and Truk—where he lived for over a year—when he received an abrupt notice that Godeffroy had gone bankrupt, and hence his services would no longer be needed.

The Franco-Prussian War had intervened in Europe, and was the ruin of the Godeffroy Company; both Kubary and the Museum were casualties.

In the months which followed his abandonment by Godeffroy, he mortgaged his holdings on Pohnpei and went to Japan where he made an ill-fated attempt to start a museum in Tokyo.

From there he returned to Palau where he sought to start a collection under the auspices of a private museum in Leiden, but this also fell through. Then, for a brief time, he undertook artifact collecting for the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin which sponsored him to Yap, Sonsorol and Merir islands. After that support ended he was again without backing.

Discouraged and depressed, Kubary withdrew from his scientific work and took employment as an interpreter on a German warship cruising the Pacific. At New Guinea he and his family disembarked and he got a job as a shop-keeper for a German trading company.

Finally, in 1895, Kubary returned to Pohnpei with his family. But, again there was dejection and tragedy. His only son died of a fever and was buried in his beloved botanical gardens. These were subsequently destroyed by fire which resulted from a naval bombardment by the Spanish against some Pohnpeian rebels. Not long afterwards Kubary took his own life.

Kubary's land on Pohnpei eventually passed into the hands of the Etscheit family who still holds some of it today. Kubary's European peers, shortly after his death, erected a small monument to him at Pohnpei which also still stands, slightly desolute, in the ruins of the old Spanish fort at Kolonia.

In all, Kubary spent twenty-six years in the Pacific, most of them in Micronesia. In addition to his vast collections and manuscripts, he authored several basic ethnographic reports, all of which have found their way into various other reportive and interpretive publications in more than a dozen languages and spanning almost a century.

His writings on the Palauan *udoud* and on many other ethnographic and historical matters remain a basis for our knowledge of late nineteenth century Micronesia.

Nothing can replace or depricate Kubary's painstaking efforts at collecting and participating and finally by following through and recording much of what he had seen and experienced. F. W. Christian's eulogy is fitting:

> Such men as Kubary during their lives receive scant thanks, but their praise should be a grateful duty to all who admire pluck and enterprise.

SOURCES

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Johann Stanislaus Kubary, "Uber des Einheimische Geld auf der Insel Yap und auf den Palau Inseln," Ethnographische Beitraege zur Kenntnis des Karclinen Archipels, Leiden, Holland, 1880. Translation by M.L. Berg with a copy in the Micronesian Area Research Center.

----------,"Das Palau Geld," *Journal des Museum Godeffroy,* Hamburg, 1873. Translation by M.L. Berg at the Micronesian Area Research Center.

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Considering the economic institution of Palauans, one clearly sees that its complete, rounded development has to thank the presence of the audouth; one cannot even imagine this development without the audouth.

This is best shown by the economic condition of the eastern peoples of the Carolines, who, although they have close kinship descent ties with Palauans, and found their social institutions on entirely similar basic concepts, but lack the audouth, have formed an entirely different and unprofitable one.

In the article "Das Palau-Geld," Kubary runs through a miscellaneous list of uses for this money.

They are payments for: the help of a diety in battle; fines for crimes; repealing a death sentence; the support of village chieftains if you had to wait too long for a title and wanted to kill your brother (these chieftains say *kabom!*, "go to it!", many chiefs and chieftains got titles this way.); restoring friendship with a friend; marital sex, "a man has to pay his wife for each hug."

On an esrlier page in the same article, Kubary gives an accurate summary statement of the dominance of Palauan money:

Audouth means everything here; there is no other wealth to compare with it. Even our goods, which universally play the major role among uncivilized peoples, are here not regarded as highly.

The wealth of an islander is a state is solely determined by the possession of this money. The money of a family consists of money that the head of the family personally possesses.

This is a privilege of the heads throughout the country. There is also a state treasury used for military defeats and politics. Personal wealth is the collective possession of a whole family, never of a single person.

