

**Tāla'iga o le gafa o le vā:
Storying the ontology, genealogy, and the energetics
of vā: The development of Samoan worldview
c.1000AD-1914.**

**By
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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby acknowledge that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no materials previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor any material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

I'uogafa Tuagalu

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Tāla'iga o le gafa o le vā: Storying the ontology, genealogy, and the energetics of vā: The development of Samoan worldview: c.1000AD-1914.

Abstract

The Samoan concept of vā is widely used in academic studies on Pacific peoples. The term vā is usually defined as “relationship, relations (between two things and people).”¹ This thesis examines the ontological status of the Samoan notion of vā; and traces its development in Samoan history from c.1000AD-1914. This development culminates in the emergence of a 19th century Samoan worldview. The three research questions that drive this present study are: first, what is the ontological status of vā? Second, how is vā manifested in Samoan history and culture? And last, does an historical analysis of vā enable an articulation of a Samoan view of history? The thesis focusses on four features of Samoan storytelling and telling of history: gafa (genealogy), Tala (narrative), people and place.

In this study, Samoan history is divided into two broad time periods: The Gafa period (c1000AD-1722s), where the Samoan vā worldview is exemplified by gafa or genealogical way of looking at the world; and the colonial phase (1722-1915), where the gafa worldview, which had always been changing, transforms at an even faster rate primarily because of European contact and influence. Two methods of historiographical enquiry are employed:

1. the ontology of the Samoan vā is examined via critical studies enquiry of philosophic and linguistic usages;
2. secondly, an historical and ethnographic approach is employed to trace the transformations of vā through the documentary and artefactual record of two time periods in Samoan history.

Priority is given to nineteenth century Samoan language sources, when stories, myths, and legends were first collected primarily by Europeans from Samoan pundits commentators.

¹ George B Milner, *Samoan Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan*. (Auckland, New Zealand: Pasifika Press, 2003), 307.

This study argues that the notion of field, ie, “a region in which a body experiences a force as the result of the presence of some other body or bodies”² enhances our understanding of vā relations between people and things; and that objects in vā-fields are subject to vā-forces, i.e., factors that impel Samoan movement or behaviour. In tracing the changes in vā-fields (the relations between people and things) and vā-forces (factors that led Samoan behaviour), one can get a Samoan understanding of their history.

Explanation of thesis title: **Tāla’iga le gafa o le vā**

The term Gafa translates as genealogy. The term tala can mean either *to open* or *to tell a story*. The title of this study aims at opening up the genealogy of vā, or the storying of the genealogy of the vā. To open up a genealogy, as in *tatala le gafa*, is frowned upon in Samoan society, especially if the gafa is opened up to people, who are unconnected to the it. One’s gafa gives people access to land and matai titles, and is a gateway to power and prestige. So, gafa are usually kept secret. However, this thesis is not examining the gafa of a person or family, but of a concept. In this case, the gafa of vā is a story that merges the ontology, and genealogy of vā, with the flows of energy that hold together the Samoan universe.

Dedications

This thesis is dedicated to a number of significant vā-relations in my life:

Shortly after I was born in the North Shore Hospital in Auckland, I was given to my parents **Tuagalu I’uogafa** (1895-1976),³ and his wife **Tolooa Tamaseu** (1910-1977)⁴ to be raised as their son. My birth parents **Tu’u’u Nonu Fa’aopega** (1930-2001),⁵ and **Malama Ioane** (1928-2016),⁶ gave me as a gesture of their love and respect for the older couple. I am *tama fai* (*adopted son*) to Tuagalu and Tolooa, much like the Māori practice of *whangai*. This is

² Jonathan Law and Richard Rennie, eds., “Field,” in *A Dictionary of Physics* (Oxford University Press, 2015), <http://www.oxfordreference.com>.

³ Tuagalu I’uogafa’s village is Satuimalufilufi, A’ana

⁴ Tolooa Tamaseu’s village is Tau’ese, Apia

⁵ Nonu Farani’s villages are Lotofaga and Siumu

⁶ Malama Ioane’s villages are Malie and Sale’imoa

perhaps my first vā and I feel its pull.

At the time of writing, my older brother **Tuagalu Va'aoao Solomona** (1946-2023) died. He like our father and older brother Tuagalu Ta'ai (1924-2000), was a bearer of the Tuagalu tulafale (*orator*) title from Satuimalufilufi. He also has the tulafale title of Va'aoao from Saleaula. He was the spokesman and leader of our family. Both he and his wife, **Maraea Cowley Tuagalu** (1944-2015) were among my first explainers of vā in both homeland and diasporic contexts. Our family carry your gafa, *genealogy* and tells your tala, *stories* but I miss you.

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Fa’afetai to Dr Aoife O’Brien who was generous with her research and allowed me to use her photographs of the Samoan items in the Mahaffy collection.

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Any deficiencies in this study are entirely my own.

A Note on diacritics and spelling

Diacritics are used to aid in the pronunciation of Samoan words. However, where I have quoted from Samoan language sources, I retain the original author’s spelling and use of diacritics, for example, the alagāupu, *proverb*, “A paia le pa o Fualaga...” is reproduced exactly from the original and is not written “A pā’ia le pā o Fualaga...” where the diacritics are shown to aid pronunciation. However, I do use diacritics to avoid confusing meanings e.g., “mama”

as in ring, a water leak, or to chew; “mamā” as in to be clean; or māmā as in lungs and to be light in weight. Diacritics are used minimally in this work.

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PART A:

1. Rationale and Significance of the Study

In 2018, I attended the Oceania exhibition at the Royal Academy of the Arts in London. I visited the exhibition a number of times, and I kept returning to two Samoan artefacts. The first, an ie tōga (*fine mat*) named Le Aneanea o Tumua,¹ currently housed in Te Papa, New Zealand. It had been given by Samoa to the then Prime Minister of New Zealand Helen Clark, on the occasion of the New Zealand Government's "formal apology" for injustices inflicted during the New Zealand administration of Samoa.



Figure 1 *Le Aneanea o Tumua*. From <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/567243>.



Figure 2 *Female figure early nineteenth century*. From https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc1841-0211-52 nineteenth century

The second artefact is a Samoan carved figure, that is housed in the British Museum. It was collected by the LMS missionary Thomas Heath in 1839. There are only two carved Samoan figures from the nineteenth century, and this one is significant to pre-Christian Samoan funerary practices, as Heath notes that the figure was at the foot of a mortuary platform for embalmed bodies of two Sā Matā'afa chiefs. The figure is also very well documented.² There is no doubt that seeing the physical artifact adds to one's reading and theoretical understanding of the object, I was familiar with Le Aneanea o Tumua³ but I had not seen the

¹ Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa, "Ie Tōga (Cloth for Toga) Le Ageagea o Tumua," n.d., <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/567243>.

² For an extensive description and compilation of data on the artefact. See Janet M Davidson, "The Wooden Image from Samoa in the British Museum: A Note on Its Context," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 84, no. 3 (1975): 352–55.

³ George Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan* (Papakura, New Zealand: R. McMillan, 1893), 74. Aneanea is defined as "of long standing applied to the mālō."

figurative carving before. While in London, I made five visits to the Oceania exhibition, which was brimming with Pacific artefacts. Each time, I would always end up at the ie tōga, or staring into the eyes of the Matā'afa carved figure. I felt particularly drawn to those Samoan items. In a way, this thesis is inspired by my compulsion towards those particular objects, and also the attractive powers of those Samoans artefacts on me. What was the vā between the objects and myself?

The term vā means “a space between”.⁴ Albert Wendt, the renowned Samoan writer, termed vā as “space that relates”,⁵ and subsequent academic work use the concept to equate with the notion of relational space. Vā is widely used by Samoans in their explications of diasporic experience within “a mix or fusion of cultures which express new ethnic identities and which cut across ... class, region, age, gender and sexuality”. Diasporan Samoan communities inherited this view of relatedness from their ancestors, passed down to them by their parents. So despite having emigrated to, or being born in foreign countries, Samoans use vā-thinking in the diaspora as an identity marker distinguishing them from other communities in a multicultural society. This is evident in the plethora of contexts in which the concept vā is used.⁶ However, as explored in this study, the diasporan use of vā has led to conceptual confusion. Firstly, the meanings of vā limited to social relatedness, and this is because the parental, familial and contemporary communal sources, represent vā as being primarily concerned with social organisation and ethical modes of conduct. Secondly, current diasporan approaches lack historicity: contemporary and historical accounts of vā are taken to refer to the same thing; that vā does not change over time. However, this study demonstrates that vā does develop and change over time.

⁴ Pratt, 331.

⁵ See Albert Wendt, “Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body [Electronic Version],” *Span*, 1996, 42–43; Later reproduced in Albert Wendt, “Afterword: Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body,” in *Inside out: Literature, Cultural Politics and Identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Boulder, NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 399–412.

⁶ In educational policy, see Melani Anae, “Research for Better Pacific Schooling in New Zealand: Teu Le vā – a Samoan Perspective,” *MAI Review*, no. 1 (2010): 1–24, <http://www.review.mai.ac.nz>; For social work in New Zealand, see Karlo Mila-Schaaf, “Vā-Centred Social Work: Possibilities for a Pacific Approach to Social Work Practice,” *Social Work Review*, no. Autumn (2006): 8–13; In spatial design, see Benita Simati-Kumar, “The Potential of vā Part 2: Theoretical Frameworks of the Vā,” *Te Kaharoa* 4 (2021): 1–76; In Tongan thought, see Tevita O Ka'iili, *Marking Indigeneity: The Tongan Art of Socialspatial Relations* (Tucson, AR: The University of Arizona Press, 2017).

The study views Samoan history through the lens of *vā*, “relational space”. However, in order to reduce conceptual confusion, it firstly ascertains the ontological status of *vā* during the nineteenth century; secondly, it traces *vā* through two broad time periods, so that changes and transformations of *vā* will become apparent. The research is a development of Island-centred, and islander-centred history,⁷ and seeks to integrate, the “shamanic” aspects of traditional Samoan history, as Pacific historian Neil Gunson⁸ calls them, into an outline of the ontology of nineteenth century Samoan worldview. Similarly, it will bridge archaeologists’ interest in the object, and ethnographers’ desire to reconstruct culture.⁹ The focus on the immaterial forces that hold Samoan society together will provide a better understanding of how nineteenth century Samoans may have understood and explained historical events and behaviours.

In this study, I use Samoan language texts, written by contemporaneous Samoans. The concept of *vā* is used to explain how nineteenth century Samoans may have viewed themselves and their actions. But, I have a different conception of *vā*, that it is about energy transfer rather than just social relations. I trace changes in Samoan history in terms of changes in *vā*. In this way, I may move beyond the constraints of the disciplinary modes of explanation of western trained Pacific historians, and provide a Samoan interpretation of historical events.

The study ends in 1914, on the brink of the Great War when Germany loses its colony. New Zealand takes over the administration of Samoa and a new phase of colonialism begins.

⁷ Kerry R Howe, “‘The Fate of the Savage’ in Pacific Historiography,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 11, no. 2 (1977): 137–54.

⁸ Niel Gunson, “Understanding Polynesian Traditional History,” *Journal of Pacific History* 28, no. 2 (1993): 139–58.

⁹ Alex E Morrison and John T O’Connor, “Settlement Pattern Studies in Polynesia: Past Projects, Current Progress, and Future Prospects,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Oceania*, ed. Ethan Cochrane and Terry Hunt (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 450–72.

2. Review of important concepts

This section covers three main areas of study: firstly, an examination of the term ontology, leading to an explanation of what is a typology of *vā*/space; second, a review of the term and concept *vā*; and, finally, an examination of a Samoan notion of history and how that conception fits with disciplinary notions of Pacific history.

2.1 Ontology

This section begins with a general discussion of ontology and two approaches to ontology: thin and thick. Ontological anthropology offers a new approach to alterity, according to which different peoples have different ontologies, inhabiting different worlds. The notion of ontological commitment is a way of cutting down on the entities that have to exist to only those that are necessary for a theory of *vā* (or worldview) to exist. The section ends with a typology of four kinds of space: mathematical, objective, psychological and social, which can be deployed to clear up some of the conceptual confusion involving the term space by disambiguating types of space, and, by noting the ontological commitments each type, and the relationships between the types, implies. This typology will then be applied to the analysis of the Samoan concept of *vā*.

2.1.1 Thin and thick ontology

The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy states that the term ontology, is “derived from the Greek word for being, but [is] a 17th-century coinage for the branch of metaphysics that concerns itself with what exists”.¹⁰ Ontology is concerned with what exists, and what it consists of. Philosopher Peter van Inwagen¹¹ notes that there are two conceptions of being: that of analytic philosophers, i.e., the thin conception, and that of continental philosophers, the thick conception. For analytic philosophers, the existence of something is quite separate from its nature. Their thin conception of being is allied with “the concept of number: to say that there are Xs is to say that the number of Xs is one or more – and to say nothing more profound,

¹⁰ Simon Blackburn, ed., “Ontology,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (Oxford University Press, 2016), <http://www.oxfordreference.com>.

¹¹ Peter van Inwagen, *Ontology, Identity, and Modality* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4.

nothing more interesting, nothing more”¹² (Van Inwagen, 1981, p.4). Existence, then, is the instantiation of a concept, and to say that chairs exist is to say that, the concept of chair has one or more instances. Furthermore, that there is but one mode of existence, rather than a plurality: “God, a chair, a number, a human being, a rattle snake, and a rock all *are* in the same sense and in the same way (mode)”.¹³ The thick, Continental conception of being regards the nature of something as constituent of its existence. Van Inwagen (1981) calls this conflation of existence and nature:

[the] mistake of transferring what belongs properly to the nature of a chair – or of a human being or of a universal or of God – to the being of the chair. To endorse the thick conception of being is, in fact, to make (perhaps in a more sophisticated way) the very mistake of which Kant accused Descartes: the mistake of treating being as a “real predicate”.¹⁴

Philosopher William Vallicella is dissatisfied with the lack of distinction in analytic philosophy between general and individual existence. As a consequence, one can assert that “philosophers exist”, i.e., that there are one or more instantiations of the concept of philosopher (general existence), while it is, somewhat counterintuitively, meaningless to assert that “Socrates exists” (individual existence) since existence is not predicated on individuals.¹⁵ However, individuals do exist, and they do have meaning. Furthermore, Vallicella points out that, if one accepts that existence is a property of individuals, one can discern different ways of existing or being. For example, the mode of being of the pain of a stubbed toe is quite different from the mode of being of the rock that caused it. The mode of being of pain is sensory perception, while the mode of being of the rock is not. While pleasure and pain have the same mode of being, namely sensory perception, they have different natures. Moreover, Vallicella notes that the sentence, “the sea is green”, is equivalent to “the green sea exists. “Is”, here, denotes both the existence and predication of the property of

¹² Inwagen, 4.

¹³ William Vallicella. “The Thin (Analytic) and Thick (Continental) Conceptions of Being and the Questions of Modes of Being”. The Maverick Philosopher (blog) February 11, 2011, para 6.
<http://maverickphilosopher.typepad.com/>

¹⁴ Inwagen, *Ontology, Identity, and Modality*, 4–5.

¹⁵ William Vallicella, “The Thin (Analytic) and Thick (Continental) Conceptions of Being and the Question of the Modes of Being,” *The Maverick Philosopher* (blog), February 11, 2011, para 12,
<http://maverickphilosopher.typepad.com/>. <http://maverickphilosopher.typepad.com/>

greenness.¹⁶ Indeed, for any object to have properties, it has to exist. Therefore, the conception of existence may have to be a little thicker for, according to Vallicella¹⁷, though “logically very sharp” the thin conception lacks “spiritual depth”. This study employs what Vallicella submits, as a thicker conception of existence.

2.1.2 Ontological anthropology

Anthropology and ethnography are the disciplines that inform this study on Samoan worldviews. Anthropologist Tim Ingold describes anthropology as “an enquiry into the conditions and possibilities of human life in the world”,¹⁸ as opposed to ethnography, which aims to describe the lived experiences of a particular group of people at a particular time. Ontological anthropology, or the Ontological Turn (OT) in anthropology, is a recent movement within anthropology that readdresses the methods and approaches taken in the study of alterity, or differences between peoples. In order to take seriously what people say about themselves, OT advocates a shift from epistemological questions, concerning “how one sees things”, to ontological questions, concerning “what one sees” in the first place.¹⁹ Its adherents claim that OT is a “methodological intervention” that enables the ethnographic data to reveal itself to the researcher.²⁰

2.1.3 Weak and strong ontology

In an assessment of OT, Keane²¹ refers to two types of ontology: weak ontology which is a “set of propositions or assertions...theories or interpretations of reality”, and strong ontology. According to the latter, “different members of the human race may have such different experiences, perceptions and ways of interacting with their environment that we should think of them as living in different worlds”.²² Proponents of OT favour the strong ontology of

¹⁶ William Vallicella, “Nausea at Existence: A Continental Thick Theory,” *The Maverick Philosopher* (blog), July 23, 2012, para 6, <http://maverickphilosopher.typepad.com/>.

¹⁷ Vallicella, “Nausea at Existence” 2012, para 2.

¹⁸ Tim Ingold, “Anthropology Contra Ethnography,” *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 7, no. 1 (2017): 21.

¹⁹ Martin Holbraad and Morten Axel Pedersen, *The Ontological Turn: An Anthropological Exposition* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 5.

²⁰ Holbraad and Pedersen, 4.

²¹ Webb Keane, “Ontologies, Anthropologists, and Ethical Life,” *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3, no. 1 (2013): 186–87.

²² G. E. R. Lloyd, *Being, Humanity, and Understanding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 21.

multiple worlds. In weak ontology, people have different worldviews (representations) of the same world, whereas, in strong ontology, different peoples live in different worlds and see different worlds. This OT position is problematic in several respects. The main problems stem from claims that OT is a methodological intervention that takes the philosophical position that there are multiple worlds²³. One has to ask, do their informants also adhere to multiple worlds? If not, then OT anthropologists are guilty of projecting their own worldviews onto their subjects. This is a perennial concern for all researchers examining alterity.

Academic historians would tend to adhere to a weak ontology. Historians use multiple sources to reconstruct representations of past events, i.e., multiple views of events in the same world. While one of the aims of this proposed research might indicate a weak ontology, i.e., the reconstruction of nineteenth century Samoan worldviews, the OT admonition to “take seriously” what people say about themselves is accepted as the main challenge for the researcher.

2.1.4 Ontological commitment

If ontology is about what exists, then ontological commitment concerns what entities exist “according to a given theory or discourse”.²⁴ The philosopher Willard Van Orman Quine (1908-2000)²⁵ asks, “what objects does a theory require?” Our answer is: those objects that have to be values of variables for the theory to be true”. For the purposes of this study, the question is, what ontological commitments would I have to make so that *vā* (or at least the conception of *vā* underpinning this study) can exist? This is important because Samoans have a particular way of making sense of the world around them.

In the next section, I outline four types of space, the ontological commitments they entail, and the relationships between the types.

²³ Paolo Heywood, “Anthropology and the What There Is: Reflections on ‘Ontology,’” *Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 30, no. 1 (2012): 148.

²⁴ Phillip Bricker, “Ontological Commitment,” in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2016, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/ontological-commitment/>.

²⁵ *Ontological Relativity and Other Essays* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1969), 96.

2.2 Typology of space

This typology aims to clarify how the concept of *space* is used in the English language, which can then be compared with the Samoan notion of *vā*. The use of the term space in diverse contexts has led to conceptual confusion. Considering a typology of space consisting of mathematical space, objective space, social space and psychological space will help to clarify not only their semantic relationships, but also the ontological implications or commitments that each type entails.

2.2.1 Mathematical space

Mathematical space is defined as “a set of points with a structure which defines the behaviour of the space and the relationship between the points”.²⁶ Because of the undefined nature of the points and objects, mathematical spaces are called abstract. Their structure is determined by operations on their points. This research examines the two most general types of mathematical spaces: topological and metric spaces. Topological space is the most general type of space, as elements are said to be near or far from one another; they can be in neighbourhoods and may have boundaries with other elements. In metric spaces, the relations between elements are characterized by a measured distance.²⁷ What is important in the context of this study are some intuitive, real-world aspects implicit in mathematical space; aspects such as neighbourhood, boundary and measurement. Metric spaces have a measured distance between elements and are topological insofar as objects are classified as near, close to, or distant from one another. However, it is imperative to note in that attributing the term *mathematical* to nineteenth century Samoan conceptions of space/*vā*, **does not**, attribute to them the mathematical formalism that developed in the West. It is applied in the study as one way to objectively define how things exist spatially in the world. Nineteenth century Samoans had a counting and numerical system. They spoke of space in terms of intuitive notions of *nearness* (*vāvālalata*), *farness* (*vāvāmamao*), *neighbourhood* (*li’o*) and *boundary* (*tuā’oi*), while also utilising metrics to measure space e.g., one hand-span and

²⁶ James Nicholson, “Space,” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Mathematics* (Oxford University Press, 2014), A set of points with a structure which defines the behaviour of the space and the relationship between the points. , Oxford Reference.

²⁷ James Nicholson, “Metric Space,” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Mathematics* (Oxford University Press, 2014), A set of points together with a metric (distance function) defined on it.

the standardised height of a man are measurements that were used in the construction of the Samoan *faletele* (meeting house).²⁸ In some of its aspects, mathematical space is a mental representation of objective, physical space.

2.2.2 Objective/physical space

Objective space exists extra-mentally, that is, outside of the mind.²⁹ It is the space where people live, where human activity takes place. Most people refer to it as physical space, or, ‘the real world’. Spatial location is a primary property of physical objects, which have a position and measurable physical dimensions. Objects are located at certain distances from one another, or in locations relative to one another in physical space. Physical objects can be perceived by an observer, either directly or through some instrument. However, objects in objective space are not limited to physical entities. For example, immaterial beings, such as spirits, ghosts and mythological creatures are believed to exist in objective space: ghosts in castles, spirits in forests, and *taniwha* (Māori water beasts) in Aotearoa New Zealand waterways.

2.2.3 Social space

The Oxford English Dictionary (Online) defines social space, as “space available or intended for social interaction”.³⁰ Social spaces may be located in physical structures, such as shopping malls, churches, parks and Samoan Fale; or they may be largely conceptual, for example, social class, which is determined through shared socio-economic and cultural characteristics. Members of social classes interact with members of other social classes in particular ways, for example, in opposition with one another, as in class conflict or economic struggle. The economy itself may also be seen as a social space, in which individuals pursue their own individual economic advantage in their interactions with others. The Bogardus Social Distance Scale regards social distance as a measure of the willingness for social interaction between members of two different groups: people are more willing to interact with those with little

²⁸ see UNESCO, 1992, p. 18)

²⁹ “Extra-Mental,” in *Oxford English Dictionary (Online)*, n.d., <http://www.oed.com>.

³⁰ “Social Space,” in *Oxford English Dictionary (Online)*, 2018, <http://www.oed.com>.

perceived social distance (e.g., close relatives) and less willing to interact with those who have greater perceived social distance e.g., people denied entry into one's country.³¹ In social spaces, social forces act on social actors. Ontologically, social spaces can exist extra-mentally, independent of any individual, or they can result from individual and/or collective action. Social interrelations in these spaces can be described as near, far, close or distant, intimate, exclusionary or oppositional.

2.2.4 Psychological space

Psychological spaces are intra-mental spaces, i.e., inside the mind.³² Psychology, as a discipline, is described as “the scientific study of mind and behaviour”, which examines and elucidates the inner, deep or surface structures of the human mind.³³ Spatial terms are often used to describe psychological constructs and states of mind: People feel high, low or hemmed in. Ontologically, at least according to mentalistic theory, psychological spaces exist only in the mind. In themselves, psychological spaces, existing only in the mind, have no physical existence, but may have physical correlations. For example, neuroscientists may regard brain states as physical responses to psychological stimuli.³⁴ Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI) techniques measure the ratios of oxygenated to deoxygenated blood in the brain, as each state has different magnetic properties. These physical changes in the levels of oxygenation indicate social or psychological stimulation.

This typology of spaces raises two questions: first, *why* are these disparate concepts all called *spaces*? Second, *how* is it that these spaces are called spaces? In answer to the first question, all of the diverse types of space are described by spatial terms denoting length, height, depth, proximity and adjacency. These are characteristics that are common to all types. As to *how* they are called spaces: objective physical space is the base notion of space. It is described in terms of length, height, depth, proximity and adjacency, and these spatial characteristics are

³¹ Vincent N Parrillo and Christopher Donoghue, “Updating the Bogardus Social Distance Studies: A New National Survey,” *The Social Science Journal* 42 (2005): 258–59.

³² “Intra-Mental,” in *Oxford English Dictionary (Online)*, 2018, <http://www.oed.com>.

