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ON THE MEANING OF KALOU AND THE ORIGIN OF FIJIAN
TEMPLES.

BY A. M. HOCART.

To assert that most of the Europeans who lived in heathen Fiji quite misconceived its religious beliefs may seem presumption in such as have only come to know that country twenty-five years after its final Christianization. But we shall call in the word *kalou* as witness to the truth of this charge, and to the misrepresentations to which Fijian religion has been subject notwithstanding that Fison had suggested its true nature and that Dr. Codrington guessed the truth from very inadequate data.

Hazlewood defines the word thus: "A god, also a falling star which the natives took for a god . . . Kalou is used to denote anything superlative, whether good or bad."¹ Williams writes: "The native word expressive of divinity is *kalou*, which, while used to denote the people's highest notion of a god, is also constantly heard as a qualificative of anything great or marvellous. . . . Unless, as seems probable, the root-meaning of the term is that of wonder and astonishment, etc."² Mr. Basil Thomson repeats Hazlewood and Williams almost verbally, and seems quite satisfied with them.³ And yet the meaning is so obvious that one feels almost ashamed to fill paper trying to prove it, nor did it escape Fison's good sense when he was "inclined to think all the spiritual beings of Fiji, including the gods, simply the Mota *tamate*."⁴ The only correction we should make is to cut out the "inclined to think" and remove the objectionable "gods," which has caused all the trouble.

The confusion is the less excusable as the true meaning of *kalou* is recoverable even to the present day from the language of children in the Lau or Eastern group, where Christianity has now been supreme for some seventy years; only we must first be aware of the equation *tevoru* = *timoni* = *kalou*.

The second of these words is, of course, our "demon"; it is used chiefly in the Eastern Islands; but *tevoru* has now become naturalized in the language all over the group, and is apt to pass itself off both on whites and natives as of Fijian origin, much to the detriment of anthropology. It will be of some service to expose the impostor, who is none other but our own word devil as pronounced by the Tahitian

¹ *Fijian Dictionary*, s.v., *kalou*.

³ *The Fijians*, p. 111 f.

² *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. i, p. 216.

⁴ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 122.

teachers who first brought Christianity to Fiji.¹ Now since *tevoru* possesses meanings never held by its English original, it must have usurped the functions of some native term, and we should fix upon *kalou* as the dispossessed noun, even if all the men who remembered heathendom were extinct. But there are still enough living to save us from the uncertainty of inference; Seremaia of Kalambu² says *tevoru* came in with Christianity, the old word is *kalou*. Inia of Tamavua³ holds the same opinion. Avetaia Kurundua, the ancient chief of Vuna on the Waimanu, is an authority full of weight, for not only has he fought on the heathen side against Mbau, but he has intelligence and a clear style not at all common among Fijians: he avers that *kalou* alone existed of old, and *tevoru* was unknown. I have been told by a white man that the people of Senggangga in Madhuata, the scene of the last heathen revolt, still exclaim "*kalou*" on seeing an apparition, and a Madhuata boy confirms this. Nor has the word completely surrendered yet to the intruder even in Lau; for a boy who was kicked down by another defiantly asked his antagonist "Are you a devouring *kalou* (*kalou kana*)"? which another explained as devouring *tevoru* (*tevoru kana*). Keni informs me that even in Vanua Mbalavu the old men still use *kalou* for *tevoru*; and this is noticeable also in Lakemba.

Having established our equation, let us look into the meaning of *tevoru*. Alipate Vola, a young but intelligent Lakemban, distinguishes three classes: (1) *tevoru* simply; (2) *vu*; (3) *luveniwai*. The *vu* are the so-called gods; they are also termed *tevoru vu*, and not uncommonly (invariably by the old men) *kalou vu*, though the latter is getting to be obsolete and does not seem to be always understood by the young. On the other hand, the author of an essay on the decline of native population,⁴ rejects *tevoru* as implying evil works and reinstates them as *kalou vu*.

The *tevoru* proper are the souls of the dead (*yalo ni mate*) as everyone in Fiji knows or ought to know, and as the following instances will sufficiently prove:—

When the boys of the Provincial School of Lau were still new to the place, they stood in great dread of *tevoru*, because there were no less than three burial places in the grounds, and one quite close to the dormitories, too; nor were these fears unshared by the adults. Quite recently an old man, born in heathen days, brought a Tongan visitor to have a look at the school; on their return home they both fell ill: "That hill is an evil spot," he said to me, "it is inhabited (*tawa*); there are too many *tevoru* there, plenty of graves, everybody who goes there falls ill; the last steward was in a serious condition and when treated with *taitshi* medicine revealed that a 'thorny chief' (*turanga votovoloa*) buried there had smitten him." The Lord of Nayau once sent word to his nephew not to go down to the village alone at night as the chiefs lay buried on the hill and might do him a hurt.

