

Marquesans

Data source: eHRAF

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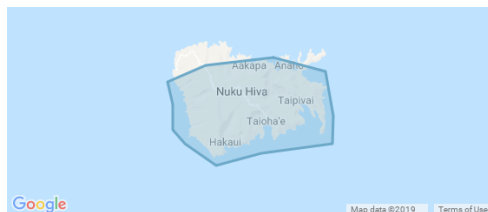
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Entry tags: Polynesia, Religious Group, Oceanic Religions

The Marquesans are the native inhabitants of what are now the Marquesan Islands of French Polynesia. Six of the traditionally inhabited islands are Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. This entry focuses on the Te-i'i chiefdom of southwestern Nuku Hiva Island around the time of 1800, and uses the term "Marquesan" in reference to those living at this specific time and place. This entry relies predominantly on the work of Edward Handy (1923), who completed fieldwork from 1920-1921, and used accounts of early travelers and the memory of older informants to reconstruct the Marquesan culture as it existed in the past. At the time this entry focuses on, the Marquesans had contact with Europeans, however, contact with Christian missionaries did not begin until after this entry's focal time; Christian missionaries did not start to have influence until about 1840. Consequently, this entry describes traditional Marquesan culture as it existed prior to changes as a result of outside influence. Traditionally, Marquesan society was comprised of many "chiefdoms", each led by a chief who gained authority from the social prestige and power of heading a large, wealthy family and holding alliances with other powerful families. Although some ethnographers use the word "tribe" in reference to these social groups, the Marquesan's political structure appears to be comprised of simple chiefdoms (see Thomas, 2011). These chiefdoms were not usually in clearly-defined territories, and had shifting alliances and competition, resulting in frequent warfare. In addition to a chief, each group had an inspirational priest (tau'a), who was also involved with political activity, and was just as influential as the civil chief. The tau'a was spoken of as etua (godly), and could enter a possession state to communicate with the tribal god (a deified ancestral priest or chief). The tau'a also had charge of caring for the dead, and presiding at tribal [chiefdom] ceremonials. Slightly lower in rank and importance was the ceremonial priest (tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko), who recited and led chants/rituals during religious ceremonies. The Marquesans had a variety of feasts and festivals, including those associated with harvest and subsistence-related activities, as well as the important events in a chief's family (such as marriage, tattooing, and death). Religious performances held during these festivals included chants, dances, tapu, and sacrifices. The most important religious event was the memorial festival, which took place long after the death of a chief/chiefess, inspirational priest, or ceremonial priest, and was held for the deification of the deceased's spirit. Marquesan gods (as categorized by Handy, 1923:224) include gods of myth and creation, departmental gods (gods of nature and the elements, occupations, sickness), tutelary deities (personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits), and a class of demi-gods (legendary heroes and other characters). These categories are not rigid, and a god could belong to multiple categories. All gods of all classes are ultimately ancestral in nature. For the Marquesans, religion did not exist within a separate sphere of life. Religion was bound up with the functioning of society at large; this entry considers the religious group to be coterminous with the society at large.



Date Range: 1800 CE - 1875 CE

Region: Nuku Hiva Island, French Polynesia

Region tags: Oceania, Polynesia, French Polynesia

Te-i'i chiefdom, Southwestern Nuku Hiva Island, ca. 1800

Status of Participants:

- ✓ Elite ✓ Religious Specialists ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Divale, W. 2004. Codebook of Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. *World Cultures: The Journal of Cross-Cultural and Comparative Research*.
- Source 2: Tuden, A. & Marshall, C. (Oct., 1972). Political organization: Cross-cultural codes 4. *Ethnology*, 11(4), 436-464.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ox06-001>
- Source 1 Description: Handy, E. S. Craighill (Edward Smith Craighill). 1923. "Native Culture In The Marquesas." *Bulletin*. Honolulu: The Museum.
- Source 2 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ox06-000>
- Source 2 Description: Thomas, Nicholas. 2011. "Culture Summary: Marquesans." New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files.
- Source 3 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ox06-008>
- Source 3 Description: Handy, Willowdean C. 1922. "Tattooing In The Marquesas." *Bulletin*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: At the time this entry focuses on, the Marquesans had contact with Europeans. However, contact with missionaries did not begin until after the time this entry focuses on. "Early contacts with European explorers entailed barter and sexual relations, but since most vessels' visits were of short duration, they had little impact. The first substantial European intrusion into Marquesan affairs was that of David Porter of the U.S. Navy in 1813; Porter fortified a settlement for his operations against British whaling vessels and became embroiled in local warfare against the occupants of Taipei Valley (later made famous in Herman Melville's novel, *Typee*)...Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries attempted to gain footholds in the group, but they had very little influence in the period up to 1840, a time of severe depopulation" (Thomas, 2011).



Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– Yes

Notes: According to SCCS Variable 1649, Frequency of Internal Warfare (Resolved Rating), "internal warfare seems to occur almost constantly and at any time of the year (original code 5)" (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

↳ Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 1650, Frequency of External Warfare (Resolved Rating), indicated that "external warfare seems to occur at least once every two years (original code 3)" (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating that the Marquesans would actively proselytize and recruit new members.

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

Notes: Religion is bound up with the functioning of Marquesan society as a whole, so this entry considers the religious group to be coterminous with society itself. Because religion is coterminous with society, the religious group is considered to have political support.

↳ Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

– No

Notes: "It is evident that the inspirational priest (tau'a) was usually a member of the same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the tau'a" (Handy, 1923:54-55).

↳ Are political officials equivalent to religious officials:

– Yes

Notes: The priest and chief are equivalent in the sense of possessing similar degrees of influence. "In determining the political activity of the tribe in relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as influential as the chief" (Handy, 1923:43).

– No

Notes: Priests have political authority, but it does not appear that chiefs have equivalent religious authority. "It is evident that the inspirational priest (tau'a) was usually a member of the same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the tau'a" (Handy, 1923:54-55).

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for a conception of apostasy.

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– I don't know

Notes: No clear, reliable records of population figures for the specific focal time and place. "Estimates of precontact and early populations are highly variable and insecurely founded. A figure of 35,000 is much lower than many figures cited, but it seems justified by comparative evidence from better-documented islands" (Thomas, 2011).

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: "Every tribe [chiefdom], then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal [chiefdom] god, who seems to have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time" (Handy, 1923:43).

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

– Yes

Notes: The inspirational priests (tau'a) could enter a possession state to communicate with the tribal [chiefdom] god (see Handy, 1923:225).

↳ Powers are acquired by individual deeds carried out in past lives:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of a belief in reincarnation.

↳ Powers are associated with leadership office they assume:

– Yes

Notes: "...the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called atua, god" (Handy, 1923:226).

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

– Yes

↳ A leader chooses his/her own replacement:

– Yes

Notes: "The position of tuhuna o'ono tended to become hereditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a tuhuna o'ono to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a tuhuna o'ono" (Handy, 1923:228).

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

– I don't know

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

– No

Notes: "The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of chiefs except over their own households" (Handy, 1923:53-54).

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of scripture.

Architecture, Geography

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for more information on religious architecture.

↳ Tombs:

– Yes

Notes: "Me'ae were fundamentally and originally places of sepulture, though they functioned also as places of public ceremonial. These two functions of the tomb-temples united as one, since all the ceremonial that was performed at the me'ae had to do with the bodies of priests or chiefs or with sacrifice to tribal [chiefdom] deities—these priests and chiefs deified—or with some phase of the ancestral cult" (Handy, 1923:115).

↳ Temples:

– Yes

Notes: "Every tribe [chiefdom] had at least one me'ae, or temple, and at least one tohua, or feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as head of the tribe" (Handy, 1923:43).

↳ Altars:

– Yes

Notes: "The taha tupapa'u (taha, place; tupapa'u, corpse), a part of the establishment of every family in Hiva Oa, was virtually the family shrine. It was a sacred platform consecrated primarily to the treatment and disposal of the bodies of the dead and as such actually amounted to a private temple (me'ae). These platforms for the dead were, however, never referred to as me'ae. On the other hand the platform on which the body of the priest or chief was placed, at death, being the same as that at which tribal [chiefdom] ceremonial was performed was called a me'ae" (Handy, 1923:115).

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

– Yes

Notes: "Every tribe [chiefdom] had at least one me'ae, or temple, and at least one tohua, or feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as head of the tribe" (Handy, 1923:43).