³³ D. A Statt, “Psychology,” in *The Concise Dictionary of Psychology* (London, England: Routledge, 1998), eBook Collection (EBSCOhost).

³⁴ Jennifer S Beer and Eddie Harmon-Jones, *Methods in Social Neuroscience* (New York, NY: Guilford Press, 2009), 314.

applied *metaphorically* to other types of space. The Samoan concept *vā*, or relational space, is considered in context in the next section, alongside these typological understandings of space.

2.3 *Vā*: Samoan conception of space

2.3.1 Definitions

The earliest Samoan-English dictionary was compiled in 1862 by George Pratt, one of the first European missionaries in Samoa. In this dictionary, Pratt delineates and defines two meanings of the term *vā*: first, as a noun, “*a space between*” (or “*to have a space between*”) and, second, as a verb with the meaning of “*to rival*”.³⁵ These two basic dictionary definitions, as “*a space between*” or “*to have a space between* (a mathematical (topological) type of space), and as “*to rival*”, remain constant over 150 years of recorded Samoan lexicography. However, there is a discernible shift of emphasis over time, away from *vā* as mathematical space (near, far etc and have measurable qualities) to *vā* as social relation.

In 1966, George Bertram Milner updated the Pratt dictionaries in his *Samoan Dictionary*, highlighting changes in usage. Milner’s³⁶ entry for the term *vā* is extensive. The main meaning is still “*distance, space (between two places, things or people)*”, but there is an emphasis on the social meaning of “*relationship, relations (between two things or people)*”.

In 2010, Papali’i Dr Semisi Ma’ia’i published a two volume dictionary, titled *Tusi Upu Samoa*. Here, the term *vā* has the base meaning of “*space, interval*” and, as a prefix, “*creating space*”.³⁷ Papali’i also emphasises the definition of *vā* as *rivalry*. He includes *vā* as social relations, for example, “*le vā o la a faiganu’u o lo o tagata i le alalafaga ... the social context of people in the community*”. For Papali’i, rivalry and contestation are central features of

³⁵ see George Pratt, *A Samoan Dictionary: English and Samoan, and Samoan and English, with a Short Grammar of the Samoan Language* (Samoa: London Missionary Society’s Press, 1862), 216; see also Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 331.

³⁶ See Milner, *Samoan Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan.*, 307.

³⁷ Semisi Ma’ia’i Papaali’i, *Tusi Upu Samoa: Samoan to English*, vol. 1 (Auckland, New Zealand: Little Island Press, 2010), 453.

Samoaan *vā* social relations. He translates the Samoaan proverb “se’i teu le *vā*” as “*let the variance of opinions be modified*”.³⁸

2.3.2 Samoaan diaspora: Emphasis on *vā*

In 1996, Albert Wendt, the renowned Samoaan fiction writer and poet, first articulated in English the importance of the Samoaan concept *vā* as relational-social space:

Important to the Samoaan view of reality is the concept of *Vā* ... *Vā* is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the relationships/the contexts change... A well-known Samoaan expression is ‘*ia teu le vā*.’ Cherish/nurse/care for the *vā*, the relationships. This is crucial in communal cultures that value group, unity, more than individualism: who perceive the individual person/creature/thing in terms of group, in terms of *vā*, relationships.³⁹

Usually, the term *vā* is used as a noun phrase, where the objects in *vā* relation are stated, eg, *vā o ali’i ma tulafale* (*the relationships between chiefs*), *vā o mātua ma fanau* (*relationship between parents and children*), *vā feālofani* (*fraternal love between people*). Wendt, however, uses *vā* as a stand-alone, abstract noun to express a sense of relatedness, relationship or relational space. Wendt’s often-quoted description of *vā* became the touchstone for many diasporan Pacific artists and scholars in their efforts to express a unique Pacific worldview. There was a worldview based on home island understandings of *vā*, but transported to the new homelands to which Pacific peoples have migrated. For example, Samoaan anthropologist Melani Anae uses the proverb “*ia teu le vā*” (*nurture the vā*) as a title for a new research approach, as it “is aligned with a cultural ecology research approach in its focus on the significance of context in understanding the domains of social relationships”.⁴⁰ In her discussion of approaches to mental health, Tongan psychologist Karlo Mila Schaaf (2006)

³⁸ Papaali’i, 1:453.

³⁹ Albert Wendt, “Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body,” *Span* 42/43 (1996): 15–29.

⁴⁰ Anae, “Research for Better Pacific Schooling in New Zealand: Teu Le *vā* – a Samoaan Perspective,” 2.

contrasts *vā*, “as a system requiring harmony, balance, reciprocity and mutual respect and relationship”, with the Western bio-medical model, where diseases result from physical or psychological processes.⁴¹ She proposes that *vā* “is a socio-spatial way of viewing relationships and fits within a world that places collective interaction ahead of individual agency”.⁴² Social geographer Sa’iliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor⁴³ extends Samoan traditionalist understandings of *vā* (expressed in behaviours of respect and motivated by urges to maintain familial bonds) to understand migrant motivation and behaviour. Tongan anthropologist, Hūfanga Okusitino Mahina, advocates the Tā-Vā theory of reality, where it is argued “that tā (time) and *vā* (space) are inseparable in reality and both dimensions must be examined together, and in relation to one another, in order to gain a deeper understanding of natural, mental, and socio-cultural concepts and practices”.⁴⁴ Tā-vā-ism is gaining popularity among indigenous thinkers, and though the theorising of adherents around the tā (time)-*vā* (space) relations is sometimes confusing to me, *vā* is regarded as “socio-spatial”.⁴⁵ Quite often, diasporan explications of *vā* are inextricably intertwined with ideas of Pacific identity, in which *vā*-relatedness is unique to Pacific peoples. Thus, *vā* becomes an identity marker for diasporic Pacific communities.

Samoan notions of *vā* usually include human agents⁴⁶ and can include inanimate objects. The different types of *vā* tend to fall between two interrelated types: *vā* fealoaloa’i (social space) and *vā* tapua’i (sacred/spiritual space).⁴⁷

⁴¹ See Karlo Mila-Schaaf, “Vā-Centred Social Work: Possibilities for a Pacific Approach to Social Work”. *Social Work Review* no. 1 (2006): 12. See also Karlo Mila-Schaaf and Maui Hudson, *Negotiating Space for Indigenous Theorising in Pacific Mental Health and Addictions* (Wellington, New Zealand: Le Va, n.d.), 13.

⁴² See Karlo Mila-Schaaf, “Vā-Centred Social Work”: 13.

⁴³ “Beyond “migration: Samoan Population Movement (Malaga) and the Geography of Social Space (Vā),” *The Contemporary Pacific* 21, no. 1 (2009): 32.

⁴⁴ Tevita O Ka’ili, Okusitino Māhina, and Ping-Ann Addo, “Introduction :Tā-vā (Time-Space): The Birth of an Indigenous Moana Theory,” *Pacific Studies* 40, no. 1/2 (2017): 5.

⁴⁵ Tevita O Ka’ili, “Tauhi *vā*: Nurturing Tongan Sociospatial Ties in Maui and Beyond,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 17, no. 1 (2005): 89.

⁴⁶ Even *vā* between inanimate objects are described in human terms. See Fraser “A Samoan Story of Creation: A ‘Tala,’” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1, no. 3 (1892): 171., where rocks give birth to rocks.

⁴⁷ I’u Tuagalu, “Heuristics of the Vā,” *AlterNative* Special Edition, no. Special Issue (2008): 111.

2.3.3(a) Vā fealoaloa’i (Social space/vā)

For Samoans, social vā is about knowing one’s position in relation to others. Island Samoans learn their sense of place in a village context, through interactions with village institutions. Members of each division of Samoan society⁴⁸ have social responsibilities towards, and communication protocols with, members of each of the other social divisions. Samoans learn social vā by interacting with their social equals, superiors and inferiors. The importance of social vā, as in family status and ranking, can be seen in the fa’alupega of the village. The fa’alupega is a charter of the founding titles that also relates to land ownership of a village, within which every village member and their family can place themselves. It is “a verbal distillate of history and a who’s who of a community, a district and even of ‘all Samoa’”. Fa’alupega not only link the genealogies of villagers to the chiefly titles of that village, but also to other villages in a region, and indeed, to all Samoan villages nationally.⁴⁹ Diasporan Samoans, who do not live in traditional Samoan village structures in their new homelands, often wish to continue practicing homeland cultural forms. They organise themselves around social institutions like churches, where in chiefly and family groupings, they practice cultural rituals, e.g., the distribution of fine mats at weddings and funerals, and ava drinking rituals at chiefly meetings.

2.3.3(b) Vā tapua’i (Sacred space/vā)

In the nineteenth century, tapua’i translated as “to abstain from all work and to sit waiting for success in war or famine... to give something to bring success”.⁵⁰ The modern meaning of the term tapua’i is to “sanctify, make holy”, or to morally support a chief’s lauga.⁵¹ Samoan

⁴⁸ Aiono *O Le Fa’asinomaga: Le Tagata Ma Lona Fa’asinomaga* (Apia, Samoa: Lamepa Press, 1997), 6. notes 5 social divisions, groupings (*saofaiga*) in a Samoan village : the *matai* (chiefs); *faletua ma tausī* (wives of matai); *tama’ita’i* (unmarried women); *aumaga* (untitled men) and *fanau lalovaoa* (children). Each of division has its own protocols governing the interaction of its members with those of the other divisions.

⁴⁹ Collections of *fa’alupega* play a very important role in traditional Samoan social and ceremonial life. See Krämer *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, trans. Theodore Verhaaren, vol. 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions, 2 vols. (Auckland, New Zealand: Polynesian Press, 1994) originally published in German in 1902.; Le Mamea et al. *O Le Tusi Fa’alupega o Samoa* (Malua, Samoa: Samoan Church Press (L.M.S.), 1930).; The Tusi Fa’alupega Committee *O Le Tusi Fa’alupega o Samoa Atoa* (Apia, Samoa: Methodist Church in Samoa, 1985).; Aiono *O Le Fa’asinomaga: Le Tagata Ma Lona Fa’asinomaga*.; and Tofaeono *Fa’alupega o Samoa Atoa* (Auckland, New Zealand: Fuelavelave Press, 2012)..

⁵⁰ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 303.

⁵¹ See Papaali’i, *Tusi Upu Samoa: Samoan to English*, 1:389 Lauga is the speech of a chief, oration.

scholar Fana'afi Le Tagaloa offers a contemporary translation of the term *tapua'i*, as “the worship of God for the good of someone else”.⁵² An example of *vā tapua'i* in action can be observed when people remaining at home (the *au tapua'i* means literally “*those who wait and pray*”) pray for the successful outcome, and safe return, of the *au malaga* (*travelling parties*). In other words, even though they are geographically distant, travellers and supporters are in contagious magical contact⁵³ with one another. A defining characteristic of the Samoan *vā* is “action at a distance”, i.e., “a direct and instantaneous interaction between bodies that are not in physical contact with each other”.⁵⁴ In this way *vā* may be indicative of a magical worldview, where magic “denotes a cultural way of understanding experience”.⁵⁵ *Vā tapua'i* has is activated through prayer or ritual.

2.3.3(c) Feagaiga

The paradigm instance of *vā* is the *feagaiga*, the *covenant relationship between brother and sister*. An illustration of *feagaiga* can be seen in the relationship of the mythical Leutogitupa'itea and her brother Lafaitaulupo'o. The story goes that, Leutogi becomes a junior wife to the Tu'i Tonga. In a modern rendition of the story, Lafai promises to come to her aid should she require it. In Tonga, Leutogi kills the baby son of one of the Tu'i Tonga's principal wives. Leutogi is condemned to be burnt alive for the infanticide. On the day of the execution, her brother Lafai, having sensed the danger to his sister, sends a swarm of bats (the family totem) from Samoa to Tonga, and bats extinguish the flames of the pyre by urinating on them. The Tu'i Tonga then banishes Leutogi to a desert island inhabited a supernatural spirit, named Losi. Those same bats feed her with fruit, which she cooks in an umu of pebbles. All the while, she is watched from afar by the spirit. Eventually, she is saved

⁵² See Fana'afi Le Tagaloa, *Tapua'i: Samoan Worship* (Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 2003), 49.

⁵³ Frazer *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, Abridged edition (London, England: MacMillan & Co, 1967), 49. describes contagious magic (one of the two branches of sympathetic magic, the other branch is homoeopathic magic) as ‘the notion that things which have been conjoined must remain ever afterwards, even when quite dissevered from each other, in such a sympathetic relation that whatever is done to the one must similarly affect the other’. So, elements in the *vā* are bound together by contagious magical threads, whereby they can affect one another even though they may be spatially separated

⁵⁴ Jonathan Law and Rennie, eds., “Action at a Distance,” in *A Dictionary of Physics* (Oxford University Press, 2015), <http://www.oxfordreference.com>.

⁵⁵ Jeannette Marie Mageo, “Continuity and Shapeshifting: Samoan Spirits in Cultural History,” in *Spirits in Culture, History and Mind*, ed. Jeannette Marie Mageo and Alan Howard (London, Great Britain: Routledge, 1996), 30.

by the Tui Uea (*High chief of Uvea*). They live together in Uvea and they have a son named Fa'asega. Leutogi sends her son to her family in Samoa. Her exploits lead to the establishment of three matai titles in Samoa: Tonumaip'e'a (meaning *declaration of the bats*), Tilomai (*watch from afar*), and Tauiliili (*covered in pebbles*). Each of the titles commemorate aspects of the Leutogi story.⁵⁶ Feagaiga entails a special set of reciprocal obligations between brother and sister. Lafai protects and serves Leutogi, hence his sending of the bats to protect and feed his sister. The sister acts as advisor to her brother; she *tapua'i* (supports, prays for the success of) all his endeavours. The *feagaiga* illustrates the ideal instance of kin relations in the social *vā*, and the activated spiritual linkages (*vā tapua'i*) of the underlying *spiritual vā* (*vā tapua* forces) of the *feagaiga*.

The anthropologist Serge Tcherkezoff attributes village exogamy, i.e., that villagers look for marriage partners outside of the village, to the *feagaiga* relationships within a village. Because the men regard the women of their village as sisters. Hence, intra-village romantic relationships are taboo, at least during the nineteenth century. Tcherkezoff writes:

A village is a set of families, but as a community, it is a “sacred circle” (*alofisā*) of chiefs made as one, and these chiefs have “sons and daughters” who are thus considered to have a brother-sister relationship.⁵⁷

Feagaiga permeates gendered relations in a village, but also refers to how the two types of matai relate to one another: the *ali'i* is the sister to the *tulafale* brother.⁵⁸ Anthropologist Penelope Schoeffel points out that *feagaiga* relations are generational:

As a sister is to her brother, so is a female descent line (*tamafafine*) to her male descent line (*tamatane*) when their respective lineages originated from a sister-brother pair.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ See Krämer *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:121–22; See also Solomona Apemoemanatunatu Lafai-Sauoaiga, *Māvaega i Le Tai* (Auckland, New Zealand: Methodist Printing Press, 2000), 67–70 for a modern rendition of the myth.

⁵⁷ Serge Tcherkezoff, “The Sāmoan Village, the Brother-Sister Relationship and the Rule of Exogamy,” *The Journal of Sāmoan Studies* 7, no. 2 (2017): 7.

⁵⁸ See Penelope Schoeffel, “The Samoan Concept of *Feagaiga* and Its Transformation,” in *Tonga and Samoa: Images of Gender and Polity*, ed. Judith Huntsman (Christchurch, New Zealand: MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, 1995), 86.

⁵⁹ Schoeffel, 90.

In terms of *vā* relations, the female element is imbued with *vā tapua'i* (*sacred vā*), and the male element has *vā fealoaloa'i* (*social vā*). Samoan society is organised around the principle of *feagaiga*, not just because each group in society is made up of male or female members, and therefore, everyone should respect each other as brother or sister. But also *feagaiga* describes a flow of *vā* energy in the Samoan universe: *vā tapua'i* (*sacred vā*) fueling and activating *vā fealoaloa'i* (*social vā*) promoting social action.

2.4 The interrelatedness of *vā*

Vā fealoaloa'i (*social space*) and *vā tapua'i*, (*sacred space*) do not occupy opposite ends of a continuum; rather, they are closely intertwined: for every socially defined *vā*, there is an underlying *vā tapua'i*. For every *vā tapua'i*, there are corresponding social relations and appropriate social rituals for the proper engagement of the *vā tapua'i*. I propose that social *vā* is always 'turned on', on stand-by, as it were, and ready for potential activation. Spiritual *vā*, by contrast, has to be 'turned on' by ritual and prayer⁶⁰. To remain viable, all *vā* have to be regularly deployed and maintained. A Samoan proverb cautions, "*ia teu le vā*" (tend to the *vā*); *vā* needs tending, much like a garden. When social *vā* are not tended properly, they attenuate and are eventually 'turned off' – or else, negative social *vā* or relations arise. If *vā fealoa'i*, in particular, are not tended appropriately, then the probability for social discord will increase. For as the social geographer Sa'ilimanu Lilomaiava-Doktor records in an interview:

When *vā* breaks down, it is often caused by an imbalance when two or more people don't behave in ways expected of their roles and responsibilities.⁶¹

When *vā tapua'i* are not nurtured appropriately, then the opposite of *tapua'i* (sacredness or support) can occur, namely, *malaia* or *fetu'u* or *curses*. An example of *vā tapua'i* 'gone bad' can be seen in the story of Tupuivao. He had refused three summons to attend his mother, the Queen Taufau on her deathbed, preferring instead to continue pigeon hunting. As a result, Taufau, who was Salamāsina's grand-daughter, passed the succession to the family titles to

⁶⁰ I'uogafa Tuagalu, "Interiority: Samoan Thought and the Notion of the Interior" (Unsettled Containers: Aspects of interiority. 2010 Interstices Under Construction Symposium, Auckland, New Zealand, 2010), 4.

⁶¹ Posiulai and Tau'asosi, 2006, as cited in Lilomaiava-Doktor, "Beyond "migration: Samoan Population Movement (Malaga) and the Geography of Social Space (Vā)," 14.

her sister Sina and her descendants. Tupuivao and his descendants were passed over⁶² because Tupuivao abrogated the social *vā* responsibilities of a son for his mother and contravened its attendant *vā* *tapua'i* – resulting in his mother's curse. However, bad *vā* is still *vā*. *Vā* that results in socially undesirable consequences is still *vā*. For example, Tupuivao may have been passed over for the Tui Atua and Tui A'ana titles, but one of his descendants is Matā'afa Iosefo is a contender for the Tafa'ifā and Samoan kingship during the nineteenth century.

Thus far, *vā* has displayed aspects of all four types of space – *vā* is expressed in topological terms such as near (*vāvālalata*) or distant (*vāvāmamao*), or it can be given a metric measure. *Vā* can refer to objective spaces, i.e., external to one's mind. Samoan *vā* also refers to social relations and spaces that enable social interaction, e.g., the *faletele* (*meeting house*) or *fono* (*meeting of chiefs*). *Vā* also has psychological dimensions, i.e., internal to one's mind. For example, *vā* quite often carries a sense of obligation. However, in the case of Samoa, mathematical, psychological and objective space seem to be reduced to social space, as if all *vā* were reducible to social relations. The next section examines how *vā* can be extended beyond social space.

2.4.1 Forces and fields: Extending a theory of *vā*

If the basic notion of *vā* is the distance between two objects, which – though they may be spatially separated – are connected in a *vā* relation, what is the nature of this connection? The *field* in physical sciences, as a region under the influence of some force, can help us understand what is meant by action at a distance. It is defined as “a region in which a body experiences a force as the result of the presence of some other body or bodies”.⁶³ for example, a magnetic field generated by a magnet attracting an iron object. That is, objects that seem spatially separate are nevertheless joined by forces within a field⁶⁴. Other writers

⁶² See Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:280–81. The proverb: “Ua tafea le uto o Taufau”

⁶³ Law and Rennie, “Field.”

⁶⁴ Sophie Allen, “Field Theory,” in *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. Ted Honderich (Oxford University Press, 2005), <http://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199264797.001.0001>.

have used the notion of *field* to examine Pacific spatiality.⁶⁵ For example, Lehman and Herdrich use the *point field* to examine Samoan spatiality: “a *point field* defines space as the *topological neighbourhood of a given point*, and boundaries are derived as the adjacency of the closures of pairwise distinct point fields”.⁶⁶ A point, or object, generates an infinite field, which forms a boundary when its field runs up against another point-field. Point field space is formed by two points in relation to one another (relational space), whereas absolute space exists independently of objects.

Giovanni Bennardo discerns the principle of radially in Tongan use of spatial terms: “radiality is the relationship between two points, where one of them functions as the origin or goal of the vector that signals the relationship”. For Bennardo, this radial relationship is foundational to Tongan ways of thinking. Movement *towards centre*, denoted by the Tongan term *mai*, and *away from centre*, *atu*, is a basic unit of organisational structure, a “cognitive molecule”.⁶⁷ This movement toward or away from the speaker can be found repeating itself throughout all Tongan knowledge domains. Bennardo notes a Tongan linguistic preference for expressing spatial relations when “a specific point of reference is chosen in the environment of the speaker and then spatial relationships are expressed as toward or away-from it”.⁶⁸ The relationship is diagrammatically expressed as a directional radius connecting two points.

Lehman and Herdrich and Bennardo emphasise the location, or orientation, of the various points in relation to one another. They use the mathematical term *vector* to describe the spatial relations of points or objects, and they downplay the role of forces that either attract or repel objects within a space. Thus, Bennardo does mention the supernatural force *mana* in his analysis of Tongan spatiality – but only to illustrate that radiality “is an essential and

⁶⁵ Giovanni Bennardo, *Language, Space and Social Relationships: A Foundational Cultural Model in Polynesia* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Frederic Kris Lehman and David J Herdrich, “On the Relevance of Point Field for Spatiality in Oceania,” in *Representing Space in Oceania: Culture in Language and Mind*, ed. Giovanni Bennardo (Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics; Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. The Australian National University, 2002), 179–97; Micah Van der Ryn, “Which Way Is Front?: Spatial Orientation Complications in Contemporary Samoan Villages,” *Structure and Dynamics: EJournal of Anthropological and Related Sciences* 9, no. 1 (2016), http://escholarship.org/uc/imbs_socdyn_sdeas.

⁶⁶ Lehman and Herdrich, “On the Relevance of Point Field for Spatiality in Oceania,” 181 Italics in original.

⁶⁷ Bennardo, Giovanni, *Language, Space and Social Relationships: A Foundational Cultural Model in Polynesia*, 173.

⁶⁸ Bennardo, 75.

pervasive concept in the traditional (i.e., pre-contact) Tongan domain of religion”.⁶⁹ Bennardo believes that radiality as the “fundamental way of conceptualizing the religious domain is still in place”⁷⁰ – even though Christianity has replaced local Tongan religious belief systems, *mana* still generates behaviour.⁷¹

However, the forces within a field both define and limit the extent of the *vā*-field. So, in terms of the typology of space, different spaces may be subject to different forces. For example, social space would be subject to social forces and psychological space to psychological forces; topological vector spaces have direction and magnitude, and they are subject to mathematical operations; and physical/objective spaces are acted on by physical forces (for example, gravity). The next section considers the forces that may be involved in *vā*-fields.

2.4.2 Mana, tapu and alofa as forces

Vā can be conceived as a field of objects on which forces such as *mana*, *tapu* and *alofa* operate. These have been examined at length⁷² as Pacific conceptual forces that may bind or repel objects in *vā* relations. *Mana* serves to channel the influence of the gods towards generative ends. It is attributed to, and can be accumulated in a person,⁷³ having been appropriated, almost ‘wrested’ from the gods. *Tapu* is a restrictive force in channelling generative power, which works in tandem with *mana*.

The Samoan concept of *alofa*, commonly used to mean love or compassion, is another such binding force. To present day Samoans, *alofa* has become closely associated with the

⁶⁹ Bennardo, 188.

⁷⁰ Bennardo, 188.

⁷¹ Bennardo, 189.

⁷² Bradd Shore, “Mana and Tapu,” in *Developments in Polynesian Ethnology*, ed. Alan Howard and R Borofsky (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 157–73; Matt Tomlinson and Ty Tengan, eds., *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures*, Monographs in Anthropology Series (Canberra, Australia: ANU Press, 2016). Provides an excellent summary of the development of the concept of mana, and also of more contemporary interpretations of the concept of mana.

⁷³ Shore, “Mana and Tapu,” 140.