Palauan culture, of course, is quite complicated, and with many anomalies woven through its fabric. The precision with which Kubary recorded the values and protocols of *udoud*, might be more reflective of his European penchant for structure and exactness, than it was for the ambiguities of Palauan culture, society and personality.

However, this should not minimize his contributions and recordings, but merely be a factor in their interpretations. The work of Johann Stanislaus Kubary is very important to Palauans and all who are interested in the history of the Carolines. He provided great insights into the Palauan society and culture of his time and as he saw it.

His own life and advantures, after his discourses on the Palauan *udoud*, are intrinsically interesting. As is the case today, it was always a narrowly-interested few who paid charmed and enthused attention to the Caroline Islands.

Once, in 1874, aboard a homeward-bound Godeffroy ship with reportedly one hundred barrels of carefully-packed specimens—which undoubtedly included a number of valued specimens of Palauan *udoud*—Kubary was shipwrecked near Jaluit in the Marshalls and arrived finally in Hamburg with only a small portion of his irreplacable collection intact.

Herr Godeffroy, however, was quite enthusiastic over the remnants; and since Kubary was still *persona non grata* in Poland, the merchant hastily sent him back to the Pacific with his guarantee of unlimited support. This small amount of *udoud* Kubary brought back to Germany is today in the collections of the *Museum fuer Volkerkunde* in Leipzig, Germany.

In 1875 Kubary went to the eastern Carolines and established himself at Pohnpei where he purchased land and established some botanical gardens which were also one of his loves. There he met and married a beautiful Pohnpeian woman who bore him a son and a daughter, and who was to be his faithful companion in his worldwide wanderings.

With Godeffroy's mandate of support in mind, Kubary went off to investigate Nukuoro, Satawan,

This reference of Kubary's is partially, or circumstantially validated by the fact that the German naturalist Karl Semper had noticed the reverence Palauans paid to such legacies when he was in Palau in 1862 and 1863.

Subsequently, Kubary discourses on the economy, distribution and usage of the money:

> The amount of money is restricted; there can be no more than the gods gave during their time. There are pieces of similar worth, but there are none exactly identical. The worth of the smaller pieces is fixed by custom; for the larger pieces, the worth is essentially arbitrary and depends on the assessment of the possessor.

Kubary divides Palauan money into three groups: (1) those made of porcelain-like materials or fired clay (subgroups are yellow money: *barak* (berrak) and red money: *bunau* (mengungau); (2) those made of artificial pearls (subgroups are *kalebukeb* (chelbucheb), *kluk* and *adolobok* (delobech); and, (3) those made of glass (subgroups are transparent *kaldoyok* (cheldoeoch), opaque and those inlaid with enamel.

The unit of value for the smaller money pieces was ten baskets of taro, "approximately sixty small roots or thirty to forty large ones." The unit was known as *mor a kaymo* (literally, "go to ten").

The next unit of value was the *honiakl* or *matal adolobok* worth twice the first; *adolobok* followed and was the sum of the first two, then came *matal a kluk* worth the first and third together.

The last four units were: *kluk*, or the sum of *matal a kluk* and *adolobok; eket a kelkul*, worth from one to two *kluk; kalebukeb*, up to five *kluk;* and *eket a kalbakabil*, more than a *kalebukub*.

The lowest two units were used to buy taro, coconut oil, coconut syrup, and tobacco. The third class was used for buying sails. In many cases, however, the money paid or given was determined by the rank of the buyer or giver. The upper three classes were to valuable to exchange and were guarded.

Frequently, people would have to borrow money on which they would have to pay interest. There are several examples of the interest to be paid.

To borrow an *adolobok*, a *matal a adolobok* or *honiakl* had to be given as security and another piece of *honiakl* of almost indentical worth given as interest.

To borrow a *kluk*, a *matal a kluk* had to be given as security and an *adolobok* in interest; for a *kalebukeb an eket* a *kelkul* had to be given as security and a *kluk* paid as interest.

