleshell. More on this shortly. The actual earring, however, is a small rectangular plate of turtleshell, called *sahut*, its one short side is tapered towards the top, to accommodate

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From old stories I learned something that was previously unknown, namely that in former times Tridacna bracelets (klilt / kim) were made in Ngarabesūl, near Ngariáp on Pelíliou. No details are known about the shape of these bracelets, but the picture in Vol. 2 shows the bracelet of Sendiu. Perhaps the Tridacna bracelet in Leipzig that Weber collected represents the old shape. In Keate, Plate 3, there is a bracelet made of 32 cornelian beads, i.e. of kau shell pieces like the hip band, and Plate 6 shows a bracelet made of turtleshell, the same kind that Müller presents for Yap in Yap, Vol. I, Fig. 27. It is typically Central Carolinian. He also shows, in Fig. 26, a bracelet made of Trochus shell semen, very similar to one we found in Palau. The gekóiko snail was also used to make them. Troo-hau bracelets usually have etchings on the outer sloping side, usually horizontal “X”s with vertical lines (see Fig. 14, Hamburg 369ii and 4710ii).

The cone snail gosiól also provides material for a bracelet, the well-known Yapese yátau (Müller I, pg. 30, Fig. 33). It can be found on Palau, too, but, as Ham. learned, it is usually only placed in the grave with the dead. I never saw one of these bracelets worn.

The most important bracelet, which is only worn by men, is the dugong neck vertebra, called gejólt, which was in the past erroneously called klilt, which is the generic word for bracelet.

As early as 1783, Wilson (see Vol. I) was made a Rubak of the first class and was given the “bone” Klilt and when Mc Cluer came to Palau in 1791, he was at first mistaken for Wilson, and his left hand was closely examined to see if it the Klilt was still there. Hockin, pg. 56, mentions that in 1791 they disturbed a musague (mesekíu). Mc Cluer reports: “They take the bones from this animal, which constitute the symbol of honor for the rupacks. Three of the bones are taken from this fish for that purpose, and they have a high value; the first is taken from the skull or the forehead of the animal and signifies the lowest rank of the rupacks; the second is taken from the middle section of the head and may only be worn by the head rupack; the third bone, finally, is the vertebra between the head and the neck; this is the largest bone and is bestowed on men who are not rupacks but who have distinguished themselves by some brave deed.”

Snær, in Vol. II, pg. 114, says the following: “Klilt is the word for the first neck vertebra of the dugong, the Indian sea cow (Halicore dujong), which the natives have used as a real order for men. The king alone has the right to bestow it; and he alone has the right to take it back from one who has been disgraced. The bestowal and removal of the decoration are gruesome procedures. The hand is forced through the narrow hole; often a finger is lost, and always the skin is torn away. Arakalulk lost his thumb. The order cannot be bought; the state purchases it, for a lot of trepang, from sailors who bring it occasionally from the Philippines. The noble men and women (the kikeri rupack) may receive this honor; the men of armeau never receive it, neither do the women.”

Kubary, in Vol. I, pg. 27, reported in a lot of detail the purchase of a Mysogyu (mesekíu), as the animal is known: “The killing of this animal is celebrated with dancing and the sounding of conches and causes jubilation all around. Only the rich may catch it with nets or buy it, and the purchase of the Klilt is a political custom. One of the first great deeds of a chief who has newly attained his title is the acquisition of a head for the war dance. This brings in money, and then he must try to find a Mysogiu, which gives him respect. A single Klilt is no small item and costs one to two Kalebukubs. When Ajbatul in Angarard was on the Moloik, a warriors’ club from

Bracelets
1. Tridacna, diameter 17cm, Leipzig Mi 2575
2. Dugong vertebra, Hamburg 4715ii (He)
4. “ “ Stuttgart (Kr)
5. Women’s turtle shell bracelet deruál, Stuttgart
Ngbukut caught a Mysogyu and Ajbutul had to buy it, because his rank forbade him from passing up this opportunity to purchase.

Today the entire government of Ngbukut was in Megey; for the last three days, the foreigners have been living in Korror, and large quantities of food and drink have been carried from the houses to the guests. Today Ajbutul is supposed to turn over the money. I sat near Ajbutul in one of the entrances of the Ajit house; in front of the house, Mat, Karaj, and other chiefs of Ngarauu were sitting on the Golbet. Ajbutul had the money sitting in front of him, and he gave each piece individually to the chief Kleksnu Merrierl, who held it up, turned it to all sides, loudly called out its name and the name of its new owner. Then, with a bow towards Ajbutul, he gave it to the chief who had been named. One after the other, the Klilt, the skin, and the two sides were paid for, which brought the total to three Kalekubak, several Klus and Lolaflas. Added to that was a Kalekubak as a gift for Karaj, and one for Mat, and about 30 pieces of bad money were distributed among the Kaldelkls. The Irajkalau of Korror also received another Kluk for being present.”

Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 175, corrects the story that claims the Klilt is a decoration for bravery, etc.; saying: “The Klilt also received another Kluk for being present.”

Purchasing the animal and wearing the bracelet are not privileges – klapka’l – of individuals but of certain villages, as already discussed in the section on privileges in Vol. 2, Section iii. This is the situation, as presented by Kub.: "The Klilt is not a sign of honor that only the rapacks may wear, nor is it an order that is bestowed on entitled people by high-ranking chiefs. It is simply a very expensive bracelet worn only by those who have the means to buy it or who can otherwise acquire it.” This is certainly the correct viewpoint. One of my youths, a Liliu, who appears in Vol. I, wore the bracelet, although he was still young and immature. But he happened to come from a well-to-do household in Ngaregolón. Vol. 2 also shows a young man wearing one. On the other hand, it is true that all tribes who can in any way afford one, wear one, as seen on a Rikkiu and Ral in Vol. 2, for example. Occasionally, in fact, a high chief will wear two, as Wilson reported (Vol. I), perhaps because he had to take over the bracelet of his predecessor when assuming his title and was unable to take the old one off. People from of smaller, subordinate districts, for example from Nggeinggál, a Nginje, Ngarekubasining, etc., are not allowed to wear it, as Kub. explained in Vol. VIII, pg. 176.

Catch of the Dugong

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<th>Purchase and Wearing of the Bracelet</th>
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| I should add that in all of the villages sacred to the Galid Medegejipelas, such as a Irigi, Ngaróol, Ngíryan, Ngívíl, Ngandmau, Ngíblú, Gólí (Ngaregolóng), etc., the priests claim the animals and the bracelets for themselves, forbidding the people to wear this ornamentation. According to Kub., first the killing (stab to the heart) is paid, then the cutting open bitang ma bitang, then the carving up and viewing of the first vertebra of the neck; after that there are secondary payments. Kub. also reports in detail how the high chief, who already has a bracelet himself, takes care of his sons, the children of his women, and his “cousins” on the maternal side, who help him retain his rank and support him, by purchasing animals and bracelets. If each of them has at least one, he is proud. In order to prevent jealousy, he allows the “cousin” whose turn it is to take the bracelet that is hung in the house. Occasionally, however, a cousin who possesses a gologólti must give it back, because another high chief is in need of one. In this case, the victim receives special payment for damages, which seems particularly appropriate in this case, seeing as putting on and removing the bracelet is very painful. The hand is rubbed with mucus from an octopus, the juice of hibiscus fiber, syrup, oil, etc. The hand is stretched with bands, etc. For details about the dugong itself, which appears to have entirely disappeared in Palau, see the section on fishing and zoology.
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<tr>
<td>Hamburg (4715°)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stuttgart (Kö)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In recent times, Palauans have taken to painting one or two bumps on the vertebra with red sealing wax, which they call sapisich, lining up the otherwise monotonous color of the bone. Nothing is known about how the custom of wearing the dugong bracelet first came about. Kubary believes that it is unique to Palau, because nothing similar has been observed elsewhere.

This is not entirely correct, as similar bone bracelets are worn on the small Snda Islands, on Tenimber, Timor-Laut, etc. Finsch, in Vol. II, pg. 156, shows an Epistropheus from Timor-Laut; I have seen similar specimens from Tenimber in the Museum of Anthropology in Berlin. Serrurier and Schmeltz report similar findings (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 182). Finsch, in the same work, corrects Kubary’s claim in Vol. VIII, pg. 182, that in the past not only the atlas but also the first four vertebrae were used as bracelets, and that the names of the bones were holhol, tordimmel, onahahali, and holhol. I myself heard of only three: gologólti, golodét, and gologól = women’s “ring,” made of the vertebra bone at the back of the head. Kub. says “the last and largest was the most valuable and was reserved for the chiefs; the others had various lesser values and were worn by the relatives of the chiefs.

Over time, however, the uncomfortable large bracelets fell into disuse, and only the ones made from the smallest, the atlas vertebra, survived.” Finsch says Kubary “let the natives pull the wool over his eyes in grand fashion.”

Aftr all, he claims, the atlas is the neck vertebra with the largest hole and is the only one that can be painted. This is incorrect.

I took several measurements of the 7 neck vertebrae on a dugong skeleton in the Stuttgart natural history specimen collection. I arrived at the following figures for the open diameter of width: atlas 48 mm, axis 35 mm, third vertebra same as atlas, then gradually increasing in size up to the seventh vertebra, which was 60 mm wide and 50 mm high. Although the walls of the atlas measured 28 mm thick, they were very thin in the last vertebra, making it rather unsuitable for wearing, because it could break too easily. Thus Kubary was quite right. The same cannot be said of Mc Cluer’s statement above, which is not comprehensible. The hole at the back of the head, after all, is almost equal to that of the atlas; otherwise only the much larger nostril would come into consideration. One must assume that he is mistaken, and that Kubary’s more precise statements are accurate. Finsch portrays Wilson’s Klilt in London and Kubary’s in Berlin, but inadequately, of course. Wilson’s is also shown in Keate, Plate 4, where it looks quite wide, as it has been scraped on the inside. My illustration based on a photograph in London gives the same impression.

Measurements of various bracelets resulting in the following figures:
The first two are more recent, the last two are from an earlier period.

The women’s bracelet, which is similar in importance to the men’s gologiūl, is the deruál (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 184, dërwar, Mü., Yap, pg. 30, dërveli, a turtleshell ring), a hollow cylinder of turtleshell rings stacked on top of each other that is smaller in the middle, (Plate 4’). It must at one time have been special jewelry of the rich; you can see it on the dilugii figures (see Vol. 4), but today it has disappeared entirely. However, I was still able to buy a nice specimen in 1907 for 30 marks from a man of clan Nr. 1 Ngarakláng in a trade (District V). There are most likely very few left, as these pieces have long been sought after for the value of their turtleshell.

Its measurements are: total height 125mm. Outer diameter top 116, bottom 107mm. Inner diameter top 69, bottom 60. It consists of 47 rings, each varying in thickness from 1 – 5mm, held together by two bands (nowadays wire), which run through holes at the edge of the rings. In addition to this turtleshell bracelet, there is another, simpler one that resembles a napkin ring, but with the ends loosely crossed; it is of the type worn in Yap, but no longer seen in Palau. Keate displays it in Plate 6, Fig. 2.

Hr. also collected several Trochus bracelets (tigeléklu?) (He. 17, 3760², 3767, 4662, 4710, 4762-63), of the type that young men make for girls. The rings in 1907 often have some carving on them. Young girls frequently wear several of these rings together, so that they tattle, for which they have a special word: melángol Just as the dugong bracelet has similarities to bracelets in Indonesia, the deruál has similarities to bracelets in Indonesia and Melanesia; on New Pomerania on the south coast in Plingli-Wewép, for example, there are similar cylinders of stacked, linked turtleshell rings, except they are narrower and have a larger hole.

I would like briefly to mention the ornaments worn at celebrations, particularly those that are customarily worn at ruk dances (Section VI, 3a). On these occasions, adornment onesiljg is necessary. For the most part, coconut fronds wrapped around arms and legs, commonly called klilt arm band, are worn, as shown and in Vol. 2. Neck adornment generally consists of leaf ornaments around the neck, called lehú, as mentioned above. The tomélikengül = “our ornament” is made of fronds and reaq (see Section VI, 3a). The adornment worn on the forehead is called bolótel lë gasuul (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 105, bolónel kasul, but erroneously labeled “adornment for hands and feet”). Washing and applying of oil melégulp a táu (táiu coconut shavings with which the skin is rubbed after bathing), as well as application of turmeric yellow, are also necessary. We had excellent occasion to observe the preparations for a celebration in a lúa on July 27, 1909. One of the dancers, all dressed and adorned for the celebration, was captured in watercolor by my wife.

The various types of decorative painting (see Fig. 15). Turmeric yellow keeps the skin smooth; after it is rubbed off, the skin stays yellow, but it is clean.

On the whole, personal hygiene is good. Every village of any importance or with any respect has a bathing pool dloing, as the maps in Vol. 2 show. In fact, there is usually not only a bathing pool reserved for men, there is also one for women, both strictly segregated. The women usually bathe in the morning and evening, including the bath after working in the taro patch; the men wash their entire body in the evening, especially after they have spent time in the saltwater. After the bath, people especially like to rub coconut shavings táiu into their hair and onto their skin; if the shavings are scented, this is called beúmk. Story 39 describes an attempt to win hearts with it. Every 3-5 days, the hair is rubbed with táiu, then rinsed with fresh water. The use of oil alone is less frequent.

Delousing meláis also plays part in the life of the islanders, as seen in Story 89. For more on head ornaments and decorative comb hlebúd and gomókét (poss. gomoketil) with gebeúsia leaves, see Fig. VI.

For the type with blades of grass geoseit in the case of Gorágel, see Story 13. Head ornaments include the comb geoseit (poss. gosendel), Dumont d’Urville 1841, Vol. 5, pg. 208, says: some wear a human bone in the shape of a comb on the head. It is unlikely that the Palauans wore combs made of human bones, but the dugong bracelet is nevertheless an indication that bones were commonly used as decoration. There is nothing to be found in the literature that mentions turtleshell combs in earlier times. Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 192, was the first to refer to them, but he shows only one in Plate XXIII, Fig. 16, which I have reproduced here as Fig. 16c. This specimen resides with four others in the Berlin Museum of Anthropology, and it is 24 cm long. On top, two men are represented, and on each side are two curlews (dolófd, not Tarii Kcn.).

Fig. 16b also shows men, in this case four foreigners, likewise 16d shows two men with rifles, and on 16a a pair of figures is clearly visible by a tree on which monkeys play. These last three obviously were made under the influence of the whites, while 16a, which is the longest at 38cm and depicts a spider under and arch, is, like 16c, entirely Palauan. For curiosity’s sake, let me say that the Galíd Medegepiufusx fashioned a comb out of the spine of the rai = flounder, which is said to be the origin of the name a rai. In addition to these combs made of animal matter, there are some made of wood. Keate, in Plate 3, Fig. 4, depicts one in a piece carved from orange wood.
The author says there: the handle and teeth fashioned from the solid wood, and not in separate pieces closely connected together, like those brought from most of the late-discovered islands. I was under the impression that these combs composed of little sticks were introduced from Yap, although in recent times they must be acknowledged as being part of the indigenous culture. In general, however, the Yapese combs have 2 – 3 teeth on top, while the Palauan combs are cut straight across on top; but this is not a hard and fast rule. In fact, Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 194, calls the combs carved from a single piece of wood the original ones and uses the term didhuaek, while using the terms roai and kareal for other types.

In Figs. 30, he depicts a teleól comb consisting of 10 little wooden slabs that are laid together. Hamburg 3768 ii, Fig. 17a, which we collected, is made of the tebëgĕl mangrove, as is Hamburg 3685 ii, Fig. 17b; to be more specific, it is made out of the ráod stilts. The body of such combs is called galagadál (“his body”), the teeth gógil (“his leg”), and the outermost ones are called saus, like the corner posts of the bai.

The wooden pins that are stuck through the holes of leaves to hold them together are called dél. The “louse comb” gosónd rakud is similar (Kub., Plate XXIV, fig. 1), see Vol. 2. The gasëgĕs combs were somewhat more delicate and ornamental (Kub., Vol. Vii, pg. 195, Kalsëkes, and Plate XXIV, fig. 2, with six teeth), their very slender bodies are decorated with alternating small slices of kim, turtleshell, and little red shell slabs. The comb bears a strong resemblance to those from the Central Carolines. Fig. 17e and f each have five teeth, they are Indonesian. These were no longer worn at the time of our visit.

But around the year 1870 they seem to have been very popular on Palau, according to Kubary. The connection between the leaf combs and Yap is also evident in the fact that chiefs usually carry their combs in a basket, which is why one sees so few of them in the pictures; only young men use them as adornment (Vol. I). That is why young men remove the combs from their hair when talking to a rubak (see story 195).

The German Colonial Paper of 1901, pg. 449, mentions black combs. These are apparently made from the black parts of the wood that grow in irregular shapes between the bark and the core in very old tree ferns, i.e. probably Cyathea ferns.

Finally, I must mention once more the gosendél a Gorágl mentioned in Story 13, in which Gorágl stuck a drooping blade of grass into his hair, casting a spell on the people (see also the magic gomógĕl and story 215). On festive occasions, the women, too, like to put two coconut leaf ribs decorated with little bows (lobusegolóid E. K.) into their hair, or coconut fronds with serrated edges, or knotted coconut leaves garderīd, which are either worn whole or split into finger-wide strips and worn around the neck and limbs (see Vol. 2).

Little can be said about the hairstyle. Apparently, the men formerly wore their head hair long, hanging down, as shown in Fig. 4 in Vol. I. Don Bernardo de Egui (1712) reports that the islanders have very long head hair, but no beard, which corresponds with the photo just mentioned. Wilson, too, (Keate pg. 318) says: Their hair is long and flowing, rather disposed to curl, which they mostly form into one large loose curl round their heads; some of the women, who have remarkably long hair, let it hang loose down their backs. So not only the men, but also the women let their hair hang down long, tying it into a bun blengtelél whenever necessary, as is almost always done these days. In general, it has long been customary for men and women to pin up their hair, because certain magic stones, such as those in Melekéiok and Ngariáp (Vol. 2) are considered “devourers of hair” mangagúi, i.e., they were believed to cause hair to fall out if one passed by them with unkempt hair.

1 On Yap roai = Rhizophora mucrona, and the common name for comb.
2 Rhizophora conjugata = debegel = the wild lime, tovegel = the Nipa palm.
3 Two are described in SZ.-K, pg. 143.
In Gämliang'i (Vol. 2), next to the bai Tulau there is such a stone, as shown. When women do not wear their hair neatly, says v. M. M., the hair enter Mangachu comes.

In the men, this results in a tuft of hair at the back, which is distinctive in the logadă pictures. Vol. 2 shows the outline of such tufts; on the same plate, at the top, are also two rubak with beards. During our stay, a Regagē was known as having a full beard, as was the a ilali in the time. This shows clearly that even if beards were not worn in the past, which cannot be assumed, this is certainly no longer the case today.

Incidentally, there were depilatories for beard hair, called doudaum, which were made of two shell halves that closed precisely (gum, kikoi, etc.), connected with a string. See Section VI, for information about the women’s hair dress telōk after the first child is born. The Ranggībi (see Vol. 2) was called mewngţä a rëng: “to oil up with turmeric yellow.” If nice yellowish-red rëng was used for this, white hair would gleam a beautiful red. This helps explain the assertion of the first discoverers, Vol. 1, who reported that some natives had red hair.

Blackening of the teeth was no longer a widespread custom during our time there, which it had previously been; I observed it myself on Yap. The teeth generally turn black from betel nut chewing anyway, which is practiced only on Palau and Yap in the Carolines. In former times, young people on Palau seem to have corrected this defect, as evidenced in the literature, and as Story 169 shows. It no longer occurs. Keate, pg. 319, tells of Libu and how on the voyage to England he found an herb on St. Helena that he considered the desired effect. Although Wilson advised him against it, he nevertheless used it, apparently because he missed betel nut so. The youth described how on Palau one would grind together the herb he found with four other herbs (one of these being dairot) and mix it with a little chinam into a paste, which one would apply to the teeth every morning. Those who had received this treatment would lie on the floor, so that the saliva could drain, and the paste would not be removed until evening, so that they could eat something. This process was continued for five days, and it was very painful and made the people sick.

In Vol. I, v. M. M. wrote: “Blackening of the teeth is known as molas or molau. Just as the natives of Palau find noses that are not flattened unattractive, they consider white teeth disfiguring to the human countenance. When they reach maturity, both men and women practice blackening, despite the fact that this procedure involves considerable pain and requires much patience over several days. The procedure is carried out with a small piece of banana leaf and black earth, which the natives call teldälal. It begins in the evening and a new package is applied several times. The next day, the patient consumes only fibrous or soft food (milk from grated coconuts, ground taro), which he can swallow without chewing. The mucous membranes in the mouth swell and become sore.”

By the way, the teeth are cleaned using small hulls of the Areca nut (melāngāng a ungēl) “to clean one’s teeth.”

According to my notes, the recipe is as follows: one takes some bituminous black earth delalidāl, which is found in a Irā, Ioi, Ėkōk, and Ngāptang (see Vol. 1), smokes and dries it, then pulverizes it. One then scrapes the skin off of denglö fruits (Bruguiera gymnorrhiza), takes leaves of the roro (Erythrina sp.) and the daitrot tree, as well as little pieces of the trunk of a type of banana called garisāg, and finally the herb reberbelēl a tangalil, grinds everything together, puts the whole concoction into a leaf sheath of the coconut palm, called ngēlēg, and squeezes the juice into a coconut shell containing the pulverized earth. This porridge is then smeared on one side of a strip made from a dry banana leaf, and with the dye is applied to the teeth for four days.

Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 169, remarks that only those who have had their teeth blackened will eat the locust shrimp galauosāgal; the others are afraid that their teeth will become striped like the shrimp. The discussion on blackening of teeth leads us to tattooing. For details about the enlarging of the labia minora, see the section on sexuality.

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1 In general, only the children of marriages between priests and priestesses (KUB.) did this; see Galal carvings of Ngāptang. Section VII.

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c) Tattooing delngō (verb: melngōid)

James Wilson, on pg. 302, says: In tattooing at Pelew, their legs and thighs appear as if they had been dipped in a dye of bluish black, the same as at the Carolinas; but they mark their bodies also with figures, like fingers or gloves. The tattooed limbs of the Palauans truly do look as if they had been dipped in bluish black dye, and we had the impression that this was purposely so. This form of ornamentation is primarily intended for women; when they climb out of the taro patches after completing their work, after having submerged their arms in the bluish-black mud, they provide a model for the coloration.

H. Wilson refers to it very briefly, but Mc Chuer, on pg. 59, recorded a little more detail about this custom: “The custom of tattooing, or Melngōtretins as the natives call it, as well as the blackening of the teeth, is a well-established practice for both genders; women are marked in this fashion when they are six or seven years old already. The process begins with the hands, proceeds to the arms, then up to the shoulders, after which the feet are tattooed, and the legs up to the hips. For women of lower rank, the time this process takes depends on their ability to pay the woman who administers it; seeing as a girl cannot marry or become engaged until she has been tattooed, this process is generally done before the onset of menstruation.”

The photo of Abba Thule in Keate’s book shows that tattoos of figures were applied primarily to men; he has snakes and birds on his shoulders and chest. I myself occasionally saw older people with similar ornamentation; I present Figures 24 and 25 as examples. For details, see below.

v. Miklucho-Maclay also contributed quite a bit to this subject, but Kubary was especially informative. In the big book by Josef on tattooing, he tackled the Micronesian area, and covered Palau particularly in detail. He included illustrations of patterns and areas of ornamentation, but these are in dire need of supplementation and explanation. The following passage summarizes everything.

First a word about the instruments:

The tattooing prick dngōid (Kub.: mgot, v. M. M.: ntuau; Wall.: dugid) has a familiar shape; the handle (goolōdelmi) is passed through a hole in the little slab (omādi), which is made from the bone of a fruit bat or a kēlan bird, and is held in its horizontal position with string (Fig. 18‘Berlin 7742 and 18‘ Hamburg 2826ii). Kub., Vol. VI, pg. 79, shows a prick from the side, though rather incomplete, and over it two small slabs called zibēk, one with two teeth, the other with seven teeth; gōol, or more accurately kar’vēl = string, line. Keat., earlier mentions that the teeth are sharpened on a whetstone or on the hard skin of a type of bamboo. W. Müller reports the same in Yap; he publishes a similar illustration there. I should add that the belt of Orion, thought to be a tattooing prick, is called tāpēl d ngōid. A piece of the green stalk of the Zingiberaeae sui or gesuïmpaip (Costus sp.), as long as a hand span and as thick as a finger, serves as a mallet besipēp, as reported in Story 203.

Two of these instruments are needed, one for the tattooer and one for the person being tattooed. For dye vātelī, they use soot, which is caught through smoking (manągā) in bowls or shards over burning resin (béirī) or derived from oil poured onto burning wood (śalītī). It is mixed with normal water for use. The mixture is not stirred much; the ashes swim on the surface. Other accessories (case, basket, etc.) are lacking.

The tattooing itself is performed by women. The tattooing artist, like the master builder, is called diagleibai. The work is often divided among several people. Before she begins the actual tattooing, the woman draws an outline with a coconut leaf rib. According to Kub., before any drawing omnsi is done, the skin is rubbed with the leaves of the kikoi plant, a fern, which apparently makes the skin soft and supple. In addition, before the tattooing begins,
the goddess “Tahatoguttum” and the god “Melimrasak” (“blood drinker”, see Section VI, Cap. 4) are invoked to avert evil consequences.

Kab. fails to mention, however, that the mangālíl magic begins when the mallet is cut already. If a piece falls to the ground during this process, and if it is intended for the person to be tattooed, work ceases because it signifies life-threatening danger for the dagālbai or her relatives. This is heeded especially before the difficult and dangerous leg tattooing, which is generally not done until a person is fairly old. Usually, tattooing on young girls, done when their breasts start to develop, and on boys, begins with an arm band on the lower arm or with a finger.

As for the technique, I can report from personal observation that on each spot two quick beats are made one right after the other; the dye and the blood are wiped off with a sponge and water, and later the juice of ouderód fruit is applied (see the discussion in that section).

Fig. 24.

Fig. 18. Tattooing pricks.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 24.

Fig. 23.

Fig. 25.

The following is the order observed in tattooing:

1. For women, the arm (Figs. 19 and 20); most certainly the outside lag aik ok i kvl a pelú; for this reason, this term is often used for the tattooing of the entire arm, although a distinction is made between the outer and the inner lag a geii “piece inside”. The outer pattern reaches to the middle of the upper arm and ends with a line that projects like a “wall rafter” delágér and is therefore called delébesál (poss.). The cuff is called sulkí. The decora-

2. Leg. Figs. 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, usually only the right section of the back of the leg with a dark surface from the heel up close to the fold of the seat. The name delépsélal (Wall. dellbesál) signifies that this one-sided ornamentation divides the person into two parts, a rear section and a front section. Kab. calls the tattoo dalokabeskál or telokí, without any further explanation. The latter term, however, applies only to one side (poss. telokí, see Story 214) and comes from molekí “to present something on one hand.” Some high-ranking women also have the front parts of both legs tattooed, and even the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, whose blackening is illustrated as golútum gólú in Story 206 (gólúum the dark “earth”).

3. Genital area. Figures 19 and 22, the mons veneris, covered with a tattoo in the shape of a triangle tong in women; Kab. teléngékél.

In women, the arms and legs, and in men, primarily just the legs, are tattooed, but not in a regular fashion but arbitrarily. Even the whites who lived there underwent this treatment, as Vol. I shows.

Kab., in Vol. VI, pg. 78, adds: “If a mur, a feast, has been held because of the woman, she has the right to extend the tattoo starting at the teléngékél, in a narrow stripe on both sides of the genitals and to the anus. If, on the other hand, her husband has held a honget or a mur warkal on her behalf, which can only be the case in connection with some of the more important feasts of a community, then she is given the kelteket tattoo. In this case, the areas on the legs that are have remained untattooed until now are covered with the usual pattern, so that they look like they are clothed with black leotards.”

An absolute must for every Paluuan woman is the ornamentation of the right, and as soon as possible also the left, outer arm and the hand. Then follow the inner sides of both arms, first the right, again, whose inner tattoos are called garmél abúik “sweethart of the boys”, because infants seem to stare at it in wonder. The extensive tattooing of the legs is greatly feared and is therefore mostly confined to the right leg, and even then it is often not performed until the person is much older. Often, after great feasts, when the jealousy of the less beautiful is aroused, older women decide to have their left leg decorated, as well.

According to v. M. M., the mons veneris is tattooed after the hands are, once a girl has started menstruating. Anyone who does not have it done is ridiculed. The hair, considered dispensable, is removed. Fear of the procedure is apparently not unwarranted, for both Kab. and v. M. M. talk about the danger, strong swelling, infections, and fatal cases. I myself treated the arm of a Telegáng, who later died of consumption, for a long time; it was swollen and covered with pus. However, when Kab. says, on pg. 80, that Palauan tattooing is “actually a combination of pigment patterns and scarring,” and that it was the need to make the work deep due to the dark color of the skin that caused the infections, I must dispute this, as I dispute v. M. M.’s supposition of an idiosyncrasy. For obirñk, the Paluauans use expressed coconut milk or the juice of ogólm leaves, which is won by crushing the leaves and squeezing out the juice using a coconut leaf sheath.

1 Kab. “Inside of the medúu, separated by a band over the elbow, there are four kilky stripes, the set of which are called karumél a blade and which reach almost to the armpit; underneath the elbow there are three similar stripes, called kalém.” See Fig. in the quoted volume. germ means “animal,” in this case favorite animal.
People who have recently been tattooed may eat the meat of chickens, pigeons, and pigs, but no fish, until the swelling has passed. Intercourse is also forbidden.

Naturally, the dagali are well paid for their work. Their pay goridél for the gongot ul vaidél, the smoking of the soot, is one goridél a kide, for the arm one gongotul a kide (according to Kub., for both legs the payment is one delóbok a kide). Kub., in Vol. VI, pg. 80, has this to say about the tonge: "When the telengékel is done, a piece of family money, as large as possible, is laid on the mons veneris, the implication being that the woman shall hopefully increase her family's wealth through relations with the opposite sex." The areas routinely tattooed are, as everywhere else, adorned with numerous ornaments of all types, with small patterns tibék; these may also occur outside the regular ornamentation.

Of the men, Kub. says in Vol. VI, pg. 77: "The men have no prescribed tattoos on their arms, however, one almost always finds various playful drawings on the young people, such as individual stars, crosses, and such. In former times, it was especially popular to decorate the front side of each shoulder with one goséik and each side of the chest with one patoál sign." As mentioned previously, it is helpful to look at the picture by Keate of Abba Thale, on whose shoulders a snake is clearly visible.

In 1907, I myself saw old Ngia gosúlap of Ngivál, who had a line running at an angle from each of his shoulders down to the pit of his stomach, where they converged, at the upper and lower end on the right there appeared a starfish, and four starfish under the line on the left (Fig. 25); he also had his right arm tattooed like a woman (see Men as Priestesses, Section VI 4). V. M. M. says that the insides of women's loins were tattooed with crosses, lines, circles, and stars; he also saw on their faces, on the cheeks and on the nose, small spots, very similar to the beauty marks our ladies once wore, and lines from the corner of the mouth across the cheeks to the ears, like the tattoos of the men.

Undoubtedly, the reason for tattooing is the desire for ornamentation and splendor, which through practice and habit becomes an obligation and a duty. In the case of the women, it is possible, as already mentioned, that the origin of this practice may have been limbs blackened by taro mud. This seems to be substantiated by Story 165, in which a Rubak, in a vengeful rage, rubs mud onto his left arm and then paints himself.

Some signs are also applied to commemorate certain events, as, for example, the bite of a fish was memorialized in Nigirakadaring with a drawing of a fish (Story 49). Religious reasons for tattooing are entirely nonexistent. The statement in the Globus periodical of 1872, Vol. 22: "On the Palaos, only tattooed girls were allowed to marry," can only be interpreted as meaning that few men would take an untattooed girl for a wife.

All of the standard and freely chosen decorations are composed of the following ornaments tibék, and let me repeat that the black areas are called gôlitâm or gôlitâm ʻearth". Fig. 26. Kub., in Vol. VI, pg. 75, provides 21 drawings of these patterns, together with their names, but he does not give them any explanation, an emission that I want to correct here, to the extent possible. Kub., on pg. 81, mentions "burn scars" kalidûdûs, as forerunners of tattooing.

"Most often, it is young girls who burn a series of round scars on their arm, in the method of kikós (not in earnest), using smoldering coconut leaves." This widespread form of skin decoration by the youth is also often used for healing purposes; I found it a rare practice.

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1 KUB.: "As soon as the girl begins to associate with men, she strives to acquire the indispensable tattoo telengékel, because without this no man will look at her. This tattoo consists of a triangle that covers the mons veneris and whose outlines consist of the simple greel line. The inner area is blackened evenly, which is called ogûtûm, and the base of the triangle, which points upward, is given a blásak lining." v. M. M. reports that the bat girls showed him this ornamentation without shame.
Dimselegu (with money beads), Diraisni, Dirabes Ngaregenagei, Dirairisong Aiketa

Agarang with son Kloudupak, daughters Thiriai (6 yrs old), and Diramung (4 yrs old).
Finally there is the painting of the body, which was briefly discussed in the case of Ngirangáruang in Story 165. Apparently, it was a belligerent mood that drove him to rub his arm with mud and then draw two black and yellow stripes of soot on the cheek. For eliminating the smell, it consists of singed coconut and bituo (poss. bišoi) breakfast (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 106: Huus), evening meal (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 106: Huus = īgīs, and Vol. VIII, pg. 166: omosoil). Eating customs: eating with the fingers (omosīli) is customary; for liquid food, spoons made of turtleshell are also used (see details in the discussion on turtleshell). According to E. K., eating stenolls are called golūli, and osūli is the term used for eating with stenolls. There is a type of fork tāiō (poss. todōl) in addition to the spoon; mekū is means to spear with a fork and knife. The food is placed on wooden bowls.

The rubak are given the best; high chiefs, e.g. a Rākli in Melekkī tos and Rebakeshī from Njatpang, have their own cooks. A lūbdol also has one during title conferral. See below for details about the prime pieces they are given from the pig, shark, turtle, māmūl fish, dagong, etc. The “almond fish” mesēki l mēg is considered a delicious sweet dish (see details there).

There is more about eating raw fish below, in the section on fishing, and in Story 22. For details on the taboo about eating totem fishes, see the totem section. In general, one eats everything that is put on one’s plate, or one takes it along; this is especially true for food received during a banquet. Common drinks are syrup water and coconut juice; see Story 193 for information on pouring liquid as an offering before drinking. Another thing worth mentioning here is that the natives are familiar with the concept of a lavatory; it is called moororēbā (poss. oregōtēbā); defecating is called mooriwēbā, the wiping-off material is called ologūil; men are not ashamed to leave with some under their arm (it consists of coconut fibers).
a) Food from Plants.

For more detailed classification see Section VIII. Most important are the coconut palm, and, taro.

Coconut palms *lisu* (poss. *lisel*) are not as numerous on Palau as they are on most other South Seas islands, which is why Kuh. gives them short shrift in Vol. VIII, pg. 172. The quality of the fruit, the number of different species and trees, cannot even begin to compete with those of the coral islands of the Carolines, where the coconut constitutes the main source of food, as is also the case on Ngelleangil. However, as a source of oil, the palm is highly valued everywhere and can thus be found in most villages, even if only in limited numbers. Larger groves are found along the beaches of Melekéioik, Galáap and a Göl, as well as on the southern rock islands Peliiou and a Ngéir. I have previously mentioned in Vol. 1, that in some places it grows rather poorly and slowly on the volcanic Palauan soil, which contains little limestone. There is probably not enough calcium in the soil. I never saw the natives add any limestone when planting a sprouting nut in a shallow hole in the ground, which most certainly would lead to better results.

By the way, after 1900, the German government was concerned about the planting of new palm trees, and in a Rubak gathering on August 4, 1904, they determined that 32,000 had recently been planted. Unfortunately, Yap and Palau were experiencing an outbreak of scale insects, which caused the palm fronds to wither, giving the green palm tree groves a yellow appearance in some places. The government took rather strict measures; every native had to stay home for three days during the full moon and tend to his palm trees. If the police soldiers found yellow leaves during their inspection, the owner was punished. This regulation proved to be beneficial.

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The lovely children’s tale that is illustrated in bai 147 III comes, who takes

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The lovely children’s tale that is illustrated in bai 147 III comes, who takes
Preserving syrup, according to E. K.

As *golića*, it is passed out in halved coconut shells, called *kválı, galebíngêl* or *biúl*, similar to kava in Samoa, although no formalities are involved (K. 989, He. 1095, He. 370, K. 74, He. 825, He. 1096).

There are also bowls that hang on three or four strings, called *vák* = “anchor” (poss. *kul*). These have lids *dángêp* (Mi. 3369, 1932 and 1631) made of turtleshell or wood, which have holes in them through which the strings pass (Fig. 31). Special hooks exist (K. 6 and 1035). Occasionally, the lid is simply a coconut shell turned over and placed on top. Halved coconut shells like this, with a 3-4cm large hole at the bottom, are called *gatívut*. They are put over the blossom shaft, so that the opening of the hanging coconut flask is covered, for protection from rats, lizards, and birds, because everything likes to nibble on the sweet juice, as recounted in Story 108.

*Ailíot* is also used to prepare numerous sweet dishes (see the section on culinary skills). The cutting (*melengês*) of the palm trees with *gasívôg* shells sharpened on the *kim* shells lying in front of the Blai, is a special skill and an honored profession. A rubak’s palm wine cutters form a collective called a *klámuvûk*. Numerous stories, such as Story 193 of Tëlâmês, who is considered the inventor of the trade, demonstrate that even high-ranking chiefs do not scorn the work; they always have one or more people who belong to the *klámuvûk* for this purpose, whom they pay. The cutter has a long rod with a hook, at both ends if possible (Fig. 32), so that the flasks hung on cannot slip off, and so that the rods can be hung up anywhere. Often, there are more than a dozen flasks hanging on one rod.
The cutter takes these to the palm trees (see Vol. 2), taking down the full ones and replacing them with the empty ones. In the evening, the day's bounty, which may consist of many dozens of flasks, is transferred to the cooking pot. Fig. 33 (He. 892) shows a nice coconut flask with a woven cover.

The ladles made of nautilus shell is squatting, the woman on top is standing, and above her there is a lizard, and finally a rat, the animals that nibble syrup or the brew, and the more elaborate ones are for ladling the a iláot

Most Important Words Related to the Coconut Palm
lius poss. iláot coconut palm and nut.
mangur poss. mangáregil young nut.
ulenggél the nut's hull.
mengót to husk.
ogotól hak it.
ulekgé the fruit.
delból kvál the hanging bowl for rubbing material (see decorative painting).
sídĕl kval the name of a species on Ngge Wall. (more correctly spelled br'rak a ngél)
ugotí กรงกวาง, of which several examples are depicted in the section on culinary skills.

Taro plays a very important role at celebrations, where it forms the basis of the event. for months, the women

Kah, in Vol. VIII, pgs. 156-162, discusses taro in quite a lot of detail. He describes how important the possession of taro patches is for the family, and that even high-ranking women cannot be dissuaded from doing the work themselves. As you know, the women are responsible for the care of the fields. May I add that, as previously noted in the discussion on goré “foundation for the title”, and that taro seems to have been more scarce in the old days than it is today, as evidenced in Story 113. It is curious that the taro plant Colocasia antiquorum Schott does not have a special name; it is simply called klap in its raw state, kikau when cooked; more about this in the section on culinary skills. The large taro is called kvat, more correctly spelled br'val. The wild kind, which is occasionally eaten on Pelíu, is called písĕg; this is also the name of a species on Nggáng that has enormous leaves. One very small type of taro is called br'rak a ngél a hép (brengkángél a hép). Taro plays a very important role at celebrations, where it forms the basis of the event. For months, the women...
work in the fields to prepare for it. At a celebration, taro is usually piled on the tóšuk benches, nglíš.bit “to the height of the navel,” or guidšiš up to the height of a man. E. K. studied the planting itself in a lot of detail. She reports the following:

The Taro Patch

(meséi poss. meklegél), see Figs. 37 and 38

by Elisabeth Krämer

On many South Seas islands, taro is planted on newly cleared areas of forest, but on Palau islands this is the exception rather than the rule. The majority of taro in this country is grown in swamps. Taro swamps are laid out very skillfully and thoughtfully, usually near the mangrove swamps, which surround the islands almost everywhere. The various patches are irrigated with running water, and they resemble rice fields in that they are slightly terraced, with one always a little higher than the next. They are separated from each other by embankments, on which there are paths. Next to these paths, and sometimes on them, there are narrow water channels. The patches that I was able to observe myself had all been planted a long time ago; it was no longer possible to tell how they had been created. A taro swamp consists of many patches, 20, 30 or more, and each patch is, in turn, divided into various units, which the natives can easily recognize and tell apart. Almost every single patch meséi contains one and sometimes two reserved areas set aside for celebrations or for sale; the taro in these areas is spared during the daily harvest. This reserved area is called a ulebóil. The next-largest section is called a bļú, the third-largest is a urárs. The smallest sections, which are used to harvest the daily taro allotment, are called a ulegáro; they are often only a few square meters in size.

The just-mentioned individual patch meséi, which contains the sections just named, is always surrounded by raised dams with beaten paths, except in cases where there has been a division of property due to inheritance circumstances, in which case the boundary lines are invisible, known only to the owners. The entire complex of single patches, the taro swamp as a whole, nestled as it is between the dry land and the mangroves, is called gomoklógel, and of course, several such taro complexes belong to one village. A woman owns, on average, 4-5 meséi individual patches, which are located in different gomoklógel swamps. Good, suitable taro swampland is called mesersurăk. If the swamp is very deep (admobil meséi), so that the women in it sink up to their chest, then large, somewhat coarser taro (br’ak) with long root fibers samk, which are used to make a particular type of skirt, grows in it.

Then there are shallower swamps, in which women sink up to their knees, magéd l meséi. These produce mature taro in shorter time (less than 6 months); this taro is significantly smaller, but has a better taste. Tending the taro patch is very hard, unpleasant work, but the women do it willingly, and their hard work keeps the islands well-stocked with this nourishing food. Every two or three days, the woman goes to the taro patch and harvests taro, which is called klap in its raw state. A full taro basket usually holds 10-20 tubers, which would have occupied 1-2 square meters in the swamp, depending on their growth. The spot that is vacated is worked down to a depth of 1 ½ meters. Using her hands, the woman digs out the sticky mud and piles it on another spot. Hard bits of earth ngašiš are set aside, and green leaves and grass are put into the swamp as fertilizer (sámak or sálăg), where they constitute the lowest layer. On top of this come the following plants, in order: sui, bedel, ngašil, ngél, bíbí, delebeséps, etc. The mud is packed on top of this in such a way that the mud that was previously on the surface is now on the bottom, closest to the fertilizer. The woman takes it from another spot, and the effect is that of our trench-plowing. The mud from lower down is now placed on top, and the surface is leveled.

The finished swamp area awaits new planting, which takes place several days later. Some women rework their
patch immediately after harvesting taro, while others let it lay fallow for a while. If a big section of the large
aulebó reserve has been harvested for a particular occasion, such as a celebration, several women get together
to rework it. Now and then even the men help, although I was never able to observe this. Swamp patches that have
lain fallow for a long time are soon covered with grass and reeds; the latter provide the highly valued material
for the most common skirts. To gather fertilizer, a woman goes into the bushes or onto the meadows and collects
the fertilizer leaves. She pulls up grass, breaks branches off bushes and strips the leaves off, which she puts into a
large, coarsely woven basket goluókl and presses down hard. The basket is filled to capacity and is heavy, yet she
carries it to the patch on her head. There, as previously mentioned, she harvests the taro for the next day. Using a
small, sharpened oyster shell, which serves as a knife, she scrapes the taro root and cuts off the upper section with
its attached leaves, which is used as a shoot for the new patch. The shoots are bundled together and stuck upright
into an empty patch of mud until planting time, which is several days later.

During planting, the shoots are placed in the taro swamp with greater or lesser spacing between them, depend-
ing on the type of taro being planted. I was told of the following types:

1. a kardeí large fruit
2. a idelúi large fruit
3. maiogang large fruit
4. a ngauéi large fruit
5. a irëtĕg large fruit
6. ngilaumád large fruit
7. samelút large fruit
8. mageberél
9. gurakanúd very tasty, is boiled tied together
10. ngurakobuli very tasty, is boiled tied together
11. a galido very tasty, is boiled tied together
12. gorúso tasty and small
13. a niau tasty and small

Finally there were some types that my companions could distinguish by the color of their leaves:

15. dung ra irëtĕg, when seen from above there is a brownish-red spot (dung see under Origin) on the
leaf at the stalk joint
16. dung ra golakáng when seen from above, there is a yellowish-red spot on the leaf at the stalk joint
17. ramád ragalid violet spot, more elongated.
18. ngigongáng yellow spot, red in the center
19. gerduu small leaves with a red spot
20. ngoberél very small leaves, velvety

1 WALL: ngeásek young, little; HE.: ngeiássek white clay (see the section on pottery).

Continuing:
Finally, I would like to present a sample composition of the gomoklōgē plantings of one village. Vol. 2, and Map 26, list the taro fields mesi of the 10 families of Gorētē.

The gomoklōgē of Gorētē has the following patches:

1. in a Ikesīl on Map 26, to the west of the taqg Sāgāmūs
2. Nggabălōl to the west of 1.
3. Ngērūmul to the west of 2.
4. Ngeritōl south coast near Madalāi (see Vol. 1, Map 2). Belongs to Ngarbagēd. Some Gorētē women have a part in it
5. Ngaramesekū south coast to the east of it. Belongs to Ngarbagēd. Some Gorētē women have a part in it
6. Bablpelū south coast near Ngarbagēd. Belongs to Ngarbagēd. Some Gorētē women have a part in it.
7. Ngesēkēs to the north of Ngarbagēd, near blai 12
8. Ngaruqēal south coast eastward, near Ngarekesauáol.

The following are the names of the women who are owners (compare the women’s clubs in Vol. 2):

1. in a Iketēl: Ngardōkal Blai 24, a Gumgēl Blai 32, Dirangēl a legāng Blai 47
2. in Nggabālōl: Dirangingēlo Blai VII, a Sāmūg Blai VII, Diuk Blai 44, Losi Blai 33, Rosis Mirir Dirangokubag Blai 36, Jegāng Dirangēl Blai 47, Kūkōng Blai IX, Diragamamēlī Męmegēl Blai 46
3. in Ngērūmul: a Ibēdūl Blai 13, Diratamarićēl Blai 13, a Ngesēkal Blai (31) 17, a Ngēsāhūl Blai 42, Diratāmēl mēkēsōng (see Vol. 2) and other women of Ngarbagēd.
4. in Ngērebōd, where the following women still plant taro: Diragamaimele ĕl, where, for example, Diragamaimele ĕl is joined by patches in Ngarebōd.
5. These are joined by patches in Ngarebōd, where, for example, Diragamanamēlī Blai 46 has ownership, further in Ngarekesaualol, where the following women still plant taro: Ngardōkal Blai 24, Dirangingēlo Blai VII, Gokāl Blai 40, Dirisungkōng (see Vol. 2), Ngatingēl Blai 28, Sāmōong (Gor. At. 4 Gen. V) etc.

These are joined by patches in Ngarebōd, where, for example, Diragamanamēlī Blai 46 has ownership, further in Ngarekesaualol, where the following women still plant taro: Ngardōkal Blai 24, Dirangingēlo Blai VII, Gokāl Blai 40, Dirisungkōng (see Vol. 2), Ngatingēl Blai 28, Dirangēl Blai 47, Sāmōong (Gor. At. 4 Gen. V) etc.

This should provide an general idea of the scope of women’s work in the taro patch.

As concerns the fertilizer, Kub., in Vol. VIII, pp. 158, reports that they mainly use Ipomea maritima and a similar leafy, but labiatifloral vine. But there are many more. The former often grows at the edge of the taro patches. The related Aēbēa vine, with its leaves the size of plates, is also used, as are numerous other vines, such as bangurain. They also use the foliage of riame, kēsia, of garamal and lavo, as well as the grasses guēl and dēvain, the uolo fig, garagāp, kemwē, kēsīl, etc. (see also the Pandanus blossoms bagālī in Story 203, Verse 9, see index Section VIII). Kub. adds: “In any case, the thick layer of leaves at the bottom of the mud prevents the water from draining to the bottom, and, in addition, the leaves and stems probably serve as fertilizer as they decompose over time. However, they are not allowed to rot entirely in the mud; instead, the layer is renewed every six months, and the remains of the old layer are removed as pieces of stems and leaf ribs are left behind, which cannot decompose completely during that time.”

Kub. furthermore describes the cultivation of taro as safer and higher yielding than other plants, and says that only a great drought, of which there is an example in Story 63, could cause a famine. However, he also mentions a disease, Obey, in which masses of a very small insect called ugāq cover the plants and cause them to wilt; the tubers apparently turn watery, tasteless, and are only reluctantly eaten. We did not observe this “taro rot,” more correctly spelled gōbhē, nor did we observe a similar disease called dēkēdēkē, which is spoken of in Story 203. However, we heard that shortly after our departure, a taro pest appeared in a large area and was still present in 1925.

Vermin melaitūlīre dait occasionally appear. E. K. recorded the following magic spell that is used to ward them off. It is directed at the first plant:


gol laidēm dait d melaitūng
ng gol deltai gelūi, mak turunmrōk,
u ke mo eulū līsš, u ke bākālu
ke ma tēngə luṅgungen
you should be like a coconut trunk, you like a pot of molasses,
you like solid Pandanus (gongēr).

Kcm. provides no information on the origin of taro. Legend has it that it fell from heaven. The reason for this claim is that more than once, women have found new types of taro in the patches, and as they cannot explain their origin, they believe it must be supernatural. These new types of taro are called dungs (poss. dungi). When it becomes known that a new type has been discovered, people come from all around to look at it and pick up a shoot, if possible. The old, indigenous species, however, came from afar, with the goddess a llūngēl, the mother of the Galūd Golungūs (Story 170). These include, for the most part, the species gongōmēs, gongarengārek, bīkū, kevōsēngūl, dekēdēkē, tululāsgūl, tēlēlūsagūl, tāmō, small species Ngarū, etc. These names, some of which appear in Story 194, really do seem to hark back to ancient times. Especially worth noting is Story 203, Verses 6-9, where ral’, gōkāl, and takaesūngēl are mentioned. As for the rest, it is not worth the effort to name all the species of taro, as there appear to be almost 100 of them. In Melanesia, in fact, a woman once recited 200 types to me, and similar experiences are known elsewhere. E. K. listed over a dozen names above, of which only 2 appear in the 18 names presented by Kub. in Vol. VIII, pg. 161, and neither of those 2 is repeated among my 7.

Finally, Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 160, lists various forms of magic for ensuring a good harvest. I have presented one of these three chants in Story 225, independent of his account; remarkably, the words are almost identical, despite the fact that the recordings are almost 40 years apart. The goddess Dīmālaa, called Emalūthoy and They by Kcm. in the other chant, is considered the protector of taro farming; however, no other details are known about her. Thirdly, Kcm. mentions a song from Nganupesing, where one in the past taro disease was danced out of the land.

1 My source claimed to have experienced 100 dung.
2 See also Story 198, around Verse 100: bangkūr bad taro; KILN, Vol. VIII, pg. 130, names one type Kalsūko as provisions for fishermen.
Words Related to Taro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>melāmél</td>
<td>to plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungesēp</td>
<td>to cut off, to snip (imp. gosep; suŋsiŋ to lift out with the hand underneath)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelōl</td>
<td>mature taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meriog</td>
<td>to till (the soil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meslōu</td>
<td>to dig up (the mud)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smalōu</td>
<td>dug-up piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a nglās (poss. gelsūl)</td>
<td>dug-up field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngeāis</td>
<td>hard soil under the mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngešēık</td>
<td>light-colored soil under the mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deilōg</td>
<td>field laying fallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesušēlō</td>
<td>to break shoots in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngeūl, ngūlē, dāt</td>
<td>(poss. dūlē) shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alengōl</td>
<td>the rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alengāl</td>
<td>taro peel waste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melōug</td>
<td>to fertilize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telōug, rōmāk</td>
<td>fertilizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gošōki ēt gošōgalō</td>
<td>(poss. gošōgalēl) basket for fertilizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesūrēg</td>
<td>to create order, to fix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galūiūs</td>
<td>dam, edge (Story 211)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>didūl</td>
<td>work skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wērok</td>
<td>dry taro leaf stems (for skirts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galēdēlō</td>
<td>pile of taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōngōr</td>
<td>(poss. rōngērēgēl) mat for protecting the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galēbēlō</td>
<td>(poss. galēbēlēl) taro leaf stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klab</td>
<td>raw taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikaw</td>
<td>boiled taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bī'uk</td>
<td>large type of taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pītēg</td>
<td>wild taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smāk</td>
<td>root, tuber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōbei, dēkādek</td>
<td>taro disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dung</td>
<td>(poss. dūgēl) new type of taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesēi</td>
<td>(poss. mešēi) taro patch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alegūlō</td>
<td>area reserved for celebrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alegōro</td>
<td>patch for daily harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blu, uōs</td>
<td>next larger piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gomoklōgēl</td>
<td>village taro patch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malēmēl</td>
<td>to pull weeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eūmēl</td>
<td>Gratiola, pretty, aromatic weed, women like to wear it in their ears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēkanga l ual</td>
<td>weed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngot</td>
<td>pounding board</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Breadfruit**

Medi (poss. međongēl) is not nearly as important on Palau as on Samoa or Truk. Palau's soil is not suitable for it, although without a doubt it thrives on limestone, as I became convinced on Pellilou. There, in Nguasią, next to the rubah bai, stood a trunk that was several meters thick (see Vol. 2), its mighty palisade-like roots measuring over 10m in diameter. It was a subspecies of Antocarpus incisa. The breadfruit tree of Ngipāl, too, which is mentioned in Story 19 and is depicted on the bai a Dongoŋōrēt in Gorōt must have been very large, as fish and sea turtles were able to swim inside it. Of course, Ngipāl was a little island of coral rubble. Nevertheless, breadfruit trees can thrive on volcanic soil, as well. I saw a trunk that was 60cm thick between tall Parinarium trees at the ked edge of Gorōt; and otherwise, medi trees can be found everywhere, albeit usually only a few. After all, Stories 34, 204, etc. also take place on Bábłáob. The wood was occasionally used for building bai (see Vol. 4, hai 12 in Ngiabez). For details about the fruit, see the section on culinary skills. Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 162, names the following types: on the rock islands, the mediān eliow, with big seeds (M. C.: Mee-thou-lee with seed, Wall.: medi līiu), on Palau the better types: mēriaw with round, smooth fruit, and khabākhab (M. C.: Cup-a-lap) with elongated, rough-skinned fruit; related to this: khorāth, kothūhulōk, thamāthm, and kāzūlāk.

The banana tu poss. nālu (Kub. a thu) is planted everywhere, although sparingly. I did not see here the species Kub. lists for Palau, karrāsak, which apparently was called Ravāc in Ponape, and which caught my eye there because its fruit cluster points skyward at the tip of the tall plant. (See the karāsagi species in Story 16 of Ugelūgū: it supposedly turns red in water, see also in the section on canoes). The Kothāor species (driftwood; see Story 204) apparently originates from a Ngirāt, as do the Khotāko and Kēyāmmēl species. I also heard of a red, indigenous species, omuī pesengēl, which Tmēlōgōd fished from the deep and planted in Galāp, where it can still be found (Story 14). One small species basīs kāum owes its existence to a women’s club that turned into bananas on Pellilou (Story 169). A small, roundish species reminiscent of a peach (see there) is called kērkār rā idērūrt (lemon). Bananas are usually eaten cooked (before they are ripe) and mashed. For details on eating bananas see Vol. 2. Other less-important flora that are planted include:

**Yams**

Gōlōgōl, as Kub. stressed, are not grown, and they are certainly rare. A wild species Dalhākal “with a stem that has many thorns, and a long, creeping tuberous root,” which is eaten on Ponape, is not utilized at all here. A second wild species Būkvāi (bēlēlē) is consumed only during famine. A third wild species is called gothābū.

**Sugar cane**

Ade, indigenous as well as introduced, not cultivated much.

Starch sēbōsō (Tacca panunīfāk) hardly used, see also Kub. rīngyāng palms.

Turmeric kērēl (Curcuma), from which the yellow substance is obtained, previously mentioned above.

Citrus species; međoi the common name for oranges, large species gošōgōm, small kērēlō, saut bekēsū, other species garēlō. Lemon meduk gangare; the wild lemons are called denēgēl, the large, possibly introduced ones are tēnēl or denēgēr a nγabār, the wild round shaped ones merēi, the small, round limes malageiāngēl (Samoa tipōlo).

Pineapple gōngōl ngabār “foreigners’ Pandanus.”

Pumpkin kalabasáng “calabash,” introduced.
The areca palm tree (Areca catechu) is used as a fastening seat. Specimen a, collected by H. ambruch (2 ½ of this woven, see b.), so it can be wound around several times, namely over the concave outer edge, securely against the trunk. The diligent person treating the trees can sit on this, nay even sleep on it, as was shown in Story 18; the starchy root kebiúl (Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 164: “Tobacco is either cut while it is still very green, dried in the sun and packed into bags, by folding together a piece and sewing it up at the two shorter ends, Fig. 40. This creates a purse delél (poss. deléim), in which one can store gathered nuts, for instance; delél means "umbrella," because the leaf is used as protection from the rain; covers for skirts and pestles are also made from it, or turmeric yellow is kept in it, in fact, in general it serves as Palauan wrapping paper. As a sign of victory galeólt; the lower part of the leaf is hoisted on a pole to wave in the wind (see Story 18); it can also serve as a seat; in short, it has all manner of uses.

(All other details in the section on mats, Section 3).

The Terminalia almond tree (Terminalia gummosa) and the edible fibrous fruit kiâm (Bucaresia cauliflora Forst.) are occasionally planted near dwellings, possibly also the species of ficus called wólélóg, which is strung neatly on cords when gathered. In addition to this, the wild ficus species gosélél does deserve some consideration in connection with cooking, because in former times its red cherry-like fruit was used instead of a iláot syrup in the preparation of rice, and it is particularly important to keep the fruit clusters free of pests and growths. for this the islanders use a small, reniform little board called a mílgél, bugél in the Philippines (Kluckhohn: commuyee). also, a gooseberry-like fruit gomút (Imp.), and then later the nuts are distributed. Betel nut picking is called masáog down, hung up for decoration (see Story). The betel pepper (Areca catechu) is used with it; fishermen use a small, reniform little board called a miłgałel, rebótél (fig. 39).

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Tobacco is used primarily to make a strong quid, a marrygĕl a gamalĕl, as it is called in Story 209. It is kept in little bamboo containers (Fig. 41).

A quid gamagĕl (poss. gamašil) is prepared thusly: An Areca nut is split with an adze or with a turtleshell knife gosil; this is then used to lift the kernel out of the hull, which is thrown away, although it does not taste unpleasant. Half the nut is then placed on a piece of betel leaf and sprinkled with lime, after which the moisture quickly turns it red. That is why, when the quid is chewed, red saliva soon appears, which eventually fades in color. If the taste also fades, the gamagĕl is taken out and sprinkled anew; if the lime has too much of a bite, some betel leaf is added to make it milder. The gamagĕl is chewed for ½ - 1½ hours, depending on one’s inclination and the quantities one happens to have available. Old people with poor teeth place the betel leaf into a little mortar and smash it with a pestle before chewing. The mash is then scooped out and enjoyed. That is why many mortars have a spatula tied to them (Fig. 42).

The utensils used in betel chewing are the mortar and pestle, gosilog (poss. gosil). from merusilog “to pound”; like the German terms for “nut” and “bowl”, they are distinguished as being “feminine” and “masculine,” dil lorusilog and sagil lorisilog. They are the symbol of the old Rubak, because on the fogoil one very often sees them sitting on the iluad pavement, handling the mortar. The mortar is usually made of wood, most often from the dört tree, or from citrus or bamboo, beol. Fig. 43, occasionally cattie horn is used for it. The shape is usually that of a drinking cup, as can be seen in the figures. But there are also some with legs, as one specimen in Berlin shows, which KRN. collected in 1885 (Fig. 44). While the mortars are created in a rather slipshod fashion, great care is taken when making the pestles. A pestle is made from the Tridacna species kisse. by heating and shaping with great skill, pieces as long as possible are produced. These are formed into a stick shape by repeated sharpening on lava rock. This skill is especially highly developed in Golei. After lengthy, repeated bargaining, I acquired a splendid specimen from the Rubaki of Goikul, which measures 38.5cm long by 2.5cm thick (K. 979, Hamburg 3683). Hr. acquired two specimens, which measure 34 and 22cm. They each have covers made from an Areca leaf sheath (see above), in which they are always carefully stored. In Leipzig (Mi. 1705) there is one specimen from the Kub. collection that has a hole bored through it at the top and is equipped with a loop for hanging; it measures 31 ¾ cm (Fig. 45). In addition to the mortar and pestle, there is the lime box, usually called gass (poss. gusil), like the lime itself. The lime is burned out of the reef rock. Narrow, tapering coconut shells are often used as containers for it (Fig. 46) Hamburg Hr. 1085 and Berlin VP 7637.

Another showpiece like the Tridacna pestle is the lime stick, which is a long bamboo cane with a wooden stopper at the tip, with 10-15 yellow turtleshell rings on it. This turtleshell decoration is called tangil (poss. tangongil). KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 189, has already described its assembly. The wooden stopper has a hole drilled through it lengthwise, and the 1-2mm opening is located in a triangular groove in the uppermost turtleshell plate. The Hamburg specimen (Fig. 47 Hamburg 4368*), which was collected in 1909, is 115cm long. KRN. accounts for its size by saying that a men’s club would appear at ritual dances with just one such stick, for example, and it would have to serve all who were present.

The stopper bears a resemblance to a cylinder from the Biedermeier period which is enlarged at the top; the Stuttgart specimen has the shape of a dersil; sometimes, the bamboo canes are also decorated, as depicted in KRN., Vol. VIII, Plate XXIII 27 and 28, which is located in the Berlin Anthropological Museum. This decoration is not artistically rendered and must be considered mere play. The long lime sticks are carried in the hand. The men carry around the smaller utensils, however (the tobacco container should not be forgotten here) in the ten hand basket, which they constantly carry with them. It should be mentioned that in the olden days this basket was very small, easily fitting into one hand (see Story 152).

b) Food from Animals.

(animal: garm, poss. garmil)

Cannibalism was not a regular practice, although it was undoubtedly performed occasionally, especially by the Gald, as demonstrated by Stories 128, 156, 164, and 169, and especially Story 12, in which, admittedly, only the roami’s savory smell is prized. Vol. I shows that Palauans were once considered by the Carolinians to be cannibals. There is, however, no proof of this. The claims of extensive cannibalism reported by F. Lütke were based on hearsay and must also be rejected. On the other hand, the use of a skull cap as a drinking cup (Story 207) and the end of a humerus bone as a pestle shows that they had no inhibitions when it came to the parts of dead bodies.

Domestic Animals: The pig (bab, poss. babingi) was imported from the West, as its name reveals. Though there is a word for it in use, melikl, it is probably not old. Palauans have attempted breeding, but only on a limited basis. They know about gelding; the castrated pig is called klokiingl. Vol. I describes the unloading of the pigs; the sheep, goats, ducks, geese, turtle doves, parrots, etc., were unloaded at the same time, perished. The cattle, on the other hand, have survived to this day, as mentioned in that volume. As the pigs must not roam about freely, they are housed in special stalls. The simplest of these was the “pig house” on Nggeiangel, where a hollow tree served as living quarters, its opening enclosed by a fence made of tree trunks driven into the ground.
On Peliliou, a bamboo framework was supported on four posts; part of the fenced-in platform was covered with a saddle roof. To reach it, one climbed up on one post, as one does at a bai. I saw the same kind of structure in Keklau at the stone path that is there, but it was set off from the path by one man’s length, despite the sloping terrain. One accessed it via a bamboo pole, which was secured with a railing on both sides. Waste dropped down through the bamboo floor, as in a bai. The fact that the pig is valued as a food source is demonstrated by its distribution at celebrations. The shares are as follows:

No. I  the head and one leg (gogil)
No. II  one leg
No. III one shoulder (geimad)
No. IV  one shoulder
No. V  the loins (singg)
No. VI  the neck (goldael)
No. VII the lower back (buk singg)
No. VIII IX X parts of the spine (degoiel)

The uriul rubak are given the ribs (kak) and the stomach (alai).