Christian notion of *agape*.⁷⁴ Christian Samoans speak of *alofa*⁷⁵ as a force motivating most positive Samoan intra-mental and extra-mental activity, in terms of “good thoughts” (*manatu lelei*) and socially positive actions. The opposite of *alofa* is the privative state of *lē alofa* (devoid of *alofa*). For example, a reverend who tends well to his flock is said to have *alofa* for his parishioners. If the same reverend were to embezzle funds from the church, he would be accused of being *lē alofa* to his parishioners. Interestingly, the anthropologist Bradd Shore⁷⁶ states that “*alofa* represents both a positive feeling of compassion and identification and a defence against hostile feelings commonly associated with deferential relations”. In the case of Samoa, *mana*, *tapu* and *alofa* are forces that exist both intra-mentally and extra-mentally. Insofar as Samoans believe that these forces exist in the physical/objective world, they are part of the physical/objective world and have a realist ontology. One can contend that, just as different types of space may be subject to different forces, the various types of *vā* would be characterised by differing configurations of the forces *mana*, *tapu* or *alofa*.

The next section examines the basic concepts in the writing of western history in general and in Pacific history in particular.

⁷⁴ Papaali'i, *Tusi Upu Samoa: Samoan to English*, 1:15.

⁷⁵ See Afoa *Taeao Mua: Le Lomifefiloi o Le Tusi Paia (Samoan Bible Dictionary)* (Nelson, New Zealand: The Copy Press, 2012), 27–30. for types of *alofa* in the Bible. Further research is required on tracing pre-Christian understandings of *alofa*. See also Afoa: 66. For entry under *akape* (*agape*) the commonly used gloss for God's *alofa* (love), but also links the term *agape* to the “lovefeast”. The term ‘*alofa*’ is linked to food acquisition and consumption in Samoan myths, see Steubel and Mueller (1896, pp. 170 [drinking *kava*] p. 171 [cannibalism]; p. 173 [*umu*-traditional cooking method])

⁷⁶ *Culture in Mind: Cognition, Culture and the Problem of Meaning* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 302.

3. Notions of History

The past is a foreign country, they do things differently

L. P Hartley –The Go Between – 1953.

3.1 Introduction: Samoan conception of time and history

To trace the concept of *vā* throughout Samoan history, this section examines, firstly, Samoan notions of time and history, as well as the formats in which these appear. Secondly, an outline of Pacific historiographical traditions will show how the discipline of Pacific history has developed since the 1960s. Finally, I will show how this research contributes to a new approach to Samoan history, one that take seriously what Samoans say about themselves.

3.2 Samoan notions of time

Samoans have a cyclical sense of time. Augustin Krämer (1865-1941), the nineteenth century ethnographer, notes the regular cyclical nature of Samoan village daily life.¹ Mano'o ² lists 20 Samoan terms for the divisions of the day that were used by Samoans before modern watches became available.³ This cyclical sense of time rests on the keen observation of naturally recurring events, e.g., weather patterns, seasonal migration of fish and birds, droughts and cyclones. Climatologist Lefale⁴ lists regular changes in the environment that enable Samoans to predict weather and climate changes, and to time their feasting and rituals around the seasonal recurrence of weather events. For example, *Ologa manu* (lit., cooing of birds), the Samoan name for the month of June, was so-called because of the abundance of berries and buds leading to an oversupply of birds. Conversely, the month of October is called *Lotu o uaga* (praying for rain), a dry period when prayers are offered up for rain.

¹ Augustin Krämer, "The Samoa Islands", Vol 2: 95-96.

² Ulu Kini Mano'o, *Sí'si'i Alafia Ma Le Aiga Sa Le Vaiolo* (Apia, Samoa: Author, 2007), 2.

³ see also Simanu *O Si Manu a Ali'i: A Text for the Advanced Study of Samoan Language and Culture* (Auckland, New Zealand: Pasifika Press/University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 598.; Va'a "Samoan Cultural Perceptions of Tā-Va," *Pacific Studies* 40, no. 1/2 (2017): 199.

⁴ See Penehuro Lefale, "An Epic Quest for the Samoan Indigenous Reference". In *Su'esu'e Manogi: In Search of Frangrance: Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi and the Samoan Indigenous Reference* edited by Tamasailau Sua-ali'i Sauni, I'uogafa Tuagalu, Nina Kirif-Alai, and Naomi Fuamatu (Apia: National University of Samoa), 363-4. Compare list of Samoan months with Va'a "Samoan Cultural Perceptions of Tā-Va," 201-2.

The interest in recurring events can also be seen in Samoan oratory. The *lauga* (formal speech) is an art form practiced by the *tulafale*, orator chief. The *taeao*⁵ is a constituent part of the *lauga*, in which the orator relates meaningful historical events in Samoan history to the occasion at which the speaker is performing. Tu’i⁶ lists 15 *taeao* that are repeatedly used in Samoan *lauga*. There are ancient instances, such as the *taeao* at Saua, on the occasion of the first *avā* ceremony between Tagaloa and Pavā; or the *taeao* at Samanā, where the boy, Sālevāo, stopped crying. According to legend, when Salevāo stopped crying, all the skulls in Savai’i started rolling about in celebration. The older *taeao* have been superseded by three Christian *taeao* commemorating the arrival of Christianity: the *taeao* of Matānui and Fegaimaleata (two malae of Sāpapāli’i village in Savai’i) celebrates the 1830 arrival of John Williams and the London Missionary Society; the *taeao* of Faleū and Utuagiagi, two malae of Manono, commemorates Peter Turner, the first Methodist minister’s arrival in 1835; and the *taeao* at Malaeola and Gafua, the malae of Lealatele and Patamea villages in Savai’i, is a reminder of the Roman Catholic priests’ arrival in 1845. The *taeao* celebrating the arrival of Christianity are now utilized more commonly in *lauga*, as the arrival in Samoa of the “Good News” (Tala Lelei) and propagation of God’s love in the islands meant the end of its dark pagan past. This recursiveness of history treats a prior event as a template for, or as a point of comparison to, another event. It amounts to what Mannheim defines iconicity as where “one set of semiotic distinctions” is naturalized “by referring it to another”.⁷

According to Linnekin, the iconicity of *taeao* is indicative of an implicit nationalism, which is at odds with the decentred nature of Samoan nineteenth century politics.⁸ When the *taeao* representing iconic historical instances are then used by all Samoan orators, they imply a shared national history. Similarly, the recitation of fa’alupega, the charter of the chiefly titles of a village, an essential part of the formal *lauga*, is also iconic, for all village fa’alupega are subsumed under the ‘national’ fa’alupega. However, the fa’alupega functions as an identity

⁵ (lit., morning, see Pratt, 1893, p. 276; Milner, 2003, p. 224)

⁶ See Tātupu Fa’afetai Mata’afa Tu’i, *Lauga: Samoan Oratory* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, Western Extension Centre of the University of the South Pacific and the National University of Samoa, 1987), 9–11.

⁷ Bruce Mannheim, *Key Terms in Language and Culture*, “iconicity” 2001: 103.

⁸ See Jocelyn Linnekin, “‘Mornings of the Country’: Centering the Nation in Samoan Historical Discourse,” in *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific*, ed. Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas (Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997).

statement that differentiates one village from another. It is iconic in that the *fa'alupega* acknowledges an unbroken link with the past, as each chief present is the latest incarnation of the first chief to bear that name. In formal Samoan *lauga*, the *taeao* comes after the *fa'alupega*.⁹ So, the orator identifies visitors and hosts by reciting their *fa'alupega*, while the *taeao* links the purpose of the day to an historical event. A typical *lauga* may utilise *taeao* in the form: "How many mornings like today has Samoa known? There is the *taeao* of Mātaniu and Feagaimaleata, the *taeao* of Faleū and Utuagiagi and the *taeao* of Malaeola and Gafua, when the *Tala Lelei* (the Good Word, Christianity) came to Samoa driving out the darkness. ... And so to the purpose of the day (*le auga a le aso*), we meet to discuss ...". The *fa'alupega* and the *taeao* are iconic elements that both differentiate and link the participants, and the purpose of the meeting, to an historic occasion.

Anthropologist Linnekin also contrasts a traditional, recursive Samoan view of history with the chronological Western one, which is termed *tala fa'asolopito* in Samoan (literally, a story where events follow one another).¹⁰ She notes that, in 1918, Te'o Tuvalu (1854-1919), who held government positions in the various colonial regimes from 1878, was charged, by the then commander Colonel Robert Logan as Government Secretary, to write a history of the islands. His is probably the first Samoan authored written history of Samoa. In his "An Account of Samoan History up to 1918".¹¹ Tuvalu used *tala fa'aanamua* (*stories from ancient times*), genealogies and fables, and included an extensive annotated chronology of post-contact events, of which the last entry is a record of Tuvalu's death on December 22, 1919 (this is only on the internet copy of Te'o's paper. I presume the death notice is added by someone else). However, even though it is written in chronological format, many events name Samoan participants, repeat first-hand accounts and list culturally important details. So, through chiefly names and named *ie tōga* (*ceremonial fine mats*), regional allegiances in the political events become apparent. Even in chronological format, Tuvalu cannot help but insert cultural and historic iconic elements.

⁹ Tu'i, *Lauga: Samoan Oratory*, 25.

¹⁰ Jocelyn Linnekin, "'Mornings of the Country': Centering the Nation in Samoan Historical Discourse," in *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific*, ed. Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas (Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), 209.

¹¹ Tuvalu Te'o, "Papers Relating to History of Samoa [Held Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia]" (n.d.), ML MSS 39 item C; Tuvalu Te'o, *An Account of Samoan History up to 1918*, 1918, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TuvAcCo.html>.

The problems of writing a Samoan history are made manifest in Tuvalu's admonition that "Samoan stories in the days of darkness were treasured in the heart and not written" (Preface). The difficulties of writing Samoan history lie not only in accessing relevant information held by Samoans, for example, family genealogies and stories, but also in making the histories relevant to Samoans by expressing something "treasured in the [Samoan] heart".

3.3 Pacific historiographical tradition

History, as a discipline, is concerned with explaining the causation of historical events and the processes of change over time.¹² Historical knowledge is built on primary documentary records, including oral records. James Wightman Davidson (1915-1973) advocated training a generation of Pacific historians to produce island-based histories, rather than treating Pacific history as an off-shoot of colonial policy and empire.¹³ These histories were also to be island-based histories, that is tell the stories of the interactions of the communities therein where the Pacific islanders and in themselves a focus of attention.¹⁴ For the writing of Samoan history, the Pacific historians Richard Gilson¹⁵ and James Davidson¹⁶ begin their ground-breaking histories with anthropological examinations of Samoan society, using Samoan language terms and phrases. Further, Davidson aimed to train indigenous Pacific historians who would be able to include indigenous understandings and voices in their histories, or as historian Kerry Howe puts it:

¹² William Dray, *Philosophy of History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 5.

¹³ James Wightman Davidson, "Problems of Pacific History," *Journal of Pacific History* 1, no. 1 (1966): 5–21.

¹⁴ See as examples of Islands based history. See James Wightman Davidson and Deryck Scarr, eds., *Pacific Islands Portraits* (Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press, 1970); Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860* (Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 1978); Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians: A History of Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands* (Australia National University Press, 1976); Hempenstall, Peter and Rutherford, Noel, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific* (University of the South Pacific, 1984); Sione Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development 1822-1875* (Canberra: National University of Australia, 1974).

¹⁵ Richard P Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community* (Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 1970), 1–64.

¹⁶ James Wightman Davidson, *Samoa Mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa* (Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 1967), 15–30.

Pacific history has been decolonized and now it is time to decolonize Pacific historians.¹⁷

Malama Meleisea, the best-known Samoan-born historian of that generation, used Samoan language sources (archival records, court records, interviews, and myths), as well as his own insights into village life, and the sociological notion of the bureaucratic office in his examination of Samoan history.¹⁸ He also compiled a shorter history of Samoa, that utilised chiefly accounts, oral history, myths and legends.¹⁹ Proponents of Davidson's school of Pacific history spread the influence of this approach. Dr Hugh Laracy (1937-2015), a student of Davidson's, taught Pacific History for many years at the University of Auckland, where he influenced generations of scholars. One of his students, Toeolesulusulu Damon Salesa, became the first Rhodes scholar of Pacific descent, reading in British colonial history in the Pacific at Oxford University. Toeolesulusulu taught history at Michigan University, before returning to New Zealand as Director of the Pacific Studies Centre at the University of Auckland. At the time of writing, Toeolesulusulu is the Vice Chancellor of the Auckland University of Technology. Through these generational networks, approaches to Pacific history have been adapted and augmented.²⁰

3.4 Towards a Samoan history?

A series of problems lie at the core of the Pacific History endeavour. First, most sources for such histories are written by European observers; second, the bias and training of academic historians may impede efforts to capture a 'native' perspective. Interdisciplinary approaches and the use of Pacific language sources have expanded the scope of historical sources; and the training of historians of Pacific descent may go some way towards alleviating disciplinary bias. However, social geographer Lilomaiaava-Doktor warns that "an awareness of indigenous concepts is not enough";²¹ the Samoan concepts have to be integrated with the theories and

¹⁷ Kerry R Howe, "The Fate of the 'savage' in Pacific Historiography," *New Zealand Journal of History* 11, no. 2 (1977): 152.

¹⁸ Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1987).

¹⁹ Malama Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa* (Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 1987).

²⁰ I was also a student of Dr Hugh Laracy at the University of Auckland from 1983-1988.

²¹ Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiaava-Doktor, Sa'iliemanu. "Beyond "Migration: Samoan Population Movement (Malaga) and the Geography of Social Space (Vā)." *The Contemporary Pacific* 21, no. 1 (2009): 31

frameworks of one's academic discipline. Moreover, Meleisea found that his intimacy with Samoan culture, fluency in Samoan language, and access to informants through cultural networks, made the impartial interpretation demanded by his academic discipline difficult.²² For indigenous researchers, even basic problems concerning historical interpretation can become overwhelming. Nevertheless, recent writings on Samoan history develop Gilson, Davidson and Meleisea's work and approaches in their use of Samoan conceptual schemes. For instance, Keiran Schmidt's doctoral thesis²³ titled "The Aitu Nāfanua and the History of Samoa: A Study in the Relationship between Spiritual and Temporal Power" examines Samoan history through the prophecies of the Samoan goddess Nāfanua which caused and spiritually legitimised the pre-European contact Samoan *mālō*, or *political and spiritual regimes*.²⁴ Throughout the nineteenth century, Nāfanua's *mālō* was eroded by the religious and political regimes of the colonial power, one *mālō* superseding the other. Albert Refiti's doctoral thesis titled "Mavae and Tofiga: Spatial Exposition of the Samoan Cosmogony and Architecture"²⁵ aims at a "spatial exposition of how Samoan spatial thought arises". In analysing the Samoan cosmological narrative *Solo o le vā* (Song of creation), he discerns the processes of unfolding and spreading (what he terms *mavae*), on the one hand, and gathering and appointing (termed *tofiga*), on the other. *Tofiga* and *mavae* are central to understanding Samoan spatial thinking, social organisation, ritual and craft. Refiti regards *vā* as relational space, "which outlines and structures relations for Samoans, giving rise to social order" (p. ix)²⁶. I mention these two theses specifically, as my own work will extend their authors' approaches. I will utilise much of the same documentary historical material and many of the same Samoan concepts. However, my study will differ in several respects. Firstly, I will determine the ontological status of *vā* for the nineteenth century and then use this understanding to analyse two broad time periods. Secondly, I will scrutinise nineteenth century Samoan sources (first-hand observer and historic records) to ascertain Samoan statements on *vā*. Thirdly, I will track the Samoan concept of *vā* through Samoan history, a

²² Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*.

²³ Keiran Schmidt. "The Aitu Nāfanua and the History of Samoa: A Study in the Relationship between Spiritual and Temporal Power" (PhD thesis, Canberra, Australia, Australia National University, 2002)

²⁴ Schmidt, 2002: vii-ix. I might add that Schmidt was also advised by the Samoan scholar and former Head of State of Samoa, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese, who he acknowledges throughout the thesis..

²⁵ Albert Refiti. "Mavāe and Tofiga: Spatial Exposition of the Samoan Cosmogony and Architecture" (PhD thesis, Auckland, Auckland University of Technology, 2014), ix

²⁶ So in terms of the typology, Refiti refers to *vā* as social space

major undertaking requiring an interdisciplinary approach, since there is less Samoan language data the further one goes back in time. In the Gafa period (1000 AD-1790s), Samoan sources will be likely in the form collected myths and legends. One commonality between my research and the works of Schmidt and Refiti is the need to tell a story that captures that which is “treasured in the [Samoan] heart”.²⁷

I have a memory of late night wanderings through the Apia Makeki Fou (*the New Market place*). In the days leading up to Christmas, people overnighted at their stalls, and so traded till late at night. The lit areas were where people still traded, but you had to walk through the darkened areas to the lit. As I traipsed through the dark zones, I could see the orange glow of lit cigarettes and hear the soft murmuring conversations. As I listened in, I could hear snatches of their talk: “Manatua fo’i o Toleafoa, o ia na...” (*Don’t forget that Toleafoa was the one who...*); “Na mafua mai ia Malietoa Vainu’upō le...” (*Malietoa Vainu’upō was responsible for...*); .”Auā o Nafanu Samoans are people who talk about their distant history. I am hoping that should one of those stall holders come across a copy of this thesis, that they will see themselves and what they hold be important reflected within.

4.Design of the Study

In this section, I outline the proposed research design, which includes the research paradigm, methodology, methods for data collection and analysis.

4.1 Research Paradigm

The Oxford English Dictionary [Online] defines paradigm as “conceptual or methodological model underlying the theories and practices of a science or discipline at a particular time; (hence) a generally accepted world view”.²⁸ The discipline of history is best encapsulated by the post-positivist paradigm of research, where human knowledge (or rather, perception) of reality, is socially constructed.²⁹ It is, therefore, subject to the biases of both questioned and

²⁷ Tuvalu Te’o, “Papers Relating to History of Samoa [Held Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia]” (ML MSS 39 item C.): preface [p. 2?].

²⁸ “Paradigm,” in *Oxford English Dictionary (Online)*, 2018, <http://www.oed.com>.

²⁹ B. M Wildemuth, “Post-Postivist Research: Two Examples of Methodological Pluralism,” *Community Policy* 63, no. 4 (1993): 450.

enquirer. For the post-positivist researcher, human knowledge is conjectural, and therefore demands a variety of appropriately applied methods suitable to the respective enquiry.³⁰ Positivist methods may be employed if the research questions deal with the collation or interpretation of “quanta” ascertaining, for example, how many people are engaging in a certain behaviour, or the statistical relevance of particular correlations. Interpretivist methods may be utilised if an understanding of the world, as perceived by the social actors, is required. Importantly, post-positivism does not lead to relativism, for there is an external objective reality. Nevertheless, our knowledge of it (since it is human conjecture) is imperfect and probabilistic. History, as a discipline, attempts to explain and reconstruct events from documentary records left by participants in those events. These documentary records are context-laden documents, containing participant perceptions that have to be interpreted by the historian. In this task, a post-positivist historian will utilise four post-positivist tools:³¹ first, the concept of *discourse*, that is, the ways in which beliefs, habits and practices of participants are communicated and understood. Second, the concept of *power*, that is, how beliefs, habits and practices are filtered by a participant’s level of privilege and entitlement. Third, the value of *narrative*: each participant tells a story that is reflective of their socio-economic circumstances. In the Samoan context, the narrative of a European planter, or a colonial official, is likely to differ from that of a Samoan chief, untitled person, or woman. Lastly, *reflexivity* on the part of the researcher leads to the understanding that the world that the researcher tries to reconstruct is complex, and that it demands a sensitivity to the application of appropriate methods and interpretations.

4.2 Research approach

The research approach is qualitative, as the documentary record consists of people’s recorded understandings and interpretations, the “qualia”, of social phenomena. It is easier to isolate instances of *vā* and *gafa* in Samoan social interaction

³⁰ Wildemuth, 451.

³¹ Anne B Ryan, “Post Positivist Approaches to Research,” in *Researching and Writing Your Thesis: A Guide for Postgraduate Students* (MACE: Maynooth Adult and Community Education, 2006), 22-26., <http://eprints.maynoothuniversity.ie/874/>.

4.3 Methodology

The historical mode of enquiry deals with the explanations of “past human actions of societal significance”.³² To say that the discipline of history deals with the past is tautological. The statement that it deals with human actions in the past may have to be modified, because objects are sometimes said to have a history. Nevertheless, the discipline of history is generally about human actors. Furthermore, historians are concerned, not only with any past human actions but, more specifically, with actions of some historical significance: the fact that a politician catches a cold one day may be significant if, as a result, the politician is unable to attend the signing of a significant treaty. The politician’s cold may be regarded as a significant historical fact if it plays a role in explaining why the treaty was eventually not signed. At the heart of the historian’s endeavours is the onus to *explain* historical events, i.e., “past human actions”, by discerning and interpreting historical facts and placing them into a chronological or thematic narrative. In this research, the ontology of *vā* will provide the categories by which to determine relevance in the collection and analysis of historical data.

4.4 Methods: Data collection

Pre-twentieth century Samoan historical sources are usually in the form of published missionary and traveller accounts, government reports, newspapers, unpublished archival manuscript collections, and ethnographic articles. I am especially interested in contemporary, i.e., nineteenth century Samoan language sources. Fortunately, published ethnographic material of the times tend to reproduce Samoan text and name the Samoan informants. Even though the manuscripts collections pertaining to Samoa are well known, I expect to find relevant new sources in the Samoan language content recorded by Samoans, since that type of content is more likely to portray Samoan points of view.

I am also interested in artefacts that were collected in the nineteenth century, particularly if they have provenance records. I want to show that certain Samoan artefacts can store and release *vā* energies that prompt Samoan action.

³² Dray, *Philosophy of History*, 5.

4.4.1 The Gafa phase

The Gafa period, 1000AD-1720s, spans a time that can be documented through Samoan genealogies, myths and legends and documented oral records collected mainly in the nineteenth century. Augustin Krämer (1865-1941) recorded 33 generations of the 5 Samoan main gafa (*genealogical*) lines of Savai'i and Upolu.³³ At 30 years per generation, Krämer calculated that the genealogical records go back about 990-1000 years, to their originators. So, comparing gafa can provide a chronology, wherein events and people can be assigned a date.³⁴ In all the major gafa, the first few generations are mythological characters. For instance, the first generations of the Tui A'ana gafa consists of Malamagaga'e (*Light in the East*), who couples with Malamagagaifo (*Light in the West*), and their child is Lupe (Pigeon). However, gafa can also include the myths and legends, which mention titles, people, and places. Gafa can also include charter events that are bounded within the genealogy. There are a number of sources that compile Samoan language accounts of gafa. For example, Oskar Steubel's (1846-1921) book *Samoanische Texte*³⁵ is one such compilation. Also, texts such as by the LMS missionary George Pratt³⁶ and Werner von Bülow³⁷ (1848-1913). will serve as contemporaneous accounts of gafa. Accounts of Samoan cosmology³⁸ will also be useful in understanding a gafa period worldview. Gafa is a way of tracking genealogical vā forces as they travel through Samoan society

³³ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:644–47.

³⁴ Others have used these lists of gafa to provide a chronology to date historical events. See Asofou So'o, *Democracy & Custom in Samoa: An Uneasy Alliance* (Suva, Fiji: IPS Publications, The University of the South Pacific, 2008) So'o employs a formula, but still arrives at the figure of 30 years per generation; See Manumaua Luafata Simanu-Klutz, "A Malu i Fale, e Malu Fo'i i Fafo: Samoan Women and Power: Towards an Historiography of Changes and Continuities in Power Relations in Le Nu'u o Teine of Sāolufata 1350-1998 C.E." (Doctor of Philosophy in History, Hawaii, HI, University of Hawai'i, Manoa, 2011) Simanu-Klutz dates the development of the Nu'u o Teine to 1350AD; See Albert Refiti, "Mavae and Tofiga: Spatial Exposition of the Samoan Cosmogony and Architecture" (PhD thesis, Auckland, Auckland University of Technology, 2014) Refiti has an extensive dating and periodisation system from first settlement, i.e., 2000BC.

³⁵ Oskar Steubel, *Samoanische Texte* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1896).

³⁶ George Pratt, "Genealogy of the Kings and Princes of Samoa," *Report of the Australasian Association of the Advancement of Science* 2 (1890): 655–63.

³⁷ Werner Albert von Bülow, "Der Stammbaum der Könige von Samoa," *Globus* Bd71 (1897): 149–53; Werner Albert von Bülow, "Die Geschichte Des Stammvaters Der Samoaner," *Internationales Archiv Fur Ethnographie* XI (1898): 6–18. Both these articles examine succession of "Kings" of Samoa.