One of the scholars being isolated in a small house came to see me with tears in his eyes, and asked leave to sleep in the dormitory, because a man had been

¹ The Tongan is *tevolo*; the Samoan, according to Williams' *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, *devo*.

² Age about 50.

³ Naitasiri tribe near Suva.

⁴ See *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1912.

buried that day within the grounds, and he was therefore afraid of *tevoru*. A death down in the village was enough to frighten Poasa, who announced to a friend that he would beard the rules and sleep two in a bed rather than lie alone when a *tevoru* was abroad. Tarongi getting up at night saw a *tevoru* go from the assistant-master's house to the graveyard: he knew it to be a *tevoru* because his hair stood on end at the sight. Not long ago he thought he had seen a *tevoru* in the night and put it down to some human bones kept in the school. "I dare not cut firewood near the grave," said Ilaitsha, "lest the *tevoru* smite me."

Melaia Lutu, a learned old lady, once asked me: "Have you seen *tevoru* in Europe? the ghosts of the dead you know,"¹ and proceeded to relate how a half-caste, recently lost at sea, came in the night and sat on Loata's chest, that she cried out and awoke.

The *taitshi* is a common disease in Lau; the name is merely Tahiti pronounced in Lauan fashion, and is due to its introduction by the Tahitian teachers. It is caused by a *tevoru*, who deprives the patient of consciousness. In one of the two cases that came to my notice the patient had delirium and pains in the stomach. Those present declared a *tevoru* was devouring him (*e kania a tevoru*); when the leech² asked him the name of the *tevoru*, he said it was Koroiravotu, a man of Levuka in Lakemba, who died before the patient's time. The causes of *taitshi* are souls of the dead (*yalo ni mate*) and also *tevoru vu*.

I cannot omit here a very instructive case: one Sunday as I passed by a graveyard in company with an intelligent boy, a woman was weeping by a newly made grave; the boy was shocked: it looked heathenish,³ it might do on a week day, but on a Sunday! . . . It would not be so bad if she had company with her, drinking kava. In vain I argued that sorrowing over the dead was legitimate; he retorted that she might mourn at home, and was not to be convinced but it was heathenish. The temptation to moralize upon this is too strong to be resisted; how dangerous it is for anyone to pull down native beliefs to make room for new ones, unless he thoroughly understands that with which he is doing away, lest the good be destroyed with the bad. The early missionaries, with their heads full of Kings and Chronicles and Greek mythology, saw nothing in Fijian religion but what they had been accustomed to expect; they mistook *kalou* for god, stripped the imagined deities of this supposed honourable title, and branded them as devils, unwitting that they were attaching infamy to departed souls, making mourning at tombs a heathenish and evil practice, and forbidding visible supports of pious remembrance to a people who think little of what they do not see and whom they already accused of a want of natural affection.

To return to our business, I have heard a wraith (*yalo mbula* = living spirit) spoken of as a *tevoru*, though contrasted with true *tevoru* (*tevoru ndina*). An

¹ ". . . a *tevoru mai Papalangi, a yalo ni mate ya.*" *Ya* has the force of you know, of course.

² I propose to use the word technically.

³ *Vakatevoru*: the word used to translate our "heathen"; it means literally "possessing devils" or devil-like.

intelligent boy whom I consulted on the correctness of it was quite positive at first that a wraith is a *tevoru*, then added the qualification that it "was so reckoned in part only."¹

I can cap this, however, for I have heard the word applied to the living: the tribe of Ndereivalu on the Udhiwai² used to hold a ceremony of removing the ashes from the fireplace, the *luku ndravu*, as it is called among them, *ta ndravu* among the coast people; they would make an offering of taro to "the old, weak, and white-haired men who are *tevoru*, are nearly dead."³ A similar usage was found by Dr. Rivers and myself in Mandegusu, Solomon Islands⁴; a very old man was asked to be propitious (*mana*) to the fishing because he was "all same *tomate*," *tomate* meaning the dead.

Williams founded his definition of *kalou* on its use to express admiration, but *tevoru* is now used in precisely the same way, an additional proof that it has taken the place of *kalou*, since *tevoru* was intended to defame the "gods" and not as a compliment. A native composer once excused himself from teaching my school boys music with the flattery that he was afraid of the "white *tevoru*," who knew more than he did, and would pick holes in his performance. In the same way our Solomon Islanders would compare whites to *tomate* for cleverness.