If the high chiefs of Palau, the rubukul pelau, are gathered, a Guong from Mangallang (District I) is given the head of the pig because of his capture of the head of the Galid Mad a tumlog, the turtle (see Story 148); see below for details on catch and distribution. The maimel, Napoleon wrasse, is also meant for the Rubak. Shortly before my stay on the island, a fisherman caught five large such animals in big fish traps; four were given to a Idid in Gorero, and one to Joolidid as a tribute from Klotraol, which was passed on to a Idid; the head, neck, and first vertebra are considered the best parts. When No. I buys a shark, the head is given to No. II.

The dog pilis and the cat ganii were imported and are not eaten. The latter has found its way into the legends, as shown in Story 8, whose origins are truly ancient, and the well-known Story 118; Story 159a, too, makes an unusual contribution. The chicken malk (poss. mekel) was once sacred, existed only in the wild, and was not eaten (Kub, pg. 168). Even today, it is rarely eaten, as its stocks are limited. The assertion by the British that they had to show the natives that chickens are good to eat, is erroneous. According to Keate pg. 301, however, the eggs were eaten; preferably after they’d begun to be incubated!
Wild Animals of the Land

Instead of chicken, the eggs of the Megapode (incubator bird) bakâl, which is discussed in detail in Story 6, are eaten, but the hen itself is not eaten. One looks for its nest in the piles of leaves, gongóni, in the forest. The eggs of sea birds also seem to be very desirable, for example those of the white tern soglios, as shown in Story 141.

The following birds are caught and eaten:

- the fruit pigeon (Carpophaga) belôgél, gatîp
- the Nicobar pigeon (Calînus) laub
- the wild duck (îmu) tabîr
- the purple swamp hen (Porphyrio) vek
- the Audubon shearwater (Puffinus) gogâio
- the black noddy (Anous) bâlûg
- the little pied cormorant (Phacellus) dërôlûg
- the tropic bird (Phaeton) dalûk

Hunting.

In addition to the birds, there is the flying fox gólûm, which is caught and eaten as described by Kub. VIII, pg. 118. Since I experienced the hunt firsthand and have additional information to contribute concerning it, I would like to describe the process.

The Guilîd a Tpalapalâg (Balabalâk, Kub.) is considered to be the inventor of the pigeon hunt, as asserted in Story 17, which also presents the chant that is addressed to the mother of the Guilîd, the goddess Godagîd, at the beginning of the hunting season. It was Tpalapalâg who made the first bow and arrow from the wood of the gogâiu and rebegel mangrove. To shoot the pigeon, one looks for a gavès tree, whose fruit the pigeons like very much, and ties a platform to it. It is this binding, mevûgelô, that gives this type of hunt its name; the platform itself is called rongûgelô; it has a round roof over it, covered with fern leaves, and from this hiding place, the hunter shoots the pigeons, as shown in Story 125, for example.

The Guilîd hunting decoy pigeons, generally called “animals,” gavès, is much more exciting. A tame pigeon is also called runûrum, as opposed to a wild one, topolîk. These tame ones are taken from the nest at an early age (see Kr-xa, pg. 301) and are fed in the house. By day, the animals are set on a pole in front of the house, tied by one leg, as shown in Vol. 2. At night, they are kept in large, cage-like baskets that can be closed (Fig. 50). It looks lovely when the pigeons are carried to the hunting place on a shoulder pole, gongônlugô. This pole is often depicted on the polôgôl, as is the hunting blind, as golûmôlî; in a cross-section, it really looks like a square, as Fig. 51 shows. Four sticks are laid on top of four forked poles; the framework is surrounded and covered with fresh, leafy branches. Usually, one places a decoy pigeon (tied, of course) on the fork at each corner. A small tree, called kungûdlî, is stuck downwards through the roof, so that a small tree-top remains up above the roof.

The bowstring, uturok (Kub.), uterug (Wall.), uteregel (Ham.) is usually made of fibers from the gômûlûgu hibiscus or the îluh ficas and twisted. The string consists of three strands; it is tied around the “ends,” runû, of the bow, also called angûgelô, “its tooth,” and knotted. These knots are tight at one end, but loose at the tooth (Fig. 53a–d). A string is tied over the bowstring around the notch at the end, so that the bowstring’s knot cannot slip off (Fig 53e) (Stuttgart). Drawing the bowstring is “secondary,” meaning that the arrow is held between the thumb and index finger, while the third and fourth fingers rest on the bowstring and help pull; the arrow passes under the left thumb.

The bow is approximately 2 m long (He. 74 3813° 193 cm) (Stuttgart 108, arrows 117 cm). The arrows, which are 200–220 cm long (Fig. 54a–c), are so closely related to spears that they are described in more detail in that section. According to v. M. M., bows and arrows were used more frequently in previous times than they are nowadays; apparently, they were never used in battle. See also the publications of the royal ethnographic museum in Dresden, Vol. IX, Plate VII, for depictions of I bows and II arrows.

In addition to the bow, the blowgun is also used for bird hunting, but only in the open under the trees, because the tube is 3–4 m long and reaches very high when placed over the mouth. It usually consists of two pieces, as there are few straight bamboo canes of the necessary length. While the bow is part of the Palauan heritage, the blowgun was introduced from the Philippines in more recent times. In fact, it does not have a real name, but is simply called
bóes, just like the guns, but with the distinction bóes ra ulékhi, after the arrows. This word means “finished at the back,” because a simply carved little stick, or one with barbs, lashed at the bottom with coconut fiber or cotton, serves to seal out the air. Rarely used.

Pigeons are not only caught by shooting, however, they are also caught in snares (see Bai 119 V b). These snares or traps are called pedíkl and have been described and illustrated by Kub. pg. 120. As I have nothing of importance to add to his descriptions with regard to birds, I refer you to those.

There is, however, an interesting rat trap bow, which he does not mention and which I saw in 1907 in Galáp, that I must still describe here. A piece of bamboo, sealed at one end, is fastened on the inner side of a bow (Fig 55a); the other opening (the one facing the bowstring), is open, and a thinner piece of wood (b) is inserted into it in a pump-like fashion. To catch the rat, the bow is drawn and, to keep it in the drawn position, the upper wooden end of b is tied to the lower end of the bamboo with a coconut string that has been drenched in coconut oil, see 55b. The rat enters the hollow bamboo through the hole c, and when it chews through the tasty string, it is squashed by the pestle. Fig. 56 shows a simple cage for birds made from monggongg leaf blades.
Me数百 with tame pigeons. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.
Like all hard work, a big fishing expedition is begun with chants. Such big expeditions are undertaken principally for celebrations, where the object is to obtain large amounts of fish for a defined period of time. The gongëd celebration, which is discussed further below, and the fishing canoe gongëdlë are both taken as names from fishing, as gomangëd means “to go fishing,” and gëd or gël means the fishing grounds, a rungëd (plural as umangëd) means the fishermen’s guild, usually a men’s club, which catches the fish for the host of the celebration, as told in Story 6. The catch is called gaied (gudamér a rungëd “their catch of the fishermen’s guild”).

Télamès is considered to be the founder of the gongëd celebration; he was the first to bring many fish together in Ngaregolóng. Story 193 shows the chant and the magic of the omngél, the “cracking open of a coconut” as an offering, which is part of the budií magic (Section VI 7). For this reason, people still pray nowadays to Télamès to ask him to show the fishermen favor. The guild must follow many rules. In the set of the guild, there must not be any noise in the house when they enter. Instead of betel nut leaves, they use desain grass when they chew; spitting is prohibited.

The women who bring the food into the bai must wear good skirts. Intercourse is – as usual during full moon, they chew; spitting is prohibited. There must not be any noise in the house when they enter. Instead of betel nut leaves, they use desain grass when they chew; spitting is prohibited.

The chant to Merekrík goes, in part, like this:

klohkk korhëd ngëlé l mer a mila
Tonight hold them tight the fish; comes the canoe (back)
a kid ma demë e degët a ngëlit
and we come, stand up the dance!

In the end, Gulobius is supposed to avert any evil magic (melbëd). The fisherman then puts his lines in order. Late in the evening, he brings to the bëldik spirits of the dead and to the family god an “offering of finely chopped coconut,” called uliárs a delepálly, which is set down on the reikl wallboard of the bai. It is meant to ensure the catch of the flying fish, gok, the bait for the shark.

The following morning, the day of departure, the fisherman goes to the beach very early to take care of the “notification of the channel” mesúbëd ra toágël. He takes a woven coconut frond mat called blubëd, which Kub. portrayed in VIII Plate XVII fig. 5, and two coconuts and goes to the pavement at the landing. There, at the paungg resting stone in the corner, he lays down the blubëd with the following words to the village god:

taikãd a kloklém, nguk mo tw o gélagang a mesúbëd
This is your thing, I will go out today to notify
ra toágël, diak a keker melógeni mi re nguk!
the exit, not a little bad should come to me!

He then places one coconut on the northern side and one on the southern side of the pavement while invoking the spirits of the land and the beach (Kub.: Anau), and then the ceremony is over. In the meantime, the canoe has been set afloat. Everything is ready for the trip. No food is taken along; a few select taro, called kulakko, must suffice for the voyage, which sometimes lasts as long as two days. Smoking is allowed, but no betelnut chewing, which is only permitted for the leader after a chant to the Galid a lejáda Tutáol, Deber’rëkin, etc. When the canoe is far enough away from the beach that one can see the hinterland, the leader, facing land, offers a taikld offering to the goddess galdë (mother) a Udibó. When the deep water has been reached, he breaks a roasted ulogóug nut and tosses half of it into the sea for the gods of the land; the other half follows when they exit the reef and is meant for the gods Delamuik, who are thought to stand on both sides of the exit, and also for the Galid Kereómël bëgil and Klubdungal. Then the mast and sail are set, accompanied by invocation of the gods of the moon, the lagoon, the reefs, the ocean, and the ocean floor. Then they sail out onto the open sea.

When they cast the avir line to catch the bait, gok, they invoke the gods of the sea, Láidang and Sääluang. (Kub. VIII, pg. 131): “If, fortunately, the Gök is caught, it is tied to the flat section of the Orisir line and the vessel

is particularly important, as nearly all saltwater animals are eaten. I should say in advance that the consumption of raw fish is forbidden (see Stories 20 and 22). Fishing is practiced a lot and in elaborate forms; Kub. grants Palauans first place in this activity in Micronesia, and rightfully so. The fishing methods are described in detail in Kub. VIII, pg. 123–134. So I will keep this as short as possible and attempt to achieve completion, correct errors, and note spelling.
cruises back and forth, making wide sweeping into the sea, in search of Hoëtiû; driftwood (small fish congregate around driftwood gotten, and the sharks try to catch them). Here they breasth Lašadan and Ansalan, to awaken the gods of the various shark species that are found at the bottom of the ocean: Ayékáth a Madaurut, Ayékáth a Ryđâk, kobélitéyold and Ayékáth saasugî, and bring them to the surface. If success is delayed, the gods of the drift-wood, Ayékáth hotio, Komáhk hotio, Honal ehegēhēk are invoked.” – These incantations, which I have taken, as mentioned earlier, from Kubary’s reports, draw a clear picture of how the natives are driven by fear and superstition (see also spear fishing chart below).

I still want to mention the lovely kumeraç fish posts. One of these is shown in color in Kub. VIII in Plate 33 Fig. 5, and I still found it in Ngerupesang in 1907 (see Vol. 1). Such magic posts, which are dedicated to guardian deities of the ocean, can be found near many houses. They say the god Kumeroë lives in the moray eel, which is worshipped as the Gaลrd of the saltwater; he gave the stake its name. Figure 57 included here, the illustration of piece 2796â, which is located in Hamburg, shows on the front of the square post a moray eel devouring a turtle that it received as an offering. One of these is eaten during the turtle hunt to honor Kumeroë, with please for continued success or for protection against illness. On the left side of the stake, there is a man with a roasted ulogóug coconut, the Galrd’s favorite food. One of the nuts remains in the canoe, the other is laid down at the foot of the stake withplease to bless the hunt. The families that have Kumeroë as their Gañro do not eat any kesëbökî moray eels. On top of the post is a gâdèkî? hut, which will be discussed more in the section on medicine.

Votive offerings would be placed in the opening of the door, if it was not too small. This is possible with the stone kumeret, which is located in Hamburg, shows on the front of the square post a moray eel devouring a turtle that it received as an offering. One of these is eaten during the turtle hunt to honor Kumeroë, with please for continued success or for protection against illness. On the left side of the stake, there is a man with a roasted ulogóug coconut, the Galrd’s favorite food. One of the nuts remains in the canoe, the other is laid down at the foot of the stake withplease to bless the hunt. The families that have Kumeroë as their Gañro do not eat any kesëbökî moray eels. On top of the post is a gâdèkî? hut, which will be discussed more in the section on medicine.

The particular fishing methods are as follows:

a) Gathering on the Reef (nguratei), Spearfishing.

As everywhere, Palauans make their way to the fishing grounds géd or gêî at low tide, in order to search among the puddles and tide pools of the reef and rocks in shallow water. They check in particular the holes in the rocks for the presence of small fish, crabs, octopus, etc. (see story 134). Where the water is 1 – 3 feet deep, known as vêî, the fishing spear comes into its own. All natives, including women, the elderly, and children participate in gathering these lovely sea creatures, known simply as galid (pou, galîlé) “catch.” Whenever possible, the shells, etc., are removed on the spot and thrown away, unless the fisherman wants to make a gôled ë kal, a “shell pavement,” as told in Story 146. Just about everything is eaten; poisonous fish, feared as “bringing death” gosîp, are few. While the tiau species (white spots and light belly) and the telèbîdîl species (light belly) are edible, it is primarily the Diodon fishes; the meat and liver of the golodudusig species with the yellow belly, that is dangerous; the roe of all three, however, is poisonous. The gall bladder is particularly so. Shortly before our arrival, a Japanese man died eating one. Liver of sharks and rays is eaten raw!

The skin of the black gosîs sea cucumber (Holothuroid) is also considered poisonous; it is scraped off and used for poisoning fish. As elsewhere, fish were poisoned with dup and kemôkôm (see there), which is the subject of the Gatarap magic in Story 215. gamogóug is also used, for small ponds. The following lower-order creatures are important as they are considered good food:

- the Tridacna clam kim (mangîm-kim gathering)
- kikói sea clam (Anva) (mangîki-kikói gathering)
- ilákîn highly prized on Pelíliu (mangîlákîm – gathering)
- and ngólî (mangîdî gathering), which lives in the mangrove swamp kebîrás for which the women search using their feet; it tastes superb, especially when cooked with coconut for the dish known as galitélé. The Sipuanus worm洁净 is not known here.

Of the sea cucumbers, the innards of the ngolî species are eaten, but only when the animals have been gathered early in the morning, before there is any sand in the entrails. The marimarag, sekésâkel, and ñinmî species are edible. They are first tossed in a basket with ashes and aulîg fuit leaves, to remove the rough skin, then they are placed in a wooden bowl with water and ñinmî leaves and left standing for a while, after which they are cut up and eaten with lemon juice. Best suited for trepung, dried sea cucumber, are the arm-length tamañámolgalóog, bâbî, and badîgalîdî; these provide the best goods at 10 cents per pound; as second class, meliti, blîoî, gospîlî, hîbîmaladîlî, and rekîl provide the worst goods; other usable species are gûrinmînî and melîg, which rate only 4 cents per pound. They are usually gathered on the large reef flats west of Babldâob and Gortôr; cooked in iron kettles and then dried. In the case of the melog species, papaya fruit and fuit leaves must be added so that the calcium in the skin dissolves. Sem. II, pg. 84 and 89–91 describes a lot about preparation and trade of trepung, so I refer to that. The nates store trepung for their own use in bamboo cans (see fig. 59), but only in very limited quantities. Of the sea urchins, primarily the gosîp (Diadema) and asîñîlî (Echino geta) are eaten, as elsewhere. They are pulled out of the holes with the gosîp tonge (see cooking utensils and Vol. 2). Of the starfish, the gaisîsî (Kub. Kayseños) is edible.

Fig. 57.

Fig. 58.
Of the sea urchins, primarily the goálag (Diadema) and aibúgĕl (Echinometra) are eaten, as elsewhere. They are pulled out of the holes with the gogádu tongs (see cooking utensils and Vol. 2). Of the starfish, the gaisóis (Kub. Kayseyos) is edible.

Of the cephalopods, the octopus bukitáng is common and is very popular, as is the squid lūt (which is also caught with the pear-shaped fish trap buttulăt), and the cuttlefish milngól.

Of the crustaceans, first place is held by the spiny lobster garabrúkl and the locust shrimp galauoságăl; they live in the holes in the reef. The latter is pulled out using a claw of its own species, which is tied with its hooks facing the wrong direction, as Kub. VIII, pg. 152, describes. “Known as Potk, this consists of a flat, flexible rod about 1 m long, made out of coconut leaf ribs, to the end of which the saw-like final joint of the claw of a locust shrimp is tied, with the teeth pointing upwards. A small fish is tied a little bit above this, and a piece of wood is stuck crosswise through the handle of the switch.” One of the large crabs is the famous coconut crab këtát. The gamáng Carcinus is also an excellent crab, as is a species called ksúl, which comes onto the beach at low tide in the moonlight and can then be caught. The children like to catch the gòrogur shrimp in streams using snares (Fig. in Kub. VIII, pg. 152, and Plate XXI, fig. 10). Story 187b describes the examination of rocks melógŏd a bad.

The fishing spears used are not especially noteworthy. They serve mainly to catch fish, which will now be the topic of discussion. The broom-like spear, or leister, called táod, also pronounced táoĕd, is made with and without barbs (togĕd) (Fig. 60). The natives like to throw the former at the needlefish sekós, which search for prey at the water’s surface. For this reason, the leister is also known as táoĕd ra sekós.

They throw the smooth-tipped spear at schools of sardines, which is why it is also called táod ra melkbód. A spear with a forked tip is a táod va melkbód. The actual fishing spear piskáng nowadays usually has a single iron tip, often with small barbs, like the arrows. These are used for actual fish spearing (omúrŏg), and they are also the preferred item to use when poking around in the holes in the rocks, which is called melikĕlíkĕs. The same word is used for cruising back and forth in a canoe in order to spear fish, while the trip from home for this purpose is simply called “poling,” melikĕs. They like to throw the spear especially from the bow of the canoe, at everything that crosses its path, as told in Story 103. So it is that I once saw a turtle run through with a spear. Despite the spear, it dove down repeatedly and escaped. The “spearing of rays” ruł síkĕs (from melikes) a goirúl, is an especially popular sport, as Story 145 reflects and numerous logúkl prove. Semp. ii, pg. 85 describes a ray hunt quite vividly.

When a canoe is sitting at the jetty, ready for spearing fish, a chant is usually said. The fisherman lays the spear lengthwise on the canoe, sits down, and says:

- a Júsĕg mad ma Súbĕd reng “Sharp eye” and “sharp mind”
- a Júsĕg mad ke doidevék let keleting
- ma Súbĕd reng a didevék rurulăng
- ma ngák a didevék va bëh
- ë ked ë melkbóís, ë ked ë no melkbóís
- ma detbóis 48 va madal a táng
- ë kau l Súbĕd reng a medengeli a ngkël
- më ke di kau lobă mlat l bëgal le ngi
- ma Júsĕg mad a mesăng më ked ë m regi melkbóír
- ë ked osejel l te dengérigér ar ngák

- Junš mad ma Súběd řeng
- a Júsĕg mad ke doidevêlk va kautêng
- ma Súběd řeng a doidevêlk ruvlâng
- ma ngak a doidevêlk va błęh
- ë ked ë melkbóís, ë ked ë no melkbóís
- ma detbóis 49 va madal a táng
- ë kau l Súběd řeng a medengeli a ngkël
- më ke di kau lobă mlat l bëgal le ngi
- ma Júsĕg mad a mesăng më ked ë m regi melkbóír
- ë ked osejel l te dengérigér ar ngák

And finally there is the diving, oldúm (Wall.), in which the natives excel, as do all islanders in the South Seas. Keate, pg. 302, tells us that they often retrieve Tridacna clams from 6–7 fathoms of water, i.e. more than 10 m deep. It is worth noting that the white traders hired Palauans to fish for pearl oysters, and that the fishermen made their own diving goggles, fashioned after those used by the whites (Fig. 61). To do this, they cut window glass with scissors under water and grind it on stones. The goggles are also used in net fishing, when fish get stuck in the mesh.
Very different from this child’s play is line fishing, which is men’s work. For this one needs, in addition to the long
ker’r, morning and devour the bait (tied down hermit crab tails or the gûlad, water in the evening, because the young
beúmk, after the fragrant coconut shavings mentioned above in the section on bathing. These are thrown into the
(fig. 62), carved from mangrove wood, gél), made of coconut fiber is used, 2 – 3 strands are twisted together. A small piece of elbow-shaped wood, gorúmk;
ker’r, gûdŏg, is called, after the Polynesian term for mother-of-pearl lures. I cannot say whether the canoe is sailing quickly, this is not possible, because the only thing that can be used then for trolling hooks, is fastened to the end of a canoe that is sailing with a good breeze. Crab meat (kam, roking) serves as bait. When the canoe is sailing quickly, this is not possible, because the only thing that can be used then for trolling hooks are lures. I cannot say whether the deléu is different from the gûkûl. I heard that the gûkûl is used only when the canoe is at rest, for example, as a fishing line that is cast and left (Fig. 62). In this case, the line, with a float, is buried in the sand, so that only the bait is visible. The fish swallows the bait, then tires itself out, after which it can be grabbed (see fig. bai 67).

Kub. tells a similar tale of a small, straight piece of wood, which he calls rhudôb (more accurately dôleg), which serves as a hook on a 2 – 3 m long line, which is tied to a float (gorul’dog) (Fig. Kub. VIII, Plate XVI, Fig. 16 and 17). This automatic fishing line is left to drift – baited, of course – and is watched. I was told that one can practice this type of fishing only on a good sandy beach and with a sandy bottom. The fish that bite are merîd, mogûr, a tistûg, latiko, geul, etc.

Very different from this child’s play is line fishing, which is men’s work. For this one needs, in addition to the long ker’r line made out of coconut fiber or guramûl fibers, the fish hook geir'égûr (poss. geirégûl), and usually also a sinker, gorım; melîk means to fish with a sinker from a canoe in deep water, omedesalûk means to throw the
line from shallow water into deep, mangûl’ér means to throw the line from the canoe in shallow water, to catch geul’dog, karamûl, besagûmûl, etc. The hook is particularly noteworthy. I searched in vain in the earlier publications about Palau for a more detailed specification; I found an illustration of a single specimen in Ke, Plate 2, which is almost identical to the one pictured in Kub. VII, Plate XVII, Fig. 3. It is a horseshoe-shaped hook, whose tip is curved sharply inwards, and it has a barb on the inside and on the outside. Kub. depicts a second one “Al-val” (Fig. 4), but without the outer barb. They are made out of turtle shell and thus closely resemble the hooks of the Western Carolinians, such as those from Tobi, etc. They are joined by one that He. acquired in Goîkîl, which has “thorns” on the outside (Fig. 63 He. 33). Kub. goes on to say that the naua kersâul hook is baited with a piece of flying fish and fastened to the mënger line made from hibiscus, which the fisherman then holds in his hand. This is how one fishes for golden mackerel.

The situation is the same in this case as it is for the Delû hook mentioned above, which, when baited, is unsuit-
able as a trolling rod in a fast-moving canoe, mëngerûl (gulûl = Wall.: chetûdûl). Baiting with meat is superfluous at that point anyway, because at that speed the fish cannot smell or distinguish it. Besides, the greater the speed of the canoe and the clumsier the hook, the more force is exerted on the line, as I know from my own abundant experience, which makes holding it in the hand impossible for any length of time. Admittedly, Müller, in his book Yap, Vol. 1, pg. 73, says in the case of a similar but longer hook made of bone: “The line, which is about 50 m long, is held by hand out over the stern of the speeding canoe. A flying fish is tied as bait on the inside of the stem (not the tip of the hook.)” I doubt that this happens when the canoe is moving quickly, and I must assume that the Coryphaena, one of the nastiest predator fish, which will even jump into the air in pursuit of flying fish, will, in its enormous gluttony, also hit a slowly moving bait that it can smell. In my opinion, this unusual type of fishing is due to the fact that the Paluans were not very familiar with or experienced in the use of lures. High seas naviga-
tion was a very limited activity for them as well, in contrast to the Central Carolinians. In Yap, Müller points out that the “assembled fish hooks” on Yap, about which he has little to say, are of recent Polynesian origin. After all, they are also known as pîr there, which is the Polynesian term for mother-of-pearl lures.

Similar lure hooks from Palau are extremely rare in collections, and we did not find any more on location. A search for illustrations of them in the literature is futile. Fortunately, the Museum of Ethnology in Leipzig has five specimens from Palau (Mi. 2733 a, b, 2734 a, b, and 2735) (see Fig. 64). These are distinguished from the Polynesian hooks by two bars opposite one another on the inside. I am inclined to believe that it was principally this kind of hook that was used to catch the Dorado, geirûlû, the Albacore, tekî, and the Bonito, which is simply called garun “animal,” like the decoy pigeon. But this kind of deep sea fishing was certainly practiced rarely, usually only after the flying fish had been caught for shark fishing bait and could be used to catch the Coryphaena, unless they resorted to the lure. Catching flying fish for food, an activity that was so important in other island groups, was apparently nonexistent on Palau! Likewise the hunt for tuna fish, the bold catching of which pervades Samoan tradition; how little one hears of it on Palau!

Even the tying of lures played a very special role in other places, and Kubary’s word for the line used to catch geirûlû as mentioned above, mënger, seems to indicate this; the word also applies to the fishing method itself and means mën-gerûl, “to bind.” I.e. that as it may, on Palau the use of the round hook geirûlû was preferred. The sacred, shiny hook of a Tmënûldûl, with which he caught so many fish from the bridge in Galâp and even pulled out land (Story 14), surely also had this shape.

There are three other types of fishing with hand lines, used both by day and by night, that were also mentioned to me:

1. dûlû: strong line made from hibiscus fibers with a sinker, used in deep water; the geirûlû hook is baited
with octopus. Almost all species of fish will bite, but mostly tēmnàlì, kedèsùì, melangmíad. Recently, European
lines with lead sinkers and several iron hooks have been used (Kub. VIII, Plate XVII, Fig. 1).

2. bidî: either stronger line with no sinker, cast from the edge of the reef into the deep water. Catches all
fish, including sharks.

3. bidèê: even stronger line than 2. Cast from the canoe at the edge of the reef outside the breakers, without
a sinker. Big hook with fish bait, namely whole ngíaling, geringi l hang, etc. Catches sharks, large tēmnàlì, mänlì, etc.
KUB. bidìlé, and fishing itself is orwàthòdlì: the canoe is anchored in 10 fathoms of water.

The latter, the huge wrasses, are caught in May at Ulong on the west side. It is the sport of chiefs. The head is
a sinker. Big hook with fish bait, namely whole ngíaling, geringi l hang, etc. Catches sharks, large tēmnàlì, mänlì, etc. KUB. bidìlé, and fishing itself is orwàthòdlì: the canoe is anchored in 10 fathoms of water.

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A hook with a stone attached as a sinker, known as petkou, is used to lift the baskets (Fig. 67).

A series of yarn games, No. 75a-e, by Raymund, pg. 58–59, describes the weaving of a fish basket; for details refer to Kub. The fish traps are often baited. If a Pandanus fruit is caught in the net, this is placed in the fish trap to bring good luck.

The fish baskets are divided into two main types:

1. delebòngel, vertical front side with no projections, as if “cut off” (from melep, “to cut off”). Roof domed, like a cylinder cut in half. This type is represented in Fig. 69, and it includes: gis, goublálang, sop, kleol'l, tagéiól, bub l komúd, a iléngĕl.

2. gapsádĕl, rounded, asymmetrical, and with protrusions (ungelél, from uingĕl, tooth). This type is represented in Fig. 74: but l lūt, telegi ungelél, gotendél a bẹ́ap, bad, autangáol, bub l dég. Adjectives are: ritĕg low roofed ksékl, small, suited only for shallow water to catch small grouper (Serranus), surgeon fish (Acanthurus), Julis, etc. (Fig. 68), dăgál (Wall.; decháll) covered with stones, from delágĕl “stone cover” (Kub.: Dhaláy, used in 10–15 fathoms; a coconut on a rope as a float) blsépĕs tied to the land with lines (Kub.: Belsébes, swimming freely in the water); galbítĕl old baskets that can no longer carry stones, used in deep water berápĕr, round in the back.

The different types of fish baskets are:

a) delebòngel, opening gis (Fig. 69).

b) tagsiól (Kub.: Taheyól, Wall: techálldé) (3743 ii, fig. 70); sometimes over 3 m long or high. According to Kub., pg. 145, it cannot be lifted into the canoe, so it has a door on top through which the diver climbs and spears the fish caught inside. The opening is made from 2 cm thick peeled garítm branches and allows large animals to enter.

c) sop (see house); opening umád l pelú lagáp “fish trap from Yap;” the entire thing is like two grand pianos joined at their straight sides, in the shape of a hammer.

d) bab l kómud (Kub. Bab el kamuth) “basket of the kómud,” a species of rudder fish. According to Kub., pg. 145, it is flat on top and up to 3 m long and 2.5 m wide, and 2 m high. The bottom is made out of hongarungúiĕs flagellaria stalks, the sides are made out of tióóó mangrove roots tied together with coconut string, and the lid is made out of gabelúdĕs wood bound with gogáol. The basket is sunk with stones in 10 fathoms of water, and seaweed is hung inside. It is lifted with a hook (Fig. 67).

e) tángéiól cylindrical, with an opening on one side, like a cylindrical wooden bowl. This also includes a small hand-held fish trap made of bamboo sticks, which is apparently used to catch octopuses; it floats and is baited (Fig. 68).

f) a utangáol (Kub.: Anthangáol) square (3752 ii Fig. 71), with a “post” itáng at each corner and also on the sides. According to Kub., this is the origin of the generic term used for all similar baskets with posts.

g) telebér, opening siu l ngarek (3750 ii 3744 Fig. 72); “in all fish traps that have a domed top, the split bamboo canes lie lengthwise, but in the Telebér Bab, the opposite is true, with the weaving running lengthwise. In this type of fish trap, the súamírí may take on various shapes, although usually the mathálgis is used.”

h) gotengdél a bẹ́ap (3748 Fig. 73 a–b); uingf fish bones or spines, bẹ́ap rat. The opening is called udláv (illustration of the opening Kub. VIII, Plate 19), and the upper two main fish trap sticks are bent down to the floor in the back.
by hand during retrieval.

Fish traps are not simply set afloat and left to catch fish by themselves; instead, attempts are made to fill them with a long passageway.

One of the fish that is caught is laid next to the raft is tied together. After, one lays a roasted ulogóug coconut between the two sticks and says:

Gobilbërëu, kau ma Sagálagei Kereómêl
Gobilbërëu, you and Sagálagei and Kereómêl
tia kelíu me mongáng, e bo re golegúšat el ked e mo ra ge! this your food, to eat, go to the raft we to the fishing grounds.

One of the fish that is caught is laid next to the ulogóug nut with the words: tia kelíu “this your food!” After one or two months, when the fishing season is over, the three Galid are asked to leave again: ked e mérëkñ ngara gel mo ko mo ra set bínúun l peâteî me kom ngurøngi e de mérëk mo kikí kuláa, re kemíu e kom kik mo? we are finished on the fishing grounds and you go after this your house of the ocean floor, and you stay there and only (when I will) maybe one day turn to you, you then come!

I also participated in a type of fishing called gomelágêl on May 26, 1910 in Ngaruï. In this case, the fronds of the mountain palm démâléi were separated from the center spine in such a way that they were still connected by a thin strip; this was wound around a këbásí vine rope in corkscrew fashion. The two rül lines were fastened to the two wings of the net at outgoing mid-tide and extended towards land. The net – in this case, no fish baskets were used – was set up on stakes, so that it formed a circle; the two wings extended from the narrow neck (Fig. 80). As the tide goes out, the fish collect in the net pocket, but they must be secured fairly quickly. The gomelágêl net with rül lines can also be left to work by itself, as can an oáit, a ring of rül lines that are left standing until low tide; the fish are then speared or scooped out with derëu nets (Fig. 81). Fishing with tönd nets is similar (Kub. Plate XVIII Fig. 6), except that a square net pocket is set up on stakes. It is “made of strong hibiscus fiber and has a mesh that is barely 1 cm wide. It is flat, pocket-shaped, with triangular sides and a wide, square, elongated opening. The rül lines are then loaded onto the raft and driven out onto the water.

A different raft carries out the two fish baskets (below photo), a larger, square one, mostly called gabíngêl, and a smaller, rounded one by the name of semáel. They are laid out one behind the other on the reef, so that they are completely covered at mid-tide, and connected with a fish trap tube (Fig. 80). Starting at the opening of the larger basket, which is in front, a fish fence several paces long on either side (as wings) in constructed of sticks from the tebüglél mangrove. The two rül lines are then tied to these wings, extended, and closed to form a circle. Narrowing the circle and beating on the water with sticks, the natives drive the fish into the funnel, and from the funnel into the baskets. On May 29, 1910, I participated in such a catch in Keklú. I stood inside the rül circle, up to my stomach in water, and was surrounded by furious needelfish, which usually are greatly feared, because they can impale people. The plentiful catch also included mullets and several lỳung.
Fishermen from Ngarsul fixing net fishing lines. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.
The nets are woven, derúl (poss. bai 72 iia): usually coral rocks (see fish baskets). Large net catch in a sack, derá moves into a small bai, the members usually decide to set out for beat the fish dead on his knee and string it on a line. Fishing proceeds as follows: When a new club is formed and catch (Fig. 81). If someone scoops with one, another can use one to catch the fish in the air. Alternatively, one can nets are used in pairs: a man holds one in his right hand and one in his left, and several fishermen encircle the having been soaked in saltwater for some time, form the frame. other trees used for this are named below. The garamál hibiscus, instructions for making this net came from heaven, as Story 10 relates. Young branches of the lines is generally called mungesökês. Rul lines may also be used by themselves, to surround fish. This method is most successful with the unicorn fish (Naseus) derük lines is generally called mungesökês a gum, or sebú. The fish that are driven together this way are either speared or poisoned in the holes in the reef (Kub. VIII, pg. 135).

Net Fishing Without rul Lines

The völd nets are divided into those with frames and those without frames. The former are either hand nets with or without handles, or nets on lines. The latter are set up on tebęgël stakes, or held at the water’s surface with “floats” (see below).

The frame is usually made of the wood of the gobeliölês, hunguruwu, gurime, etc., accompanied by bamboo sticks. The nets are woven, melädêl, using the netting stick gôn. The materials used are the fibers of the garumul hibiscus, of the hul and gōsol bu gins, of the gar seaweed, of kemokem, and coconut hulk fiber.

The floats, goleidog, are usually made of lightweight garumul wood. Sinkers, gorimêk or hérék (bai 52, IIı), are usually coral rocks (see fish baskets). Large net catch in a sack, put. The most important hand net is called deruviu (poss. deruviu) (bai 72 IIı):

Instructions for making this net came from heaven, as Story 10 relates. Young branches of the garumul hibiscus, having been soaked in saltwater for some time, form the frame. Other trees used for this are named below. The nets are used in pairs: a man holds one in his right hand and one in his left, and several fishermen encircle the catch (Fig. 81). If someone scoops with one, another can use one to catch the fish in the air. Alternatively, one can beat the fish dead on his knee and string it on a line. Fishing proceeds as follows: When a new club is formed and moves into a small bai, the members usually decide to set out for deruviu fishing. They form a group for this, which is known as błęgêdôkl. They meet and discuss the width of the netting stick to be used by all. Then garumul fibers are produced for weaving the nets. When they are ready, the frame is prepared. At that point, the nets are attached to the frame; this process is known as melâgês. When all of the preparations are complete, they select the middle of an afternoon at low tide. The fishermen paint themselves with turmeric yellow and put on new usakër; then, one after another, they go down to their side’s lagoon, where one man has a roasted avogoug nut ready. They form a circle around him, and he smashes the nut after saying a chant. Then he breaks off bits and tosses them into the air. The fishermen catch them with their nets and then run out on the reef. When the leader calls ho re mel “go into the center,” they form a circle and put the nets into the water, one next to the other.

When a fish appears, they watch to see whose net it goes into; this fish is not welcome, because it is seen as a bad omen. Once the first fish has been caught, they all wash and put on ornaments. The fish is hung on a bamboo pole, and two fishermen carry it to the village god to report that this is the first fish caught, and to request that he eat it. Then everyone goes home. The actual fishing begins the following day. They generally fish at night, at low tide. They form a circle around a rock or a pile of rocks, and then someone in the middle turns them over, causing the fish to flee and rush into the nets. This turning over of stones is called omkáis, and this type of fishing is accordingly called pkāis. Usually, a man prepares the nets the evening before and hangs them on the back side of the house.

When they are needed, he takes them down and says:

Gobildêl ak shef ak melâgês u ak melâgês ak melâgês ak kol dervi Gobildêl I beg to you I bring this net I mo omkáis e te kma slonkéréngêr armgelye to turn over rocks they are very hungry the children ma derê ré Gobagadâne tullurukâi kmo; and their mother Gobagad they send me saying: bunabedîi Gobildêl é bo ra geî notify Gobîdêp (I) go to the fishing grounds!

Then he takes the nets, goes to the channel, sits down on the dock and says:

Jejék l kemadidêl ke subedî a Sagalugêl
Jejék l kemadidêl ke subedî a Sagalugêl
tia Ngetepela l mo omkáis e tia li geî this Ngetepela will fish on these fishing grounds, me ke medengelê me ke mekî a hangg that you know it and you prevent bites ma bek l tamâl.

Then the fishing begins. Then they call the fishing begins.
The frame of the net consists of the handle, *segúdĕl*, a forked branch of the *gabélidûs* or *bungawaru* tree, bent into the shape of a horseshoe (Fig. 82). Two bamboo sticks are tied to this handle, the upper, slanted one, is called *rtkókl*, the lower straight one, which is tied to the ends of the horseshoe, is called *segó*/*segó!*. At the point where the two intersect, a switch out of *garet* wood is attached and bent upwards into a semi-circle; it is called *botk*.

Strings called *unogûp* run from the base of the *botk* and from its tip, respectively, parallel to the *segó!*, and back to the outer *segúdĕl*. The net, which has a pouch-like depression in the curve of the *botk*, hangs in this. Since there is only one string on top, this is lashed to the upper part of the *rtkókl* by means of a knot, which is called *geidádĕb*.

Wall uses the following terms: *chologukl*, wooden base at the edge of fishing nets, *chonggalidûs*, fine-meshed fishing net.

**Round Nets** (see Bai 35).

With a non-movable handle: *mungûdlûs* (Kub. Plate XVIII, Fig. 2), used for hauling out flying fish. Made of hibiscus fiber, barely twisted, fine as a spider’s web. Mesh 3 cm.

With a non-movable handle: *thêrâkl* (Kub. n. *ykarâkl*), used as a scoop at the opening of a stone fish trap, *gongiól*, like the round “pile of leaves of the Megapode (incubator bird);” a larger kind for catching mullets, see below (Kub. Plate XVIII, Fig. 7).

With a short handle: *gosëk* (Kub. *Öyn*; Plate XVIII, Fig. 3 and 3’), used to pull out large fish traps, etc. The hand holds the handle and the net at the same time; when let go, the net slides down the hoop and closes.

Without a handle: *tagêve* (Kub. Plate XVIII, Fig. 9), made from coconut fiber (He. 1111, 1110, 1112, 1058). *gëlep* or *gölpêdûg* (Kub. XVIII, Fig. 8), auxiliary net for catching mullets, made of *gosëk* fibers (Kub. VIII, pg. 138); opening at the bottom for emptying the fish out into the canoe. *Kosel* or *kalâl*, small, used by children and elderly to catch crabs. Without a handle, hanging loose in the water on a line: *kval ra ngoáol* (Kub. Plate XVIII, Fig. 9), made from coconut fiber (He. 1111, 1110, 1112, 1058), *gëlep* or *gölpêdûg* fibers (Kub. VIII, pg. 138). The net is made from *gabélidûs* wood and is suspended on three *segó* strings. From the knot, a line with sinker stones hangs down to below the net. Usually, there is a fish (*kudak*, also *rekíng* strings, etc. Kz.) above the net, *nên* or *sâlêl*, “the house of bait.” Only the *nang* a *ngoáol*, a species of triggerfish that hangs out under driftwood, will bite, but some other smaller fish may also bite.

Without a handle, resting on the bottom attached to a line: *kaal* a *gâmûng* “shell of the Carcinus” (Kub. Plate XVIII, Fig. 1), the net has a 5–6 cm mesh and is made out of hibiscus fibers. “In addition to the three strings that attach it to the hoop, there are two others that run up and intersect the bait string. This net is used to catch crabs (Lupa). It is sunk to the bottom of the shallow water of the mangrove forests, its hoop weight is provided with two stones. The hoisting line is fastened to the end of a reed that is stuck into the shore bottom at a bit of an angle. As soon as the crab touches the bait, with consists of chopped coconut, the reed begins to shake, and the net is quickly pulled up by the line.”

**Triangular Nets.**

With a short handle: *aikuru* (Kub.: *Aygorus*, Plate XVII, Fig. 11), Bai 72 IP, net made out of hibiscus fiber, 3 cm mesh. A fork at the handle, elevated by a vertical curved piece, from the top of which two bamboo sticks extend to the tips of the fork. The resulting space is similar to the heel space in a shoe – but without a bottom – because the net is attached only at the upper and lower prongs of the fork; the sack hangs between them. This net is used at night, at wet depth (see above), i.e. knee-high water, where *mëis*, *kblebâl*, *kædía*, *gâlêdêg*, etc. are found. It is pushed forward along the ground, and pulled up by the curved piece. This type of “sked net” from Yap is depicted in W. Müller Yap Vol. 1, Plate 25, Fig. 6.

With a long handle: *şigëvëg*, for catching flying foxes, see above. Instead of using the triangular nets to catch mullets as on Samoa, on Palau one uses the rounded *gonigol* mentioned above.

**Nets Without Frames.**

*bervâkl* (Kub.: pg. 136 and Plate XVIII, Fig. 4) was already mentioned in Vol. 2, it is derived from the hand nets. The small, barely 2 m long net has wooden sticks on the narrow sides, which are only 40 cm high. “One of these has a small hole, in which a short stick is inserted and fastened, to serve the fisherman as a handle. He holds one end of the net in his left hand, using a short string that is tied to the handle, and spreads the net around a rock using the stick held between the thumb and index finger of the same hand. He then lifts the rock with his right hand and catches the fleeing fish with the net.” Floats and sinkers: *gosëk* fibers, 15 mm mesh.

derekk (Kub.: *Dhëvëk*, pg. 136), similar to the previous one with sticks on the sides, but made from bamboo, and without floats or sinkers. The net is made from *garamal* fibers, is up to 1 m tall and at most 10 m long. The size of the mesh varies depending on the fish to be caught, but is usually about 2 cm. If the net is to be used to catch *gal* *lebæsi*; coral fish, it is narrower, but for graylings, it is wider, than 3 cm. This type of fishing is called *dibël* (Kub.: *eber*), in contrast to *metîlêp* fishing, which is still to be discussed. “To use it, a fisherman takes one end of the net in each hand, so that three men spread two nets. In the other, free hand, each of the two wing men hold the end of a *Rôl*, whose other ends are handled, in turn, by two other fishermen. The fish surrounded by the *Rôl* crowd up against the *Dhëvëk* net, which is held at an angle. As soon as a few fish are caught, the net is lifted, and the catch goes into the *Tähür* nets, which are always held ready (see farther down, Plate XVIII, Fig. 9).”

The *metîlêp*, fishing for grayling, *këlët*, is a highlight in the lives of the fishermen. It requires a particularly long net, which is also called *metîlêp*; according to Kub. VIII, pg. 137, 80 m long and 2.5 m deep, coconut string that is 2–3 mm thick, 3.5 cm wide mesh (see also the *sap* that follows). Circular placement around a school of fish and gradual narrowing. As the mollusks can jump over the net, catching on the outer edge is done net with triangular nets as on Samoa, but with round hand nets *gongiól*. These have a diameter of 1–2 m and are made from the sheaths at the base of coconut leaves, *tagêve*.* The smaller *gëlep*, whose hoop is fastened to the upper edge of the *metîlêp* net, serves as an aid. “The latter is lowered somewhat, and the fish rush out and into the net mentioned above, whose pointed end is open and can be pulled open and closed with a string. This end is now guided into the vessel, and the fish are emptied out of the *Këlepg* into the canoe.” In Story 60, this kind of fishing and an incident that happened during it are vividly described.

Another one is the *sàp* net (Kub. pg. 135); it is woven out of *gar* seaweed, 2–3 cm mesh. Fig. Bai 72 IP, 3 m high and up to 60 m long, float on top and sinker on bottom. This is produced mainly in *Gol* and *Ngir*. The price is one *kluk*. The term is for setting up the net at low tide on the edge of the reef flat. Two men pick up the end pieces and throw stones into the shallow water (see Story 88).
a îlûái or mangîdáp, also known as a îngerú in Ngarbagéd, is very precious, because for the mĕkĕbud sardines the mesh may not exceed 1.5 cm, with the length of the sides being 8 m. The weaving material is gar seaweed, as for the preceding net. Because of this, the price, according to Kub. pg. 138, is one galebûgĕp and can only be afforded by high-ranking rubák. This provides them with a steady source of income, “because the chief divides the catch into baskets and sends them to the different families, whose heads must pay for them.”

For this kind of fishing, two or four frames, each constructed out of three poles, are set up around the fishing ground. One man stands on each frame, holding a corner of the net on a short line, while the net itself rests on the bottom. Next, the schools of sardines are driven over the net using long canes, then the net is quickly lifted. Nothing is known about deep sea fishing; on Yap the net is hoisted up on bamboo poles while the fishermen stand on the canoe and use poles to keep themselves at a distance (W. Müller Yap, Vol. 1, pg. 89). On Yap, this method of fishing and fishing for flying fish are much more developed and linked to more social conventions.

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Encirclement in shallow water, where seagulls dive; two canoes drive the fish (merīk: sweep, gorīk: broom), two canoes handle the net.

direkórk-(Kub.: Dirgorok, Wall.: diregórog) (illustration see a.B. Meyer 1881, Plate 5, Row 3) very large nets made of coconut string that is 3 mm thick or kemókom vines (Story 39), “in whose preparation the whole community participates.” For mesekûk and Dugong. The net consists of two halves tedobog (Kub.: Tedobok), each over 40 m long and 2 1/2 m deep. “Each half in turn consists of several parts (Bitaṅ), their number depends on the number of chiefs of the community participating. The individual Bitaṅs are tied together with strings, and each half is stowed on a separate vessel.”

Not many of these nets exist: one in a ira, one in Ngarbagéd, one in Ngarmid, and one in Goréŏr, where it is stored in the Săgămus canoe house. It is used to catch the mesekûk, surgeon fish and the parrot fish kemûkl, which often enter the net in schools of up to 500. On June 26, 1910, I participated in this type of fishing in Malágal Harbor. The Ngaraderúdem club went there with six canoes. Two of them were carrying the two halves of the net; two others were used to extend the nets at the edge of the deep water. Then two canoes drove the schools from the shallow water into the nets. The catch on that day was only about a dozen mesekûk. Kub. also mentions that groups of ruł are closed off and speared in this way, but I did not hear anything about it myself.

mèrâmès-(Kub.: Maramas, net 30–40m long, 4–5 m deep, 25–30 cm mesh, 3 mm strong coconut yarn) for catching turtles a uél (see bai 145 III b). These are highly prized by the chiefs. The chest muscles, bukleml, and the hind legs, omeduátl, which they like to eat with coconut milk, are distributed. On May 10, 1910, I was present when such a meal was prepared in the Meril blai: The animal, which was still alive, first had to be killed. It was pressied up vertically against the stone wall of the golbed by two men; one of them held back the right front flipper, while the other one pulled back the head, so that the throat was exposed; a third man then delivered seven powerful blows to the underside of the neck with a stick. Hot water was poured over the dead animal, and the turtle shell was detached with a knife. Four posts were then driven into the ground, and the turtle was laid upon them on its back. A fifth post was used as a support under the head, so that it would not hang down. In this manner, it is possible to cook the animal in its shell, with a windbreak to shield the fire. When the roast is done, the abdominal plate is removed and laid out on a mat in the blai for the family to admire (see below).
The largest fishing net in Sagamus. Left to right: Keuki and Ngirturong with boys Talames, Ngirturong, and Garabedil.
c) Culinary Skills.

The acquisition of fire: Story 17 tells how Tipêtip akmîlêg saw two trees rubbing together in the wind on the Island of Ngaregur; smoke rose from them, and sparks flew. She laid her taro into the embers, and when she took it out, it was roasted and tasted delicious. She soon tried the same thing with dry twigs of gauînâ and gosîlêkî, by laying one piece down and putting the other one on top of it and twirling it until the sawdust ignited, then blowing and adding kindling until flames appeared. This widespread method of making fire by twirling, rubbing fire (nggîngkî), is women’s work, the men usually prefer friction; on Palau, however, even they eventually resort to twirling (see story 156).

From a cultural history perspective, friction of trees being the origin of fire has great importance. However, I must add that on Palau there is also a pale version of the legend of the fire bird; Story 19 relates that the rail grtâkî (poss. gubîvel) received a blow to the head with a piece of wood from the Galid Gobagât, who hit it in anger, leaving a red mark. The Galid requested a spark from this fire so that he could start one himself, and then he killed the bird. This interpretation is just a legend, however.

Gathering.

Gathering firewood omgûr a tidînggî is women’s work; especially when celebrations are approaching, many go into the jungle and come back with large bundles on their heads. Dropping it with a lot of noise, which is considered a bad habit in many places, is scorned here, as well; at a minimum, one must say the following to apologize:

moedî a tidînggî, otherwise ill fortune will follow, as shown in story 30.

Utensils: Every well-to-do blai has a cook house vûm (poss. táod, otherwise ill fortune will follow, as shown in story 30).

There is one utensil necessary for taro cooking: the taro skewer simîs (Fig. 83), which can be up to 128 cm long and is used to test done-ness and to take out the taro. It is a stick that is sharpened to a gradually tapered point, which is well-suited as a murder weapon (see Story 169). Otherwise, there is a tool for impaling things, called súm (fig. 82), which can be up to 128 cm long and is used primarily for scraping raw taro. Boiled taro is mashed using the pestle gosîlê (see Story 98). Both pestles usually have a cylindrical, bell-like shape or one that is tapered at the top (Fig. 88, see also the section on pottery).

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The Cooking

According to observations by Elisabeth Krämer.

Food is often seasoned with juice squeezed from peeled wild lemons, or with pepper water, which is made by steeping Capsicum beans in coconut juice in the sun, then storing the water without the peels in a bottle.

Cooking meat, fish, etc. is called melongólá. From time to time, one can make it into a meat stew or a galát. When fresh fish are added, it is called biosál. Here I must add the very strange fact that not only meat, but especially fish, is kept in edible condition for many weeks by boiling it in a pot over an open flame (see above). After the animal has been cut up, some women arrange the pieces into a meat-cooking pot called melongólá (poss. melongólá™) or melongólá™, so that they retain their shape.

We can confirm, from having tasted numerous samples, that the ones that have been in the kettle for four weeks taste at least as good as those that are freshly cooked. One prerequisite, however, is that they are left in the same stock, into which fresh fish are added. Occasionally, as necessary, this stock must be thinned with water; once the fish are gone, the liquid is simmered in the kettle until it is reduced, resulting in another unusual product: fish extract uásíg (poss. uásíg™). This fishwater is given to the host of the celebration, who thickens it slowly in smaller earthenware cooking pots, a process that usually takes three days. If the extract is too salty, it is diluted with freshwater, then boiled down once more. The result is a dark brown extract that looks and tastes just like Liebig fish extract. It is stored in a tightly closed pot. The extract is used to create stock that is served with taro (especially mashed tara kless) in times when fish are scarce. Often, two spoonsfuls of uásíg are added to a plateful of expressed coconut milk (see there) and boiled.

We can attest to the excellence of that区域性的 education for the fish extract; a small bottle filled with it always stood on our table as seasoning for soup; we recommend it as a great addition to our food trade; in times when there is an excess of fish, for example during herring catches, it would seem particularly appropriate to use them to produce fish extract. In Palau, meat does not constitute the main dish, but is rather considered a side dish gôsót (poss. gôsót™) to taro, which forms the basis for all meals, as the potato does for us.

Fish is smoked galát over the hearth fire in the house, on a grate gôrângló made of bamboo canes or mangrove roots, which is stuck into the four bamboo hinges from the tie beam. The fish are wrapped in coconut fronds, as noted above. According to one recipe: klongói™ e ngík e gôrângló wrap up a pot of fish, et solále mo ra egan e melongólá™ e gôrângló™ put it on the fire or on the grate. According to Kuh., Vol. VIII, pg. 167, when large quantities of fish are caught, some of them are cooked into a fish stew kaklákó, the bones are removed, the meat is wrapped in Areca leaf blades, and the bundles are smoked. In former times, fish were also cooked with the red, meat, the fascia muscles, which extend to the hind legs and can be removed like rope yarn. Any liquid that flows break off the four limbs, after they have removed the abdominal plate. Very carefully they remove the thin belly skin wall, so that they retain their shape.

For details about the killing and cooking of turtles, see above. After the animal has been cooked, some women break off the four limbs, after they have removed the abdominal plate. Very carefully they remove the thin belly meat, the fascia muscles, which extend to the hind legs and can be removed like rope yarn. Any liquid that flows out is collected with shells and spoons and slurped up. Now the bluish, thick peritoneum is visible, which care fully opened. The blood that flows out is caught in a bowl. If eggs are found, they are carefully removed from the webbing; the membranes are eaten. The young egg yolks are placed into the bowl of blood. The intestines go into a basket, are rinsed clean in saltwater and then are cooked in expressed coconut milk. The soup of the skin on the shell wall (galát) is torn off and added to the bowl of blood. Then both the blood and the skin are cooked in the bowl. This stock becomes very rich because of the pieces of fat on the hind limbs that are left behind when they are removed; it is considered a delicacy.
del’lul, it means “something roasted,” namely taro, but it is generally understood to mean a favorite dish, for example the mangael’lul of the mourning women with meat (not fish).

ak dŏrú r a del’lul mong mo márĕk
I roast the thing to be roasted until it is done;
e ak ë kordí ë rusŏgí
I scrape it off, mash it,
ë rometí a iláot e mo re ngí a dísĕg
and knead it with syrup and add coconut milk;
ak omódog l mo ra buk
I divide it with my fingers in a bowl;
ak merúr a delemédem a geimól buk
I make flat cakes in a bowl,
e a geimó ra buk a bleób
and in the other bowl patties,
ak mangíál a dísĕg ra kal.
I squeeze out coconut milk for the dish.

derumal, Kub. pg. 171: “When the tuber is broken open and cooked into a mash with coconut syrup, resulting in the dish called Aulogéro, which is served at funerals. When this dish has cooled down somewhat, it hardens, and if some fresh oil is poured on it, it becomes Tolomár, which is also prepared for funerals.”

auléld, best known as long-lasting food, provisions gokain for ocean voyages, made out of grated coconut and syrup. Small patties are made, ranging from the size of a thumb to the size of a chicken egg, and each one is individually wrapped in a piece of banana leaf and tied. These are also eaten at celebrations, see Vol. 2. In 1918, 8 years after our departure from Palau, we ate the last pieces, which had been kept in a tin can. They had taken on a mildly rancid odor, but on the whole were still good and edible. When they are fresh, they taste like coconut macaroons.

bóbau, small balls of coconut milk made with banana leaves. These are an important dish of celebration, a bun or cake for the new house, etc. (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 77). Boiled taro is peeled, mashed with a large pounding board with a pestle. It is cut up into small pieces with a gasívŏg shell; these are rolled in coconut oil, then laid in an orderly row on a plate. The oil must be freshly prepared (see above).

Grated papaya with coconut
I put the papaya on the fire, cut it crosswise, cut it lengthwise, grate it, throw away the peel, which is singed, (with coconut milk over it). Roasted papaya squares with coconut
I put the papaya on the fire, peel it, cut it crosswise, cut it lengthwise,
Papaya dish
I go (and) lay (it) in the pot, I cook it, (I) add it to syrup and coconut, I cut it into little pieces.
Rich papaya dish
These papaya fruit we peel them, cut them in half, take them and lay them in the sun,
Old taro boiled up again

moldy taro peel, cut up, pound it. Then take a pear shell, cut off a piece, dip our hand in the syrup, knead, mixing, making taro balls, wrapping in sis leaf, tie it up, lay the taro into the water, put on a cover of leaves, lay the billiam on that cover of leaves, then cover this billiam with the cover of leaves, boil it until the taro is done, then the billiam is ready.

Rice water with coconut milk.

denok. Sweet vegetable made from the leaves of taro shoots, which are first boiled separately in water for a long time. The water is then poured off, coconut milk and syrup are added; then, according to Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 171: “The younger ones are boiled and, with syrup poured over them, eaten as vegetables."

döngès. Fruit cooked in a tilao. After cooking, leave for three days in water, until soft. This dish is very popular (E.K.).

törg. Leaves of convovulus are prepared with syrup and coconut milk. The leaves of the small convovulus are piled up in bundles and wrapped with string. Several bundles of this sort are laid into a pot, water is poured on them, and they are cooked for quite a while, until they are soft. Then all of the water is poured off, and fresh, cold water is poured on, the strings are untied. The leaves are then taken out, a handful at a time, and kneaded into little balls. After these are rolled thoroughly in thick syrup, they are laid side-by-side on a plate. Finally, more syrup is poured over everything, and expressed milk is added too. Tastes very rich and good.

Tonggōt. The crumbly residue is placed into a bowl, and coconut milk, squeezed out with a good deal of water, is poured over it. It is kneaded by hand for a long time, until it takes on a jet-black coloration, followed by water and some more syrup, if desired, until a thin mash is created. This is put into a cooking pot and cooked over a low file, stirred constantly with a spatula or spoon, until the mash is done and quite firm.

aklōb i tonggōt. The preparation of tapioca:

a) delūl medú gamádăg

mash is done and quite firm. This is put into a cooking pot and cooked over a low file, stirred constantly, until the pot does not burn.

Grated ripe breadfruit

breadfruit cook it in the peel, until it is done; when it is done, we put it in the pot, peel the skin off, cut it up. When done, in the bowl, grate coconut, squeeze it out over the breadfruit.

Patties of breadfruit with coconut milk

rasūk medú rūsk

roast breadfruit that is unripe.

when done, take it, peel it, throw the peel away, cut it up, pound it, roll it into little balls in a bowl, squeeze (coconut) on it.
c) I marĕk l medū

d) saba̱u l medū

Dried breadfruit

medū gamădăg melīld

peel unripe breadfruit,

ma dăoob ma dăoob

then cut it up, then cook it, in water,

mūt re ngī, merekōng

and saltwater and coconut milk,

miūs re ngī, merekōng

stir it until done;

ma muīlăg

and mushy.

kardók

Fried breadfruit

ĕ melīld ra medū gamădăg

peel unripe breadfruit

kldārm a tkúl melebedóbok re ngī

cut into slices with notched edges

ĕ mangere dógod

then fry in fat.

telp. Breadfruit preserve. Cut up breadfruit, lay the pieces for 2-3 days in saltwater, then let it ferment for 7 days, then bury it in the ground (compare Truk).

3. Trade and Industry.

The preceding sections have already presented some examples of trade and industry, and the ones to follow shall present more of the same. It is a simple fact that Palauans will trade anything to obtain money. This section cannot discuss everything; it will have to be limited to a discussion of household items and small wares, things that for the most part are produced for trade.

a) Manufacture of Containers out of Wood, Turtle shell, Clay

Tools for Woodworking

The most important tool for hewing wood is the adze gēbākl (poss. gēbeklē). It is so useful for all kinds of work, such as splitting betel nuts, cutting off branches, splitting string, etc., that the natives always carry it with them, on their shoulder (see Vol. 2) or in a basket. It is the equivalent of our pocketknife. Since the earliest times, the word gēbākl has been used for “iron,” as can be seen from the records of Keypattle by Mc Cluer, 1793. The first explorers realized that the natives already knew about iron (see Vol. 1); Wilson already found it in use there. It was probably introduced by shipwrecked Malaysians or Chinese traders; so the name must also be old and was probably applied to the adze, which these days always has a plane-like iron blade. Blades ground out of Tridacna kim (poss. ksemél), all adzes carry that name. Otherwise, “hatchet” is called gotīl (poss. gotilegél), a term that Kub. uses for a small hatchet that is traded (Boys-ax) in Vol. VIII (Kolūlēk), while the larger axe with an iron blade is called Wasāy; but the twibl used for work on a larger scale is called Karoākl. Finally, Kub. mentions Telebér, “a small hatchet that is especially popular for chopping off heads.” This hatchet is mentioned in Story 200. According to Kub., in the old days, using the gēbākl as a weapon was a punishable offense.

There are mainly two types of blades. There are the wide type, of which Keate depicted a specimen in Plate 3, Fig. 2. It’s cutting edge is wide at the top and usually triangular, which is true somewhat of the one from Hs. 1105 in Ngarmíd (see Fig. 92) and the specimen I acquired (K 977).

Fig. 90. The adze gēbākl.

Fig. 91. Axe used for work.

Fig. 92. Wide Tridacna blade.

Fig. 93. Sharp Tridacna blade.

Fig. 94. Axe with rotating shaft.

Fig. 95. Axe.
Then there are the triangular, pointed ones (Fig. 93), which often resemble chisels and are used to hollow things out. As they can be used for this activity in any position, they are often placed on adjustable transverse shafts (Fig. 95). According to Kub., Vol. VIII, pgs. 201 and 204, they are called Kusiinii’axl axes. Keate, in Plate 2, Fig. 3, depicts an accurate shape; in this case, the transverse shaft rests in a groove in the upper end of the handle and is bound in place; in Leipzig there is a specimen with the transverse shaft embedded in the handle, which is thick and club-shaped (Fig. 94), (Mi 1659 Palau Godfrey). Another such embedded “hatchet” is also there (Fig. 95) (Mt 1661); both are reminiscent of Indo-Melanesian models. The bindings on the two other axes there, which have a fixed transverse shaft, are neatly done, reminiscent of those in Yap (see Fig. 91). These kinds of axes did not turn up during our stay. For details about the bīq rivestl stone, see the section on household goods of the Bái (Section V). Other tools used in addition to the ruler goral (Kub. rīel or karabāy, Wall.: gerrabat poss. goresbīl) (see Fig. 96 and Kub., Vol. VIII, Plate 29) are the paintbrush, ashes (see Story 13 and Section Xa), the rope ungamk and the soot pot gomogogosbīl (see the section on canoe making).

The drill is called bīip (poss. buipsīl) (to drill onepis or mangītīg). A larger type of drill is called gongītīg (Kub. Hōnyūk “small auger”). The pump drill is bīip a tumādīp (Ham. 37, Hē. 7097), kai in its cord, the crow is galagōlok, and the transverse bar is aterovīl, the flywheel is gongypal re ngī (Story 164). Fig. 97 shows two different types of transverse bar.

The file kosius (poss. koesbīl), usually ray skin (Ham. 38) or bamboo. P. Raymund, pg. 42, also mentions a sponge rivāt.

Knife golōs (usually sebīsīt shell, etc.).