³⁸ Thomas Powell, "A Samoan Tradition of Creation and the Deluge," *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 20 (1887): 145–75; John Fraser, "Folk Songs and Myths from Samoa II: Chaos and Strife: A Solo," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 6, no. 1 (1897): 19–36; Werner Albert von Bülow, "Die Samoanische Schöpfungssage," *Internationales Archiv Fur Ethnographie* XII (1899): 58–65.

4.4.2 The Colonial phase

The period 1720s-1914 relates to the Colonial period, when European influences intensified and Samoan society and belief systems underwent a series of great changes. Documentation during the nineteenth century is much more abundant, as observations and ethnographies of many European commentators, missionaries and government officials were collected and published. Some written records may refer also to pre-contact time periods, for example, the writings of Augustin Krämer, and Werner von Bülow. Both used Samoan informants and recorded their responses in the Samoan language.

The nineteenth century also brought about increasing literacy among Samoan populations. From 1830, the London Missionary Society missionaries, with the assistance of their Samoan pundits, primarily codified the Samoan language and translated the Bible into Samoan. As a result, Samoan magical concepts which invoke “action at a distance”, such as *feagaiga*, which denotes the sacred relationship (covenant) between brother and sister, were used in the translation of the Bible. Biblical *feagaiga* refers to the covenant between the Christian God and man.³⁹ In this way, Samoan conceptual terms were adapted in spreading a new system of Christian beliefs. However, Christianity also brought with it a magical worldview. Thus, the writings of the first Samoan Christian converts, and the first Samoan sermons, will contain insights regarding Samoans’ adaption to a new set of beliefs. Samoan *vā* can be seen as changing, as Samoans themselves begin to choose what aspects of their society they will change, adapt, or do away with.

Literacy also meant that nineteenth century Samoans had the ability to record their thoughts and beliefs in their own terms. The writings of Penisimani and Te’o Tuvale (1854-1918), not only illustrate both awareness and promotion of cultural change, but also the desire to retain aspects of past beliefs. In 1860s Penisimani, one of the first Christian converts used traditional Samoan myths, legends and terminology to justify and better explain Christianity to new converts⁴⁰ using the newly acquired medium of writing.⁴¹ In 1918, Te’o Tuvale wrote *An*

³⁹ See this thesis Part C, 2.1

⁴⁰ See George Brown, “Nature Myths from Samoa,” *Folklore* 26, no. 2 (1915): 172–81.

⁴¹ Leulu Felise Va’a, “The Parables of a Samoan Divine: An Analysis of Samoan Texts of the 1860’s” (Master of Arts Thesis, Australia, Australian National University, 1987).

Account of Samoan History up to 1918, at the insistence of the New Zealand Governor of Samoa, Colonel Robert Logan. One of the main difficulties in my research has been to find relevant nineteenth century Samoan language sources written by Samoans.

4.5 Methods: Data analysis

The Samoan concept of *vā* will, firstly, be examined from a diasporan perspective⁴² and compared and contrasted with the interpretations of Samoan island writers.⁴³ This analysis will provide a base for a better understanding of *vā*, at least in terms of 21st century commentators.

Secondly, this thesis aims to establish the ontological status of the concept of *vā*/space through a philosophical mode of enquiry. The work of Willard van Orman Quine (1908-2000), especially the notion of *ontological commitment*⁴⁴, and William F Vallicella's paradigm theory of existence⁴⁵ are instrumental in determining the ontological status of *vā* which, in turn, will be shown to be fundamental to the Samoan worldview. Furthermore, the conceptual frameworks of anthropologists advocating the *Ontological Turn*, in particular, Vivieros de Castro, Martin Holbraad, and Amiria Salmond, are useful for their contention that the belief systems of Natives offer an alternative, equally valid worldview. Put simply, all cultures are likely to have concepts of *vā*/space, and in determining the ontological status of Samoan *vā*/space, and its foundational role in the Samoan worldview.

Lastly, the notion of *vā* is traced through c1000 years of Samoan history. My exploration of Samoan worldviews will involve artefactual, and archival records. The study will comprise

⁴² For example: Anae, "Research for Better Pacific Schooling in New Zealand: Teu Le *vā* – a Samoan Perspective"; Tuagalu, "Heuristics of the *Vā*."

⁴³ Aiono, *O Le Fa'asinomaga: Le Tagata Ma Lona Fa'asinomaga*; I. F. S Fofō, *Lupe o Le Foaga: Faamatalaina o Aganuu Pei Ona Faatino i Ona Po Nei* (American Samoa: Matagaluega o le Aoga, 2002); For the English writings of Tui Atua, and analysis. See Tamasailau Sua'alii-Sauni et al., eds., *Su'esu'e Manogi: In Search of Fragrance: Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi and the Samoan Indigenous Reference* (Apia, Samoa: Centre for Samoan Studies, National University of Samoa, 2009).

⁴⁴ Quine, *Ontological Relativity and Other Essays*.

⁴⁵ William Vallicella, *A Paradigm Theory of Existence: Onto-Theology Vindicated* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).

case studies of developing prestige practices such as *fau fale* (*house-building*), and *lauga* (*oratory*), as well as chiefly *gafa* (*genealogy*), the gift economy and cosmology. *Vā*/spaces and *vā*/fields are applied to prestige practices to illustrate an energetical worldview. Each of these practices implies a supernatural origin, and together they can be seen as promoting a social order founded on supernatural agency.

There are a number of theses and studies that model this study: for example, historian Keiran Schmidt's thesis⁴⁶ which traces the goddess Nāfanua's legacy and relevance through Samoan history; anthropologist Bradd Shore's⁴⁷ structuralist distinction of *amio* (behaviour based on individual desire) and *aga* (behaviour based on social norms) as agency in Samoan cognitive behaviour; and spatial designer Albert Refiti's⁴⁸ exposition of spatial concepts in Samoan thought. These authors have roamed some of the intellectual territory that I will cover in the present study. Though true to the post-positivist ethos, methods will be applied reflexively in answering research questions, satisfying the disciplinary requirements of historians: firstly, to question one's assumptions; secondly, to state hypotheses clearly; and finally, always to be mindful of historical context.⁴⁹

This study examines the Samoan concept of *vā*. It uses nineteenth century Samoan writings and recorded *gafa*, *genealogies* to elucidate the notion of an energetical worldview. So, the emphasis is on the exploration of a Samoan concept. This study does not, however, assess the veracity of any *gafa* that it examines. To do so, would be, as the Samoan scholar Tui Atua Tupua writes, politically partisan.⁵⁰ Tui Atua states that *gafa* is a gateway to Samoan political and economic power, and as such it can be manipulated. There is a Samoan proverb "e talalasi Samoa" or "*there are many stories in Samoa*". This study holds that there may very well be

⁴⁶ Kieran D Schmidt, "The Aitu Nāfanua and the History of Samoa: A Study in the Relationship between Spiritual and Temporal Power" (PhD thesis, Canberra, Australia, Australia National University, 2002).

⁴⁷ Bradd Shore, *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1982).

⁴⁸ Refiti, "Mavae and Tofiga: Spatial Exposition of the Samoan Cosmogony and Architecture."

⁴⁹ Josh Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (London, England: Longman, 1984), 124.

⁵⁰ See Tupua Tamasese Tui Atua, "The Riddle in Samoan History: The Relevance of Language, Names, Honorifics, Genealogy, Ritual and Chant to Historical Analysis," *The Journal of the Pacific History* 29, no. 1 (1994): 79. As Tui Atua writes "1. That Turner was a political partisan as are the Malietoas. 2. That Krämer was a political partisan as are the Mata'afas. 3. That Robert Louis Stevenson was a political partisan whether or not he is conscious of it. 4. That Tupua Tamasese is a political partisan whether or not he is conscious of it".

different versions of a gafa or story. What is of interest for this study are the energetical implications and the reasons why Samoans feel that the gafa or tala is important.

PART B: Gafa period: c.1000AD-1722

The Gafa period begins c.1000AD, because published gafa, *genealogies* place the earliest descendants at about 1000 years from the time the gafa were collected in the 1880s-90s. During this period, Gafa, in terms of genealogical connection is central to the political and religious organisation of villages, and regions. Moreover, gafa is a way of tracking vā-forces as they make their way through the Samoan universe.

1. Samoan historical concepts

Samoans are particular in what they record about themselves. This section discusses concepts that Samoans use to tell their history. Usuga (*marriage or mating*) and aumoega (*wooing parties*) are important to building gafa. Narrative or tala are structured ways of telling their stories

1.1 Usuga and aumoega

The Gafa period is so called because it starts with the earliest gafa when a gafa (genealogical) view of the world becomes fully developed. The phrase “usuga ma aumoega” literally means “marriage unions and marriage parties” The Samoan cultural historian Fofō Sunia says that usuga ma aumoega laid foundations for Samoan traditions. He asks the question:

O anafea, a o fea fo’i, na fa’avae mai ai le aganuu o Samoa ua ta’u nei o Usuga ma Aumoega?¹

Whence and where did the Samoan cultural practice that we call usuga and aumoega, begin and come from?

For Fofō, usuga and aumoega were essential to establishing gafa, *genealogy*. Usoga (*marriage*) and aumoega (*marriage parties and rites*) provide the social mechanisms that enables gafa forces to course Samoan society. The aumoega are group of wooers (fale tautū) who are sent by a chief to arrange a marriage with a taupou, ceremonial maiden. The Samoan historian Meleisea describes the networks of titles, and the orators who bestow them “like a net, the strings of which link together all the families, the villages and districts of Samoa”.²

¹ Sunia Fofō, *Usuga Ma Aumoega a Tamalii o Samoa* (Pago Pago, American Samoa: The Author, 2016), vii.

² Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 32.

This section traces the importance of the notion of gafa through Samoan narratives of the origins the universe, its people, social organisation, and certain material goods. This section argues that gafa is a way of tracking the flow ancestral energy (mana).

1.2 Narrative and “gafa”

One way of examining the Samoan worldview is to explore stories or narratives that Samoans tell each other about the origin of the universe and the world that they inhabit. The stories tell us something about what they considered important in the world around them. Theologian John Charlot notes:

A consciously literary people, Samoans understand themselves, each other, and even foreigners through literary forms.³

Charlot also enumerates a number of characteristics of classical Polynesian thinking. He notes that vast amounts of information were ordered into heirarchical and accumulating groups for memorisation and quick recall. “Genealogies thus provided the model when those intellectuals asked about the origin of the universe.”⁴ I would add that gafa was an intergral part of any narrative.

1.3 Gafa: tracking power

The Samoan term “gafa” has the earliest dictionary meanings of “1. *A fathom*. 2. *Ancestor*. 3. *Descendants*. 4. *A pedigree*”.⁵ It is glossed by the term genealogy. Gafa is also a measure of physical space, *a fathom or an armspan*.⁶ Anthropologist Penelope Schoeffel defines gafa as “genealogy or pedigree, also refers to the consanguinal members of ‘aiga-blood relatives”.⁷ There is a connection between the two senses of gafa i.e., a list of ancestors and the physical

³ John Charlot, “Aspects of Samoan Literature I. The Structure of the Samoan Single Story Form and Its Uses,” *Anthropos* 85, no. 4/6 (1990): 415.

⁴ John Charlot, “Classical Polynesian Thinking,” in *Companion to World Philosophies*, ed. Eliot Deutsch and Ron Bontkoe (Blackwell, 1997), 53.

⁵ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 169.

⁶ See UNESCO, *The Samoan Fale* (Thailand: UNESCO Office for the Pacific States and UNESCO Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, 1992), 18. In Samoan house building...“The units of physical distance are traditionally calculated in terms of a man’s body. This the outstretched arms (*gafa*) represents roughly 6 feet”.

⁷ Penelope Schoeffel, “Daughters of Sina: A Study of Gender, Status and Power in Western Samoa.” (Doctor of Philosophy, Australia, Australia National University, 1979), 576.

measure of a fathom (6 ft), and that is the genealogical distance between ancestors is measured by the number of intermediate descendants. So, gafa relations can be described in spatial terms, such as close or near, vāvālalata or distant and far vāvāmamao.

Moreover, there are two ways of outlining Samoan gafa: firstly, there is *one source gafa*: A to B. B to C, C to D, for example:

- (i) **O le alo** a Papalevulevu **ia** Papafofola; **o le alo** a Papafofola **ia** Papasolosolo⁸...
(**the son of** Papalevulevu **is** Papafofola; **the son of** Papafofola **is** Papasolosolo...).

Here, just the main male characters are listed, i.e., father to son

Or, the more frequently used *two source gafa*: A+B, C; C+D, E; E+F, G, for example:

- (ii) ...**usu** Leuteleiite **ia** Iletutafeilo **fanau** Tuiatuaaumotogafa; **usu** Tuiatuaaumotogafa **ia** Suluialafaalava **tasi** o Tuiatuafeuleai⁹...

(...Leuteleiite **coupled with** Iletutafeilo, who **gave birth to** Tuiatuaaumotogafa; Tuiatuaaumotogafa **coupled with** Suluialafaalava, which **produced one child**, Tuiatuafeuleai...)

Additional information can be added to these basic patterns:

- (iii) **Na usu** ia Tagaloaalagi ia Sinaalagilagi o le tamaitai Savai'i i le Itu o Fafine, **a faaee le gafa** o Puleiluga, a **usu** Puleiluga, ia Puleilalonei a **faaee le gafa** o Puleileelele¹⁰...

(Tagaloaalagi **coupled with** Sinaalagilagi, a young Savai'i noble woman from the region of Itu o Fafine, **this union gave rise to** Puleiluga; Puleiluga **coupled with** Puleilalonei, **this union gave rise to** Puleileelele...)

The last two examples, lists some of the basic terms used with gafa. In modern usage, the phrase "usu X ia Y" is translated as X marries Y. Similarly, the phrase "fa'ae'e le gafa o Z" is translated as gave birth to Z -the terms "fanau" (*gave birth to*) and "tasi o" (*one child named*) point more clearly to the idea of childbirth. However, the earliest Samoan dictionary (Pratt,

⁸ Steubel, *Samoaanische Texte*, 161 "O le tala i le tupuaga o Samoa." (The tale of the origins of Samoa)

⁹ Steubel, 192 "O le gafa o Tupu o Samoa." (The genealogy of the Kings of Samoa)

¹⁰ Steubel, 162 "O le gafa o Tagaloaalagi o le alii sa pule i le lagi na ia faia Samoa." (the genealogy of Tagaloaalagi, lord of the heavens who made Samoa)

1862, 1893), do not have the sexualised use of the terms “usu” and “fa’ae’e”. The 1893 edition translates the term “usuia” as to marry,¹¹ and usuga as marriage alliance; and the term “fa’ae’e” as “to place upon, as on a shelf”.¹² However, one other meaning of the term “usu” is to rise up early in the morning, and the term “e’e” means “to pay respects to, to reverence”.¹³ The notion that Samoans may view marriage as “rising up” (to copulate), and childbirth as an act of “reverence” through gafa might be fanciful but may also indicate that Samoans not only viewed gafa as important, but differently.

Augustin Krämer (1865-1941) the German ethnologist is aware of Samoan distinctions. He writes that the phrase fa’ae’e le gafa is “a standard expression in the genealogies of chiefs for ‘to be born’, actually had the sense of ‘**bought forth by the ancestor**’”.¹⁴ Krämer is aware that for Samoans, gafa, and the birth of a child, is akin to the bringing forth of an ancestral power. Hence, Krämer’s gafa tend to be more detailed, for example,

- | | |
|---|--|
| 20. Usu le Tonumaipea Saumaipe’a (I.usuga) | ia Tuaeali ‘o le afafine o le La’ulunofovāleane i
Gataivai
tasi o Tapumanaia |
| Toe usu (II.usuga) | ia Sivalavala ‘o le afafine o Anafili i Salailua
tasi ‘o Uati teine
tasi ‘o Tagaloatō |
| 21. Usu Tapumanaia | ia Salamāsina ‘o le fafine tupu
tasi ‘o Fofoaivao’ese teine
tasi ‘o Tapumanaia |
| 22. E usuia Tui A’ana Fofoaivao’ese | e le Tauatamainiulaita Satupa’itea
tasi ‘o Sina teine
tasi ‘o Taufau teine
tasi ‘o Asomualemalama |

¹¹ Pratt, *Pratt’s Grammar and Dictionary Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 105.

¹² Pratt, 109.

¹³ Pratt, 82.

¹⁴ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:660.

This short sample of the gafa of the Tonumaipē'a family,¹⁵ where more details for characters are provided eg, ia Tūaetali 'o le afafine o le La'ulufovaleane i Gataivai (*Tūaetali the daughter of La'ulufovaleane of Gataivai - district in Savai'i*); Salamāsina 'o le fafine tupu (*Salamāsina, the female king*). Different marital unions are itemised by the phrase "toe usu" (*married again*). John Charlot, an academic in the literatures of the Pacific at the University of Hawaii, argues that the structure of Samoan narratives derived from gafa, because of the ability to add to, and embellish various parts¹⁶ of gafa.

Gafa terms:	Meanings:
usu	coupled, mated with, had sexual intercourse with, married to
toe usu	Recoupled with, remated with, married again to
fa'ae'e le gafa	to be born, "bought forth from the ancestors"
fanauia	gave birth to
o le alo o ... teine	The son of.. girl

1.4 Narrative structure

Samoan stories were structured. Charlot¹⁷ found that all Samoan single story narratives can have at least 6 parts:

- (i) **Title or titular sentence:** phrase or sentence that tells the audience the story that is to be told, ie *this is the story of....*
- (ii) **Introduction:** general information about the characters, their names positions, location, historical situation and habitual activity
- (iii) **Time reference connection to narrative:** time marker connecting information in the introduction to events in the narrative
- (iv) **Narrative:** the action and events of the story
- (v) **Conclusion:** statement of the outcome or point of the story

¹⁵ Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:125.

¹⁶ John Charlot, "Aspects of Samoan Literature III: Texts on Historical Subjects and Bodies of Literature," *Anthropos* 87, no. 1/3 (1992): 129.

¹⁷ John Charlot, "Aspects of Samoan Literature I. The Structure of the Samoan Single Story Form and Its Uses," *Anthropos* 85, no. 4/6 (1990): 417.

(vi) **Terminal phrase or sentence:** a sentence that indicates the story is finished eg, ia ua uma le tala: *the story is finished*

By way of illustration, let us examine the structure of the following short narrative:

O le aitu Soesā i Aleipata.

O le tala i le aitu i Aleipata e igoa o Soesā o Sagaia le igoa o le tamaita'i o le afafine o Tuiatua o le samatauauu ona sau lea i ai o le aumoega¹⁸ a Tuifiti ona nofo ai lea o le tamaita'i ona fanau lea ua fanau leau ua ua o le alualutoto ona lafo lea i le vāi ua faalogo atu le aiga ua gasē tele le vāi ua tusa ma tagata e toatele ua taelele ona asiasi atu lea o le vai ua liu tagata o le alualutoto ua fealua'i ua le ta'ua lava ia o se atalii o Tuifiti ona sau ai lea o ia i Samoa ona taunuu mai lea i Aleipata i le nuu o lona tinā ona ua le sau i soona itutagata a ua sau i lona ituaitu ua faasauā tele lava i tagata sa nonofo i le aai e igoa o Malaela ona fai lea i ai o le feagaiga a le nuu e tusa ma le feagaiga¹⁹ a alii i o latou tuafafine a e ui lea a ita le saualii i. lea aiga ona fasioti uma lea ua faapea lava pea i aso uma ona faasauā o le aitu ua leai ni tagata e nonofo i Malaela ua oo mai lava i ona po nei ua tuufua auā ua faaumatia i latou i le sauā o le saualii.²⁰

(Translation mine): This is the story of the aitu²¹ in Aleipata whose name is Soesā. Sagaia is the name of the daughter of the Tuiatua Samatauau'u, and there came then the suitor party of the Tuifiti. She then lived with him and gave birth to a blood-clot, which when thrown into the water. The family heard splashing as if there were many people bathing. When they visited the water once again, they saw that they saw that the blood-clot had transformed into a person. He travelled around, but no one ever called him the son of the Tuifiti. He, then, came to Samoa, arriving at Aleipata the village of his mother. However, he did not come displaying his human-side, but rather his aitu-side. He was very cruel to the people who lived in the environs of a village named Malaela. The village formed an agreement with the aitu, much like the 'feagaiga' between chiefs and their daughters: if any family angers the spirit, then it will kill the whole family, and so it has been every day since, and because to the cruelty of the aitu, to this day no one lives at Malaela, it is deserted, the people destroyed by the cruelty of this saualii²² (fierce spirit).

The parts of this story are:

¹⁸ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 63 aumoega: "a party going to make proposals to a lady". An important feature of Samoan political economy.

¹⁹ Pratt, 153 Pratt, Pratt's *Grammar and Dictionary Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 153 "An established relationship between different parties, as between brothers and sisters and their children." between a chief and his daughter. The Christian missionaries co-opted the term to mean "covenant".

²⁰ Steubel, *Samoanische Texte*, 173.

²¹ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 2 "a spirit."

²² Pratt, 255 "The respectful term for aitu."

O le aitu Soesā i Aleipata is **the titular sentence**, where the listener is told the subject of the story. Charlot suspects that the titles and titular sentences of many recorded stories may show the influence of European storytelling (ie, telling the reader what to expect), however, he contends that the information conveyed in these sections would have been in the text, if only in slightly modified ways.

O le tala i le aitu i Aleipata... O Sagaia le igoa..o le Samatauānu'u is **the introduction**. This section, identifies the characters (Sagaia, daughter of the Tuiatua, and the Tuifiti as a suitor) and locates the action in a particular place (Aleipata). Soesā utilises what Charlot²³ terms the genealogical introduction, where child birth and products of marital unions are mentioned. Quite often, the genealogical introduction segues into the narrative, as in this story: Sagaia forms a union with the Tuifiti and gives birth to a blood clot.

Ona sau lea ia... (*and there came at that time...*) is **the time reference** connection to the narrative.

Ona sau lea ia i le aumoega...i le faasauā o le aitu is **the narrative**. The details are that the Tuifiti takes Sagaia as his wife, she gives birth to a blood-clot, which after being thrown away into water transforms into a man. The man wanders around, not acknowledged as the son of the Tuifiti, and eventually returns to terrorise his mother's village of Aleipata in aitu form. The village come to an agreement, where if any family offends him, Soesā can kill everyone

Ua leai ni tagata e nonofo ...i le sauā o le saualii is **the conclusion**, where the explanatory point of the story is given. In this case, the cruelty of the aitu has led to the depopulation of Malaelā.²⁴

Ostensibly, this tale explains to listeners why noone lives in Malaelā. It is also a warning of the consequences of not acknowledging people's birthrights. The story is organised around Soesā's gafa, as it is the mother's family in Aleipata who suffers. It has a number of common story motifs: e.g., **the blood-clot abortion** that becomes human. It transforms into a semi-divine being that has an aitu (spirit) persona. There are well known personages: Tuiatua, and

²³ Charlot, "Aspects of Samoan Literature I. The Structure of the Samoan Single Story Form and Its Uses," 420.

²⁴ Malaelā means Malae in the sun (lā).

Tuifiti; and the locations of Aleipata and Malaelā, which anchor the story to specific Samoan locations. These elements add to Soesā's gafa, and to the seeming validity of the story: the Tuiatua, the Tuifiti, Aleipata and Malaelā are actual people and places. The fantastic parts of the story, eg, aitu personas and blood clots, would be taken by contemporary listeners to be common wisdom.

In the analysis of parts, different versions of a story derive from the redactor's or storyteller's telling of the story, their manipulation, and embellishment of the parts, and their content. The different versions of stories show remarkable consistency in the central events. Short story narratives can be extended to longer series of connected stories around an event or the exploits of a person, for example the Eastern Polynesian Maui cycle; and larger multigenerational complexes that have a number of interconnected genealogies and associated stories. The most extensive examples of multigenerational narratives are those stories around cosmological origins.

2. Gafa Phase of Samoan history: Cosmological origins

Introduction

In this section, I examine Samoan accounts of cosmological origins. There are two types of cosmology: evolutionary and creationist. The evolutionary model have entities being superceded by others either by combat, or by mating and their offspring succeed the previous generation. The creationist model has the god Tagaloa creating the universe by fiat. Gafa (*genealogy*) is central to both explanations of the origins of the Samoan universe. I intend to show that Gafa is a way of tracking the forces released from the primordial rock as they course through the Samoan universe.

The notion of *gafa* (genealogy) pervades Samoan origin narratives. Stories around the origins of family titles, villages, geographic features (e.g., mountains), items of cultural importance (e.g., kava), fine mats, and everyday but essential items (e.g., taro, or coconut) typically have gafa as central organising device. In the Samoan world objects have origins (gafa). There are two types of accounts of the beginnings of the Samoan universe. The first and oldest type is the Genealogical/evolutionary. These typically start with the gafa of the rock. The second is the Creationist model,¹ associated with stories around the deity Tagaloa, and most prominently in the different versions of the song “Solo o le vā”.² There are different versions of each of these types, however, they are remarkably uniform in the order of their respective listed items and incidents.