To the three classes of *tevoru* there used to correspond three classes of *kalou*: (1) *kalou yalo* or ghost; (2) *kalou vu*; (3) *kalou rere*.

It was not so very long ago that the word ceased to designate ghosts in the interior of Viti Levu, as the following story will show: A child died in Serea in the morning; Medhawatu went off to plant, expecting it would be buried before he returned in the evening. While he was away the young men tied a string to his mosquito net. On his return he found the child unburied and the people wailing; vexed and grumbling he went into his house; as he squatted down to stir the fire he noticed that his mosquito net was moving: "A *kalou*!" he exclaimed, and taking an axe dealt it a great blow, ruining mats and net. He was much annoyed on discovering there was no *kalou* after all.

It is doubtful how far even now the word *tevoru* is reserved for whites, and *kalou* still reigns in their private talk.

According to Malani (in Genealogy, p. 444) if a ghost (*yalo ni mate*) appeared they would say: "So and so has come as a *kalou*."⁵

"Apparitions were formerly called *kalou*," says Seremaia of Kalambu; if a man was buried they called him their *kalou*, and *vanua kalou* (place of *kalou*) was synonymous for grave. In Sawani, the chief village of Vuna, the *kalou vu*, Tuleka,

¹ *E wili vaka tikina nga.*

² In the maps called Wainimala, but I have been assured that the Wainimala is from Undu upwards, in Nakorosule the proper name is Na Udhiwai; the people of Nandereivalu did not seem certain about their bit.

³ *Na nggase malumalumu sikosikoa sa tevoru tu sa voleka ni mate.*

⁴ Also called Eddystone; the Narovo of the charts and Simbo of the residents.

⁵ "*Sa lako vakalou mai ko Ka.*" In his young days both *tevoru* and *kalou* were used for ghosts of the dead.

was only a slayer of souls and had no practical importance: they had recourse chiefly to *kalou yalo*, or souls of the dead, especially in war. When they saw a shooting star they would exclaim: "O! a *dhavu na kalou*." (O! the *kalou* is rushing past.) Avetaia Kurundua thought these *kalou* were the souls of men or *kalou vu* that live in the bush, he could not quite tell which.

It was a universal custom to invoke the ghosts of fathers and remoter ancestors. The Lord of Tumbou in Lakemba¹ says: "Houses were sometimes built on graves as peace-offerings (*isoro*) on behalf of a sick child; for a father at his death became the *kalou* of his son. Feasts and many other sacrifices were made to the souls of men; in offering them up they mentioned the father's name in the prayer." Saimone Ngonedha, of Nakorosule, states: "If my father died he was my *kalou* and *kalou* of the whole clan also." When Seeman² visited Namosi a number of Seruans were slain and eaten: "One leg was said to have been deposited at the grove (? grave) of Viriulu, the deceased king and father of Kurunduandua."

This cult of the dead goes on at the present day in secret; examples of witchcraft are very hard to obtain, but I know of one which originally came from Kandavu. The details are irrelevant here, suffice it to mention that the present holder in burying the fatal leaves invokes his *kalou* to kill so and so; now this *kalou* is none other than Panipasa, the informant's great-grandfather, and it is the rule of this charm that a man calls upon his great-grandfather: "By him is the charm effective."³

I shall translate Saimone Ngonedha's account⁴ how the soul of the dead is secured: "Now the son of the deceased nobleman (*turanga*) went to bring their ancient club or spear to stick it on the grave over the dead man's head. . . . As for that club which stood over the dead man's head on the grave, four nights after the death three or four sons (*luvena*) or brothers (*tadhina*) of the man painted themselves; they decked themselves out very bravely as if apparelled for war; they bore their weapons, then they went to the grave to pull out the club to carry it to the shrine (*mbure*); they might not meet on the way with any man till they reached the house (*mbure*) that was its shrine. The name of the club was the soul of the dead (*yalo ni mate*). It [the *yalo ni mate*] was found in the various families of the noble or common clans⁵ in the several families in their several shrines (*mbure*). . . . The name of that shrine was the *mbure kalou*, it was ministered to (*nggaravi*) as the spirit of war (*kalou ni ivalu*) or spirit of sickness (*i.e.*, that heals sickness), or spirit of plantations or fishing, or animals, (*i.e.*, hunting). It was the complement (*ikuri*) of the ancestral spirit (*kalou vu*) or great spirit (*kalou levu*)." I have

¹ Really a Matuku man; he has seen heathen days.

² *Mission to Viti*, Macmillan & Co., 1862, p. 174.

³ *Koi koya ka yanga kina na wai*.

⁴ He was working in Taveuni for muskets when the annexation took place; he has an astounding memory, is an inexhaustible talker, and an unusually good narrator for a Fijian.