Chisel gotōit (poss. gotōitl), which also means “cockspar” (Kub.: Kōtīat, Wall.: chọtīat).

Shovel gongisp (poss. gongispōl).

Saw golosbīl (Wall.), Kub.: galgōlkōl; to saw mongōl.

Wedge dīnāl.

The most important types of wood used are the following (see the botanical index, Section VIIIa):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mektī</td>
<td>breadfruit tree, for houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prūgs</td>
<td>Calophyllum inophyllum, used for beams for the framework of houses, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dort</td>
<td>Afielia bijupa, hard timber, used for wooden frames, pounding boards, water piles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukāl’l</td>
<td>Serianthes grandiflora, of arm’s length, low-standing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngis</td>
<td>ironwood, a Myrtaceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēlāl a garm</td>
<td>Campnosperma brevipetiolata, for building houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīlg, gotōgōl</td>
<td>Terminalia catappa, for building houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gīramal</td>
<td>Hibiscus tiliaceus, light wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goom</td>
<td>Premna sp., for Galil huts (see Story 83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riu</td>
<td>Dolichandrone spathacea K. Sch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebōtēl</td>
<td>Jambosia (Eugenia), used for wooden frames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīngēs</td>
<td>Bruguiera gymnorrhiza Lam., for wooden frames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurūr</td>
<td>Sonneratia caseolaris, for wooden frames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mekkēkād</td>
<td>Lumnitzera mangrove, good wood for construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from puqajel and tebēgēl</td>
<td>Ricophora mucronata and conjugata L., primarily the roots rādōl are used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ger‘regolī</td>
<td>Mussaenda frondosa, rarely thick enough for use (see Story 49)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Woodwork consists primarily of bowls and plates, commonly called gōrsogēl. A distinction is made between round and oval containers with lids goromōgēl kar, bowls with flat handles deh, round plates madāl a gadēng, with feet couēg, elongated plates with flat handles gongīl, of arm’s length gomulōl, low-standing flat tōlōl, high-standing a ilēngēl. There are few peoples on earth who could display items whose beauty matches that of the Palauans’ work in this category. It is worth noting that all of the bowls and plates, assuming their weight allows it, are provided with loops for hanging; more about these in the section on blai. First, the general outer shape is created with the adze, then the block of wood is laid in water to soften up for hollowing out (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 201). To give the madāl a gadēng bowls their circular shape, a type of compass is used, a measuring device galūk (from melōk “to measure”) made of bamboo, which is fastened to a pin in the center (Fig. 98 He. 893 galolūx). When the container of rough wood is finished, it is polished with ray skin or with the rough surface of the līlī reed, then painted red.
Painting umuok containers is unique to Palau and is extended to all containers except the huge fish bowls and the containers for expressing juice. Red volcanic dirt gorig and yellow gedú are used, in addition to soot and chalk, with which canoes and Bai are also painted. Although only watercolor is used in the case of the Bai, all items that come into contact with water are brushed with oil after they are painted. This oil is obtained from the fruits of the Parinarium garítm tree. It is produced as follows: the orange-sized fruits are peeled, then the kernel is grated (mangósus), boiled (mélíóng), and stirred (omult) into a thick mash (mëus). It is wrapped (omáil) in a coconut leaf sheath (tage), laid on a wind beam gomosoókl, and squeezed (omăs) with a pole on which 1-3 men sit and that is anchored to a tree root (Fig. 99). The “oil of the nut” ekél a garítm drips into a rectangular container that has been placed underneath, which is made of areca leaf monggong or kea and is therefore called derílkea (Fig. 59).

This ingenious press is often replaced by a simple, three-legged stool, whose one leg is driven into the earth, so that the pole that is wedged in at an angle, and to which the beam is lashed, catches itself on the fastened leg (Fig. 100). Parinarium oil is only good when it is old and resinous; for that reason, it is stored for a long time under water in the taro patch.

Varnishing red-painted containers with oil is generally done by hand. The surface is then polished with lid leaves. Often, the container is painted a second time with red earth and varnished again with oil. Finally, expressed coconut milk and turmeric root are rubbed on, according to Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 202. Before paint is applied, however, there is often a fairly extensive process of inlaying of shell pieces arsidág into the wood, using cement deleúdŏg, which is made by burning chalk and red earth and mixing it with hot Parinarium oil. This is especially beautifully done on containers (Plate 7) and war canoes (see the section on canoe building).

The pieces of shell used for this (Tridacna-kim, Conus-gonotēl, mother-of-pearl gazívōg, Nautilus-kedārm and others) are usually white or at least light and glossy, and they are ground and filed to the right size. In recent times, shards of porcelain have also been used. The decorations inlaid are human figures, birds, fish (especially on the fish bowls), Tridacna clams, either single or double and opened (klívuk), starfish, worms, triangles (Pandanus thorns), seagrass blossoms, etc.

The first specimen to become well-known and achieve a certain amount of fame was the bowl shaped like a bird that Wilson brought to London, where it still resides in the British Museum (Fig. in Keate, Plate 1). It is completely covered with shell pieces shaped like birds, lines, and triangles. Its size is specified as 3 feet long, 1 foot 9 inches tall, so it is quite impressive. There is a similar wooden container in Dresden (Fig. 101). It is 56cm long and about 20cm high. The long beak is an indication that it is meant to represent a curlew, which, being the bringer of money (see Story 9), is the ideal of the Palauans. There is a similar one in Bremen, too, which is portrayed in L. Pfeiffer’s Stone Age Shell Technique, Jena 1914, pg. 100. No birds are depicted on this bird-shaped bowl, but there are some to be found on a money box in London that consists of a coconut shell and is 10cm tall. In 1913, William Gibbon sent me one like it as a gift, evidence of how some old pieces can escape the collection fever of numerous researchers; it is now in Stuttgart.

As I mentioned, these money boxes are made from coconut shells and are thus a natural product and not painted; the white inlay looks particularly impressive on them. The small conical lid in Fig. 4 consists of 3 Conus bottoms that are impaled on the body of a wooden plug. There are also two other beautiful and richly inlaid round containers with lids in London. One of these is 16cm wide and 20cm tall and is decorated with a frieze of warriors carrying heads they have captured.
The other one, which is 18cm wide and tall (Fig. 1), has, in addition to rich decoration of klívuk patterns of triangles, worms, etc. on the lid, the curlews previously mentioned. There are some of these in addition to little figures of men on Wilson’s famous wooden sword, which was discussed in Vol. 1, and that is depicted in Keane, Plate 2 (length: 2 feet 10 inches). There, only the left side of the sword blade, which exhibits rather simple decorations, is shown, while here I show the right side, with the figures mentioned in Fig. 5. The specimen is in the shape of a curlew, similar to Fig. 101.

These examples sufficiently illustrate the art of the Palau of yore in this respect and the most important ornaments. There are smaller ones related to the ones mentioned: starfish, Tridacna cypraea on the cylindrical bowl in Dresden, for example (Fig. 103). There are four large figures, which I have reproduced here in Fig. 102a. In Man, Beasley claims they are human figures with phaluses.

Upon closer inspection, however, one can see that the head on the pole is a curlew, and the extremities are probably the branches and aerial roots of a mangrove tree, on which the bird is sitting, looking for fish. The bowl is 58 ½ cm long and only 19 cm high inside, so it was probably used as a fish bowl, in which case the decoration is fitting. The figure also resembles a spider; as a matter of fact, there is a spider on a round toluk (Fig. 3), on the outer edges of the legs, specifically in Fig. 102b. In Vol. VIII, Plate 26, Fig. 13 (see Fig. 102c), Kub. depicts a spider-like creature in exactly the same place, which he calls Mangidap brút on pg. 207 (see Mangidap rúkol of Story 12), i.e. the spider god.

The fact that offerings to the Galid are laid on these round taro benches gives this illustration a special meaning. Beasley also claims there is a human face at both ends of his bowl. Kub. already drew attention to this fact; furthermore, this form is spread throughout almost all of Western Micronesia, as the following section will demonstrate. Underneath the head on each side, called debí, the forehead, “its nose” ngétél usually juts out as the lateral completion on the edge tak, poss. skul. The notch that is further down towards the base is probably also called “its mouth” ngéval. Very rarely does one find the actual beginning of one of these, which is identified by a Cypraea on the cylindrical bowl in Dresden, for example (Fig. 103).

The bowls with flat handles are called debí, while the round ones are called madal a gadéng “eye of the shark.” The flat handles are often up to 10cm wide and have 2-4 little pieces of inlay. Usually, the wooden containers have no decoration other than the two flat handles and the inlay. Bowl for dye = gomlút. Ngatpang. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2892, Kr. 111) 1/10 n. Gr.

1. Round food dish, gongál maddal a gadéng. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2800n, Kr. 9) 1/10 n. Gr.
2. Fish bowl. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4714, He 867) 1/10 n. Gr.
4. Cup for a iláot (molasses with water). (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 43n, Ham. 43) 1/10 n. Gr.
7. Oval bowl, matoreité loólánd. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3699n, Kr. 994) 1/10 n. Gr.
8. Container for molasses, for hanging. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3794n, He 49) 1/10 n. Gr.
17. Fish bowl, Goriód. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4684n, He 842) 1/10 n. Gr.
18. Fish bowl from Galigúi, from the side. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4890n, He 1043) 1/10 n. Gr.
21. Set of round plates, madal a gadéng. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4692n, He 4701n, He 853, 1 - 10) 1/10 n. Gr.
22. Taro pounding board, rough type (40.25cm), ngot. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, Kr. 61) 1/10 n. Gr.

Occasionally, however, human or animal figures are mounted on the lids of syrup containers. In 1907 I found a lid in Ngatpang, which is artistically inclined. On it were two monkeys, which were observed by the islanders from time to time on Spanish ships, leaning on a post in the middle (Plate 6). I found a second lid of this type in the same village in 1910, Fig. 104.

The bowls with lids dăngbél (poss. dangbél) are used primarily for mixing syrup water, so they are actually a kind of punch bowl. For this reason, these kinds of mixing containers are called goromígöl kar (from nówíng “to stir”). Although the bird bowls already presented represent entire animals, the two enormous containers in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, in the shape of a life-sized bull and cow, surpass anything else known.
The sculptor of these specimens is Golegeril (see below and in Vol. 2). They are large containers with rectangular lids on their backs. Finally, there is also a cat in Stuttgart, which is probably just a sculpture without any practical use. These kinds of purely artistic creations are discussed in Section VII; they are commonly called delásěg (from melásăg to carve, to hew). Even though the monkeys, cattle, and cat are animals that are foreign to the area, they nevertheless show the inclination to artistic reproduction that is inherent in the people, to which the bird bowls, the spoons, and most of all the artistic ornamentation of the bai attest. Palauans finds expression in the shape of these lidded containers. There are:

conical containers: Fig. 105-108, pot-shaped, bulging ones Fig. 109-113, shallow, often elongated ones Fig. 114, barrel-shaped ones Fig. 115. The elongated forms are called kungél a riáměl “peel of the riáměl fruit” because of their shape. Elongated standing containers are also not unusual (Kr. 995, Ham. 47, Kr. 994); they are called golúměl moterót because of their elongated shape resembling the clay bowls (see Plate 5). But there are also similar containers for hanging, with and without lids (Mi. 1694 and Mi. 1595, Ham. 41, He. 874, Mi. 1701).

The shape of Fig. 112 is unusual; I believe it can be traced to the Indian lotus flower (see the section on culture comparison in Section VIII). There is a similar one in Berlin (VI 26806) that I found in 1906 in Gorée; it is more undulated, like a Tridacna. Almost all pieces have a base and inlay. The collective term for bowls and plates is górsagél, the syrup water in them is called kár, because it is usually made with warm water. A distinction is made between these and the large a iléngěl, in which the drink is called goluga. In general, large containers are called gongél, and small ones are called blagalákl “swarm,” because they are sold in sets of 10.

Fig. 101. Bird container. Dresden. Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum collection.

Fig. 102. Inlay patterns.
A deep bowl, for example, for preparing reng, is called ngolegăsál. The a șilengăl are usually cylinders that are up to 1½ m tall, with four free-standing legs (K. 1035, He. 1907, Ham. 43). But there are also very small ones (Ha. 13, Kc.), approximately 22 cm tall (Fig. 116). All of them are carved from single pieces of wood. During my stay, I learned of two decorated bowls, one in 1907 in Gorōr, which I acquired but had to return by order of the chief of police, which was really too bad, because the piece is now lost for Germany and will surely not stay in Palau. It can be seen in the photograph of the celebration in Section VI. On the upper rim, there are four faces, and halfway up the body of the vessel there are four hands, one under every face; the inlay work is very nice. In Pkulapéli on Pelliu there was a similar a șilengăl, but it was not nearly as nice.

There are two kinds of tóluk toro benches: round ones and rectangular ones. The round tóluk gaiđald (from magađelul “round”) have four legs, which are attached at the base to a wooden ring (Fig. 118). Their decoration and use were previously discussed; see also story 164 and the section below on the ruk dance (Section VI). He. collected an old, small, round tóluk that was used as an offering table and was said to have come from Ngiruanögăl (see Vol.2). It was supposedly damaged by the disastrous typhoon (width 40cm, height 15cm) (Fig. He. 931).

In Ngimis i found a specimen decorated with four faces that was dedicated to the god Međege (see Section VI). The round, four-legged tóluk (Fig. 120). (The smaller ones, according to Kc., are called gongalul “stretchers”. Two benches which the expedition brought back to Hamburg, which belonged to the a ilbdul Nr. 1 from Gorōr (4753°) and the Nginéial físul Nr. II (4752°), have 10 feet, are 244 and 247cm long, 75 and 72cm wide, and 51 and 47cm tall. The former has small faces along the upper rim, inlaid sea grass blossoms on the feet, and is hung with òsula snails. For information about its use, see the section on celebrations.

Of course, the toro benches can also be used as footstools; occasionally, they had special steps gongál or gongklsíl “eye of the shark”; this expression, as a matter of fact, applies to all elongated vessels. They are usually wedged as far down as the bottom slab, which is generally separated from the container by a groove. The slab is either elliptical lengthwise, in the case of the long plates, or round, in the case of the round plates with handles, like the circular containers

The pretty, little circular plates are made and sold (ongiakl) in sets blagalákl of 10; for this reason they are also called madál a gadéng “eye of the shark”; this expression, as a matter of fact, applies to all circular containers. If they have legs and a ring around the feet, they are called ouág and are used for offerings or for serving food to rubák (Fig. 123).

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that are so compressed at their bottom axis that the bottom appears transversely elliptical. The bottom slab can be hollow, as is true of our porcelain plates, so that there is a ring around the base, without legs, or it may be filled in, i.e. level (Fig. 122). This bottom slab, or the ring base, is of importance. Of course, there are also bottoms without a groove, and flat handles without lugs, as shown in Fig. 122, but this is the exception rather than the rule. The specimens shown in Figs. 3 and 4 appear to represent a transition from round plates to elongated ones, i.e. a madál a gadéng with debí, but closer inspection reveals that it really belongs to the elliptical ones. Fig. 4 has very thick walls and is 62cm in diameter.

The small plates with flat handles, which are made in sets of 10 like the little round ones, are similarly called debí blagalál. Like the round madál a gadéng and the tóluk, the elongated gongál plates are also often given legs, always with a ring base; they then called ouáglongál. They resemble the four-legged toluk, such as a sturdy old specimen in Leipzig (Mi. 1691), which is 47cm long, 36 wide, and 14cm high. One that He. collected (He. 908) is even 79cm long, 16.5cm high, and 41.5cm wide. In addition there are smaller ones with six legs, like one in Stuttgart (L. M. 11) whose curvature brings to mind a kiájy sailing canoe (the bowl that is there brings to mind the same thing, as it has a similar curved, raised lateral band L. M. 10).

Indeed, there are even some 10-legged bowls (Fig. 123), a profusion that is reminiscent of the Samoan kawa bowls. The gongál plates, however, are used for food, while the drinking containers, as mentioned above, also are beautiful to look at, but in a different manner. Also included in the long containers are the gombál, the fish boards, also called gongál goisilatú “banana blossoms” because of their elliptical shape (Fig. 124). They are most often carved in the shape of a debí, i.e. with flat handles, such as Kr. 112 = 81cm long (width 37, height 5.5cm) (Hamburg 2893°) and He. 846 = 99cm long (width 41.5cm, height 5cm) (Hamburg 4686°). However, I saw even longer ones used for scaling and serving on Palau. In Stuttgart there is a fish board that is 137cm long by 52cm wide. A particularly narrow and long form without flat handles, which we saw in 1910 in a limestings, is shown in Fig. 125. This sort is used to put large, raw fish on; these are then scaled, etc. on the board.

Finally, let me finish by mentioning the remaining variously shaped bowls with flat handles, called buk (poss. bkúl), which serve numerous purposes. One such container is the gomlútĕl container mentioned above on pp. 6 (Hamburg 2892° Kr. 111) for mixing red clay with expressed coconut milk and for dying fibers; it has protruding flat handles, called agerel a dabár “duck bill” according to Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 205. Then there is the gosomogůl kár (Kr. 116 Hbg. 2879, see above 119), for mixing the hot syrup drink kár, which is probably why it has such thick walls and a notch in the handle (a spout?) like the gologasákl (ngolegëságĕl?) which is used to carry grated coconut or turmeric root (Ham. 46, Kr. 7 and 108). A deep bowl with a ring base, like an ouág longál, is a rare exception; Ham. found one like this in the first family of Gorêŏr that must be very old; the inlay has fallen out. (Ham. 143, Plate 5°, Hamburg 135°.) Finally, Kub., in Vol. VIII, Plate 25, Fig. 2, depicts one more bowl, supposedly a reproduction of a foreign container that is said to have come from the “Herméth Islands” (Luf). The shape is almost hexagonal, composed of a square central section to which two triangles are attached that come to a peak at the two handles, which in this case are pointed in snoutlike fashion. Four stubby little feet sit on the floor, similar to the bowls known from the Admiralty Islands, which are closely related to Luf. The bird bowls are also reminiscent of these, as is the klívuk pattern that appears on them. The bowl in question could perhaps owe its existence to more recent relations with Luf, as discussed in Vol. 1. The shape, however, is Central Carolinian, as is explained in more detail in the culture comparison in Section VIII.
That section also discusses the wooden containers of the Tianganen of the Philippines, who manifest a close relation-
ship to Palau. This is particularly true of a wooden spoon from Palau (Fig. 30) and a Tianganer wooden plate with an undulated rim, both of which have handles and are in Dresden (Nr. 5488 and 7232). It is actually a plate with a horseshoe-shaped transverse handle on one side, in place of which the other spoons in Dresden (5486-91, 2522 and 5454) have wide and usually short handles. As for the rest, ladies were already mentioned above on pg. 47.

Let me point out here the mixing spoons in Fig. 86 (He. 80 and 1098).

The spoons and the elongated, round fish boards gombálap lead us to the next items: tóolap lóoláp, the turtleshell containers. There are wooden containers that are exact copies of these, i.e. made out of wood instead of turtleshell. They are recognizable by their shape (Plate 57) and by the fact that the handles jut out like little decorative grips.

Fig. 123. Long bowl with 10 legs and ring base.

Fig. 121. Three-legged footstool for children.

Fig. 124. Fish board from above and side view.

Fig. 125. Fish container.

Plates with flat handles, without lugs and with a level bottom slab.

Fig. 122. a.

Fig. 123. b.

Fig. 115. Height 7 cm.

Hanging container. Width 21 cm.

Fig. 114a. Standing container. Width 50 cm.

EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum

Fig. 117. Container for syrup water, 114 cm tall, 40 cm wide.

Fig. 114b. Width 28.5 cm.

Fig. 120.

Fig. 119. Offering table with partial feet, from Ngapang. Height approx. 60 cm.

Fig. 115.

Fig. 116. Container for syrup water, approx. 20 cm tall.

EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum

Fig. 118.

Round offering table.

Fig. 120.

Taro bench. Size 128:38:34 cm.
Above:
3 coconut spoons with wooden handles, 46 and 50cm long.
Interior of blai Nr. 1 of Melekdjok. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.
The Turtleshell Industry

This was already described by Kub. in Vol. VIII, pgs. 188-194. He points out that the natives eat turtle only in case of illness, as an offering to the gods (see above). For this reason, the turtleshell they sell is valued higher than what foreigners might offer (between one adólóbok and one kluk for one animal, in contrast to 8 marks for one pound of turtleshell). To test whether the turtleshell is good and thick, they use the neck plate Oñoroml, which they remove using glowing coals. The first and the fourth plate along the center line are the largest and best; they are called malakáu and odhánap. The second and third are called dogolél a ulkél, the fifth one and the two edge plates at the end are called singk, and the plate between 4 and 5 is called malakau a singk.

The underside provides light-colored turtleshell, whose use was discussed in the section on earrings and the tân-gét stopper. Kub. has only this to say about its preparation: "The turtleshell plates are softened in hot water, then pressed in wooden forms Kosorókl of various shapes and are wedged into them until they have cooled." This is not an exhaustive description and is not entirely correct, either.

In June of 1910, I witnessed the work myself in Gólei, and I provide a more detailed description of it following Fig. 126. The mold goderógĕl (a. open, b. closed) is carved out of hard wood (rebótĕl, dort, gurúr, dengĕs, etc.). It is prepared according to the size and thickness of the plate to be molded. Once the mold is ready, the plate to be used in it is immersed in hot water for about 5 minutes, to warm it up (marár), then it is immediately laid into the mold, which is then tied up (c) and boiled for about a quarter of an hour. Wedges are then quickly driven into the binding, so that the strings press the two halves of the mold together firmly. The whole thing is then quickly dropped into cold water, and then the pressed form (f) is removed; its edges are still very wide and uneven.

The wedges titĕg are driven in with a hammer gongesua (c). The binding sağur consists of strands (Fig. 126d) from the skin of the coconut frond stalk galings woven into braids delídái, which are extremely strong. The edge of the rough shape (f) must then be cut down and beautified. For this, it is warmed up with glowing coals or fire-brands godugodĕg and then sawn off. This sawing monguéts (see the section on money) is done with the highly silicic “skin of the reed” budél a líld. These are stripped off of small sticks from young pieces of reed, after the internodes with the leaf husks have been cut off, and the reeds have been heated and split. The result is narrow bands that resemble our fine fretsaws, and it is amazing to watch the craftsman master the hard turtleshell holding such a band in his hands.

Recently they have taken to using knives, as well, but these produce inferior work. Next comes the polishing omtingel of the uneven surfaces and sharp edges of the rough shape, which is also done with reeds, or with ray skin. The finished container (g), called śiáu like the wooden tables, has a narrow rim that is curved slightly downwards; this is especially true of old specimens, which have only one little square protrusion at each end. The size varies depending on the expansion of the turtleshell plates. There are small, delicate little bowls, often almost round and without any protrusions. Others are about 25cm long. In 1907, I myself was given an old specimen called Gaseūg by Ngiraróis in Ngabúl; it is 24cm long. The newer specimens are often rather mediocre; they have pressing folds, flat handles of different shapes at both ends (Fig. 127), but also 1-3 protrusions along each side. Occasionally, these pronounced protrusions are also in the shape of curlews. The next pages show some beautiful old forms.


No. 4. Same, Linden Museum, Stuttgart.
In addition to bowls, there are also spoons, goligubák (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 196), which are found among the treasured articles of the older generation in particular. Kub. distinguishes five types:

1. **Bárak** slender with a wide tip, like a narrow dustpan, long and made from thick turtleshell, perhaps comparable to bar’rák “taro, type of money”.

2. **Ter’rúl** possible, pointed at the tip, like our eating spoon (above).

3. **Iweáol** oval shape with a handle, actually a bowl with a handle (top center).

4. **Pkul er wel** oval, flat, with a stubby handle, apparently because the little “end piece” is not long enough for more; a container with a stubby handle.

5. **Bi-ul** round, hemispherical, with a wide handle.

The spoons are often carried on a string or chain (Next page photo, top right).

Bowls and spoons made of turtleshell are the property of women. Like our silverware, they are considered part of the valuable utensils used only for high-ranking personages, including offerings to the Galid. Keate, Plate 4, includes an excellent picture of a beautiful bowl and spoon. Other turtleshell wares already discussed are the earrings, the women’s bracelets, turtleshell combs, the lime stick, finger rings, and graters for the betel mortar. The gosital rods of messengers, which are discussed in the section on chiefs, are similar to the triangular, long, sharp graters.

Fig. 126. Molding for turtleshell.
Original EK drawing scans, Hamburg Museum collection.

![Fig. 126. Molding for turtleshell.](image)
Weapons galěvĕl (poss. galěvĕlĕl)

The simplest weapon is the stick skors (poss.: skersĕl), called ker’regár “tree” in its larger form. The throwing stick that is used in Story 167 for incredibly long distances is called tiuálăg (Wall.: meliuálach “to throw a club”). Similar to the club are the short hand clubs prótok (Kub.: prótok) and the wooden sword, usually known as galépĕd, of which there is a magnificent specimen in the Wilson collection, see there Prothotheek, McCluer: called Prothotheek, already mentioned above in the section on inlay work, and depicted (size 2 feet and 10 inches).

There is also one shown in Kub., Vol. VIII, Plate XXII 9, which he calls Prótok on pg. 156; it is 94 cm long. It has only 6 little pieces of inlay on the blade. There is a similar specimen in the Imperial Natural History Museum in Stockholm, and it is portrayed in Dahlgren, pg. 324; it has no decoration whatsoever (Figs. 128 and 129). All three have the same shape and size: the side with the handle is shaped like a bird head, and in fact, one can tell by the length of the beak that it is a curlew delarók, a well-known sign of wealth. But it is also possible that it is meant to be the bird monster Pëágĕdarsai, which reminds one of a logúkl. The blade seems to imitate the shape of the bird’s body, and, on the two depicted above, one can see a handle on the back, an indication that the sword was carried there. It was probably a showpiece of the priests or high chiefs, for the Wilson specimen was most assuredly never used in combat. It is also difficult to see how one would have held this weapon.

Perhaps the explanation for it is similar to that of the ceremonial spear of the god Godálmelég, which is discussed in Vol. 2, shows a sword-like club made in recent times, while Fig. 131 shows a simple wooden club. There is an unusual swordlike weapon set with sharks’ teeth, which is also in Stockholm, and which has two figures standing back-to-back on the hand grip. The same figures are found on a dagger with ray stingers in the British Museum. With it are also two similar weapons armed with teeth (Figs. 7 and 9), each of whose handle has a wide hole.

Fig. 7 shows a casing with an iron barb on a sawfish horn; the horn, the barb, and the three transverse bands woven on the handle indicate Indonesia as its origin; assembled in Palau? The weapons set with sharks’ teeth, which unquestionably existed in Palau (see Story 164), even if not for as long a period of time as, for example, on the Gilbert Islands, were called gavai—or garai (He. and Kub.: kareál) and were used to cut off heads, to cut open the throat and sever the arteries.

Two knuckle-dusters are embedded with sharp barbs from the tail of the Naseus fish, one in Berlin, already depicted in Kub. Vol. VIII, Plate XXII Fig. 7 (Fig. 133) — there is also a similar one there with sharks’ teeth in Fig. 8. — the other, with a wooden handle that has been sharpened at both ends, in Dresden (Fig. 134). Finally, there is a dagger with a bamboo blade in the Anthropological Museum in Madrid (Fig. 135). The origin is not definitely known. The principal weapon was the spear, commonly called lild (poss. lidél) or also pikang l’ilih, because the shafts were usually made out of “reed” (ild.), tiodes gerālis. In Vol. VIII, pg. 155, Kub. mentions that in his time there was a lance with an iron tip that was wide like an “oar,” thus its name besős. It was often used on canoe excursions, etc.; it was apparently the main weapon in the removal of the Rubak, etc. There is a specimen in Leipzig; without the besős iron tip it is called ngemórūl (see ngemórūl fish). Aside from this iron lance, which was imported, there existed ten other types of indigenous spears, all of which sported barbs (ngumid). According to Kub., they are:

Weapons (1-9) and offering table (10)

1. **Holhódok** (-golágośôg), the 60-70cm long tip made out of Areca palm wood, covered with dull barbs.

2. **Rus**, with a tip made from a ray stinger *rus*.

3. **Błógóyol**, a long tip made from *råod* mangrove roots and covered with terrible barbs.

4. **Delaküss**, somewhat smaller, with three rows of barbs.

5. **Bąoxép**, smaller version of 1.

6. **Telánót**.

7. **Róók thebekel**.

8. **Qubírek or Kalden**, carved from a piece of palm wood, with barbs.

9. **Klënabl**, very simple, consists of nothing but a bamboo pole cut at an angle, "a very long time ago, this was the weapon commonly used in battle, but over the course of time it lost so much respect that killing a man during war with this spear was seen as a particular insult. Women and magicians are killed with it. This is probably the ngëmóiĕl spear without barbs which I heard of, and for which the class of kêmédźk fish is named ngëmóiĕl.

10. **Anlóyok**, with the Kathóṅl throwing stick, hurled at the attacking enemy from a great distance, during the time when there were not yet any fire weapons.

This is all that Kub. has to say about this subject. The spear chucking *gatkóngĕl* was a bamboo pole about 50cm long with a hollow on the side in front of an internode, into which the spear *ulóiŏg* (poss.: *ulégel*) was placed. The term comes from *dmóiŏg* to throw (see Story 194, line 14). *Ugel re gulsiàng* was struck by *ulëgél* a *regëvúi* as he rose into the air, according to Story 204b, Verse 34. As Vol. 1, shows, this throwing contraption, which is so strange for Micronesia, was observed by the first explorers already.

These *ulóiŏg* were undoubtedly the "arrows" reported by travelers in olden times. They were up to 160cm long and had barbs, but were also used for pigeon hunting (see above, where there is also a report about the blowgun. The blowgun arrows in Berlin (VI 8075 b-g) are approximately 115cm long, the wooden tips about 10cm, like those of the spears (1), but without a knob at the end, and with a bristle brush made of feathers below.

In addition to the spear chucking, it appears the stone sling, like in Yap, existed in Palau, but according to Kcn. only in Nggieliangél, where it was apparently called *Kliwok*; this is the term for the open *Tridacna* shell, so the name was probably just adopted.

The shape of the Palauan spears is particularly similar to those of Yap at the tip, but is markedly different and identifiable in the bamboo shaft and the knob constituting the connection to the tip, made of string and *Partinariun* cement. Then there is also the red coloring on the tip and on individual sections of the shaft. On newer spears, green oil paint is often applied to the head. Shields for defense were nonexistent, as Hockin's report reveals. Spear throwing was done with great skill; some combatants showed great dexterity in catching spears thrown at them, especially at festivals, as Story 161 relates. Spear throwing *bedóiŏl* constituted one of the greater tests of bravery in the archipelago. Youths started practicing very early, as v. M. M. observed; he let one of the natives aim at him from a distance of 45 paces and was struck in the hand. For information on the use of weapons in battle, see the section on battle.
Pottery making.
The making (Oldak and omëób) of clay pots gótŭm lolăkáng is women’s work and has been performed since ancient times by almost all Blai in Goikúl and Ngátpang; also in Galáp and a Gol, to which Kuh., in Vol. VIII, pg. 199, adds Neó (Ngëóng), Ngarengasáng and Ngarakesóu; the last three are reputed to have produced pots that were particularly sturdy. I already reported about the presence of clay in Vol. 1; white clay is called ngéakkâsék, according to He. We observed the making of the round golákáng in Goikúl. I shall allow E. K. to recount this experience:

Pottery making in Goikúl (see Fig. 136).

by Elisabeth Krämer.

The woman Goragiël of Blai Ngaramesegabóng made many pots. She had her own workshop, the blai a ìveáol, in which there were just a few finished bowls sitting up high, but otherwise there was nothing. Incidentally, it is said that most women can pot. They find the clay on a leaf flat, a high plateau about 20 minutes from Goikúl, next to the Ngarbagát stream, where many holes have already been dug. The damp clay layer is situated at a depth of a hand’s length down in the earth; it is a whitish mass streaked with red, which can be worked. The woman took some out of a hole. This clay is washed and dredged, the stones are picked out of it, etc., and it is set on a board in piles at least the size of cream puffs, to dry in the sun (Fig. a). Instead of using fresh clay, it is also possible to take unfired containers that have been damaged, broken up, and softened in water. The woman estimates how many such piles she needed for a cooking bowl and places 8 of them on a board. Depending on the sun and whether she is in a hurry, these piles are made smaller or larger, so that they take a shorter or a longer amount of time to dry.

When I returned the following day, the piles had been reworked and were about twice as large as before; they were about the size of an ostrich egg. When these large balls were dry, which takes one full day, they were all thoroughly kneaded again. Then the woman sat down in front of a board placed on an upside-down wooden bowl (Fig. b), upon which there was a little mat, and began to shape her bowl from two combined balls. She pulled them out on all sides and kneaded them in such a way that a little heap was left in the middle, which she later made use of from time to time to build up the sides. When the bottom reached the desired size (c) (round or elongated), she took a piece from one of the piles and rolled it into an elongated sausage that was about as thick as a finger (d) on the flat board, laid it on the rising outer edge of the bottom (Fig. e), the resulting lateral wall taking shape, and joined it using her right thumb repeatedly to squeeze in a downward motion while she held her left hand against it on the outside.

Then the spot was smoothed down on the inside with the upper edge of the fingers, particularly the right index finger, and a new sausage was made and attached at the end of the first one, as a continuation.

Fig. 136.
Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum.
The woman turns the board in such a way that she is always working on the left side, which is apparently more comfortable for her. More and more sausages were added, and the sides got higher and higher; horizontal grooves and bumps from the individual clay sausages were visible on the outside (fig. f). After the buildup is done, these irregularities are smoothed on the outside (fig. g) and the inside; for this the bowl is often set on level ground. I was amazed to see how confidently and with apparent ease the woman worked out a good shape for the bowl, its even roundness and hollowness, and the even height of the upper rim; the shape was already established after this preliminary work executed purely by hand. The board with the bowl on top of it is then set in the sun and dried a few more hours, which makes the clay hard and firm. After this, work begins with the little pounder (Fig. h) and the pressing tool or smoothing utensil (fig. i).

The woman holds these inside against the wall and beats against it from the outside, slapping with a type of flat club, gradually covering the whole outer surface. Later she smooths the inner walls with the smoothing utensil by rubbing it back and forth, exerting counter pressure with her hand on the outside. The bottom of the bowl is smoothed in this way, too, and finally the upper rim is straightened with a wet finger.

Again the bowl is left to dry for 1-2 days; then the underside of the container is smoothed, which until now was stuck to the mat covering the board. The woman carefully lifts the container with the mat, turns it over, and lays it with the upper rim down on her outstretched legs (from a sitting position), which are spread a little. The mat is carefully removed; one hand goes inside with the smoothing utensil, and the other hand beats and smooths the side that is pointing up.

Now the bowl has attained its finished shape and is ready to be fired. This can be done as early as one day later, or the bowl can be stored un-fired in the house for a longer period of time. This woman had 4-5 pots like this sitting on little bamboo poles laid out up high in the house. Firing is men’s work; in this case it was the potter’s spouse. He made a little pyre of thick tree branches; it was about ½ m long by ¾ m wide. On this he laid two large, clay bowls (fig. k) upside down. He lit the pile, the wood was nice and dry, and threw a lot of little branches and brush on top of the pots, which quickly turned black from the smoke. It took about 20 minutes for the pile to burn down completely (fig. l). The man then turned the hot bowls, which had lost their sooty appearance and whose previously reddish color had been replaced by a yellowish-gray, with the fork of a branch (Fig. m) and a long rod with a hook and carried them a little ways away, where he placed them on the ground.

She passed this over the rim of the hot bowl and drew lines on the inside with it, then, after turning the bowl over, on the outside, apparently to mend any cracks. The lines changed color slightly from the heat. After this, the bowls were finished. E.K. “Glazing is unknown and is substituted by the process of boiling a mixture of grated coconut and water in the new crockery, during which oil permeates the pores and makes the pot waterproof; otherwise it lets water through” (Kub.). There are two main types of cooking pots, a round one with high sides, commonly called golakâng (Kub.: golisâl), which can hold up to two baskets’ worth of taro (Fig. 137), and the flatter, elongated xeprüte (Fig. 138). Fig. 139 shows the shape of the molasses container bâkâl. Imported earthenware has almost completely replaced it. According to Kub., larger pots over 1m tall are called karamalúuk, smaller ones are called kawasanâluk.

Stands iluódél (poss. ilodelél) or golegé̱l (poss. golegelél) or golelé̱l are used for stabilizing pots on the ground and for carrying them on the head; these are either woven from coconut fibers (Fig. 140a) or made out of branches (Fig. 140b). Sometimes, a cross made out of wrapped coconut siting gongdelél golakâng is used. There are also pots for hanging that have three ears like the wooden containers.
And finally I must include the clay lamps gõlädĕl. Apparently, in the past lamps were nothing more than little clay bowls that were hung, in which ṭjitl resin of the berór tree, rolled in Areca leaf blades, was burned. Not until the Spaniards came did Palauans learn about the wick, which they brought from the Philippines. To be able to use a wick, the container was supplied with a pipe, which is probably why Wilson does not mention them. (For details, see Culture Comparison.) The creation of this container is highly unusual. The potter shapes the limb and puts a hole in it using a plant stalk (Fig. 141a), usually that of the wild taro pisęd, just like a doctor would insert a flexible tube (bougie), or it is left open (Fig. 141b). These days cotton or a rag is used for the wick a l’lût, formerly soaked, dried, and crushed lap fiber were used (He.); coconut oil and petroleum are used as fuel. There can be 2, 3, or 4 wick pipes (ngëru-, ngëdei-, ngëoá-, madál). He. found a lamp with a partition blingél and writes the following about it: “In order to have a better flame than an oil lamp and at the same time save petroleum, one burns two wicks, one each from the oil and the petroleum section. At the same time or, according to need, one burns only one of the wicks with its oil or petroleum, while the other one is pulled in and not operational.” He. also found a lamp with 4 wick pipes, He. 902. To protect the hanging strings from the flame, they are usually pulled through little tubes (Fig. 141c).

The magnificent lamps made in Ngaptang, which reach considerable size, are of special significance. Fig. 142 shows a container that is 17cm long, with a wick pipe that is 16cm; it has a seated woman holding an infant on it. Fig. 143 shows a lamp with three containers on one base, around which there are three women sitting with infants, leaning against the base. This belongs to E. Grösser in Hamburg. The span between the ends of the wick pipes is 30cm. Two other lamps are in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, one of them is from Bennigsen, the other I collected in 1907. The former has four groups of women with infants on its broad edge, which is a favorite subject; the latter shows 8 people seated in a circle. These artistic products are primitive in nature, but their overall effect is nevertheless impressive due to their unusual power of expression, which is reminiscent of Indonesian/ east-Asian models.
Thirauldekei with clay water pots and wooden plate.

Ngatuai and Agugong getting water. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.
b) Ropemaking and the art of Weaving

We were not able to observe much regarding the making of string and fishing line ker’el and ropes gekel (see Story 197). For information about the material, see above.

Making of coconut cord: The most important fibers are obtained from the coconut husk. The husks are soaked in saltwater for a month, usually near the beach under stones, so that they do not float up. Then the fiber mass auld is beaten on a wooden block with a mallet tógógru auld or temóng (poss. temungul, see Story 155a) until the binding substance algel auld has loosened and the fibers bangel appear clean. Then they are washed in freshwater and dried in the sun. The mallet is made of ironwood ngel, which is harder than dorr; and beating the fibers is considered hard work. In contrast, spinning string on one’s thigh is considered a pastime by men, comparable to our dorr, which is harder than dorr and dried in the sun. The mallet is made of ironwood ngel.

We were not able to observe much regarding the making of string and fishing line ngel and dör. The thinner, but very important dör is beaten on a wooden block with a mallet gomog (poss. gomogul) and dried in the sun. The fiber mass auld is “surface for spinning fiber,” in recognition of its use for this purpose. Real rope is sometimes braided (melisái; Wall.: melisái), but usually it is spun from three strands blad (from omid) Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 297, says: “It is the product of a private industry, which is usually run by older men.”

Even smaller bags, called geidip (Kub. Kaydip), are made as tobacco pouches for men, who mix tobacco with their quids (see the one made in Yap He. 38. 40682* with the bláxig pattern; larger elongated bags -a double one He. 38: sokovalu) are used to store betel nuts and are called híll a kehíbí (house of the kehíbí nuts); larger handbags called dzélia (Kub. Vol. II. Adolús), made of monggóng leaf blades are used to store provisions for travel (see below mongol, Section 6 1 e). Mats are made in a single color only, out of sug leaves. There are only two kinds: coarsely woven sleeping mats gádólgel, and the more finely woven bar ngogel that are used as under-mats, and mats for the dead bar a melái. The finer mats, bar, used as blankets, are usually folded like a sheet of paper.

A distinction is made between bal a galidd and bal a gid, for “spirit” and “human being.” The latter are used to wrap corpses; the finer bar are placed on the inside, and the coarser gádólgel on the outside; this is why they are called a skel a bar “outer bar”. Both types of mats are stored under the roof of a home, rolled in bundles gomolók. The mats for the dead are also called hádek (Kub., Vol. III, pg. 7 Bádek), the coarser burial mats are also called gollabid. As a privilege, the outermost mats in high-ranking families have black stripes running through them (Kub., Vol. III, pg. 8). Often the bar mats are decorated with horizontal bands, which will be discussed shortly. Kr. 1032 shows patterns similar to the small bag in Fig. 144. Often there are also borders gar’rögel (poss. gar’Ñugel), the coarser mats are usually braided using wide sug leaves, in which case they are called terívón (Kub. Teriwo), or using 2-3 mm wide strips of telngidó (Kub. Teríndul), at the top they are usually jagged, like a saw (kddam.).

Fig. 144. a. Woman’s handbag, approx. 20cm high. b. Weaving pattern.
Another type of mat, called telutau, and the related mat kleungél are sacred mats. Like baskets, they are woven out of coconut fronds (see below). Making them was once a privilege of Semdu and was passed from him to House Nr. IV in a lezi, as is told in Story 197 of Medegeipélau. Story 161 tells how these telutau mats were used to attract the gods. Story 16 relates that these mats were spread out before high Rubak so they could walk upon them, and Story 162 (see Vol. 2) says that the telutau bar with its jagged edge was intended to be used as a hat to protect the sacred head of the high chief from desecration by common objects. The telutau dance is done with people holding mats in their hands; in this case, the rongór mat probably is probably just a substitute (Section VI).

Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 231, says: “Very small, square Telutan are offering mats, which are dedicated to certain deities and are hung in trees or elsewhere during illness. Pregnant women wear mats like these covered with little mother-of-pearl shells on their stomachs.” More about the latter in the section on family, below. I still want to mention that we saw the aforementioned mats in the priest house in Ngátpang, hanging under the roof, arranged in a square. Apparemtly the mats concealed a room for sacrificial offerings of food. Fig. 145 shows a house on the reef covered with such mats. Details about the making of the mats follow.

When the ends of a mat are sewn together, the result is the sack naru (poss. tunungél), which is used, for instance, as a pillow. Leaf blades of the Areca palm, called munggong or keái, which were previously mentioned, can also be sewn together. These are used to make containers, bags, baskets, mats, etc. To make the simplest container, the edges of a square piece are bent upwards and the corners are pinned together at the short edges (Fig. 40). More common are the bags called delús (poss. delüsl), of which principally three types are made (see also the cage in Fig. 56):

klevedí: both ends are sewn up, “dammed” (from mengslá to dam) (Fig. 146a).
gouérul: “wedged” (like a wedge goriá), three pieces are sewn together with a separate bottom. E.K. records the manufacture of these items as follows: The yellow, withering sheath of an Areca palm leaf is separated from the frond, cut into a square, and the rough outer skin is peeled off. The finished piece is pinched together in the middle in the direction of the fibers, and the two open sides are sewn together. About 1 or 2 fingers down from the edge, this seam is decorated with stitches made of spun, dyed hibiscus string (ulálek).

delús is also the term for umbrella, as it is common to hold a leaf blade, like a banana leaf, which never lasts long, over one’s head in the rain. For better protection, about six leaf blades are sewn together in a double layer (i.e. there are actually twelve), called bar l delús; as a single layer, this may also be used as a blanket bar or bal’ delús. For information about needles, see above.

Examples of Weaving work. Left: Bag made from Areca leaf sheath. Center, top: Telutau mat. Right and bottom: Women’s handbags. Baskets made of coconut leaves. 1- tangerík, 2- gorovikl, telia style, 3- ngoluókl, 4- gorovikl, galusákl style, 5- aulóii (He 941 = 4783 II) 6- tet ulói, ulagádár style.
The Palauans give different meanings to the decorative patterns (bedengél of a mat) applied during weaving. In the minds of the natives, it is the “skin” buld (poss. bedengél) that has these features. There are only two types. In one type, the whole surface has the pattern, the basic pattern, like a simple line weave in our fabrics, the twill, the taffeta weave, which can be compared in the index that follows with (2) galusokl, (1) télĭu, (3) gaus mesóbil. In other cases, only part of the area exhibits it “standing” degór or “lying” ulkedúrs (from omegedúrs “lay someone down to sleep” Wall.), usually in stripes, as Nrs. 6 – 11 in the index show clearly.

But the surface patterns also have a direction, which is discussed below in the description of the making of the gorovíkl basket. If the “rays of the weave” are horizontal, resembling, for example fish bones or corn ears as in Nr. 1, they are called télĭu. If, on the other hand, they are upright, perpendicular to the edge, they are called ulokodager. In Vol. VIII, pg. 210, Kub. says; “If the units are standing upright, the pattern is called ulakadurus, but if they run horizontally, it is called ulokodager. The normal Telíu pattern is used mainly for sleeping mats, while the ulokodager is used only for the different baskets.” Evidently, he confused vertical and horizontal, and the error of the latter sentence has been shown above. The stripe pattern is found especially on the fine bar mats and on the bags.

Functional Weaving

Works of weaving also include weaving made from coconut leaf fronds, some of which has already been mentioned in the section on ornamentation. The blsebúd sign, for example, is plaited from three fronds for magical purposes. It is depicted in Kub., Vol. VIII, Plate XVII5. For information on its use, see below in the discussion of the ruk dance.

According to Krän., it is used for the gods of the land, while the tiakl is dedicated to the gods of the sea (Story 195). Similar objects are the guiut taboo signs (see Story 195). The klëangĕl shrine (Krub., Vol. II, pg. 107, Kleängl) is also made out of fronds. E. Krämer’s report on her observations of weaving of certain objects follows here. It goes into so much detail, in fact, that the reader must certainly be capable of weaving a basket oneself if one follows it.

E. Krämer identified the patterns of the weave which the Palauans call “their skin” bedengél (from buld skin), according to her records and existing mats. In Vol. VIII, pgs. 210 and 211, Kub. lists 10 names and shows examples of them in Plate XXVIII, Figs. 15-24, but in such an abbreviated and confusing fashion, that repeating a more extensive depiction based on several studies does not seem out of order here.
1, is new; a – e are basic patterns, f – l patterns with decorative bands.

**a) télíu** (Kub.: *telíu*; Wall.: *teliú* to carry over one's arm)

1:2 twill weave

**b) galusákl** (Kub.: *Kaliusakl*) linen weave, simplest type, used for coarse sleeping mats and mats for dead bodies *a šaši a šar*; 1:1

**c) gaus mesóbil** (Kub.: *Gaus mesobíl*) from *mengáus* “to weave,” i.e. “weave art of single people.”

1:1 strip slanted to the right

**d) gogíl a delép** (Kub.: *Kohil adhalep*) “leg of the soul”

1. strip slanted to the right 1:3

2. trip slanted to the right 1:1

**e) sako ë kúm** (Kub.: *Sako a ginn*) “tracks of the hermit crab”

Band: 1:2:3

Edge: *télíu*

**f) këkóm** (Kub.: *Gekóm*, Wall.: *kegóm*) “crab claw” zigzag, one branch doubled

**g) galepdúi** (Kub.: *Kalothay*) meaning unknown.

**h) góludákl** (Kub.: *Koliudíkl*) Perhaps compared to the fish *diuki*, which is rather square.

**i) bíásag** (Kub.: *Blásk*) Zigzag; from *omáság* “to cross,” see the tattoo patterns on pg. 39.

**j) ger’egervi (Kub.: *Gargoroví*) The shrub *Mussaenda frondosa*.

**k) lilibugăl** Meaning unknown.

**gorovikí** *suálo* basket.

The *gorovikí* basket is used to fetch taro and do similar things and is one of the most common baskets of medium fine weaving. It is made from young fronds of the coconut palm that have been prepared one of three ways: 1. in the *galusákl* style (Fig. 147), 2. in the *télíu* style (Fig. 147), in which the pattern, the rays of the weaving, run parallel to the edge, and 3. in the *ulegădăgér* style, in which the pattern runs at a right angle to the edge, i.e. from the edge to the bottom of the basket. The basket described here is of the last type mentioned (Kr. 216 = Hamburg 2998).

After the young, coconut frond, still yellow, has been rendered durable in the manner described, the two frond halves are torn off of the thick, stiff central rib. One piece with 35 fronds is separated from each of these halves, to be used for the basket. Naturally, the individual fronds of a young coconut leaf are not spread out flat, but are folded like a sheet of paper. The sides to the right and left of the narrow central rib of the frond are still superimposed, and they are braided in this position. Weaving begins at the edge of the basket. This edge is formed by bending one frond over the other downwards at an angle (Fig. 148a) and, when all of them have been bent over, joining together the beginning and the end so that they create a ring, then tying a little thread around it to fasten it.
The second piece with 35 fronds is not bent over to form the edge, but is placed into the inside of the ring as it is, in such a way that these newly added fronds cross over the others (in both cases, the delicate ribs of the fronds are pointed up). After the inner ring of 35 fronds has been tied together with and fastened to the outer ring, plaiting begins. The first row is braided across two. Each set of two inner fronds (running from top left to bottom right) (Fig. 148b) always crosses two outer fronds (running from top right to bottom left).

This style of weaving is continued once around the entire edge. Then the pattern is started on top of this (Fig. 148c). The two inner fronds b1 and b2, which cover the two outer fronds a1 and a2, are separated from one another, by bending b1 at a right angle in the direction of the outer fronds, over the inner frond b2, which comes from the left and crosses a1 and a2. Then the left outer frond a1 is bent at a right angle in the direction of the inner frond b2 and with the latter crosses over its neighbor a2 and the inner frond b1, which has just been bent itself.

In this way, groups of four fronds each are created, which resemble the beginning of a weave, and between the groups, directly under the edge of the basket, gaps appear, holes in the matting, called in this way, groups of four fronds each are created, which resemble the beginning of a weave, and between the frond b2 and with the latter crosses over its neighbor a2 and the inner frond b1, which has just been bent itself.

From this point on, the fronds are braided over two in a regular pattern, like a shifting weave, so that the rows run at a right angle to the edge. The transition from the “eye” row to the shifting pattern is somewhat more difficult, but from there on, work continues with great regularity, 8-12 times, counting from the eyes, weaving over two runs around the basket. Then the bottom of the basket is started. The two sides of the basket are brought together in a binding braid that begins inside the basket on the side, where the thread that connects the ring is located, at the top edge (see above). It is always two and two fronds crossing each other that are woven into a braid, protruding alternately from the right and left side of the basket, in the direction of the opposite side. The braid continually incorporates new fronds in the direction mentioned, until it has reached the other end and there are no new fronds left to incorporate. It is then loosely braided as a tail and is secured with a knot at the end. As already mentioned, only the fronds from a single direction have been used for this braid, leaving the fronds in between in the other direction hanging out below. Now the basket is turned upside down, and the fronds of the other direction are incorporated into a braid in the same manner. This braid, of course, is begun on the side where the inner braid ends. During weaving, all of the fronds are pulled tight, making the basket narrower on the bottom. When all fronds have been incorporated, a free braid appears here, too. This is pulled into the inside of the basket at its beginning, and a piece usually sticks out of the side further up, where the knot to secure it is usually tied (see Fig. 151b in art, in which the braid has 4-6 parts instead of 3).

The basket just described, gorovíkl ulegădăgér is a suálo type of basket, which comprises various types of weaving and shapes. These baskets are used for transporting cooked taro; they are made in large sizes for delivering food at celebrations, and they must be made of well-prepared, yellowed, young coconut fronds; using green or older palm leaves is punishable.

The collective name suálo, basket for cooked taro, includes the gorovíkl ulegădăgér previously mentioned, which has vertical rays of weave, as well as the gorovíkl telú, which has horizontal ones (see Fig. 149a) while having almost the same execution of edge, bottom, etc. The edge of this kind of basket is made from the same material and two frond parts coming from opposite directions. However, in the case of the gorovíkl ulegădăgér 2 fronds are braided over 2 opposite ones right at the beginning, while in the case of the gorovíkl telú, one frond is braided over another, also allowing “holes or eyes,” hibak maddí, to be created, as shown in Fig. 149b. Under these, the weaving over 2 fronds begins, but this time it runs parallel to the edge. Each new row works with one frond, which always crosses 2 opposite ones. When the matting has reached the desired length, the bottom is made with an inner and an outer braid, just like the gorovíkl ulegădăgér.

As mentioned, there is a third kind of basket that belongs with the suálo baskets, the galunákkl (Kr. 218), whose type of weaving is much simpler. The same material is used to make it, and again two frond strips in opposite directions are crossed over each other and joined in a ring. On this ring, the fronds crossing each other are braided one over the other, and this line weave continues from the edge to the bottom, without the artistic interruption of “eyes.” The bottom, as before, is formed with the braids previously described. And this, essentially, exhausts the discussion of the suálo baskets for cooked taro, the first type, gorovíkl ulegădăgér, being the most common.

tet-hand basket (Kr. 215 = Hamburg 2997)

Significantly finer and more durable are the carrying baskets. If possible, the fronds used for this are younger and more carefully prepared, they are also narrower, the braid is denser, and the bottom is wider and is created differently (He. 941, Plate 21). In this case, too, there are different methods of weaving, identical to those described earlier.
The making of the ter differs from that of the gorovíkl only in the edge and the bottom. In the case of the taro basket gorovíkl, the edge is ring-shaped and consists of two superimposed leaf halves in opposite directions, their beginning joined to their end. Only the leaf half visible to the outside exhibits the fronds bent over one another, while the leaf half on the inside remains in its natural state. In contrast, the hand basket ter often consists of four leaf halves, 2 upper halves and 2 lower halves, each with about 30 fronds, whose thick central ribs just out the sides like points (there are also very fine baskets with 4 upper halves and 4 lower halves); the inner sections have fronds bent over each other just like those on the outside, in contrast to the suálo, whose inner sections remain unbraided.

The making of the eyes and the shirting-like weave after that is identical to that described for the gorovíkl. However, depending on the degree of fineness, towards the bottom of the basket, the type of weav

For this basket, each individual frond is spread out, so that its small central rib shows. When the edge has been bent into a ring and joined, the beginning and the end are carefully braided together, then weaving continues “over one” in the style of a line weave (fig. b), resulting in a tube. When this braided tube is long enough, the bottom is started, using the braids common to most baskets, which incorporate and bind together the fronds sticking out of the matting.

The bottom of this kind is made by weaving the fronds of one side over to and into those of the other side in a line weave, “over two” in the style of a line weave (fig. b), causing a marked tapering of the basket as it reaches the bottom (He. 934).

Even simpler is the rängărík basket, which is actually made only for temporary, on-the-spot use. A section of an older palm frond, with 10-20 fronds, is used. This is woven “over one;” and after a few rows of weave, the end fronds are joined in an edge-forming braid that extends from the middle to the right and to the left; a knot is used to secure each end.

Mats for covering door openings ulítĕg (gous.: ulêgel). Weaving using coconut leaves also includes the mats for closing doors (see Blai in Vol. 2). The most common are the ulítĕg tellus, whose rays run parallel to the upper edge (compare the baskets in Fig. 151 b). As in the gorovíkl baskets, 2 coconut frond sections superimposed in opposite directions are used to make a mat to cover a door opening. These are then woven “over two” in the style of a shirting weave. The lower, straight edge is created by braiding the ends of the fronds that are sticking out into a braid that sits firmly attached to the edge.

Another mat that is similar in many ways to the mat for covering door openings is the sacred ceremonial mat teluáui. It is occasionally found hanging in a spirit hut, or sectioning off rooms where sacred objects are stored. In the depiction of the Galid house of Ngátpang, one can see several such mats hung up in the form of a square; the food for the Galid, etc., was kept behind them. The use of the mat teluáui 1 bar as protection for the sacred head of the high chief, as described in Vol. 2, also provides sufficient evidence of how these mats are used.
As is the case with baskets, two kinds of weaving are used in the sacred mats telutäu: one is telutäu ulegădăgér (Kr. 212), in which the rays of the weave go from top to bottom, that is, they run at a right angle to the upper edge, and the other is telutäu ŭelu (Kr. 213), in which the rays run parallel to the upper edge. In both types, the bottom edge consists of a row of uniquely woven braids hanging down (delulái), which differentiates them from the mat for closing doors. Another distinguishing feature is the material. As with the mats for covering door openings, two coconut frond halves are used, but not two identical ones. One is older and dark while the other is younger and light-yellow. They are superimposed in opposite directions, with the central rib facing up, and are woven over two, two light and two dark, once from right to left, then turning back and going from left to right.

The next frond is 1, which sticks out to the left. It is wrapped around 2 with a half turn and is woven at an angle from right to left under 2 and over 3, which has been bent slightly to the right; it is then turned back into an upward position and cover the strip to be incorporated, 5 (fig. c). Then they are turned back over the strip 4 just mentioned (fig. d).

If we compare this plaiting method with weaving, the newly added strip is the weft (gongăr weft strip or incorporated strip), while the others, which are situated at a right angle to them and are bent forward or backward each time new ones are added, are the chain (gongûíkl chain strip or weaving strip), while the weaving path, the location where the new strips are incorporated, would be equal to the section in weaving. Fig. d shows a section consisting of one weaving strip pointing upwards and two pointing downwards.

The new count is laid on the upward-pointing weaving strip. The two weaving strips that have been laid down are turned back into an upward position and cover the strip to be incorporated, 5 (fig. c). The previous strip incorpo-

rated, 4, or as much of it as sticks out to the right, is bent like its predecessor in a half turn downward and to the left and is then laid all the way back over the incorporation strip 5. The same is done with the upright weaving strip 2, and so the new section or weaving path is ready for the next strips to be incorporated. All of this was just the beginning; now the actual braiding of the edge of the purse begins.

Women's purse gotûngĕl. Fig. 154.

The small bag that women carry in their front apron (see above) is made out of the young leaves sugomásâg of a wild species of Pandanus growing in the jungle, which have not been exposed to a lot of sun and have therefore remained soft. First the thorns are removed from along the edge of these long, green leaves, then the leaves are dried in the sun for several days. Then they are split into several strips with a sharp shell (gongiŭt). The ends of two of these strips, Nr. 1 and 2, are tied in a knot (delulái) (a). Then two new strips, Nr. 3, are laid down directly over the knot (b), at a right angle to the two first strips. They do not touch them in the center, but rather near their beginning, and both are lying in opposite directions, one points to the right with its longer end, the other to the left. In the center, they overlap a little, about a hand's width. The beginning strip Nr. 2, which is now on the bottom, is bent down over the two new ones, so that the four long ends are arranged in the shape of a cross (b). Two new strips, Nr. 4, which overlap in the center like the previous ones, are laid directly over these in the same direction, on top of Strip 1, which is pointing up (as indicated with the dotted lines in fig. b). The upward pointing Strip 1 is bent back over the new strips, and the second bent strip, Strip 2, is bent back up into its former position. Now the edge of the purse is to be plaited on the right side: 3 strips, which are sticking out to the right, are bent backwards and to the left, so that they point upwards under the recently incorporated strip Nr 4 (Fig. c). Then they are turned back over the strip 4 just mentioned (fig. d).

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The discussion on numerals in Vol. 2 already described the most important aspects of the types of numbering. Then the bottom is formed by pinching the purse together and braiding the upper and lower strips together. is braided, this time with 6 strips instead of 4, then another new ring, and so on until the desired length is reached. The edge is pulled a little taut, so that the finished purse appears tapered. Weaving continues on this base, a new ring is created. Then, strip 4 is bent down to form the edge, the other braid strips (1,2,3) change position, envelop the next weaving strip that forms the edge adds another braid strip to the right each time, the outermost left braid strip must be dropped, so it is left hanging down the outside unbraided. So only 4 new braid strips are created each time (which one could logically rename 1-4 each time), in which the two new strips are laid in the manner just described. Then, strip 4 is bent down to form the edge, the other braid strips (1,2,3) change position, envelop the next count, and braiding of the edge continues until the desired width is reached. When the edge of the purse is wide enough, the ring is closed, the end is tied to the beginning, the starter strips with the knot are taken out, and the ring is closed, this time with 6 strips instead of 4, then another new ring, and so on until the desired length is reached. Then the bottom is formed by pinching the purse together and braiding the upper and lower strips together.

c) Numbering, Weights and Measures, Money.

The discussion on numerals in Vol. 2 already described the most important aspects of the types of numbering. The only thing left to describe here is the knotted cord terlikil (Wall.: aslikil, from melakiili “to tie in a knot”). It is first mentioned in Hockin, pg. 15, where a “Ibidus” says that when he was notified about the death of Libe: “in the cord that the captain had given him, he made more than a hundred knots to represent the months; but in the end, when he had given up hope of seeing his son or the captain, he had the cord burnt” etc.

In Sem., Vol. II, pg. 138, there is this comment: “It is noteworthy that they use the word rusil for our letters; that is the word for the well-known cords whose ends are knotted and interwoven and that are used to send news from one person to another.” On pg. 323, he also says that the knotted cord is used to count nights by untying the knots. I never saw such a knotted cord in use; they are apparently used infrequently and by few people. Von Den Steinen also mentions the knot as a representation of a month in the Marquesas Islands; his illustrations of the magnificent “Marquesian knotted cords” that he provides, however, show that the Palauans are very backward in this aspect, just as the Khipu of the Incas demonstrates a much higher level of development.

In Vol. II, pg. 263, Semp mentions a letter a, a tartsheil spalata, on which two short threads were tied together with tight knots. Arakalukil said: This end of the thread is me, that one is you; the two of us are tied together by this knot, which only brothers use. Give this to Tomue, he knows my spalata, and he will accept you just as he would accept me; from now on you, too, are his friend and brother. And if you cannot return from Peleliu, and you want Cabel Mud to pick you up down there, send me Tomue’s spalata with a thread tied to it; Tomue will show you how to knot it.”

The object of discussion here is the sign of the messenger gossiš (poss. gosielil), which has special importance in Palau. The spoon, or better the tartsheil spalata, which the Rubak uses to scrape out his betelnut mortar every day, is really his identifying mark, and good friends recognize it as the property of the rightful owner. So when the chief sends an important message, he gives the messenger his gossiš as identification, just as a nobleman gives along his signet ring. The pledge, of course, may be any object, such as a familiar type of withered nůal leaf. Should the messenger or whoever else holds the object lose it, there is a monetary fine (see Vol. 2). As a security gollăv, the gossiš is also a collateral for money; for instance, a gongiái is a gossiš for galebęp, klub, and dokóloğ.

Measurements were previously listed in Vol. 2; Kub. also presents quite a bit of information on this in Vol. VII, pg. 283, but his information differs or else is difficult to understand because of the way it is written. Wall. contributes the following: xulomel = xulomel, teleschil “finger width” = telage, telishim “hand width” = telagim, telkissenel the span between the thumb and bent index finger, tevbür foot length plus the width of the other foot.

Money a udou adiudif (poss. adudif)

Money a udou plays such an important role in the lives of the Palauans that it must be discussed in detail here. They say in Palau that rich people pass through the front door of the Bai, while those who are poor slip humbly out the back door. Although Kub., in Vol. 1, pg. 49-53 and Vol. VII, pg. 1-29, previously reported extensively on this subject, his explanations are so unclear, and his spelling of Palauan words so different, that I would like to try to paint a clearer picture, if I can. As everywhere else, I will attempt to bolster the different spelling with word definitions.