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– Yes

Notes: "The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called kuhane or uhane. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered" (Handy, 1923:248). "The spirit took its departure from the body at death by way of the mouth, being thought to leave some persons before physical death, others after" (Handy, 1923:250).

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:

– Yes

Notes: "The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called kuhane or uhane" (Handy, 1923:248).

Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: "Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (i a'o oa, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (a'o, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (uka, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by vehine hae (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them" (Handy, 1923:251).

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "above" space:

– Yes

Notes: "To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal [chiefdom] gods (etua), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests" (Handy, 1923:253).

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

– Yes

Notes: "Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of kava root (kahau kava)...The hog's head and root of kava were also considered to be offerings, with which the kuhane or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the kuhane had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region" (Handy, 1923:110).

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined horizontal space:

– Yes

Notes: "...the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe" (Handy, 1923:121).

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of a belief in reincarnation.

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for more information regarding the treatment of corpses.

↳ Mummification:

– Yes

Notes: "Tupapa'u (or tupapaku) was the word applied to dead bodies. Paku means to rub with oil. In other words, a tupapaku was a corpse that had been rubbed with oil—a mummy. The body of a dead person was first laid on a piece of cloth and was washed. After the feast at the time of death and the chanting on the night following—that is to say, after the spirit was supposed to have left the body, it was placed on a bier and the process of rubbing, which accomplished a temporary mummification, was begun" (Handy, 1923:109).

↳ Interment:

– Yes

Notes: "Bones were sometimes buried in the sepulchral platform or in the platform of a temple. Some temples had special pits lined with cut red-stone slabs for the purpose of receiving bones" (Handy, 1923:114). "Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe [chiefdom]. This vault will be described in connection with the temple (me'ae)" (Handy, 1923:114).

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

– Yes

Notes: "The body was left on the bier until the bones had fallen apart" (Handy, 1923:113).

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

– Yes

Notes: "The body was left on the bier until the bones had fallen apart. These were then scraped and bundled up (kokonatua), the skull was removed, and a tight bundle was made of the bones by wrapping them in cloth and binding with sennit. According to an informant on Nuku Hiva, the process consisted in dislocating the bones, placing them in a pile, wrapping them with strips of sacred white cloth, wrapping around this a large bundle of tapa, and then tying the bundle with hibiscus bark or coconut fiber, and finally hanging it up to the roof of the house" (Handy, 1923:113).

↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :

– Yes [specify]: Skinning

Notes: "Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tattooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic" (Handy, 1923:110).

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– Yes

Notes: When an inspirational priest (tau'a) died, seven to ten people were sacrificed in order to deify the priest (see Handy, 1923:227).



Human sacrifices present:

– Yes

Notes: When an inspirational priest (tau'a) died, seven to ten people were sacrificed in order to deify the priest (see Handy, 1923:227).

Are grave goods present:

– Yes

Notes: "Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of kava root (kahau kava). In the southern section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees, these offerings being called tuao, gift for the dead. Living poultry and pigs' heads were offered also at this time" (Handy, 1923:110).

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

Notes: "Bones were sometimes buried in the sepulchral platform or in the platform of a temple. Some temples had special pits lined with cut red-stone slabs for the purpose of receiving bones...The skull was sometimes left with the body in the coffin. More frequently it was detached and secreted. Skulls were commonly put on or in the ground in the tribal [chiefdom] temple or secreted in the sacred banyans on these sacred places or in other trees that surrounded them. After the temple, the favorite place for disposition of skulls was in caves difficult of access, called ana hakanatina (cave for hiding)...Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe. This vault will be described in connection with the temple (me'ae).It is striking that the two most sacred classes of individuals of the tribe were given grave burial in the ground, the only other persons who were buried in this way being those who died without relatives to take care of their bodies properly, and certain persons whose spirits were specially feared, such as the insane, lepers, consumptives, and women who had died in childbirth" (Handy, 1923:114-115).



In cemetery:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cemeteries.



Family tomb-crypt:

– Yes

Notes: "Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe [chiefdom]. This vault will be described in connection with the temple (me'ae)" (Handy, 1923:114).

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Religious Specialists

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– No

↳ Other formal burial type:

– Yes [specify]: burial house

Notes: "It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe [chiefdom], where a special house was built for his body" (Handy, 1923:227).