In addition to these recognized features bearing on the interest charged, pieces often had to be exchanged for other pieces required on several occasions or for various exchanges.

Such money changing transactions became quite complicated since money would have to be paid for each of several different considerations involved in the deal.

Kubary lists four considerations to be paid for in the exchange of a *kluk:* (1) "propitiation for the feeling" of the money; (2) the body of the money; (3) the money received in exchange; and (4) the transfer fee. As the value and class of money increased, so did the number of considerations to be paid for.

Kubary himself once exchanged a *barak* with the chief of Melekeok, the *Reklai*, for which the chief gave him six lesser pieces. According to Kubary, he only received half of what value he had coming, but he realized that:

> Since I am a stranger and a friend of the chief as well, it was proper. Yes, the chief could be said to be liberal.
>
> It is easy to realize that business carried out with this money is quite difficult, and since all relationships in life are regulated this means and it is only in the hands of the important people, it is easy to reach a conclusion about a later investigation of the Palauan objects.

Kubary used a comparison of life in the western Carolines with life in the eastern Carolines to point up the pervasive influence of Palauan money.

berrak") which was of an indeterminately great value" in the 1880s. The third legend concerns Ngcheangel (Kayangel) and its chief, Rdechor:

> Ardahor (Rdechor), chief of Kayanl [sic], went fishing with his son, and reaching the Kossol reef, fastened his canoe to a coral block, that was really a quill of the dorsal fin of the dukl fish, the spouse of the atomagay fish.
>
> While the father slept, the dukl carried the canoe to the land of Nrot (Orot) where the son awoke, disturbed by the rustling of the canoe on the beach. He went ashore, gathered a basket full of the brightly-colored stones on the beach and threw them at the numerous redshanks, so that only a few remained in the basket.
>
> When the father awoke they found themselves again at the former place, and the father took the rest of the stones, which proved to be audouth (udoud).

The last, and shortest, legend deals with a woman from Ngerechelong:

> [Another story has it that] Arakalon (Ngerechelong) also obtained its money from an unknown country.
>
> The wife of the Iratey (Uong era Etei, the chief of Mengellang village) was put out on the reef because of her quarelsomeness; here she was saved by a manerner (mengerenger, or seasnake) and taken by it to a country from which she returned with udoud.

All these legends acknowledge that the origin of Palauan money was outside of Palau. While Palauans in the 1870s and 1880s still believed in an island swimming about freely in the ocean dispensing money, Kubary tried to connect the source of the money with other islands in the region and with southeastern Asia.

People in Yap said Palauan money was used and known before the large aragonite discs came into fashion; many pieces of it are found in Yap even today, some with holes drilled for threads, some not. Kubary knew firsthand that the Yapese took such pieces to Palau to exchange for Palauan articles.

Another circumstance connecting Palau and Yap was that Keklau was founded by the Yapese and was the home of Palauan money inside Palau.

But, it is Kubary's contention that, although the Yapese played an important role in Palau at an early time (including the founding of the *Idid* family (clan) in Koror, from which the *Ibedul* is chosen), the societies had grown so different by the late nineteenth century, that they had little in common besides names of people and places.

It was more probable, Kubary thought, that the people who had introduced the money to Yap and Palau came from someplace else, and settled in both places and elsewhere. The Yapese claimed they had come from the north.

Judging by the materials used to make the pieces of money—clay, glass, imitation pearls, and porcelain—Kubary surmized the origin of the materials could not be the Carolines, but only a place with well-developed porcelain and glass industries; those were only found in Asia.