As far as the origin of money is concerned, Story 9 relates the legend, but it does not reveal the facts; see also Story 113 about the money snake of a Uluung, the money tree goda (see Story 203), Golungas (Story 170), etc. The only important element seems to be that Nggezangal, a Ngeaur, Keklía, and Ngareelekíla appear to be the areas where money was introduced to Palau. So far it has not been possible to determine the origin of these beads, which indeed they are in a technical sense. Although they are undoubtedly Asian (Cambay in India) or perhaps even Mediterranean (Egypt, Murano), there is no consensus about which period they come from or what their source is. One thing seems clear to me: Chinese seafarers, who began trading with individual South Seas islands very early on, introduced the beads, and probably also the iron, which, according to the reports of the first explorers in Vol. 1, Palauans already had. In the description of Pellison in Vol. 2, the description of Ngarebel ist mentions that according to the natives’ tales, three Chinese ships were trading with the Palauans before Wilson’s arrival, and a battle ensued. In the Colección de documentos inéditos (see Vol. 1), Vol. 5, the following passage substantiates this claim of early commerce:

Aquí tomamos un indio, llevamos à Maluco, el cual nos dijo, que cada año venían dos juncos de la China, que son unas naos, en que ellos navegan à comprar oro é perlas, que había en gran cantidad, e también venian mas navios a otras islas à lo mismo.

Here we picked up a native, whom we took to the Moluccas; he told us that every year two junks came from China, that there are several ships they sail in to buy gold and pearls, of which there were large quantities, and also that other ships went to other islands for the same purpose.

In Vol. VII, pg. 28, Kub. calls the Audouth a product of Malayean culture, because the Malayean archipelago has had trade connections to the Chinese since ancient times. But the Chinese were just importers here, too, just as there are beads in Northern Borneo, for example, that closely resemble the Palauan ones. Plate 130 in Vol. 1 of The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, by Hose and McDougall, depicts several specimens from Kajuan that closely resemble the galebęp; they have special names there, too, just as they do on Palau. Also depicted are beads of the same material as the yellow br’vuk, which, after all, are not uncommon in the Alemannic graves of our native country. Even the estimated monetary value of the Kajuan beads is strikingly similar to that of the beads from...
Palau. It seems impossible that this could be a mere coincidence, especially since there are similar nuti beads on many other islands in Indonesia, for example on the small Sunda islands. I want to emphasize this here in order to illustrate the importance of this “foreign money” in the sense of Heinrich Schurz, whose relationships are discussed further in the section on culture comparison. One must think of the Palauan money as having originated as follows (like in the Sudan, in Indonesia, and elsewhere): valuable stone and glass beads were imported through commercial trade. After the trading stores were exhausted and trade was abandoned, these came to represent particular values based on age, rarity, and durability.

They assumed the role of money and attained the power of money. There are many examples of this in the history of peoples, even though non-metallic material rarely obtained such value. The unusual thing is that the bagel pieces made of br’ak and mingonggai, as well as those made of green and blue glass (more about these below), probably were not imported in their current shapes (in Japan there are similar pieces made of brown stone, called kohaku), but should be seen as being sections of rings. Admittedly, no rings made of the materials mentioned have yet been found on Palau, but bracelets very similar in shape, mostly triangular, do exist in the Moluccas and other places in Indonesia, and there are silver ones in India, ivory ones in Africa, etc. So one can conclude with confidence that the Palauans valued the nicely colored pieces of broken bracelets, too, and eventually created the amount of money they needed by purposely cutting up whole ones.

The merimir in Fig. 155b is 6cm long, its inner circle has a diameter of 8.5cm, or the width of a fist, and approximately 4 such pieces would constitute one ring. Their value was estimated on the basis of size and beauty—the pale yellow (a) “ripe glossy” marik meres were considered most valuable. In 1900, a nice, medium-sized (3-4cm) specimen cost anywhere up to about 200 marks. In truth, however, the prestige of these pieces was worth much more; every blai that owned a br’ak had a certain amount of credit on account of it, and since there were probably more than 2000 rubak bai on Palau in former times, and each of these must have owned at least one bagel, one can conclude that there were at one time several hundred bracelets in Palau. As Kubary before me has emphasized, however, it is very difficult to gain insight into the money situation, because every owner keeps his money secret and is very reluctant to show it to anyone, even foreigners. I rarely had an opportunity to see blai; the money we were shown is depicted in Fig. 155 (see also the color plate in Kub., Vol. VII).

Avarice was previously discussed in Vol. 2 and Vol. 1, Kub. says: “A man may not touch his wife’s money; if the marriage dissolves, neither partner may remarry without exchanging pieces of money. Love between a man and a woman is cemented by money, and the man pays for every embrace. Thus it is the daughters who create a family’s wealth.” For details, see the discussion of the mingol institution in Section VI, 1. When a rubak dies, melikir “tying” of his widow by the successor often takes place. “One demands her husband’s money and places a cord around her neck, which is tightened until she gives in to the demands.” (Kub., Vol. 2, pg. 44).

In 1905, the district official complained about the islanders’ avarice: “The high chief Arakeli of Mologok, an old and rich man who is half deaf and half blind, does not hesitate to undertake a dangerous, six-hour canoe crossing in stormy weather, despite having a painful illness, to attend a small celebration, just because he expects to receive a monetary gift with a value of 10 marks.”

The highest-ranking chief Albasul, a very old man who is housebound and who has one foot in the grave, has a respected Yap islander brought to him and asks him whether he knows of some magic with which one can obtain a lot of money. They boil old, dirty money, which is known to consist of glass, porcelain, and fired earth and similar materials, and paint the dirty brew on the heads of their children, or let them drink it, so that the children will become rich. Shortly before the death of their father, the children gather around him and utter heart-rending lamentations, but the moment that he has exhaled his last breath, the entire house of the deceased is feverishly searched, and the surroundings are dug up in the search for his valuables. Shortly thereafter, the villagers arrive to drink up any supplies of molasses that may exist. Even in the throes of grand hospitality, which in the end is based on reciprocity, the host meticulously calculates the value of the fish or taro that his guest consumes.

When a son is born, there is great disappointment, because there is money to be made with a girl given over to prostitution.” See below for information about payment.
I want to add that counterfeiting is the order of the day. The islanders especially like to make br’ak and mongonga beads, which they grind out of the indurations and sinter-like formations found in the yellow and red volcanic earth. They also make glass beads out of bottle glass, just as the people of Tierra del Fuego know how to use this to imitate their delicate arrow tips. White men, too, have attempted to create substitutes, but their efforts have been no more successful in Palau than they were in Africa. The natives can usually recognize a fake piece at first glance, and most certainly after a quick consultation. Oddly enough, the fake money is called angel u aloud, literally “good money”; real money is called meringel’lagád aloud “splendid money,” or more accurately dandy money: meringel’ is the “pain” that one feels when one gazes on a handsome “man” lagád. In general, white men are shown real money by Palauans only under certain circumstances and in the presence of trusted advisors; almost all the money in our collections is “angel u aloud.” However, the German district official possessed real money; he made the islanders give it to him as a fine in cases of punishment. In turn, he would use it to pay for work for the government, because, like the Yapes, the Palauans valued their own money much more highly than our silver and gold.

When I attempted to acquire several smaller real beads, I turned to a rubak woman from a high-ranking house, who had borrowed a fairly large sum of silver from me and who was indebted to me anyway because of various good deeds I had done. After much hesitation, she brought me several small specimens, with the assurance that they were real. In fact they were counterfeit. It was not until Williams efforts that I was able to get several meringel’lagád.

Just as the natives deceive one another, so I experienced deception. During a celebration for the rubak Nr. VII Rubásag of Goréŏr (see Section VI 5), he received money from his relatives to pay for the celebration. The rubak Nr. II a Reglāgt gave me a large mongongau bead (shape 155a) and bade me to call out the piece and hand it over to Rubásag. I succumbed to this hoax, called out the money in the gathering at front of the house and then passed it to the host of the celebration. On another day, I received word that it was fake. Apparently, the native had wanted to use the reputation of the white man to execute his deception. During the distribution, Rubásag sat directly in front of the house on the pavement, and 13 rubak sat in a row on the gravel pavement at the edge of the street. Reksevāng must have stood up about 10 times to hand over the smaller money (gongial, maddal a kluk, etc.). Rubásag had given Ngiremēketl from a Go a golebepg for arranging the celebration. P. Raymond describes several similar cases (From the Missions 1909, pg. 49-50).

Just as they split and broke up the bracelets to make more money, they began to cut up and saw apart the money that have been cut or sawed apart, usually called delobog (poss: delobeg) from melobog (poss: melog) to cut, or $ l’logol from melogol to saw, i.e. pieces of money that have been cut or sawed apart, usually called delobog (poss: melogol) (fig. 155a and Vol. 2).

I provide a better overview (see Fig. 155) of the types of money (I refer also to his color plate):

- **Group A: opaque, generally triangular specimens** (Fig. 155a and Vol. 2)
  a) br’ak (poss: br’ekengel) lemon yellow, named after the yellow taro br’ak (Kub., Vol. VII, Plate 1).
  b) mongongau (poss: mongongal) yellowish-red, named after the yellow earth bungangugu.

- **Group B: opaque, rounder beads**, also oval, cylindrical, etc.
  c) gadelbeg (poss: gadelbegel) special type of larger, colorful beads (Kub., Plate 1).
  d) kluk (poss: klukel, smaller, colorful beads (Kub., Plate 1).
  e) delobog (poss: delobeg) from melobog to cut, or $ l’logol from melogol to saw, i.e. pieces of money that have been cut or sawed apart, usually called delobog (poss: melogol) (Kub., Plate 1).

- **Group C: Glass galdóiog or kldáit, either transparent (melémel) or translucent (mang l diol): transparent specimens in various shapes.
  f) melémel greenish-blue, with yellow and red glazed figures (Kub., Plate 1).
  g) mingaikl literally “tribute, interest,” used for double pyramids (Kub., Plate 1).
  h) golbängel ordinary beads worn as “pendants.”

The pieces made of green bottle glass are inferior and are called klúu (see the section on Tapioca).

**Color and Material of the Beads and Colors in General**

- **br’ak** yellow fired earth, named after the yellowish taro, otherwise, yellow is called hbr’uva and gadái (see Story 203, Verse 5).
- **mongongau** yellowish-red fired earth, named after the red earth bungangugu (nda mongau glowing, ngāi fire), otherwise red is called gorgī after the red earth, vermilion is called boroa or rōu (sunrise), pekerék (Wall.).
- **rémēg** yellowish, somewhere between the two previous colors.
- **idēk** dirty red mongongau. The word means “dirt.”
- **kludul** dirty red like a vine fruit.
- **pkngol a iviu blossom of the iviu mangrove, which is garnet red.
- **temeri** blue glass named after the fruit of the dokomeř tree.
- **mel’lāma blue and green, Wall. also calls the latter mellemel; more correct, however, are the compari soms körā līl a gogār Wall. like the leaf of a tree, and bgagāl a bīb “feather of the Pilopus dove.”
- **bagelēlu white** (Wall. hecheleleu).
- **gadelkēlēk black** (Wall. chadelegelēd).
- For other colors, see the section on glass below.

**The shape of the beads is captured in the following terms:**

1. **bagel** (poss. bagel) money of larger denominations. It is a somewhat curved, usually triangular little stick (Fig. 155), apparently fragments of bracelets, the likes of which still exist in Indonesia, for example, in Ceram. According to Kub., very short pieces are called debektalidok, yellow (br’ak), yellowish-red (mongongau), dark blue (merimēr), and green (galdóiog).
The perforation of the beads (see above) is an important matter. It is a difficult undertaking, due to the hardness of the material, so this work is often attributed to the Gulid, as a logélel of aim VIII in bai 103 Meléngi in a fol showed: one can see that the boring was done with pump drills. Of course, in most instances we are dealing with bâgël fragments and imitations. Favorite items to use as drill bits were long snails, urchin spines, etc.

The bâgël pieces are bored either lengthwise or from the corner of the triangle side (akéngelaél) upwards at an angle towards the upper side (see Fig. 155m). The hole at the end is always called ulóló (Kub.: Ulélé), while the one on the upper side is called telébâkél (Kub.: Telébâkel). In Vol. VII, pg. 7, Kub. reports that the residents of Neuki (Nuki, Vol. 2) used to bore an additional hole in the middle of the front side, into which they would stick a bird feather as decoration. These pieces are supposedly called Kolomalbúsok, and there are apparently only 4-5 pieces left in the Ngaramlungúi district.

Equally important were the sawing (melologié) and the cutting up using ngél shells or with the hard red-and-white bâsug stones that resemble our flint, which can be found in the channel beds of Ngátpang and Ngaramlungúi. The most laborious process is the cutting of a disc-shaped beads, usually gongór (see below, pgs. 164 and 166) in two slices, called mënúng (Kub., Plate 1 and here, Fig. 155g and h).

Fig. 155n. bâgël with holes bored in it.

The Different Categories of Money

a. b. Bâgël of br'ak and mëngonggëu do not have any distinct subtypes. Kub. names two shapes:

1. yidós very thin and narrow in proportion to its length (Kub., Vol. VII, Plate 1, 1 and 2).
2. mëri¹⁰⁰ thicker in proportion to its length (Kub., Vol. VII, Plate 1, 16 and 17).

These terms, however, are similar to those we use for people. The same goes for the following terms Kub. cites for types of br'ak: Mëri³⁹, Doolëel, Ukol kasakís and Nolokadákam; their low value (the latter one is worth “up to 10 baskets of taro”) mora giimol hákaa points to the impossibility that these can still be considered bâgël. The subtypes of the mëngonggëu, which Kub. calls idék, Närévéék, Pnálawayyu, Klúull, Döel a mëri kaléth and Dukarojü, are found listed with the colors, so they are really just shades or color variations. All of the large pieces of money, the bâgël, have names.

c) Galebúgép the large, round, colorful beads; the best pieces, which are owned by the high chiefs, are called delóbog (see below) when one does not want to utter the almost sacred word galebúgép. In Vol. VII, pg. 15, Kub. says: “There are more than 25 different types of Kalebúgép’s, of which only the first three transmit real values. They correspond roughly to $60, $50, and $40 of our money and are the most perfect forms of this group. The other, lesser types have lost their value and are only used for formal payments, for example, as offerings to the gods or as payments for war dances when heads have been cut off.”

Kub. then identifies the 31 types without any commentary. Story 30, however, describes how the galebúgép pieces came to Gólei through the magic of Ngirate, and how they were frightened by noise and fled, so that they fell down in different locations, resulting in their names. What follows, in both my records and Kubary’s, is less about types than about individual names, especially since one comes across many of these beads only occasionally. They are listed according to their value:

1. gónugón—fell into the channel (tänge)—(Kub., Antioi Plate 1°), in this Vol. 155d) cylindrical, approx. 1cm long, blue-green with white rings. Most valuable type, of which only a few dozen are said to exist, to about 5 lúk.
2. ger regéré, name of the shrub Musaenda frondosa, on which the piece happened to fall. (Kub. Garroríg fig. 31), dark green marbled on white, value equals 4 lúk.
3. kuát named so after falling on the kuát tree (Kub. Kelvärat indigo blue with white rings, Fig. 32).
4. a sigal a sérv “post of the fence,” where it fell in a cultivated field (Kub., Vol. VII, pg. 17, Ogu a sers).
5. galepdúi fell on the gapdúi tree (Kub., pg. 17, Kalopthuay).
6. gongór fell on the gongór Pandanus (Kub. Hono’s); there is a “ripe” (mëri¹) and an “unripe” (gumáñág) type, the former contains some red, and the latter contains some green. Both kinds also exist as men-säng, which is created when a gongór bead is cut in half (see delóbog).
7. galégóos fell on the grass tree gal légios (or gorélkáłi).
8. mardáol nesugór “trepang outside” fell down outside the breakers; it is rough and dirty due to the corals.
9. mardáol skél “trepang inside the breakers on the reef,” where the piece fell in haste. This galelóbép is smooth and pretty. (Kub. Mardáol, Fig. 41, grey with veins.)
10. mardáol skél “trepang outside,” fell down outside the breakers; it is rough and dirty due to the corals. (Kub. Mardáol skél, Fig. 43, black, round, with raised yellow arabesques.)

Other names by Kub. are:
Matál a karabrúkl “his eye madal of the garabrúk Palinurus crab.” It is similar to the peduncular eye. Fig. 33 (figure on a bead).
Gekemélle a karabrúk—Matatattat, Fig. 34, with colorful spots.
Narvel a gekemél a karabrúk, Fig. 35, with blue spots.
Araduhél a Bavn amsán, Fig. 36, spherical, with white and red spots.
“Multi-colored striped agates”: Melgelukus, Fig. 38.
Galúngus, Fig. 39.
Níné Sogosok, Fig. 40, oval, with yellow stripes like ngisél sogisog in Story 141, the “tom egg,” which is the subject there. A limestone spar bead, possibly made in Palau: Úmek a Kadagodúk, Fig. 37, from únél tooth. Similar to malachite: Kamay dogodyu, Fig. 42.
Morinda, Ṅel.taok, (see Story 74), the pieces are called Klsuk, mentioned the whose “mother” is unknown, which are found only as smaller, subdivided pieces. There are, however, also Klsuk. Also lists the following ub 5.

4. redagél a ker’regár “fruit of the tree,” namely of a kel 3.
5. blëágĕd l kluk, named after the white coconut leaf. (Kub. Bleáketel kluk, also called 1.
6. b il klikĕs, the wife of 3. (Kub. Bebil klíkes, Fig. 45, dark blue, concentric stripes on ̈ kese
7. a pale blue, milky, glassy background. Value approx. $ 7.50). e

8. kluk l pelíliou, ground down by Pelíliou people because of the avarice of the inhabit-
     9. klkut melímĕt kluk, expressed when the canoe is bailed out (Kub. kluk, see below).

Dalá a kluk
1. blügăd I kluk, named after the white coconut leaf. (Kub. Bleiketel kluk, also called Meringel arakāt. Fig. 44, value $12.50; white with green, concentric veins) with fine purple veins in between.
2. klendēu, with red spots, like the red blossoms of the kerdrē shrub (see Story 194).

Sagād klikik “man poling” from mellik “to pole,” because the money is said to have been done so like a man leaping from Golei in a boat when (see Story 30, where this is mentioned). (Kub. Kliks arasagāl.)

4. redagāl a ker’regār “fruit of the tree,” namely of a kelān in Ngirangānēl.
5. mogid urisel “old line” from vurs line (Kub. Gudarēl, Fig. 46, green with purple stripes).
6. bébál klikikēs, the wife of 3. (Kub. Bebel klikikēs, Fig. 45, dark blue, concentric stripes on a pale blue, milky, glassy background. Value approx. $ 7.50).

7. uid “seven” leaf or fruit fallen to the ground.

Kluk melimet. expressed when the canoe is bailed out (Kcm. Klikūt melimet). —

10. kluk l pelilieu, ground down by Pelilieu people because of the avarice of the inhabit-
     ants of Gorōe (see Story 162).

Kcm. also lists the following kluk without commentary:

Mudōlzomākāl, Klorăuk Kluk
Radār Assmongāngōb
Molāp Ulōgōinmēl
Aurongiū Mardahēl a kalāu rūū
Klikyō (see delōbōg)
Mardahēl a kalāu rūū

There are, however, also kluk whose “mother” is unknown, which are found only as smaller, subdivided pieces.

Kcm. mentioned the keluk only as the first of the Adolōbok.

According to my records, the following should also be listed as kluk:
1. gateiūngō, meaning unknown to me, called kluk re Ngerōad (Vol. 2).
2. magaăngō, something that “occupies a whole place,” because, just like a kluk re Ngerōad, it ranks above the following ones.
3. ulojūng, striped red and yellow like the spokes of a whirl wheel, colors like the leaves of the Crotos (keuāk).

4. gōdelēru, with three red stripes.
5. gōrō of gōlōbō, the gorō apon of gōlōbō, a female Gōlū; two red stripes on each side (Kub. as a delōbōg, called Karmūt kalāuēlē).
6. bleriosiog, spiral stripes like a bōriōsiog snake.
7. maliābōgō, like the ibagēl sea urchin.
8. togōri, like red clay (gorūg).
Apart from these exceptions, which are few and rare, the glass beads are usually uniformly green or blue. These are the ones that one sees most often. Colorwise, they are divided as follows:

gubel white
ulimad dark blue (see ‘i lamuis gadoqel “translucent blue”).
goos green with light spots (bubbles) like the goos Premna shrub.

The other glass beads are only somewhat translucent:
gürumal “unripe Hibiscus” dense blue or beautiful green.
gürumallarnar “ripe Hibiscus” whitish-green.
gnata gamadág like fresh (gamadág) palm wine.
mokamón yellow like the arboreal gooseberry mokamón.
moterfél rods like the pistils of the balsamine xerit, translucent.
galsipt “treetop,” like the fruit at the top of a ge’s ‘regeriv tree in Ngáruang; the value is one gongsqal at most (Kub. Kalsipt emerald green).
gugeriv “end leaf of a coconut palm” striped inside (Kub. Ogeruy).
tameriv like the round, blue fruit of the dekameriv tree (see Story 157).
six r dóbog “Draconta of Ngardibog” long, whitish, opaque.

The following specimens are old, worn down, and do not have much value anymore, = one bowl of syrup, one cluster of betelnuts, etc.:

rékog ngus “Casuarina fruit.”
gamadág suk “unripe Pandanus.”
aitogs whitish-green.
bayi kesit “coal from the kesit tree” (see Story 157).

Standards of value.

The smallest pieces of money, which are equal in value to a bowl of syrup or a cluster of betelnuts, were listed above. The smallest denominations are generally the lowest-value money in Ngaredolong (= 1 Areca nut cluster): moru telkandum equal to a cut piece telkandum or telkind, for example, the arm of an octopus. Then follows: geinol e im “one to five” = 5 bowls of a šok syrups (see Story 260). The main standard for value is: moru truq “on ten,” namely 10 spears or 10 baskets of taro, or “1 ruq fish,” this is the expression on Bahlablob, on Gooru’er they say: moru geinosikaua or gongqal.

One basket full of taro is called kolu l kaku, the 10 baskets are of different sizes. The first is knee-high and is called the “main” poqal a kaku, the 5th through the 10th are about 20-25cm high. (Taro piled up to stomach-level in baskets is called agqeiqel, up to head-level galsqel.) One delóbog l logqel is now worth approximately 20 baskets of taro, half a kolu at the most (likewise klosq and mensung); so in general, one kolu equals 40 baskets. The value of a basket of taro sold individually is 1 mark on average. In 1910, one mensung sold for 18 two-mark pieces, while one tengqir r među went for 8 two-mark pieces.

Galehbôg and klukai can represent the highest and the lowest values, depending on the condition of the material and the history, while kloq and delóbog are always in the middle somewhere. I already reported on the higher values above. Kub. lists:

Adolobok (a delóbog) is equal to the sum of about 30 baskets of taro.
Matul a kolu (madál see below) = 40 baskets.
Kloq = Matul a kolu + Adolobok.
Éket a kelkül (kluk) = 1-2 klu.
Kalehibak (galehbôg) worth up to 5 kluk.
Éket a kalbakab (agalbôg) worth more than 1 galehbôg.

Generally prevailing prices are:
for one Blu = 3 kluk and 20 madál a kolu, in Goribër for ironwood 4 kluk,
for one Bai = 4 galehbôg, for part of a roof amogjel see below, in the section on Bai construction.

Changing money (meririkum or oltebüg) and lending money (omol) are well-developed business practices. The word omol for lending should not be confused with the word omol “to pay back,” from which the expressions madál a kolu, madál a delóbog, madál a galehbôg, etc., originate. These are common words for pieces of money, always glass beads, and are meant to express the value of the borrowed kluq, delóbog, etc. They are also the money used to pay back debts if identical pieces are lacking. The madal pieces are not pieces of money in their own right, as Kub. and others seem to think, instead, madal should be translated as “lending charge.” One also pays gongqi “interest” for borrowing money.

Say, for example, one wants to borrow a delóbog, then one gives about half its value as gongqal and one galehbôg bead, br’rak bead, or mongiqun bead. The borrower then looks around more or less at his convenience for an- other delóbog that he can acquire through working, selling things, etc., and then gives it to the lender, who then keeps the interest.

If someone wants to borrow a bagél, he must give a more valuable piece as collateral oloirts (verb oloirt). This is the security gosüsul (poss. gossul), which was previously discussed above (see also Section VI 2). One can exchange it again later and just make a couple of gifts of taro, betelnut, etc. No special interest payment is customary in this case, because the knowledge that one is in possession of a more valuable bagél, albeit temporary, is already enough of a reward. In the past, when Palau was still heavily populated and unspoiled, one only needed to give a shell or a leaf as collateral, which had the spiritual value of the security. According to Kub., Vol. VII, pgs. 9-11, the following lending system is in place:

The pawn for one deloblôg is one madál a deloblôg, the interest is one gongsqal.
The pawn for one kolu is one madál a kolu, the interest is one deloblôg.
The pawn for one galehbôg is one Éket a kelkül, the interest is one kluk.

“if one is looking for Matul a adolobok and Matul a kolu, one can secure these only with oloirts, i.e. by exchang- ing them for another type of money of equal value, because there is no set rate of exchange for these.” Because they are glass beads, as described above, they may only be exchanged, because after all, oltebüg means “to ex- change, to switch.”

To be able to exchange a Kluk Nr. 1 that has a value of 50 marks, one must provide 1 madál a kolu = 40 marks, 1 deloblôg klox = 30 marks, 1 gongsqal = 20 marks, 1 moru geinosiq = 10 marks, for a total of 100 marks. For one galehbôg + 1 with a value of 250 marks, one must provide 1 klu = 50 marks, 1 Éket a kelkül = 100

"One to five" = 5 bowls of syrup (see Story 200). The main standard for value is:

Matul a kolu (madáll see below) = 40 baskets.
Matul a kolu = Matul a kolu + Adolobok.
Éket a kelkül (kluq) = 1-2 kluq.
Kalehibak (galehbôg) worth up to 5 kluq.
Éket a kalbakab (galbôg) worth more than 1 galehbôg.
marks, 1 kluk = 50 marks, 1 gokdemáol = 40 marks, 1 delóbŏg = 30 marks, 1 gokdóiog = 20 marks, 1 mora geimól = 10 marks, and finally one more mora kluk = 50 marks, all together 350 marks.

In the case of a bágĕl, the rate of exchange is even higher, because the prestige of this large denomination, both ends, the external appearance, the division, the exchange money, etc. must be paid with a separate rate. During my stay, Golegenl (Vol. 2) exchanged one kluk Nr. 3 (1 kluk) for Golköng and gave 1 kluk and 2 göngiakl for it. Wilson already observed the okérél system, “taking a larger piece of money and giving back a smaller piece” (Vol. 1).

There are numerous expressions for payment of purchases, celebrations, exchange in which the weight of the money was determined. The payment system is shown particularly well in the section on Bai construction, below. Story 80 tells of an important event, which took place during my stay there, to describe how a large piece of money is exchanged, for example when a club receives one and distributes it among the leading members Nr. I-X: The club Ngaratëkángĕl (see Vol. 2) cut down 150 dort trunks in the Gogeál forests for the government and received 1 môngong-bágĕl for this work. On May 1, 1910, this money was distributed according to the okérél system, in which a larger piece of money is taken and a smaller piece is given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Took</th>
<th>Gave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>the bágĕl</td>
<td>1 galebûgĕl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>the galebûgĕl</td>
<td>2 kluk and 2 klsuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1 kluk</td>
<td>1 ménsang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1 kluk and 1 klsuk</td>
<td>1 ménsang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>1 klsuk</td>
<td>1 blue galdóiog (mesél ongiákl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1 klsuk</td>
<td>1 göngiakl (môngong-gau bead)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1 ménsang</td>
<td>1 göngiakl (môngong-gau bead = 15 baskets taro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>1 göngiakl</td>
<td>1 green galdóiog (~ mura geimol kuku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>1 tengét r medú</td>
<td>1 green galdóiog (môngong-kluk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>1 tengét r medú</td>
<td>1 green galdóiog of lesser value (galtópt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remaining low-value pieces of money (about 10) were distributed among the young people of the club. The payment system is shown particularly well in the section on Bai construction, below. Story 80 tells of an important exchange in which the weight of the money was determined.

There are numerous expressions for payment of purchases, celebrations, pokêt (poss. pukêt), from onmolît “to deliver”, some of which have been discussed previously. I refer to the section on title conferential in Vol. 2, and also to the purchase of the dugong above. The offering of money by the family to the family head (gokdám) when purchasing a mesékül is called onmoldül. In Vol. II, pg. 97, Kub. mentions the word onmoldül for the purchase of a house. In the same place, he mentions the purchase of land, in which the buyer gives one piece of money as olekélél a peläl (Kub.: Nqogolóél a peläl) and another for the orétel a kebél (Kub.: Orettél a kebél). olekélél means “to cut off a piece”; so the former means “cutting off of the land,” while the latter means “cutting” meörété of the kebél vines, which grow on the abandoned land. Usually, purchase of land means the renting of land by people exiled during wartime. In a real land purchase, no special words are used for payment. blokélél contribution of money by the rubak (Story 113)

bus wedding gift from the husband to the wife’s mother (Stories 43, 136)

biogév (see Story 20) money for the people who have buried a relative in a foreign village

golkbál (poss. gólkbál) gift from the father (a syrup pot or oil, etc.) to the godfather of his child, who has given it his name and who pays the golkbál for this. The child is then a golkbál (ongkélél he has my name, onmgkekla he has your name)

gongráol = ½ goral

goral family contribution for a celebration in the amount of one kluk, also paid in the case of a divorce, see gongráol and klevégél búög

klevégél búög a klaiúl contribution to a feast (see gorál), Story 136 (from menág to pick a cluster of betelnuts ( búög). Since money used to be rare in the old days, betelnuts and betel leaves were often accepted as payment)

madél ez gad from “death of a person,” that is, blood money, mentioned in Story 80 and cited by Kub. in Vol. II, pg. 44, as madélakad for the atonement of the murder of a chief. It should briefly be mentioned that the Rubakane little containers, often with beautiful inlay (Wall.: bus, poss. bsengél) for storing their money, and that when they take along their money, they put it into their little woven bags (goélél i belë, see sun worshipers). However, money is usually buried in a secret location for fear it will be stolen. Consequently, there are probably still numerous pieces hidden in the ground, and indeed, unearthed pieces of money are not rare, as the ngolam ruwârd in Story 60 shows. I have already mentioned above, that money is often worn as ornamentation, as gólbiungél.
4. Navigation and Canoe Building

Of all of the primitive peoples of the world, the Palauans are famous for having the most beautiful canoes. This opinion was already expressed by Wilson on pg. 315, where it says: “Our people, who had often seen canoes of this type in many other countries, thought those of the Palauans surpassed all those they had ever seen elsewhere in elegance and beauty.” Others have uttered similar praise, for example, P. Raymundus. I myself can only confirm this opinion, after everything I have seen on all continents and in the museums.

And so it is even more astonishing that Palauans did not venture beyond coastal navigation, despite the fact that they had superb models in the Central Carolinians, their neighbors to the East.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 268, Kub. says: “The Palauans, like the Pohnapeians and the natives of Kusaye, have long ago given up ocean voyages of great distances. They do not even remember ever having been ocean-goers, and the skill of navigating by the stars is lost without a trace, although there can be no doubt that once, in earlier times, the names of the constellations prevailing in the Carolines were introduced to Palau.

The Hamburg expedition experienced the same thing. The canoes of the Palauans left the lagoon waters only to visit foreign ships off the East coast, outside the barrier reef, to conduct fishing trips, for example for sharks, flying fish (see Story 70), etc., or to sail by canoe from one village to another more quickly, especially when trying to reach Nggeiagil in the North or a Ngeiäur in the South; both islands are outside the barrier reef. For this latter voyage, from Pellilou to a Ngeiäur, there are special canoes (see below) for crossing the strait of Makaëp.

On all of these trips, the coast remains visible. Occasionally, the straits (gongetil) are crossed by swimming, as Story 195 implies, although this was not the rule, nor was it as common as in Polynesia.

Despite the lack of high seas navigation, however, our archipelago was by no means unknown to outsiders. Even before the arrival of Europeans, the Palau Islands were subjected to numerous visits. The discovery story in Vol. 1, pg. 14, explains that the Jesuit missionaries of the Philippines reported several instances of castaways who had drifted from the Carolines to the Philippines. In most cases, the castaways turned East with their boats to return home, and often they encountered Palau in the process, which the Hamburg expedition was able to verify.

Story 8 of Ugélkekla, Story 10 of Mélip and Góbëbelä, Story 14 of a Tmélögöld etc., however, show that in early times already, our archipelago received immigrants from the Eastern Carolines, by way of Yap.

Just as the Polynesians in former times, knew each other’s archipelagos and visited each other, this was true of Micronesians, although on a much larger scale. Of course, Palau is the exception in the Carolines, because its natives, as mentioned, are not high-seas navigators. But this is why the archipelago was known everywhere, at least as far as Tik in the East, as the list of names for it in Vol. 1 indicates. The Feis islanders who washed up on Guam in 1696 knew “Panloæ,” and the Palau Indian of Sonsorol related that he had already been to all of the neighboring islands, as his map in Fig. 4 shows.

The fact that the people of Feis visited the land they feared for trading purposes is shown by the case of the native who hurried on ahead of the “Modesto” in 1808. Kadu also claimed to have been there, although the Palauans were known and feared everywhere because of their savageness. Finally, I must refer to Yap. As will be substantiated in the description of the Central Caroline Islands, Yap maintained continuous relations with Palauans for commerce and had a tribute relationship with them. Yap also had a relationship with Palau for the building of canoes, because Palau had nicer building wood than Yap, and also for the making of stone money. The Carolinians paid for these things with turmeric yellow, woven mats, and shell ornaments, such as the kau mentioned above, which were new to Palau.

The fact that the Chinese visited the Palau archipelago before the arrival of white men was previously presented in the section about money. This import is the main evidence of early traffic between Palau and the outside world, because it was by no means accidental; the visitors must have come several times. The goods they probably received in exchange were trepang and shark fins, turtle shell, pearl oysters, etc.

In former times, when a sail was sighted off the shore in Palau, the islanders would shout: bakal. A sailing vessel is called gomakal, sailing canoes are called gomakal mlai to distinguish them, and the steamships are called gomakal a găt (gat “smoke”).

Large ships are generally called dial’i, as opposed to the outrigger canoes of the natives, the mlai. A mlai actually means the “canoe body,” more correctly and literally gulgudal mlai, in contrast to the outrigger galgudal 1 ot klekāl, to which the rigging is added. The lashing of the outrigger is particularly important and is called sakt⁷⁹: the stability of the boat depends on this, so canoes are often counted according to the number of outriggers:

for example,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sakt 1 canoe</th>
<th>sakt 2 canoes</th>
<th>sakt 3 canoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sila’k</td>
<td>a sila’k</td>
<td>a de si’t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The side of the outrigger (in sailing terms: the luff) is called side. The side of the outrigger (in sailing terms: the luff) is called kadesemel, and when two canoes are sitting side by side, alongside each other: kadesemel; the lee side is called kederáol (from gorúl “booms” of the midsection kán on the lee; Wól.) calls the side of the sail on which there is no bamboo sur, and two canoes alongside each other on their lee: kakedeseláik; this is the case when two canoes pass each other. The space under the outrigger (between the hull and the float) is called klőkőm.

A canoe is constructed as follows: The hull of the canoe, galagadál a mlai, or mlai for short, is made from a single piece. The keel gorúl is wider at the lowest point, which is called gorúl bar. Wól. calls the keel pril (from bar “end”). Towards the top, it becomes sharp as a knife, which is why that part is called golingel (from gol “knife”).

The spot where the width decreases is the most dangerous place for hitting a rock, the “leak-maker rock” golingel bad, as this is an easy place for a leak to occur. Seen from above, the hull is narrow, both sides running parallel, and the stern is just a bit wider (5cm, Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 271); in the middle there is a narrow slit, which can be closed with planks dingāb, under which there is a hold lőlőb that expands. The deck itself, which is part of the dug-out canoe, is called rail. The hull is divided into several compartments by the two fore decks, the transverse deck planks and the midsection. These three major parts of the deck shall be discussed first:

The two fore decks mlai are trapezoidal in shape and have covered hatches, as can be seen in Figs. 156f. and 158f. The bow of the canoe kaštli has a hole rég for grasping. Under the foredeck is a hold called klagőm. The padding deck (transverse deck rail) bágăd (poss.: bégeládi) (Kub.: Babát) (Fig. 156 c, d, e) is tied down across the deck on both sides of the midsection g; b; it is the seat for the paddlers (Story 204, Verse 15). Fig. 157 shows the rail from the side: on the left on the lee is a groove for the gunwale gorúl l (Kub.: Kúrálo), which runs across the three rails and ends on the outrigger boom (Fig. 160i). This gunwale is a lot of help on the lee side, it is a safeguard against falling overboard or slipping, and helps someone in the water climb back into the canoe. It is also a guide rail for the paddles, so that these do not catch on the protruding pegs. Towards the bow, the round, but usually octagonal pole with well-pronounced edges has a head as decoration (Fig. 158, see below). The bágăd rail usually has a little point towards the interior, called tul a bágăd, similar to the bow. Together with a similar, blunt one called a bêkèlél ce ści molin on the luff side, it forms a little indentation, for sticks, paddles, etc., especially if there is no groove in the center.

The main storage place for spears and paddles, however, is the indentation ilí a ťaça “hollow (nest) of the morning bird ţaça” at the luff end, which is bordered on the outside by the tip l bolin patil a bágăd (“head of the bágăd”). The location of the ťaça nest, i.e. on which side it is located, is important for the sailor. If the canoe rides in such a way that the sailor has the nest on his right, and thus the outrigger to starboard*⁴, then the spears are stored to the right, and the paddles are used on the left. This is the setup when the canoe is heading into battle makamid, and therefore one speaks of gesel makamid; but if the outrigger is on the left, it is called gesel gőri; and only fishing spears may lie in the nest on the left, because then one is going “fishing” mo ra gőri. It is obvious how important the transverse booms are. In the canoes used for passenger service, the dēkēl poles lie in the niuser nests!

The three bágăd have different names: the one in front, at the bow kaštli is called bágăd kaštli (Fig. 158f.); it has a hole in it, through which the káps line is passed, which is used to fasten the tack of the sail. The hold between the first and second bágăd (Fig. 156d, e, and e) is called klagőm (Kub.: Klágásak), like the one under the mlai (l), with which it is joined. The second (d) is called bágăd rgometel l’déì “transverse beam for belaying the stay,” because the fore or aft mast stay is belayed to it, namely at the hole at the top (Fig. 158d). There are two more holes here for belaying the níupa line, which is stayed on the side using the one from the outrigger.
The hold d, between c and d, is called gometitl’s dei. The third transverse beam (c) is called bágul umulitl, and the hold towards the center (c’) is called gol mátel (Kub.: Öhmátel), because it usually contains bilge water matel (from matel = “to bail”), which is bailed out here; which is where the name comes from.

The midsection blu (Kub.: blau) is a square frame, 80-120cm long, that is set on the deck (Figs. 159, 160, 161); it consists of the transverse beams kamügaraság (s) (Kub.: Komakarásaal) and the longitudinal beams goraúol (r) (Kub.: Korañal), to which the triangular tangál longgüalól are joined (r”) as protection against the seas, so that the water runs off on the sloping surface. Under the two transverse beams sit the two bulkheads gongól (Kub.: Honél), which mark off the midsection golitiš’l (Kub.: Holiaš) (Figs. 160 and 161 bottom), in which the bilge water collects, making it unusable for storing provisions, but good for fish that are caught, which have their place here. The lower floor is called all. The frame is held in place by six strong lashings on both sides, which run through holes in the side and in the longitudinal beam goraúol.

These lashings, called goru (see Fig. 159), are extremely important; if they are cut, the canoe becomes unusable sooner or later, depending on the damage, and this trick was used all too often in former times, as Story 165 shows. Because the two outrigger beams soáiĕs (Wall.: soasses), which support the outrigger (i), lie on top of the frame; they are each tied to the transverse beam with two lashings which mark off the midsection golitiš’l (Kub.: Holiaš) (Figs. 160 and 161 bottom), in which the bilge water collects, making it unusable for storing provisions, but good for fish that are caught, which have their place here. The lower floor is called all. The frame is held in place by six strong lashings on both sides, which run through holes in the side and in the longitudinal beam goraúol.

On the frame there is a seating plank that consists of various boards and is called blái as a whole. The main central plank dingál, is bordered at the edge towards the lee side by a type of gunwale, an angular plank known as a ulekíkt; because the goru’l pole (b) is missing there; towards each end of the canoe there is a narrow board on the edge, which spread out like the “legs of ulekíkt,” which is why they are called gogíl a ulekíkt (g’). Towards the outrigger, there is another narrow plank gomkarál (Kub.: ongíl, Wall.: gom egoál), on which the mast stands in a groove jálal (Kub.: jálal, Wall.: cheli). It constitutes the link to the outrigger.

The outrigger golul’l or kledíde (Kub.: toes, Wall.: toeses) just mentioned, the float support, the stanchions or pegs ulái (Kub.: ulai), and the float desémel (Kub.: Desímel, Wall. desímel). The float is removable, rectangular with rounded tips, and is 2 ½ - 4 ½ m long, 25-35cm wide, and 20-30cm tall (Kub.). The outrigger beams are stuck in the frame on top, mid-ship, as just mentioned, from where they protrude outwards. On their underside there is a pair of transverse strings (Fig. 156k) lashed on, called teka (Kub.: Teka kelokot, Wall. klesok), because klesok is the name of the grating-like lattice work, above, on which the captain usually sits, and from whence it gets its name moklıét (Story 204, Verse 16), which is also the name for the space between the hull of the canoe and the float. Hanging down from the outrigger beams is a yoke (Fig. 161v) gor’ebal (Kub.: Korabálék, Wall.: charrebágel) for holding objects, especially the ends of the poles stored on the bágul. Towards the outside there may be additional tekál klesok; usually there are little pieces of bamboo here that form a grating-like platform which is also called klesok (b). Then, more towards the outside, there is an indentation on the top side, where the sitting board (m) golukusál or golul’l (Kub.: Ologosákel) is fastened. When the canoe is sailing, this is where the man sits who holds the line in his hands, whose path will be mentioned shortly.

The plank has projections jutting down, so that it fits tightly between the soáiĕs, in which a little indentation also makes movement to the side impossible. On its short sides there are two projections (Fig. 156 and 162m) (Kub.: Mathal a hordíal). Towards the outside there follows the supporting yoke kemátal (Kub.: Kemátal, Wall.: gemenátal), there are almost always two, an inner émal and an outer ikl kematál. Both of them have a hole in a projection on their hollow underside, the outer one for the luff stay déi desémel; and the line kemát runs in the cut-outs along the side and is held by the man sitting on the board; therefore kemátal. The yard support koll’l runs through the hole of the inner yoke. The double yoke must therefore be lashed tightly to the outrigger beams, which in turn are kept securely separated from one another by the yoke. The two yokes also support the float (Fig. 156).

The forked supports ulái (Kub.: ulai) sit under the yoke, attached to the ends of the soáiĕs, pointing down vertically; they are two round wooden stakes that are supported on the inside and are kept in place on the outside by two vertically crossed bars toráir (Kub.: tovair). The ulái stanchions penetrate the float desémel through special holes ulósám (Kub.: ultsam). Additional holes, called golótsámál (Kub.: Holotsamáal), are used to pass the line tóóu (Kub.: toou, Wall.: toái) through to the yoke kemátal, so that it cannot fall out of the ulái. There is another rope in front, namely there is one tied to each of the outrigger beams, the lateral stays náap (Wall.: tudáb), which secure the outrigger in position (Fig. 156). The other rope end is tied to the 1st básag...
According to legend, the rigging is the invention of the Galul Medegepelin (see Story 197); it constitutes the third major part of the sailing canoe. The solid parts (mast, yard, boom) are made of stout bamboo poles; wooden shanks with pegs are driven into their hollow ends, which are usually lashed for fastening. The mast govál (poss. govakal) (Kub.: Horákl, Wall.: chôrákl) bears the pole ugin (Kub.: Azukram, Wall.: uchirn) that is mortised into it, and in it is the hole⁴⁴ for the halyard ngér (Kub.: ngerer, Wall.: ngera) and usually most of the hole is filled up by a sheave gütevérí (Kub.: Katrebeu). The fore and aft stays bládél (see above, Fig. 156) are also fastened to the pole, as is the luff stay, del desómél. The mast stands on the board gomakaral with the help of a wooden peg. The sail éir (poss. réirél) (Kub.: père, Wall.: sàir, Wall.: sàur), hangs on the halyard. It is fastened to the yard demél (Kub.: Démél, Wall.: dengél), also called gelog, at a yard loop (Kub. alohélés), which runs up when the sail is hoisted and is hauled home when the sail is paid out with a line keól' (Kub.: goól, Wall.: gool) that is fastened to the same loop.

The tip of the yard, the neck, is called ságálklerikl and when the canoe is sailing it is fitted into the hole éig at the bow, where it can also be fastened. When the sail is paid out, the yard is hauled home by the keól' rope, which runs through the hole in the inner yoke. The boom galág (Kub.: Gálák), which hangs from the sail by a gaff éldkélémél, touches the neck horizontally. The sheet klemñit (poss. kemalát) was just discussed. In old times it was called këgél. It is attached to the boom on a long rope nösse (Kub.: kõl kën). The sail itself is made of long strips of Pandanus matting sewn together vertically, the “clothes” golalé (Kub.: Blubiai). Kub. says of this: “These strips, called Blubiai, may reach a width of 20-30cm and are considered better the narrower they are. These days, they are sewn together with a curved copper or iron needle, formerly a needle of chon.ogúl (Kub.: Demél), also called telilap, at the yard for ty-ing. in V ol. VIII, pg. 297, Kub. says the following about manufacture of the sail: “in every village there is a more or less open place that is level enough to allow spreading out a sail. Here, a triangle corresponding to the size of the sail to be made is staked out with pegs and string, and this area is then filled with sections of matting. All the men consult each other during this, and two at a time always work on one seam. They sew from the center towards the ends, so that, depending on the size of the sail, two to three couples can sew comfortably at the same time, frequently changing places. In this way, the sail, which requires a great deal of work, may be finished in a single day, accompanied by conversation and eating.” Fig. 163 shows a triangular area of the type described. Nggeiang is renowned for making good sails (V ol. 2). Kub. also names Ngaregolóng and Pelilíou. There are also double paddles with blades on both sides, or less open place that is level enough to allow spreading out a sail. Here, a triangle corresponding to the size of the canoe is made, and the lines are sewn together with a curved copper or iron needle, which usually represent ocean waves.

The paddles are swung high in strict rhythm, particularly in the war canoe, as Wuxos reported (see Vol. 1); there are nice illustrations in bai 28 II and bai 21 III. There are also double paddles with blades on both sides, besís lërëkél, which are used to move rafts in deep water. They are especially famous as paddles for dance (see Fig. 211). Most paddles are uniformly red; imported oil paint is probably the reason for the recent emergence of white patterns, which usually represent ocean waves.
On the prow itself, a hook-like protrusion juts upwards, known as the tógĕd “thorn,” and in the place where the ramming spur is located on the war canoes, there is a point called gobagád l tógĕd, which can be translated as “spirit spur.” A molding runs along the two sides of the bow; its acute upper angle is called komúr bëap “rat tail,” while the lower, obtuse one is called ulog kim “Tridacna muscle” in contrast. Transport canoes have two square “spikes” at the keel, near the spur (Figs. 168 and 173a).

The kabekl war canoes are much more elaborately decorated. The one from Gôréŏr gets its name Gouklídm from the term for human faces klídm, which the canoe had not only on the head board gongoi, but all along the entire hull, as Plate 13 shows. Also hanging from the head board are a heap or a row of snail shells strung on cords, hanging down like braids of hair, which give the whole thing a rather wild look; gësegúsem (Kub.: Kasogúsum) is the name for this type of ornamentation. The inlay work, however, tends to be especially beautiful; it was previously discussed above. On the war canoe of Melekéiok, there are not only money disks, but entire curlews as decoration, all consisting of shell pieces, which in more recent times have been combined with clips of Chinese plates (Fig. 168). Instead of human faces, in this case, there is a double row of galebúgĕp pieces of money along the hull. Three of these can be found on the two lower keel projections. Most sailing canoes and transport boats generally have three blútang crosses below and on the projections in front. There is also inlay work on the mid-section and the outriggers, as well as on the ulekíkt and the gogíl a ulekíkt board (g and g’), etc. These are in the shapes of triangles, zigzags, etc., as already mentioned above.

The snowy egg cowries on the goreal’l have already been discussed, as have the besúgĕl pendants, which are found on the same boom, on the prow, on the ends of the rowing bench, the outrigger, and especially on the two projections of the golakasál board seat (m), in the middle of the nísap line; they sway in the wind and when the canoe is sailing, they animate the entire image and even have a magical effect.

The background of all of the ornamentation, as previously described in the discussion on woodwork, is red paint, which is applied to all parts of the canoes, the paddles, the bailer, etc., in short to all wooden parts; only the bamboo remains unpainted. In addition to red, the inside of the canoe hull is often painted yellow, as is done with wooden containers. Kub. says: “The outside is given a double coating of red ocher, which is always covered with the Laok varnish. Painting the Deleboǹel edge, the two seams of the Ubít, the Tanatik, the ends of the Bákat, the Tekan kelsókos, etc., with white paint is very popular; in former times they used ordinary lime mixed with coconut oil for this purpose, but nowadays, if possible, they use oil paint obtained from the ships of the white men.” The white and green shown in Fig. 164 are evidence of this.

Canoes are kept in the canoe house díangĕl. They are pushed and pulled there across the short, sloped terrain on round logs (see Vol. 2). Rollers (Wall.: tiití, verb: melitái) seem to have been used since early times. Occasionally, a cart ngóllág (see also the section on the eating hut, Section Vi) is also used; it is merely an axle with two small, thick, wooden disks that turn, which I saw once in Goikül. Wall. calls this cart kíngál l tiitái; “seat on rollers,” and it was probably built on the basis of stories. The concept of the cart, however, was apparently not entirely foreign to the Palauans. The float is taken off as soon as possible, and the outrigger is placed on t kakl supports in the canoe house (Vol. 2). The canoe itself rests on the koi beams; details about the delépĕs sleepers follow.

According to the natives’ legends, canoes are constructed as follows: the ukal’l tree (Serianthes grandiflora) is considered the child of Diledĕ gu of Ngariáp (see Stories 17 and 13, Note 1), which is why a gotáot chant must be said before it is felled. A basket is set at the foot of the tree, with taro that has been cut into seven pieces in it, as well as roasted ulogóug coconut for the 7 Gaiul building chant (see below in the section on Ibai construction).

Money of the old type, cut from the root of the kesól turmeric, must also be included. The chant for the ukal’l tree goes like this:...
After this he climbs the ladder, always placing the right foot first, squats towards the top of the trunk, with his back to the root side of the trunk (see the section on Bai construction), holding the handle vertical with the blade downwards. He sits between these at the base of the tree trunk and reads: 'I sit between these at the base of the tree trunk and I say: 

After the chant, the basket and the money are picked up and carried to the next tree, so that the Galíd move to that one. They are given one night to move, then the next day the tree is felled. The direction of the tree’s fall is interpreted as either a good or a bad omen: if it falls to the West, this is very bad, the wood will rot; Southeast is also not propitious. If the tree falls to the East, one will not receive much money upon completion of the canoe, and there will be a tendency to rot. Only North is considered a good omen: in that direction the tree falls towards the island Ngört, which means that much money will come into the house.

The first activity of the master builder, the dágbábá, is to mark (meláŏg) the felled trunk. He makes wedges with the axe (kibeti), to indicate the size of the wooden parts to be used for construction. In addition, he sets up two poles as ladder shafts, and he thinks that the spirit Degós, who is it not our relative?

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At the eighth spot, on the other side at the male sleeper, the master builder lays the empty bowl in a small hole and covers it up, so that nobody can see any part of it. He says:

This is your drink, Father G.,
you and my mother and your child G.,
you drink and see who wants to do us harm,
give him pain; if you let it go,
he will ruin me, he will ruin you;
take care and give him pain.

Now the lines for the hull are drawn by dunking a piece of coconut blossom sheath in a soot concoction and drawing a line. These lines must be drawn before the hull and the deck rough can be carved. A string blackened with soot ungámk is also used by simply snapping it.

In addition, the little pot filled with soot*gomogosóngel* (Wall.) (Kub.: Kamakosoṅol) is used to draw the lines, with the brush made of the coconut blossom sheath being dipped in it (Story 13) (see K*n., Vol. VIII, pg. 292). The hull is hollowed out roughly. The last few chips are left in it for the time being. Next the upper section is carved out and polished, then the bottom section is shaped, to give the canoe the right curvature. Next the chips are cleared out of the inner sections using a stone blade (these days iron) on a handle (Kub.: Hokōbicōk), as can be seen in Fig. 170. One begins to carve the ends of the canoe, which have different shapes depending on the type of canoe. Then the whole canoe is turned upside down, so that the keel is on top, to finish the outside and to polish it smooth. After the delicate chipping is done, sanding with a ray skin begins, which requires many people. A feast is held for the many helpers (I participated in one myself on 17. September, 1910).

Once the hull of the canoe has been polished, painting with red earth, the *egbál a gútŭm*, begins the next day, after the delicate chipping is done, sanding with a ray skin begins, which requires many people. A feast is held for the many helpers (I participated in one myself on 17. September, 1910).

If a buyer can be found for the canoe, the master builder cuts several little coconut frond stalks to the appropriate size, as a substitute for the sleepers, which are removed. The coconut stalks are laid down together at the landing pier, while the master builder says the following:

Gibak le gëvul, kau ma Góbil le gëvul
kom di olab aikáng i dingér
tiáng é mangél re ngák
Gibak le gëvul, you and Góbil le gëvul
take only that one,
this one remains for me.

The first time the canoe is brought to the water, he says the following chant:

Kémángel lo galad kau
ma kedép lo galad, ma ngála,
ked otobedí tait mañái
ma ki melíkès
é kemíu gokú ugei l mo ra Goréôr
Long sand worm, you and short sand worm and butterfly pupa,
this is your canoe, and these are your provisions, embark, then punt;
you come in front of Nggasagáng, and they make noise inside,
there is food, money, and drink;
turn off the path of your trip, eat until you are sated.
Then get back on board, then punt,
and when no noise can be heard, then just pass over to the whirlpool at the end of Ngeaur.

mo kom, tugel a galágbéél a Ibédul
l nga i më ra mudál gobésábl
meng mo goráê a kiep
and carry it on your head the galebíggp of a Ibédul
bring it here to the opening of his money box.
so that it be the payment for this sailing canoe.

The new outrigger canoe then sets out on a voyage, so that its sailing qualities can be demonstrated and a buyer can be found, assuming that it was not built for a specific order, which also occurs, but is not usually the case. When the canoe returns from its maiden voyage, the two sleepers are laid out, next to the mouth of a river, if possible. Then the bottom-most piece of a taro is set down, some roasted coconut on top, the favorite dish of the forest spirits, and the following chant rings out:

Kémángel lo galad kau ma
ekedép lo galad ma ngála
arka mlimíu** **, máká gokúmíu
mé bom di dérél, é melíkès,
mo komor a mudál Nggasagáng
meng te mivérekirik:m rénuél
ng kái, é saulál é ùmél,
mé kontangúkí me ko mangú, l mo mádíngés,
a kak doírekré, mo melíkès,
mé diak a mivérekirikám
é kom di imíu
I m ré golintumamál
ra bêt Ngeaur
Long sand worm, you and short sand worm and butterfly pupa,
this is your canoe, and these are your provisions, embark, then punt;
you come in front of Nggasagáng, and they make noise inside,
there is food, money, and drink;
turn off the path of your trip, eat until you are sated.
Then get back on board, then punt,
and when no noise can be heard, then just pass over to the whirlpool at the end of Ngeaur.

Fig. 170. Canoe making. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.
These käep and kabékł are so highly prized that each individual canoe is given its own name. The same was true of the flotillas of the different villages; but I was only able to discover the flotilla names of the villages on Ngeaur. Most likely, the important villages in the North also adhered to the same practices, but I was unable to ascertain this. There are 10 types of Palauan vessels:

1. kabékł war canoe
2. käep racing canoe
3. kótáol transportation canoe, for sailing, but mainly for punting (melilkę)
4. boróang cargo canoe
5. džiri short and wide, ocean-going canoe (only on a Ngeaur)
6. kabesig old, Yap-like canoe, no longer used
7. bamboo raft, large golipútŭl
8. bamboo raft, small pviř
9. toy canoe golikut
10. votive canoe kōingol

The last two types are never used to transport people, and in fact, the votive canoe is really nothing more than a model and is never set afloat in the water; but, just as the shrines in the houses must be listed with the houses because they have the shape of a house, so these two types of boats must be included in the discussion on canoes.

1. The sailing canoe käep poss. kebél (Kub.: käep, Wall.: géabal) is the shining star of Palauan canoe-making skills. In Vol. VIII, pgs. 270-286, Kub. has reported so exhaustively on it, that I shall be brief, especially since his description of the hull of the canoe, the outriggers, and the rigging applied primarily to the käep. It is characterized by the great curvature (jödlig), the extremely curved keel line, which is so pronounced that on a canoe that is about 10m long, the projecting bow is 66-80cm higher than the midsection of the keel; on Plate 13 this is very visible. According to legend, the model for the strong, wonderful canoe was the claw of the flying fox gošik rú iđẽbanašig, which was killed in Golč. When the canoe is afloat, the whole front section and even a large part of the keel project upwards, making it look as though the vessel were sagging at the back.

Actually, the 4 men who constitute the crew of the canoe during a voyage and who are its only passengers, keep to the aft section, so that the bow sticks out even more, which makes the similarly curved after end of the gunwale appear almost horizontal. It is this curvature, as well as the slenderness of the canoe hull and the large surface of the sail, that allow the canoe to reach a high traveling speed. Kub. claims that the Ralik-Ratak canoes are superior; but this could only be decided in a race. At a race held in the Tomil Harbor in Yap, which the photo shows, the Palauan canoe had an advantage over the Central Carolinian forked-tail canoe. The fact that the Palauans call the Yapese canoe dehı ‘bowl’ says more than any other words can (see above).

The ocean-going canoes are built heavier than the käep, which are pretty much racing canoes. Story 16, which describes the race for the ngas branch, which was to decide who would become the first Rubak, reveals how racing is in the Palauans’ blood. The connection with the Gádjęgępęłau, the inventor of the sail (Story 197), is unmistakable. Furthermore, Kub. says that the Palauans handle their canoes with more skill than the Central Carolinians, apparently because they have more opportunity for sailing in their large archipelago. And his statement that the käep sails particularly well on the wind is correct, so I refer to his descriptions for details. But I want to add several remarks here about the sailing races.

They say that the käep races used to be held annually. The starting point was a lrań, the sacred village of Medejępęłau, the inventor of the sail. The course led first westward, then up the coast to Ngđe, from there down the East coast back to a lrań. Along the way, the competitors would stay 3 days each in Ngęe, a lmeings, Ngąmęi, Ngąbęi, Męngalľiingg, Kčílę, Nıgvı, and Melalıkęi. From a lrań, they then sailed back down to nearby Ngaragębùl, to pick up the stone idol of Temböl (Vol. 2), which they then conveyed to Peliši by way of Gorolę.

The last race took place shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards (around 1875). At that time, Gobak Ngırąbad sailed on the käep Tukči, Garaus of Ngıpąp on a Gálaud, and Ngırtung of Ngarmid (priest) on Gobukul. This was apparently the last sailing race. The Palauans think of it as a farewell to the old days. Kub. has no information to report about this. He simply says, on pg. 297: “Some of the vessels, which are especially distinguished because of their achievements or shape, are known throughout the entire island group at least by name, and the opportunity to see them or to try to compete with them, is eagerly sought.”

One more feature of the käep should be discussed: the presence of the kingfisher as ornamentation on the end of the 1st šagog, which was mentioned above. In Vol. VIII, pg. 272, Kub. says: “Legend has it that when Koreoöl approached the Palau Islands in his vessel, a kingfisher perched on the tip of the mast announced that land was close. The Tunač of Bulação, therefore, is supposed to represent this bird and to ensure good luck for the vessel during its voyage.” I heard a similar story of a canoe that drifted off course in the West and that received the gift of a kingfisher as ornamentation on the end of the šagog (Story 197), which was killed in Gölč. The course led first westward, then up the coast to Ngđe, and then conveyed to Peliliu by way of Gorolę.

The last race took place shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards (around 1875). At that time, Gobak Ngırąbad sailed on the käep Tukči, Garaus of Ngıpąp on a Gálaud, and Ngırtung of Ngarmid (priest) on Gobukul. This was apparently the last sailing race. The Palauans think of it as a farewell to the old days. Kub. has no information to report about this. He simply says, on pg. 297: “Some of the vessels, which are especially distinguished because of their achievements or shape, are known throughout the entire island group at least by name, and the opportunity to see them or to try to compete with them, is eagerly sought.”

2. The war canoe kabékł (Kub. kabékł, Wall: gošik) is a giant paddling canoe, whose hull may be up to 15m long; the one from Gorolę is actually 17.7m long by 1.2m deep (A. d. M. 1908, pg. 35). It is clear at first glance that the bow is different from that of the käep, because of the mostly white head board gongası (Kub. Honga), whose shell ornamentation with delicate inlay on the sides of the bow was previously discussed. Several (usually 4) bamboo poles penetrate the head board (Fig. 172). As longitudinal rails kántaı
The size of the canoe requires a more solid outrigger construction. The number of outrigger beams in this case is three, not two. The support poles ālai are not simple forked connectives, but are each divided into a pair of vertical stanchions (Fig. 172g). The forked end at the top on the inside, a double curved side brace (u), has its own name, a rikol (Kub.: nortkol). There are two single, transverse braces torā, not crossed, extending between the ālai pairs (o). And finally, at the lower end of the ālai, a bir’um brace (t) is attached, its other end lies above, on the inside of the outrigger, yet another reinforcement.

Although everything else occurs as increased numbers, the kābēl still needs only one yoke kemātāl, because it never sails. In this case, the yoke serves another function. In Vol. VIII, pg. 289, Kub. says the following about this: “At the extreme end of the bridge there is a special transverse piece called Kematāl, on which captured enemy heads are hung up. Behind this, in a notch on the Sōies ends, the Bedikl, the insignia of the war canoe, is attached when the canoe is set afloat. This sign is carved like a canoe; about 5m long, approx. 5cm wide and 7-8cm high. At the upper end, vertical egg cowries (Ovula) are attached, making it easy to recognize the purpose of the canoe from afar.”

This Rēdl, which Kub. depicts on Plate L.7 and Ll.6-8 and 10, has the shape of a long, thin, canoe hull and is set lengthwise on the outrigger beams, parallel to and above the float, by means of grooves on the necks of the heads. At the time of our sojourn there, no more such pieces existed. Apparently it was used to arouse fear, for pedikl means “trap”. On Samoa, the snowy egg cowry (Ovula) was considered the seat of the war god Vave, which is why war canoes were decorated with them. The Palauns who were asked, however, knew nothing of this meaning; but the absence of the bedikl on all of the war canoes I saw indicates that with the abandonment of the canoes’ purpose, the meaning was also lost.

H. Wilson reported much about activity during battle, much of which has been reproduced in Vol. 1, pgs. 110-116. Story 49 also gives an excellent account of how battle is done with the war canoes. But specifics about the distribution of the warriors on the canoe itself can be found only in Kubary. Two stout bamboo poles are tied under the outrigger beam, near the midsection (see Fig. 172x). In Vol. VIII, pg. 289, Kub. says of these: “Two thick bamboo poles, called Olotonāł, are lashed underneath the center of the canoe-floor platform of the outrigger. These form two of the most important seats in the vessel and are occupied by the bravest warriors, one on each side. It is their responsibility not only to throw spears, but especially to ensure in open battle that the heads of fallen enemies are cut off.”