2.1 Genealogical/evolutionary model of creation: Gafa of rocks

The gafa of rocks is the oldest type because it often appears at the beginning of narratives including some of the versions of the creationist myths. The gafa of rocks traces the origins of the Samoan world to papa (*rock*), the foundation of land. It describes movement from large

¹ John Charlot, “Aspects of Samoan Literature II: Genealogies, Multigenerational Complexes, and Texts on the Origin of the Universe,” *Anthropos* 86, no. 1/3 (1991): 132.

² See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 268 “A song in praise of a chief’s land”. Obviously, the solo can be about more than just a chief’s land.

rocks to smaller stones, eventually to land that can bear plants. It describes the observable transformation of volcanic fields, in terms of marital unions of large rocks becoming smaller through successive generations. For example:

O le alo a Papalevulevu ia Papafofola, o le alo a Papafofola, ia Papasosolo, o le alo a Papasosolo o Papataoto, o le alo a Papataoto, ia Papanofo, o le alo a Papanofo, ia Papa Tu, o le alo a Papa Tu, o Papaele, o le alo a Papaele, ia Papaalā, o le alo a Papaalā, ia Siupapa,...³

Papalevulevu's⁴ son is Papafofola (flat rock). Papafofola's son is Papasosolo (long rock, old reefs on the beach). Papasosolo's son is Papataoto (lying rock). Papataoto's son is Papanofo (seated, low rock). Papanofo's son is Papatū (upright rock) Papatū's son is Papaele (crumbly rock). Papaele's son is Papaalā (coarse rubble on the beach). Papaalā's son is Siupapa (projecting rock edge)...

There is an evolutionary process to the couplings and progeny. Each instance of the rock genealogy has Papatū (standing rock), and as stated, it shows a progression from larger to smaller rocks, which in more extensive versions leads to arable soil, plants, animals (as in rats), and ultimately the evolution of people. This view is based on acute observation of the natural world, its cycles, e.g., the course of the day, the seasons; and noticing how lava fields breakdown to allow plant growth, which in turn attracts animals. There is a sense of purpose and direction to the couplings and successive generations.

The rock gafa also appears at the beginning of peoples genealogy, for example, one version of the Tui A'ana genealogy,⁵ one of major chiefly families, begins:

Usu Malamagaga'e	ia Malamagaifo (<i>light to the west</i>)
(<i>light from the east</i>)	tasi 'o Lupe (<i>Pigeon</i>)
Usu Lupe	ia Papatū (<i>solid cliff</i>)
	tasi 'o A'alua (<i>sediment</i>)
Usu A'alua	ia Papamau (<i>solid cliff</i>)
	tasi o Papafoagia (<i>split cliff</i>)

³ Steubel, *Samoaianische Texte*, 161 Taken from "O le tala i le tupuga o Samoa."

⁴ See Steubel, 59 The meaning of "Papalevulevu" has been lost.

⁵ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:220–21.

Usu Papafoagia	ia Ma'ata'anoa (<i>small scattered rocks</i>) tasi ia Papa'ele (<i>cliff soil</i>)
Usu Papa'ele	ia Palapala (<i>swamp</i>) tasi 'o Papamavae: teine (<i>fissuring cliff: girl</i>)
E usuia Papamavae	e Imoa (<i>rat</i>) tasi 'o Salasala: teine (<i>gnawed off piece: girl</i>)
E usuia Salasala	e Tagaloanimonimo (<i>Tagaloa the immeasurable</i>) tasi 'o Tupufua (<i>origination from nothing, the first human</i>)

This two source gafa starts with the coupling of esoteric elements: Malamagaga'e (*Light from the east*) and Malamagaifo (*Light from the west*). The rocks gafa starts with the coupling of Lupe (*Pigeon*) with Papatū (*Solid cliff*). In the seventh generation, Salasala the daughter of Papamavae (*Fissuring rock*) and Imoa (*rat*), couples with Tagaloanimonimo (*Tagaloa the immeasurable*) and births the first human, Tupufua (*originating from nothing*). The gafa having esoteric origins in light, rock, animal and the gods continues on to the first human and eventually the Tuia'ana titleholders.

However, it is significant that in this Samoan case, the apex ancestors are forms of light, in western scientific terms, forms of energy. What is passed on through successive generations is energy. The first ancestors were Light, pigeons and rock, and they indicate the antiquity and thereby varacity of the genealogy. They appear ahead of Tagaloanimonimo, a persona of the creator god Tagaloa. There is a direction to the development of the line of descent. It points to divine origin for the production of the first human and the legitimization of the Tuia'ana ancestry. But if we regard successive generations as inheriting, in modern parlance, genetic material from preceding generations, then the divine inheritance is what makes that line of descent special. The energy of divine origins is being passed on. This energy transfer drives forward and holds together the Samoan universe. Gafa tracks that energy through successive generations as it passes through the Samoan universe.

This brief mention of the Tui A'ana genealogy not only illustrates a Samoan sense of historical development, i.e., earlier deities (Light, Lupe, and Papa) appear, in terms of the genealogical chronology, before Tagaloa; but also that the redactor in choosing to retain these more

archaic elements, shows the use of gafa, in this case gafa of rocks, to be culturally resilient in the face of new types of narratives.

2.2 Creationist model of creation: Tagaloa

The creationist view of the beginnings of the universe is distinct from the evolutionary view, in that the Samoan universe is the result of the acts of creation of the god Tagaloa. The creation of the universe is described in the long chant *Solo o le vā*, or *Song or chant of the vā*. There are different versions⁶ of the solo, however they all have five divisions that are common to all. Firstly, there is a wavelist, a listing of the types of waves over which Tagaloa is flying. He is *afraid* (lili'a) of the waves, and sends the tuli (*pigeon*) to search for lands upon which he can rest (mālōlō) (lines 1-14). In the next common section: Tagaloa *grows* (tupu) islands, firstly, Manu'atele, then Tonga, Fiji and the "little islands" (lines 14-22). The third section is where Tagaloa *measures out* (fuafua) his creative acts. He literally measures out the distances between the islands (lines 23-25). The fourth section is Tagaloa's creation of human beings (lines 26-54). Tagaloa enables this by bringing down from heaven fue (*the peopling vine*) to populate with people the islands: Tutuila, Atua, A'ana and Tuamasaga. The vines rot and maggots rise, Tagaloa transforms the maggots into people by giving them arms, legs faces and *hearts* (fatumanava). The last section is Tagaloa pronouncing the prominence of the Manu'a islands, as it was formed first among all the islands; its mountains are more majestic, the first chief in Samoa is the Tui Manu'a Alele, who is "le alo a Tagaloa", *the son of Tagaloa*.

There are a number of different versions, the one below was originally published by Augustin Krämer⁷ in 1902.

⁶ John Fraser, "Some Folk Songs and Myths from Samoa," trans. Thomas Powell and George Pratt, *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 24 (1890): 195–217; Fraser, "A Samoan Story of Creation: A 'Tala'"; Powell, "A Samoan Tradition of Creation and the Deluge," 156–62.

⁷ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:539–41 Adapted English translation.

lines	O le Solo o le Vā o le Fofoaga o le Lalolagi⁸	English: A chant about the origins of the earth⁹
	O galu lolo ma galu fatio'o, 'O galu tau ma galu fefatia'i, 'O le 'au'au peau ma le sologa a peau, Na ona fa'afua, 'a e lē fati.	The tsunami wave and the wave that breaks as it reaches its destination, The wave which smashes and the wave which disperses, The wave which rolls and the wave which flows, the wave which appears to form and then evaporates.
5	'O le peau lolo ma le peau ta'oto 'O le peau malie ma le peau lagatonu. 'O peau alili'a ma peau la'asia, 'O peau a sisifo mai gaga 'e.	Fierce waves and passive waves, The calm waves and the purposeful waves Fearsome waves, and waves that reach the shore, Waves from the west and from the east.
10	'O le peau lagava'a ma le peau tagata Ma le peau tautala 'o lona soa 'ole 'au'au ta'a. Mapu i le lagi tuli mai vāsa, Tagaloa fia malolō, Ta lili'a i peau 'o lalō (a lalo).	Waves which raise ships and reaching out for people, The waves which talk, whose companion is a rock in the reef. In heaven the tulī rests from a journey through the ocean, Tagaloa wants to rest, The waves below frighten me.
	(‘O le tala o le fatupese.)	(the poet’s narration)
15	'Ofea le nu'u na lua'i tupu? Na lua'i tupu Manu'atele, Tupu Savai'i, 'a e muli i malae Alamisi	Where is the place which first came into being? Manu'atele was first Savai'i came to be and the end part was the malae Alamisi,
	Ma le atu Toga ma le atu Fiti 'Atoa le atunu'u itiiti.	And it extended to Tonga and Fiji, And the other smaller islands.
20	Alamisi 'o Samataiuta, 'O le nofoa a Tagaloa ma lona ta'atuga	Alamisi in Samataiuta, Is the seat of Tagaloa and his regime.

⁸ See Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:539–41.

⁹ Taken from Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Tupuola Tufuga Efi Tui Atua, "'O i Auē, Ua Maumau Le Vasa!' 'What a Pity, Such a Waste of Ocean!': Idiosyncrasy and Wisdom in Samoan Creation and Funeral Chants" (Inaugural Pacific Philosophy Conference, Pacific Theological College, 12-14 June 2018, Suva, Fiji, 2018), 12–22. Tui Atua, former Head Of State of Samoa, is one of the foremost scholars of Samoan culture and language

	Samataiuta ma Samataitai Tagaloa e taumuli i ai.	Samataiuta and Samataitai, Is the boundary of the Tagaloa domain.
25	'A e lele i lona atu luluga Fuafua ma fa'atatau, Le vā i nu'u po 'ua tutusa.	When he travelled to his dominions in the west, He surveyed and measured, Whether the village boundaries were equal.
	Tula'i i lou atu mauga ta'alolo Tumau Tagaloa i mauga o Manu'a.	When Tagaloa stood upon his mountain the people paid oblations, Tagaloa remains in the mountains of Manu'a.
	Levaleva le vasa i savili, E lili'a Tagaloa ia peau alili.	Long did the winds blow over the ocean, And Tagaloa was concerned about the strong waves.
30	Tagi i lagi sina 'ili'ili; Upolu sina fatu laitiiti, Tutuila sina ma'a lagisigisi Nu'u fa'aō e a sisi'i, E mapusaga i ai ali'i,	He called to heaven for some pebbles; Upolu is a small rock, Tutuila is a small broken stone, He enlarged the islands by lifting them up As resting place for the chiefs,
35	Tagaloa e ai fa'afei'i.	All recognize the authority of Tagaloa.
	Na fa'aifo ai le fuetagata Na fa'atagata ai Tutuila Ma Upolu, Atua ma A'ana 'Atoa ma le Tuamasaga.	Tagaloa sent down the creepers To populate Tutuila, And Upolu, Atua and Aana Together with Tuamasaga.
40	Na ona gaoi fua 'o tino, E le alāla, e leai ni fatumanava Logologo Tagaloa i luga, 'Ua isi tama a le fuesā, Na ona gaoi i le lā,	Their bodies move, But they cannot converse, nor do they have motion of the heart. Tagaloa above became aware, Life is spawned by the sacred creeper, They move in the sun,
45	E lē vaea, e lē limā, E lē ulua, e lē fofogā, E leai ni fatumanavā.	No feet, no hands, No head, no face No motion of the heart.
50	Ifo ai Tagaloa i sisifo 'Ina fetala'iga, 'ua tu'utitino ; Fua o le fue ni nai ilo, Na tofosi a 'au fa'asinosino.	Tagaloa came from the West, That he might bring speech and form, The fruits of the creepers were maggots, He pulled out the limbs and showed the appendages.

	<p>‘O a ‘outou loto na momoli ifo, Ia malama ‘o ‘outou tino, E tali ai Tagaloa, ‘a e maliu ifo e savalivali.</p>	<p>He brought down your souls, That it might illuminate your body, You might await Tagaloa when he descends to walk about.</p>
55	<p>Fititele ma lou atu sasa’e, Ta’ape mauga, ‘a e le ‘au’ese, E ‘aufa’atasi ia Manu’atele.</p>	<p>Fititele and your district in the east, The mountains are scattered, but they are one in mind, In recognition of the primacy of Manu’atele.</p>
	<p>Fanau le papa ma faitau i nu’u E fuaselau e fuasefulu.</p>	<p>The progeny of the papa produced more villages, A hundred and ten villages.</p>
60	<p>‘O fea le nu’u na lua’i tupu? ‘O Manu’atele! E te matafanua I le Matasau o Manu’atele, Ae mulifanua i ‘Ofu ma Tufue’e.</p>	<p>Which were the first villages? It is Manu’atele! Which is windward It begins in Manu’atele And ends in Ofu and Tufue’e.</p>
65	<p>Fiti ma Toga, ‘o le papa sese’e, Male masoā e felefele Na pa’ū le lagi, ‘a e toe te’e. Savai’i e lalau fa’ateve, E mamalu fua i mauga, ‘ina tetele,</p>	<p>Fiji and Tonga, the smooth rock, And the starch plant with its spread-out leaves, Supported the falling sky. Savai’i is broad like the foliage of the teve leaves, it looks impressive because of the big mountains,</p>
70	<p>‘A e lē ‘au ‘ese, e ‘auga ia Fatulegae’e I Manu’a ia le Fatumale’ele’ele.</p>	<p>Notwithstanding they defer to Fatulegae’e. In Manu’a is Fatumale’ele’ele.</p>
	<p>Ne’i ai se nate fa’ata’ese : ‘O le lua’i ali’i ia Alele, ‘O le alo o Tagaloa ; na tafa’ase’e.</p>	<p>In case there is someone who may say different: The original chief was Alele, Tagaloa's son, who slid down, Down to the malae o vevesi</p>
75	<p>Ifoifo i malae o vevesi,¹⁰ Lepalepa i malae o toto’a,¹¹ Sao ai le alofi o Tagaloa, ‘a e lomalama.</p>	<p>It was quiet in the malae o toto'a The chiefs wait to see who would have the first cup of’ava.</p>
80	<p>Fagotalia le tai e Losi To’e i lagi ni ona tafo’e Po’o fono ia o lona alofi</p>	<p>Losi, you fish in the sea And take the best fish up to the heaven But this a meal for the circle of chiefs</p>

¹⁰ A more literal translation is “malae where they deliberate about war”

¹¹ A more literal translation is “malae where you deliberate about peace,”

	To'e i le lagi i'a atoa 'A e atu le ola a Tagalooa.	Take all the fish to heaven But the bonito fish are Tagalooa's perogative.
85	Satagalooa i (tou) aofia ane, I tou fono i malae ; 'O i lagi malae Auasia Ma malae Tafuna'i, ma malae Papa, Ma malae o Vevesi; Ia lolooa ma pule fa'atasi 'O malae o Toto'a i tou fono ai.	You, Tagalooa people assemble, For the fono on the malae, In heaven is the malae Auasia, The malae Tafuna'i and the malae Papa And the malae o Vevesi. Listen and deliberate collectively. You must meet at the malae n Toto'a To the carpenter goes the first kava in recognition of his status, ¹²
90	'Avamua tufuga i ona ao, 'A e ola atu le va'a na lalago	Happy voyage to his boat for which he laid the keel.
	(Isi oa mou inā 'a'e, Pe mua fale, pe mua va'a.) Powell and Pratt	(What is the priority, To build houses or build ships?)
95	Alāla Tagalooa ma lona ao, Tapua'i ifo tufuga ma lona ao, Tau 'ave i aofia ane Satagalooa Le faletufuga 'ua 'atoa. 'A 'o ai 'ea na lua'i 'oa? Na lua'i va'a Tuimanu'a, Na fausia e le faletufuga; 'O tufuga e to'amano	Tagalooa sits on his throne with his title, The carpenter joins in support with his title, Awaiting the famiy of Satagalooa. The faletufuga [guild ofcarpenters] is now all here, Who had the first tools? The first ship was Tuimanu'a's, It was built by the faletufuga,
100	'A e to'atasi fa'atonuga.	There were many thousand carpenters. But only one leader makes the decisions.
105	Ifoifo le atua gau 'aso, Satia le fale na ato! Se papa, le tai 'o lua o'o atu Ma le masina na solo mana'o Ma le lā a sa tupua lē fano	The god comes down, bursting the rafters, In ruins lies the house that sheltered The sea became rock because you arrived, And the moon with many desires, And the sun which is the eternal riddle.
	Tupu le tai, tupu le vai, tupu le lagi	The sea grows, the water grows, heaven grows.

¹² Kramer translates these two lines as " To the carpenter goes the first ava of his title. Happy voyage his boat for which he laid the keel."

	Ifo Tagaloa e asiasi, Tagi i si sifo, tagi i sasa'e, Na tutulu i le fia tula'i	Tagaloa came down for a visit, He cried in disappointment to the west and then to the east; He cried because he had lost his standing.
110	Tupu Savai'i ma le Maugaloa Tupu Fiti, ma le atu 'atoa; 'O Manu'a na lua'i gafoa, 'A e mulimuli nu'u 'atoa.	Savai'i and Maugaloa's status is intact, So was Fiji and the other islands of the Pacific, Yet Manu'a had cultural and historical precedence, And all the other countries of the Pacific come after Manu'a. ¹³

There are a number of points that are relevant to our discussion: firstly, the solo starts with a list of the types of waves, instead of the expected genealogy of rocks. It is a wonderfully evocative opening, where the listing of various types of waves shows evolutionary development from larger to smaller waves. It moves from the more violent and powerful *galu lolo* (*Swelling breakers*) to the playful *'au'au ta'a* (*spraying waves*), thus mirroring the development of the larger to smaller rock in the *gafa* of the rock. The energy and power of the waves also serves to “power up” the solo.

Secondly, In contrast to the impersonal tone of the rock *gafa*, Tagaloa has human emotions, he is afraid of the waves, and towards the end of the solo, he gets angry and *destroys* (*satia*) the illicitly built *fale* (*house*) of the Tui Manua. For as Werner von Bülow (1848-1913), a nineteenth century German ethnographer notes: “*Tagaloa hat menschlicher Gefühle und Gelüste*”¹⁴ (*Tagaloa has human feelings and desires*)

Thirdly, Tagaloa's acts of creation are sometimes described by the term *tupu* (*grow*) rather than the term *fai* (*make*), which would imply *creatio ex nihilo*, creation out of nothing. Tagaloa's acts are characterised by the transformation of objects, for example, Manu'atele, Tonga and Fiji are “grown” (*tupu*), or raised from the waters. Tutuila and Upolu are formed from pebbles which have been obtained from the heavens. People are created from the *fue* (*peopling vine*), which have once again been presumably obtained from the heavens. The fact

¹³ This betrays a Manu'a bias.

¹⁴ Werner Albert von Bülow, “Samoanische Sagen III,” *Globus* Bd68 (1895): 366 “Tagaloa has human feelings and desires.”

that the vines rot and form maggots is based on naturalistic observation, but Tagaloa makes people by giving the maggots arms, legs, faces, and finally hearts and souls (*fatumanava*).

More importantly, Tagaloa provides a template for Samoan society: there will be chiefs, they **will** congregate at *malae*, people **will** fish, but offer the best of their catch to the gods. Tagaloa **will** be given *atu* or *bonito fish*. The *Sā Tagaloa* are established, the family of craftsmen (*faletufuga*) who build boats and houses. On their *Malae*, people **will** consult over matters of war (*vevesi*)¹⁵ and peace (*toto'a*). People **will** adhere to their god's prohibitions, for example, the Tui Manua was allowed to have the crafts guild build him a *va'a*, *boat*, but when the Tui Manu'a tried to build a *fale* (*house*), Tagaloa came down from the heavens and destroyed the building.

The creationist view of the Samoan universe, centres on Tagaloa as the original urge or desire to grow or "tupu" things into existence. Everything links *genealogically*, by *gafa*, back to that desire or urge. Furthermore, Tagaloa is a humanistic god, he has human emotions and is interested in human affairs. He lays down a template for Samoan society and how people should behave, as they navigate their way between the push and pull of *vevesi*, *disturbance*, and *toto'a*, *calm*.

2.3 Combinations of genealogical and creationist models

There are versions of creation stories where redactors have incorporated, or amalgamated both traditions. For example, in the earliest published version of *Solo o le vā*, the Reverend Thomas Powell (1817-87) included both the *tulima*, *prose version*, *tala* or *explanation of the solo*, *song* and the solo itself. People disputing the *tulima* would ask "ta mai le soifua" that is " 'demonstrate its life', or right to existence".¹⁶ The solo would verify the *tulima*. The narrative is meant to support or explain the solo. In Powell's article, there is a lot of information in the *tulima*, that is not in the solo, for example, the following prelude:

¹⁵ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 337 "to be disturbed, to be in confusion, to be in disorder".

¹⁶ Powell, "A Samoan Tradition of Creation and the Deluge," 148.

Tagaloa is the god who dwells in the illimitable void . He made all things. He alone existed. When there was no heaven, no people, no sea, no earth, he traversed the illimitable void, but, at a point at which he took his stand, up sprang the rock,. His name was fa’atupunuu [i.e., Tagaloa – creator, literally people producing Tagaloa]. He said to the rock ”Divide”[Māvae], and thereupon were born in immediate succession, the Reclining rock, the Lava rock, the Branching rock, the Porous rock, the Red clay rock, the Standing rock and the Cellular rock. Tagaloa looking towards the West, said again to the Rock ”Divide”. He thus smote it with his right hand, the Rock divided on the right hand and immediately the Earth and Sea were born. It [the earth] is parent to all men [humankind], in the world...¹⁷

In this extract, the rock gafa is integrated into, and subordinated to the Tagaloa creationist narrative. Tagaloa is pre-existent of everything. It is only when he/it stops moving that the rock is formed. Tagaloa commands the rock to ”Divide” (Māvae), which then illicit the gafa genealogy of rocks. In this telling all the evolutionary energies of the rock gafa are attributed to the Tagaloa’s creative urge.

As stated, Powell only provided his English translation of the narrative. However, in 1892, Dr John Fraser working with the recently deceased Reverend Powell’s manuscripts, published an article in the Journal of the Polynesian Society entitled ”The Samoan story of creation”¹⁸ (originally published in the Transactions of the Royal Society, New South Wales, 1891). The English version of both Powell’s and Fraser’s paper are very similar except for slight differences in wording and sequencing of parts. It is for this reason that I am wary of saying that they are one and the same document. However, Fraser’s article has the Samoan language original under the title ”O le tala i le tupuga o Samoa atoa ma Manu’a”¹⁹ (*The story of the origins [lit: growth] of Samoa and Manu’a*). Below is a sample paragraph of the Samoan language original, which better illustrates how the rocks gafa is subordinated to Tagaloa creationism by Samoan redactors:

¹⁷ Powell, 148–49.

¹⁸ Fraser, ”A Samoan Story of Creation: A ‘Tala.’”

¹⁹ Fraser, ”Some Folk Songs and Myths from Samoa.”

Tagaloa le atua e nofo i le vanimonimo, **ua na faia mea uma**, ua na o ia e leai se Lagi, e leai se Nu'u, ua na ona fealualu mai o ia i e vanimonimo, e leai fo'i le Sami, ma le Lau-ele'ele, a **o le mea na ia tu ai na tupu ai le papa**. O Tagaloa-fa'atupunu'u fo'i lona igoa; ina a fai e ia mea uma, aua e le'i faia mea uma; e le'i faia le lagi ma mea uma lava; a ua tupu ai le Papa i le mea na ia tuai. **Ona fai atu lea o Tagaloa i le Papa, "Mavāe ia"** ona fanau ai lea o le Papa-ta'oto; toe fanau Papa-sosola; toe fanau o le Papa-lau-a'au; toe fanau o le Papa-'ano'ano; toe fanau o le Papa-ele; toe fanau o le Papa-tu; toe fanau o le Papa-'amu'amu; ona pa'u ai lea. A o Tagaloa e tu ia e fa'asaga i sisifo ma tautala ia i Papa. Ona ta lea Tagaloa i lona lima taumatau. Ona fanau ai lea o le Ele'ele (o le matua lea o tagata uma i le lalolagi); fanau ai fo'i le Sami...