⁵ Fijian clans (*matangali*) are not, as a rule, exogamous at the present day.

found the same custom among the tribes of Nandereivalu, Emalu,¹ and Nambombudho; the informants mentioned no cult of the club, but all agreed in calling it “*yalo*,” and keeping it in the house; the Noiemalu carry the club to war. In Nanggelewai they also mentioned a custom of sticking a club on the grave with the words: “This is thy club; let us kill a man in war.” This appears to be a distinct rite, for the club was left to rot. The ancient *kalou* have been cast out by Church and State, but into many a house thus swept clean they have returned in force and thinly disguised as *luveniwai sauturanga*, and such like, so that the last state is often worse than the first. It is interesting, therefore, to know that their votaries commonly bring clubs and staves to the medium (*vaninduvu*) to be anointed with kava and become the house or shrine (*mbure*) of their “friend,” as the guardian spirit is called. I possess such a staff, the abode of “Lindinayaseyase,” but the medium had one inhabited by no less than five hundred.

Along the lower Rewa there used to exist a class of ghosts known as *kalou turanga*, or noble *kalou*. In Tamavua they were ministered to by the “Noble Family” (*yavusa turanga*), a branch presumably bastard or cadet of the chiefly family. “These ghosts had no names, so numerous were they; they are the chiefs that are *kalou*. . . . They say they are the ghosts of the chiefs that die and go to stay in Nadhau. . . . In the prayer to the *kalou turanga* they enumerated all the graves of chiefs.” The Ravu Sambe were dangerous ghosts (*kalou*) that smote men: “They are the ghosts of irascible chiefs; . . . it was their character formerly (*i.e.*, in their lifetime), chiefs that used to kill men for eating a big fish or stealing a woman.”

Avetaia Kurundua’s grandfather was a “*kalou*”; his ghost used to enter a jar (*sangga*) on the *kaurua*,² and announce his coming by a rattling (*tanggiringgiri*) inside. The souls of common people (*tamata kaisi*) were also ministered to (*nnggaravi*) but they had their several little shrines; there were the souls of the headmen of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*): if a man died he became a *kalou*.³ The souls of chiefs (*yalo ni turanga*) entered the parrot (*keula*). The tribe of Lomaivuna, which centres round Viria, was once part of the same tribe as Vuna; they also have a *kalou vu* called Tainaki, and *kalou turanga*, which are the souls of chiefs, both have the hawk as the vessel (*wangga*) into which they enter.

A little further up the Rewa in Natavea they only made offerings (*soro*) to the souls of the dead, and made them in the *kalou* shrine (*mbure kalou*); these souls of the dead were described as “owning *kalou*” (*kalou itaukei*),⁴ the chiefs that died of

¹ Always called Noiemalu (Mr. Ad. Joske wrongly spells Nuyamalu); but *noi*, as Fison pointed out, means dwellers in, and therefore, to be consistent, we must either speak of the Kai Nandereivalu and the Noiemalu, or else of the men of Nandereivalu and Emalu.

² The two parallel tie beams at the end of a house.

³ *Kevaka sa mate, sa kalou nga: sa* has a positive force, as my authority on grammar puts it, “there is no disputing it (*veimba*), it is heavy (*mbimbi*), whereas *e* would be light (*mamanda*).” *Ga* indicates, according to the same authority, that he is *kalou* from his death onward, without *nga* it would mean merely that he is *kalou* at the time of his death.

⁴ *Itaukei*, owner, is the title of chiefs about these parts.

old to whom offerings were made; they made no offerings to the souls of common people.¹ One informant went so far as to say: "If a man worships a stone, a ghost of the dead is there; they had no other *kalou*. Our bird was the parrot (*kula*), that ghost (*kalou yalo*) entered the parrot to go with them to battle. . . . The souls of common men did not enter animals." A second visit to the same tribe failed to obtain a repetition of this most important statement, no wonder since in Fiji it is only one in a thousand that can think clearly, and the right man was not there; but the existence of *kalou yalo* was confirmed, though the rather dull teacher could not offer any explanation of the term; he thought, however, that Roko Semba, their "god," must have been a man.²

We should expect that going still further inland these souls of the dead would overspread the whole religious system allowing the *kalou vu* merely to peep through; but strangely enough from the junction of the Udhiwai and the Wainimbuka upwards these latter are master again, with this difference, however, that they stand at the head of the pedigrees, and do not go further back than eight or nine generations, whereas no east coast pedigree (excepting Moala) ever seems to get back to the *kalou vu*; moreover, private deities certainly flourished under the shadow of the *vu*, whereas, on the coast, they seem to have declined, just as the common people have gone down with the rise of the chiefs.