Finally, on the outrigger beams, immediately adjoining the canoe platform, is the seat board golokasākl; it is narrow and with long ends projecting over the souls̆. According to Kub., 45cm closer to the float there is a similar piece called Deheuordāl. Between them lies the nasap reinforcement line (see Fig. 156), which is fastened to the two outer souls̆. Kub. shows these parts in their correct positions in his Plate L, Fig. 5, and he shows them individually in Plate L1 with the faces klādu. For information about ornamentation with kingfishers, see the section on war, in Section VI, and above on pgs. 185 and 193. For reasons of clarity, these are not shown in Fig. 172.

3. The rowing canoe Kotrāol (Kub. kotrāol, Wall.: kodrōuel) has a head board gongāiu like the kābēl; its hull and outrigger are like the klāp, except that everything is broader and more massive, because this is the canoe for transportation around the islands.

As Fig. 173a shows, the lee side protrudes more than the side to huff. The fore deck aħīl is wide and occupies the entire front section of the canoe. At the bow there is a small notched prominence (see pg. 181), which may serve as a step for the heel of the mast if sails are to be hoisted, as well; usually, however, the vessel is propelled by rowing or punting.

In Vol. VIII, Kub. says: “On very small vessels, the end remains open, but on larger ones, which are also used for sailing, the Klāgal space has a cover Da衲 gutiliṅ, which corresponds to the Ĭhit. It is not always fastened to the sides of the canoe, but is instead only fitted on the underside and tied to the first Bākāt at the back. In this cover is the Ogiya kāt, the hole into which the sail is inserted, and in front of this there is a protrusion of any shape, which is intended to prevent the sail from slipping forward.” For the first few months of our stay in the archipelago, we rented a kotrāol, on which we could travel around comfortably with our luggage.
4. The cargo canoe **borótong** (Wall.: *brótong*) is of an even heavier build than the **kotráol**, the hull is particularly wide and deep. In any case, these boats are rare. For information about the projection on the keel, see pg. 184.

5. The ocean-going canoe **dôspú** was shown in Vol. 2; it handles the traffic between Pkualapèl on Peliliu and a Ngirau; it is also used on the latter island for fishing on the open ocean. For this reason, it is sturdy and heavy, especially the fore deck with its *mesepqel* resembling the **káep** (Fig. 174 and Vol. 2).

6. The sailing canoe of old times, **kaberúŏg**, no longer exists, its shape is only known from the **logúkl** (Bai 9, VII). According to these, it resembled the forked-tail canoes of the Central Carolinians. The forked end apparently was called *sas* (Story 194, Line 121). The name probably has something to do with the village Ngaraberú. The natives named Nggei̊ang as the main center of the late **kaberúŏg** (see Story 22).

7. and 8. The large raft **gologútŭl** (Kub.: *Holhútol* and *Prer*, Wall.: *choleschátel* and *hrvér*) and the small raft **prér** are made out of bamboo poles and are used for transporting cargo (see Story 76) and for fishing in shallow bodies of water. They are most important for setting out the fish baskets and the *rul* lines (Fig. 79, see also Stories 19 and 20).

The smaller raft usually has a structure on it, called *klólica* like the bamboo grating on the outrigger canoes.

9. The toy canoe **blútĕk** (Wall.: *blútok*) has a certain amount of importance, although it is just a child’s toy, because racing is in the Palauans’ blood, as previously mentioned in the discussion on the **káep**. The vessel shown in Fig. 175 is very simple in its construction. Both the hull of the canoe and the float consist of a single hollowed-out piece of light wood that is tapered at the front and at the back. The sail consists of a taro leaf (for details, see the section on play in Section VI).

10. The votive canoe **këóngĕl** is really nothing more than a model of a **káep** or a **kotráol**, about 2m long. They were dedicated to the two gods Gomúiĕk (male) and Mlagei̊ (female) of Ngaregol (Vol. 2). Fig. 176 shows a nicely rigged specimen from Ngril. More about its purpose in the section on medicine. For information about the canoes of the dead, see the section on death cult.

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**Fig. 175. Toy canoe.**

**Boys playing with toy canoes on Ngarakebesang, Goreor. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.**

**Fig. 176. Votive canoe in the Ngrīl Bai Gosubulngā. Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum.**
Canoe house Adeaia with a kufa, kotraol, and kabezki canoe. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.

Below: Canoe race between Yapese prosa (left) and Palauan Kaeb canoe. Above: Unidentified, Hamburg Museum.
5. Housing and House Construction

How dwellings were built in old times is not known. As the limestone cliffs are full of caves, it is conceivable that these served as the first accommodations. Several records, for example Stories 142 and 158, also indicate that the caves truly were inhabited, but only by certain mystical beings. On the other hand, like anywhere else, caves served as places of refuge, for example the Iskimel cave in Goikul and Imalk, which was often sought out by fishermen.

Apparently, the new arrivals to the archipelago soon advanced to constructing wooden buildings and for dwellings and cult purposes, reminiscent of Indonesian models. Because the blai and in some isolated instances also the bai, and one of the shrines, the gare, around the houses goes against the sense of community and is therefore not done. It is only acceptable to erect such structures around planted areas and gardens, as protection against pigs, etc.

House construction is discussed below for both the blai and the bai. In the case of the blai, posts are set into pre-dug holes, and in the case of the bai, the foundation stones and the foundation beams are erected using poles to keep them in their position in the beginning. Alignment is done with the guiding line to keep them in their position in the beginning. Alignment is done with the guiding line.

The main section of the house that should be mentioned is the roof godêng (poss. godang\\\ shortly) like the ear-

The parts of the roof sides are the following, according to Figs. 177 and 178:

y) square inner rafters \( \text{rokál} \) (poss. \( \text{rokál} \)), part of the roof truss,
b') actual inner rafters \( \text{ségé}s \) (poss. \( \text{ségé} \), sél) below with \( \text{bía} \) “in acorn,” because we have here a head with the eave purlin resting on its neck,
g') diagonal rafters \( \text{ségé}s \) \( a \) \( \text{katôlu} \),
f') outer double cane rafters \( \text{gosekál} \) (poss. \( \text{gosekèd} \)) for tying on the roof leaves, resting on \( \text{dúl} \),
5. large lower ridge beam \( \text{buidù} \) (poss. \( \text{buidù} \)), resting on the \( \text{rokál} \), under the fork of the \( \text{ségé}s \\
6. small upper roof ridge beam \( \text{rúel} \) (poss. \( \text{rúel} \)) on the fork of the \( \text{ségé}s \\

Purlins:

a') the lowest-most inner \( \text{gorongód} \) (poss. \( \text{gorongód} \)), resting on \( a \) \( \text{rekúl} \) (x),
c') the next-most inner one above \( \text{búa} \) \( \text{arongód} \), resting on \( a \) \( \text{múl} \) (2.), the two next towards the top \( \text{omévõk} \) \( \text{ségé}s \\

Made of uncarved wood:

Huts: wedding hut, burial hut, sleeping hut on the water, pig sty, etc.
the canoe house \( \text{diangé} \) (poss. \( \text{dingé} \)),
the dance house,
The cookhouse \( \text{um} \) (poss. \( \text{umangé} \)),

Made of carved wood:

d') the three outer upper ones \( \text{dú} \) (poss. \( \text{djus} \), made of \( \text{kúk} \),
h) \( \text{uyú} \) for tying on the roof leaves, resting on the \( \text{dú} \\

House construction is discussed below for both the blai and the bai. In the case of the blai, posts are set into pre-dug holes, and in the case of the bai, the foundation stones and the foundation beams are erected using poles to keep them in their position in the beginning. Alignment is done with the guiding line angink, which is made of coconut string or a kêu kêu vine, while marking is done with a brush made out of gau gau (blossom sheath of the coconut palm). The paint pot gomongongot contains the black paint used for this, which is made out of soot and the juice of young coconut husks and is very durable (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 225). The outer gombe kát, made of wood or bamboo, is used to draw lines, etc. For more about other tools, etc., see above.

The main section of the house that should be mentioned is the roof godêng (poss. godang\( \)) (Kub.: \( \text{radú} \), Wall.: \( \text{chadú} \)), which is low in the center and raised at the gables, like Indonesian models. It consists of the roof truss and the two roof sides. For more about the erection of this truss, see the native description of bai construction, where details about its composition can also be found.
The fact that the reka rafter is not part of the actual roof framework can be seen in the fact that the latter can be lifted off with ease, like a sheet of paper, while the rekaín remains in place. In the past, arrogant villagers often lifted the roof of the houses of their helpless subjects, as Stories 38 and 36 demonstrate. In Vol. VIII, pg. 258, Kub. says quite correctly that the roof sits on the bai so loosely that in case of a storm it must be lashed down with ropes to the girders underneath or outside to trees. For the roof wood (thin tree trunks) there is a hard-and-fast rule that a thick end ágil may not meet a thick stump, and a tip (rsól) may not meet another tip, but rather that ágil must touch rsól. In the case of a bai, the tip of the rásł (6 pt) points forward, while that of the baiíl (5 pt) points back.

The tips of all of the purlins on the right side (seen from behind bai l bai) point forward, while those on the left side all point towards the back. The tips of all ságét rafters point upwards, so that the thick ends protrude like branches from the gorongšíl, to which they are lashed (that is why the binding is called rongtíl; therefore, the tips of the rafters must cross at the fork on the roof ridge. For information on the importance of the ágil side for seating and direction in the bai and baiíl see below. Where the gable side is not closed up with boards, for example, in the bai and the bai lóko or the bai l dorí, a grating of three rafters and three purlins is set up.

The houses are covered using leaves of the narrow Pandanus (sug) or the fronds of the Nipa palm tree tōsivel (see Fig. 52). The wide leaves of the bōk Pandanus or of the gongáre are used primarily for canoe houses and are sewn with special needles rasiu ru bók (see Fig. 179). These needles are long and elliptical, flat, rounded at both ends, and somewhat sharpened, with a round or square hole approximately in the center of the 15×25cm long piece. They are usually made from the dorí tree or from rósol mangrove roots, but may also be made of bone. For shorter needles, sometimes the 10-15cm long ray stingers rsól are used, in which case the bars are ground off; on these the eye is at the thicker end (Fig. 179, second from left). The tip of the break of a garfish can also be used. The smaller-sized needles are used for sewing sug leaves, in which case the needles are called rasiu ru sug. The broad bottom ends of the long, narrow leaf formations are bent over a pole, called góliíl, and pinned down (Fig. 180).

A pole like this with leaves hanging on it is called a “roof leaf” gádos, poss. gadoslé (Wall.: chados). Both ends of the pole are tied to the double cane rafters gosekíd. Like roofing tiles, though not alternating, each row of leaves covers another; each pole lies under another, very close together, in fact, so that the covering is watertight; this creates many descending tracks from the roof truss, called ngóslog (poss. ngóslogé), and dividing the house into an equal number of sections, and the rubak pay for each of them. Only the last two tracks, over the gables, are wide on top and pointed at the bottom and are called umál. Likewise, the wide leaf poles at the top are called adegót, and the narrower ones at the bottom are called ukúsís. At the place where the leaf tracks meet, between the bulges, appear lines visible to the eye, which are called ulomogó or kaiyákíl; their number is indicative of the length of a house, and they serve as boundaries for the roof sections to be paid for individually; one usually pays ½ kíhk for each side of one ulomogó.

On the roof truss sits the roof cap agup (Wall.: uchúb). It consists of wide Pandanus leaves, which are laid like hollow tiles, one next to the other, overlapping. They are called gosárág (poss. gosarágél) because they are “weighed down” with longitudinal pieces of wood, to keep the ends hanging down in the desired position. Transverse sticks goliíl or goliíl are driven through the roof truss to keep them from falling off; the goliíl rest on their ends and are lashed in place. The lashings often run across the roof truss in figure eights.

From time to time, split coconut fronds are used to hold it down. The ends of the fronds are knotted together in such a way that the stalks end up lying on their sides, like the goxúgór. A ladder (jut l bó) is needed to reach the roof truss; frequently this ladder is nothing more than a tree trunk with branch stumps (Fig. 181). For information about the cutting of the roof, see below. The covering lasts about 7-8 years, and the age of a house is measured by the number of coverings it has had; ngongo xélil a gado é r’iáng l bai? How many coverings has this bai?

When the leaf poles gošúl are changed, the old ones are saved, for they are prized as firewood, as Story 164 shows. The lashing rengódl (poss. rengódl) is done using coconut string. On Palau, however, one does not find artistic string images like those in Yap. The lashing is important only on the gorongšíl beam, whose name is derived from it. Sometimes the natives even speak of gónimíng, tebing, kideí rongdíl for 1, 2, 3 houses, etc.

Especially important is the lashing on the outrigger, called sákí, which is used in a similar manner for numbering canoes, as can be seen above. The lashing on the hull of the canoe is called gólél. The running lashing running along the wall of the bai can be seen in Fig. 190.

The wall pimp (poss. pípkél) (Wall.: khibúd) is made of boards on the bai and out of lattice work on the baiíl (for details see below). The mortising of the curved beams, introduced by Gorágél (Story 13), is extensive and elaborate. One must keep in mind that the entire lower wooden section of the baiíl and the bai, called galdúl l, is held together by nothing but dovetails and can be taken apart at any time; the “shaping of the tenons” ometátí t gálél (see Story 13) is very important so that they fit together well (omegí, omogém). Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 225: omísíis, omásíis). Some of the joints overlap (clasp with a straight seam), which is called ulomogóél (Kub.: Uulomogóél or kaiyákíl “mutual clamping” (Fig. 182f). For a simple overlap without clasps (straight leaf and straight seam), one also can use a nail (a dól) or a square, loose pin (Kedúél Kón). The window frames gorongšíl (see below) have forks telóslél (plural telósló). In the case of a vertical seam, one usually mortises and tenons (b., c., d.) gólél and awípél (Kub.: orebetél) (from ruiét “to fall”; Wall.: oróet “to let fall down”) are used.

Generally, all carved pieces of wood are painted, as already described in the discussion on wooden containers and the discussion on canoes. Wallon’s words show that painting has been common since ancient times; he said (Keate, pg. 308): “They have ochre, both red and yellow, with which they paint their houses and canoes.” The bai are the climax of achievement. For information about the ceremony for galid houses, see below.

The hearth, simply called gob (poss. góbél) = “ashes,” is within the walls of the bai and the baiíl. Because the floor (a slab, poss. asélél) is raised above the ground (a gólél), a square structure of stones gólél is constructed, on top of which, at the height of the floor, a wooden frame ngólél is set. This structure is occasionally also overed with planks. In a large bai, there are usually two hearths in the two rear corners (Fig. 187a), or in the 1st, 3rd, and 4th section (see below), while in a smaller bai there is only one. In Keate, pg. 509, it also says that there was only a single hearth in the middle of the building. There are two fireplaces in a bai, between the four doors at the ends of the long sides; in the olden days there was only one, located where nowadays the center door, in which those days did not exist, is located on the long side.

The hearth has 3 stones on which the cooking pot is set. Often, a gorongšíl grill is suspended from the tie beam above the bai fireplace; this was already mentioned above, in the discussion on smoking fish. In the cookhouse, the hearth klum is often directly on the ground, in which case only part of the house has a floor. Houses are cleaned with a broom gorbl (poss. gorblél), which usually consists of an old piece of skirt ulogél (poss. ulogél). In former times, illumination in the house came from the fire in the hearth; occasionally, the sap gnil of the bóríví tree was put in little clay dishes and lit; for information about the gošúlél lamps, see above.
The space underneath the floor, called gamringél (Mc Cluer: *gamrungle*, Kut.: *Kamruñöl*), remains unused. Sometimes, a section is screened off with bamboo sticks, as I observed in a house at Lului in Merring (Fig. 183), but this is an exception. Such screened-off sections were probably more common in former times, to keep away assassins. The space under the *blai*, between the bad beam and the stones, always remains untouched. The interior of Palauan residences today is a single, undivided room, now that lockable boxes, imported by white men, can hold all of one’s belongings. In Vol. VIII, pg. 259, Kub. reports that there was formerly a room at the main end of the house for this, called Kaldön, separated by a wooden wall. The only other rooms that are made are the little temporary rooms gommágél, also called delamérág (Wall.: *delamerasb*, Kub.: *Telnerag*, Telmarag in the *blai*, for pregnant women and women who have just born a child (see Story 12); these are created using dividers *gahöl*.

A house wall itself is called *lprép* (poss. *kprép*lél) (Wall.: *kbiasb*, poss. *kbičéb*). True permanent rooms with wooden walls, more correctly called “sections,” are found in the priest houses, however, as Vol. 2 shows. We found one such compartment in the Galid *bai* a Urékèd in Ngimis (Vol. 2). It was a small chamber, to which the priest retires for his conferences and which is also used to store food. Fig. 184 shows clearly how it is made out of boards and beams, also the doors. Beds, called *dhuálp* (poss. *ddhuálplél*), in our sense of the word do not exist, or at least no bed frames exist. A mat is laid on the floor for sleeping; a pillow is used. Fig. 185. Door wing from inside a house wall.

There are many doors *niangél* (poss. *tangelél*) and windows *kekerél* *niangél* (= “small door”) or *golánqelél* in both *bai* and *blai*, of course these are nothing more than openings. The so-called windows in a *bai* are actually only horizontal slits. Actual doors *gasiinér* (poss. *gasiinevél*) can be found in some cases, primarily in some *bai* that were vulnerable to enemy attack. One tenon projecting upward and one pointing down create the hinge; in Gökül (fig. 185) and in *bai* 134 in Ngardolok, I saw a protrusion *malautél* on both wings of the door, in the area near the lock, with a hole for inserting a shaft as a bolt. *Gangosqelél*. When the shaft is inserted, the door can no longer be opened from the outside.

As it is, the doors are not very easy to enter anyway, because they are usually so high off the ground and so small, and they are made even smaller by the removable threshold *a* *da*. The stones or posts for stepping up, called *deriqglél*, or stepped blocks did *bdi* for climbing in, can also be removed. For information about the side windows and the back door (*gangqìr*), see the section on *blai*.

It is not unusual to see supports on old houses, especially on the *bai*, on which one often sees the gables braced up, but there are also often numerous supports on the side (*dvongqelél*). Houses are secured during storms, as well, as the story of Tu and Tkakl shows; see bai 27, Vla.

Bridges did (*poss. *didél*) do exist, as planks are laid over water courses, for example, over the Bar’ak in Ngarekd (see Vol. 2). Stone slabs are laid over narrower crevices in the stone paths when necessary. Large planks are also necessary for the openings, called *berpqél*, which punctuate the dams in the ocean. These dams belong to the stone structures *klemádélél*, which play an important role in Palau. The maps in Vol. 2 show the extent of the village paths (*a* *gádlél*) and the pavements, as well as the landing piers, of which one called Ngarekmäis on the North coast of Goröèl, extends about 750 m from the canoe house *a* *Délul*.

The stone dam Megorei, between a *lrbí* and the island of Ngarekd, extends a full 1 km. This causeway is interrupted in several places, to accommodate the tides. In contrast, the long landing piers only have one opening (*berpqél*), and that always at the base, mainly as a shortcut for the canoes. The stone structures, which rise out of the water at low tide, are up to 3 m high and wide, and in some cases even exceed these measurements. Passengers on canoes docking at low tide must climb the mast to reach the landing (Story 196, Verse 3).

These impressive structures of volcanic rock or coral slabs are built entirely without mortar and allow water to pass through everywhere. Frequently, there is a hut on a stone dam, or even a fisherman’s *bái*, of which the two cases mentioned are good examples. Important men’s houses usually sit on a rectangular stone foundation, called *goládlél*, whose width and height differs depending on its location. All of these pavements are linked to each other by way of the stone paths *gádlél*, so that it is possible move from place to place without getting dirty feet. The illud chiefs’ pavements with their piange reclining seats are located on, next to, or near the paths. At the end of the *gádlél* are the “path termini” *pétívél* a *gàng*, also completely level. In other places, where the land slopes, the height of the slope may reach several meters, like in a Jебáèkèd, Ngarek (Map 1* in Vol. 2), in Ngardmáu, etc.

The manner in which the stones are piled up is best seen in the photographs in Vol. 2. It is often done quite carelessly, so that one must be cautious when walking on the stone paths. Mikihúco-Maclaru complains bitterly about this. A visible trail forms in the center due to wear; it is easily recognized, for example, in Photo 1 in Vol. 2. It is customary for all friends to come from near and far to help with path construction, although the only remuneration they receive is food.
Fig. 181. Roofer attaching the roof cap; canoe house Gëbûl in Gàmhanguél.
Below: Palauan blai. EK drawing scans, Hamburg Museum.

Fig. 183. Blai or Lulùk in Merong. EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum.

Fig. 184. Partitioned area in the Gaid bai in Ngatpang. EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum.

Below, blai Adea in Kekleu. Above: Blai Tego boyot with a ladu graves, Gozot.
Construction of the bai a Tkëł in Goërë. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.
While the bai always sits on the pavements called galdúkl, the posts of the blai always stand directly on the ground, while the gólbed pavement belonging to it always stretches out in front of its doors. It is the burial place for the family and thus often has large stone slabs on it. This pavement is seldom higher than 1-2 feet; only in exceptional cases is it higher, as for example in blai 25 Magalhäng in Gorêrê, where it is as tall as a man on the ocean side, because the land drops steeply here.

The huts (Wall.: delúi, poss. delingél). On Nggegèl, I observed a wedding hut (Fig. 186), as I would like to call it. This consists of four low, forked posts stuck into the ground, on which pieces of wood are laid crosswise, as in the pigeon hunting hut (see Fig. 51). The sides are hung with Pandanus leaves or similar foliage, and a few mats are laid on top. A strange feature is the bed of bamboo poles, on which a pillow is laid. In the sacred rnak dance, leaf huts with walls are erected, called gongró or uláol (Kub., ol. II, pg. 107: Hongróol, Auldéklél). The same is true of the burial hut bili a debi (Kub.: Tahabau) (see Section VI5). Fig. 186 shows how it is made. Two posts are driven into the ground, and on them rests a ridge piece, thus even this hut has a saddle roof.

When someone dies, a simple shack, which Kub. mentioned in Vol. III on pg.7 as apolúl, which is also the name of the cart for the canoe, is erected for cooking, etc. (see the cookhouse in Vol. 2), and then there is the construction hut delúi, erected during the building of a bai. Pile structures in the real sense of the term are the pig stalls bili a habi, which were mentioned above (Fig. 48), and the sleeping huts on the water, which are used on other Micronesian islands as well, as protection against the annoying mosquitoes. I myself did not observe them in Palau, but a model of one was built for me (Fig. 145). A ladder leads up to it. The parts of the structures on piles are: the pile a útang, which (see fish baskets), delingél, the floor uláol, galdúkl, the floor foundation gôlábog, gomoluhlul (Wall.).

The canoe house a diangél (poss. dingelhoél) is just a large saddle roof resting on posts and foundation rafters. The name must be based on this, because the roofed dance house has the same name. It is not related to dial “ship,” as Kub. seems to think in Vol. VIII, pg. 265.

The vertical posts corresponding to the rekái of a bai are driven into the ground. They support the lower roof truss beam, so that no center posts are needed. The main weight of the large roof, however, rests on the lateral posts, which number between 6 and 8, which support the side frame beams, which are connected to each other by means of tie beams. The corner posts are sometimes made in human shape, as can be seen in Fig. 43, and the transverse beams of the framework that rest on them are sometimes decorated this way as well. In rich villages, gable frames may be attached for the sake of ornamentation, as is done on the bai. These three pieces of carved wood are not the rule, however; they are the exception.

The sides of the gable are generally open. Only in those places where they are exposed to the trade winds, as on the East coast of Bubldáob, or where there are no protective mangrove forests, as in Melekéiok, are they covered with palm leaves. Here Fig. 181 from Gamliang. From the ocean side of the shack, whose gable always points towards the water, a sloping path runs down to the beach, often with tree trunks laid across it, so that the canoes can be pulled up without too much effort.

The canoe house is never used as a dwelling, as is sometimes the case on Truk.
The dance house *diang* (Fig. 187) is a highly unusual structure, because it is simply a dance floor. Without a roof, it is generally called *goilol* or *ulaol* like the floor. It sits on short posts like the *blai* and has about the length and width of a bowling lane. The long saddle roof is tied down only at the back and can be turned up at the front, so that the two sides of the roof form a sloped area like a desk. There are more details in the section on dance, below. In this position, the roof is supported on bamboo poles that are kept on hand for this purpose.

The floor is made of *Areca* tree trunks or other wood, except in the center, where the dancers are lined up in a long row, where there is a plank, a push-off board like that at the beginning of a bowling lane; in Vol. VIII, pg. 262, Kub. calls it *amulela*, and its purpose is to echo under the steps of the dancers, but that was not the case with the dancers we happened to watch.
Female dancers. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.
Bringing food for the dance festivities on Goreor. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.
Houses of carved and mortised wood.

The dwelling a blai (poss. blil). As Vol. 2 explains, the blai are the basis for the social order, and just as they are arranged in order from Nr. 1 to X, etc., their wealth generally decreases with their rank.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 257, Kub. says: “The houses are distinguished according to the number of doors; there may be between two and six. Their use, however, is prescribed by custom. Six-windowed houses may be built only by high chiefs, but they are rare and today there is not a single one left in the whole island group. The only six-windowed residence, newly erected at a high cost by Arakláy in Moégoyók, was burned down by the British in 1882. The richest high-ranking families of the communities have residences with four or five windows; normal residences dependent on the houses of the chiefs, however, have only three windows; if a native who is not known as Metet, rich, by his house were to build a house with four windows, he would have to pay the chiefs a piece of money for the extra window or else reduce the structure by one window. The length of the house depends on the number of windows; the following dimensions are typical:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of windows</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Width</th>
<th>Wall height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.50 m</td>
<td>3.50 m</td>
<td>1.18 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.00 m</td>
<td>3.00 m</td>
<td>1.20 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.00 m</td>
<td>2.50 m</td>
<td>1.25 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.00 m</td>
<td>2.5 m</td>
<td>1.10 m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 29 in Vol. 2 shows that the six-doored blai of a Raktái was reconstructed, because the picture is drawn according to a watercolor by E. K. The blai Nr. 1 a Idi in Goréót had only five doors (Vol. 2), and the same is true of the houses of the other high chiefs, if indeed they were not smaller. I saw the dwelling of tubák Nr. 1 of Ngabiit, which was a Klábblai with two doors, constructed out of rough wood, as the photo in Vol. 2 shows. This, of course, was not in accordance with the proper and prescribed arrangement and had to be temporary, assuming the family was still viable at all.
The five-doored bái klim madál (two-doored tībōl madál, three-doored kēdē madál, etc.) was the real chief bái, and in fact the house of a Răkla is a type of bái called nēgērē, which in most cases had no more than five doors and was used as a house for priests.

The middle door of the klim madál is called blūl däng (Fig. 188c). At this door is the seat of the eldest member of the family (see Story 6), here the dead are laid out before they are taken out of the house (Fig. 221). The next most important door is also the seat of the rubak; as seen from the outside front, it is in the left-hand corner (a), where the thick stumps, the ends of the gorongōd īparlin are located, after which it is named tānūngl ra īpar gorongōd ī, as already indicated above on pg. 201. In the opposite corner (e) the tānūngl īpar gorongōd ī is found, the entrance for the rest of the family. The doors in between (b and d) are called gongēdēgād ī (see Story 200, end). Fig. 188 shows more.

The front of the house, where the doors are, is called nēgēlōng (psos. lengekēl, Kūb.: Anilōn), the back side is called reba (Kūb.: Arba). The front gable side madál and ī is located on the right, next to the īpar gorongōdl door; usually the side door (f) gongū ī is located in this side, as Fig. 26 in Vol. 2 shows as well as Photo 2 (not easy to see). The gable triangle on this side is called nēgōlūl ībōl “outside cloud,” while the square wall is called klin (Kūb.: Īnū). The triangle on the other gable side but f ībl, in contrast, is called gōlōklēk “cooking place for raw taro,” because melōkē ī is done on this side if it must be done inside the house. There may, however, be a side door in that location, and there may also be a back door. For a side door to exist, the gable wall must be divided into three parts by two wall beams (gōmbekkēl). This feature is generally confined to larger bái, no smaller than four doors, but usually only in houses with five doors. These doors on the gable side are reminiscent of those of the Bái. The doors of the nēgēlōng side are supposed to face North, which has been considered the place of riches since ancient times, as Vol. 2 already mentions.

It ought to be added that foreigners like to have Palaunau build residences for them that are in line with the style of the country, as Sem. relates in Vol. 2, pg. 5. Kub. lived on Malágāl in two houses that he captured in a picture for us. On the other hand, Palaunau rubak built houses approximating the European style, which was previously mentioned in Vol. 2. Fortunately, in 1910, such cases were still rare exceptions.

Let me now present something about magic during Blái construction, starting with the godogūl chant of the sun worshippers, as told by Gudthai in Ngurūsr:

Gōlēl kebesengōl a geigē būgil e ngak amerōrm untīgil e lek mo tuübēl ra bo le kūkū māk duőrŏm e m lāgā ra gomālōlu luăsīgil ē a kebesengōl ē ngak a mo ra kēd mak bo e ak mo me ra ītelē l medēdēs a mo kērē re ngi e gōnāl a gōmālōu ē mo kēre ngi a ngalāmēl ku e ngak a mo ra kēd, i go out the next morning and i sharpen it and lay it down and speak the following: 

Go, moon, chew and let us talk; I am the child of Gobogadēngēl, the sister of legadēngēl 

and see a cleared area, (The next morning) i go to the heath and to the house and take the adze and chop now, and there will be no more praying and cover it; we consider it only chopping, until the house is complete, and chop now, and there will be no more praying e mo melāsăg l dikēá tokōi e meko melāsăg to kēre ngi me ko melāsăg re ngi i sit on it, and i go and i come to an area and if there was a misdeed in this chopping, my money comes to me. 

and then i say the following: legāl i kēd au mo Gobogūl i kēd tīaēkēl a despadāl l me ko melāsăg re ngi i sit on it, and i go and i come to an area and then i say the following: legāl i kēd au mo Gobogūl i kēd tīaēkēl a despadāl l me ko melāsăg re ngi i sit on it, and i go and i come to an area and sit on it and make a quid, because you chop it, and i say the following: legāl i kēd au mo Gobogūl i kēd tīaēkēl a despadāl l me ko melāsăg re ngi i sit on it, and i go and i come to an area and sit on it and make a quid, because you chop it, and if there was a misdeed in this chopping, you take it, and you carry away the chopped ones from your chopings. It is done (so i go) to the village and chop now, and there will be no more praying only chopping, until the house is complete, cover it, we consider it the paying. Than done.

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Then I husk a coconut, roast it on the fire, and make money out of the (root) flesh of the turmeric until the sixth bâgîl and the seventh one delôbog piece of money.

Then I break off a Dracaena branch, bring it, put water into a wooden bowl, and wash this Dracaena in it then I go inside, take the roasted nut, hold it in my hand and go to the corner in the úgul gorongôdĕl, stand still and speak the following: Ugél’lgalîg, I came to invite you, we go on the stone path and make a feast today! Then I return to the center door, remain standing a little, and then say and speak: Everyone go out on the stone path, there is a feast today.

Then go (1) to the corner posts of the gorongôdĕl tip, stand at the front and speak thusly: Ugâdrongêl, all should go outside on the gorongôdĕl post and speak thusly: Gobagadrengêl, this delôbog is his food that came too late.

You have received your money and yet you stay? When you have finished the meal, here is your money the price of the house, you get it, I am nothing! I turn around and go into the house and sit down a long time. Then I speak thusly: Oh: this one delôbog keeps you from leaving? You have received your money and yet you stay? Then I take that delôbog, go outside and sit down and speak thusly: here, Gobagadrengêl, this delôbog is his food that came too late.

Other magic acts during the construction of a blai.

I sharpen it, the adze and set it on the base side and go in the morning.

I go outside with the adze in my right hand, crouching I move forward, I go out the door of the gorongôdĕl post and sit on the threshold, and then stand on the pavement, and first I step with my right, dragging, and then I step with my left, dragging, as if a fish bone were stuck in the middle of my leg; and then I step with my left, dragging, it and first I step with my right, dragging, and then I step with my left, dragging, as if a fish bone were stuck in the middle of my leg; and then I step with my left, dragging, as if a fish bone were stuck in the middle of my leg; and then I step with my left, dragging, as if a fish bone were stuck in the middle of my leg; and then I step with my left, dragging, as if a fish bone were stuck in the middle of my leg; and then I step with my left, dragging, as if a fish bone were stuck in the middle of my leg;
Then the leader speaks to the heath:

ë soláe dmul kmu sëgalkéd

Then I know and say: The galid has arrived!

ë mendengél l kmu r galíd a maramáng

a lugél a bedengék

and then I sit, until I get goosebumps on my skin.

ë soláe robórob l mangmásăg

the seven pieces;

lay them on this cleaned ground

l me

and for the chopping a half a Kluk

ma desegél tal madál a kluk

meng mo ogeráuĕl ma k smúk a teblól

for a house with four doors

a blai l kleoá madál

and I chop now until all are finished

ma k melásăg mo l mo rokír

ng ta e rul búiĕl ë ak mogú tuóbëd

so it is one or two moons until I go out again;

and for the chopping a half a Kluk

and for the sitting one gongiakl

Then we go and enter the forest

a soláe maráel mo tumu re goreómĕl

they should come as my galid, so that we chop!

me te më gëdúk, ma ki melásăg!

Mesés

ë ak tuóbĕd ra klukúk, meng a re ngi a

Then there is no more obstacle.

meng díak a megesáng

e merekóe mo ra pelú

then it is finished and it goes to the village.

and cut it as ulogóug;

mak dobëgí lulogóug

l dul’lókl bedúl a dilúgĕs

to look for a tree,

l mesá teluól ker’regár

Then we go and enter the forest

a soláe ak mo remūl geuíd udóud l kesól

Then I make seven pieces of money out of turmeric,

e gëmáis

mak megedí l uíd blëgídĕl

and break it into seven slices.

ng direk’luéng ra gadák,

ma merá maikel lërul ulæueg

a nda rà kiterúk

ng duelung ra gadák ra këlékël

a ngak a di mo ostólóéd mëlásăg

ma kó ra ká ko gëmíl bükí

mak riki a gástum l dëglëgëgóm a kl’lungel

ë soláe melásăg l këlékël

ma teluál hikán a kuletàng

mek megedí l úid bëglidël

gëmíla a lël a kër regár

l mei mak ë ká nó ne ngi

ë mo kumë r tài rík l gástum

l klesa l teráki

ë soláe robórob l mangmásăg

a lugel a bedengék

ë mendengél l kmu r galíd a maramáng

a lugel a bedengék

and the pay comes and I take two Kluk,

ma teluál

e soláe ak mo remūl geuíd udóud l kesól

and then I blow the triton horn seven times

kl’lungél

mak rikí a gútŭm l dogĕdágĕm a

and the house is free for all.

meng súbĕd r tiál loreómĕl r rokir

The various parts are prepared and set up as follows: The foundation of the house are the posts (Fig. 188q) on or under (poss. tangul) (Kub. Ataí, Tatal), which are usually round, and whose bottom-most independent part is called igul “stamp” for short. These are the “piles” of the pile structures. The prepared posts are set into holes and held in place with lashed bamboo poles (Plate 14, bottom left) until the horizontal one has been fastened with a cord. Then the earth around the igul is filled up. There is always one more igul on the front side than there are doors; so, for a blai with two doors, there are three igul, for a blai with 5 doors, there are 6, and for a blai with 6 doors, 7. Naturally, the same number are found on the back side. The height of the stumps is 1-3 feet, but on sloping ground they can reach the height of a person. Each of the gòtûmb (Kub. Olóbok) girders (Fig. 186o), the transverse beams that correspond to the back of the Blai, rests on two opposite stumps. On these girders sits the frame of the square frame of the house, with the same names as used for the Blai: the longitudinal beam (Fig. 188i) a ngi (Kub: Ougiítl) and the transverse beam (n) a kuóku (Kub.: Kuok). To see their joining and position, see Fig. 182f.

On the beams of the framework stand the gombekëps (Kcn.: Ombogèt), or gëibëk, the door posts or wall posts (Fig. 188m), and the sino corner posts (l). The number of wall posts on one of the long sides is based on the number of doors. On the gable walls, there tend to be only two wall posts in a house with 5 ngi (Kub. Olóbok) doors, as just mentioned.

Fig. 189. Gable side of a Blai, Original EK drawing scan Hamburg Museum collection.
The wall posts and corner posts support the upper frame, the longitudinal beam (k) ríet bêap (pons. rolól a bêap) “path of the rats” and the transverse beam (pi) delngôdok (Kub.: Telngôdok) which is always joined to the outermost tie beam. Seen from the outside, the former has the ornamentation (see Fig. 189) called logišt, which is not that unusual for the large five-door blai, but which instead of picture stories, usually consists of patterns of lines, rows of ornaments, etc. On top of the delngôdok rest the gable frames gôngsa (see bai), which enclose a gable area consisting of foliages. However, the framework that is visible externally is not the only construction. Just as in a bai there are interior posts galabád inside and the tie beams a imûl rest on them and are mortised to them, so in this case, there are interior posts tang with toe-beams of the same name, a imûl (also called rebhàvádah). In the blai, their ends project over the upper longitudinal beams, fulfilling their purpose entirely.

Kubs., pg. 256: “Houses of this type of construction are called Kaldóol, whereas those in which the “Atun are not sunk into the ground but are inserted into the wooden Pat beams instead are called Telitüy (as, for example, in the Bay el dort).”

The interior posts tang on the girders golódok, which separate the floor of the house into different sections; some of these areas are covered with bamboo alúd ra bâmbu, which make up the main portion, or with boards alúd ra gashák from the latter are usually found at the hearths or next to the wall, so that containers can stand there easily. In Vol. VIII, pg. 259, Kub. says that at the main end of the house there was a section between the 1st and the 2nd golódok that was covered with planks that was called Telngôdok (delngôdok “other room,” see above, delémûnap). He adds that in the blai with five doors, there was a room in this area called Kaldóol (galédok) (see the section on spears), which was separated by a wooden wall. On Fig. 7, however, he shows the room mentioned on the bai l blai side, which does not appear correct to me, because the large blai usually have the side door on the maddil a blai side (Fig. 188c and Vol. 2). For more about the galédok chambers, see Section VI.

Above the tie beams (a imûl) is the roof area, in which storage space is created by laying down pole racks. The resulting shelf is called ralt (Plate 14 and Story 167), or, if it is located over the fireplace, vúng (Story 166); a second loft above the first is called torák. Often there are beams tied to the roof truss beam, especially the “bundle” omosódl for the masts of the dead, bar. Other important items are the walls and the door closure. The type of blai determines the type of wall, as Kub. explains on pg. 257. The following distinctions are made:

klпод (Kub.: Kelbìap and Apoköpi) “Wall” made out of wooden boards. These blai are closely related to the bai and were inhabited by priests. One such example is depicted in Vol. 2.

klôd (Kub.: Kelôd) Wall made of split, hammered bamboo ròt l bâmbu, vertical or crossed, so that step-shaped patterns are created. These blai are for everyday use and work of poorer people often have an addition klôlit (see Fig. 183).

klôlit (Kub.: Kalôlit) In Vol. VIII, pg. 257, Kub. says: The wall “is called Kaldôlit, if it also is given an outer cover of sak leaves that have been cut short, both methods are used in the Keldôk Bay, in which the Niûlahat (Plate XVIII, Figs. 6a, YV and XXX Fig. 5) are Wolgolóol work, while the walls, in contrast, are common Kelôd.”

The making of a klôlit wall (see Fig. 190) proceeds as follows: Between each pair of gombešaip wall posts, 6 or 7 or 8 transverse slats gongaságök are set, according to Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 253, usually Areca wood. The slats are set into openings in the posts (b, c). These slats play a role in burial ceremonies (see Section VI). They apparently are also called klôd, and the outer golél slats (see below) are also called klôlit, which is where the word mentioned above probably originates. Then, on the outer side of the inner transverse slats, numerous (usually 50-60).
Fig. 190 a-i. Making of a Blai wall.

Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum collection.

Fig. 191. Door closure.

Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum collection.

Fig. 192. Food cabinet.
Reeds are tied on in pairs, upright, like the golukl rafters in the roof and thus called delegir (Kub.: Dolihur a lpsdp). A finger’s width apart from one another, with half turns of lashing (not crosswise) (d, e), using sun-dried (not soaked in water) hibiscus fiber (golungs). This cross arrangement of slats constitutes the frame; just as on the roof there are the purlins and the double outer rafters, to which the roof leaves are tied, there is a corresponding outer covering here. This is made either of narrow bamboo slats laid tightly over each other crosswise (g, h) (Kub.: Kalsi a lpsdp) and held in position with lashings running vertically (see, for example, Vol. 2, or poles (f) tied lengthwise on the outside (Kub.: Hutohlak emul “inside” and irk “outside”), or with “roof leaves” (i). In this case, too, sug leaves are sewn onto golukl poles that are the length of the total opening, and then laid closely over one another and fastened (a). In this case, however, in contrast to the roof, the leaves projecting beyond the wall posts are cut off after they are tied down, resulting in a wavy surface, the sign of a good Palau blai. These walls can be seen on numerous photos, especially nice ones in Vol. 3. Of course, a nice five-door blai such as that of rubak Nr. I from a lmeunings, called a Klang, has the wall filling first mentioned, made of bamboo slats; and it also has logukl on the dehëldiet beams, and line decorations on the ngelóng side, bađ-like golóhob storage and even removable thresholds a' ī like a bai, a sign of how closely related the blai are to the bai.

In light of the fact that at the numerous places where the great Galid Medege pelau is worshipped, the high chiefs are simultaneously the priests, it is understandable that they have the richest and most beautiful houses. These include the two-story dwellings called sop, of which I saw a very beautiful example in Keklu (see Fig. 22 in Vol. 2). The two-story bai are similarly impressive structures. The large cult house nguousai, which was previously mentioned in Vol. 2, is also a sop. Kub. saw one still standing in a iral, and he described it in Vol. VIII, pgs. 254-255 and depicted it on Plate XXXVIII. It is cross-shaped, about 13m in diameter, and has a huge turret over the crossing, two crossed bai-like structures that provided four rooms. One reaches the upstairs from the large room below by way of a ladder. The lower four sides have verandas with large posts in the shape of human figures. Semp., in Vol. 2, pg. 83, also tells of an octagonal house of Ngasiás, and I already provided an illustration of the strange house Gongtugokoi in Ngandolok in Vol. 2.

In the illustrations of the blai one can also see the item used to close the door utility (poss. aleqel), of which there are two forms: either double mats hung on a high rod uqordeld’l, or a bamboo lattice whose makeup is best reflected in Fig. 191. The numerous pictures (Fig. 198 and Vol. 2) also show that these lattices often cover the whole door opening. In this case they usually run in bamboo covers, like sleeves, on a rod under the roof, so that they can be slid to the side. For information about sliding into place, etc., see Section VI.

Much has already been said about furnishings of the house above, in the section on the hearth, and in the section on rooms. The photograph of the interior of the house is better than words. The rows of tagredit hooks, called gor’ebikl, stand out; wooden plates and bowls are hung on these. As mentioned, the sleeping mats are kept up high on the shelf rekkli, because the dwellings lack the mat hangers rěkl of the bai; and spears are stored on the golongol (see Story 197). Occasionally, one can also find cabinets for food, called bab like the fish baskets, usually made of bamboo latticework, but occasionally made out of a wooden frame with bamboo walls, as shown in Fig. 192.

The Galid houses blai a galid.

The discussion on dwellings blai has already shown that they are a preliminary version of the bai, and that some of the magnificent structures of high-ranking rubak assume ornamental characteristics that belong to the bai. There are even bai that serve as dwellings for priests, the so-called teleqelir bai, which are discussed in more detail below. The Galid houses, which are the topic of this chapter, are also transitional structures between blai and bai. The following types are discussed:
the little sacred shrine without a post
the little sacred shrine with one post
the sun shrine on a single post
the shrine on four posts
the little ornamental hut

Generally, for both the Bai and the Blai, painting takes place without any special rituals, but for a Galid house, a blebhal is necessary, as Kub. says in Vol. 2, pg. 125. The head of an enemy is needed before painting gësbereberél (from gësberebre “paint”; Kub.: ongosprebrél) can start. Another head is required for the “clipping” of the roof ongemdel (from mangímd “to clip”).

The little sacred shrine, usually without a post, is called gateki’l (Kub.: Kathigil or Taharagil). The word comes from mungatìl “to carry by the handle,” because one can easily carry the little hut, which is made from a single piece of wood (without a post, as mentioned), like a basket tei. Some of the collected specimens, such as one from Ngarekim (Kc. 1088) actually have a carrying string, a gomgetekíl’s, like the tei batay; I discovered the specimen cited on 29. April 1910, hanging at the limestone cliffs of Ngåtmëdug (see Vol. 1 and Vol. 2) in a grotto called Ngarasumog. It had three doors on the long side and two on the gable side; the gable frames were painted red. It is now in Hamburg. The little shrine is considered magic against illness, and details are discussed further in the section on that topic. In many cases, the little huts have only one door opening on the wide side, as the ones that follow do. Most of these structures, which are rarely taller than 1 foot in height, represent a blei, roughly made and standing on a low base. In a few cases, the base is raised somewhat, and there may even be a short post or a pair of posts (Fig. 193).

If the post is so large that it must be sunk into the ground to allow the hut to stand, then we are dealing with the sacred shrine with a post kumeréu (Kub.: Gumere), which was mentioned above (Fig. 57). Its purpose of healing the sick is also discussed in more detail below in the discussion on medicine. The post on which a gateki’l stands is square and usually red. The sun shrine is called gáios (Kub.: Goos) “sun.” Under the door, on the wide pedestal, is a depiction of a sun, usually two-headed, for the shrine is dedicated to the goddess Turang. It is frequently located near the residences; all in all, it is about 1m high. It is a little hut put together like a bai, with a real roof, and a door through which offerings of betel nuts, taro, etc., are placed inside.

Usually, the hut stands on a structure that is like an ironing board: on the ground are two crossed pieces of wood, on top of which there is a trapezoidal, thick, upright plank. On this plank, in turn, rest two support beams. The entire thing is usually painted radiant yellow (Hamburg model). A stone shrine is depicted in Fig. 58. Instead of the crossed pieces of wood at the bottom, there may in rare cases be a square post (see Fig. 195), or, more commonly, a four-legged base. This is really the typical sign of the four-legged shrine tei (Kub.: tet, also Oowuk)—as long as it is standing in the Bai it is called súmök (Mc Cler: sumuck, Kub.: simuk)—which is named after the tei basket, because it represents the basket for the god, in which the betel nuts, etc., are stored.

These shrines are larger and made with more care, and they are usually located next to the community Bai, where they serve as alters for offerings to the village god. Naturally, they are painted like a Bai. In Vol. 2, one can see them in their original position.

Mortised into the beams of the framework are the wall posts (o) (Fig. 177 and 199) (súmök poss. súmuk). They are straight, square, tapered at the top (by the window), with two grooves if they are located in the wall surface and a single groove if they are door posts, somewhat curved and angled if they are corner posts (p) sinau (poss. susel), with two tenons at the bottom which hold together the corners of the frame tei’l a sinau (Kub. Urúkul a sinau). Between every two wall posts and between the wall posts and end posts, the walls themselves consist of boards Generally, for both the Bai and the Blai, painting takes place without any special rituals, but for a Galid house, a blebhal is necessary, as Kub. says in Vol. 2, pg. 125. The head of an enemy is needed before painting gësbereberél (from gësberebre “paint”; Kub.: ongosprebrél) can start. Another head is required for the “clipping” of the roof ongemdel (from mangímd “to clip”).
are the natives keep a wooden replica of Idolassack there, to which they offer some food every day. In this case we
were a special variety whose four legs were not attached to a frame at the bottom, but rather stuck directly into the ground. McCluer depicts such a shrine next to a bai, and although the upper portion
was a depiction of a sun, usually two-headed, for the shrine is dedicated to the goddess Turang. It is frequently
only the text is long and unclear, the terms are terribly misrecorded, and the illustrations are schematic. Vol. 4,
however, will show that he left out the meaning of the logâkl, as the maps and plates in Vol. 2 indicate, every good bai is located on a well-constructed stone pavement
stand on a low base. In a few cases, the base is raised somewhat, and there may even be a short post or a pair of posts (Fig. 193).

If the post is so large that it must be sunk into the ground to allow the hut to stand, then we are dealing with the
sarcophagus (Kub.: Gunneu) which was mentioned above (Fig. 57). Its purpose of healing
sâus (poss. sâus), which every rich bai has, just as every rich bai has a cookhouse. The former has two bad at the bottom (Fig. 177), and its sides are open (see Vol. 2), while the latter is closed at the bottom (Fig. 197 and Vol. 2). As the showpiece of the bai with its bai-like ornamentation, it serves as quarters for newlyweds and for the favorite daughter when she has her first child (Story 12), as well as the private and undisturbed quarters of the high chief (Kub., Vol. 2, pg. 76), although this does not apply to Bîblud and a Rakali. A small house is called depe.
The Men’s House Bai (poss. biil)

Like the sailboat among boats, the two-story gônânt (see biil, VIII) is one of the most beautiful and artistic
houses to be found among the primitive peoples on earth. Actually, there are only a few impressive structures that could successfully compete: those of the Menangkaba tribes, and some Indian and Chinese structures; but these are more developed peoples with a strong foreign influence. Yes none of these can demonstrate such rich ornamentation of picture stories, called logâkl in this case, which is discussed in Vol. 4.

It is odd how little attention was paid to these bai during the first periods of contact. Wilson devotes only a few words to them, as does Mc. Chuer, although he at least depicts the Meketí bai in Gorér in such a way that one gets an idea of the ornamentation, which is so remarkable. The negligence of the visitors in their observations of these items in particular is evident in the fact that the roof, seen in side view, is portrayed as trapezoidal with the short side at the top.

Semper and v. Mukluch-Maclay provide a little more detail about the bai, but Kubary is the first to describe them in words and pictures in extensive detail. It might seem superfluous to say anything more about them here, were it not that his text is long and unclear, the terms are terribly misrecorded, and the illustrations are schematic. Vol. 4, however, will show that he left out the meaning of the logâkl completely. Since I learned many new things in spite of Kubary’s work, I will provide a short overview of this unique structure here.

The roof was discussed above. The only thing under the roof is the wooden section called galddîli (poss. galddîli), which consists entirely of hewn wood. Every piece is set loosely on or against the other by means of tenons without lashing, so that the entire structure can be disassembled without ado and set up again.

This is of course true only of the good bai. The simpler ones have bamboo walls and frequently stand on piles. So one must distinguish between the various types of bai. There are two kinds, for the most part: biî têîg, good bai, can be assembled, usually set on 8 bad beams, and the bai klôkîd or teîleî, with bamboo walls, etc., usually set on 6 bad beams; instead of the galddîli, this often has only a delâkîlí, like a bai does (see above).

It is called baî l dort when the undecorated house is made of dort wood, usually unhewn. Hybrids do exist, as shown in Vol. 2, where a wooden bai stands on piles, in this case because it was near the water, or the poorly constructed wooden bai of 1783, which has a bamboo gable wall. The fishermen’s bai of a Urung is similar. For the most part, this section shall discuss only the well-built baî têîg, in which only the roof consists of natural wood pieces. The wood piece galddîli consists of three main parts: the lower part with the floor, the gable, and the roof truss. As the maps and plates in Vol. 2 indicate, every good bai is located on a well-constructed stone pavement galddîli (poss. galddîkîl). This pavement is often very high, as already emphasized above, especially the two bai l pelî, which also include the sâmîng shrine and the bowl for heads gonùrîl or klôkîlid. The support beam or main beams bad (poss. bedîl), which means “stone” (see Fig. 17), do not sit directly on the pavement, but rather on special stone blocks called bad l sâmîng, which can be quite high or rather low. In Vol. VIII, pg. 267, Kub. opines, probably correctly, that originally there were only stones, which is certainly the case with the legendary stone bai.
Palauan boys were taught the different parts of a bai by constructing miniature structures. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum collection.
Bai I dort type structure with sliding door. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum collection.

Two-story go'outang Bai type structure in a Irai'. Kubary 1870s photograph.
The number of foundation beams indicates the size of the Bai; a distinction is made between the following kinds:

- kłao a beđul: 4 beams
- kłal a beđul: 8 beams
- tákůr a beđul: 10 beams
- kłišom a beđul: 6 beams

There are never fewer than 4 or more than 10. The lower part of the structure is usually open; only in the case of the second community Bai Bilekélĕk of Goréŏr was this area closed off with boards, as in the little decorative huts galsbóng. In Vol. 1, this Bai is just barely visible on the right; it’s more clearly visible in Vol. 2. During Kubary’s time, this covering was not there (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 267). The main framework of the lower section rests on the boards; the frame consists of the two longitudinal beams (n) a agšúm (poss. agšóménél), which usually consists of 3 pieces, the center section lebúgól and the two end section gomásóg, and the two transverse beams (m) gušól (poss. gušósél), apparently sometimes called a ngót, like the tao pounding board.

Wherever there is a door opening, there are no boards, but instead there is a low “nose,” the threshold insert (v) a is (poss. isgél), which sits on the threshold ašbeng. It can be removed, and we too always removed it from the door of our Bai, so that we would not bump our heads.

Resting on the heavier lower sections of the posts gud and sáus rests a central frame—if you want to call it that—and between each pair of these there is a double gabled beam (s) gorségú (poss. gorségél), which is best called a window sill, since it forms the lower boundary of the windows golsbél. These are often closed with a board tangél longgúli or ilekši (Kub.: ciš fořhe for the window opening), particularly on the windward side. Naturally, there are no window sills on doors that have a threshold. The 4 window sills at the ends of the long sides have a particular shape, because they have a bai sign (t) wadul síkél protruding out the gable side, like a restaurant hangs out its sign, or the signpost has a protruding arm. This sign is usually in the shape of a curlew, or at least bears a picture of one, for it is the bringer of money in the legend (Story 9).

In some rubak bai, there are wooden figures homebélé (¼ “chain” Wall.) hanging on these, for example at Goosulungúa of Goréŏr, or at the brúgel ends. I shall discuss these Nok beams in the culture comparison section. On top of the gud and sáus posts sits the upper main frame, mortised, consisting of the longitudinal beams (u) göngryngú (poss. göngryngél) and the transverse beams (visible in Fig. 117 under a) gól (poss. gólél). On the underside of this frame, a “flying fox” gól is often depicted, for example in the bai in Pellílou, a Limtings, etc. The lower part of the house also includes the floor ulál, which consists of thick, heavy planks gasbógél. Mc Cluer raved about how evenly and tightly joined they are, that not even a needle can fall between them. In the cracks there are holes for spitting, etc. The lower pa (u) gori (poss. goró) of the house also includes the floor ulál, the gable (poss. goró) and the transverse beams (visible in fig. 117 under a) gól (poss. gólél). Mc Cluer raved about how evenly and tightly joined they are, that not even a needle can fall between them. In the cracks there are holes for spitting, etc. The lower part of the house also includes the floor ulál, which consists of thick, heavy planks gasbógél. The central plank (h') ngóng (Kub.: Gošl) has a special shape; it is narrow and has alternating square protrusions (Fig. 199), resulting in cracks that allow the spills to drip through.

I already reported above, on the fireplace gab (of which there used to be only one) which sits in the floor. The floor (and also the gable) are not made by the master builder and his assistants, but are usually provided by the rubak who ordered the construction himself. For this reason, just as the roof is divided into ngloség sections, the floor is divided into ngolél sections; ergo: telngolél first floor section, a ré ngolél second floor section, a deì ngolél third floor section. According to Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 236, each section between two bad, i.e. the length of the plank, is called delávri; but this generally means “room.” The two gables melé (poss. melégél) rest on the second short sides. The gable area is bordered by two frames on both sides:

1. The upper, outer gable frame (i) göngšuna (poss. göngšul), is quite far from the actual gable area, especially at the top; it consists of two pieces, which are joined and mortised at the top and are connected by transverse beams here and there, on which there tend to be human figures depicted. At the joint, the sides are pierced by the upper roof truss beam (see Fig. 178) and are held in place by the overhang (7) ubolsi, at the sides by the alle, while below they rest on the upper longitudinal beams göngryngul of the framework into which they are notched;
2. The upper, inner gable frame (k) gönguléh (poss. göngulélh), is in the area of the gable and is partly covered by the outer frame. It is pierced at the top by the lower roof truss beam, which encircles just as a thumb and index finger would (Fig. 178), and it is mortised into the lower frame;
3. The lower gable frame (a) gudél (poss. gudélh). The gable wall, which is framed by the three planks, consists of 7 planks that sit one above the other; the lowermost (hge) is mortised into the gudél (called “shark” because occasionally sharks are depicted on it) which has notches in it for the tenons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beam Type</th>
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<tr>
<td>kłao a beđul</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>kłal a beđul</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tákůr a beđul</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kłišom a beđul</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Center plank.
of the gongolúiĕb as well. It has a unique shape, because it is narrow at the top and very wide at the bottom. In the bai on Poliló, it is often so spread out that it extends over the doors like a roof or "lad" dekölél (see bai, and Fig. 189), as is clearly visible in Vol. 2 on the r bai; there this protrusion is called golêblél. With the wide area, it rests on the aforementioned upper transverse beams golêk and covers the longitudinal frame gõngrangôg with a cut-out at each end. It is missing on some old rubak bai, for example bai 68 Ngarsúl south gable, bai 69 a imëungs; in this case the lowermost gable board bagei sits on the gôlêk.

Over the gadung are the following 7 planks:

b. bagei, according to KUB., the meaning of the word is an eel that can be found in the taro patches, but more correctly it is name of the brother of Dilugái, who is depicted here; the brugel beams on which she is shown sprawling generally pierce through the top edge of the plank, if not even through c.

c. ter'ei pelé, a term used for skirts, meaning “split wide” (see above); KUB., pg. 245 says it means the “skirt” of the bai, to distinguish it from the dekölél beam of the bai (see Fig. 189); in this case it is usually dengës wood (Story 168).

d. meselél, usually with representations of fish of the same name.

e. melél, perhaps from melél to bind, or melélél to set up.

f. kadam “frigate bird.” In this area, sea birds were often depicted; see, for example, Ngabúkél.

g. gôlê, from gôr “run,” which was often depicted on it in the past, for example bai 15 hul, now it is more frequently seen on the next board.

h. gala’ebesói, named after the coral fish that was most often depicted on it in the past and which has a mystical meaning, see bai 133, east gable.

Above this, a small, triangular hole remains open (see also Fig. 189), which will be discussed below. It stays open so that the Galûd, the spirits, can escape. Because the gable wall leans forward somewhat, the planks stay in place, because they rest on the gongolúiĕb frame, which is held in place by the large lower roof truss beam. This alone, however, is insufficient. That is why there are 3 rafters affixed to the back side of the gable wall, two séigl on the sides, called b’ like the rafters and parallel to the two gongolúiĕb, and a vertical one in the center, called delél “his mother.” All three come together at the tip of the gable (Wall.: chôlâchêl) and are secured with 3 transverse poles delbârd (poss. delbôrdél).

Furthermore, the two gable figure beams brugel (poss. brugelél) provide a certain amount of support, because they rest on the tie beams in the interior of the house and penetrate the gable wall, usually through the b or c gable board. I call them gable figure beams because the dilkâl figure sits on their ends, which poke out the front (see Vol. 1). For more information about this, see the section on ornamentation.

The roof truss sits on the floor, and along the length of both walls, depending on the number of foundation beams, there are 6 or 8 or 10 square inner posts (w or Fig. 117) galâbad (poss. galebedél) very similar to those described for the blai standing on it. On top of the posts the tie beams sit mortised with tenons (z or Fig. 177) a imülé (poss. galebedél) very similar to those described for the bai standing on it. On top of the posts the tie beams sit mortised with tenons (Fig. 177) a imülé (poss. a imüle) or delolákl (poss. dekölél), which are taken care of by the two opposite nglôs. Like the wall posts, the upper part of the galâbad posts is thinner; on the overhang sits the mat carriers (x) reki (poss. rekiél), which are inserted from above through a hole; the wide part of the overhang protrudes into the interior of the house and holds the rolled-up sleeping mats, while the other part rests on the gongolúiĕb beam (u). The gorongódel parlin (a’) rests on this piece, and the rekiu rafter (y), which was mentioned above, stands on it. It stretches upward, toward the roof ridge, supports itself part of the way on the tie beam (z) a imüle with an indentation, and has two similar transverse joints (4) gomkél (poss. gomkukél) and veheâbad (poss. vehebôrel), further up. These, like the a imüle, are often decorated with ornaments, occasionally stories, and sometimes also, in the case of large constructions (see bai 137 Ngaisi, bai 69 a imeungs, bai 114 Gorôtel), support brugel beams, which then run from gable to gable, although they are otherwise just short.
2. So this bai, which was given the name Kekerél Losobulnga who was mentioned above as the wood carver of the two large cattle. His shadowy picture is still visible in Vol. the No. II and himself No. II of the Ngaraderúdĕm club, would be the master builder. This is the same Golegeril marks, a real bai that was then to be transported by ship to Berlin. It was determined that Golegerīl, the brother of I gave the men's club Ngaratëkángĕl in Goréŏr, whose members are listed in Vol. 2, the order to construct, for 500 

There is a nice example concerning the number of the individual parts belonging to the structure. in the year 1907, 

There is an explanation below, of why occasionally a bai to call the rubak together, as is done with the conch sounding. They call the stone "mouse droppings" dágīl a bëbelók, which supposedly comes from the bëap ruósĕd, which are so much out of the cliffs that the caves were created. The stones are banged on the wooden floor of the bai to call the rubak together, as is done with the conch sounding.

So the bai, which was given the name Kekerél Losobulnga "small Gosoob nlgūs", is described in more detail in the “Special Guide” by von Luschan, because after its arrival in Berlin it was exhibited and is now in the possession of the Anthropological Museum there.

It included:

lower section: 8 hud

and 2 guškă

5 a ugšăm (2 on the ngłông side and 3 on the reba side (see pg. 231)

and 2 guškă

and 4 săau

28 each of ngłăs, gashógbă, and goršŏgăk

the gable: 8 a ìi (threshold inserts)

and 2 gošrăngăk, and 2 gósăk, 

the gables: 

4 gongăsăk halves and 4 gongolăsăh halves

2 gušdăng and 14 gable boards

the roof truss: 16 galăbab (8 on a side) 

and 16 reba and 16 ekăm rafters;

8 each of a imăl, gosăkăk, and reba rubăbab.

So the galăhă' structure, including gable and roof truss, consists of 245 pieces. This figure does not even include the parts of the roof. The bai a Dngoróngĕr in Goréŏr, for example, had 33 sëgăm rafters and 4 dług purlins on each side. The following construction magic godogulă is performed when a bai is built: When the Palauans want to build a house or a canoe, they turn to the master builder, called dágălbai, who not only does the work, but who also understands a particular kind of ceremonial magic. This is necessary because everything is under the spell of the Galăd, the spirits, as was already explained in the discussion on blai building, above. This cult of magic is particularly important for bai.

A spell is generally known as godogulă, and there are only four types. Those who know them are called zebbăk (see Story 11). Each godogulă handles 7 spirits, called “people” argăd for short. When the Palauans want to build a house or a canoe, they turn to the master builder, called dágălbai, who not only does the work, but who also understands a particular kind of ceremonial magic. This is necessary because everything is under the spell of the Galăd, the spirits, as was already explained in the discussion on blai building, above. This cult of magic is particularly important for bai.

1. Goragel, named after the inventor of bai architecture. This is considered the most important spell and is these days in the possession of the Ngarakelă family on Gorėrē. It was Remōkĕt who took it there.The spell was brought by Ngira melănăgă into the blai Regotòng in a Ulimăng. Story 13 of Goragel names Ngîraguskăl, who handed his knowledge down to Ngira milang in a Ulong, who gave it to Remōkĕt.

2. Ngaragărăm, supposedly in the possession of a Kenederăng in Ngardmă, Nr. III of Ngatpăgă. The worshipper eats every food that is distributed, in honor of his god.