– Yes [specify]: Tokai/Fanaua

Notes: "Tokai, also called fanaua, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful fanaua, there was a special attendant. Each tokai had its special presiding female demon (fanaua) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there" (Handy, 1923:253).

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Notes: "Deities in the Marquesas may be grouped in the following classes: gods of myth and creation; departmental gods, including gods of nature and the elements, patrons of occupations, and gods of sickness; and tutelary deities, including personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits. There was also what may be regarded as a class of demi-gods, including legendary heroes, and other characters...The term etua or atua was applied to all grades of supernatural beings included in the above classes, except the legendary characters whom the natives refer to, for the most part, as men (enata)" (Handy, 1923:244).

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of a supreme high god.

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– Yes

Notes: "The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called kuhane or uhanu. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects" (Handy, 1923:248).

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

– Yes

Notes: "Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art" (Handy, 1923:248).

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

– I don't know

↳ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits possess hunger:

– Yes

Notes: "During the time that the body lay in the shed erected for its protection, food was offered to it and coconut shell vessels filled with popoi and fish were kept near the bier. Père Pierre says that, before eating, the members of the family took a little popoi on the end of the finger and threw it into the shed to feed the dead. Likewise the first puff of tobacco smoke ejected into the air was dedicated to the dead" (Handy, 1923:111).

↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:

– Yes

Notes: "Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art" (Handy, 1923:248).

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– Yes

Notes: "Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art" (Handy, 1923:248).

↳ In dreams:

– Yes

Notes: "Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art" (Handy, 1923:248).

↳ Only through monarch:

– No

Notes: No monarch is present among the Marquesans.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: "Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night" (Handy, 1923:257). "There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three" (Handy, 1923:233).

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

– I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: "Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken tapu or being sent by some evil worker" (Handy, 1923:263).

↳ These supernatural beings can reward:

– I don't know

↳ These supernatural beings can punish:

– Yes

Notes: "Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken tapu or being sent by some evil worker" (Handy, 1923:263).

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: "Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them...the word fanaua is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women" (Handy, 1923:253).

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: "The tutelary tribal [chiefdom] deities appear all to have been divinized chiefs and priests. In other words they were tribal ancestral spirits that had been elevated, through ritual of chanting and sacrifice, to the power of gods. They were supposed to reside in an indefinitely

conceived region in the upper heavens" (Handy, 1923:247). "To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (etua), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests" (Handy, 1923:253).

↳ These mixed human-divine beings can be seen:
– I don't know

↳ These mixed human-divine beings can be physically felt:
– I don't know

↳ Mixed human-divine beings have knowledge of this world:
– I don't know

↳ These mixed human-divine beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:
– Yes

Notes: "For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility" (Handy, 1923:216). "Neither a ghost of the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (vehine hae). Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living. It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became vehine hae" (Handy, 1923:248).

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:
– Yes

Notes: "Deities in the Marquesas may be grouped in the following classes: gods of myth and creation; departmental gods, including gods of nature and the elements, patrons of occupations, and gods of sickness; and tutelary deities, including personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits. There was also what may be regarded as a class of demi-gods, including legendary heroes, and other characters...The term etua or atua was applied to all grades of supernatural beings included in the above classes, except the legendary characters whom the natives refer to, for the most part, as men (enata)" (Handy, 1923:244).

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:
– Yes

Notes: "Every occupation and activity had its deity" (Handy, 1923:246).

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic evidence.

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes

Notes: "Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken tapu or being sent by some evil worker" (Handy, 1923:263). "Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living" (Handy, 1923:248).

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: "Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken tapu or being sent by some evil worker" (Handy, 1923:263).

↳ Done only by high god:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of a high god.

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: Evil spirits, as well as the spirits of deceased humans are both described as the agents of supernatural punishment.

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

– Yes

Notes: See Handy, 1923:263.

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for more information regarding reasons for supernatural punishment.

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– Yes

Notes: "Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living" (Handy, 1923:248).

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

– Yes

Notes: "Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken tapu or being sent by some evil worker" (Handy, 1923:263).

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of punishments that are meted out in the afterlife.

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of sickness or illness:

– Yes

Notes: "Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken tapu or being sent by some evil worker" (Handy, 1923:263).