(Translation mine) *Tagaloa the god resides in the cosmos, **he made everything**. It was only him. There was no Sky, there were no villages (Nu'u), he only wandered around the great emptiness, there were also no Oceans or Land, **but where he stood still, there grew a rock**. His name is Tagaloa-grower-of-lands, because he made everything, because there was nothing created; there were no heavens, nor anything else, but where he stood the rock grew. Then **Tagaloa said to the rock "Split"**. Then was born Reclining rock, then was born Lava rock, then was born Branching rock, then was born the Porous rock, then was born the Red clay rock, then was born the Standing rock and then was born the Cellular rock. Then Tagaloa stood and faced the west and spoke to the rock. Tagaloa the hit the rock with his right hand, and then was born the Earth (that is the parent of the people in the world). The sea was also born...*

Tagaloa le atua e nofo i le vanimonimo, ua na faia mea uma:

"Tagaloa is alone in the emptiness and he made everything": signals the unitariness and pre-existence of the god and that he *made*, faia everything. (as opposed to 'grew', faia as opposed to tupu)

o le mea na ia tu ai na tupu ai le papa:

"And where he stood the rock grew": In ceasing moving around the rock grew, (as opposed to being created spontaneously). The tupu type creativity is where Tagaloa thinks or desires something into existence. The Papa arises because Tagaloa stopped flying about, providing

the god with a place to stand. He/It assumes one of his attributes Tagaloa-fa'atupunu'u (*Tagaloa the grower of lands*).

Ona fai atu lea o Tagaloa i le Papa, "Mavae ia"

"And then Tagaloa commanded the rock 'Divide'": This is one of Tagaloa's creative acts that actually results from an action. This is the same as the Christian God's fiat "'Let there be light' and there was light".²⁰

ona fanau ai lea o le Papa-ta'oto...

The rocks gafa is fully subordinate to Tagaloa creativity, in that it is Tagaloa's fiat that calls up the rock and activates the rock gafa.

Just a note on when Powell's (a) explanatory narrative entitled "The tradition of the origin of Samoa", and (b) "O le solo o le vā", were originally collected and their sources. This information was not noted in Powell's paper. John Fraser, using Powell's papers reprinted "O le solo o le vā" (though not Powell's English translation) in his 1890 article entitled "Some folksongs and myths from Samoa"²¹. He also copied the note attached to the solo stating "I received this from Fofō, an old chief from Taū Dec 28, 1870. I met him at Ofu, in company with the teacher Iosefa". In 1892 in an article "Some folk -songs and myths from Samoa", Fraser either reproduced or amended Powell's English version in a piece entitled "The Samoan story of creation - A tala". The editor notes "The title of this story in the original manuscript is 'O le tala i le tupuaga o Samoa' 'the story of the growing up of Samoa' and the date attached is 26 June, 1867". The date that "O le solo o le vā" was collected in 1870 from Fofō, and "O le tala o le tupuaga o Samoa" in 1867. The Samoan language version of "O le tala i le tupuaga" was published 1892²² in the Journal of the Polynesian Society. The major sources

²⁰ *The Bible*, n.d. Genesis 1 v.3.

²¹ Fraser, "Some Folk Songs and Myths from Samoa," 207–17.

²² Fraser, "A Samoan Story of Creation: A 'Tala,'" 164 The Editors note: "The Polynesian Society is indebted to Dr. John Fraser of Sydney for permission 'to reproduce in this Journal his paper originally published in the Transactions of "the Royal Society, N.S.W.," 1891, on the Samoan story of Creation.' With equal kindness he lent us the Rev. Mr. Powell's original MS. text in the Samoan language, which is reproduced here after correction by the Rev. S. Ella of Sydney and himself. The Samoan text was not published by the Royal Society, but we have been induced to produce it here, for the same reason that other papers have been printed in the native languages in this Journal, i.e., in order that it may be read by the natives themselves. We thereby hope to induce members of the native races to contribute original matter bearing on their traditions, &c."

for Powell's published versions are Manu'a chiefs Fofō and Tauanu'u. Tauanu'u was the official keeper of stories for Manu'a. So there is little wonder that there is a Manu'a bias to the solo and O le tala o le tupuaga.

The next version of the creation of Samoa and its peoples is from Upolu, Atua district, Lufilufi village from an orator named Masua. There is no Manu'a bias in this telling, and there are a number of salient points to our discussion.

O le tupuga o le eleele o Samoa ma tagata.²³ (As told by Masua, Lufilufi, Atua.)

O le tane ma le fafine o le igoa o le tane, o **Afimusaesae**, o le igoa o le fafine o **Mutalali**, ua fanau la la tama o Papaele, o Papaele na ia usu ia ia Papasosolo, fanau le tama o Papanofo, usu Papanofo ia Papatu, fanau le tama o Fatutu, Fatutu na ia usu ia Ma'atāanoa, fanau le tama o Tapufiti, Tapufiti na ia usu ia Mutia, fanau le tama o Mauutoga, Mauutoga, na usu ia Sefa, Sefa na usu ia Vāofali, Vāofali na usu ia Taāta, fanau le tama o Mautofu, Mautofu na ia usu ia Tavāi, fanau o Toi, Toi na ia usu ia Fuafua fanau o Masame, Masame na ia usu ia Mamala, fanau o Mamalava, Mamalava na ia usu ia Malilii, Malilii na ia usu ia Tapuna, fanau o Vāovāololoa.

Ona silasila ifo ai lea o Tagaloaalagi, o le a uumi lava laau, ona auina ifo ai lea o lana auuana, e igoa o Fue ona sosolo ai lea o le Fue i luga o laau, ona toe malou ifo ai lea o tumutumu o laau ona toe auina ifo ai lea o le tasi **auuana a Tagaloaalagi e igoa o le Tuli** e asiasi ifo ona alu ai lea o le Tuli ia Tagaloaalagi, fai iai ua lelei le nuu ae tasi le pona anei e leai ni laau e aina e tutupu, ua malo le Fue i lalo, ona fai mai lea o Tagaloa sau ina alu ma le laau lea e sasaa ai, ua alu ifo le Tuli ma le laau ua sasa le fue ona pau ai lea i le Eleele ua faupue ai, ona alu lea le Tuli ia Tagaloa, ua fai atu ua uma ona sasa, ona fai atu lea o Tagaloa i le Tuli ua lelei, ae alu ia i lalo ina toe asiasi, ona alu ifo lea o le Tuli ua vāavāai ua pala le Fue, ua tutupu ai llo tetele lava, ua alu ae le Tuli ia Tagaloa ua fai atu Alii e ua pala le Fue, ua tutupu ai mea tetele e gaioi, ona fai atu lea o Tagaloa i le Tuli ia la o ifo ma le **Tiapolo e igoa o Gaioō**, ona fai ai lea e le tiapolo o le Tagata i le llo, ua muamua le Ulu ua fai atu le Tiapolo o le Ulu lenei ua fai mai le Tuli ia tau ai lou igoa, o le mea lea ua taua ai o le tuli Ulu le isi fasi Ulu, ua fai atu le Tiapolo o le manavā lenei, ua fai atu le Tuli ia tau ai lou igoa, o lea ua tau ai itu manavā o tulimanavā ua fai lima, ua fai atu le Tuli ia tau lou igoa, o

²³ Steubel, *Samoanische Texte*, 162.

le a ua igoa ai gauga lima o tulilima, ua fai vāe, ua fai atu le Tuli ia tau lou igoa, o lea ua tau ai ia gauga vāe o tulivāe.

The man and his wife. The name of the man: Afimusaesae (brightly burning fire), the name of the woman: Mutalali (crackling fire). A son was born named Papaele (crumbly rock). Papaele connected to Papasosolo (elongated, dragging rock). A son was born named Papanofo (seated rock). Papanofo combined with Papatū (upright rock). A son was born named Fatutu (very firm rock). Fatutu combined with Maataanoa (loose stone). A son was born named Tapufiti. Tapufiti connected to Mutia (lawn). A son was born named Mauutoga (name of a grass, weeds, easily breakable see Pratt p. 198). Mauutoga associated with Sefa (name of a grass). Sefa associated with Vāofali (name of a grass). Vāofali associated with Taāta (name of a grass), A son was born named Mautofu (plant name, Urena lobata: Pratt p. 199). Mautofu combined with Tavāi (tree name, Rhus Taitensis: Pratt p. 306). Toi (tree name, Alphitonia excelsa: Pratt) was born. Toi associated with Luafua (tree name, Kleinovia hospita: Pratt). Masame (tree name, Phyllanthus Taitense: Pratt) was born. Masame associated with Mamala (tree name, Dysoxylon alliaceum: Pratt). Mamalava (name of a tree) was born. Mamalava associated with Malilii (tree name). Malilii combined with Tapuna (parasite plant, Loranthus insularum: Pratt). Vaovaololoa (long forest trees) was born.

*Thereupon, Tagaloa a lagi saw from above that the trees would become too long and sent his servant down with the name Fue (creeper). The creepers ran up the trees and the tree tops were pulled down again. Then Tagaloa a lagi sent down another servant named Tuli to look below. The bird returned to Tagaloa a lagi and reported that the country was beautiful. However, there was one mistake, no edible plants grew, the creepers ruled below. Tagaloa replied, "Come and take this stick and hit it!" The bird went down with the stick and hit the creepers, whereupon they fell to the ground and lay around in large quantities. The bird went to Tagaloa and said it had struck the creepers. Then Tagaloa said to the bird: "It is good but go down and look again!" The bird went down and saw that the creepers had rotted away. Big worms had arisen in it. The bird went up to Tagaloa and said, "Lord, the plants are rotten, great things have arisen in them, and they are moving back and forth. Then Tagaloa told the bird to go down with **the devil named Gaioō**. Then the devil made man out of the worm. First the head. The devil said: "This is the head". The bird said: "It should be named after my name." Therefore, a part of the head is called "**tuli ulu**". The devil said: "This is the body". The bird said: "It should be named after my name." That is why the two sides of the body are called "tuli manava". The arms were made. The bird said: "They should be named after my name. That is why the joints of the arm are called "tulilima" (elbows). The legs were created. The bird said: "They should be named after my name." That is why the joints of the legs are called "tulivae" (knees).*

...o le igoa o le tane, o **Afimusaesae**, o le igoa o le fafine o **Mutalali**:

In this account, Afimusaesae *brightly burning fire* and Mutalali *crackling fire* are the original parents.

They are types of fire, who start and energise the gafa of the rocks.

auauna a Tagaloaalagi e igoa o le Tuli:

The Tuli, *pigeon*, is Tagaloa's servant as is the Fue, *creeper*. They both fulfil Tagaloa's commands, or desires.

Tiapolo e igoa o Gaioō:

The term tiapolo, *devil*, is related to the term tevolo, and only appears in the Samoan lexicon after the arrival of Christianity. This illustrates the syncretic nature of Samoan narratives. The redactors are free to manipulate elements, and to incorporate new ones into their narratives. In this case, Christian terms have been blended into the Samoan rock and Tagaloa gafa narrative.

tuli ulu:

It looks like a play on words, but these are actual Samoan terms for human body parts. The point of the narrative is that these body parts gafa to (*are named after*) the tuli, *pigeon*, who is the servant of Tagaloa.

This last version of the creation was collected by the German planter ethnographer Werner von Bülow (1848-1913). It was told by the tulafale Taulealea of Safune (Savai'i). Von Bülow reports that the Solo o le vā show a Manu'a bias. In this solo one can see how the Tagaloa and gafa of the rock are assimilated to give a wholly Savai'i point of view of creation.

O le tala fa'aanamua i le lalolagi²⁴

Taulealea of Safune

O le taofi lenei o Samoa:

The story of the origin of the world

As told by Taule'ale'a of Safune

This is the view of the Samoans:

O le alii o le Tagaloa ma lona alo na tupuai o le lalolagi

No oo ifo la laua alofaga, taitasi o laua vāa.

Muamua o le vāa o le tamā a e mulimuli o ie vāa a lona alo

Ona aina lea o le pā a le tamā e futi ole ia

Ona tumuli mai lea o le vāa, ona faapea lea o laua:

Faauta o lotā nuu etasi na la maua, a o le lalolagi uma

The chief Tagaloa and his son ruled the world.

Both came down to fish; Everyone had their own canoe. The father's vehicle came first, followed by his son's vehicle.

Then the boy's fish hook was swallowed up

And his father ordered the fish to be caught. Then the canoe stopped, and both said:

Our country is what we have here They had not found a single country, but the whole

²⁴ See von Bülow, "Die Samoanische Schöpfungssage."

O le taofi lea o le tupuga o le atulaulau

world. This is the view of the formation of the earth.

O lenei ua maua o le atulaulau, **ona vatau ai lea** o le afi musaesae ma le Fēe, Ua toilalo o le afi, ua tanumia o le afi. Ona tu le malō i le Fēe

This is how they received the earth on which there was a conflict between the squid and the blazing fire. The fire was lost because it was buried. The squid won.

Ua vatau o le Fēe ma pāpatetele, ona toilalo ai lea o le Fēe,
Ona tu malō ia papatetele

*The squid fought with the big rock, was vanquished
The bog rock won.*

Ua va papatetele ma papa lē gae, ona toilalo ia lea papatetele,
a ua tu o le malo ia papa lē gae.
Ona va lea o papa lē gae ma papa fofola, ona Toi lalo ai lea o papa lē gae, a ua tu o le malo ia papa fofola.

The big rock struggled with the immovāble rock, the big rock was defeated, while the immovāble rock won.

The immovāble rock struggled with the flattened rock the immobile rock was defeated, while the flattened rock prevāiled.

Ona va ai lea o papa fofola ma papa sosolo, ona Toi lalo ai lea o papa fofola, a ua tu o le malō ia Papa sosolo.
Ua va papa sosolo ma papa laulau, ona toilalo ai Lea o papa sosolo, a ua tu o le malō ia papa laulau

The flattened rock struggled with the slipping rock; the flattened rock, was defeated, while the slipping rock won.

The slipping rock fought with the slab; the slipping rock succumbed and the rock slab won.

Ona va lea o papa laulau ma papa mau, ona ua toilalo ai lea o papa laulau a ua tu o le malo ia papa mau.
Ona va ai lea o papa mau ma papa tetee, ona toilalo ai lea o papa mau, a ua tu le malō ia papa tetee

The rock slab struggled with the solid rock; the rock slab was defeated and the solid rock won.

The solid rock struggled with the cramped rock, Solid rock was defeated and the rule remained with the cramped rock.

Ona va ai lea o papa tetee ma papa nene, Ona toilalo ai lea o papa tetee, a ua tu le malō ia Papa nene.
Ona va ai lea o papa nene ma papa fefete, ona toilalo ai lea o papa nene, a ua tu o le malō ia papa fefete.

The cramped rock fought with the raised rock, The cramped rock was defeated and the dominion retained by the raised rock.

The raised rock struggled with the porous rock, was defeated and the porous rock retained its rule.

Ona va ai lea o papa fefete ma papa tū, ona toilalo ai lea o papa fefete,
a ua tu o le malo ia papa tū.
Ona va ai lea o papa tu ma papa ūu, ona toilalo ai lea o papa tū,
a ua tu o le malō ia papa ūu

The porous rock struggled with the upright rock, porous rock was defeated and the dominion remained the upright rock.

The upright rock struggled with jammed rock; the upright rock was defeated, while the jammed rock held the upper hand.

Ona va ai lea o papa ūu ma papa lelei ona
toilalo Ai lea o papa ūu,
a ua tu o le malō ia papa lelei.

*The jammed rock struggled with the flat rock,
the jammed rock was defeated, and the flat
rock kept the upper hand.*

Ona va ai le o papa lelei ma papa tatala, ona
Tu lea o le malō ia papa tatala.
Ona va ai lea o papa tatala ma papa ofo, ona
toilalo ai lea o papa tatala,
a ua tu o le malō ia papa ofo.

*The flat rock fought with the jagged rock, the
jagged rock retained control.
The jagged rock struggled with the raised rock;
the jagged rock was defeated and the elevated
rock retained control.*

Ona va ai lea o papa ofo ma papa tagulu, ona
toilalo ai lea o papa ofo,
A ua tu o le malō ia papa tagulu.
Ona va ai lea o papa tagulu ma papa ele, ona
toilalo ai lea o papa tagulu,
A ua tu o le malō ia papa ele.

*The elevated rock struggled with the booming
rock; was defeated and the roaring rock
retained control.
The booming rock struggled with the earthy
rock; the roaring rock was defeated, the
earthy rock retained dominion.*

Ona va ai lea o papa ele ma papa alā, ona
toilalo ai lea o papa alā,
A ua tu o le malō ia papa alā.
Ona va ai lea o papa alā ma papa solo, ona
toilalo ai lea o papa alā,
A tu o le malō ia papa solo.

*Thereupon the earthy rock fought with the low
rock projections; the earthy rock was defeated,
the dominion remained with the rock
projections The rock prjections struggled with
the spread rock; the projection was defeated,
The spread rock won dominion.*

Ona va ai lea o papa solo ma papa foagia, ona
toilalo ai lea o papa solo,
A ua tu o le malō ia papa foagia.
Ona va ai lea o papa foagia ma papa suatia, ona
toilalo ai lea o papa foagia,
A ua tu o le malō ia papa suatia.

*The spread rock struggled with the broken rock;
the spread rock was defeated, the broken rock
retained control.
The broken rock struggled with the uprooted
rock the broken up rock was defeated, the
dominion was retained by the uprooted rock*

Ona va ai lea o papa suatia ma papa tuia, ona
toilalo ai lea o papa suatia,
A ua tu o le malō ia papa tuia
Ona va ai lea o papa tuia ma le eleele,
ua tu o le malō i le eleele.
Ona va ai lea o le eleele ma le maa talanoa,
ua tu o le malō i le maa talanoa.

*The uprooted rock fought with the crushed rock
was defeated, and the crushed rock remained
the ruler.
The crushed rock struggled with the earth, the
earth won
Earth struggled with the loose stone; the loose
stones who won dominion.*

Ona va o le maa talanoa ma **le mutia**,
ua tu o le malō i le mutia.
Ona va ai o le mutia ma le latamutia, o,
Ona tu o le malō i le latamutia.
Ona va o le latamutia ma le Taataa,
ua tu o le malō i le Taataa.

*the loose stones struggled with the grass; the
grass remained in control.
The grass fought with grass-like plants; the
grass-like plant prevāiled.
The grass-like plant fought with the taataa (a
grass); the the Taataa won*

Ua va o le Taataa i le Falifatu,
ua tu o le malō i le Falifatu

*The taataa fought with the falifātu (a grass);
Falifātu won*

Ua va o le Falifatu ma le Falimala,
ua tu o le malō i le Falimala
Ua va o le Falimala ma le Lautamatama,
ua tu o le malō i le Lautamatama.

*The falifātu fought with the falīmala (a grass);
the Falīmala won
Falīmala and Lautamatama (a Samoan
medicinal herb) fought; Lautamatama won*

Ua va o le Lautamatama ma le Mautofu,
ua tu o le malō i le Mautofu.
Ua va o le Mautofu ma le Ateate,
ua tu o le malō i le Ateate.

*Lautamatama fought the Mautofua (Urena
lobata); the Mautofu won
The Mautofu fought with Ateate (Wedelia
biflora after Pratt), Ateate won*

Ua va o le Ateate ma le laau,
ua tu o le malō ia laau.
Ua va o le laau ma le fue, **ua gausia le laau**
A ua tu o le malō i le fue.

*Ateate fought with trees, The trees won
The wood was struggling with the creepers; The
plant was broken down and the creepers won.*

O le fue tupuai o le tagata. Ua usu o le laau i le
fue, **ua fanau** o le tagata, o Aloanuutagata.

*Humans emerged from the creepers, because
the wood married the Fue, creeper plants and
gave birth to the human, Aloanuutagata.*

Ua usu o Aloanuutagata i le Ata, ua fanau o le
Aloaleata
Ua usu o le Aloaleata ia Viluvilua
Ua fanau o le alo a Viluvilua ia PaNāfanua.

*Aloanuutagata combined with Ata (the dawn)
and fathered Aloaleata.
Aloaleata connected with Viluvilua
The son of the Viluvilua gave birth to
PaNāfanua.*

O le alo a PaNāfanua i Asilatele.

PaNāfanua's son is Asilatele (a large arca, tree)

O le alo a Asilatele o le Imoatele.
O le alo a Imoatele, o le Noanoatele
O le alo a Noanoatele o le Ifitele.

*The son of the Asilatele is Imoatele (a big rat)
The son of the Imoatele is Noanoatele
The son of the Noanoatele is Ifitele (a large Ifi;
Inocarpus edulis)
The son of Ifitele is the Noanoamaletiale who
climbed up to the town of Pinipini.*

O le alo a Ifitele o le Noanoamaletiale na aea
ole nuu Pinipini.

Noanoamaletiale na ia ataata i le Faisua ona
fanau ai lea o le Ilalegagana
Ona usu ifo lea o le Lagititipula ia Ilalegagana
ona fanau ai lea Fetū faaau.
Ona usu ifo lea o le Lagititipula ia Ilalegagana
ona fanau ai lea Fetū faaau.
Ona usu ifo lea o le Fetū faaau ia Masiagatele,
ona fanau ai lea o le Feepō ma Malau.

*Noanoamaletiale impregnated the Faisua
(Tridacna, clam) who gave birth to the
Ilalēgagana.
Lagititipula came down, connected with
Ilalegagana and fathered the Fetū (star) faaau
The Fetū-faaau combined with Masiagatele
and produced the Feepo and the Malau*

There are several significant sections to the tala:

O le alii o le Tagaloa ma lona alo

The narrative starts with an idyllic fishing trip of Tagaloa, presumably in lagi, the heavens. He and his son, each in their own boat. They fish up the whole world and set off a series of struggles for dominance by inhabitants of the lalolagi, earthly realm (lalolagi lit: under heaven).

ona vatau ai lea ...ua toilalo...tu le mālo:

The imagery consist of vatau, war and fighting, toilalo, the vanquished and defeated, and le mālo, the victors. “tu le mālo” can mean the victors set up their government. The ensuing struggles are between two parties and continue as each victor is challenged and defeated.

Ua tanumia o le afi a ua tu o le malō i le Fēe

The first of the struggles for dominance is between afi musae, blazing fire and Fēe, octopus. Fire is literally buried and victor Fēe sets up their government. Fēe is then warred upon, and defeated by Papatele, the Big rock, who sets up their own government. This is the beginning of an extensive rock gafa, where the successive rock generations, dominate and defeat the previous generations.

le mutia

there is an evolutionary development through the various warring dyads: The musaesae, blazing fire, is buried by the octopus (with water) and is defeated by the generation of rocks; rocks become finer and smaller, giving way to mutia, grasses. And grasses are defeated by trees.

ua gausia le laau. A ua tu o le malō i le fue.

The Trees are in turn broken by the Fue, creepers. This echoes previous versions of mythical creation, where Tagaloa brings down Fue to cut back trees that were getting too tall.

Ua usu o le laau i le fue, ua fanau o le tagata, o Aloanuutagata

The imagery changes from combat and dominance to coitus and cohabitation as laau, trees usu, cohabits with Fue, creeper, fanau, to give birth to the first human Aloanuutagata.

ona fanau ai lea o le Feepō ma Malau.

The story ends with the birth of Feepō, octopus and Malau, a type of fish. Feepō is also the name of the founding ancestor of the Malietoa family.

The tala starts with an idyllic scene of Tagaloa and his son fishing from their canoes. They can be seen as inspiring the acts of creation by fishing up the world. But apart from that initial action, Tagaloa is missing. It seems as if Tagaloa has been added onto an older account of the origin of the world. Furthermore, given its insertion at the beginning of the tale suborns the evolutionary model to the Tagaloa-Creationist view, in that it is Tagaloa's act of fishing that sparks off the cycle of war and domination amongst various entities. The energetical view pervades the tala: the story is powered by the first appearance of Musaesae *Blazing fire*; the war and dominance model of development, and the extensive rocks gafa, which goes from papa, rocks, to eleele earth, to ma'a, loose stones. The war model then gives way to the sexual reproduction model with the appearance of people. The Savai'i view of creation is not just seen in the diminution of Tagaloa's role, or the extensive use of the war developmental model or rocks gafa, but in the fact that the tale ends with the birth of Feepō, one of founding ancestors of Safune (where the chiefly title Taulealea is from), the Tagaloa and Malietoa family lines.