3. Ngir melănăgă, probably originating from Ngardmă. The stone bai builders from Story 5.

4. Goragărăma Gelagăng (see Story 113) “future and present,” sun worshipers on the deserted land before 10 o’clock in the morning (see above in the section on blai construction. The Palauans keep the godogulă secret, and it is very difficult to learn any details about them. I learned the following about the Goragel magic, which is used for houses and canoes, from a youth on whom I performed medical treatment and who belonged to the blai regoting: 

The god (forest spirits) of the godogulă Goragel are called:

1. Gubăk îgăvă “chief centipede” (see Canoe Building)

2. Gobăl îgăivă “female chief centipede”

3. Gobăldăpă, daughter of the two mentioned gau, forest spirit for fishing, etc.

4. Đilădkăpă, see Story 17 and 215

5. Goragel, see Story 13

6. Borsălăsă, mother of Goragel, see Story 13

7. a Ngiră butterfly pupa (see the section on canoe building, Fig. 171)

Let the following serve as an illustration of how the construction magic is practiced: When Melekéiok wants to build a bai, 14 chiefs are employed to oversee the construction, 7 rubăk and 7 urăl rubăk, i.e. 7 high chiefs and 7 lower-ranking chiefs. These are apparently inspired by the spirit Gëvulăkă (also called Gobăk îgăivă), and they act accordingly. Now, if Melekéiok builds in Ngarsăl, for example, these chiefs send a messenger with a construction order to the Ngaratëkăngă club in Ngarsăl. Melănăgă is the master builder, the dágălbai, the specifications are according to him. According to Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 227, the master builder receives the first payment at the same time, one mor na goşmăng as otebeădă a melăngă. He has the 10 club members sharpen their adzes and bring them into the bai. He himself goes into the bush in the evening and searches by himself for a tree that is good for the first blow, whose felling is seen as an omen (gongałăgă). When he has found a suitable tree, he goes home. Now the dágălbai (master builder) addresses the adzes, which are set up in two orderly rows, in the two corners of the bai to the left of the gable doorway. They stand there with their handles pointing up (Fig. 201). He speaks the following to Gëvulăkă, as he is the highest-ranking of the 7:

Gëvulăkă, aika gotălăgă Gëvulăkă, these adzes

i ngar tăngă, me ke melăngă are here, you know

ma kmă melăă va tănă I take them tomorrow

i nuor gorişălă to the forest,

dă lē ked ē melăngă so that we chop.
He also chant the following to the 7th spirit, the butterfly pupa:

He also chant the following to the 7th spirit, the butterfly pupa:

a Nglai, molulág è râ Góbâk
ma Rëgëtikèr mà Ksau
mu a Rëktérâng ma
a Rëndëgél ma Segemlóng
ma Rëktérâng
I dmal kmo ko mo krovă
a khhì l mò na Ngrakébëu
meng mo gorâl
a ngelesigèl tía bai
I meotikklong
meng mo marir a gud
re Ngeremáglüs
a le bo làk a gorâl
a ngelesigèl

The next morning, he takes his adze, goes to the tree, chops three times, and sits down. The club members then fell the tree, if everything is in order. He pays attention to which direction the tree falls. If the tree falls to the north, he says:

gâldëbegel, a bai a mesemâl re kid; Club, the bai is (too) strong for us;
meng di saâl l mo moggir; (the wood) has a tendency to rot;
meng di bol mesigil only if strong are
a rengid, i ned e kórik our hearts, will we complete it.

After the falling, the adzes are placed back into the bai, as before, and this continues until the new house is finished. The next morning, the club is divided into two groups, each of which must carve a gable foundation beam. After the felling, the adzes are placed back into the bai, as before, and this continues until the new house is finished.

The master builder answers himself:

Gëvûlkói, tia depleselôl,
Gëvûlkói, this his sleeper
a ngelesigèl Gobak remegû
of the house section of Gobakremegû,
ma k m Linga re ngi
and I lay it down, 
me ke goroi a mekengî
and you keep away evil
ra baii Remegû
from the house of Remegû
mê tirèkà lè gâldëbegel,
and from this club,
e ovîsî a udônî
bring a piece of money
I mo petikù lè gorâl a bai.
quite a lot as the price of the bai.

and before laying out the other 15 sleepers, he then says something like this:

meng melekói ra Rîgêbông, and say to Rûlgêbông,
I melekolî ra Rûlgêbông, say to Rûlgêkîd,

I melekolî ra Ngirêkkungî ma Sagaruleông
ma a Tskîdûsu a ma a Rêgêtîng,
ma tenzik a kläh l m gorâl
a ngelesigèl, m bôl ngásăg a bai,
è di là lý, mà lè mûrêgèl
gogorâl
say to Ngirêkkungî and Sagaruleông
and to Tskîdûsu and a Rêgêtîng,
that they search for a kläh as the price
for their house section, and, if the bai rises,
they should be ready, that quick
be the payment.

The last chant simply reiterates the great concern of the master builder, that he receive the money from the 7 high chiefs of Melekêiok, for whom the bai is being built, and who must pay, correctly and quickly when it is finished. He does not hesitate to express this wish, which is really the focus of all Palauans’ thoughts (and for which the chant is a fitting example), to the leading forest spirit of this magic construction guild. The last chant was simply not necessary; it was a personal issue.

It could also be left out. Only the first one said when the first delépës was laid was compulsory, and after it, the 15 remaining delépës are laid out. When all of the foundation beams (bâi) are standing and, if necessary, have been shored up, the master builder steps into the space between the fourth and fifth foundation beam, i.e. into the center of the construction area. Many coconut clusters (a ronî) have been thrown there during the process of setting up the beams. He sits down and says:

a Nglai atkà melêm, 
Anglai, here is your drink,
me ke di kieò r tiâŋ, you only sit here
e omès ra mariel l méi to see, if anything comes
melâmî l rëkèd, to harm us,
me ke melulùg rëngi and you beg of him,
g ng tomelîd who wants to harm us.

Now the house is built as a sample. While the construction takes place, another chant is performed, at the moment when the corner posts sàus are set on the beams of the framework a sàusî. The dëgûlbûs sits in the center again and says:

a Nglai, ke subadi Gobak, 
A Nglai, you inform Gobak,
a ng medenge, 
so that he knows,
i lrum, sàus a mogo dégîr! he says, the corner posts should stand up!

The master builder answers himself: ng! Then he says:

ke ronggédìng? Did you hear?
ma knuorakû 
And I go there
meng modogari a sàus! and stand the corner posts upright!

He then orders them to set up the whole gûlulî’l wooden bai, and when everything (except the roof) is standing, he prays:

Gëvûlkói, ng di kâl a medengî’l ngèlekt, Gëvûlkói, only you know their names,
tirèkà longi ngàl bôbôk ra Melekêiok these names of the Rubak of Melekêiok
ma ke melekolî r tte, and you speak to them,
mê torègèl gongorêmû they that they hasten the down payment
g mûlgurîngulî’l ra bad, and the taking away of the foundation beams,
Again the master builder is eager for the test setup and taking down to go quickly, so that the final setup can take place, for the sake of payment. Before construction continues, the beams must be shaped and then carved, but not painted yet, because, after all, the bai must be set up in Melekéiok. Everything is brought there from Ngarsul by boat or floating in the water (if the light wood of the akal’I was used). Prior to this, however, the master builder goes back to the first deiqóje and says:

"Gëvûlkoi, aulû, l më ñe bô ra Ngarsul."

Then he moves to the center and says:

"a Nglai, belôk, kau ma Gëvûlkoi, më ñe bô ra ngkalk, e ked esa ra Melekéiok."

a Nglai and Gëvûlkoi are asked to come along and lighten the hearts of the 7 high chiefs and the 7 lower-ranking chiefs, so that they pay well and properly. In Melekéiok, the shaped wooden pieces of the lower structure, the a galéd, are painted, then the bai is erected in its final form, and the roof truss is set on top of it and thatched. During construction, the master builder again goes, as before, to the foundation beam, to the corner, and to the place, for the sake of payment. Before construction continues, the beams must be shaped and then carved, but not painted yet, because, after all, the bai must be set up in Melekéiok. Everything is brought there from Ngarsul by boat or floating in the water (if the light wood of the akal’I was used). Prior to this, however, the master builder goes back to the first deiqóje and says:

"Gëvûlkoi, aulû, l më ñe bô ra Ngarsul."

Then he moves to the center and says:

"Gëvûlkoi, aulû, l më ñe bô ra Ngarsul."

The leader of the club brings a pig, while each of the other 9 brings approximately 10 of the Ngaratúmetum club of Ngarsul, must provide. So these hasten back to their village and retrieve the food. Then the rubak of Melekéiok order the feast, called buk, to be brought out, which the workmen, i.e. the men who helped with the construction of the bai. Finally, the galéás, a captured head, was necessary for the erection of the gable, but my sources did not tell me anything about this. The gable section with the carvings must stay on the ground as tovarí (Wall.: meriŋ “to lean, to bend”), until the ulógóug nut in the B, hangs up the ulógóug nut in the B, hangs up the ulógóug nut in the B, hangs up the ulógóug nut in the B, hangs up the ulógóug nut in the B, hangs up the ulógóug nut in the B, hangs up the ulógóug nut in the B. Kub.: Vol. VIII, pg. 244, says about the akal’I figure, about which there are more details in Section VI, that it could only be carved by an expert under the protection of the deities named there; otherwise a rubak would die. When the carving of the figure was completed, it was covered with a coconut frond and left lying until a head was available. Only then, after a night filled with song in the company of the figure, was the gable raised with loud shouting and commotion, to drive out the Galdí who helped with the construction of the bai. Finally, the gal’dubáol board was inserted, and the head was placed on the figure, as it was usually carved separately. During all the commotion, the dágälbai climbs up the gable, a burning gëlagáng blossom creeps up in his hand (see Section VI), with which he beats the gable. The actual construction work proceeds as follows:

Gömbáosíga ra bai l pelū

Construction of a village house

They order a village house

and we want to build it,

and we call today

for a gathering, to sleep with the adze,

and then we shall lie down, but only straight,

not one man shall

me ng diak rât

but does not expire,

ma mlai gëlin khu k l më

and the canoe brings forth a khuk

re ngak ra Ngarsul

to me in Ngarsul

è lë gëgal’a umădi;

as the price for the gable roof section;

ma k ngu a dövi derëk

and I take it and go abroad

ra mài a mlai

the boat there

më ked è logá tellë

and we give him his breath;

è a kngëi kemía kung

but I take you

më ked è mëndi;

and then we go home.

After the chant, the club returns to Ngarsul and waits. If someone in Melekéiok now takes ill, it is of course the gods who have been beseeched who have caused the illness, and a canoe is quickly sent forth with the kluh, along with an appeal to recall the two forest spirits. Then the master builder goes to Melekéiok with a roasted coconut (ulógóug), whose aroma is pleasing to the forest spirits, a replica of a large hâgël piece of money formed out of turmeric root, and a dâhânâg Dracena. He cracks the ulógóug nut in the B, hangs up the buk there and says:

"ak maramang l më melëbët

I have come to bring order

ra nggel smèkër

to those who are sick

më taa a umădi

and this money

lë gërál a tellë,

as the price for his breath.

merekông, è m geití,

It is done, let him go,

è ng mla më umădi

I received the money;

meng di ka sorák rec ngi.

and no more sick shall he be.

meng merekông,

Therefore finished;

è më m boderei?

we go home!"
to the master builder,

and we send one man

Are you finished or not? —

ask each other and say:

and we all bring them down,

foundation beams, and our village side

and then the club cuts

for the foundation beam at the back gable;

we carve that one piece

at the front gable, and we fell it,

and we shall bring them, and leave them;

and when we have brought it, we will leave it;

and then we shall do the gôlik beam,

then comes the gôngrăngêr beam,

and then they bring everything into a pile

the master builder thereupon speaks so:

We shall carve in the morning,

and shall arrive early at this place

and we shall carve

and until it is finished, then we will leave it;

then we will do the longitudinal beams

then we shall do the transverse beams,

then we will do the gôlik beam,

and we shall arrive early at this place

and we shall leave it;

and then we shall leave them;

and when we have brought it, we will leave it;

and then we shall do the transverse beams,

and we shall bring them, and leave them;

and then (we) ask the master builder

and the master builder takes it.

and chief Number Vi

friend, who is paying the measurement payment?

we hear and say:

and the messenger comes and speaks,

When shall we fell?

speak to one another and say:

they ask each other and say:

and the master builder speaks:

the master builder speaks:

to give him the news of the tree.

Once all of the foundation beams have arrived below,

the master builder speaks:

Go to the club,

and speak to one another and say:

When shall we fell?

And the messenger comes and speaks,

we hear and say:

Friend, who is paying the measurement payment?

and Chief Number VI

says: I, it is my turn with the measurement payment.

And he pays, pays it,

half of a kluk,

and the master builder takes it.

The master builder thereafter speaks so:

We shall carve in the morning,

and we shall arrive early at this place

and we shall carve

and until it is finished, then we will leave it;

then we will do the longitudinal beams

and when we have brought it, we will leave it;

and then we will do the transverse beams,

and we shall bring them, and leave them;

and then (we) ask the master builder

and say: What shall we do?

When it is then morning, they only

seven men go to

the bush, to bring the roasted nuts there;

and we search for

a suitable tree

and (when) we have found it,

then we will fell it,

and we fell it,

while the master builder sits there,

and looks at it,

at its poor position

and he tells us, the club,

if we should give up the felling.

He speaks so: Bad!,

and then we stop working;

but if he speaks: Good!,

it is my turn with the measurement payment.

And he pays, pays it,

half of a kluk,

and the master builder takes it.

The master builder thereupon speaks so:

We shall carve in the morning,

and we shall arrive early at this place

and we shall carve

and until it is finished, then we will leave it;

then we will do the longitudinal beams

and when we have brought it, we will leave it;

and then we will do the transverse beams,

and we shall bring them, and leave them;

and then (we) ask the master builder

and say: What shall we do?

Then they take their adzes, all of the people, to disperse

for various types of carving

and to carve their things;

everyone has a section,

they ask each other and say:

has everyone finished their piece?

(Answer:) Finished!

(Master Builder) If so, we shall raise the Bai
tomorrow! And they do it
The club should come, we are raising the club. 

He says:

domestic: a bad a haw in: eng mokk a bad. 
me melonguk re pëbál a bad a haw. 
ked omugél l monokl a tàngé t ra madàl bai. 
ra mokk a mang. 

He then stands up, draws taut 
domestic: a bad a melendap a omér. 
e a delép a mokk; ma ng sukur a dágàlb a dmul kmo: 

Number VI says: I then he pays a nice gongiakl, then finished. 
Then we do the detail carving of the tree, lengthwise and its width,
and slices of taro come in the morning, 
and coconut shavings in the evening 
and also taro slices, we eat in the evening, and lie down. 
Because we have now gathered, to carve until everything is finished; and when finished, we then ask the master builder, saying: What shall we do? 

The master builder speaks: The order is made to you the club, that it carry the Bai the day after tomorrow 
and (the) master builder speaks: Who shall cut the transverse beams for the front gable?

Then the club asks 

(a bad, l mokk mokk gongiakl. 
metemek'l l mo mokk a bad a haw in: 
e eng mokk a bad. 
me melonguk re pëbál a bad a haw. 
ked omugél l monokl a tàngé t ra madàl bai. 
ra mokk a mang. 

He then stands up, draws taut 
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(a bad, l mokk mokk gongiakl. 
metemek'l l mo mokk a bad a haw in: 
e eng mokk a bad. 
me melonguk re pëbál a bad a haw. 
ked omugél l monokl a tàngé t ra madàl bai. 
ra mokk a mang. 

He then stands up, draws taut 
domestic: a bad a melendap a omér. 

Number VI says: I then he pays a nice gongiakl, then finished. 
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and slices of taro come in the morning, 
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Because we have now gathered, to carve until everything is finished; and when finished, we then ask the master builder, saying: What shall we do? 

The master builder speaks: The order is made to you the club, that it carry the Bai the day after tomorrow 
and (the) master builder speaks: Who shall cut the transverse beams for the front gable?
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and two, the people pay,
and they sit down; the master builder speaks,
and the master builder bids them to stop,
and then the master builder speaks:
and then the master builder bids them to stop, and they sit down, and (the) club
and then they bring it and lay it down;
and the master builder speaks: finished! Put your axes away,
and then they bring it and lay it down;
and the master builder speaks: finished!
and then the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then the master builder stops; and carried the food of the master builder
and the master builder speaks: finished! and they finish eating
and the master builder speaks: finished; and then finished;
and then the master builder stops; and carried the food of the master builder
and then the master builder speaks:
and then they bring it and lay it down;
and the master builder speaks: finished!
and the master builder speaks: finished!
and the master builder speaks: finished!
and the master builder says:
and the master builder says:
and then finished!
and then finished;
and they sit down and (the) club
and then they bring it and lay it down;
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then they bring it and lay it down;
and the master builder speaks: finished!
and the master builder speaks: finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished; and then finished;
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and the master builder says:
and the master builder speaks: finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and the master builder says:
and the master builder speaks: finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and they give, these two, me tëlogāng gërūl mo ra
and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
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and then finished; and they sit down and (the) club
and the master builder speaks:
and the master builder speaks:
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
and then finished!
The chiefs say the following: The purchase shall be made at the next new moon.

The chiefs say the following: We are tearing down the Bai!

The chief and the Number II man; the making of the hole must be paid.

Notifies the master builder the price of the umád for me!

He says: Hold out the rafters.

And when they pay two klsúk as gofelvíg, we shall gather, to discuss, is the new moon, then we shall gather, to discuss, then we disperse and head for the fishing grounds to search for our fish bundles, each one fish bundle, and then we ask each other about the moon, one says, two, three days, but one man, who knew, speaks truthfully: The moon is two days old! And the club speaks truthfully. The cooking shall take place today, but the purchase tomorrow.

And when the morning comes, then we bring the food, we carpenters, here to these construction parts for the Bai, and we bring the dishes together, and when finished, we sit down; those who are gathered, will pay in one of the Bai, and they put on their loin cloth and rub in turmeric yellow, and search for their little quid, and after noon they go out, to sit in rows when going, coming to this work on the Bai, and they sit down, and that head of the chiefs calls out the one who calls out the money, and says to him: call out and gives him one kluk, approaches him, and stands up, and calls out this kluk as the price of the umád for me!
and he calls out the price of his house section, also one klo
then are finished the four umád; and then to the buyer
of the roof truss beam, and he calls out the price of the roof truss beam, also one klo, and then he goes to the buyer
of the lower left-hand longitudinal beams, and he calls out also one klo, and then he goes to the buyer
of the lower right-hand longitudinal beams, and he calls out the price, also one klo; then are finished the kluk, there are only 7, it is finished. He, the caller
of the money goes to Number V, and he calls out the price of his house section, one klo and one göngiok as companion only with him.
Then he goes to Number VI, and he calls out the price for his section, also one klo,
and then to Number VII, also one klo, and then to Number VIII, also one klo payment,
then to Number IX, also one klo, and then to Number X, also one klo, and one göngiok as a companion.
and they pay then the little people of the club and round up the number of kluk to thirteen, for both sides thirteen and then they get up, the carvers, and each of them goes to the payers, and each takes the price for wall board and threshold and post and corner post and göngangtre and gölík and göríkołk and transverse beam and rafters and post with mat hangers then finished; they sit down, the carpenters of the club, and the head of the club pays the value of one klo
l sná dágáibai é dmra ngi l kmo tia gordeném, é ked é merekong l mëm ngiittér, a ra gélam; é bodérë?
merekok gogeráol ma têkingë a rábak a mo ra Regiúngël, é l ng mëldë刘备, re ngós, a mo ra Gaspăngël
é l ng mëldë刘备 re ngbàrë, é l meubëd s tā l kmo, ked omálaak ma Meketi, mëng ruùlëd goomelâség, më te melâság é kaspëbbid ma a l mërekò a ulâol
é a lodrengi a Gaspăngël ma Regiúngël l mé mesód ed ë Bëdul l kmo: ulâol a merekong!
a Bëdul a kmo: bong, ng ne solosi a ulâol ra khukûk. mëng më solosi mëm tomâlaa, é a Ngarnekitì gomâkätzir ma tomâlaa
lë del, së, merekong ma l merekong, ng dëstël me te nemlë, é aruhûk a luk melôk ë mo ra biul taâg ma biul taâg
l kmo ked é melâság
a melëg, ma biul taâg ë ra Delûi gôbû maddalabà
Sâgâmës goû bût l bai, ked é melâság a lonmëlû
ra gadëng, ë solâe nga tèr’rói pelû
ë solâe ë di melâság kong
l mo mërek e melëg
ë dmra ra gûl l dágáibai
l dmra kmo ke melëg
ra dûlakû l mëng melëg
re ngi, ë te melâság e ngi, a beklagûd.
e ked ngmàl gongolûbë
l mo mërek; a kaspëbbid
ma l merekong; ë ked é
to the master builder and says to him thusly: These are your wages, we are finished and you take them, your people, let’s go!
the payments made and the words of the chiefs go to Regiúngël, because he is in command in the East, and to Gaspăngël, because he is in command in the West, they notify him so:
We make the floor for Meketi, so that out comes the carving.
And they carve and notify, and when the floor is finished, they send a man, Gaspăngël and Regiúngël, so that he brings news to a Bëdul about the following: The floor is finished!
a Bëdul says:
Good, let it be brought inside the floor tomorrow. And they bring it in, make it, but Ngarnekiitet feeds them, and they put in three days, and finished. And when finished, they leave and go home, but the chiefs then say the two channel sides so: we carve the gable; and the channel side from a Delûi handles the front side, and Sâgâmës handles the back side; we carve, starting with gading, then we take ter’rói pelû, and then we also carve, until the gable is finished. Then speaks one man, to the master builder, he speaks so: You mark the gable figure! and he marks it, so that carve they can, everyone.
We take gongolûbë and finished, we discuss and then finished; we carry
mëngûl l mera bai
më ked osâmüni l mo mërek,
ë kmung: ardaṅel kluk
in V ol. Viii, pg. 239, Kub. reports more details about payment. It is done similarly to how it is described above.

As for the position of the bai, the front gable, mudd l bai “eye, tip of the bai” is always supposed to be facing east, towards the sunrise. The roosters depicted on the outer wall, especially on the rebáì side, crow in this direction. There are some exceptions; thus in Goréŏr, the front gable points West, towards Ngarekobasáng, which they consider fully christened.

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If one thinks of the bai as a ship and stands at the back gable looking forward, on one’s right side, where the tips of the purlins (ngelóng govtang) are pointed forward, is the nglósŏg side, the starboard side. Under the front bow, at the madal a bai, near the door of the front gable, which may only be used during festive occasions (see Vol. 2), i.e. to starboard, is usually the seat of the Number 1 rubak. Across from him, at the port bow, under the govtang is that of the Number iii rubak; at the but l bai, to port (reba), sits Number IV, to starboard (ngelóng) Number II; this is the same in a rubak bai as it is in a club bai.

The seatings changes in individual villages depending on the importance of the individual rubak or due to coincidence; the families of the chiefs often sit near him. They play a large role in particular in the case of the roof sections nglósŏg (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 238 tóosóok), which were previously discussed, because the inhabitants of the good bai of a village, and also the owners of the taro fields (meselė), take over a certain nglósŏg during the construction of a bai. Therefore, each of the 17 nglósŏg has its own name, from the 1st., the umád (see above) to the 9th, the “middle” galid; the 10th through 17th repeat these names in opposite order. Let us examine, as an example, Gorèŏr, which was also used as the basis for the description of the construction of a village dwelling.

### Front Gable (madal a bai)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rebai side</th>
<th>nglósŏg roof section</th>
<th>nglósŏg side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngirai téggi kí Nr. IV</td>
<td>umád</td>
<td>a Íbëdul Nr. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngirai téggi kí Nr. IV</td>
<td>2. bedebádĕl</td>
<td>a Íbëdul Nr. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regekemır Nr. II</td>
<td>melái</td>
<td>Dërlëi Nr. 14 (his messenger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meselėg-Madëkëkí</td>
<td>magíkíkíkí</td>
<td>Galdbo Nr. 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nglómog Blai +</td>
<td>5. tiángğel (“door”)</td>
<td>Mad ra Goťolóğ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Ibedăgál</td>
<td>6. magíkíkíkí re gomkëgab</td>
<td>Goukerđu Nr. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tëgamdíng Nr. X</td>
<td>7. melái re gomkëgab</td>
<td>Ningmarelt Nr. IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Ingeáol Nr. Vıı</td>
<td>8. golik gald</td>
<td>Ningratel Nr. VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Ikélau Nr. II</td>
<td>9. Galid (“middle”)</td>
<td>Ningirai kelai Nr. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruseblík Nr. V</td>
<td>10. golik gald</td>
<td>Ningirai téggi Nr. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gëst Nr. VI</td>
<td>11. melái re gomkëgab</td>
<td>Rubiăng Nr. VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gëst Nr. VI</td>
<td>12. magíkíkíkí re gomkëgab</td>
<td>a Kíggbolg Nr. X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesé ra Kesöl</td>
<td>13. tiángggel</td>
<td>Ningirai kelai Nr. II alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meselėg Ngerëbikul</td>
<td>14. magíkíkíkí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesëra Gálsong</td>
<td>15. melái</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jóuldídí Nr. III</td>
<td>16. bedebádĕl</td>
<td>Ningirai kelai Nr. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jóuldídí Nr. III</td>
<td>17. umád</td>
<td>with the help of relatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Back Gable (but l bai)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rebai side</th>
<th>ngelóng side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In Ngarsúl, the distribution of the nglósŏg is as above.

That is more or less the distribution. The seats on the rebai side are considered inferior; this is evident in the fact that the two doors on this side of the building are called “hunger doors;” the front is mangarëm l tiángğel ra madal the back is mangarëm l tiángğel ra but.

The third center door, as already mentioned, was missing entirely in former times; the only hearth used to occupy that spot in the middle of the floor.

I must not neglect to mention that at one time there used to be “wide bai” meris l bai, which had two doors on the gable side. Kub., Vol. VIII, Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1, depicts such a bai. In this case, the gable almost forms an isosceles triangle. Kub. saw a building of this type in Melekišòk, which was destroyed in a storm in 1875, because it was old and rotted. Since there were two dilugăi figures on the gable, this was actually two bai next to each other. It was the last, perhaps the only one, of its kind. Vol. 2, shows a wide form with only one door; we never did see any two-doored ones.

On the other hand, two-story bai, called govtang, were not so rare. I myself saw one in a Êrăi in 1907, although it was half decayed. Among Kubary’s photographs in Hamburg, I found an unpublished one depicting the entire building; the photograph on Plate 15 shows its construction. Furthermore, Kub., Vol. VIII, Plate XXXII, illustrates the construction of the govtang of Ngivál, which stood in Ngaragélél (Vol. 2). The gable was not occupied by a dilugăi but by another woman (not with spayed legs, but standing upright) on a stand, the way the Bilekél in Ngahókél is full of human figures, for example (Vol. 2). Kub. speaks of such an Antai in Ngaháll, as well.

I can add that there were two-story bai not only in the three villages mentioned by Kub., but also in Göléi, Ngërîl, and in Keklù, where I recorded a two-story bai. Thus it becomes clear that these impressive buildings, like the two-story sop just mentioned above, are dedicated to the Galid Medegi pehù, who shall be discussed in the section on the Galid cult. The govtang bai were not, however, practical buildings for cults or dwellings; they were built more to be impressive structures.

The so-called telegeër bai, about which there is discussion at the end, were the residential buildings for the priests. These were real bai, but with only 5 ël foundation beams; there were only a few left from the old days. In Ngarahâd à Êrăi, the ruins of these buildings were still visible; in Melekišòk the house of the a Rákäl, which is pictured in Vol. 2, was still standing; a similar one was in Ngátpáng.

In the same village, however, there was also a real Galid bai, as mentioned in Vol. 2 and above, where I attempted to show the construction of a room in which the priest held his meetings. One can see by the windows that it is a real bai; only the roof truss is different: The inner posts gualbâr are missing, as are, naturally, the mat holders rëkoî, on which the rëkoî rafters are supposed to rest. Instead, these sit on the gungângër longitudinal beams, and the tie beams ël inúl are mortised into the rëkoî rafters, like the two smaller ones above.

These telegeër bai were the splendid dwellings for the priests, for whom a simpler bai was not enough, or for persons of high rank (see Story 136). The bai, with its carved wooden parts, is a work of art, as already emphasized above. But it is rendered truly resplendent with its artful carvings and ornamental painting, as Vol. 4 shall reveal.
Section VI. Intellectual Culture.

For the following paragraphs, Kubary’s work, “The social arrangements of the Palauans” (Kub., Vol. II) has provided much outstanding information about the old times. I worked through the book while I was in Palau and discussed almost everything with my translator William, and I also had consultations with numerous rubak, which brought much new information to light. My main goals were to clarify and explain, and to correct the spelling of the words, so that now, with the help of my notes and the relevant sections from the stories, I can deliver a pretty clear and comprehensive picture.

1. Family and Community.

a) Pregnancy and Birth.

When a daughter of a wealthy house is pregnant for the first time, she is ordered, sometimes with her spouse, as shown in Story 12, to the little decorative hut (see above). If no such hut is available, an enclosure galūmih-il is marked off in the house; in any case, the favorite (galōvīl) is separated. This also occurs if the woman returns from her spouse’s house to that of her parents, which she does at the very latest 6 months after the pregnancy begins.

In Vol. II, pg. 54, Kub. writes: “The husband, who from time to time was given Telgūl consisting of good taro, bananas, and such, now comes to the house and informs the parents about the condition of his wife, which is called Osūmuk uiltēk. He then gives the father one Adolóbok for the Osūmuk and one Kluk for the gōmu a diil, whereupon the father gives him back one Adolóbok for the Gal a Kalāng. In the fourth month, the parents send 10 baskets of the best type of taro for the Delūl a dīil, and the son-in-law informs the parents that he will come to the emūm a diil, also known as the būn diil, with so and so many of his female relatives.

The house of the woman’s parents prepares everything for a good reception, and the father-in-law ensures that the emūm a diil, also known as the būn diil, for the occasion. In the house; in any case, the favorite (galōvīl) is separated. This also occurs if the woman returns from her spouse’s house to that of her parents, which she does at the very latest 6 months after the pregnancy begins.

The idea behind all of this is: the first time a woman becomes pregnant, “the belly must be paid for,” as the wife of Ngirailangalăng says (see Story 205); then some magic for a successful birth, for the “bursting of the belly” buduli, is imperative. The same term is used for the kluk that the husband pays the relatives of his wife in the 7th month, in addition to 1 kluk (1/2 kluk), which is called osūmug uiltēg; then 2 mādāl a kluk, called dik, since they are meant to “support and surround,” like the belly does the child, and finally 1 gōngiakl as a gomōbāl, “creator” of a well-formed body, which is meant to ensure a beautiful, good child.

Collectively, the first four pieces of money, of which the keblīl of the husband pay the family of the wife for the first pregnancy and the meal they received, are called pokēt. However, before the pokēt is paid, the budūl magic is performed. It takes the form of ānulūla breaking of the coconut. A woman, one of the husband’s relatives, stands in front of the central door of the bīl where the pregnant woman is sitting. In her right hand she holds the club gōmu, also called gongoselīl, usually in the shape of a fish hung or dog; in her right hand she holds a coconut; she says the following chant:

| ak oltūrlē ve kemē | I plead with you, |
| arbhālēlē tīl polēl | spirits of this land |
| marbhālēlē tīl blāl | and spirits of this house, |
| ē ak īnum e tīl lūlēl | oh! I break this fine nut, |
| a tīsāng ra gēngālō sīlē | the nut from today’s sun; |
| mang mēgēl mang ardiil | if a woman is born, |
| ē ng i di sāngāk | let it be like me, |
| mang sāgōl | if a man, |
| a ng i di wādamāl | let it be like its father. |

Then she cracks the nut with the gōmu and throws it on the ground; if both halves fall with the inside up, it is a good omen. After this, the door mat sālīlē is drawn back (mesūmāl), and the payment of money pokēt commences. Kub. also says: “now an Arvelāp tīsāng is called in, who speaks magic over the pregnant woman and watches over her until the birth. Generally, no special customs are observed, except that the privileged families set a basket next to the pregnant woman, in which several sandpiper's carved of wood sit incubating, representing the mythical Adalīk.”

However, E. K. also learned of the practice of casting a spell on the child qongqōtēl a ngāpēl in the third or fourth month of pregnancy. The woman casting the spell, an old woman called gobadīl, comes to the pregnant one and brings along a si leaf, which she strokes while casting the spell; after the chant, she gives the leaf to the pregnant woman, who folds it and crushes it, then squeezes it out into water, which she then drinks with the dripping-in juice. Several times over the course of the day, water is poured over the leaf, and the infusion is drunk; the pregnant woman also strokes her stomach with the leaf. The gobadīl comes in the morning and the evening with a new leaf, almost throughout the remaining period of pregnancy; all of the leaves are pinned to the wall of the house.

Taboos: At gatherings, the pregnant woman does not sit with all the other people, but rather to the side; if there are rows, she sits at the beginning or at the end. She may not eat anything fatty, no pork, etc., also no kīkāu, but only “roasted taro” dēlīl. She does not decorate her ears with taro sprouts (dārīl). She is always covered, so as not to offend the Galīd Mariūr, who is particularly fond of making pregnant women sick and preventing successful births; he is pictured in bai 68 and bai 136īī. On the other hand, the medicine of gounugūlel’s leaves is considered good, because these lily leaves stick up like a comb.

The following is said of them:

| ungūl kūlōlēl a delōp | Good is the thing of the Delēp, |
| sēkīl mang kēlāp ve ngī | on him it stands up somewhat like a wall; |
| ē sel lamād a nāgyēl | when a man is dead, |
| e ngu mangomōkēl a delōp | one takes the headress of the spirit. |

Coconut smashing club made of lime stone, 39km long. (Leipzig Mi 1616)  
Fig. 202.

Coconut smashing club made of wood, 63cm long. Ht. 90.  
Fig. 203.
Abortion (melēgbė, means godēgbė) is performed in the second or third month and is usually accomplished with poisonous plants. Cesarean sections appear to have been practiced on Palau as on Truk (where I already reported about it). Story 12 suggests that in former times all children had to be cut out, until natural birth was discovered by Mangdapi. I was unable to obtain any details about the operation as currently performed (see the section on cultural comparison).

b) Birth gorol (rosis, gērōl le) and the weeks following Childbirth

According to the notes of E. K., these proceed as follows:

The woman in labor props her feet against a house post, and during labor pains she also grasps it with her hands and presses it. During very painful contractions, she grabs parts of her own skirt gërēvut, which hang down to the side, and pulls herself up a bit. Another woman sits behind their and props her feet against the posterior of the woman in labor, a second helper stands to the side and back more, and pushes her shoulders down. The old, wise gobaull sits in front of her, a little to the side, and very gently strokes the stomack and upper thighs of the groaning woman, while whispering chants. Dirangeal said the following words:

galaldi, galaalki  be quiet, hush!
ak mongoolala, zkåre ardl  whisper, I speak to the woman,
ak melali a ardl doli.  I stroke the pregnant woman;
ünqil aruugul, ngieli inni  she is satisfied, the child comes.

The assistants are usually female relatives of the pregnant woman; if there are not enough of them, the husband may help as well; usually, however, men are excluded. If the birth proceeds slowly, they call out: push, push!, and they sometimes also give her medicine, a little drink inelal a gorol. The old woman receives the child; only rarely, in cases where the labor pains are weak or the position is bad, does she pull the child out. According to Kuh, Vol. II, pg. 55, the umbilical cord is cut off with a bamboo knife and is tied off with hibiscus twine. "The mother carefully saves the dried umbilical cord."

The afterbirth rögäl usually follows quickly.

Immediately after delivery, the woman who has given birth must once more drink a large bowl of medicine, which is often repeated in the days that follow; likewise, she is washed down almost daily with a liquid made of rebelial leaves (ambosi). Her main task, however, is to sit still or to walk with her arms together in front of her, with her hair tied in a knot on top of her head. For the most part, wearing such a top knot rëkûk (Kub: tōkōl) is practiced in rich families only.

The purpose for the arms being pressed stifly to the chest or crossed is to squeeze the breasts together; the natives believe that otherwise the milk will dry up or run out. Breast feeding does not start until the third day. The purpose for the arms being pressed stiffly to the chest or crossed is to squeeze the breasts together; the natives believe that otherwise the milk will dry up or run out. Therefore, breast feeding does not start until the third day.

Figure 204 shows the seated position and the topknot, as well as the painting that is applied; it also accurately reflects the pained facial expression of the woman giving birth. Soon, numerous visitors, both friends and relatives, arrive; they bring food and want to see the child, this is called galoobeli, they are, of course, invited to the celebration. For as a rule, on the seventh day, before the end of this period of suffering, which is marked with the ngišgul celebration, there is one final torture, the culmination of everything, the steam bath gogurul. A bamboo frame, called biliadi, is erected in the house; it is large enough that two people can just barely sit in it together.

Two bamboo crosses are stuck into the bamboo floor of the Hlai with two of their arms, while the other two arms are tied together with transverse poles and covered with mats. In the room created this way, the woman who has recently given birth is seated on a three-legged stool gosokkali, and bowls with steaming hot water, into which have been placed all manner of aromatic leaves, are set around her legs, as is nicely described in Story 12. The woman remains in this steam bath for about ten minutes, sometimes longer. She must inhale not only the bitting steam, but also the pungent smell of the biikn, which is brought out by the hot stones and pottery shads that have been stuck into the mixture.

About ten baskets full of cooked taro are also placed in the room; they are meant for the family of the husband, which brings skirts for the new mother. Everything related to the steam bath gosogul and the swirling, hot brew is called gongul. Once all of the ingredients of the gongul have been added, a woman crawls into the woman who has recently given birth, to see if it is too hot; if this is the case, the side mats are lifted somewhat, and fresh air is allowed in. Once the temperature is right, the woman who has recently given birth is left alone in the room and brought out after the required period of time, dried off and rubbed down (meuladi. After this, she is taken to the house where the celebration is taking place, her father’s house. Someone must guide her, of course, because she is now so weak that she weaves back and forth when walking. When she reaches the house, the child is laid at her breast, and when it is full, they rub coconut oil on the mother and paint her with turquoise. The stripe painted on the cheek is called gororengel (from goror to paint); the one across the shoulders and the upper arm is called diu lágel a mágel.

The top knot rëkûk is now loosened and the hair falls down, tied only once at the neck. The mother puts on a ririnol dress, adds two new little ngišgel bags, one of which is the ulikk, which has a black and white pattern, and then finally dons the best available hip cord and belt. Now she slowly rises from her small seating mat kingel “her seat”), walks arduously through the house, climbs out the central door onto a tano bench that has been placed there to serve as a step, and walks a little ways on the gobbled pavement, where she stops and stands stiffly upright. One woman waws the liigel, a mongongye leaf sheath with two rows of alternating black and white coconut pieces over her stomach; another woman sits next to her with the infant. After a short time, the mother goes back into the house, slowly stepping backwards, passing through the door backwards with great difficulty. In the house once more, she sits down on her mat again.

She has now presented herself to the people of the village who were gathered outside as a young, clean mother, and now there is a great banquet, which her family and her husband bring; cooked tao in baskets, blsik dumplings, bowls of cooked potik, fish in large kettles, etc. At the end of the meal, some more pretty skirts are distributed. This presentation of oneself on the gobbled pavemnt is the general custom in the northern part of the archipelago. In the south however, particularly in a Ngien, rich houses present their daughters after their first birth on a stage, called a ingir or gorol. Oddly enough, Kub. does not mention this custom, although it is described by Semp. pg. 304, who observed it himself in Kpulapel (see Vol. 2). He writes the following about it:

“In front of the house of the king’s sister, a scaffold was built about 10 ft. high and made out of thick tree trunks, not unlike a pyre, with roughly hewn steps leading up to it. On the platform and on the path between the house and the structure were spread finely woven mats. Then a young woman came out of the house and sat there for about fifteen minutes under the gaze of the gathered group. It was a young mother, whose child had turned ten days old that day. Her hair was gathered in a tall, smooth knot that reached upward and was inclined forward, resembling a small cap; two short sticks stuck out of the hair on her forehead, and from them hung bushy balls of cotton dyed black and white. The stripe on the cheek is called gororengel (from goror to paint); the one across the shoulders and the upper arm is called diu lágel a mágel.

Furthermore, Semp. thought the custom was called momamasere, which supposedly meant “to climb up”; it is more correctly spelled ngišgul, which demonstrates the importance of the ngišgul celebration, the climbing up, which was apparently widespread across the whole archipelago in the old days and is now practiced only in Ngien, of which Kpulapel is really just an offshoat, as Semp. points out. Another thing which points to the customs being
widely in former times is the existence to this day of the privilege of blai 13 a Uriak in Goikul, which is the only one to enjoy it on Babldaob. 

Otherwise, inging platforms are reserved for the Galid during celebrations, as in the description of Melekëisk and a ìrí in Vol. 2. This proves that honoring young women on the occasion of their first delivery was an unusually big deal, as only the gods were paid similar homage. However, this all happens for the first birth only; no attention is paid when the family expands later. In the case of the death of a wife, the husband buys his freedom, so to speak. In Vol. II, on pg. 57, Kub. says: “If the wife dies, the family pays for the funeral, and the husband must pay the Diull and Dósomel. The Kaukub relationship, which has been interrupted by the death of the woman, is now formally canceled, with the widower taking his former father-in-law two pieces of money for the Kalapahi and the Ommíneh. After this, he returns to his own native village, as he is now considered a stranger to the family.”

Now that we have covered birth, let us turn our attention to the newborn infant.

According to Kub., like the mother, so too the child is often bathed with warm water in which leaves of the aromatic bòdel/ and of Morinda ngel have been laid, and is given juice from a young coconut and syrup water to drink, until the mother can supply it with good milk. “Those present hold the child continually in their arms, and if it gets the hiccups, a little piece of betel leaf is stuck to its forehead.” The baby is kept in a mongol leaf sheath (Areca). “As soon as this withers, if the child is a son, this is laid in the crown of a coconut palm, otherwise, it is laid in a taro patch, and the coconut fiber used to clean the child after bowel movements is disposed of along with it. The interpretation of this usage is that the man should be good at climbing and the woman should work hard in the taro patch.” The word for infant is tolugol or gapasugol, breastfeeding is called olitú, and wet nurse golitú. As soon as mother and child are strong enough, they return to the husband’s house.

c) The name ngãl (possessive ngålël)

The name is given early, usually by the father. Of course, long before the birth there are consultations about which name the child should be given. If the name of a living person is chosen, whose positive characteristics one wishes the child to have, the father pays one golitugol for it, a present, usually in the form of a pot of molasses or oil, etc. This is called ngågol, to lend a name; the child thus named is called gongagol gongkél klak – klak – klit it has my – your – his/her name. Names of foreigners are also popular, for example Kub. twice, Dokia for Sem. once, Profeság for Kr. once, Kingos = King George etc. Common or special events or circumstances may also result in names that are used during the child’s youth as golitugol’s “his youth name.”

Sometimes other names are added later, and finally is the bai title a dúi (possessive dúiř) for both man and woman. In bai Nr. 1, it is the same as the name of the high chief of a district, in which case it is bestowed in a celebration, as can be seen in Vol. 2. These titles are not to be confused with the title of master and mistress of a bai, for example in Goréor, in the case of bai Nr. VII Njgja- and Đira-ingelol. Occasionally, however, these may also be titles, as is the case for bai Nr. II, VI, and IX (see Vol. 2), or they may be bestowed as youth names (see Gor. At I Gen VII).

One more peculiar thing deserves mentioning, namely that they do not like to pronounce the name of the mother or sister in public (see below, in the section on totems).

d) Children Growing Up

There are no special words for age groups (see the section on names of relatives). In the case of boys, the influence of the clubs, the galdëbëglõ, which they join at a young age already, plays a strong role early in their lives. Kub., in Vol. IV pg. 80, observed early maturity in a gathering of 6-10-year-old boys (kaubëngol), who were
boosting of their successes. For girls, the mongol institution is of decisive importance. For this reason, they receive instruction in the art of love at an early age, in fact there are actual love schools, known as teengir arúl. One well-known teacher was Drerikiegbg in Goikul (see Story 134).

There are no rites of passage (as there are in Melanesia) for boys and girls when they reach puberty. On the other hand, defilation takes place at an early age. According to Kub., in Vol. II, pg. 50, the mother takes care of this for a daughter. She tears the hymen and inserts a roll of kobol leaves, then këbbibikë, and finally arurisa, which is left there for 10 days. During this time, the girl may not do any work, instead she “goes for walks,” which is why this period of time is also called nilité for short. After this, she must rebuff men for another 10 months, like pregnant women. Kub.’s claim that the deflowered girl searches for a partner in a manner of days was pointed out by my sources to be incorrect. After the 10 months, however, the mother sends her daughter to the kirirker (Kub.: Gerg- ery) to “earn money.” She is warned not to demean herself and to go to rich men. Kub., in Vol. II, pg. 51, describes vividly how she first goes to rubak Nr. 1, then to all the others, never returning to the same one. She brings home money from all of them, and her family is joyful. The first good piece of money means “luck for life”; it is called gap. This is the word used for all money earned for free love.

e) Mongol

When the girl is old enough, when she is sexually mature, which is called meliu (Wall.), the same term as for a ripe coconut, she goes away in secret to be a bai girl, a mongol (possessive mëngolgol) is used by men for women, and vice versa, plural arongol, otherwise kšišu “sweetheart,” possessive songol or is secretly called for. The secrecy is necessary, because otherwise confrontations could arise. Kub., in Vol. II, pg. 52, speaks of the Arongol and explains aru and mongol to carry; Wall. speaks of mongol to “carry” and of “prostitutes in the bai, like Natasha”; Semp., however, spelled it mongul, and McChler Moongole, a housekeeper, a woman who takes care of a public building”; M.-M. spells it mongole, Born and others spell it mongol (see also Vol. 2), and so I must point out that the “u” is pronounced in a muffled fashion and sounds like “o.” How many hundreds of times have I heard this word this way, with the emphasis on it, i.e. mongol, plural arongol? Whether this word is related to mongol, to carry, is not clear; I only know that two wives of one man are called mongouakl; kšiš mongoulgol is the obligation of one village to provide bai girls to another, for which the reasons can be seen in Vol. 2, for example (see also story 38).

Fetiching the girls, which is done by force (see Kub., Vol. IV pg. 79), known as melurid, is mentioned in story 165, as is the ulóg tribute after defeat, in which conquered villages had to deliver women to the victorious village. These women were forced to stay in the bai of the victors for an indeterminate amount of time and did not have to be compensated. Kub., in Vol. II, pg. 145, says “If there was discord between two communities concerning women, the vanquished gave one “ulóg” or entered into the Kauamengol relationship, i.e., allowed their women to go to the land of the conqueror as Arongol, without the reciprocal right of mongoulgol, the procuring of Arongols from their land.”

- kaumongol, however, means reciprocity, as the prefix iau implies; the following villages have such agreements: Gorëor and a ìrí, Ngarekëi and Gorëor, Ngunsul and Melekëisk, Ngirãl and Melekëisk, Ngalë and Galılıp, Ngalbkíd and Ngardmah (see Story 79), a Iuñegs and Ngarg. Gorëor, on the other hand, had ulóg from Peliliu (see Keate, pg. 205), Melekëisk had it from Kekläi, etc.

As a fundamental rule, a girl does not go to a bai in the village in which she grows up and in which her family lives. She also does not leave publicly; Semp. gives examples of this on pgs. 164 and 324. Incidentally, the club pays the family one golitú (Kub., in Vol. II pg. 92 olitú; see also Song 196, Verse 4) when they pick up the girl.
Fig. 204.
Primipara with breasts squeezed together.

Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.
She stays in the bai approximately three months and lives with the men of the club, hears of their deeds, of war campaigns, of politics, and is as involved as possible in everything. Together with the other girls in the bai she keeps it clean, fetches water and dry coconut leaves for the fire, maintains the lamps, etc. Meals are brought by the women of the village, who themselves led the same kind of life once. The wives must watch the goings-on calmly, otherwise they may experience the same fate as the wife of Ngiragosisáng (story 76). Abuse of the bai girls is not tolerated by the club, and they exact revenge for it, which is why every môngol stands by her bai.

But one must not get the impression that everyone lives together in promiscuity in the bai; each girl chooses her particular lover golôl (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 125 golôl), her protector, by offering her hand bag to him. She sleeps on his mat, and after her bai time is over, usually about 3 months, he pays the gorôdôm, the wages in the form of a ksluk, to the father when he comes to call for his daughter. If the girl is unfaithful to her golôl, he refuses payment, as recounted so well in the famous Story 206 of Mangtip. This does not, however, prevent business-minded women from secretly earning a gap from other members of her bai, but only from them, and “theft” mungôgôg by club members is pretty much the rule. Sometimes, a girl changes her golôl after 1-2 months, if he agrees and pays his gorôdôm, and she selects another man, or she marries, which usually happens soon after she returns home anyway. Before payment takes place, however, the girl’s relatives bring a meal golîsî (verb mungôsî), the final meal, consisting of taro, fish, betel leaves and nuts, etc., which is distributed to the club members. In the case of illness, who are forced to be there, of course, this step is omitted, since there is no time limit. The only thing that imposes a time limit in this case is pregnancy, which is also a decisive factor for the three-month time period. This does not mean, however, that the môngol service of the free woman is exhausted; even married women occasionally go into a bai, to earn money.

In a special, more recent form of this, several women get together and attend to a rich village. Usually this is a women’s club, which, as described in Story 17, journeys to the men’s club or to a rubak bai in a foreign village to achieve power. These love journeys are called blolóbôl and they used to last about 7 months, and in more recent times as long as a year, as Story 154 recounts. During the women’s absence, their relatives send them food, gásia, on a monthly basis, usually seven times, i.e. in seven canoes, two baskets of taro, fish, and sweet dishes for each rubak (see Story 154); usually it is the older club of the hîtal hâng that prepares the food and brings it to the village in which the women are staying, where they give it to the club to distribute. The last shipment of food is called galësî, like the meal described above. When the time is up, the rubak of the village they have visited arrange for a golôl, a gift of money for the rubak of the women’s home village; each one gives “his contribution” raïl, as described in Story 113. The gift of the 10 rubak consists of 10 ksluk, with 1 bâgél or galebâgél and 10 madál a kluk consisting of môngonôg money. In addition, every lover finds a gorôdôm for his môngol, which then belongs to the lover, and which she receives in her bai; the visited men, you see, bring the women back to their villagegăl, where payment takes place.

The main purpose of the blolóbôl, besides being a good source of income, was to foster good relationships between two villages; of course, this was not always successful, and the invited women often served to satisfy the lust for revenge for previously committed and seemingly forgotten misdeeds. Usually, this enlivened burning all of the visiting women on a pyre, as described in Stories 116, 161, 227.

That is the most important information I was able to glean about the môngol institution, which I could no longer learn from first-hand observation, because in 1905, one year before my first visit, it had been abolished by our government. The symbols of the môngol, however, the dilûkî figures, were still present on several bai, of course only in a few villages, as can be seen in Vol. 1 and Vol. 2, etc. As gable figures, they had special meaning during construction of the bai, as well, as can be seen above.

On the creation of the figures, I quote Miklucho-Maclay’s story, as it has not been previously published:

“Long, long time ago, in the village Guairuar, a woman by the name of Dilukaî lived with her mother and her brother. This brother, whose name was Atmatuyuk, was a sinister, gruff character. His body was covered with a skin disease, so he was forbidden from bathing at the spot where the rubak bathed. But he did not heed the restriction, so they imposed a monetary fine on him, which he then refused to pay. Because nobody wanted to lay a hand on him, they waited for an opportunity to punish him. This arose one day when he went to another village for business. While he was gone, his house was raided and stoned, to the point where his mother and sister could barely escape to the next bai, where they waited for Atmatuyuk’s return. When he returned, he met them and they told him what had happened. He said that he wanted to take a look and that he would then give them instructions on what to do. When he arrived at his house, it was in flames. This was a hard blow for him, because he had not a single friend in the village with whom his mother and sister could seek shelter. He went back to them and declared that they should stay in the bai until he had found shelter for them in another village. But he did not find a place, or perhaps he did not even look for one. But from time to time he went to the bai, supposedly to see his mother and sister, but in reality to pick a fight with the village residents. He was as much feared as he was unpopular, so everyone stayed away from him.

Since the natives do not like to go into a bai, where there are female relatives of theirs, the mother and sister of Atmatuyuk were made into môngol. In this way, the inhabitants of the village hoped to rid themselves of him and the blows he meted out whenever he encountered someone in the bai. But when this also did not help, and he continued to come back, they took away the skirts from both women and tied them naked to the doors of the bai in the position depicted by the dilûkî. They tied the mother to one entrance of the house, and they tied the sister to the other. This finally worked. Atmatuyuk never returned. He was said to have turned into a shooting star in the sky. However, to protect themselves from his return and revenge, the figures of the mother and the sister are now attached to all or very many bai.”

Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 244, also reports a shortened version of this story, naming the fisherman Atmatuyuk and his two sisters Kobilî paka and Dilibali, who saved their bare lives and fled into a bai, where they were covered by the men with coconut fronds. He closes by saying: “This legend explains the origins of Armengolism in war time, and to this day it is not rare that a woman flees a foreign community and finds shelter and security in a bai.”

In 1909, I heard that the man was called Melèg reirúr and his sister Bagé. She frequently came to the bai in a fur with her lover and slept with him there. The rubak noticed and disapproved of this behavior, and they tied her to the gable with her legs spread, so that all those who passed by could see. Melèg was angry and went to the bai with a burning coconut leaf sheath (gosëgosū) to set it on fire. But when he saw his sister exposed in this manner, he was so shocked that he vanished aloft, his lit fuse leaving a streak of fire behind like a “meteor,” which is therefore also called melèg.

In 1907, I heard that Bagé was the brother and that the sister’s name was Dilûkî, both lived in Ngâkêl. She slept with many men, who talked about it all around the village. “I slept with Dilûkî last night,” etc. The brother was ashamed, and when a new bai was being built in the village, he asked the carpenters to make a figure of his sister and place it on the bai gable. When this was done, he said to his sister: “Go and look at yourself, how bad you are. All of the men see you now and will say your name when they see the figure.” She cried and went away.

There is, finally, one more story, which came to Leipzig with bai 82 (see Vol. 4). According to this, Dilûkî led a bad life in a ligeo, to the point where her brother wanted to murder her. She fled to Ngâkî, and when her brother found her there, she threw down her skirt, which surprised him and made him turn away. The people in Ngâkî recurred her when they built a bai.
What these stories all have in common is the shame and inhibition that closely related men and women carry towards each other, especially brothers and sisters, and the indignation of a man at his sister’s loose way of life, which the bai spirit Melég, who disappeared through the hole in the gable, is prevented by the sight of the figures towards each other, especially brothers and sisters, and the indignation of a man at his sister’s loose way of life, all of which leads to the idea that the figure is meant to be a deterrent to hetairism. But this cannot be the reason; otherwise, how could the institution of klubogol have been so widespread; and indeed, be done with the permission, nay even the urging, of the families, because it earns money. Much more likely is the religious interpretation, in which the bai spirit Meleg, who disappeared through the hole in the gable, is prevented by the sight of the figures returning, i.e. that the diltukai protects against illness and misery. Story 149, about the miraculous diltukai of Ngarurul, and the hesitation to create it that is mentioned in the story, points to this same interpretation. However, when one takes a closer look at the issue, it is clear that there is also a good deal of symbolism in the erection of the figure on the front gable of the bai, like an advertisement.

I want to refer to Story 92: and the log, in which the woman displays herself in a position with her legs spread out, to arouse the man. This female exhibitionism is the topic of discussion below. It is so bizarre, that it must have induced the Paluans, who are free of our kinds of scruples of modesty, to imitate it, especially since even some old sun legends play into it. So there are four points of view from which one must see these unusual works of sculpture and their erection: sensitivity towards relatives, protection against bad spirits, fertility magic, and representation of the free club life. Now I must describe club life.

f) The Club galdĕbegĕl (possessive: galdĕbegĕlél). KON: Kaldebekel, v. M. M.: Kaldebekel, WALT.: kaldebêchel, KON., Vol. II, pg. 35, surmises that the word is derived from kalali “part, share” and kubikele “war canoe.” But the original meaning of the word is “school” of fish. Wall. is entirely correct when he points to the word oudelebêchel “occurrence in swarms, particularly of birds and fish.” As I already stated in Vol. 2, the root word is apparently bögél “large money”; how this was related, however, I was unable to find out. What is odd is that Sarni María never mentions the word galdĕbegĕl—as though it was never used during his time—but instead mentions his famous Clitkubriggol, correctly spelled kloobol. The first meaning of this word is a friendship between two people (see Story 204, Verse 15); its second meaning is club (Story 74, Line 13). I could not find either word listed before Sarni María’s time. This makes it difficult to decide whether galdĕbegĕl is a word that has only recently come into use, the more frequent occurrence of it since 1862 seems to point to this.

Kubary says that Kaldebekel in the northern parts was called Kloobbergol. He notes in KON.II that Kloobbergol should be Klobogol, which means “companion,” this is not correct, during his time this word was not used for galdĕbegel. I should add here that the men’s club is called galdĕbegel sagal, while the women’s club is known as galdĕbegel dil. The term for comrade, friend, brother is tédolbog lágad. The best information that is already known about the clubs can be found in KON., Vol. 2, pggs. 83-91. I would like very briefly to present the most essential parts. Above: here members are people from the village, called galdĕbegel (KON. Kordommel). Purpose of the clubs: protect the village, carry out the decisions of the rubak and perform community work, arérê (KON. öyör), which may not be dispersed among the families. This is why they sleep together in the bai and why the club has a certain amount of autonomy and influence on matters of state. When they have taken on work, or if there is a war campaign, any person absent, regardless of the reason, must pay a fine, which in some cases may be very high. The leader collects the money and when a certain amount has accumulated, he distributes it among the members as compensation. He also ensures that there is oil for lighting, pays the bai girls if necessary, pays any fines for wrongdoings of individual members, etc. “The bai, with all of its contents, is considered the property of the Kaldebekel; this includes the war canoe with all its accessories, the trees growing next to the bai and planted by the Kaldebekel, especially the betel plants and Areca palms, and sometimes, suitable animals, such as pigs, goats, and dogs.

If damage is done to any of these, compensation is sought, and if there is no other recourse, the entire Kaldebekel gathers in front of the house of the wrongdoer and demands satisfaction, which may never be refused.” The clubs also enforce the taboo orders of the rubak, called blul. In general, only betel leaves, betel nuts, coconuts, and pigs are subject to these taboos when a celebration is coming up in the near future, etc. The blul is announced by sounding of the conch shell and shouting; the club keeps the fines for itself. The blul is so strict that the rubak may touch their own property only after concessions and arrangements have been made. The head of the household pays the fine for family members. If he refuses, numerous holes are punched in his house, and pigeon-hunting arrows are shot inside. In the old days, the penalty was sometimes death. Division into two sides is the rule in every village. It is said to have been first instituted in overpopulated Ngardelokok (see Vol. 2 and below, in the section on totemism). As nearly as possible, the two sides should be equal. One project is generally handled by just one side; if both sides take on a task together, there is usually nothing but squabbling. Within the club, the first leader cannot act without the consent of the second one. If the first one, who must come from Family 1, steps down from his post, and the family does not find a successor, this leads to materakl. Strong emphasis is placed on the good behavior (úngil tokol) of club members towards each other. Firstfixt are almost unheard of. In fact, any bodily contact at all is avoided, as is splashing when rowing, etc. Care is taken not to run into anyone at corners, like in Gorőr, for example, as described already in Vol. 2. “Surprising a woman in the nude means losing a piece of money. So when a man approaches a bathing spot, he calls from afar: E oá! E oá! If a woman is there, she comes out, to arouse the man. This female exhibitionism is the topic of discussion below. It is so bizarre, that it must have induced the Paluans, who are free of our kinds of scruples of modesty, to imitate it, especially since even some old sun legends play into it. So there are four points of view from which one must see these unusual works of sculpture and their erection: sensitivity towards relatives, protection against bad spirits, fertility magic, and representation of the free club life. Now I must describe club life.

In the story below, I would like to add some things to supplement his description. Division into two sides apparently was especially strict in Ngardmúak and Ngapang in former times, so much so that the men were even forbidden from walking from one section into the other public bai. The bai l pelis, however, never belongs to one bialal ñäng. I must mention here that, as is the case in Gorőr, one of the three bai belonging to each side is the leader, namely a Dmádsg and a Dnogórgel. It is in these more public bai that the klegalalouv visitors, men or women, tend to stay. When we were living in our last bai in 1909, a klegalalouv of women came from Peliiou, out of respect for us, they went to the Ságálnia bai (see Fig. 205).

As for the foundation and expansion of a club, the ñibdíl of Gorőr say that they were the founders of clubs in general; of course, this is only self-glorifying talk. In recent times, however, it has been possible in Gorőr to see how a club is formed by watching what happens when a club ages. When old people see that a club is aging and only has a few members left, although there are many youths in the village who have not yet been inducted, they call two men from the Nr. 1 and Nr. 2 families and give them the task of forming a new club. They build a rough bai, outside the village, on the heath, out of bare wood (bai l don), and cover it with pandanus leaves. They stay there until a bai opens up for them, or until a new bai can be constructed.

When the young people of the new club have grown up, the first thing that happens is that the 10 offices (gamágél) of the “corps” are filled according to the pattern of the 10 rubaks of a village, i.e. according to the numbers of the families; the offices 1 through X are filled with members of family Nr. 1 through X, if possible, as can be seen in the listing of the 6 clubs of Gorőr. These ten are “in front” iupe. Every family provides a substitute and in Gorőr, their names are Gamágěrdákud, Gamágěrálakül, etc., for example. Nr. 1 is called the leader, poišt held ĝaldĕbegel, and the rest are numbered like the rubak: ĝang génér, ĝang génédél, as shown in Vol. 2. All others are called arétê, “in back,” like the lesser rubak. If Nr. 1 receives one klok, he gives half a klok to Nr. II, who gives i ŋiŋiŋi to Nr. III, who gives half of an ŋiŋiŋi to Nr. IV, who gives a small Ĳnu to Nr. V; VI through X receive money (in descending amounts) only when there are large sums involved.
Every leader has several urai members to educate and protect; they receive very little, usually nothing. Once the gusangul positions have been distributed, if the organization feels strong enough to go to war, something called a blegogárd takes place. Every member of the organization sports a gusa incomb in their hair, and all of them wear the same kind of wánu kléth inchoth. Each of them makes two derev hand fishing nets for himself, and then the whole group goes out fishing. The first time they do not go far, and usually, not much is caught in the beginning. In any case, the first catch belongs to the Galíd Uger, to whose bai a frágel (bai Nr. 18) it is brought, with much singing and congratulations. Next is the big derev fishing, and when they have gathered one hundred gúbáig strands, these are taken to the Nr. I rubak. The third fishing excursion, with approximately 80 strands, belongs to the Nr. II rubak.

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Then there is another big derev fishing, and this time everything is brought to the young club of the other village half; the other bai, the ujol. My translator chimed in here with: “This is the beginning of all the foolishness they will do!”

The next goal of the club is to obtain a blegohárd, a trophy head. They set out in their kabikó canoe and grab any foreigner whom they happen to encounter on their way, and cut off his head. They bring it as a sign of bravery to the high chief and lay it in front of the melós, i.e. “locked in,” but without the bai girls or fish dishes. They only have coconut and syrup to eat. After three days, the taboos are over, and all of them bathe together. When they have reaped enough praise in their home village, they move into friendly districts. This is known as the klegdháol mályó, the dance visit. In all of the villages, they display the head and perform the mályó dance visit. After three days, they move on, from village to village. If the head smells too much, it is occasionally left in the canoe, as v. M. M. discovered. In the last village, they hang the head in a basket on the way and leave it there. Kub., Vol. 2, pg. 131: “If the one killed belonged to a leading family, the relatives of the dead man send money to the victors with the request that they bury the head; this request is usually honored, and the dance then moves on without the head.” If an urai man in the club was the one to capture the head, his superior, his gusangul, may not join the dance.