The *kalou vu* are sharply distinguished from *kalou yalo* in most places; it is doubtful how far this is due to the influence of missionary teaching; it is hard to find an old man who can expound the days of his youth, and the middle-aged men, our main hope, though accurate in facts, have been influenced theoretically by the doctrine that the "gods" are fallen angels anterior to the creation, and if the new heathendom denies that they are devils, it has taken up with enthusiasm the theory that they are primæval.³ Even men who have known heathendom give a cautious adhesion to the new doctrine, while taking care not to accept the responsibility for it or for the ancient beliefs; thus Inia, forsaking the truth, thinks the old men erroneously took the *kalou turanga* for departed spirits, possibly they were *kalou vu*; Avetaia Kurundua says they have now been taught that the *kalou vu* existed from the beginning, and are really fallen angels. It is certain, however, that the distinction must have emerged in pre-Christian times; the only question is how far it was so in the various districts. The ultimate identity of *kalou vu* and *kalou yalo* can hardly have been unknown to the men of Vuna and Viria; and it is uncertain how far Avetaia does not perceive it even now.

Inia knows of the identification of *kalou vu* with departed spirits, for he says "But *kalou vu* also we falsely represent as souls" (*Ia na kalou vu tale nga enda*

¹ Fijian is entirely relative; the context refers to public ceremonies, and this statement probably refers only to public rites.

² The prayer given in *Hazlewood's Grammar*, p. 63, calls upon the *kalou mata ni vanua*: by analogy these must be the souls of heralds; note also that Roko Tui Viwa (Noble Lord of Viwa) is also mentioned.

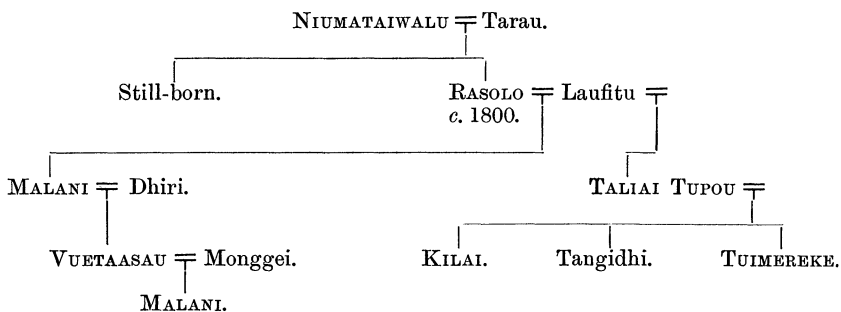
³ This does not seem due merely to the fact that they have been Christian longer and therefore remember less about secondary cults.

lasutaka me yalo). In spite of the *enda* (we inclusive) it must be an old theory, since Inia does not believe it himself.

As a rule the inland tribes have an ancestor who was a *kalou*, but whose children were men; at least, this is the present doctrine. These *kalou* do not enter animals, and bear no trace of an animal origin, though always connected with one, and are transparently human chiefs. Among the Waimaro tribe the ancestor is Nggamau and his sons are the ancestors of the various clans, with their various temples; they were invoked publicly (*e tumba*), whereas the inferior *kalou*, to wit, the ghosts of fathers and grandfathers, were ministered to in private (*e vale*). The grandsons of Nggamau were men. So also the Nambombudho tribe have a *kalou* to ancestor, whose son was born a man (*sudhu vakatamata*).

The expression *kalou vu* is in itself conclusive enough, for *vu* is the base or trunk of a tree, metaphorically the root, the origin; in Naitasiri and Vuna it is used of the great-grandfather.¹ The Lauan *tupua* is obviously Tongan,² and the etymology so obvious that a boy of sixteen could derive it from *tubu*, to grow (Fijian *tumbu*), and explain it as “the stock of generations” (*a itumbutumbu ni kawa*). The Fijian *tumbu* is in many parts of Fiji the term for the paternal grandfather.

Abortions or miscarriages³ in noble families are a common species of “great *kalou*” (*kalou levu*); though they may be distinguished from the *kalou vu* (and naturally, since they are not ancestors), yet their position and cult are identical. The present dynasty in Lakemba is called the Vuanirewa; it is an offshoot of the Katumbalevu clan, and has, therefore, the same *kalou vu*, Tokairambe,⁴ but it has added thereto the still-born child (*lutu ndra*) of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the dynasty, and his wife Tarau. I give an extract of genealogy to show the eldest living generations:—



¹ Cp. *lu giz* in *Torres Straits Cambridge Expedition*, vol. vi, p. 93.