2.4 Conclusion

This section has examined how gafa is a way that nineteenth century Samoans describe, organise and talk about their world. We see that gafa is a major part of their energetical worldview. The major gafa start with energetical or supernatural ancestors. When looking at the Samoan evolutionary²⁵ and creationist²⁶ cosmological origin stories, I argue that both versions begin with an exchange of energy that powers the creation of the world. Furthermore, in those two tales and the tulima version of the Solo o le vā,²⁷ we see the primacy of the gafa of the rock. The rock gafa is derived from the observation of how born

²⁵ Werner von Bülow, Die Samoanische Schöpfungssage." *Internationales Archiv Fur Ethnographie* XII (1899): 58–65

²⁶ Krämer, "Samoa Islands" 1: 539–41

²⁷ Powell, Thomas. "A Samoan Tradition of Creation and the Deluge." *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 20 (1887): 145–75.

from fire, lava is broken down from rocks to soil from which springs plants, which in turn brings on trees and animals and finally humans. However, in both the evolutionary and creationist view the gafa of the rock is suborned by the Tagaloa story. In the evolutionary version Tagaloa and his son appear at the beginning fishing up the earth. But the energetic beginning of the narrative begins with the musaesae, *blazing fire*. Even the tulima version of the Solo o le vā, has Tagaloa growing (tupu) the rock, which he commands to split (mavae ia!). The energies released from the that led to the creation of the Samoan world is attributed to Tagaloa.

Bradd Shore²⁸ notes that the Tagaloa Solo o le vā:

suggests that **creation involves**, rather than the imposition of life on totally inanimate or passive matter or the creation of that matter ex nihilo, **the activation of potential life forces which are given in the world**. In this sense, **creation is the infusion into matter of reproductive power and a capacity for growth**. Such a vision of creation is clearly neither simple fabrication nor simple evolution, but something of both at once, **a harnessing of potential energy** through a creative act of will.

Though Shore was commenting on the anthropologist Margaret Mead's reading and interpretation of Solo o le vā, his summation of creation as the "activation" of forces resonates with the themes developed in this study.

²⁸ Shore, *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery*, 132.

3. Gafa in gafa history

This section examines how the notion of gafa is central to explaining Samoan political and cultural history up to first contact with Europeans.

Gafa is more than just a listing of ancestors. It tracks the recipient or carriers of ancestral power. Gafa is retrospective, in that it looks to the past to explain and justify the present order. Things exist because somethings prior, led to their instantiation in the present. In the Gafa period accounts of the creation of the universe, and things share a common origin. History for Samoans is not only the tracking of that ancestral power, but also, as I will show, the optimisation of that ancestral power as it courses through the human environment. Gafa have associated stories that have details that verify a version of the gafa. These details are called in modern parlance pine fa'amau lit *fastening pin*.

A note of caution: gafa, genealogies in Samoa are highly contested. My use of gafa, genealogies is to illustrate the notion of Samoa genealogical power being passed through generations. I am not arguing that any one version is better than another but am showing that all Samoan gafa that date from the Gafa period, illustrate that passage of genealogically based power. The gafa that I use have been mostly recorded in the nineteenth century by mostly European ethnographers and missionaries, **from nineteenth century Samoan informants**, that is the narratives are recorded utterances from the very people whose worldview this work aims to examine. Wherever possible, I prioritise Samoan language sources.

3.1 Creation of people

Thus far, there are a number of accounts for the creation of humans. According to the gafa of rocks tradition, people evolved from a process of couplings that lead from rock to soil to plants to animals to humans. It is part of a natural process. The creationist tradition has the God Tagaloa forming humans from maggots that arose from the rotting fue (peopleing vine).

Tagaloa moulds the maggots by giving them arms, legs, faces and consciousness.¹ Other versions have people evolving or being formed in coral² – once again probably based on the naturalistic observation that rock-like coral abounds with life when underwater.

In both the evolutionary and creationist accounts, humans are repositories of ancestral power, that they pass on through actions and descendants, gafa. Gafa is a way of keeping track of those ancestral and elemental forces. As has already been noted, gafa accounts embeds narrative into locations. With this in mind, gafa are probably better visualised horizontally rather than vertically. Much like an unfolding story, gafa accounts take the listener on a malaga, *a journey*,³ visiting people and places.

Moreover, the humanistic God, Tagaloa provides a template for Gafa period Samoan society: the need for chiefs; the establishment of families (SaTagaloa); the need for specialist artisans (faletufuga), who build vā'a, *boats*, and fale, *houses*; the need for malae, *village greens* – and by implication, the need for villages; and importantly, the need for piety i.e., giving the gods their due.

3.2 People with gafa

With the creation of the world, and universe, gafa period narratives concentrate on the naming of people and places by founding ancestors. By one account, the first human is Tupufua, *grown from nothing*.

Augustin Krämer listed the oldest Samoan family gafa, that of the Tui A'ana, going back 33 generations from when they were collected in 1896.⁴ The dating of genealogies provides an

¹ Fraser, "A Samoan Story of Creation: A 'Tala,'" 172; Powell, "A Samoan Tradition of Creation and the Deluge," 149.

² see Steubel, *Samoaanische Texte*, 161 "ua fai atu Tagaloaalagi ia gaio e alu ane e tolosi le puga, ua uma ona tolosi o le puga, ua maua le tino a ua le ola..." Tagaloa, then said to Gaio to stretch the coral. When the coral had been stretched into a body, but there was no life...

³ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 202 "a journey...a travelling party". The institution of malaga played an important socio-political role in Samoan society. This point will be discussed later in this thesis.

⁴ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions: 644–47.

imprecise chronology. Krämer allocates 30 years per generation.⁵ So, the oldest Samoan gafa, that of Tui A'ana title holders, dates back to c.936AD.⁶ In Von Bülow's genealogies of Samoan kings, (published in 1897), the oldest family tree, the Tui A'ana, stretches back 31 generations.⁷ Most genealogies of the major families in Samoa go back to approximately one thousand years.⁸ I have adapted Krämer's list of title holders for the major ao: Malietoa, Tui A'ana, Tui Atua, Tagaloa, and Tonumaip'e'a, by adding dates (see Appendix I(ii) for the Gafa chronology). So, for example Tui A'ana Tava'etele (Gen 13, c.1296) means that Tui A'ana Tava'etele is generation 13 titleholder at around 1296, The dates are only approximate and set at thirty years in duration. I am using it as an imprecise chronology to date major happenings in Samoan history.⁹

So, at the end of the creation myths period, Samoa is populated by nameless beings that were made by modelling maggots that fed on the rotting peopleing vine. People-forms are completed by inserting Loto, Agaga, Finagalo and Masalo (heart spirit, will and suspicion),¹⁰ and the first human pair are named Fatu (rock, female) and Ele'ele (soil, male), and they are charged with populating o lenei itu, *this side, the world*.

3.3 Pili

The legend of Pili is one such story of the peopling of Samoa. As with most Samoan stories people and places exist, and in these stories, they are named. So, in these myths, places are

⁵ Ibid, p. 642.

⁶ The Tui A'ana title becomes very important during the Gafa and Colonial periods, as one of four titles that are known as Pāpā, that when all four titles are possessed by one person, that person is known as Tafa'ifā, the "four-sided one". The Pāpā titles are Tui A'ana, Tui Atua, Gatoaitale and Vaetamasoalii.

⁷ See von Bülow, "Der Stammbaum der Könige von Samoa," 153.

⁸ see also Bülow "Der Stammbaum der der Könige von Samoa, mit einem Nachtrag: Die Haarpflege der Samoaner." 1898. George Pratt, "Genealogy of Kings and Princes of Samoa". 1890. Also Oskar Stuebel, *Samoanische Texte*: 192 for *Gafa o tupu o Samoa*.

⁹ Other researchers have used 30 year generations and periodisation in Samoan history. See Asofou So'o. *Democracy & Custom in Samoa: An Uneasy Alliance*. 2008: has a complicated formula that also comes to 30 year generations. Similarly Luafata Simanu-Klutz, "A Malu i Fale, e Malu Fo'i i Fafo", 2011. Also has 30 year generations. Albert Refiti, *Mavae and Tofiga*. 2014: also has extensive periods of Samoan history.

¹⁰ Fraser, "A Samoan Story of Creation: A 'Tala,'" 172 For the Samoan language version. See Powell, "A Samoan Tradition of Creation and the Deluge," 149 For the English language version published in 1887. ; See Milner, *Samoan Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan.*, 132 In modern day usage masalo can mean "to be of opinion."

named theoretically prior to their foundation.¹¹ Pili is credited as the founding ancestor of Upolu, Manono and Savai'i. In one version,¹² his father is Loa and his mother is Sina. They live in Fagaloa, a region in North east Upolu. They had three sons named Pili, a lizard, Fuialaiō, a starling and Maomao, the honey sucker, and a girl name Sina. The Tuifiti wooes Sina, and Pili wants to accompany his sister to Fiji. However, Sina is ashamed of his lizard form, so he shrank himself to fit in her pocket. On the long sea journey, Pili warned his sister that the Tui Fiti people were plotting to eat her. The Tuifiti people sensed his supernatural presence and mocked Sina. She turns out her pockets and casts him into the sea. The father Loa sent Pili's brothers, Fuialaiō and Maomao to fly and save him. The brothers spotted him swimming in the water, and he acquired a new name Pilia'au (Pili the swimmer).¹³ The brothers wanted to bring him home, but Pili still wanted to go to his sister in Fiji, so, they dropped him on the island named Pu'agagana. He is picked up by the sons of Tagaloaalagi, l'uao and Ulua (their names are iterally translated as: "end of the cloud" and "beginning of the cloud"). While the brothers hid in fear, Pili rows through a great storm, all the while praying to Tagaloa to guide them through the storm. His prayer is granted. On landing in Fiji, he goes inland and plants huge plantations. A famine breaks out in Fiji, and people are being eaten. Once more, Sina is in danger. The Palai, the yam plant offers to help Pili. He grows from Pili's place to Sina's kitchen, where she is desperately digging. Sina finds the yam plant and starts feeding the Tui Fiti. Digging out the yam, she finally meets Pili, and he gives her his plantations, and prosperity returns to Fiji. Pili ascends to the heavens, until he falls down in Manu'a (Pilipa'ū, Pili the fallen).

In yet another version of the Pili story, his parents are Muliovailele and the god Tagaloaalagi,¹⁴ and they lived in the heavens (e **nofotane** Muliovailele, *Muliovailele lived with her husband*). Pili was so badly behaved that Tagaloa beat him and his mother advises him to descend to Manu'a. So, Pili acquired the name' Pilipa'ū (*Pili the fallen one*) in falling to Manu'a. In Manu'a, Pili has extensive plantations. He marries the daughter of the Tui Manu'a, and is so successful

¹¹ The story teller uses a geography that is contemporary with the listener.

¹² As cited in Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:28–29.

¹³ Ibid, p. 27. In the gafa of Lu and Pili, Pilia'au is listed as the son of Pilipa'ū

¹⁴ Steubel, *Samoanische Texte*, 168–69 This telling of the Pili gafa, links him to the arrival of kava from Fiji. His Uncle and his mother brought it to Samoa.

as a provider for the islands, that the chiefs beg him to be their Tui Manu'a, and that they will serve him (tautua). He tells them that it would not work, as they would find him too exacting a chief. However, he reluctantly agrees to be Tui Manu'a, and it is not too long before Pili is being pestered about the whereabouts of farming implements and the meaning of his instructions. Pili leaves and goes to Tutuila. He grows extensive plantations there, and once again, the chiefs ask for them to take on one of their highest title Tuitele. Pili warns them that they would find serving him too difficult. He takes their title with the same result: the Tutuila people show their incompetence and in a huff, he next goes to Upolu. He marries Sinaletava'e, the daughter of the Tui A'ana Tava'etele,¹⁵ He plants extensive and successful plantations. One day, his wife comes to Pili with a request from her father. The Tui A'ana asks that he catches fish to supplement the agricultural produce. Pili, in turn, asks for the Tui A'ana to provide more and more boats for the expedition. Pili stretches a net that spread from Savai'i to Upolu¹⁶ The catch is very successful, but there are not enough boats to load the catch, so some of the catch had to be released back to the sea, This is celebrated in the alagā'upu (proverbial expression) "ua sa'a i le tai le upega o Pili" (*Pili's net has been poured out into the sea*).¹⁷ He then moves to Aopo in Savai'i, and once again grows extensive and successful plantations. The chiefs make him regional leader calling him Pili Tui o Aopo (this gets shortened to Pili'opo).

There are a number of recurring tropes that are common to the Pili stories and to stories of this period. Pili is associated with the development of extensive agriculture and fishing. Moreover, the areas of Manua, Tutuila, and Aopo that are associated with Pili show archaeological evidence of extensive irrigation ditches, furrows, pits and terraced gardens¹⁸.

¹⁵ See Krämer, op cit, p. 222. Tui A'ana Tava'etele is Generation 13 (c.1296)

¹⁶ Stuebel and Miller, op cit, p. 169, "o le muli o le upega e tatao mai le avā i Tutu a o le gutu o le upega e tatao i le avā i Magia" (*the end of the net was planted at Tutu and the head of the net was set at Magia*)

¹⁷ Ewerth Schultz, *Samoan Proverbial Expressions: Alagaupu Fa'a-Samoa*, trans. Brother Herman (Auckland, New Zealand: Polynesian Press, 1994) no.13. no. 14: Ua tu'u tasi le upega o Pili "*Pili cast his net by himself*"

¹⁸ See Ethan Cochrane and Joseph Mills, "LiDAR Imagery Confirms Extensive Interior Land-Use on Tutuila, American Samoa," *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 9, no. 1 (2018): 70–78; Gregory Jackmond, Dionne Fonotī, and Matiu Matāvai Tautunu, "Did Sāmoa Have Intensive Agriculture in the Past: New Findings from LiDAR," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 128, no. 2 (2019): 225–43.

3.3.1 Pili's organisation of Samoa

Pili is touted as having taught Samoans agricultural and fishing practice, however it is the political organisation of Samoa through his children, that is his greatest and most enduring legacy. Pili's dissatisfaction with Manu'a and his subsequent move westward to Upolu and Savai'i indicate a shift of influence from the easternmost Samoan islands to Upolu and Savai'i. Pili's children to Sinaletava'e,¹⁹ the daughter of Tui A'ana were each apportioned with a part of Upolu or Savai'i, and they are given implements that symbolise their duties and obligations to one another: Tua is given a third of the eastern area of Upolu called Atua and the oso, a digging implement for planting taro are his emblems. He and his people are to specialise in growing agricultural products. Saga is given the central area of Upolu called Tuamasaga,²⁰ his implements are the orator's fly whisk and staff. He and his people specialise in oratory skills. Ana is given the eastern area of Upolu named A'ana. His emblem is the spear. He and his people specialise in the arts of warfare. Tolufale, the youngest, is given Manono and Savai'i. He does not have any emblems, but his role is to intercede with his brothers should they have disputes. The brothers lived in and populated their areas with their people. The fraternal peace did not last long, as Saga was attacked by Tua with Ana's assistance, and he sought the help of Tolufale.²¹

Pili's apportioning of Samoa amongst his sons was perhaps a way of ensuring peaceful relations. Each brother has a particular speciality, that are essential to Samoan life: agriculture, military, and oratory or chieftainship. Yet, a disagreement between Tua and Ana led to blows, and Ana is left bleeding. Ana seeks support from Tua, and Saga pairs up with Tolufale. This is a common trope in Samoan history, where any political solution, has within it the seeds to the destruction of that solution. In this case, four brothers sharing powers and assisting one another in their specialist functions would lead to symbiotic and peaceful relations, yet human weakness, whether it be pride or envy, leads to a fracturing of fraternal relations.

¹⁹ See Krämer, I: 26-28. Gafa of Lu and Pili.

²⁰ Saga area is between the twins (māsaga), Tua and Ana.

²¹ See Krämer, I: 29-30. O le tala o le taua o le Uso (*the tale of the war between brothers*). Note that Tolufale is also female in other versions.

3.4 Savai'i

According to another gafa, Pili le So'opili- that is Pili who left Manu'a and Tutuila,²² went first to Savai'i and then to Upolu. His descendants are responsible for the political organisation of Savai'i. Lealali, Pili's grandson, has a number of sons to two wives. In his māvaega,²³ spoken will, Lealali commands his sons, Salevaonono and Sausi to go to Leulumoega, Upolu, and play roles in the assigning the Pāpā title Tui A'ana. His sons Tupa'imatuna, Tupa'ilelei and Tupa'isivā were to settle in Savai'i as chiefs. Tupa'imatuna marries a Tongan woman, Laufafaetoga. She, firstly, has two children: the legendary Vā'asilifiti, and Fotuosamoa, the founding ancestor of Safotu (Northeast Savai'i). Laufafaetoga, then has children to her lover the Tui Fiti. Their sons also go on to found various villages in Savai'i: Ututauofiti, who founds Matautu; Tauaofiti, who founds Sataua; Legauotuitoga, who founds Salega, and Lavalu, who founds Salelāvalu.

Va'asilifiti married Fe'egaga from Sagana (central Upolu) and Fe'esoa from Saleimoa (Central Upolu). Each of the woman bore him a son: Funefe'ai (Gen 15 c.1354) and Laifai.²⁴ Lafai's children found various villages and settlements in Savai'i: Fotulafai founds Safotulafai, Talalafai founds the village Iva; Tupa'iloa founds Falealupo; Loaloa founds Sāfe'e; Tupa'ifa'aulu founds Neiafu; Tupa'ilefao founds Asau; and Muliagalafai founds the Sālemuliaga family. Fotulafai marries Levāoita and his son Leaula founds Sāleaula. Another name for Savai'i is Salāfai, i.e., the family of Lafai. These villages founded by common ancestors, then give rise to major family groupings, that connect the different villages further.

In Savai'i, the ao²⁵ or regional titles collect together and focus the energies of the families and the constituent villages. There are three major Savai'i lineages, in that all families link to: Sātagaloa, Sātonumaipē'a, and Sālilomaiaiva. They figure prominently in the socio-political history of the Gafa period. The Tagaloa, Tonumaipē'a and Lilomaiaivā are conferred by the family chiefs in different villages. They are ao, regional titles. The term ao, which is usually

²² Krämer, *ibid.* p. 107. The descendants of Lealali

²³ See Pratt, *Dictionary*, 219. Māvāega: "Parting command, engagement or promise".

²⁴ Krämer, *op cit.* p. 115. Gafa of Tagaloa

²⁵ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 58. Ao has a number of meanings: head, cloud, day(light), but with reference to titles, it is closer to "to collect, to gather together" as in one matai title that gathers others under it.

defined as both “the honour” or “the day” (opposite to night, pō), and “the head of the chief” on which the title (ao) rested”.²⁶ However, the term ao also means “to collect, to gather together”²⁷. These ao are supported by geographic clusters of villages.

3.4.1 Tonumaipé’a

The Tonumaipé’a gafa traces back to much earlier times, and it is distinguished by very powerful supernatural descendants. Its founders are the heroine Tilāfaigā, she marries her uncleband is Savea Si’uleo, the demon lord of the Pulu (the Samoan underworld). Tilāfaigā’s daughter is Nāfanua, who was born a blood clot, and buried in the earth (hence the name na- “hidden”, fanua- “land”. The name and title, Tonumaipé’a, however, takes its name from the adventures of the ancestress Leutogitupa’itea²⁸ (Gen 16, c.1384). She is the daughter of Pouliofataoletagaloa and E Le Muliaga. Leutogi is taken as a consort to the Tuitonga. When one of the Tongan wives gives birth to a child, Leutogi in a fit of jealousy kills the child by inserting a leaf rib from a coconut leaf, into its ear. The Tuitonga condemns her to be burnt alive in the fork of a Fetau tree. Wood was stacked and set on fire, but then swarms of bats descended on them, and put out the fire with their urine. This incident is celebrated in the proverb: “Ua tatou fetaia’i i magafetau soifua” (*we meet alive in the fork of the fetau tree*)²⁹. The Tuitoga then banishes her to a rocky desert island, where there were no food sources. The aitu (spirit) Losi watched her from afar. The bats that saved her from being burnt alive, now flew in food provisions, wood, and implements for food preparation. Eventually, the Tui Uea (the Tui Uvea) sailed by and rescued Leutogi from the island. She lived with the Tui Uea and bore him a son named Fa’asega. When he is grown, Leutogi sent her son to find her family in Savai’i and to gift them with three new names:

1. The first is the name **Tonumaipé’a**: *lit.* “Parting command from the bats” to celebrate their intervention in the burning of Leutogitupa’itea. The ao title and family of Tonumaipéa play a major roles in political developments during the gafa period. Fa’asega is the first Tonumaipé’a.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 657

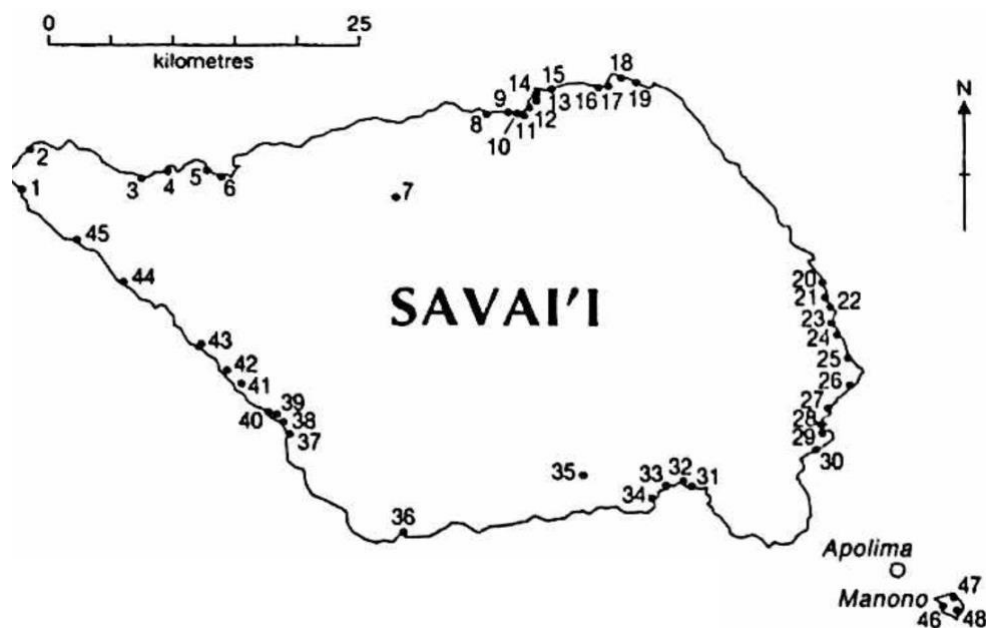
²⁷ See Pratt, op cit, p. 58

²⁸ See Krämer, ibid, p. 121-2.

²⁹ Schultz, *Samoan Proverbial Expressions: Alagaupu Fa’a-Samoa* nos. 485. It is usually as an expression of joy at meeting friends and family

2. The second is **Tilomai**: meaning “*To watch from afar*”, which commemorates the supernatural presence of aitu Losi, who watched Leutogi from a distance. Tilomai is the Sa’otama’ita’i title, the taupou name for Tonumaipe’a.
3. The third is Tauiliili: meaning “*Covered with little stones*”, Leutogi did not have banana leaves to cover her umu (cooking oven), so she had to use the little stones (iliili) to cover her cooking oven. The title Tauiliili, together with the title Tupa’i become associated as priests for Nāfanua.

The villages of Sataua, Falealupo, Falelima, Neiafu and Tufutafoe.³⁰ together decide on the holders of the Tonumaipe’a title. The Tonumaipe’a intermarry into all of the major families of Samoa. Given their strong association with supernatural, they bring that ability to alter energy flows within Samoan society and history.



³⁰ See Krämer, *ibid*, p. 122. Falealupo, Falelima, Neiafu, and Tufutafoe are the falefā (the house of four), which decide the Tonumaipe’a. This is similar to the four Sāfune places which decide on the Tagaloa title holder.

1	Tufutāfoe	13	Lefagaoali'i	25	Faga	37	Sala'ilua
2	Fālealupo	14	Sāmauga	26	Sāfotulāfai	38	Gāgā'emalae
3	Sātaua	15	Sāfotu	27	Sāpapali'i	39	Sātuiātua
4	Vāisala	16	Matāutu (Savai'i)	28	Vāi'afai	40	Foālalo
5	Auala	17	Lelepa	29	Ivā	41	Sāgone
6	Asau	18	Sāto'alepai	30	Sāleloga	42	Vāipu'a
7	A'opo	19	Sāleaula	31	Fā'ala	43	Sāmata
8	Sāsina	20	Pu'apu'a	32	Vāito'omuli	44	Fālelima
9	Fatuvālu	21	Asaga	33	Vāiloa	45	Neiafu
10	Faletagaloa	22	Ivā	34	Sātupa'itea	46	Apai
11	Matāvāi	23	Sāipipi	35	Sili	47	Sālua
12	Sāfune i Taoo	24	Sa'asa'ai	36	Taga	48	Faleū

Figure 3 Savai'i: Major villages

3.4.2 Tagaloa

Funefe'ai (Fune the Ferocious, Gen 15 c.1354), Lafai's step-brother, lends his name to the region of Sāfune in Savai'i, and is associated with the bestowal of the Tagaloa title – The story goes that Tagaloaalagi, the god, desired Funefe'ai's wife, Sinaalāua. So, he promised Funefe'ai a Tagaloa title in exchange for his wife and Funefe'ai agrees. Tagaloaalagi also promises Funefe'ai that eight orators from four villages would support his title: Sae and Fataloto of Vāiafai; Tugaga and Tagaloaatātoa of Safunetāoa; Gale and Tuiasau of Vāisala; and Mata'afā and Talivā'a of Sili (Tufu). These orators are termed "Taulauniu mai le lagi" or *protecting coconut fronds* and they not only support, but confer the Tagaloa title.¹

3.4.3 Sā Lilomaiaava

The origins of the another Savai'i dynasty, the Sāililomaiaava, link to the Tagaloa family. The family is centred on the areas of Palauli, Safotu and Sāgafili,² and they are responsible for electing Lilomaiaava as titleholders. The origin story of the name Lilomaiaava goes that Tiūmalumatua (Gen 23. c.1594) is on his way home from work on the plantations, and he sees

¹ See Krämer, Samoan Islands, I: 115. The Tagaloa title of Falelātai (Tagaloa i Pata); and the Safune near Apia, have nothing to do with conferring the Tagaloa title in Savai'i.