A galidbhégi distinguishes itself most in the during the big rid dances, which are discussed below. New organizations always take a new name, and so it is that every generation has a new club, i.e. the same name does not continue ad infinitum, as it does in our student fraternities. I shall mention one example. Eight precursors are known for the 3rd club of Gorórm Ngaratëkángel (see Vol. 2):

1. Ngaratëkángel, founded 1910, 2. Ngaratamát, 3. Ngarageibárs, 4. Ngaragongók, 5. Ngaratëkángel, 6. Ngara melôs, 7. a Rangárd, 8. Ngaratëkángel, 9. Ngarageibárs, which is the oldest known club in this series; the name appeared once before as the 3rd, just like the name Ngaratëkángel already appeared in the 4th and 7th generation. Thus, a name may be repeated, or used by a different club, but the organization is always a new one. There was a Ngaramatul club in the bai a Dugoróng in Gorórm around 1850 that was the precursor of Ngaraterduam; at that time, it was 108 members strong, while Ngaratëkángel had 106 members. The famous organization Ngaratattiru, which is the subject of Story 161, is said to have had almost 200 members. In 1910, most had barely 10 – 20 men.

Besides a club’s political and military importance, its main task is the mágéngul, which was discussed in Vol. 2. But the fundamental rule is always: no work without compensation. If someone wanted make improvements on a public street or a bai out of a sense of propriety or sympathy, without an order, he would be punished by his club. The islanders would rather to let everything deteriorate than work without an order. When such an order comes down, however, first a meeting is held, a galdágæng (Wahl.: chaldechuch), to hear the intentions of the rubak. The day ends with a long discussion. Then the work is allowed to proceed in a very leisurely fashion, as recounted in the 1910 “Out of the Missions” annual report, pg. 35. Occasionally, a woman’s club may help with the work. Women’s clubs are organized along the same lines as men’s clubs, except that they do not have a bai, and everything that goes along with that does not apply, especially the war canoe and warlike enterprises. The number of women’s clubs in a village generally equals that of men’s clubs, as is visible in numerous examples in Vol. 2, and, at least on some occasions, their authority is no less than that of the men’s clubs. They sometimes punish their own, and even men are not spared and must submit to their judgment. During the big tergól and mur pelúfeasts (see below), a women’s club drives the men and their múngol out of their bai (they must then sleep in their bai) and occupies the bai for 3 to 4 months. When a mur pelúfeast affects the entire village, sometimes all of the women of the village seize possession of the rubak bai; their power can extend that far!

The klegdásol of the women was discussed above.

g) Marriage (bageéli, possibly gabbaguli) and Wedlock. Totemism.

After the boys and girls have enjoyed their freedom in the club and bai life, the next step in their lives is marriage, i.e. bageéli ra pelu marriage in the village, mengës marriage outside. The word bageéli is related to subuq “to marry”, because bag means spouse (pos. bág), and kláubúg (Wahl.: kláupus) means the matrimonial relationship, like kluastól means family ties, klálégol the relationship between parents and children, kláudol that of a mother and her daughters, kláudolol the relationship between uncle and nephew, aunt and niece, kluáugol (Wahl.: kalugus) in-law relationships between women. Usually, a man has only one wife; in earlier times, however, 2-7 wives were possible for rich men, provided each one had her own house. Kub., Vol. 2, pg. 61, says, entirely correctly, that with the múngol institution as widespread as it was, one’s standing and economic reasons were the only things that mattered. According to Knu., in his day a Rákuli had 4 wives. Hockin, pg. 51, says that the bélal had 5 wives when Watson visited. But this is not evident in the legends, so it was undoubtedly always the exception. Incidentally, there is no wedding in the real sense, because the marriage ceremony usually takes place without any celebration; but the husband must soon thereafter host a mur feast in honor of his wife.

The basis for marriage is the purchase of a bride by means of the payment after the wedding night bús (Knu.: mpus). The bus consists of a piece of money whose value depends on wealth, family, etc., and which determines the standing of the husband. If he is young and poor, has no house, i.e. if his gift was small, he lives in his father-in-law’s house as the son-in-law of the bai. If the gift was large, he lives in his in-law’s house as the son-in-law of the bai. Kub., Vol. 2, pg. 62, says that with the bélal had 5 wives when Watson visited. But this is not evident in the legends, so it was undoubtedly always the exception. Incidentally, there is no wedding in the real sense, because the marriage ceremony usually takes place without any celebration; but the husband must soon thereafter host a mur feast in honor of his wife.

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Sometimes, the woman’s family uses the services of a broker godievigél, and in former times, high-ranking women would order a wedding after a small gift of taro (for example, 2 baskets in Story 13), which is known as jímé “to crush.”

For some time now, it has usually been the men who do the courting, which is expressed in the gift of the ba to the father of the desired woman and in the desire to pay the woman, as told in Story 61. He does this later, too, during the first pregnancy, and if he lives it up in the baí and wants to sleep with his wife again, this requires the father of the desired woman and in the desire to pay the woman, as told in Story 61. He does this later, too, for some time now, it has usually been the men who do the courting, which is expressed in the gift of the godievigél. Sometimes, the woman’s family uses the services of a broker galébúgél, and in former times, high-ranking gomangedákl as their polygamy.

Mis-marriage between a high-ranking woman and a lower-ranking man is frowned upon and is met with fines keratórog or kérílatoróg, as recounted in Story 203, where Madlák goes into the sky with his wife out of despair, i.e. leaves this evil world. Kub., Vol. IV, pg. 84, tells of Tmírók, the severe punishment required if the man comes from a kaurímgol community, because it means that the sons of slaves become rubak of their family; for that reason, the family is deprived of its title, may not appear on stage during dances, and loses its taro patch. If the marriage is terminated, the head of the family must still pay hefty fines; if they are not wealthy, the family may have to emigrate. The poverty of such a husband, the rubak cannot forgive.

When spouses separate, the husband pays a gírénau in the form of a kluk or a galebúgél, but not until half of the value has been refunded as gongráol. Often, however, the husband is willing to forgo this compensation, particularly if the wife is not eager for a divorce, to maintain a good atmosphere. Sometimes there is a mutual exchange of pieces of money. According to Kub., Vol. 2, the man gives the woman the omansúm money and considers her divorced. “If the woman belongs to the first house of the community, he may not marry any other woman in the community and must search for a wife outside that community.”

Adultery. “Stealing” a married woman is severely punished if it takes place without the approval of the husband, because it is regarded simply as a theft that damages the standing and fortune of the owner. Arguments concerning adultery have a special name, kasmágél (poss.: kasmágélís). If the wife is a mígol, either alone or with a blóbél, and the husband knows about it, it is accepted, because that brings money home. If it happens without his consent, however, bitter vengeance can follow, as Story 165 shows. Usually, the adulterer must begin by paying money, which allows him to buy his freedom from the death penalty, which according to K., Vol. 2, pg. 60, is in order if the misdeed takes place in the woman’s home village. Then, after the deed, the husband flees to his home village, and everything is over. If he kills the adulterer here, he must pay a fine for murder; here he just demands “the asikík, a piece of money, or beats the violator black and blue.” I observed several such cases in Gorót. The same thing happens if a woman is spoken about in an improper manner, in cases of otrvébél (rape or attempted rape of a relative), or when a woman is surprised while bathing. On the other hand, the wife has no legitimate way to vent her own jealousy and must acknowledge the consorting of men with the armengóls, as well as their polygamy.

In the north of Palau, the punishment for adultery was formerly the death penalty, of which Kub. gives an example in Vol. 1.

Marriage Between Relatives, especially Blood Relatives

is forbidden. However, it appears there were instances of this in high-ranking families, as Story 13 implies; after all, the people in most creation legends came from sibling relations, as Story 1 tells! And we know of marriages between brothers and sisters, for example on Hawaii, despite the ban on incest! Kub. emphasizes that such incidents were not punished, but that the violators were disdained; they were not talked about in general, but they were ridiculed in public songs (see Section VI 3a).

The family considerations involved in mongol activities demonstrate how strict they are when it comes to blood relatives. In addition, in some villages the opinion prevails that if a man must marry a woman from his own village, at least she should not belong to his own bital blai, but ought to be a member of the other side. This is because the blai of one side are considered related to each other. These are undoubtedly remnants of totemism of the kind found in Melanesian peoples. The strict division of the community into the two bital blai and bitál tiág, discussed in Vol. 2, shows that originally, the Palauans’ ancestors practiced two-class totemism, at least part of the population that descended from the Melanesians. What is odd is that in the south of the archipelago, mainly on Palílí, the people are generally darker than in the north, as Story 48 indicates, which has caused this view to be widespread among the Palauans for quite some time already. Then there is the claim by Kub., Vol. 2, pg. 86, that the system of division into two groups originated in Palílí. There are also other historical and legendary things originating from there that point to totemism, for example, the totem animals delásélg poss. desegél or gësngél poss. gësíngél. The latter, according to Wáll., is an object (particularly an animal) that cannot harm a person, because the Gallud belongs to or is dedicated to the person.

According to what I heard, gësíngél is stronger, because it embodies the close, maternal bonds, which are not broken. delásélg, on the other hand, is considered dedicated to the Gallud and is respected and feared, but in this case, theft and desecration are not such rare occurrences. Totemism on Palau is founded on the extremely rare myth handed down here, in which the natives view themselves as descending from fishes on the maternal side and that the food taboos are related to this. The basic story for this, Story 193, shows that Télámĕs descended into the strait of Gësíng with his two spirit friends, where they made love with two female fish, mánēl and desegél. The images in the baí and gerəúbí Nr. 1 (logok design, see Vol. 4) plainly depict this union, from which a large portion of the Palauan people sprang. The two pairs, which are clearly represented, unmistakably express the original form of the two-class totemism. Many blai whose delásélg recorded on the extremely rare myth mentioned in several main villages, for example in Melekéiok, Vol. 2, in a králl, in Goróté, certainly indicate that they, that is the family, descended from fish. And so blai Nr. III a fméng says in a králl: “the gorovídél fish, who is their ancestor, is buried near their house; and blai Nr. VIII Ngatogőng, whose delásélg is listed as the mullet, had the pigeon (béljigél) as an ancestor.

But there is yet another type of personal totem (individual totemism), which is determined only in cases of illness. In blai Nr. VIII Goilág in Golé, there lived a priestess Ngoróklóóu, to whom people came with coconut oil or expressed coconut milk mixed with water, of which she would pour a few drops onto a still water surface and then watch to see what shapes formed. From these she could determine the delásélg of the inquiree, his taboo fish, which he was not allowed to eat because his Gallud was living in it, and the eating of which would bring illness and death. This delásélg, of course, has nothing to do with the origin of the people of Palau. A blai can also have more than one delásélg, however, such as a líd (see Vol. 2), which has three, all of which are subject to food taboos; likewise a Údís. For the name of the mother, see above. See also the Ëebòlí a Ugelí in the appendix. Totemism is one of the marriage regulations of the original, larger communities; smaller circles are governed by;
h) Matriarchy and Family.

We just discussed the fact that the islanders do not like to marry in their own village. But who exactly is from their own village, and what is home? It is possible on Palau that all the inhabitants of a large village are not natives of that village. This is because of the pronounced matriarchy that prevails. All of the children belong to the woman’s family. For example: a woman comes from outside, from a Irăl, from Blai Nr. VI a Dai, and she marries into Gorëol, into blai Nr. 1 a Idid, with the titled chief a Bböl. Both children belong to the blai a Dai in an Irăl. But a Bböl is the son of an a lild woman who is married into Galáp, and he lived there until the previous a Bböl died; only then did he come to Gorëol as a Galáp. When he dies, the son of his sister who, let us assume, is married into Peliliu, will succeed him. – One can see that not all of these family members grew up in Gorëol; only if an a lild woman is married into her home village, which is not supposed to happen, are her children true Gorëolans.

Only a member of the a lild family can hold the family titles and positions of the a lild family, i.e. the title of a Bböl and the woman’s title of Bilung. The wife of a Bböl can never hold this title, because she does not belong to the a lild family and is merely the mistress of the house, Draidid; only the sister of a Bböl can hold the title of another descendent of an a lild woman! In other words, only the descendents of an a lild woman are considered the family, the house a lild! This is matriarchy in its most pronounced form!

The natural children of a married couple are called algél (poss. aIlgélél). If a married couple does not have children of their own, and children of the woman’s relatives, for example, her sister, are brought into their house, these children are considered as belonging to the wife’s family, and this is their mother; they are not thought of as adopted. The same is true if the man adopts children of a sister of his; but if he adopts the child of his brother, this is known as kiv; this word has an obscure meaning, referring to the genitals of the man. A child is called “adopted” riklél (poss. : riklélél) (Knn. rulad ngálél) only if it is not related to its foster parents. The word, therefore, is also used for members of the same clan (keblilél), because these need not always be related. If an older person who is not related is taken into the blai, he is usually called gaálik “my man” for short; of course, this is intended to mean “my friend,” “my brother,” “my uncle,” “my aunt,” and everything else like that; people who live together for a longer period of time call each other the same thing, and two houses that are friendly with each other call each other klángol.

There is no term for “family,” i.e. parents and children and close relations, instead they are referred to as geimolblai “one house.” This is simply the blai, just like Luther used the word “house.” The extended families, the large families, which would really already deserve to be called “clan,” are called keblil, plural: kleblilél, poss.: keblilélél.

They have names and are listed in Vol. 2 with the larger communities, for example with Gorëol. All the keblil have a blai name with the prefix ngår, just as the districts Ngaramlungúi, Ngaramlungbail, etc. do, indicating that these also arose from family units, just like on Samo, where the prefix sa has the same purpose. The “leader” of the keblil is the rubak of the blai; if there are several rubak in one blai, they are collectively known as merédner ra keblil. Keblil are based on the women, just like the closer family is, and the oldest women are called rukdemáol (singul: gokdemáol), which actually means “ancestor,” while the women who belong to a blai are called arulad a blai “mothers of the blai.” But a keblil is definitely more than just a group of relatives (see riklél). I presented good examples of how a keblil is structured in Vol. 2, where I described the blai Nr. I and II of Gorëol. Nr. I has 6, and Nr. II has 9 blai, mostly foreign, behind it, which form the clan of the leading blai. These blai usually do not marry among one another; for Nr. II, marriage to Nr. 3 Nangamér or Nr. 9 Maeráng is possible, although it is frowned upon; marriage to any of the other seven is scorned completely, as is marriage within them. So the keblil is a true clan in the totemic sense! These foreign blai of the leading house each have their own keblil that they bring along when there is a large celebration or a large project to be worked on for the leading house (for example, Nr. II), and all of them help pay with a piece of money (a pkul a blil rukelákl).

The previous sections illuminate how property is obtained through marriage. A man’s children, including those of the master of a blai, belong to the wife’s lineage, i.e. they have no inheritance rights on the father’s side; rather, his brother and sister inherit from him. Kub., in Vol. I, pg. 53, says that the husband may not touch his wife’s money, at least, he has no legal claim to it, and anything his daughter earns as a mónol legally belongs to her mother. But it is also stated that whatever property the woman brings into the marriage and whatever she acquires later also belongs to the husband. This may be true in individual marriages, but it is not the norm. Generally, the wife receives money from her husband, as mentioned above; only when the woman’s brother needs money is the husband required to help out; and he, in turn, receives assistance from his sisters and female relatives.

In some ways, the woman and her children are just guests in the blai of her marriage partner. They have no right to claim any property that has belonged to the blai since long ago, especially the house itself, the land, and the in some ways, the woman and her children are just guests in the blai of her marriage partner. They have no right to claim any property that has belonged to the blai since long ago, especially the house itself, the land, and the

Each of these blai has a titled chief at the helm, who is at the same time one of the 10 rubak who form the council at the disposal of his female relatives. If some of the land is to be sold, the blai master gives them land at his discretion, and he puts taro patches at the disposal of his female relatives. If it allows foreigners to use land without payment, these people enter into a kągol, “neighbor,” relationship with the blai, and they become associate members of the clan without acquiring any of its rights. They help with the work at celebrations, etc. and just kind of become family members. As a father, however, the master of the blai may give land to his children, or bequeath it to them, only in exceptional cases, since they actually belong solely to his wife’s family, as previously mentioned. He does give them money on occasion as well as other movable property.

a) The Chief a rubah (simple form gòbàk, plural arībăk, High chief rubukäl pelėu, also mérêdër “ruler.”

Every large village has 10 big titled blai, in Vol. 2 these are numbered I through X. It is said that originally there were only seven, in accordance with the holy number of Gaład, which are discussed below. In Goréőr, this is still historical evidence for this; at large food distributions in that village, food was always divided into only seven shares. If seven rubak agreed with the bědul, the decision was made, and if seven met without him, he feared for his life. To this day, the smaller villages have 7-8 rubak, but this is usually because there are no more than that number available.

Each of these blai has a titled chief at the helm, who is at the same time one of the 10 rubak who form the council klōbăk and hold their meetings klōp in the center of the village gěsěl a pelē and receive state visits klēdolădol by foreigner klōbah. A man with a poor title or no title is called pkol a guđel. People of the upper class, “the beautiful,” are called kųpleasant,” one of the lowest class hiedpi dōgo. The commoners, i.e. people without titles, are called arweina “the naked”; the community in every large village has a special name, as seen in Vol. 2. The eldest is the godenmād and title holder mōmēdër dhi, and his rightful heir is the son of his sister, etc. But since such nephews do not always exist and may or may not be the right age—rarely does a man acquire a title before the age of 50—of one of the other title holders receives the higher honor. In this way, after my departure, in Goréőr Nr. III moved to Nr. I, Nr. V moved to Nr. III, Nr. VIII to Nr. V, just the way I recorded it. I was told that in Gorēőr anyone may succeed to a title provided the person belongs to a Líd Nr. I and a Bēlăñi Nr. II, the two leaders of the bitul blai, who may choose anyone. I believe, however, that in earlier days only the descendants from one

b) The TITLE

The council of the oldest women arurót is of great importance to a blai. It metes out punishment for offenses against old customs (tokol or guđel). Kub., Vol. II, pg. 82, provides a good example of how powerful such an old woman can become: “Some years ago, when Ara Klay, the most powerful chief in Palau, feared for his life and suspected his cousins of wanting to do gărăus to him, he reproached the current Kourd, because she was the mother of the closest cousin and must, according to custom, give her consent to his murder. This made her furious. “If they want to murder you,” she shouted at him, “why are you still alive? Does it take so much time to kill you? You certainly are stupid and cowardly and so you should best leave, if you are cowardly, I will be Rūpāk for you.” Insulted, Ara Klay packed up and went to Ngerulj, where he lived for several months, and the old woman did not call him back. She took his place, and the chiefs remains passive and took a wait-and-see attitude. Finally, Ara Klay sent her a piece of money to make peace with her, and she promptly sent a Kaldebēk to bring him back. Since that day, Ara Klay is afraid of Kourd and takes care not to tangle with her”.

One of the most unusual customs in Palau is the removal of old high chiefs, when they become a burden. It is known as revenge tegel or bīt against the powerful and violent ones.
This danger is most acute when ambitious young “cousins” (arügel’l, sing. gogolét) grow up. The ambitious one must, however, as mentioned above, have the consent of the oldest woman, and must buy that of the other high-ranking rubuk, to wash off the guilt as it is called; therefore rægelél a gokdemál (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 43 tohohbí a ľiţal, Kub. Vol. IV, pg. 87 Fokolel) “the washing off of the oldest ones.” At the time of my stay, a Bédul in Górtóř was very old; he was still alive only because of German protection. In former times, many titled chiefs were killed after only a few months; this was especially true in powerful Melekišt. Kub. reports, that the cousins first inquire where the newly-acquired money is, hidden or kept by the wife; the gourcú, you see, keeps the inherited blái money. The murder is followed by the “binding” melékét of the widow. A noose is placed around her neck, and she is forced to confess where the money is kept. Afterwards, the rubuk gather in the village bai and order the calling up, known as masút a díu (Kub.: tanguádu or tautadú) “arrival of the shouting”, the calling of the warriors with horn blasts, so that they shall throw stones and spears at the bai of the murdered one, the house in which the successor is known to be. This is a mock fight for the symbolic punishment of the wrongdoer. The latter pays both sides one madál a kluk for the omdegél a léd (Kub.: Handakél a lít) “the laying down of the spears” and one selühégél to the rubuk as an ultílkíll “the knotting” and the death money ovreög (Kub.: Horretek). The payment, in the form of numerous small pieces of money (see above), must also be made to the villages of the district for the “dead man,” the Handakél, which is imposed for insults; the mere mention is forbidden. There is also a big fishing excursion with the triton horn and the stage set up for the gongéd. Kub., Vol. II, pg. 43 also mentions hanging coconut fronds on the house in office while in possession of a title. In this case, the title had to be transferred symbolically, as mentioned above, with a bundle of knotted coconut and tare leaves. For this reason, dái (poss. dál) is the word for both “coconut frond” and “title.”

Conferral of Title

When a chief in possession of a title dies in office, a celebration is held to confer the title. The customs differ somewhat among the large families. You will find them described in Vol. 2 for the Mad in Ngábúk, for the a Ráklaí in Melekišt, and for the a Bédul in Górtóř, as well. All of this demonstrates the sanctification of the chief when the title is transferred, his being locked up afterwards for a certain amount of time (Kub., II, pg. 76 in the little decorative hat for 20-40 days), and his release when the head of an enemy is captured. This goltebedél a dái “bringing out of the title” (from olsíhél to bring out), is given a special reward and is celebrated extensively. Kub. talks about the dishes Olbisbul a dái (from olsíhél to lay something in something), the Gal umrúmus consisting of sweet foods, Tösok and Tolumari (meaning not given), which occur between these events. Then Gal gribát kiel keretál, see Vol. 2) and Gal ongol teláng day, more correctly ongélét a dái (from mangélét to cool oneself in the wind). There is also a big fishing excursion gongéd.

A great title bestowed this way makes the bearer “holy” mëáng and invincible to enemies in war, as well. This manu of the Polynesians is called Kengal by Kub., Vol. II, pg. 86; Wall. calls it tóleh; I also heard the words bdagél and tódel for such demonic power, as it is described in Story 165; but the most correct word to use is mëáng. It is conditional, however, if an important step was omitted during the conferral process, for example if there was no bledéal head; then the person in question has no retinue, no klegádálai, as mentioned in Vol. 2 in the case of Mad. Insults directed at the sacred one leads to severe punishment. Most importantly, the islanders may not carry a hand basket in front of a titled rubuk, nor a comb or a long limestone stick, and they may not paint themselves red (Story 195).

In general, the respect shown the high chiefs was striking. Wilson speaks about it (Keate, pg. 292): “When news was brought to the king, whether in the council or otherwise, and it was brought by someone from the general population, it was delivered from quite a distance, in a low voice, to one of the lower-ranking rubuk, who, leaning in a reverent manner at the king’s side, conveyed the news in a low voice, his face turned to the side.” Every rubuk has his own spot in the bai (see above, bai), as well as on the stone square ilîul, as described for Melekišt (Vol. 2). In his bai, the rubuk also has his own spot, as well as his own stone in front of the house (see Kub., Vol. II, pg. 71). Kub., Vol. I lists the following customs that the natives must observe towards their chiefs: bowing when passing; speaking in a covering position, sitting on their heels with their hands at their backs, and only if asked; no loud speaking or noise (see Stories 13, 30a, 161, etc.); announcement of the purpose for a trip when encountering a canoe and handing over of any fish caught; it had to form to step over the hand basket set; when visiting, it is necessary to wait in front of the house until asked to come in; when leaving the house, people of low rank go first, with the one with the highest rank goes last; touching a rubuk woman carries the death penalty, and the same penalty is imposed for insults; the mere mention is forbidden.

Finally, I should still mention the privileges klesipél’l (poss. klesipél) that individual high-ranking houses have. The details were already described with reference to the skirts, also with reference to first-time mothers ascending the stage and knotting their hair. Kub., Vol. II, pg. 72, also mentions hanging coconut fronds on the house in which a dead body is laid out. The privileges of a frai should also be mentioned, which according to Story 197 were acquired by the Galid Medegipéläu for the Galid house there. The weaving of the magic symbol blëbáol, the jagged mats tuléal and kíléangél weaving, the blowing of the dérlág triton horn and the stage set up for celebrations (see Vol. 2 and below). Even the making of Turang likeness was a privilege in a frai. The privileges of the individual districts and villages are recorded comprehensively in Vol. 2, to which I shall refer here.

b) State Affairs and War

All of the titles of bái Nr. 1 in the main villages of the 10 districts, which are listed in Vol. 2, are stepping stones to the high chieftom in that district, but only there. Each of the 10 high chiefs is “the rubuk of Palau,” i.e. rubukl pláu, as a sign of the goal of their desires. But only rarely has any of these rubuk ruled over a few of these districts even temporarily. In fact, as far as I know, this would actually be true only of Górtóř, as shown in Vol. 2. But the reasons for this are also described there, namely the help of the white men and their guns. On Samoa, 4 titles from the three most important areas sufficed to unite the kingdom across the entire island area in a single body. In Palau, at least 5 titles would have been needed, namely those of the 5 first bái named above. But I was never able to determine if even two of these were ever held by a single Rubuk at the same time, although it was often the case that one rubuk held several lower-ranking bái titles, such as Góbok of Górtóř.

Various factors proved to be inhibitive to the formation of a kingdom: the great strife-torn nature of political life, the marked independence of the individual communities and the unchecked greed for money of various Rubuk, of which there must have been way more than 1000 in the old Palau, when it was still richly populated. There is not enough money in all of Palau to satisfy all of these insatiable wolves. Finally, there is also the Melanesian influence, which promotes the strong isolation of communities from each other, although on the other hand, the uniform language in the archipelago is testimony to Malayian interest and friendly contact.
Only within the individual districts do political groups form; they are listed in Vol. 2, as are the temporary alliances and friendships between individual districts. Negotiations between them are carried out by the high chiefs, and this business is called ke’lulā (Kub., Vol. IV, pg. 87, Kolulū), the “whispering” between the great villages.

The internal administration of a village community is often handled by Ne. II.

The history of the land and settlement in Vol. 2, explains the origins of the Palauan state, the extensive list of the settlements itself shows the government and organization anything words could. The extensive disembarrassment of the Palauan state was also exacerbated by the constant feuds that flared not only between districts, but also between villages in individual districts. The mākāmad (poss. mākāmadíl) on a large scale has not been practiced in a long time. Keate still gives descriptions of battles and how they are fought, principally at sea, but in his day we have for the first time the influence of British guns. Story 50 describes particularly good examples of the old form of warfare, where a warrior challenges his enemy to a duel, lets out a battle cry, crouched down, weighing his weapon, the blood of the beheaded would spurt on him and he would become sick or even die. I heard the following in conversation: only within the individual districts do political groups form; they are listed in Vol. 2, as are the temporary alliances and friendships between individual districts. Negotiations between them are carried out by the high chiefs, and this business is called ke’lulā (Kub., Vol. IV, pg. 87, Kolulū), the “whispering” between the great villages. The internal administration of a village community is often handled by Ne. II.

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When one is ready to go into battle the next morning, a Rdegór of ira Tiai goes very early to the heath by oneself, and when he arrives at the heath by himself, he goes very early to the heath by himself, do the various districts associate with one another freely. Kub. described head hunting in Vol. II, pgs. 124-137, in all detail; he pays particular attention to spelling corrections. Kub., Vol. II, pg. 128, describes the preparation for battle only briefly: One throws oneself down on the ground, then he picks it up again and carries it to the history of that custom, so there is little I can add here. I shall restrict my comments to several supplements.

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He takes the two spears in his left hand, with the tips pointing in opposite directions, and proceeds, the others following. They advance alongside the bai, and he stops and waits for the others. When all are there, he lets the spear that is pointing forward fall (olīt), steps over it and picks it up with his right hand; then he ducks, in firing position, the right arm lifted forward. If he does not throw, the right spear returns to the left hand. Once the spear in the right hand has been thrown, he lets the one in the left fall, turns around and picks it up with his right hand.

When a canoe has a blebāol, a Rdegār calls for it to be brought alongside him and he says:

\[ m ngu godikl l mē med ò sān? \]

He takes the basket, opens it and addresses the Galid:

\[ ko mekarīng? \]

You do what? You eat just a little as your heart desires and go, it matters not, it happened on the order of the high chief; it was ordered by M. and he has earned it. And he takes it and goes, pockets the prize of the high chief.

Kub., Vol. II, pg. 129, adds to the above: “When the noise, the naudūdī, starts in the attacked village, and the Hurt begins, then it is time to run, because often, instead of taking a Bleboal, the attackers leave one behind, and the vanquished chief must pay a heavy Bālās, fine, when he returns. If he has at least brought back a head, that is still acceptable—then both sides dance. As long as he returns victorious, everything is alright.”

He takes the basket, opens it and addresses the Galid:

\[ Bring the meat, so we can see it! \]

I already reported about the laying down of the head on the display stone and the club’s dance trip above. What is important, as mentioned there, is the fact that, just like someone capturing a head for the first time, the members of a new club are locked up for three days.

Kub., Vol. II, pg. 126, says of the village from which the head was taken: “Soon, however, everything calms down, one just thinks of the head as a debt that will soon be collected, and only the family of the murdered person is more directly affected by the incident. The headless body must be buried in the spot where it was slain, because it may not be buried in the burial spots next to the new dwellings. No ceremonies are held, one just replaces the head with a pandanus fruit or the trunk of a musa, into which facial features are carved. The relatives, however, are meuy, and they must undergo cleansing, magolgolp a hongol māddak, to escape the wrath of the murdered one’s spirit. They are locked in the house, may not touch any bloody meat, and chew betelnut that has had magic said on it by the cleanser and conjuror. The spirit then goes to the land of the enemy and pursues him and his murderers.”

A more symbolic action, finally, is that mentioned by Kub., the olengit a talagāl l mo gōslē, the “request for a person as a hostage” which is carried out by the women of one bitang tāog within a village. The man is brought by the other side, and the women carry him to their side with a lot of singing and shouting. This is reciprocated with gifts, etc.

One unusual form is also mentioned by Kub., the olengit a talagāl l mo gōslē, the “request for a person as a hostage” which is carried out by the women of one bitang tāog within a village. The man is brought by the other side, and the women carry him to their side with a lot of singing and shouting. This is reciprocated with gifts, etc.
c) Crime and Punishment

This is the title of Kub., Vol. IV. As he has already gathered the important information on this topic and presented it in 15 pages, I can be very brief here, especially since much has already been mentioned in other places. He discusses the following:

1. Murder. Atonement, if necessary, achieved by paying for mad lagáid, except in war, self-defense, infanticide, adultery, accidental death.
2. Suicide. See Death.
3. Intentional bodily harm, if done by stone or stick, is unimportant, cutting weapons (shark's tooth, etc.) are frowned upon.
4. Rape is punishable, especially if a low-ranking man attacks a high-ranking woman or if a woman is attacked while carrying a burden (water, taro, etc.).
5. Abduction. See Marriage, and mongol kidnapping.
6. Seduction; considering the general customs, this is not important.
7. Child molestation; considering the general customs, this is not important.
8. Attack or assault.
10. Breeding customs, incest, and all related offenses.
11. Misalliance (that is, a mismatched marriage).
12. Arson, other than during war, is considered a private matter.
13. Unlawful entry (burglary).
15. Crimes against the state.
17. General crimes.

All areas of life are ruled by the law of the stronger and richer. The higher-ranking and more respected the bla is, the more protected are its members and the more compensation they can demand when injured. The means of atonement in almost all things is money, as already described in Vol. 2; in that volume, I also mentioned the atrocities that were visited on entire villages on account of offenses against high-ranking persons. There are numerous such cases. Simply put, those who have power and might do the punishing. If someone assaults another citizen, that is their own business, and they work it out among themselves. If someone assaulst a rubak Nr. I, he can be sure that the punishment will be severe, because that is considered a village matter. If someone cannot find justice with another person, he turns to the high chief, who acts as judge but who expects to receive a fee for handling the complaint. He or the council klóbak imposes a punishment hlais (poss. hlal), which usually takes the form of a fine. I already mentioned previously, that these fines in cases where public bans (blul) are disobeyed, are collected and kept by the clubs. A club may also punish its own members, of course.

v. M. M. correctly makes a distinction between hlai and múñigl, which are two distinct kinds of taboo: “Pljul” is punished by human beings, “Modul” is punished by the gods. So the latter has more of a religious character and belongs to the sphere of the Galid, like múñigl “holy”. The purpose of both was to protect against burglary, theft (meregórl) of betel leaves and nuts, of coconuts, and especially of taro, which was protected with coconut fronds (gúité in Story 195) or bows of coconut pinnae. Theft mungúps and its punishment are related in Stories 30a and 157; these stories also tell of the custom of publicizing such deeds through public singing at celebrations, particularly when rubak are involved.

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Fig. 206. Imungs refuge stone 40cm high.

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Fig. 207. Feast on Goreor, Blai VII, with ilíud wood container and taro on stools and benches.

a) Celebrations, Dance, Music.

As can be seen from the stories, celebrations played a large role in former times in Palau; while we were there, they were already quite rare, due to the government’s interference. Dances are held to praise the gods, heal the sick, to celebrate the rebuilding of destroyed villages, to increase the fame and glory (godinggol) of the wife of a Rubak, and to multiply riches (omeka iler), because invited guests tend to bring a sum of money, for example a ruk.

If the celebration is for a respected Blai, there must be an abundance taro laid out on the benches, and there must be plenty of syrup water in the containers, as shown in Fig. 207. The word for feast is always már (poss. merngël), and if a feast is held on behalf of a rubak it is also called ilae a bad. Feasts that a whole village participates in are called mar peth (also mul peth), et mul bold “a couple of feasts;” probably due to their large scale, because they are held for the reconstruction of destroyed property, for the dedication of a new rubak bai for an important Gauld, etc. For these feasts the women move into the rubak bai for 3-4 months, as already mentioned above.

Large celebrations in the main villages last 7 pikal, 7 days; otherwise, they usually last only three. The finale of such a festival is the gołal a măr, the “smoke of the feast,” with payment (see Story 157). The most frequent már are those given by a husband for his wife, for example in Story 30a, in which the feast is called galumsré, because the dancers must undergo seclusion for this, which is especially necessary for the big ruk dances.

There are different types of celebrations, but they almost always involve dance ngölök (poss. ngökél), particularly when religious commandments require it. A leading voice ked su ngölök is needed, a man or a girl from a high-ranking family, as well told in Story 154. Smaller dances—often substitutes for those on a larger scale, which only the rich can afford—are held at full moon, ngölök hiël; they continue throughout the whole night and end with a feast.

Smaller celebrations, for which no dance is necessary, are held on the occasion of the ripening of the first bananas and are therefore called aulóm tu (godóm side dish, tu banana). Kub., Vol. V, pg. 44, also mentions ngais burburb, a larger Blai celebration; there is dancing by men and women separately in the courtyard (mekesókès) and Kosolsiél with lots of taro and meat; there is also a woman’s dance on the gołük pavement in front of the Blai; between the dances there is singing (göološ) addressed to the Gauld of the house on behalf of an ill person. A very large celebration that is related to Ngobókéd and Gobudú ikain, is called ikemerú; I was not able to find out any details about it. The large celebrations are held to honor the gods and are a source of money for the Rubak, because all celebration participants bring a sum of money (see the ruk dances). For information about the celebrations for the dead, see Chapter 5. The four most important celebrations are:

1. gołal celebration for the dedication of a new village bai, also for renovation of one that the rubak women of a village are moving into. All of the women of neighboring and friendly villages, both old and young, are called together. They are expected to perform the dance, in this case the ngölök su gołal, the “earth floor dance;” which is called this way because it is performed on the gołük pavement, with the dancers slapping their hands on their thighs. The women from the foreign villages stay three days in the bai lépé, while the rubak stay in their blai and cook there, mainly preparing fish that they have caught for the celebration. There is a large feast desil consisting of four pigs, fish and taro, which is not, however, heaped on the benches.

2. göngeg (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 57, Hongé), a village celebration, really nothing more than a ceremonial fishing excursion in connection with a large-scale celebration, for which reason it is also often really called már poli, which later came to mean the celebration itself (see Stories 6, 17a, and 215). The mésukel fish on the rubak bai demonstrates this. One of the women’s clubs of a bai, usually the oldest of the three, hosts the celebration, and the others from that side help. The club lives for three months in the leading bai of that side, which is off limits for the men during this time. The various women visit all of the villages of Palau, to gather together the women who belonged to the club previously as well as now and who are to remain in the bai the entire time. The club hosting the celebration hires a men’s club to catch fish (ringgël); if they bring in a large catch, a put, the women send the greatest part to the women of the other side, who are also gathered in their bai. The last put, however, is retained; on the last day, the pu lius takes place, to appease the spirits living in the fish, and a large feast of pigs (butchered by the men), fish, taro, etc. takes place. All of the clubs of the one side, dressed in their finery and adorned with combs, call on the other bai at seven times, and the club of that side reciprocates seven times. Finally the women of both sides come, doing the galacük dance, towards one another with branches in their hand, then all of them sit down in front of the bai and eat; then both groups dance until the following morning.

On this second day, in the afternoon around 4 o’clock, the food that is left is distributed, the men come to carry it away, and one of them takes care of the mënagól a lel. Laden with gifts, the bai táog then goes home; after two days it returns to watch the ilae, the “paying of the fishermen.” Blai I-IV pays one galeh'híp; VII-X one kluk, and then they receive a lot of change from the youngest club, whose eldest member pays 1/2 a kluk, the others lesser amounts, in decreasing scale, down to one göngid, because this club has the privilege to receive the sides of the delogid fish, severed from the spine, but still attached. After several years (often as many as 10), the other side reciprocates the góngeg.

3. taeügül (from onigöl “to stamp on the ground” in dancing) (Kub.: Mur turükíd). Feast of the rich rubak for showing off their bai and honoring their wife, therefore performed in their home village. The women, who host the feast and dance, occupy a bai for three months and chase out the men. In this case, too, a men’s club is hired to catch fish, as for the göngeg, three months pass before all of the fish is distributed; but no coconuts are cracked. The men take care of the food for the women. A dance platform with a roof is built in front of the wife’s bai. The women dance on this, often forming 3 to 5 rows, with the rubak women of the village hosting the celebration in the front row. The singing for the dance is found in Story 19, where Terkélél is named as the originator of the celebration in honor of his wife Sagoal of Ngêngêngid.

According to Kub., the people of that locality supposedly have the privilege of constructing the dance platform, something that is certainly no longer true today. Nor is his claim that the dancing women are a permanent klegáid that occupies a bai for two months and performs its dances and songs several times daily. This is characteristic of the göngeg, but in former times it supposedly also applied to taeügül; ngisid is the last pikal a már, its end is called a ukaário. The women of the family bring taro, wéléd, etc., and distribute their gifts among the celebration’s participants.

Together with E.K., I participated in the first three days of a dance celebration of the women of a bai, from July 28 until July 30, 1909. A long platform galeid was built in front of bai Nr. II Gësurói (see Map 22, Vol. 2), on which 4 women’s dances took place on the first afternoon, two with dance paddles, two without. The women’s wrists were decorated with coconut frond bows (ganderid), a green leaf was stuck in their ear, their chests were painted yellowish-red with rong, and on their face were drawn two red vertical stripes, from near the ear to the chin. Body painting, see above, Fig. 46.
The platform golbálí, had a roof, so it was actually a dance house dlángél (Fig. 187). In the beginning, before the dancing started, the side of the roof of the approximately 25m long dance house facing the audience was raised at an angle with bamboo poles, like a trap door, resulting in a slanted wall approximately 6m high. About 40 painted and beautifully ornamented dancers stood in front of this, ready to begin the dance.

Large quantities of taro had been gathered before the celebration. In the first dance, two women appeared, each of whom had a délárée figureine on her head, representing the goddess Óráng and a kingfisher, and stood in front of the lead singer; several of the women present were thereupon overcome with cramp-like convulsions and cried out. The two women were quickly taken to the blái, next to which a circle of coconut fronds was made on the ground, into which the figureines were placed (Fig. 208). In the third dance, two trees, called mesáng, with bands like the mangorengé snake and with branches at the top, were brought in and placed front of the lead singer. I was told that after the dance was over (about 6 days later), these would be planted in the lagoon. Finally, in the last dance, a small tree was brought in, hung with money and betel quids as a reward for the dancers. At the end of the day, coconuts and syrup water were distributed. I should also mention that during the performance on stage, the daughter of the host stands in the center in front, and on each side stand the women of the leading family.

Especially on Goréôr, these women have the privilege of wearing special skirts. Semp., Vol. II, pg. 57, describes the experience of attending such a women’s dance this way: On the third day of the celebration, the proximity of the dancers was heralded with wild cries. “From one side came a group of women, their naked upper bodies and their legs painted red all over. With fierce gestures, spears swinging in their hands, they approached a little group that, similarly adorned and armed, approached from the opposite side. They strode towards each other until they were three or four steps apart, as though they wanted to start a battle; but then both parties stopped, formed several rows, and started, in unison, to sing a very monotone, but not unmelodic, song. It had been many years since I had heard such a sound resounding from the chest. They did not move from their spots, but by rocking their hips in an unusual motion, in a precise, measured rhythm, they created a loud rustling with the brushing together of their leaf dress, and this sound accompanied their singing in precise timing.

The pantomime, which I was told represented a scene from the last war, ended with a loud cry. Then, in their fiery red decoration, they all climbed up on the platform and formed another long row. There were probably about 30 women. They began a kind of pantomime dance, in which they moved their arms slowly in various revolutions, but eventually they just rocked their upper bodies back and forth, keeping their arms still; or they bent their knees slightly, held their upper body still, and swung their lower bodies rhythmically to the left and to the right. As a result, the entire row of orange, stiff, puffy skirts seemed to move as a uniform, uninterrupted wave. In this case, too, the dance was accompanied by singing. A lead singer appeared to improvise the words for it, which, unfortunately, I could not understand at all; and the chorus then repeated in unison the line she had sung—as in a mass. When dusk fell, a loud cry ended the dance, and thereby also the celebration.”

On pg. 250 of his book, Semper describes a dance that Ngirturóng held for the Galid of Goréôr, to appeal for the recovery of his sick wife. Voluminous dishes, prepared at Ngirturóng’s expense, were brought to the Galid on a daily basis, and Ngirturóng had a special house and a covered dance area built next to the blái Nr. I in a ñid. On the golbéd in front of the blái the high-ranking women, behind them the young girls. To the side, hidden in the bushes and the houses, were the men. Women, painted red, with “a stick decorated at the top with a crown, artfully crafted of white wood strips with painted red tips” in each hand performed the dances on the dance floor, accompanied by song. “A lead singer would sing a verse, without moving.” The dance eventually grows wilder and ends with a shout.

4. galísmë “locked in” (Kub.: Mū kalshimëmel), because on the occasion of this feast the women who perform the dance must live secluded for a long time prior to the dance. This celebration is especially hosted by a husband to honor his wife, as seen in Stories 30 and 170, or as a reward (golbálí) for the house god, when the oracle (dlángél) demonstrates that he requests a celebration. Alternatively, a celebration may be held simply because a rich nbák is in high spirits. Poorer people hold a simple moonlight dance nglóik bûiël, which lasts the night of the full moon, as a galísmë. For smaller celebrations, seclusion in the blái lasts up to five days. In Goréôr, the dancers were locked into the dance house, which was already discussed in the previous dance, for up to 3-4 months; usually it was only 1-2 months. The seclusion was not strict, the individual dancers would alternate, so that always only a part of the whole group was there. 5-8 days before the celebration, no one was allowed to leave anymore, because sexual intercourse was also forbidden during that time. In particular, two women were always segregated very strictly, on account of the Galid. Kub., Vol. V, pg. 44, says: “The amount of taro consumed runs to hundreds of baskets, and the costs are so high, that a Horau must take place, i.e., all women related to the family of the host give money”. 
Dances.

The most important of the dances is the *ruk*, also called *gördik*. It involves temporary seclusion of the men, just as *golzilep* demands for women. It is performed at *mulbukel* celebrations, i.e. at large-scale celebrations, for example, when a village destroyed by war is to be rebuilt, or when an important Bai is to be newly constructed, for which the blessing of the gods is sought, or when a high-ranking Rubak is ill. A *ruk* is one of the most important events in the lives of the natives, particularly in the principal villages. St. Martin and Kubary have published many reports of their first-hand observations, which are all the more important in light of the fact that in recent times these dances have been forbidden due to some of irregularities associated with them, which meant that I myself was unable to witness them. The overall picture of the *ruk* is this:

When the Rubak decide that a *mulbukel* should be held with a *ruk*, they break up a round taro bench in the *bai l peli*, the village Bai, and hang the broken pieces outside on the *bai*; this is the *mesivėg a tūlil* (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 104: *mesišker a tūlil*). It is a sign for everyone that there will soon be a *ruk*.

Now the clubs of the village are informed and asked if they are ready to perform the dance. The oldest club is tasked to perform the dance with the sacred *gorovidil*, the wooden reproduction of the Caranx fish (Fig. 210), which each dancer holds in their hands; they even assume the name *gorovidil*. This oldest club, when secluded, is therefore called *klemea*, while the other, younger ones are called *gostebidel* (Kub. Kotobâidel, et ala *gostebi*), and are only partially secluded, if at all. If the clubs accept the invitation, a banquet is held for them (Kub.: kal ra mtu food for entering). Then the preparations and the preliminary rehearsals *(nesap)* begin. When a club is ready, it goes into the neighboring villages, to recruit helpers (*saualui*, Kub.: *saualu*), who are then trained. The club members who are not secluded may include servers who arrange for the food. Then an agreement is made (Kub.: Klaus, possibly from *klau* reciprocal, *sex* industry) that all participants in the dance will dress alike, that they will wear the same earrings, combs, adzes, baskets, limestone sticks, etc.; everyone then looks around for these items.

Once everything is ready, the seclusion begins. It is particularly strict in those villages where the village god is to be honored, for example in a *fräli*, in Melekéiok, then in Ngërupesáng and Ngarbagéd, where the god a *Ugel*’ligalid was celebrated. Kub., Vol. II, pp. 105-108, describes it from this point on. When everything is ready, the leading club, the *klemea*, which has the privilege of calling itself *gorovidil*, announces that the *metegolpala tāui* (Kub.: *megogolp a tāui*) must now take place, the washing and oiling. Before the procession into the village, all of the dancers rub turmeric yellow on themselves, called “strengthening oneself” *omesīg*i (Kub.: Mesiyek). At the same time, they tie coconut fronds around their neck (*lebê*), and around their wrists and ankles. Thus adorned and singing, they proceed towards the main Bai, where the Rubak are gathered.

The lead clubs enter (*olisilp ot solilp a klemea*), becoming medi, and may no longer leave. The other clubs go into their Bai. Both sides of the *bai l peli* are cleared of weeds and bushes, and a hat (*gonjolrêl* and *ulidil*), is built here for every Rubak, in which he stays with his family, and where the food is prepared for the dancers. The women, however, may not see them, so a fence is constructed around the Bai. Only men may hand food (pork, sweets, but no fish) to those who are in seclusion. The dishes must be on wooden plates, into which coconut fronds are woven by the priest are stuck, called *hilebele%;* these may not quiver when the bowl is carried. In addition to the nuts, a raised shrine is built for the priest of the god; its lower space represents a room.

The priest is locked in this little two-story house. He has a conch shell with him, which he uses to sound his signals, early in the morning the *otivkeu a gumerai* (Kub.: Owiteka a Kameriék), at day break the *melogol* va *mangidil* “the breaking of spider webs,” followed later by the call to breakfast *gonjolril;* at noon to eat *golzilep* and in the evening the *güis.* “After each of the priest’s trumpet calls, the secluded ones answer with a long signal, for each member has a conch shell, and the four houses of the village answer one by one by gradually shorter blows.” In the rubak bai, the *gorovidil* performs its dance after every signal. According to Krn., this sounding of the horn is the privilege of a *Ijål*, Ngarbagéd, and Ngerupesáng, while Melekéiok, for example, refrains from doing it, out of respect for its neighbor. Once the priest has declared that the period of seclusion is over, there is a celebratory “coming out of the *ruk,*” *golzilep* va *ruk* (Kub.: *Ototttu* a *ruk*), also called *kloan* tebedel “his big coming out”; clubs from other villages are needed for this.

The most important feature is the setting up of the *mesing* mast, which was previously discussed in Vol. 2, the *bedišel* a *mesing*, which is especially popular at women’s celebrations (Fig. 209). The mast is considered the cane (*skors*, *kosker*) of the god. Often, a coconut hangs at its tip and is left there after the celebration; if it sprouts and falls off, it is planted, and if the tree thrives, this is seen as a good omen (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 112). In Ngërupesáng (Vol. II) the two sides are hung with a wooden kingfisher and a frigate bird, which are holy to *Ugel*’ligalid.

This god is considered the inventor of the *ruk*. It is said that once when he sat on the shore of a *Ugel* peli, he saw a *gorovidil* jumping after a *sabî* sardine. The jump inspired him so much that he decided to adopt it as a symbol of the dance. In a *fräli*, especially, this is observed, because their god Medegesi is a descendant of *Ugel*’ligalid. In a *fräli*, during the period of seclusion, the dancers have in the bai, in addition to their *tā* hand baskets, another little basket called *gomsangol*. This basket contains the betel quid for the god and is hung on the bai wall behind the back of its owner. In a *fräli*, where several other unusual things occur, the *kloon* people engage in something special. Everyone from blai Nr. 1-X makes thread (*kev* vel) and weaves a net with a particular mesh size; even the *svsil* members take part. All of the nets are then tied together, resulting in a long net, which is spread out over the water on the *Méglrei* stone wharf (Vol. 2, Mag. 22), as a small-catch netting for the protective deities, the 7 Galid, the Tekili malap (Story 137). These special practices apply only to a *fräli and Ngalün*, however, which are the villages of Medegesi pêlu (Story 197). After all of these activities, the day of coming out begins in earnest.

In the morning, the village women go to the village bai and rub turmeric on the *klemea*. Each of them puts on a women’s skirt. In this state, the men now advance in a festive procession towards the ocean, holding the wooden *gorovidil* in their raised right hands. At the edge of the path, at some distance, lies a *trudnca* clam shell filled with water. The leader dips the head of his dance rod figure into this, an act known as *omagol* *gorovidil* “the dipping of the *Caranx.*” After this, the group returns to the bai in silence, where the women perform their dances on the stage. Now has come the time for the dancers to show what they have learned while being sequestered. First they do *klemea* a little dance and then return to their bai. It is not until the afternoon that the great dance *gorovidil* is performed; it is followed by the *goktoljel, the other clubs.*

Next the program is “catching spears” *bedišel* (Kub.: Bldogoyel). One of the *kloon* stays on the platform, while down below another one approaches with 3 spears, which he hurls at the person standing above. The latter dodges them adroitly or even catches them (Story 161). In former times, this spear throwing game was popular all over Palau. After this, the other clubs also dance on the stage, exhibiting the same ornamentation as their predecessors. Stories 232 and 233 show two very old songs that used to accompany the dance, but which are no longer understood these days. The first song shows many shouts, and its first two verses are sung while in a sitting position. In the evening, everyone bathes and eats, and then the ceremonial *ruk* is over.

It is worth considering the report in the Deutsche Kolonialblatt in 1901: “The dance was performed on a 200-300m long and several meter wide wooden structure by men and boys only. Red Hibiscus blossoms protruded
from their black hair, garlands of reed-like leaves were wound around their shoulders, and their hands moved like castanets when they danced. In their right hand they held a spear-like bamboo pole, which they held and swung gracefully in accordance with the rhythmic movements of their bodies. Representing a historical event, the dance began with a spear duel between two solo dancers. In this duel, the first one, without throwing any spears himself, adroitly caught the spears hurled at him, until his opponent, now weaponless, gave up the fight and disappeared among the spectators. Then about 60 men entered the dance structure, moving in a slow dance step and accompanying their movements with a deep, melodious singing, and artfully performed frontal dances and dances facing sideways, which had obviously been carefully rehearsed. This dance had very few erotic aspects. The whole performance conveyed quite a ceremonial, unique impression, one that I have never before experienced in dances of other colored peoples."

Kub. says that all brothers-in-law and sons-in-law of the celebration hosts attend the ruk with their wives and give the gorau, which is later announced in ceremonial fashion at the village bai. Friendly villages and districts are invited to attend. The invitation takes the form of a sweet dish, called debegel "support" in this context. Acceptance of the dish obligates them to come and deliver the peketel a udou (from omoket "to pay," "money"; Kub.: Bohotel a Audoad). The foreign rubak come as klegadol, are fed and entertained for three days in ceremonial fashion, and when the time is up they make their contribution; the rubak Nr. I-V give 1 kluk, the rest give 1 delobog. In this way, the ruk strengthens friendly relations. After the first main day, the beregel a gorovidol, there are more dances and games, but these are no longer ceremonial; they are for entertainment.

According to Kub., Vol. II, in Ngabu'd, instead of a ruk, there was just a small temengel a vag (Temengel a wak), a men's dance, for which the women provide torch light = metuieg a ruk (moluyoker a ruk). The only guests invited for this are from Ngaurud, and they pay little or nothing (see the kikerua celebration). This is how the famous Palaun ruk dance was performed! As for the dancing itself, all movements are generally subdued; only in the moonlight dances melil a buiel (see Story 37) do things appear to proceed a little more lively and represent events, as Semp., Vol. II, describes. Kub., Vol. II, names the wild ngadewu. A distinction is made between dances on the ground angadewu and on the stage goilel.

Dances on the Ground:

I once saw a dance performed in a seated position by a women's klegadol from Peliliou, on the pavement in front of the Suglimb bai in Gorud. The dancers sat crowded together, more or less in a circle and, singing in a monotone, performed languid arm movements. In the dance song boiid (see Story 235), everyone stands up only when they are to slap themselves on the thighs while clapping. The clapping dance malagolei and iangsol (Bai 88) also belong in this category.

Standing dance. I watched the previously mentioned klegadol from Peliliou perform this in a circular formation. The most common are the row dances. P. Raymund says (From the Mission, 1909): They form two long rows. "A shrill, piercing cry opens the dance, which consists of little more than body movements, facial expressions, and marching back and forth. The accompanying singing is very slow and monotonous, and the voices range only in half notes."—"But this makes the movements even more beautiful. So precise, so elegant and diverse were the many gestures, steps, turns, that one could only admire them." A simple row dance of young girls in Galap is shown with the movements. For information about the "standing dance" golekisel, with hand clapping, see Story 236. The walking dance galituk is, like all dances, accompanied by singing galituk, which is probably where the name comes from (see Story 89 and Story 231). Often, the dancers are arranged in five rows, but then squat, known as biiuk, biiukel a galituk, and move this way, dancing, along the stone path, often with branches in their
hand (*klbógĕl*). Story 39 shows some of the things that can happen in this dance. The stick dance *geivod* is identical to the *gamūl* on Yap and was imported from there. This is probably also the place for the *teluṇaŭ* dance, in which the women hold a *rongūr* mat in their hands (see bai 50, Villa).

War dances, performed mostly when a head has been captured *blebáol*, are therefore called *blebadáol*; the spear dance mentioned by Wilson indicates this. Religious celebrations, as Kub. says, usually end with dances in the nude. See Story 236. The walking dance *goldegól* is, like all dances, accompanied by singing *goldešik*, which is probably where the name comes from (see Story 89 and Story 231). Often, the dancers are arranged in five rows, but then squat, known as *bležikl*, *blsekli* a *golšikl*, and move this way, dancing, along the stone path, often with branches in their hand (*klbógĕl*). Story 39 shows some of the things that can happen in this dance. The stick dance *geivod* is identical to the *gamūl* on Yap and was imported from there. This is probably also the place for the *teluṇaŭ* dance, in which the women hold a *rongūr* mat in their hands (see bai 50, Villa).

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Dances on a Stage are called *golšikl*. These were previously described above (see also *ruh*). I would like to still mention here that the opening of the roof at the beginning must be considered to be the basis of our theater performances, which achieve their first effect through raising of the curtain. This has not been reported by anyone previously. The stage for the men’s dances does not have a roof. On Palau, the raised roof side is not lowered at the end of the performance. The *capei* *beerehär* appears to be a dance on the wooden floor of the bai (Story 38), in this instance men and women appear together, otherwise they usually dance separately. Considering their customs, one can assume that this was quite a liberal affair. Dance objects held in the hand during the dance, such as spears and the *goovidei* fish, have already been mentioned. Additional objects of importance are the dance paddles, called *besio* na *ngèli* when they are one-sided, and *besio li a tekiš* when “both sides” have a blade (see Fig. 211). These paddles were used on bamboo rafts, like the kayaks of the Eskimos. The paddles have holes for inserting white feathers (*buelg* a *besio*) or bundles of fiber; they are decorated with notched cuts and paint. Finally, the dancers often hold branches *klbógĕl* in their hands, which are also depicted with the 10 crabs in bai 144 VIIIa. Hand movements alone are called *blebáol*. Dance masks are not used (see Müller, Yap).

**Music.**

On Palau, music is sparse. There are no instruments, not even drums. Music is confined to singing, but the forms I heard spanned a range of only 2 or 3 notes, similar to Yap, and in accordance with what Müller says on pg. 265 about singing in Palau. Wilson’s reports are in agreement with this. Even Semp. already mentions the monotone. This is even more noteworthy when one considers how highly developed the art of poetry is.

The only music was singing *l’il*. Singing is divided into the following types:

1. *kluaž* alternating singing (Story 37 and example in Stories 226 and 228).
3. *kelesikl* nice-sounding singing (Story 229), sung by at least three people.
4. *golešpeli* loud sound, sung by at least three persons in the club in the evening (Story 230).
5. *béd* (poss. *bid’*) dance songs (Story 235 and f.).
6. *repeli*, or *aurepeti*, dance songs (Story 234).
7. *begšel’a dere rehçegeli* (poss. *begšel’a*) love songs (see Stories 212-114).
8. *gosóls* dirges sung at funeral ceremonies (see Kub., Vol. III), also litanies in cases of illness *gongavèl* or war and rowing songs.

Often, when someone felt he had been treated poorly by another, he would make his injury known in a song, which was then answered by the offending party (see Story 210). Alternating singing is the most popular: a precantor *kal* na *ngłôk* who must be a descendant of a certain family (see Story 154) and enjoys greater liberties, begins; sometimes he sings or speaks the main verse as many as 12 times, as Wilson reported in Vol. I. The main verse is called *a sigul* according to Semp., Vol. II, i.e. “stem.” The refrain, called *rsél* “his end” (Semp.: *Sersél*), is taken up by the chorus. Often, the precantor at a women’s dance was a man, as Story 131 of Delaki shows. Song 234 *Reperis* is performed loudly on stage by a man, who claps on his right thigh; the chorus then joins in; then from the other side, someone sings a *goekšil*, which is also taken up by the chorus. Generally, the islanders sing with a full voice from the chest, but I also heard shrill voices rising above the chorus, and occasionally also calls from the row of dancers. The screeching voices in the *rsél* must be powerful, as Story 232 shows.

Litanies *kel’lòl* *galdšölm* (Wall.: *galdšölem*) are performed at funerals. The ones I heard in Ngarmid consisted of two long, drawn-out notes, the second one an entire note lower than the first. As with the *goekšil*, the hands are clapped during the singing. For information about the wild dances and obscene songs sung at funerals, see Kub., Vol. II, and below.

Simple songs are called *deláng*. Everything points to the fact that the art of poetry is highly respected, especially the great epic songs, the songs of the heroes 193-209. The singer *Goldegöl* from Nggeinangel was famous. He once brought eight baskets full of songs to Goróe. Of which some samples remain in Story 196. The magical effect of song on gods and people was crucial.
b) Games and Sports.

The melil a báuél, which was previously mentioned with the dances and singing, is one of the most charming expressions of Palauan life. “Promenading under the moon,” meaning of course the full moon, is really a pleasure enjoyed by inhabitants of the tropics that we who live in upper latitudes cannot share. The cool night, following a hot day, and the brightness of the full moon at the equator play a large role in this. Even the danger of an ambush does nothing to subdue the playfulness of the youth, seeing as rain or wind or other circumstances often prevent the excursion already. If there is a state of lágol, i.e. a state of war, depending on the danger, the islanders gather at the beach, if there is none, or else on the lowlands near their village, which is possible anywhere. Kub, Vol. II, says: “The girls go to great lengths to adorn themselves, because at this time they are to exert the power of their charms on their sonsél, their lovers. But the whole group scatters across the grass-covered areas and plays numerous games, of which I will list the most important ones here.” I shall list them in order, to correct the names and provide additional information.

kleiskír (Klaisykír) Tug-of-war (see bai 26 Vía).
kláibr (Kláiul). an upright pole is surrounded by one group; another tries to grab it. Attack cry: a) throws an areca nut or a little stone, b) tries to catch the item and attack cry: a “touched one.” If someone touches the pole, they call out tő: which is the name for the pole itself.
kláibrbrári (Klaiyburbi) Hide-and-seek (see bai 11 Jvb).

tánger (Tsúnglyt) Human chain game, long chain of people. “The two ends of it break apart and following each other, run under the arms of the others, who are forming arches.”
kauldóelbóol (Kaydóódbóók) Wrestling match between two men.

kabíbráng (Kaybíbráng) Game of throwing, catching, and placing in a hole. Two people sit opposite one another; each one has a hole next to them. A) throws an Areca nut or a little stone, B) tries to catch the item and quickly puts it in the hole next to A), which A) tries to prevent.

kláipádi (Kaypáti) Ball game. Square, woven ball (kurú), tossed by all players of the game, may not fall to the ground. On the Gilbert Islands, there is a stone inside the ball. kláimbík (Klaimbík) Chicken fighting. This is what K. b. calls the game wherein men stand on each other’s shoulders and attack each other, trying to push each other off. Real cock fighting has also recently cropped up, introduced from Manila, as the lágol show (Vol. 4). But the sport must not have been entirely unfamiliar on Palau, because it appears in many places in the Carolines, especially in Truk, where it is quite advanced. It is said that originally there were no domestic chickens on Palau, only bush chickens (verb mangáimáit to play chicken fight).

tungbs (Tumógbá). A man stands on top of a group of men who are lying down, and an attempt is made to get him to lose his balance and fall.
garmék l kiau (Karamél kíau) “my animal the kiau” (see fish). Ring dance; in the center stands a dancer who jumps about happily like a kiau fish.

kabíbráng (Kaybíbráng) Throwing spears at one another.
káttevâl (Kay tøotték) Throwing objects (for example, stones) at one another.
bedól (Poss. f. bûtól) Racing toy canoes. Kub. expresses the opinion that this activity was as hotly pursued as on Truk, where it also had religious meaning, and where they built beautiful models like on the Gilbert Islands. On Palau (Fig. 175), on the other hand, it seems to have remained a game and not become a sport, even though occasionally the adults organized little races for the instruction of the boys. The fact that canoe racing was practiced in Palau is shown by Story 16. Thus one may assume that at least the youth occasionally engaged in this sport (see also above, the votive canoe, Fig. 176).

Pigeon hunting and hunting of bats count as sports; both are described above. Also among sports-related events are the ceremonial flying of kites, which were called kóodmb (poss. kedémbl) like the frigate bird, as Story 18 of Ngardmaú reports and describes. It must have been a wonderful sight to see the sky over the heath full of huge flying objects. It is lamentable that there are no documented observations of this. And not even a model has survived. The importance of the kite as messenger is shown in Story 8 with the ngamogógiy, the feather in the hair tie, and especially fascinating is the foreign Story 176 of the letter-bearing kite.

I also found no previous mentions of the following games: mangebí, which is played with tops (Wall.: chebi top), melítái rolling of hoops (Wall.: rolling) and sparring while rolling, omóói shooting with the small fruit of the demalái mountain palm, melérémés smoking (molokói) of the hollow fern stems of the demelái fern, which both boys and girls engage in. What is also cute is watching the children carry water in the hollowed-out fruit of behróú, which is about the size of an apple, stick the palm-like starch plants sëbóóloó in the sand at the beach, and then pretend to cook the syrup a îlóó in Calophyllum fruits in this palm orchard. As everywhere, there are many such games of imitation, and they change from time to time, as P. Raymondus states in Anthropos 1911.