In concluding his article on Yapese and Palauan money, he stated his belief that the materials had been brought by proto-Malayan peoples to the Western Carolines:

> However, the principals of Palauan political, district and economic life bear the ur-Malayan [sic] character, as described in the writings on the old Menangkabau on Sumatra, and many savage Malayan tribes of the Malay Archipelago.
>
> The audouth, an emanation for the Malayan culture, came from the west with the bearers of this culture; that the audouth could have been brought from Malaya can be grasped if one considers that the orang benua paid their fines to the chieftains in the form of large Chinese plates; that on Celebes, a few tribes most carefully treasure ageless vessels as sacred legacies from their ancestors; and, finally, that most of the islands traded with the Chinese, from who they learned about quite early, and exchanged for porcelain goods.

a large tridacna shell; it finally had to be put out to sea as a young temekai (grouper), a large kind of serranus.

The dukl, (a large balistes or trigger fish) was its spouse, and the large serranus that bore and entire country, Ngorot, on its back, from which it took its name, went to Ngeaur, where it bore a young girl.

The child was named Ardirgun, and she went ashore and played with the children of the island, where she was invited into the residence of Ucherbelau. During the day the strange child played ashore, but went to the beach in the evening to go out to sea with her mother.

But, since the people had grown to love her, they wanted to keep her, and with her mother's permission, Ardirgun remained in the family of Ucherbelau until she became a woman.

She grew so quickly and became so large, just as her mother had earlier in Ngkeklau, that soon people were disgusted by her, so they built a separate house for her and threw food to her;

This treatment grieved the woman, and she complained to her mother of her sorrow, who advised her to leave Ngeaur. Ardirgun took her leave from her stepparents saying, 'I am pregnant. If you had cared for me until my time, all my insides would be money, and this would have been your property. Since it has turned out differently, you shall only have this much.'

At this she scratched her thick fingers and genuine Palauan money fell onto the ground. Afterwards, the woman left and disappeared into the ocean with her mother.

This was how the family of Ucherbelau, the Matelkou, had become the richest in Palau at an early period.

The second legend concerns Ngkeklau, and is regarded as the most authoritative and the earliest of the four:

The fish mentioned, as said above, carried on its back the land of Nrot, whose shore was covered with genuine Palauan money. In the same place lived the daugher and many redshank birds (snipes), who were her chidlren. One of these, an okak known by the name of adalrok, visited Palau and came to Ngkeklau, the home of its grandmother. Here it began to break an udoud with its beak.

The woman of the house, Narueleu, saw it, and when her son just returning from shark fishing addressed the adalrok, it announced its death and bid him look into its beak in which money would be found. In all, Ngkeklau obtained seventy pieces, all yellow money, and the family of Narueleu was the second wealthiest in Palau. Later, the family grew poor, and the money went over to the family Karman in the same region.

A Palauan lady and her udoud. Photo: Ken Ohtake

In the 1873 article, Kubary mentions that the family of Karman still had the largest *berrak*, called *adaltal a barak* (detal a berrak, "mother of

Johann Stanislaus Kubary was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1846 of a German mother and a Hungarian father. His father died early, his mother remarried, and so he was reared in the home of his Polish stepfather.

Following a troubled childhood, Kubary began to study medicine at the age of seventeen. However, his youthful enthusiasm got him involved in agitation for Polish independence, and after several bouts with the authorities, he fled from Poland to Hamburg where he soon became stranded without support and had to seek work by his wits.

Through the good offices of one J.D.S. Schmeltz, a man important in museum circles, he was introduced to Johann Godeffroy, one of the most prominent and wealthy shippers of his day, and whose company was the parent of today's great Hamburg Sud Line.

Herr Godeffroy, whose Pacific offices were in Samoa, had a passion for ethnography and artifact collecting. The young, scientifically-inclined Kubary was eager to work for Godeffroy, and so it came to pass that at age twenty-two he found himself bound for the south seas where he was to serve as a collector for the Godeffroy Museum and an amasser of information for the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*.

From 1870 to 1874 Kubary did extensive field work throughout Micronesia; however, he is not remembered commensurate with his contributions. In his book, *The Caroline Islands* (1899) the Englishman F. W. Christian paid Kubary, who was his friend, hard-earned tribute:

> Those who would do work in Micronesian waters might well take example from the unobtrusive, painstaking work of this true man of science . . . pushed aside into unknown oblivion.