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– I don't know

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of messianic beliefs.

Is an eschatology present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of an eschatology.

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required celibacy.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required castration.

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

– Yes

Notes: "Kahui were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals...Closely related to the kahui were seasonal tapu relating to foods. These differed from the kahui in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (kahui). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing...What may be called the ceremonial tapu amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind" (Handy, 1923:260). See Handy, 1923, p.262 for more information.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– Yes

Notes: "Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sacrifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests" (Handy, 1923:240).



Other:

– Yes [specify]: Prisoners of war

Notes: People captured during war were offered to the gods (see Handy, 1923:218-219).

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required self-sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

I.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

– Yes

Notes: "Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes [chiefdoms]. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events...Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals...All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, tapu, and sacrifices were a part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa" (Handy, 1923:203-204). "The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits...All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites" (ibid, pg. 216).

↳ On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:
– I don't know

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:

Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

– Yes

Notes: One of the functions of the inspirational priests (tau'a) includes "...presiding at the tribal [chiefdom] ceremonial..." (Handy, 1923:224).

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Yes

Notes: "Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making popoi, in making pakoko (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up popoi to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make popoi nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three" (Handy, 1922:5).

↳ Tattoos/scarification:
– Yes

Notes: "Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making popoi, in making pakoko (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up popoi to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114–115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make popoi nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three" (Handy, 1922:5).

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

— A tribe

Notes: Because political organization had varying levels, this entry has lists the Marquesans as both a tribe and chiefdom. "It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes [chiefdoms] with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage" (Handy, 1923:35). "In general it appears that a chief arrived at his position of authority through social prestige and power resultant upon being the head of a large and wealthy family, allied with other powerful families by means of affiancing, marriage, adoption, and by making namesakes...The power and authority of a chief depended much also on his individual characteristics—personality, intelligence, initiative, and so on. The actual relationship between the chief and his people was that of the head of a family to the other members of the family, and the relationship of the people among themselves was that of members of a large family. The political system may best be characterized as a patriarchal communism...The power of chiefs in relationship to each other depended, of course, on character to some extent, but primarily upon the size of their tribe [chiefdom], upon wealth, and favorable tribal alliances" (Handy, 1923:45).

— A chiefdom

Notes: Because political organization had varying levels, this entry has lists the Marquesans as both a tribe and chiefdom. "It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes [chiefdoms] with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage" (Handy, 1923:35). "In general it appears that a chief arrived at his position of authority through social prestige and power resultant upon being the head of a large and wealthy family, allied with other powerful families by means of affiancing, marriage, adoption, and by making namesakes...The power and authority of a chief depended much also on his individual characteristics—personality, intelligence, initiative, and so on. The actual relationship between the chief and his people was that of the head of a family to the other members of the family, and the relationship of the people among themselves was that of members of a large family. The political system may best be characterized as a patriarchal communism...The power of chiefs in relationship to each other depended, of course, on character to some extent, but primarily upon the size of their tribe [chiefdom], upon wealth, and favorable tribal

alliances" (Handy, 1923:45).

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– I don't know

Notes: No ethnographic information on formal education is available.

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– No

Notes: The Marquesans do not have a formal bureaucracy; see question on levels of social complexity, above, for more information.

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– Yes

Notes: According to SCCS Variable 20 (Food Storage), food is stored in communal facilities (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Notes: According to Tuden and Marshall, 1972 (Column 10: Police), "Police functions are not specialized or institutionalized at any level of political integration, the maintenance of law and order being left exclusively to informal mechanisms of scoail control, to private retaliation, or to sorcery".

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– No

Notes: According to Tuden and Marshall, 1972 (Column 9: Judiciary), "supreme judicial authority is lacking at any level above that of the local community".

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– No

Notes: "For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe [chiefdom], the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by supernatural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence

indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death" (Handy, 1923:56).

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– Yes

Notes: The Marquesans rely primarily on horticulture, with fishing as a secondary form of subsistence. Source of information: Murdock and Morrow (1970), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 3,5,7,9, and 11; Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

– Fishing

– Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards

Notes: The Marquesans rely primarily on horticulture, with fishing as a secondary form of subsistence. Source of information: Murdock and Morrow (1970), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 3,5,7,9, and 11; Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.