² *Tala tupua* in Tongan is a tale of ancient days; it is also used in Lau.

³ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 216: “Monsters and abortions are often ranked here.”

⁴ Wrongly represented by Williams as a deity acknowledged all over Fiji. He it was, and not Tui Lakemba, who entered the hawk, *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 216; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 135; Tui Lakemba has no animal. This is but one, and not the most serious of Williams’ inaccuracies.

Malani, the son of Rasolo, also received a cult; he it is to whom Calvert refers as "a late brother of the King (Taliai Tupou) who was now deified."¹

The tribe of Namata's great *kalou* was "He of Ndelainumbu" (*Ko mai Ndelainumbu*); but an abortion called "He of Nanduruvesi" was later adopted by the sub-tribe of Namata as their *kalou*, "He of Ndelainumbu" being thenceforth restricted to the Naimbili sub-tribe only.

Ratumaimbulu of Mbau and Ovea is a snake, and might be adduced to prove that the *kalou* is a totem; but the name is too transparent: it means "The Lord in the Tomb," or "in ghost land." The East coast people, it is true, will often tell you that their *tevoru* is a hawk, or a shark, or some other animal, but it will not be long before they will let you know that this animal is the "body" (*tolo*) or "vessel" (*wangga*) of a ghost; the highland tribes, on the other hand, do not appear to believe in metempsychosis, and I never remember them to have spoken of their totem simply as *tevoru* or *kalou*, though they might call him *manumanu vu* (ancestor animal). I believe I have also heard *manumanu tevoru* (*tevoru* animal); but the proper name is *idhavu ni yadha* in the east, and *vutiyadha* in the west: both mean "the utterance of the name."

Kalou vu are generally not known by their real names, very often they are called *vasu* to such and such a place; it is hard to see how they could be *vasu* unless they had once been men. Among the Kai Vuna, when the ghost of the dead entered the jar, the people said: "Ah, that is the ghost of the *vasu* to Naitasiri, or *vasu* to Lomaivuna." The latter was the title of Avetaia's grandfather.

Crossing the dividing range between the Rewa and Singatoka rivers, we find ourselves in the midst of another language and more rudimentary customs. The word there for *kalou* is *nitu*,² and as it has not been promoted to the status of god, there is no vacancy for *tevoru* to fill; the word is, therefore, still current in the dialect (except in Vatulele), though the word *tevoru* is substituted in speaking to whites. Now Seremaia³ of Neilanga⁴ defines it thus: a ghost (*yalo*) that walks in the dark and howls, my father or . . ."⁵ He supposes that in Mbau, *tevoru* has been applied to Satan: "Mbau misappropriated (*kauta tani*) the word *kalou* to mean God"; he asserts that Tonitonisau, the great *nitu* of the Tio clan, is their first chief, from whom the present chiefs are descended, and adds: "of old we worshipped ghosts of the dead only; we now know the true God."

The tribe of Mbukuya, the original inhabitants of the left bank of Mba River, dread even now a *nitu* called "*vasu ki Mbukuya*." Its birth was on this wise: a woman of Mbukuya was married to a man of Mba, but she committed adultery with a man of the clan of Oso in the tribe of Tambanivono, and by him became pregnant; it proved a miscarriage. Once a man of Teindamu was inspired and

¹ Second part of *Fiji and the Fijians, Mission History*, p. 112.

² When not immediately preceded by the article *yanyity*.

³ He has killed his man and puts down his bad teeth to cannibalism.

⁴ *Nailanga* is the official spelling but that is Eastern Fijian.

⁵ *Yalo ka ndau lako e na mbutombuto ka kaila, na tamangu se . . .*

said: "I am your *vasu*; my mother is so and so; I go to dwell in Mba; if there is a war I shall come and foreshow it to you."

Viseisei on the coast south of Lautoka also worships an abortion.

There is besides a countless host of beings who are said to be neither ghosts of the dead nor ancestors; they are known as *kalou rere* in the east; the west calls them *ulwatu* (stone heads), and groups them together with Tuwawa, Ndrim', Mandingi, and others, as distinct from the *nitu* proper. But the cult is not materially different from that of ordinary ghosts; among the people of Waimaro it is mixed up with the ordinary cult, for the song or incantation of the *rere* mentions *kalou vu* that appear in the genealogies, and we might remain ignorant of its connection with the *rere* but for the refrain:—

rere vondo mai.

rere embark.