The last important thing to mention is the galdî é biól string game, to which P. Raymond devotes his whole work. He calls it “god’s gift” (see Göléi, Vol. 2) and distinguishes the following:

a) String figure games played by two people, which are very easy. “When a child has completed a figure with his or her string, a friend takes over the string, producing another shape, a new figure.” This is also the category under which he includes pictures made from two skirts.

b) Simple string games, played by one person, much more artistic and elaborate; teeth, toes, etc. are used. String games also served to pass the time for adults, for example on ocean voyages, as Story 8 shows. P. Raymond gives 76 examples with drawings and excellent photos; anyone interested in this subject should definitely consult the original. The hopes that were entertained concerning the development of ornamental art from these string games has not been fulfilled; but they remain important enough. Furthermore, explanations of the pictures result in a lot of material for the stories, so in-depth research and description of this kind are not in vain, as shown here.

Because of my own observations of such games, which we played a lot ourselves for amusement, I refer here to Truk.

c) Geography and Astronomy.

Due to the lack of ocean navigation, which was reported above, the islanders have no precise knowledge of this. Ugelml (Story 10) taught his son the principles of navigation, which are Central Carolinian. Otherwise, Palau, like most native peoples, has its own land created by its own god, and its own sky. Several words best reflect the state of knowledge (compare Vol. 1, Maps 2 and 3, Vol. 2 beginning).

Earth pêlî lágol (land of the people)  Volcanic land palau
Ground gátum (poss. gátêm)  Coral (limestone) ñovî
Hard kernel ungél (a gátum (from ungêl tooth)  Loose stones gald, gravel geidâuls
White clay gagúsum  White earth mûlû
Stone bád (bédál)  Cliff rois, îl cave (Wall.: ii)
The leader of the constellations also causes the moon and Pleiades to move closer to one another often. The prevented by magic, as presented in Story 94a.

Also important because of illness and death, which are thought to be the result of their too rapid rise, which can be astronomy was poorly developed, for the reasons already mentioned. The islanders know, of course, that the under orion’s sword); bai 29 iVb and bai 106 iib also show the pincers are like months; but the times correspond only generally to our system of months:

Fruit ripening takes place when the West winds come, which bring rain. On the island of Ngarekobasáng, the place the “food of the West,” because that the majority of kelél a ngabárd gongós dilúgĕs ungós dilúgĕs a dims gongosíl}

The trade wind season (our winter, December through May) the “sun of the East,” so called belowing distinctions are made:

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When I said that the years are determined by the Pleiades, I must say that there is no real word for a year; perhaps the word dârav is used. It is more common to calculate in half years rak (see Story 54) (poss. rekil), and the following distinctions are made:

The trade wind season (our winter, December through May) kël a gongós the “sun of the East,” so called because the northeastern trade winds blow.

The rainy season (July through November) kekél a ngabárd the “food of the West,” because that the majority of fruit ripening takes place when the West winds come, which bring rain. On the island of Ngarekobasáng, the place where the sun rises and sets is marked, and certain flowers are watched. I should mention several time periods that are like months; but the times correspond only generally to our system of months:

| March-April | Tâng |
| Approx. June | râin “fickle,” because of changes in wind direction |
| Approx. July | kmir. The Dracaena bloom. It is said: “The tongue of the kmir trembles when the new wind comes.” I was unable to learn more. Wall.: tngmr, Kub., Vol. VIII: tmur, from Carolinian tumor = Antares |

High tide and low tide are aspects of the ocean dâkob and sea ngàvovóvél (Wall.: ngàvoh) that are particularly important to the natives, because their entire navigation in inland waters is dependent on them.

Important terms:

Incoming tide (flood, high tide) kerîl Ebbing tide (low tide) garâgâs, magarâgâs Low tide mugâlubâgâ Medium tide adunîling a geî (sufficient for canoes) geî, ged or ngel a geî shallow water on the reef good for a fishing spot, then ged lova krug low tide at full moon ged l’ap o bàfil low tide at new moon also delejigî a dorâkîl high tide at full moon or kloâd dîloâg (great flood) delejigî a tâpî bàfil low tide at full moon or kekerîl dîloâg (small flood) or maugeâi makiad water dammed up

4) Medicine and Sexual Expressions.

All illness (tâk) comes from the galid. Healing is therefore called “freeing” melâbôk from them. When someone is taken ill, one first does a mukâlîl, after the relatives of the sick have told the fortune teller what the sick person did, whether he insulted a person or a galid, whether he was adulterous, etc. The fortune teller acts accordingly. He either breaks coconuts, as previously described, or he weaves coconut fronds into magic knots, Figs. 213 and 214 (see bai 41 Iib), he checks the spiders on the door, listens to the gecko, observes the clouds, etc. From these signs he learns the will of the gods (gongalîl). Generally, the galid of the insulted person is thought to be angry and is thus the cause of the offender’s illness, for example in the case of adultery, where the galid of the betrayed person seeks revenge. The situation is particularly bad if the divine protectors are tengangói lë galíd “ugly gods.”

If the god in question is an important one, the fortune teller usually predicts that a murefâsî must be held for the kloâd l’galid, as discussed above. Semp. describes such a celebration, which is like the one we observed. Kub., Vol. V, pg. 44, also calls a small celebration melângîs a dep, a banquet with 10 baskets of taro, one pot of cooked meat, and betelnut, to which the friend of the sick person is invited. He apparently negotiates with the priests and gods. The larger ngâis burbur and Konols arûl were previously discussed above.

In general, the gosâlîs singing played a large role in healing the sick, because the art of poetry was highly esteemed. Kub. also mentions a men’s gosâlî as being particularly effective. A club of young people goes with the rubak to the location of the god and sacrifices the sick person’s money. For this purpose, the mûsîng of the god is carried out of the priest’s house or the bi, wherever it happens to be, and set up in front of the house hen tet). The sacrificial donation is laid in this tet. A special method of appealing for recovery is the use of the little consecrated houses
gatekíl’i, which are similar to our votive offerings. Above, I already spoke of one that I found on Ngārtimdug.

Koródlédil from the blai Ngaraimdug in Ngarémbdil, who was old, had been taken ill, and her relatives therefore had a little house made. They brought this, along with several baskets of taro and young coconuts, a small pitcher of syrup, and a stinking fish, by canoe to the grotto Ngarsúmóg. All of them dressed nicely and appeared with ornamentation, even the sick woman, because the sick must if at all possible be on an excursion. Once there, the members of the party ate, including the stinking fish; then they laid some of the food into the cave for the galíd Dilrekúng (a female land crab), hung up the little house, and someone spoke: “This is your house and your food; you can stay here and do not need to come and make us sick; stay here and be satisfied.”

Dilrekúng, merekóng, ë kămám tiáng l maramá merūl ra mu
Dilrekúng, get ready, we (are) here arrived, to make a feast,
më tía blim l mulekér re ngí ma ki úlĕbal l me͡
this (is) your house, you asked for it and we brought it here and your heart
a sangiáng, merekóng, ë lak morakt ra ngarág lagád, ma
is satisfied, get ready, (make) not you sick any person, and
loopj ng dîl, më ke di kışngíg, ë kămám a rûdang.
especially the woman, but you just stay, and we go!

Then they return home, taking along the rest of the food, which they distribute amongst neighbors and friends; then the celebration is over. This usually takes place in the house of the family of the sick person, who is later taken back to the house of his or her spouse. If an excursion is not possible, a messenger is sent with the little house and some food. The point, you see, is to visit the galíd at his location, if possible. In the case of the kumerèu fish pole, similar customs are observed. They say the gatekíl’i is primarily for women, bbl a Kumerèu for men; the galíd Kumerèu lives in the moray eel; his wife Turang, however, lives in the octopus. The little house of the women always stands in the blai, in a cave, etc., i.e. sheltered, whereas the fish pole stands outside. Pregnant women like to make offerings to the galíd Mariúr because of illness. Wall., for example, calls such illnesses klirotiul “general weakness linked to abdominal pains.”

The larger cult houses, too, especially the four-legged tet, serve to pacify the anger of the village or family god and keep away or drive away illness. Because the hut is considered his “basket,” they like to deposit betel pepper and Areca nuts there. The islanders lay singed coconut (ulogóug) and taro in the little shrine of the sun gáios.

A little taste of such a song follows:

ng di dúu duu rengúl a galíd l ngar a mlai mangpētû,
it is only satisfied, glad the heart of the Galid on the canoe, to free you,
a ngupētû e ngupētû uriûl
for free me, to free those behind (offspring)
chorus: iû guêl, ng uê

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<tr>
<th>Localities of the Galid</th>
<th>Name of the këóngĕl</th>
<th>Name of the priest around 1900</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a lebikul (by Goréôr)</td>
<td>Ngartiâu</td>
<td>Ngaribbôg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngarbagûl</td>
<td>Remiâit</td>
<td>Ngaribbôg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngirîpesâng</td>
<td>gaus a galíd</td>
<td>Meâbit</td>
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<td>Ngarekohsusâng</td>
<td>a Ikîdél</td>
<td>Ngiragobîdëbông</td>
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The following morning, the food is distributed and the people disperse. Now the këóngél is supposed to protect the people of the village from illness, as the sâmëgëd did before, which is removed after the gosóls and given as place in front of the bai, as tet.

A similar institution to the votive cane is the Galíd seat, kingelél a galíd as Kub. calls it and depicts it in Vol. V, (see also Vol. 2). But it is really called ngot ri dmúiél “taro pounding board at the exit” (Ham. nûrtëtë s muí “Galíd chair for sun”). As Fig. 215 (Ham. 11 and Kr. 6’07) shows, it is a board hung on 4 strings, a board that happens to look like a taro pounding board. Story 98 describes the ngot as a sleeping area for a girl. The women like to consider it the resting place of the goddess Túrang, which is why there is almost always a fiber skirt hung on it. Dmúiél is the courtyard exit by the house, or the wider area surrounding the house, to indicate that the resting place is some distance from the house. I usually found it hung in the little ornamental hut. Ham. 11 and K. 6’07 however, also show a specimen with four prongs on the narrow sides, which are missing on the ngot device. That immediately made me think of the Trukese ghost altars which were hung up for the same purpose, which also have a square concavity in the middle, and whose prongs clearly represent the 4 ends of a double cane (arms). The ngot served as a vehicle in legends on Palau, too. So there can be no doubt about the original meaning of this board. It now serves mainly as a place to put offerings to the family god when a family member is ill. Naturally, there are also individual spells against particular illnesses, for example headaches, as Story 221 shows.

There are forbidden foods for pregnant women; the taboo, i.e. food that is forbidden when taking medicine, is immediately made me think of the Trukese ghost altars which were hung up for the same purpose, which also served as a vehicle in legends on Palau, too. So there can be no doubt about the original meaning of this board. It now serves mainly as a place to put offerings to the family god when a family member is ill. Naturally, there are also individual spells against particular illnesses, for example headaches, as Story 221 shows.

Bathing melélging is important. This includes the medicine gusirvégy for washing, made of boiled leaves, and the herbal bath mesirvéy. A strange practice is the steam bath given to women who have recently given birth. In Goi-kúl, I saw a rubak suffering from severe third-stage syphilis on his forehead and leg. He dug a hole in the floor of a hut and kept a fire of coconut shells going there, which he covered with green leaves. He held his sores, which were partially healed, in the steam.

Rubbing in, known as mungél, is the custom for skin ailments, for ívásit, scabs, Tinea imbricata sókél, scab kêu (Wall.), Causus sapagrá, for rub ak a ságél “Illness of the man,” as eczema is called, because they believe it is a result of touching the blood of a dead person; it is probably confused with the first stage of syphilis, otherwise known as mesidél or gesélidé, but which, in contrast, never heals on its own due to the itching effect kertáik (Wall. gertál pos. gertálilé, a type of carbuncle), according to the natives.

There are many medications for this (see for example kerü). Oddly, the Palauans claim that syphilis was known to them before the arrival of the white man. Actually, this may not be entirely out of the question, because the many shipwrecks in the Philippines, which are listed in Vol. 1, probably already transferred sexually transmitted diseases to Palau before 1700. But after the visit of the Antelope and the increase in traffic after 1800, the damage really became evident, as is demonstrated in Vol. 2.

There is also apparently a medicine, called gosauté, that can poison by smell; the woman in Story 51 was blinded by it. It was produced in Ngaregolóng with oil. For information about other poisons, see the discussion of fauna and flora in Section VIII.

As a blood-clotting agent, the islanders use freshly chewed leaves of the madálin tree. To bandage a wound gatásgal (poss.: gatásgalil) that has opened këltat, they use the leaves of Clerodendron (butagíper), also juice of ouvériolé and ilemélakl.
If a man received a spear wound in the lung, he was stood on his head, to drain the blood through his mouth (see bai 36 Iia and bai 40 VIIa). A bandage of the type we know is called telagagi (from omangagi to tie, to bind). Abscesses pus (poss.: panggi) are opened with sharp pieces of bone or cut with shells (see Story 77), and the pus lág (poss.: léggi) is drained out, or they are allowed to open on their own (obi Wall.). The ganglion olagagi (see also iii) is healed by hammering it down melegötég, therefore the name for it.

Finally, I should add that already Mac Cluer, pp. 99, called it Cur theke, i.e. kuridi; he called a lesser form of the same thing Cook no thuk, which I consider a misunderstanding, because it is correctly called kak ngidög “then different.” I have already related the attitude of Palauans concerning paying for medical attention in Vol. 2. For their prophylactic treatment, the priest doctors receive nothing, just food and money when they heal someone successfully, for which they are credited mainly because they are priests. The galid receive their payment, their gosbali, in the food and the gosilis.

Fear of coming in contact with blood originates from headhunting and mumification processes. The realization of deforation reveals this as well, which is reminiscent of the Indian lingam.

Finally, a few words about sexual perversions. It is worth mentioning that the lecherous old rubak like to use aphrodisiacs, of which Story 64b includes an amusing rendition. I learned that it consists of the following: very young pandanus gongőr roots, ground-up aerial roots of gástokét (Frecycinetia) mixed with 5 egg yolks; swallowed fresh (bai 62 IIia).

The question arises whether Palauans are more licentious than most other Australasian peoples; the institution of the bai girls would seem immediately to indicate this. But I have already stated that the club bai are not a hotbed of promiscuity, i.e. unlimited intercourse, but that each man is faithful to a single bai girl, i.e. has a relationship, which of course may often have been rather fragile.—Others point to the many obscene illustrations in the bai, especially the phallic representations (nibali) on the gables of the old bai in a Imeungs and Ngenrekeli, as can be seen on the photos of bai 69 and 86. They are always grouped around the wooden diluká fi gure, who, like the girl Manga mangai fatau in Polynesia, is depicted facing from the sun as it rises, with her legs spread wide (see Kaasm “The Samoa Islands,” Vol. 1).

This representation is apparently a type of fertility magic and is the remnant of a sun legend. On these old bai, there is always a sun below this on the lowest plank, as exhibited in Vol. 4. Such female exhibitionism, however, also appears elsewhere in Palau with the purpose of arousing a desire for coitus in the men. Story 92a describes this, and it is also depicted on bai 25 VIIa. Another case of exhibition is shown on bai 44 Ila and bai 17 IVb (Fig. 216c). But earning money plays a large role in this, and so even young girls begin at an early age to engage in such activities. In bai 24 VIIb (Story 79a) and in bai 3 VIII, intercourse is shown on a raft, and the giant phallic of Melegöt (Story 155a) is shown in bai 120 VIIa. The little couples in bai 73 Ila are also very intimately involved, as is the pairing with the fish in bai 115 Ixa. Incidentally, the naïveté of Palauans regarding genitalia, to which they attribute a certain amount of independence, is illuminated by the creation legend, Story 7, and the illustration in bai 8 Vb. The gable of bai 130 also shows a woman on its way to the kisv, and in the note in Story 30a, it even goes out and steals, and is caught (see also Fig. 216a). It is characteristic of all of these representations of sexual acts that observers are present, furthermore that there were schools for sex, which I previously reported. (Fig. bai 37 Iib and 38 Iib).

As for perversion, I saw only one illustration (see Vol. 2, in bai 121, where melin “drinking” (irrumatio) is depicted: a man stands in a tree and the woman is shown below, the kisv in her mouth; then there is the abuse of a goat (sodomy) that appears in Story 92. For anything else, see Vol. 2. That is also where the lengthening of the labia minora bái (poss.: begi) is discussed, which was considered beautiful. The fact that the woman’s private parts vúk (poss.: ukul) are, according to Wall., also called klesing (poss.: klesegi), whose verb form melëgosiog means “to trim, to circumcise,” indicates that the long appendages were shortened. Women are shown riding on men who are lying on the ground, málam medú (see bai 9 VIII and bai 59 IIb). There is also the depiction of a man who, when his wife is away, smells her little gongoi bag, which she wears in front, under her skirt.

Masturbation (ngolöml, mengelöh, melegöti bái, Wall.) in the pigeon hut bai 68 Vb. Wall. calls cummings melög; pedantry is outbängöla va bái (poss.: from but rear); breaking into a bái for purposes of committing rape is called omelökl bái “making the bái sway” (Kub., Vol. IV 83), which was not so rare. Finally, there is even a report of necrophilia in bai 54 IIa. For information about public sexual relations that, as Hellwald Family claims, occurred among Australians and was known in Papua.

All together, it is hardly possible to credit the Palauans with a good record on morality, especially since marriage was a rather unstable institution. But when one compares them to the other peoples of the region, for example the Malaysans, one must be cautious about passing such harsh judgement. For it is certain that many things are revealed in the art of the Palauans that would otherwise go unnoticed or receive very little attention. Let us not make them pay for that!


The second volume and the sections preceding this, in particular the discussion of medicine, have contributed a lot to the overall picture. Kub., Vol. V, dedicated a special piece of work to the religion of the Palauans, so here I will just combine everything with some new material. According to widespread views in ethnology, which Wundt discusses in detail in his Elements of Anthropological Psychology, religious development of primitive peoples was based on polytheism. “This polytheism, moreover, is based on primitive speculations about the heavenly bodies, especially the large stars, the sun, and the moon.” On Palau, however, the earliest period is a time of darkness, in which the galid existed. Sun and moon were created by the great galid legid re ngél, and the light banished the power of the evil spirits, as the stars disappear in daylight. The creator was called the “man from Ngél,” because he created the sun and moon on the piece of land called Ngél, which is probably named after the Morinda bush ngél. They believed the actual god lived in heaven; his name was Ugelilàng, “first of the sky,” as well-told in Story 19; Stories 1 and 3 discuss his family. In his earthly form, he is called legid re ngél, and as such he created not only the sun and moon, but also people, which he did with the help of his sister, who took over the female part (Story 7). Ugelilàng has another earthly form, as well, namely that of Ugel l re galid, the “first of the galid,” who plays the role of the protagonist in Story 195.

Fig. 217.
Tailed Spirit

Fig. 218.
Stone carving of MedegPelau in Ngatpang, see map, Fig. 219.
There are several magical, superhuman beings. All divine beings are collectively called galíd (poss.: gësûl or galidul), which is understood to include celestial gods, terrestrial gods, village gods, and family gods. The highest-ranking heavenly deity, God, is called ugél sängöl, as already mentioned, while the first people are simply called ariguel “the first.”

Often, the family god or the Galid of an individual is just the returned “soul”, the delep (poss.: delepenguîl) of a relative, in which case it is called blúšod (poss.: blúse), i.e. “ancestor spirit.” The soul of someone who has died twice is called tólàuam. The following are field and forest spirits or demons, “magical beings,” worth mentioning:

- the telbâki or galidul spirits who preside over construction
- the ar bau spirits of the beach (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 130; Wall.: bau “smell”)
- the delâbîgû the 7 limping spirits (see Story 74 and Story 137, the one-legged bîtagolî)
- the tîns kentôd the 7 with the crooked mouths (Stories 19 and 58)
- the têkki mállâ the 7 galid with the owl heads (Story 137)

Finally, there are the tãngulglû l galid (Story 167), who have on “bad things,”. I have already mentioned that they are especially called upon in cases of illness. They are presented with offerings of fish or crabs that are left lying out uncooked for one day, until they stink—

The Following are field and forest spirits or demons, “magical beings,” worth mentioning:

Finally, the “demigods or semi-humans” belong in this category. They are called olëplâgalîd or olëplâlagîd, which designates one “tip” olëp of an object with two ends, because the beings can appear in galid form or in human form, so that both ends olëp touch. The expression “god person” galidûgûd is most commonly used for heroes, but also (see Story 172a) for mermaid people, otherwise known as ilokugîl (Story 170) and ulogóug, beings that are half human with a fish tail, probably of the moray eel lülîu (see bag 22 Vîb). There are also female galid, such as Gobagâd in Story 58, the “single-breasted” bîtatîn in Stories 82 and 137, etc. Finally, the god in heaven also appears as the god of the sun. According to Story 7, legul re ngël went into the sun itself, i.e. he became the sun god. However, Ugelkênlî in Story 8, Ugëlgâmî in Story 10, and perhaps Boî in Story 11, are all considered sun gods, which particularly evident of the former in Story 168. Ugelkênlî, of whom I reported previously in Vol. 2, led the migration from the East, from Kusae, and thus entered the Palauan imagination as a sun god; the story of Ugëlmîl centers around the same theme. Leo Frobenius has pointed out that the legends of the spider (Story 12), the fish tail (Story 14), the children of the reed (Story 15), etc., should be interpreted as sun myths. The last-named (Fig. 218), however, is more likely a moon god, and his wife Tûrang is the bright, shining sun. So we see that the highest-ranking being in heaven appears in many forms.

It is not clear from the mythology or from the statements of the islanders themselves whether all beings are to be interpreted as one, or if lesser deities carry out the various tasks. The Palauans say that the chief messengers of the deity in heaven are a Ugél lë galid, a Gûndîl and Medegîl palau; he came to all villages and was given different names; Ugëllâng is thus to be interpreted as “the god” of Palau, like the Polyneisians’ Tangaloa. (See Incarna-

Gods and Heaven.

Heaven u sängöl is divided into 10 levels, which are talked about in detail in Story 203 about Madlukt; a beauti-

The original rock brings forth the first two gods of the heaven and the underworld, as on Java, where Ompong Patara Guru diatás is the god of heaven, and Ompong Batara Guru di-toru is the ruler of the underworld. Anthropo-

A beautiful illustration of this can be seen on the gable of bui 142. According to Story 1, the first gods were created from the male cliff in the ocean, the risû. From this arose the first pair: Tpêrâku (male), the breaker of the ocean, and Latmikâik (female), the mother of fish and people. She bore two sons:

1. a Ugëllâng “first in heaven,” the father of all Galid.
2. a Ugëldîgû “first in the underworld”

Some say the brother’s name was Ugél ‚nîk, because Ugëldîgû turned into Ugëllâng; that is why in all villages there is a strong chief divinity and a weaker one as his companion. The cosmogony is purely Australasian;opa the original rock brings forth the first two gods of the heaven and the underworld, as on Java, where Ompong Patara Guru diatás is the god of heaven, and Ompong Batara Guru di-toru is the ruler of the underworld. Anthropo-

The ancestral goddess Latmikâik then bore two girls, who married the first two sons (Story 3). Other sons then married mermaids, which is why many fish are now considered sacred among Palauans. Latmikâik is considered to have had innumerable descendents, as shown in Story 1. Story 3 lists the most important gods from this line of descent. These are mainly the fish god: a Ugél pebâl, named after the pebâl fish, a dark-blue teuthis with yellow dots and a yellow barb on its back; the Ugëlagái, the half-beak, dangerous because of its pointed snout, and Ugél kemûl gâlool, the “shark’s tail,” of which Story 172a tells. These 3 fish, however, are at the same time incarnations of the highest-ranking god Ugëllâng. Among other descendents, then, there are several well-known Galid, including:

- Gubangîl of Ngarapela on Ngegatu (see Story 170),
- Ngirauluóng of Ngarapel, Kereôm of Phula pelau, and Ugalî ñuđâl of Ngarapela on Ngegatu,
- Ugalî ñuđâl of Ngarapela on Ngegatu
- Gobangîl of Ngirauluóng, and Ugelî kîl of Gobangîl (Story 14).

Also known are the bush spirit Gobangîl (Story 17, 58 and 202) see Ngirauluóng, the galid na kud (‘heath gods’) a Tsülpâlagîl, Keruôl bûkî and Kerengdîl (see Story 17), Gûndîl, Tûrang-sulî.

The spirits of the sea are: Sagulî, Kereômîl, Lâladang and Sâulang and Gueingdîl, who works in the deep waterway gëgül, as a partner to Ugëldîgû (see also Ngirulî, Story 30, etc.). The spirits of the earth are: Remesegû, Udiböng, and Gobîlbângû, the three are in charge of the surface of the earth; they live approximately 1 foot below the surface and are invoked during planting. Kô îl., Vol. V, names numerous others; see also the stories,
Of all the galid, however, one stands out, the one who in Story 3 is named as another form of the underworld god Ugédāt. Ngiraidema of Ngaramásig on Ngeaíur. Even the name Ngiraidema hints that this is not his original name, because the house of a Idemai stands in Ngabu, in the North of Bālbdō. From Story 197, it is clear that this is just one of the many names of Medegël, the "punisher of Pēlau." He is believed to be a son of a Ugól's galid, who, like his father, was honored in numerous places, and Medegël had his main place of worship in a Ḣii and Ngátlang, as Story 197 relates in detail. That is also the reason for the two sites of worship in the two villages, which are reported in Vol. 2.

The bai Urekëd (see map, Fig. 219) originally stood at the landing of Ngirategëi. The priest of Medegël dreamt that a stone image of his god lay buried in the village. He dug in the spot and actually found at Location B the pillar (Fig. 218) with the face of the god. So he had a bai built next to the pillar. This is reminiscent of the god of the earth Golekē. Fig. 184 shows the interior of the house with the room galëngë, which is the object of Story 197. The room is separated from the rest of the house. Here he communicates with the god; he chews betel and then goes into a shaman-like frenzy with convulsions, during which he receives the answer from Medegël, which he then tells the rubak gathered in the bai.

The offerings for the galid, usually red kēsī leaves and taro roasted by the women, are placed on an omágly plate (Fig. 123) and are laid in the area made of mats high up on the wall, the kēiangēl. Those making offerings usually stay for two days in the bai and only sleep in their blai at night. During celebrations, the galid's portion of food is laid on the round tōlak, of which I found one in the house in 1909 that was decorated with faces (Fig. 119). Next to the bai was an unusual, yoke-like structure that was falling apart (Fig. 219 C.), called geimobedul "his own body," with figures on the posts and several others lying on the ground, as Fig. 220 shows. Its meaning is unclear. I was able to find out only that Remeskang in Ngarmāi had a dream that showed him the structure in heaven; he then built it and raised it here. Next to it stands the other structures shown in Map 219. In a Ģii, there once was a place of worship, as previously mentioned in Vol. 2. The unusual wooden figures are also mentioned in that volume, particularly that of Goltegei and Mariel kēd (see Story 197), who was able to see both a Ģii and Ngátlang at the same time with his two faces; the kingfisher with a red cap, the god himself, who is a protection god of the local waterway (a channel in the mangroves) and was made from a living tree trunk on which were carved two heads."—I was still able to find Mogoloiu, wearing a hat (1) and with a long, removable...
kírs, in 1907; he is in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart. But there were also stone images of the gods, as shown by the previously mentioned Temdókl, as well as Delangerík a huíngöl, the famous Gamasíogel, and so on.

Medegei pélau is also considered to have discovered the sail, as shown in Story 197 (navigation, Story 10). In order to attain supremacy, he held the omlútĕk, the sailing race, which was discussed above. The one who brought the ngas branch from Nggeiangöl would be king, which is why the Palauans also call the competitors arugol mezhīg ra ngas—the first to break the ngas branch. There were 7 galid in all:

1. a Ugél kldéu
2. a Ugél kobásādăl
3. a Uger’érāk
4. a Ugélzăng, often thought to be the same as Nr. 7.
5. a Itānglăbái
6. a Ugél lăgalid
7. Medegei pélau.

Story 197 tells how the last-named came to be victorious. He is always cunning and crafty. His escape in Gölei, which describes how he sat in the post hole and was supposed to be killed, but crawled instead through the hollow tree that was pushed into the hole, to its tip, proves that he is identical to the sly Olifat of the Central Carolinians.

The Palauans assume that many of their god figures came from afar. The belief that Ugélkekla ău came from the East has already been described; the reference that mentions Itānglăbái states that he came with Medegei pélau from the West. This is a further indication that the Palauans had contact to the rest of the world even in early times, or at least had knowledge of it.

Two of the galid are closely connected to Medegei pélau: Bói and Gorekím. Bói is said to have come from the Eastern islands, like a Ugélkekla. Story 11 begins: “Bói is the god of rainstorms, which fish and birds follow.”

The rainy season is the time when the sun is the closest, and the fruit, pigeons, and fish are most abundant, just as in the rainy season on Samoa, for example, the Palolo comes with many fish. Bói moves around with the spawning fish and comes to a irăi, where he loses them to the moon figure of Medegei pélau through trickery. The fact that Bói is endowed with many kírs indicates his great fertility. He also owns a rooster, which, as herald of the sun, is a symbol of hard work and wealth. The stone image of a rooster came from Ngatmél to Gölei, a rooster also figures in Stories 73, 140, and 172b. Bói began his victorious race in Ngatmél, at the spot on the Northern tip of the island, at the foot of the galid mountain Ngadég, that faces East, where the village god Ugélzăng, a relative of the sun god, lived (Story 10).

It was here that the god of the rainbow Gortkím emerged, about which there are numerous scattered notes, both my own and those of others, which I will summarize here. His creation is connected with the reed (see Story 15), because as the god of war, he needed spears made from reeds. Bai 76 IVb shows him climbing out of the reed, the rainbow being created by two men bending toward each other. Above, shows how he was called to be the god of war. I was told that his father was the Varamus lizard Golubás in heaven (see Story 40); his mother is Gobil ĭ geisău, his brother is Melimrăsă (pgs. 35 and 300), his sister is Gobilăp (see blai construction). According to Kuk., Vol. V, pg. 50, he is supposedly the god of Ngărulă (Ngărulăng, Vol. 2). But I did not hear about this, because the inhabitants of that village told me that Medegei pélau was the deity of the village. There is said to be a stone there that is used for offerings and banquets, to drive the galid out of the person (melúbĕt) whom he has possessed out of dissatisfaction during an extended period of peace.
Gorekim’s origin, the relation to the lizard, the holiness of the fighting cock, and his own belligerent nature, demonstrate a strong resemblance to Boi. However, he differs from Boi in that as a figurine he is a special one; he follows the rain, the weather, while Boi embodies it. Boi is closer to the earth, because he gives it his blessing, while the rainbow belongs to heaven, where gorekim also has his house, as the log of the rainbow shows. This is the bow of victory, formed by two galid bending towards each other; they guard the fruits of victory, always ready for battle. This is how Gorekim became the god of war.

There were 3 places of worship of special interest, besides those mentioned in the villages—these are on the mountains (see Map 3 in Vol. 1). The islanders consider a Legaid l kéd, who bears the title Melíd kéd “climbing on the mountains” (see Story 195). They especially during fishing expeditions.

1. Ngairén 34° 24′ in the Southern part of Bablldáob, in a tríu (possibly, see V ol. 1 and V ol. 2). Dirakébáu lives here under the gongáière tree. The ones who drill the holes in money live here, the rubágad l ngairén, the forest spirits (see Story 138), the one-legged bitagagó, and the single-breasted bitatút (story 137), the wealthy rooster (Story 140), the frog (Story 17d), etc.

2. Ngallél 37° near Kekláu, see Stories 19, 61, 66, 73.

3. Ngadig 45°, see Vol. 2. The natives believed the galid did not appear in the shape of people here, as they did on the other two mountains, but instead appeared in the shape of fish. The highest-ranking one was Gad é berlip, then came the Serranus species, Kludné, Káu, etc. On nearby Mount Galéáu there was a priest house, of which in 1907 a square stone foundation was still visible, as was a stone image.

The priests are called meléigal a galid “carrier of the galid,” also kerdélé a galid “protector of the galid,” but usually they are just called galid for short. They like to call themselves a younger brother gogalél of their spirit, i.e. they consider themselves godlike. One of them begins with a spell, which turns him temporarily into a tool of the gods: the gogalél (Kub., V ol. V, pg. 31, olo), until he is acknowledged as a true representative k’éunik or k’aunng (Kub. karing). In some villages such as Gouéi, Ngubial, Ngarmandi, Ngigil, Ngardolók, Ngauii, and Ngigágol, the priest attains the rank of Nr. 1 rubák and rules over the others because of his divine power. In any case, his influence was considerable, but only as long as the god living in him was revered. In other villages, it can happen that the galid is not Nr. 1, but instead holds the lowest rank among the uríl rúbak, i.e. Nr. 20, such as in Mangal’lang, Ngarekei, Górei, Ngamid, Ngarekobuáu, etc. When items are distributed, they do not always receive their proper share, as Stories 14 and 195 show. These were attempts to mute the power of the galid.

Close to the priests are the rubágadéléngal a pélai “the forest spirits of the village,” meaning all people whose blessings and curses are feared. The galid had the privilege of wearing red garments and wearing a hat; they receive betel leaves and Areca nuts and, in important matters, also money. So much has been conveyed previously about the activities of priests (see also Kub., V ol. V, pg. 33 and 34), that additional descriptions are superfluous here.

Still worth mentioning are the priestesses mlagél or mlagél, who have already been mentioned in the discussion on Ngarmandi and Ngarusí. They are often very powerful, because the most powerful priests in Gouéi, Ngubial, etc., reveal themselves only through the priestesses, as Kub. relates in Vol. V, pg. 34. These women are considered sacred by normal men, but the priests consider themselves above them. Sometimes, a female galid enters a man, who then wears women’s clothing and acts entirely as a woman, except in relation to his fellow women. This tends to lead to misunderstandings, as Story 161 shows. The galid woman in Górei also originates from a Goudé. The powerful galid are called kliu l galid or bedégol galid. Often, they have two heads like the sun, which the spirits roll across the sky (see story 6), and Túran. The monsters Malad lëgur (Story 164) and the Tëbló l ptelúl (bai 25 VIII) are also depicted as having two heads.

The most important mythical stones are mentioned or pictured in Vol. 2: Galéau, Mangal’lang, Ngubial, Gouéi, Galáp, Ngarmandi, Melekiok, a Ieung é, Nagaréméngkáu, Gàirung, a Êu, Gorei, Ngàribódd, Ngarumid, Ngardolók, see also the Gorgel of Story 13, the stone postos of Story 5, the turning into stone of a Guág in Story 2, and the ancestral father risué, Story 1. Many galid appear in the shape of animals. The most important are: the bessólíng snake (Story 13), the sea snake (Story 30), the crab (Story 16), the shark (Story 172a). See also the animal stories 181-192. Offerings, the tributes tingué, or bleeúl gifts to the galid usually consist of betel offerings, especially in the case of the sea, offerings of food (such as the fish), money (but only counterfeit), as described for canoe construction, and for example in Story 60, where, in addition to kesól, the fruits of the bel’tú bush must also be provided. Red bëtèlé leaves (probably red Croton kesól) are placed in the kliuéléng shrines. The offering of a fish that has been wounded by another (Story 200) is called kléudé tiáké (poss.: tikké) means offering to the gods of the sea, bleeúl to the gods of the land (Kub., VIII, pg. 295).

Magic and spells gôléi (poss. gôléi) play a large role in life. They are highly important during planting, fishing, house construction and canoe building, in short, in all of life’s activities. The magic songs 215-225 give clear examples of this. Kub., in Vol. V, pg. 5, names the following spells: dangasál “Cursing” of a person by handing over to the priest some hair from the person to be hurt, along with a piece of money. The priest places the hair in the shrine of the galid while praying. ougálúy buh = ougái = mean, bútú Areca nut. A spell is cast on the nut and it is given to the victim or laid in his basket, see ougálúy in Story 195.

hongéléop buhk = ougái = mean, bútú Areca nut. An item with a spell cast on it are scattered on the roof of the family to be hurt. arkíyl Shells with spells cast on them are laid in the house of the family to be hurt. hongobleókdé = gongobleókdé (mekélées to bury, Wall.). To bury an item with a spell cast on it under the house, for example a singed coconut shell (kor’imù), a piece of coral (morángel) with or without pottery shards (kar’imulé), a blossom from the kwá tree wrapped in two leaves. If the desired person does not die quickly, one sneaks back and pours ocean water on the spot. Kub. says the following about breaking the spell: “If an object is found, and there is an ill person in the house, one tries to attract safety by asking someone knowledgeable in Koskál if the object is poison or magic or not, which he will gladly say in exchange for payment. Once one is certain that the item is magic, someone knowledgeable in Agol is acquired, who must undertake the Mológpel, which he does willingly for payment. He takes that which he suspects to be destined for the channel, washes it off thoroughly, says an incantation over it, and leaves it lying in the water, so that it can wash out to sea. If this is not sufficient, they perform the mológpel sis, washing with Cordylina leaves, which they use to carefully paint the house.”— For amulets, primarily lap leaves are used; they are carried in the basket as a sign of good luck. Young coconut leaves (mlagei) and leaves of kóte are also used. lap leaves are believed to have the power to remind debtors of their debt (Stories 9 and 99).
Finally, there is a magic “trick” idāğ, used to hurt others. The possessive, udāgūl, appears in the secret incantations of the galil, for example in Story 137, udāgūl naa ĝīrāl, the latter referring to the holy number seven. Recall the 7 galil groups, the 7 bërōsicióng snakes in Story 128, the 7 construction spirits, and offerings consisting of 7 taro slices, the 7 rubak of Gōrē, the 7 cities of Ngaregōlōng, the 7 waves in Story 20 that destroyed Ngāru, the 7 blows in story 73. Also, the conch shell is blown 7 times in war, food is sent to the bōlōlōlī 7 times, 7 plōlōl are made for celebrations and there are 7 courses.

Soothsaying mangalil was previously mentioned above. Gōlōngkh of story 170 was a particularly famous fortune teller, for details see Stories 80a, 161, etc. The following terms are important: ałōng, amukē ġēl sign, ġēl sign, used to hurt others. The possessive, finally, there is a magic “trick”

1. Ongalsak a guyed to ask the clouds.
2. Hongāl mir mesīhūl a toālīl “recitation of the news provided by the channel.”
3. Omēu a lius “breaking of the coconut” (see above).
4. Malangwas a lap and a sngāl = melengō “looking up at the lap or sngāl’s tree,” performed by women with turtleshell plates in their hands, on which they are able to see the Galil through magical incantations.
5. Mangalil a mangāl “prophesy of the spider,” from observing it (see story 39)
6. Merō a gādēl = melik a gālēvēl “measuring of the spear.”
7. Mangāl a ĝīrēl = mengat a kēr lēl “winding the string” around the hand.
8. Mangāl a bākū = mangōl a bōlī “prophesy of the areca nut,” after it has been split.
9. Mangāl a gūlī “pondering” of a Galil woman about a little betel.
10. Omásak a dūy = omēu a dūy “counting the coconut frond,” split and tied into knots (see Carolinians during ocean voyages), see story 179.
11. Melingāol omūngūl = “puncturing of a coconut shell.”
12. Měngā et a kēr “winding the string” around the hand.
13. Marāsm a suk = merāsm a suk “sewing of sug leaves,” see the section on house construction, the part concerning roofs.
14. Mangāl a līn “From the Island of Angyār” (Ngēur) “A certain number of short pieces of equal length from the Palauan Uyud torch are set in a bowl of water, and every piece is said to be a certain country. Then the water is stirred lightly with a little stick, and based on how the pieces extinguish, conclusions are drawn about the fate of the countries in question.” This is certainly about the gūlī taboo sign.
15. Mangāl a tanālī = tangālī kingfisher.
16. Mangāl a Kossuk from the cry of the owl (gōlī) (see story 23).
17. Mangāl a bōsīlōl = bōsīlōl snake.
18. Mangāl a Wēhūl = uleogūl singed coconut, its cracks, etc. during singeing.
19. Homūsūlī little, torn-off leaves in small piles, then broken up into pairs.
20. Mangāl qar a mlai.
21. Mangāl qar a mlai.
22. Mangāl qar a mlai.
23. Mangāl qar a mlai.
24. Mangāl qar a mlai.
25. Mangāl qar a mlai.
26. Omāsak a domikel, see Nr. 11, “using three coconut leaf nerves,” in questionable cases, to show the spot where a lost item is located.
27. Oldūrak a kalkangūl “asking his fingers” gāłōnggōl, putting the tips of his fingers together, or information about other superstitions, see Story 65.

Apparently, the phases of the moon were also used for making prophesies, as Mc Chaar supposedly relates. But I could not find this claim in the original. Also important is the “questioning of flowers” in cases of death, more about this below. That is how one discovers who the wrongdoer is; the consequences are described in the case above.

Causes of Death.
Suicide was reported by Kub. in Vol. V, pg. 3. A man in Ngasagān threw himself from a palm tree out of love sickness. Another hung himself with a forest vine because of a fight with his family. I myself only know of one case of hanging in Samoa, without a doubt the most common type of suicide among primitive peoples. Kub. also reminds us of the voluntary death of Gōrē (see Story 174). In this case, the cause was mourning over the death of the lover. The woman threw herself on his body and pressed her nose against him so hard that she suffocated. Kub. Vol. IV, pg. 78: “Because they died an unnatural death, their spirits are feared and an honorable burial of their bodies in the family plot is not allowed. Like the corpses of those who have fallen in battle, they are buried on the spot where they ended their lives.”—

5. Worship of the Soul and of the Dead.
There is also a special work by Kubary about this: Kub., Vol. III “The burial of the dead on the Pelau Islands”; Kub. Vol. V also adds quite a bit. I shall report mainly on what I observed and heard myself, and I shall add the most important things from the literature.

The Soul
In living beings, one is aware of breath, the wind from the nose, so life is described as tīl (poss.: tīl). Also residing in the living body is the soul reng (poss.: rĕng), usually sounds like rŭng, the seat of the spirit and the mind. “Behavior” is called tōkói, the noun of melekói “talking speaking,” thus actually the “word,” the “talk.” Based on this they say that in daily life, when someone is acting properly, tōkói “good his behavior,” while a soft warm-heartedness is called ēngil a ēngil (gōlī) and “to wish” is called orenēg. Kub. Vol. V, pg. 2, uses the term “āngil” for the soul or all inner activity and mentions as a comparison that the arrow root powder is called “āngil a sosībō” and that of the turmeric “āngil a kōs.”

This is in line with my observations, because I was also told that the content of the kōs root is the turmeric powder ēngil, which is manufactured as a profession in the Central Carolines, primarily on Truk, from where it
This means, the larger part of the world has died, the smaller part has remained.

On the Southern tip of Ngeiar is also the golitummit, however, the whirlpool, which was discussed in the section on canoe building above. He who falls into it is forgotten for all time. The islanders believe that there are people who can see spirits and can recall them. Kub., Vol. V, pg. 8, reported on such a case from Pelliou. I refer also to Story 122, which reports of a recalling of a soul; then there is the magic Gomokt in Story 215; and especially the awakening of Milad in Story 19. The owl and, according to Wall., a small night bird called shubachôb are considered to be birds of the dead.

The last meal given to a dying person consists of pork, fish, blôl, sweets; it is called gosnergel a uláol “the burden of the floor.” Kub., Vol. III, pg. 4, says the following about dying: “When the ill person is at death’s door, when his breathing increases (onetyk a telli) and he finally calls out (ogorgel a telli), i.e. when the end is near, the closest relatives sit closely at his sides, and one of them goes outside to pick a few leaves from the rbélol tree and fetch some water, which is placed on the fire and awaits the passing. Once this has occurred (mukapâdë), the sister closes the eyes and lips on the corpse, and all of the women present perform the first Mani, weeping, whereupon the corpse is washed with warm water. This, like the entire handling of the corpse overall, is done by the sister and the wife. After the corpse has been washed, the rear (in the case of a woman the vagina, in the case of a man the opening of the urethra) is stuffed with Nanumuk, combed-out, soft fiber. 4-5 small balls of fiber wound around a finger are stuffed into the rear and into the vagina, the opening of the urethra is lightly covered with the fibers, and the foreskin is secured over the glans by tying with banana fibers. The corpse is then rubbed with oil and turmeric, and a man is given a fresh kloçoloth, the woman a skirt, which, according to her rank, is either the normal Bunan, or the Riryâmnel, or even the Ulâkë.”

He continues: “The corpses of women are surrounded by turtleshell plates,” depending on the wealth of the house, these might reach around the legs to the hips, in which case the plates are leaned against the body; or they may reach all the way up to the shoulders. In the case of a man, the hand basket is laid on his left side; fresh betel and tobacco are placed in it, and the money that has been taken from the widow (see above) is lined up around the edge; the axe is laid in his basket, and his war spear is leaned in front of the door. Below the chin is a piece of turmeric, the chin support Tkel a komellél (tkel a gomâsâl). The hair on the head is made into a single knot on the forehead, the way rich women who have just borne children wear it, or it is let down in two loose knots at the side.”—So much for Kubary. Now for my own observations: The Funeral Celebration gomölâl (Wall.: kemelâlë)

When a rubak has died, the ban against noise taor, which Gorâgel introduced, takes effect immediately (Story 13). Cooking in the Blai is also forbidden, which is why a shed ngolitul (Kub., Vol. III, pg. 7) is built for that (see the section on the canoe cart).

The dead body is laid on a bier gomulâsâgel (Wall. chomesoâchel), which consists of two long bamboo poles with cross rods made of bamboo or, in the case of wealthy people, made of split Areca leaf stalks. The first families use a long tiiled bench, and in Ngeiar, there is even a family that has the right to use a large two-pounding board (ngor) as a bier. The bier is covered with the gorîvat skirts of the women of the family, and with 6-10 mats are laid over this. The corpse is painted with turmeric yellow, and it is powdered thickly with turmeric powder. The bier is placed in the central door of the blai in such a way that the head of the corpse is situated outside the door (Figs. 221 and 222). Because the door of a blai, as mentioned above, is supposed to face North, the head also points in that direction, so that the dead person can see Ngeiar, where his soul will go.

In the case of a dying person, one always thinks at the same time of its independence after death. There are certain ceremonies and is used almost everywhere in those areas, also on Palau, for painting and preparing corpses. On Samos, this powder is called lenga, in Rarotonga reng. On Palau, the word means “egg yolk, sediment,” etc., i.e. the content of a thing. The yellow powder is simply the content of the turmeric root, like the soul is the content of the body. But the possesive of reng is rengâl, as can be seen in Vol. 2 and above; if reng = lenga, it would have to be rengâk.

The Igorots (more correctly Igolots) on Luzon call the soul of a living person lengág, and since their g is often used interchangeably with k, this could easily mean “my soul.” On the other hand, the familiar orange dye used in Persia hair coloring from Lawsonia = henna, and the addition of powdered indigo leaves is called reng. If these words are to be considered related, which is possible according to various examples, it would be two words, lenga and lenga. In Samos, in addition to lenga, there is also pemu, the shavings of the root, from which the dye is extracted. So we shall reserve judgment in this case. The word reng thus refers to the emotional “content” of a person, i.e. “soul.” Kub., Vol. V, pg. 2, however, also says: “the soul residing in the living person is called “adalbengél is just the name for the soul during life, derived from ďalél, spirit, after the delép, spirit, the same delép, the escaped soul. Story 173 confesses this. W. W. Gill calls those who restore wandering souls in Rarotonga the beneficent spirits, likewise even special magicians who know how to restore the soul to the body, ošilél a delép, the escaped soul. Story 173 mentions this. From Bublabao, the soul makes its way over Malagal, where it bathes in the spring. Wandering farther South, it jumps off of the southern point of Pelilliu, from the Ngañkromâl stone, which is on the Southern side of the island Bittang, and then swims to a Ngeiar. Once there, it flies to the wide, gently sloping sand beach in the Southwest, Ngishirâg, also called Ngaulâg, the famous beach of departed souls, the arungâl. There is a bridge there where the spirit must cross; it is guarded by an old woman. If the delép has no holes in its nose or ears, so that a ber sébó ngel snake can be inserted, the old woman pushes him off the bridge into the deep, where there is a kim shell that closes and pinches him.

For this reason, people without piercings are given money on their journey, to pay the female guard. For male corpses, a piece of money is placed in their tet basket while they are awaiting burial; for women, it is placed in their little gotungel bag, which is removed before burial, however, because only the shadow of the object is supposed to go accompanied the body. In the same way, only money symbolically carved from the turmeric root is offered to the Gaul, as just mentioned in the discussion on offerings. Apparently, the spirits remain a long time on the beach of Ngdelog, where they dance and hold their celebrations. The natives also say that they occasionally set up pieces of driftwood, especially during the new moon (see Story 173b), when they can be heard singing:

kiki! ng mattul na Bêllou mél go kekiwel ma mánõûmâng a lîlêlél na ng kikë, us! hello! split is Palau and his thick part has already come his thin part however remains, us! 
The women sing the songs of lament in the house, mainly during the night, with each of them taking up her own lament.

Outsiders who come to sing are given gifts of turtleshell items (gekúr Kuh.) for their trouble, or Avicula bowls (rúdĕl), as He. determined. In the case of high-ranking rubak, the following day there is a diágăs celebration, called galáng in Ngaregolóng. diágăs is what young taro plants are called in Gorér, which are usually called dáit. One woman who wears her hair loose and hanging down puts two of these on her head; the roots are painted yellow, and each leaf is tied up fist-sized (Fig. 222). The woman climbs onto the gólbed pavement in front of the blai and stands in front of the bier, her face turned away from it, so that the taro leaves hang in the air over the body of the dead person. Now and then, a woman’s hand can be seen reaching out of the house and grabbing the plants and sometimes breaking off a stem. After some time, the woman places the two plants on a rack (Fig. 223) that has been constructed nearby. This rack consists of two poles placed across two forked sticks. The taro plants are left lying there for some time, and their shadows are meant to accompany the soul of the dead person, to serve as his or her food. For information about the planting of it, see below.

In Naggoł, people are buried in boxes or coffins (Wall. kiură, poss.: kiurúl “lockable box”) (see Vol. 2), a split titímĕl trunk hollowed out by men from Ngari. When the casket is delivered, a mock fight takes place on the beach in Naggoł, because the bearers strive to prevent the block of wood from being pulled up (see also the fight over the corpse in Story 31a), and they even go so far as to cut through the ropes until they are appeased with counterfeit money.

The people of the friendly house in this case also make an ogáro (Kuh. maañoharo), with the participation of the women of Ngarengasáng, who go so far as to paint themselves with pictures of genitalia and sing obscene songs until they have been appeased with gifts. — In Gorér, I saw a large wooden coffin at the house of a ñbedul, which stood ready for the old man, who was seriously ill.

At the same time, assuming the person is not buried in a coffin or in simple burial cloths, the sewing up of the body in mats márasm ra blsókl “sewing of the corpse bundle” (see Story 71) begins. 6-12 mats for the dead are used for this, depending on wealth; these mats are described above. Each mat is later paid for with a galábad banquet.

The women who wash the corpse and sew it up, that is, all those who touch it, are secluded afterwards for 10 days and are considered mea. In general, burial gifts are not placed in the bundle or grave. Kuh., Vol. V, pg. 8, however, speaks of diál’ (ship) money for women, because they are supposed to reach the other side in a vehicle, or because they will otherwise fall into the kim. Kuh., pg. 9 says that when a mother dies during childbirth, her spirit comes and calls for her child. For this reason, a piece of banana tree trunk is placed between her right arm and her breast, and her hand basket is placed at her left side. Finally, Ham. heard that the Conus bracelets are intended for placement in the grave and are not worn (see above).
After the ceremony, a woman speaks:

*a i mede Ngira*
*ra ungí a nágéél a sîls*
*ē ngomíkl a kerséél i morbâh*

Just as Ngira... died
just at noon,
his kins rises.

After this, an awful noise begins, which is created using all manner of items imaginable, by banging together pieces of wood, stones, etc. Everyone participates, achieving a rather impressive effect, and scaring away the evil spirits. In Ngarmíd, this noise was kept up for almost a quarter of an hour. I was told that it only takes place for the title Gad l bai. Shortly after the noise, the bîngur banquet is held (see gólengěl). The women who have come as guests receive syrup to take home, the men do not. ìlóót plays a large role at funeral ceremonies, as Stories 13 and 73, and bai 2 VIIa demonstrate. After this, the rubâk from the dead person’s village arrive. One brings the délîakl dúi “recipient of the title.” This consists of two coconut fronds (a) tied in an intricate knot, through the eye of which a small taro plant is stuck (Fig. 224b). With this bundle in hand, he walks around the dead person and says:

*ak ultúruk reka u e Ugéläng*
*I plead with you, Ugélängĕd,*

*kau ma ra bldekél l tial blai*
you and the spirit of this house,

*ē ak mélîsî ra dâul a Gádlbat*
*I take the title of Gádlbai*

*rê gêlagál sîls.*
on this day.

Gádlbang, kau di a l medeī Gádlbai, you are just dead,

*meng di moxbăh a règûm* and you know it in your heart,

*I ke di múl delebāob, rubâk,*
you were just indifferent, Rubâk,

*I ‘ka mul e mur ra rubâk,*
you made not feasts for the chiefs

*ma ‘ka m ngílu a tal songd* and you made also not a branch;

*ē mágá tuobókl ma ke marâel* you went down, and you wander

*ē di ungîl a règûm* with contented heart

*ma ko ngatangati a moimbák lagûd* and you bless him, the high man,

*e ngatangaták!* and may he bless me!

The title is thus transferred to the délîakl bundle, which is then stuck into the interior wall of the blài, near the bottom-most gongasagăkl stake. In the meantime, the grave (debel, poss.: debél) has been dug, in the gólbed pavement in front of the house, facing in the direction of the gólbed. It is dug 1-2 m deep, with a niche at the side at that depth, into which the shrouded body is placed after it has been wrapped in the rough golübôd mat. The entrance to the chamber is closed by laying wooden poles at an angle, with mats over them, so that, when the shaft is filled with dirt, the small chamber remains free of dirt.

If no side chamber is made, the mat with the shrouded corpse is laid at the bottom of the shaft and the stakes are laid over it, resting on two ledges in the dirt, so that a chamber is created here, as well. The grave diggers throw dirt on the mat with their hands and stomp it down. Once the level of the gólbed has been reached, a layer of stones is spread out, followed by a mound of earth. There may be obstacles to the burial, however, such as the incident caused by the “friend” (see above). The wild, often obscene songs and dances of friendly Blâi or higher-ranking rubâk wives, called ogaro, also have the purpose of extorting gifts, often money, even if only symbolically. Kub., Vol. III, pg. 8, says at the end: “Before the body is removed from the door, everyone says their final farewell to the dead one, whose face is still uncovered. Each one in turn touches the face with their nose, while the heir himself or one of the older cousins grabs the basket hung with money and quickly leaves. The aunts say nothing about this, and the widow calls out as a formality: “The basket!”—This was previously discussed. But the customs vary, depending on the village and family. Usually, the title is transferred and the corpse is sewn up
in the house already. Now the burial melákl (Kub. melwosu, which means “to duck” according to Wall.) begins. The corpse’s head is placed facing East, just as the main gable of the bai is supposed to face East. The délakl bundle remains on the lowest of the 6 gongasagákl stakes until the grave is covered with stones (about 9 days later). It is placed on the 2nd gongasákl counted from the bottom, when the dépés celebration, the end of his nourishment, is held about 10 days later; the meal consists of pork and taro. It is stuck on the third stake by the uldekiál a dui, on the fourth by the udóimtú, on the fifth by the bai l blai; the délakl remains there until it rots.

On the third day, in the morning, the food for the spirit kal (kelél) a delép is heaped in front of the house door; this consists of a large pile of raw taro, which belongs to the friend of the deceased by law. On the fourth evening, after the burial, the family usually consults the oracle of the flowers “olîrûrk ra sis” (Kub.: marad a sis), asking the spirit of the departed what caused his demise. Two women, wearing elaborate ornamentation, go into the bush, tie a bouquet of red sis leaves of the Dracaena. These have been washed with oil and rubbed with turmeric yellow, so that they have a strong odor. They add long grasses and flower clusters to this, zig-zag-shaped, like lightning, with ornamentation (Fig. 226). The bouquet is wrapped in a mat. In the evening, in the blai, after darkness descends, a woman takes the sis bouquet out of the mat, wraps a piece of cloth around the stem, and stands it up on the floor in the middle of the house and holds it there by hand. Those present call out the possible causes of death, in particular they name the galid who may have brought it about. If the bouquet begins to quiver, or if it spins or falls over, they know that they have hit on the right answer. Someone says, for example:

ngar’rag lă galíd aurakt rekau monggoblóng;  
Any Galid you sick, you he killed;
görengi, görengi, a ngoi kau.  
that is it, that is it, it took you.

When the bouquet quivers, everyone calls out. After this test, the bouquet is taken outside and set up in front of the house, on a bamboo pole that has been expanded like a basket at the top. The little split sticks are held together at the base by a doud = binding (Fig. 226). The bouquet is placed into this basket. The rubak’s clothes and tet basket are also hung on a stake, so that the spirit, when it starts its journey to Ngeaur on the fifth morning, can take along the shadow of all of these things, which ensures he will be favorably received in the kingdom of the dead. On this day, the galábad banquet previously mentioned takes place, a dish of boiled taro leaf stems with syrup poured over them, accompanied by fish, pork, taro, etc.

On the fifth day, it is also customary to crack a coconut, as already described above in the discussion on the woman who has just given birth. In this case, however, it is done using a shell called gongoseliól or gomu, whose hinged part smashes the shell. This takes place on the other side of the golbed and is meant to lift the mea, so that everyone can now break and scrape coconuts again in or around the blai, etc, and the women may leave the house of mourning (see Story 48).

At first, the burial mound consists only of dirt. Kub., Vol. II, pg. 9, says that it is adorned with a mat with gerálu blossoms and kesúk leaves; but this is probably just a local custom. On the other hand, it is generally the case that the two taro plants are planted at the head and the foot of the grave, after the tubers have been cut off. If they thrive, this is taken to be a good omen for the successor. They cannot remain undamaged for long, however, if the bbil a débl, the “burial hut” is constructed. This is usually just a roof, but can often be quite expansive, as Fig. 227 shows. We saw a hut like this after the death of a youth from the Nr. 1 family a ldd. In that case, three of his sisters held a vigil by the grave in this hut. The inhabitants give part of the food that comes in to the dead person, and they pour some of the beverages on the ground. Later, the women occasionally bring the dead one some betel (bai 59 ii b). After about 9 days, the hut is removed, and the stones are placed on the golbed, so that it looks as it did before. The period of mourning, however, lasts a long time, especially for high-ranking chiefs, as described in

![Taro corms piled up on stands for a feast. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.](image-url)
Burial taking place in Ngarbaged, Goreor. Below: Carrying the body bundle from the blai to the grave site.

Above: Lowering the body bundle into the grave
Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.

Below: Family by the new grave.
Cremation is not practiced, only punishment by burning at the stake. In the case of the chiefs of Ngarsung, the corpse is said to be retrieved by the death crab (Story 16). Great, beloved heroes were occasionally mummi-fied, as shown in Story 204 of Ugélregulsāng. This was done by rubbing the body with oil and lime, slitting the skin, and smoking. The natives avoid contact with the blood of the dead, because they believe it causes illness. The natives avoid contact with the blood of the dead, because they believe it causes illness.

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One example of a large family keblīl is shown by the keblīl of a Ugelisors of bai Nr. IX Meril of Goróor. A Ugelisors is listed as the title-holding woman of bai Nr. VIII Ngiranguñ (that is the way the chiefs and William himself as translator relayed it to me. Now he reports, however, that the titles of the women must be switched between VIII and IX. It is incomprehensible that the specifications in the main village Goréōr, where I stayed for so long and had excellent relationships with the rubak, could hide such an error; on the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that there was a change after 1910. So, this correction needs to be entered in Vol. 2, as above for Nr. iii and iv. The large family keblīl named after a titled woman is as follows: Arabic numerals in parentheses denote SS from Vol. 2, while roman numerals indicate the Nr. of the rubak; the totem animals (deities) are usually fish.

Village & rubak & rubak women & totem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>bai</th>
<th>rubak</th>
<th>rubak women</th>
<th>totem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gorōōr (216)</td>
<td>Ngaramerf IX</td>
<td>Kidngul IX ra Merf</td>
<td>α Ugelisors</td>
<td>Turang (Octopus gorsuśul) fish (Fig. 210) derādām līdēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ngerokos-banāng (259)</td>
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<td>Rūgālāf VI</td>
<td>Dira Godilāng</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Ngatkīp (199)</td>
<td>Ngaramang-grang X</td>
<td>Gadilāñ X</td>
<td>Dīl a Gadilāñ Kekerēlādil a Gadilāñ</td>
<td>Turang (Octopus bang kludēl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Ngurusāng (196)</td>
<td>Ngirēugul V (gōvōl)</td>
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<td>5. Ngırastōng (193)</td>
<td>Gāsel I</td>
<td>Spis I</td>
<td>Gōdilānglagālar I V</td>
<td>Dīl a Gadilāñ (Octopus u māng) (‘crab)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Ngiragālōk (125)</td>
<td>Gōbilāñ (coe)</td>
<td>Ngerākēlāñ VII</td>
<td>Dirīkālāra Gēbil</td>
<td>Gōbolīgsāli (moray eel derādām kludēl)</td>
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Melekēiōk. Likewise for every rubak bai keblīl of which only the four primary ones appear, divided into two, with the ranking of the rubak.

Ngōlōng & keblīl

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngōlōng</th>
<th>rebāi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gōgōlāñ (keblīl Nr. I)</td>
<td>Gōmerāng (keblīl. Nr. II a Gum)</td>
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<tr>
<td>a Rakālī I</td>
<td>Gōrēbōng II</td>
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<td>Sagamarēng V</td>
<td>Gōlīkōng VIII</td>
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<td>Rengīl XII</td>
<td>Tiŋēlī XI</td>
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<td>Ngirātēkēu IX</td>
<td>Ngerāngō V Δ X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mad ra ngāl IIX</td>
<td>Isokeli X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tkal a gudāl</td>
<td>Med</td>
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Appendix

As mentioned in the foreword, in the spring I received a piece of work from William Gibbon, in which a whole series of clans are recorded in detail. William divides each keblīl into two sides, a front side and a back side, ngōlōng and rebāi, as can be seen in the bai and bai sections. This division can be traced back to the two bai. Therefore for every rubak bai 1 keblīl, of which only the four primary ones appear, divided into two, with the ranking of the rubak.

Keblīl of Meketi Gorōēr.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngōlōng = side</th>
<th>rebāi = side</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Gōgōlāñ (keblīl Nr. I)</td>
<td>a Ibeald I</td>
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<td>b Mad XII</td>
<td>a Gōnirakēlāñ II</td>
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<tr>
<td>c Dērābā XIV</td>
<td>b Remērāng XVII</td>
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<tr>
<td>d Gōkērēl XVIII</td>
<td>c a Gūlēl XV</td>
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<tr>
<td>e Gōirāmerf IX</td>
<td>d Mēdēlōng XVII</td>
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<tr>
<td>f Gōirāsāng (111)</td>
<td>g Gōbilāñ (bα)</td>
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<tr>
<td>h Gōbōlīkōng VIII</td>
<td>i Gōbōlīkōng VIII</td>
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ulegáro                           uleko
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ulengi=t                       ulengâl
ulengöol                        ulökel
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ulekông                         ulechoch
Ulök                           ulöch
uleködâger                    ulekedâger
ulsârs                          ulörs
uôrok                           uorech
uôsög                           usöech
uregedak                      urechedak
uregereger l miïeg            Úrekerk el miich
urodekël                      uredechel
urodog                          urodech
uroðôk                        urodech
treël                          utecherk
vag e dil                     oach dil
vâk                             oach
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vaci                           ŋek
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Please note this copy is read-only, and not suitable for sharp printing.

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All proceeds from this non-profit translation project will be used to re-print these books.