But posterity has not seen fit thus far to enlarge upon Christian's succinct eulogy. William Lessa provides a neat capsule of Kubary's work in an extensive survey he made of fragmentary accounts of pre-Kubary Micronesia, while John Fischer's well-known work, *The Eastern Carolines* (1957, HRAF), does not even include Kubary in the bibliography.

Palauans, and those who study Palau, will be more appreciative of Kubary as time passes, for his lucid and careful descriptions of the origin and usage of the Palauan *udoud*. Kubary discusses Palauan money at length in two separate articles.

The first is "Die Palau-Inseln in der Sudsee," in the *Journal der Museum Godeffroy*, (Hamburg, 1873) where Palauan money is discussed under the heading "Das Palau-Geld." Later, in a collection of five articles entitled "Ethnographische Beitrage zur Kenntnis des Karolinen Archipels" (Leiden, 1889–95), the lead article, "Ueber das einheimische Geld auf der Insel Yap und auf den Palau-Inseln" ("concerning the indigenous money of the island of Yap and in the Palau Islands"), treats Palauan money at greater length.

Kubary presents four legends of how Palauans traditionally accounted for the origins of their money. These legends are interesting and short enough to be considered here in detail.

All the legends appear in both articles, but since the 1889–95 article presents them more briefly and with more details and better spellings, they are the ones translated below. The modern spellings and/or translations of Palauan words are inserted whenever known, in parentheses.

The legends claim the money was brought into Palau at four different places: Ngkeklau village (in Ngaraard) on the northeast coast of Babelthuap; Ngcheangel (Kayangel) Atoll; Ngeaur (Angaur) Island, and the peninsula of Ngerechelong at the northern end of Babelthuap. The longest legend concerns Ngeaur and is given first:

> The bird kiuid (starling) came from Ngerusar hamlet in Airai to Ngkeklau and drank water from a knothole of a bars tree. It became pregnant and bore a small fish that remained in a water pouch in the bark of the tree until the people fount it.
>
> Someone took it home in a shell, where it grew so quickly that, as a result it had to be placed in even larger shells until it occupied

THE OBSCURE JOHANN STANISLAUS KUBARY AND HIS ESTIMABLE DISCOURSES ON PALAUAN MONEY

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The traditional native monetary system for Palau is unique in Micronesia. Except for Yap, where large aragonite stone discs, as well as shells and other kinds of valuables, are used for money, Palau's is the most highly developed and complex monetary system. The money itself consists of polychrome and clear glass beads, crescentic and prismatic bar gorgets, and beads of pottery. All these are generically called *udoud.*

The ceramic and glass prismatic pieces are called *bachel,* and the bead-like pieces are called *bleob.* Ceramic *udoud* are found in yellow, red, or orange varieties; the glass beads come in a wide variety of colors and degrees of transparency. All *udoud* feature a hole through which a string or cord can be passed. All are of foreign origin.

Palauan money today remains a very important part of the society. It continues to be used for traditional social purposes and increasingly is worn for status purposes by contemporary Palauan women. But the origins of the money, and how its usage evolved, is largely forgotten or unknown by most Palauans, especially younger people whose family might not possess any.

It is important then to make light of the money, and its "culture-history" place in Palau.

The German-Polish ethnographer and naturalist, Johann Stanislaus Kubary, was the first European to seriously investigate the origins and usage of the Palauan money and report on it in the late nineteenth century.

While most monographs on this period in Micronesia assign this competent and dedicated scholar some mention in their bibliographies, reading much of his reportage leaves one with the feeling that some contemporary researchers have little more than a secondary knowledge of Kubary's contributions.

Of course, for English-speaking scholars, it must be remembered that he wrote in German, and many of his contributions and brief biographies are found in obscure publications tucked away in the archieves of German museums.

Kubary, however, was not dull. He was a dedicated scholar, an adventurer, and finally, a tragic figure.