In the Highlands and the west they are spirits of war, and that is precisely the chief function of the *kalou yalo* of Vuna, Lomaivuna, and Natavea. *Luveniawai* is the modern name; there are several varieties; the one called Sauturanga is dedicated to Nadhirikaumoli and Nakausambari, who shot Ndengei's pigeon¹; Ndakuwangga, the great shark of Taveuni, receives the devotions of others. It is, therefore, a reasonable hypothesis that the *kalou rere* was a cult of the dead, somewhere in the Highlands, which so struck the imagination that it spread all over, and of course no tribe but the inventor would know who the spirits really were. On passing down to the coast it became mere play. I must, however, mention a theory which I have heard from no one besides Saimone Ngonedha: it is that each man has a *luveniawai*, which is the spirit of the blood of his mother, and is merely brought into closer relation with his human brother by the mysteries. This is probably a new and individual theory, but it is interesting as showing that some men still find the need of assigning a body to unattached spirits.

The application of *kalou* to men and wonderful objects is quite simple, and does not require Williams' hypothesis at all; the ghosts of the dead are *mana* and work miracles; anything, therefore, that seems miraculous is *kalou*, not always metaphorically; there is no doubt that when muskets were dubbed "*kalou bows*" (*ndakai kalou*) the natives really thought they were made by spirits or were spirits themselves. A former native officer in the police told me that in the government's little war against the Highlanders, the breech-loading guns were first given out to the police; the enemy seeing their deadly effects cried out: "*yanitu, yanitu.*" The white man was probably first taken for a ghost from ghost land,² and later, when his humanity was proved, his wonders seemed wrought by spiritual agency. At the present day natives are firmly convinced that the circus (in which all conjuring and

¹ Cp. Basil Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 138 et seq.

² According to Saimone Ngonedha the Highlanders used to know Taveuni and Lau only as ghost lands (*vanua ni yalo*).

illusions are included) is a kind of *luveniwa'i*, and cannot understand why the cult is tabooed to them and allowed to the whites. A boy once inclined to think photography might perhaps go by spiritual agency (*vakatevoro*). Dr. Codrington¹ is unnecessarily subtle, besides being grammatically wrong, in trying to explain how Tui Kilakila could say: "I am a god." The Fijian would be *koyau na kalou*, which, notwithstanding the absence of all verb, is definite present, and cannot refer to some future time. Tui Kilakila called himself a *kalou*, because, like all chiefs, he had *mana*, and was in so far a *kalou*; for it is an accepted doctrine in Fiji that the words of a chief have *mana* (*e mana na vosa ni turanga*)²; I hope to show in some future discussion how this *mana* may have become attached to them.

If any doubt survives as to the meaning of *kalou*, a study of temples and graves should finish it. The resemblance between a modern Fijian grave and the foundation of a house is hard to overlook. In Lau they both consist of long mounds, prevented from crumbling away by a border of rounded stones piled up or of slabs planted in the ground; chiefs' graves, like chiefs' houses, are higher. In the Highlands stumps of tree-fern are often used in both house and grave. What is the use of hypothesis, however, when facts are at hand? Rudimentary sheds of corrugated iron without walls are still set up, "out of love to the dead," over their resting-place. In Lau and Kandavu it was the custom in heathen times to erect a small "movable house" (*vale siki*), consisting of a roof erected on a rectangle of four beams, so that the whole could be lifted up in order to weed the mound, and weeding was sometimes an act of propitiation. Erskine writes³: "Mr. Knapp saw in the village (Levuka, Ovalau) the grave of a child . . . which he described as a diminutive house about 2 feet long, and of corresponding height, with doors and windows complete, formed of coloured native cloth, and resting on a foundation of white native cloth." In Williams' *Fiji and the Fijians* we find: "Over some of the graves a small roof is built, 3 or 6 feet high, the gables of which are filled in with sinnet, wrought into different-sized squares, arranged diagonally."⁴ Also: "In certain parts of Viti Levu the same reason is assigned for burying their dead in the temples." A Lakemban nobleman, Roko Kilai, was buried on the top of the foundations of Tui Lakemba's temple. Mrs. Gordon Cummings⁵ in Somosomo "came to an old graveyard, and noticed that the fence round it also enclosed a large native house. Here it was that the father of the present Tui Thakau was murdered and his wife strangled at the funeral. They were buried in the house, which was then abandoned and rendered *tambu* to all Fijians." How much better had it been if Williams had given concrete instances instead of general statements when he says: "The spot on which a chief has been killed is sometimes selected as the site of a *mbure*," what we should like to know is, who was the *kalou* worshipped in that *mbure*.

It is not proposed to derive the temple from the grave, but both from a

Melanesians, p. 122.

² Cf. *Man*, X, 56.

³ *The Islands of the Western Pacific*, 1853, p. 216.

⁴ pp. 191, 193.

⁵ *At Home in Fiji*, vol. ii, p. 44.

common original, to wit, the dwelling-house, or more especially the "hall" (*mbure*). A good instance is to be found in Calvert's history of the mission: "He found her (Tangidhi) removed to the house of a late brother (Malani) of the King, who was now deified and said to be specially present in his old house."¹ The men of Mbukuya regularly buried people in houses. The tribe of Yalatini, to the east of Mba, also buried in houses; if they selected for the purpose the foundations of an abandoned house they built up the whole again to "cover over so and so that the rain and sun might not reach him," and the new house was used as a dwelling. This seems decisive enough, and we can confidently affirm that in Eastern Fiji graves are degenerate houses of common people, and temples the exalted halls of chiefs. Modern houses in certain parts of the Highlands strongly suggest by their very high roofs the pictures of old Fijian temples, and it is therefore possible that the *mbure kalou* has retained the original architecture of the ancient home of the people.

We can now understand why the *mbure* (temple) "though built expressly for the purposes of religion . . . was less devoted to them than any others." The truth is that it was not built expressly "for the purposes of religion," and that Williams was merely giving his inference as fact, and a most paradoxical inference, too.²

Burial in houses was not practised in Naitasiri, as far as my information goes, and temples must therefore have been introduced. But offerings do not necessarily require a temple; thus, the clan of Nawavatu in Kalambu, Naitasiri, used to visit with presents the stone of Tui Nanggumu in Nanggumu; there was also a temple called after that place, which corroborates our inference. The Naitasiri graves were regularly cleaned; in Lau it was the custom before a *tingga* match to clear certain places in the bush known as *vanua tevoro* (now; formerly of course, as *vanua kalou*) in order to obtain success in that game.

Kalou, in short, means nothing more or less than "the dead"; it stands for a concept which runs unchanged through the whole of Melanesia, though many and various are the verbal forms it assumes: *tomate* in Roviana, *nggohole* in Nduke (Kulambangara), *zhiolo* in Vella Lavella, *tindalo* in Florida,³ *aremha* in Tanna,⁴ and countless others. The multitude of words for one idea requires some technical term: I suggest *manes*.

The thesis maintained in this paper may seem over obvious; only lately Mr. Basil Thomson has treated Fijian religion as ancestor worship⁵; but, with

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

³ Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁴ Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 88.

⁵ *The Fijians*, p. 112, I cannot refrain from expressing my astonishment at finding a repetition of Williams' impossible statement that "Ndengei is the joint symbol of creation and eternity" (*cp. Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 217); it would be impossible to translate this into Fijian so as to be intelligible to a native, to say nothing of its being conceived by them; a people who have a word for a point of time (*garina*), but none for period or time in the abstract and have been obliged to adopt our word (*taime*), are not likely to rise to such lofty symbolism, which is somewhat beyond me. Williams' statement that the *kalou vu* "are supposed to be absolutely

the exceptions mentioned at the outset, none seem to have got hold of the plain direct truth. Fijian religion has been laid hold of at the wrong end, and it has required "cycle on epicycle, orb in orb" to fit the supposed meaning of *kalou* to the facts: deification, *kalou vu* imported from Polynesia, prostitution of sacred buildings to secular purposes, delight in the worship of monsters and so forth. But no better excuse could be pleaded than that distinguished anthropologists have been misled by present confused usage; the facts above adduced make it hard to maintain with Frazer that *tevoros* are deities "which, though no longer conceived as animals, can yet assume at pleasure the shapes of those animals with which they were formerly identical."¹ I have never yet come across a coastal Fijian who identified the deity with the animal or spoke of it as turning into an animal; the expression is always that the *kalou* is "embodied" (*vakatolo*) or "envesseled" (*vakawangga*) in it or enters it (*dhwuruma*)²; both these terms are applied also to the "priest" who is possessed by a spirit; in fact, when I have asked "what is the 'body' or 'vessel' of so and so"? I have generally been told the name of the priest. As for the Highlands, that is another question; it seems extremely doubtful whether Dr. Frazer's description will fit them: I do not see how it is possible; but the whole question of their totemism is very involved and calls for further investigation.

Nor will this paper be entirely wasted if it can convey a hint, which I have so far missed in literature on Fiji, of the diversity which exists, not merely in individual names, but even in the very type of religious beliefs prevailing in various regions.

eternal," is equally valueless; not only is the idea un-Fijian, but we could quote many a famous *vu* who was born: Ndaunisai, Tokairambe, Nggamau, Kumbua vanua, etc. Evidently Avetaia did not learn this doctrine of immortality from his fathers.

¹ *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 140.

² Somewhere along the Rewa (I cannot find the passage in my notes), I was told that sharks did not bite unless a *tevoros* entered them.