² See Kramer, Samoan Islands, I: 52; 80-81; 206. Sagafili refers to the area on the northeast of Upolu that had the villages: Tifitifi, Toloa, Saleali'i, and Samea. "Sagafili is the cradle of the Lilomaiaavā family and confers the title jointly with Palauli and Safotu" (see Krämer, 206). In 1943, the villages of Satuimalufilufi, and Satupuala were relocated under War provisions so as to build a military airport at Faleolo to aid Allied Pacific command world war efforts. Presently, the International Airport and the Aggie Grey Hotel stand in the area that was know as Sagafili. The villages were never restored to their original locations.

an atu (bonito) lying on the shore. Tiumalu asks how the bonito got there. He is told that the old man Lilo brought the fish from the ava (reef channel). Tiumalu says that he has a name for his son: Tiumalu and Lilomaiaava, or Tiumalumalilomaiaava (gen 24. c. 1626). The name Lilomaiaava becomes ao, and because of marital connections to the Tui A'ana,³ e.g., Sauimalae marries the Tui A'ana Galumalemana (gen 28 c. 1746). Galumalemana is buried at Sagafili, and Sagafili, act as Alataua to the Tui A'ana, in that they act as advisors on war matters and provide warriors.⁴

Savai'i has six areas or Pule (*areas of authority*): Safotu, Saleaula, Safotulafai, Palauli, Satupa'itea, and Asau. Another name for Savai'i is Puleono (six pule). The major political centres of Sāleaula, Sāfotu, and Sāfotulafai and most of the villages in Savai'i derive from one ancestor, Pili. However, as areas of Savai'i become populated and named as distinct geographic locations, their political influence, power, and energy are focussed on apex regional titles: Tonumaipe'a, Tagaloa, and Lilomaiaava.

3.5 Upolu

In Upolu, the development of titles, families, village groupings, and regional titles (ao) follows the same patterns as Savai'i. Upolu has three regions: A'ana, Tuamasaga, and Atua that cut across the island. and each region has an apex title: Tui A'ana, Malietoa, and Tui Atua respectively. These regional ao sit atop, and collect together contributory titles, constituent villages and people. Eligibility for these ao, came down to competition between two main family groupings: the Sā Tupua and the Sā Malietoa.⁵

During the Gafa period, there is a tendency to collect titles under a larger more encompassing title (māopopo-compact, to hold together),⁶ leads to the development of the Tafa'ifā – “the foursided one”. A supra-title for which contenders to the Tafa'ifā would have to both acquire the apex titles of Upolu, termed Pāpā: Tui Atua, Tui A'ana and Gatoa'itele and Tamasoaali'i;

³ See Krämer, *Samoa Islands*, I: 242-245,

⁴ Krämer, *Samoa Islands*, I: 658

⁵ See this thesis, Part C 3 Developments in Gafa politics

⁶ See Pratt, *Dictionary*, p. 197. Māopopo is another energetical term.

and have to have significant genealogical connection to, or hold the ao of Savai'i. The first Tafa'ifā was Salamāsina (Gen 21 c.1534).

3.5.1 Tui A'ana

The Tui A'ana title is the apex title that collects together the major families and titles of the A'ana region of Samoa. The ao becomes centred in Leulumoega (Northeast Upolu).

According to Krämer, the Tui A'ana gafa is the most ancient of the major families. The gafa begins c.936AD following the evolutionary model, with the coupling of Malamagaga'e with Malamagagaifo (*Light of the East and Light of the West*), from whom Lupe, the pigeon is born. Lupe mates with Papatū (*standing rock*), then five generations of rock to dirt to papamavāe (*parting earth*) coupling with Imoa (rat) then their child Salasala⁷ mates with the god Tagaloanimonimo (*Tagaloa the immeasurable*) to produce the first human Tupufua (Gen 7, c.1146AD). Thus far, the antiquity and divinity of the gafa is illustrated, as it includes the evolutionary sequence of Light, Papatū (the primordial rock), Palapala (dirt), the rat, and the god Tagaloanimonimo mating with a tree to produce the first human, Tupufua.

The Tui A'ana ao comes into prominence when the baby Tāmalelagi is kidnapped from his parents Selaginatō and Vaetamasoa (Gen 19, c.1474) in Safata (South Upolu). Vaetamasoa is the grand daughter of Malietoa Laauli. The chiefs, Ape and Tutuila, brought the child to A'ana, so that the region could have a leader of noble lineage. They based themselves in Leulumoega (lit: *the head of the bed*), where they laid the baby to sleep. Tāmalelagi matures and had ten usoga, marital unions. The last of which is to Vaetoeifaga, the daughter of the Tu'i Toga. She gives birth to a daughter, Salamāsina, who becomes the first Tafaifā when she is conferred the the four apex titles of Upolu: Tui A'ana, Tui Atua, Tamasoalii and Gatoaitele. The Faleiva (House of nine orators)⁸ decide on who is conferred the Tui A'ana.

⁷ Krämer, *Samoa Islands*, 221. Pratt, *Dictionary*, 257: Salasala is a type of tree, but it also means "to nibble to gnaw as a rat". Krämer translates Salasala as "that which the rat gnawed off". However, the gafa progression of Light, Rocks, Earth, Rat, Plant then People (through mating with Tagaloanimonimo) better illustrates the evolutionary model of gafa. See also Krämer, op cit, p. 229-

⁸ See Tusi Fa'alupega Committee, *O Le Tusi Fa'alupega o Samoa Atoa*, 33 The nine are listed as: Levaogogo; Vaisau; Usi; Samoa; Lepou; Sapili; Va'a; Sapini; and Fa'atoafe. Compare with Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:198. The Nine is listed as: Sausi; Salevaonono; Sava'a; Samoa; Lepou; Ilia'e; Niuapu; Sapini; and Folasaitu. Their epithet in the fa'alupega for Leulumoega is "tulouna le faleiva"- Greeted the house of nine.

3.5.2 Tui Atua

The Tui Atua ao is centred on the village of Lufilufi, it collects together the major family titles, and villages of the Atua region in the northwest part of Upolu.

3.5.3 Malietoa

Pili's children give rise to the major families in the various areas of Samoa. Ana is an ancestor to Fe'epō whose son Leatiogie⁹ is the founder of the Malietoa family.

The Malietoa line proper begins with Leatiogie (gen 13, c. 1296AD), son of Fe'epō, is the founding ancestor of the Malietoa line. However, it is the role that Latiogie's sons play in the expulsion of the Tongan overlordship of Samoa, that raises their status. Leatiogie's sons, Tuna and Fata, assisted by his sister's son Ulumasui (and therefore has sacred power),¹⁰ affect the military conquest of the Tongans. They ambush the Tongans in Aliepata North east Upolu, and harry the Tongan forces westward on both sides of the Upolu island. They are armed with clubs made from the wooden anchor of the Tui Toga's va'a (*boat*). The name "Malietoa" comes from the parting words of the Tui Tonga, as he and his men fled Samoa on their boats from Cape Fatuosofia North west Upolu (in modern day Apolima-uta). The Tu'i Tonga shouts out to them:

Ua **malie toa**, malie tau¹¹
Ou te le toe sau
I le auliuli tau,
A o le a ou sau
I le auliuli folau

*Brave warriors, bravely fought
If I ever return
It will not be to wage war on you,
But to pay a friendly visit*

The brothers Tuna and Fata fought one another to a stand-still over who will be the first Malietoa. And, as they lay dying, the elder brother Savea stood with a foot on the chest of each of his brothers prayed over them, and they recuperated. This is memorialised in the proverbial expression : Talo lua Tuna ma Fata "*To pray for both Tuna and Fata*".¹²

⁹ See Krämer, I: 312

¹⁰ See Part C 2.1 O le Tulaga for the importance of the sister's son.

¹¹ Schultz, *Samoa Proverbial Expressions: Alagaupu Fa'a-Samoa* see nos 384.

¹² See Schultz, *Samoa Proverbial Expressions*, nos. 385. It has the meaning to "not restrict one's love to just one party, but to extend it to all those involved" So, for example, pardoning not just one offender, but all offenders. For other proverbs on the Malietoa victory over the Tongans, see also nos. 384 "Se'i moe le toa": *Let the toa pole sleep*. the proverb advises that when one can't make up one's mind, to sleep on it. When Tuna, Fata and Ulumasui could not decide which way to cut the toa-wood anchor, either lengthways, or

Malietoa Savea became the first Malietoa (Gen 14 c. 1324). His brother Fata moves to the south end of Tuamasaga, founding the region named Safata (Fata's family). Tuna founds the village of Afega, while the Malietoa title is based in nearby Malie. Afega and Malie are collectively known as Sagana.¹³

3.6 Energetical flows of vā

This section shows the flow of Samoan political energy throughout the islands. Figure 4 shows the layers of power in Samoan politics fully developed by the time of the coming of the Papālagi. - This thesis does not examine the energetical flows of the easternmost islands of Tutuila and Manu'a.

The most fundamental socio-political level is the village. At this level, Samoan political forces are at its most stable. Each village have distinct sets of matai: ali'i, *chiefs* and tulafale, *orators*. Other groupings in the village are aumaga, *untitled men*; aualuma, *unmarried women*; faletua and tausi, wives of ali'i and tulafale, and, lalovaea, *children*. The ali'i gafa to the gods and thereby channel the sacral power that drives village action. Tulafale are their spokesman and organise the other village groupings and resources to do the bidding of their ali'i and fonofono, council of chiefs.

crossways, so, they left the the anchor on the beach to discuss it further the next day. See also proverb nos. 386. "Moli laau i Foga'a" *To take the clubs to Foga'a*.

¹³ See Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:286; 314 Sagana means "family of Gana" of Gana or Ganasavea. On: 314 (gen 14) Ganasavea is the son of the first Malietoa. Ganasavea and his sons consolidate the Malietoa territory in Tuamasaga.

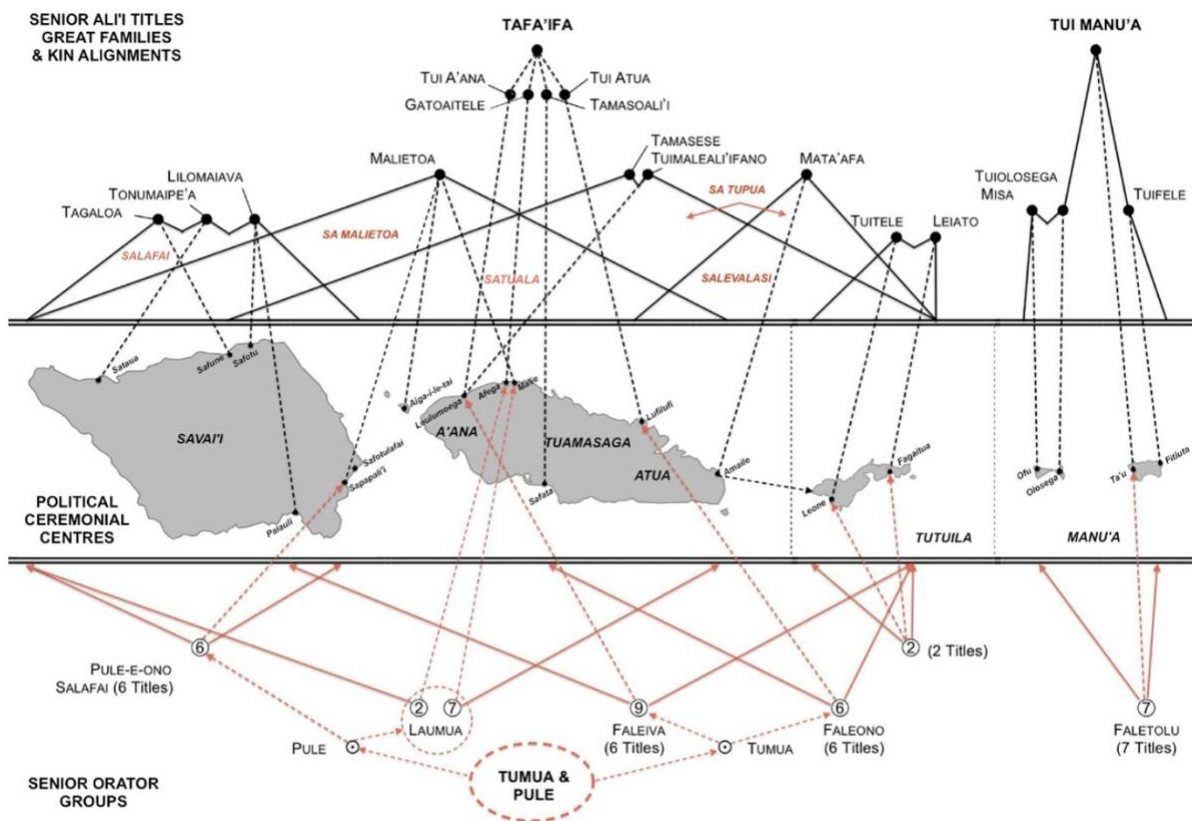


Figure 4. *The socio-political situation in Samoa prior to the arrival of Papālagi.* Adapted from Keesing and Keesing, *Elite Communication*, 1956: 22. Taken from Albert Refiti, *Mavae and Tofiga*. 2015: 136. It shows political ceremonial centres. The senior itū titles and their sphere of influence. The senior orator groups responsible for the assigning the itū title.

The next layer up from the village level comprises ao titles such as Tagaloa, Tonumaipē'a, Lilomaiaava, Malietoa, Tuimaleali'ifano and Matā'afa where a number of villages in Savai'i and Upolu are responsible for bestowing these ao titles. The Malietoa ao is assigned by the Falefitu (*House of seven chiefs*)¹⁴ of Malie and Afega, Upolu as well as orators in Fa'asaleleaga, Savai'i and Manono. The Tui A'ana has the Faleiva (*House of nine*), and the Tui Atua has the Faleono (*House of six*). These confederations of chiefs are known as Tumua (the major orators of Upolu) and Pule (the major orators of the six political centres of).

¹⁴ See Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:290. The seven are Toelupe, Leupolu, Leapai, Tuloa, Tulusunu'i, Maligi and Saunia'au. Their epithet in the fa'alupega for Malie is "tulouna a loutou to'afitu"-Greeted you seven. See also Krämer, 1: 198. The Faleiva for the Tui A'ana is listed as Sausi, Salevaonono, Sava'a, Samoa, Lepou, Ilia'e, Niuapu, Sapini and Folasaitu. See also Krämer, 1: 355. The Faleono for the Tui Atua is listed as Fa'amatuāinu, Manuō, Tusa, Fa'asou, Moefa'auō, Mata'afa (Tofaeono of Vaiala makes a seventh, at this time, hemakes a tenth seat in the Faleiva). Please note Title names may change For example Lemana who plays a major role in the Kingship title 1898, also holds the Folasaitu title, but his role in assigning the Tui A'ana ao is the same.

However, one can see that in this system of gafa based power dispersal that the Tuimaleali'ifano, and Matā'afa titles are genealogically linked to Salamāsina through her granddaughters Sina and Taufau and have also strong ties to the Sā Malietoa. Both Tuimaleali'ifano and Matā'afa title holders played major roles in nineteenth-century Samoan politics when European interference took advantage of these divisions to promote their own colonial interests.

The senior orator group of the Pule, (shortened from Pule ono), comprise of the six major centres of Savai'i or Salāfai. The other confederation of orators is the Tumua consisting of the senior orators of Leulumoega, Lufilufi and the Laumua of the Malietoa.

The penultimate layer of ao are the Pāpā: the Tui Atua with the Faleono (House of six chiefs), the Tui A'ana with its Faleiva (the House of nine chiefs), the Gatoaitale, and Tamasoali'i. The Tui Atua and Tui A'ana are much older than the Gatoaitale and Tamasoalii (both were established c.1444 AD-1474, Gen 18-19). The regional titles also have families that *tausi*, *care for or serve*, the title holder. For example, the Tui Atua has the Sā Fenunuivao and the Sā Levālasī. Tui A'ana has Aiga e fā (*the four families*): Sā Tuala, Aiga o Māvaega, Aiga Taulagi, Aiga Taua'ana.

At the highest level is the political office of Tafa'ifā. A successful contender collects all four Pāpā. The Tafa'ifā is also the most unstable, because of the multiple genealogical links that a successful contender must have in order to assure the support of the multiple regions and villages. In Samoan politics, the higher the title, the more ceremonial the role. This is reflective of the distinction between Ali'i and Tulafale.¹⁵ The ali'i exercises ceremonial power and is characterised by māopopo – the property of “holding together”¹⁶ and stillness. The tulafale exercises executive authority, and is characterised by gaioi, *movement*.

¹⁵ See I'uogafa Tuagalu, “Mata'afa Iosefo and the Idea of Kingship in Samoa” (Dissertation Master of Arts, New Zealand, University of Auckland, 1988), 7-12. I show how this division of authority is central to understanding nineteenth century Samoan politics.

¹⁶ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 197.

So, in terms of energetics, Samoan political energies are at its most stable at the village level, where there are ali'i and tulafale and families that tautua, serve them. At this village level vā relations are at their strongest: ali'i exercise sacral power because their gafa are of divine origins. Tulafale exercise executive authority in organising and distributing resources to carry out the determinations of the village fono, *council of chiefs*. However, the acquisition of ao titles would mean the inclusion of more ali'i and tulafale, regional titles are even more convoluted. So the acquisition of these regional titles culminating in the Pāpā is when vā relations are at their most formal and weakest. Conflict at this level is more likely to result in warfare.

The appointment to ao or higher titles last for as long as the incumbent is alive. Upon their death, the titles return to the villages and chiefs who decide the successor. And the cyclic competition for titular acquisition begins anew. So, the office of Tafa'ifā is viable during the tenure of the holder, but all the Pāpā and titles return to the groups of orators, who decide on their bestowal: Tui A'ana returns to the faleiva; Tui Atua returns to the faleono; and the ao Malietoa to the falefitu, Tuimaleali'ifano, Matā'afa and Tupua (Tamasese) titles return to their families, who then choose representatives to contest to unify the titles under themselves. So, gafa forces drive and enable the accumulation of ao and Pāpā, but in doing so, vā social relational forces lose their integrity and it is difficult to maintain political coalitions.

4. History of Gafa politics till the Nineteenth century.

Thus far, we have seen that prominent families in Savai'i and Upolu stem from founding ancestors with mythical and divine origins. The descendants of these founding ancestors established villages, and through intermarriage, they bind regions together through genealogical links, e.g., Sāfune region taking its name from the Funefe'ai. However, apex titles such as Tonumaipe'a, Tagaloa, Lilomaivā on Savai'i; and Tui A'ana, Tui Atua and Malietoa on Upolu collect together and coalesce major family titles, villages and regions. These major families also intermarry with one another – or more correctly, have children with one another. Thus, on the one hand, families expand the reach of their apex title holders by increasing their eligibility for other apex titles through intermarriage; and on the other hand, each of the apex titles become more susceptible to contention as there are more genealogically eligible contenders.

At around Generation 18 (c. 1444) there is a confluence of the genealogical energies in the creation of a supra-title, the Tafa'ifā, in the person of Salamāsina (Gen 21 c. 1534). The station of Tafa'ifā subsumes the major ao titles of both Savai'i (Tonumaipe'a, Tagaloa, and Lilomaivā), and Upolu (Tui Atua, Tui A'ana, Gatoa'itele and Tamasoali'i). The establishment and rise of the Malietoa family added a new dynamic to the Samoan political situation.

This section looks at major episodes in Samoan history when gafa and vā-forces and fields play out in Samoan history.

4.1 Tongan expulsion

The expulsion of the Tongans led to the emergence of the Malietoa family as a political force in Samoa.

4.2 Rise of the Malietoa: Causing an instability

Rise of the Sā Malietoa meant that there were more contenders for higher titles. At Gens 18 and 19 (c.1444-c.1504), the Pāpā fafine Gatoaitale and Vaetamasoali'i were formed by descendants of the Sā Malietoa. Then there were four Pāpā. Nāfanua wins all four Pāpā through battle. She tries to bestow the titles to her Tonumaipe'a descendant Levalasi (she is also called So'oa'emalelagi).¹Who asks for the Pāpā to be bestowed upon her adopted daughter, Salamāsina.

4.3 Nāfanua: unifying the titles

Nāfanua is a crucial figure in Samoan history, even though evidence for her existence is mired in mythology. The present day chiefly structures and social organisation dates back to her political reformation of Samoan society.

Nāfanua was a product of an incestuous union of Saveasi'uleo, the half-eel, half man and Lord of the underworld Pulotu, and his niece Tilafaigā. Nāfanua was born an alualu toto, *blood clot*- usually taken as a sign of an incestuous union. Her mother tried to hide her under a rock, hence here name Nāfanua (*hidden by the earth*).

Nāfanua's parents also had auspicious biographies. Her mother Tilafaigā and her sister Taemā were born conjoined twins at the belly button. When they were startled by someone dropping firewood, they leapt into the sea and tore their connection. They decide to swim to their uncle's domain in Pulotu. Along the way, they acquire their names: Taemā (pale faeces) is named after faeces that were floating by; Tilafaigā (broken mast) is named after a broken ship mast that was bobbing in the water.²

Their father, Ulufanuasese'e, was brother to the half eel, half man, Saveasi'uleo. Ulu's parents fled inland with their son away from the sea, as Saveasi'uleo had eaten all his other siblings. When Ulufanua found out what his brother had done to his siblings, he went to the seashore

¹ See Krämer, 1: 124. Her father is Le Tonumaipe'a Sauoāiga (Gen 18, c. 1444).

² The sisters have a number of adventures, the most well known was the bringing of the art of tattoo from Fiji to Samoa.

at Faleālupo and confronted his brother about his bad conduct. Their parting words are very well known to Samoans as le māvaega³ o le tai “the parting at the seashore”. Saveasi’uleo says to his brother “ta toe fetaia’i i i’u o gafa”⁴ (we will meet again at the end of our gafa, family tree). The coupling of Tilafaigā and Saveasi’uleo and the birth of Nāfanua is the fulfilment of that promise.

Saveasi’uleo sends his daughter Nāfanua (**gen 11 c.1236**) to free her people of Falealupo from the oppression of the people from the west (Salega). When in Puluotu, they hear sighs of frustration from a chief named Tai’i (ua logo i Puluotu le mapu a Tai’i).⁵ The term logo has connotations of “to announce” or to feel. Nāfanua’s involvement in the battle with the eastern side of Savai’i can be told in surviving proverbial expressions:

- (a) **la ulimasao la’au o Nāfanua**⁶ (may the weapons of Nāfanua steer us to safety):
In preparation for battle, Nāfanua has two clubs and a steering paddle made up from the wood of a Toa tree. The clubs were named Fa’auliulitō (to make dark), and Fesilafa’i (the people welcomer), and Ulimasao (to steer to safety).
- (b) **Ua tonu mai ai Matuna**⁷ (Matuna gave the orders)
The chief Matuna, and his wife also named Matuna, organise the resistance efforts of the Falealupo people. When Nāfanua arrives in Falealupo, she is adopted by Matuna and his wife.
- (c) **Talisoa le i’a a Nāfanua**⁸ (Wait for Nāfanua’s fish)
The villagers are eager to repel their oppressors, but Matuna warns them to await Nāfanua’s instructions. Nāfanua’s fish is a reference to war.
- (d) **Ua ola i fale le la’au a Nāfanua**⁹ (Life was given in the house to Nāfanua’s war club).
In preparation for the ensuing battle, Nāfanua ‘bloods’ her weapons, by killing the children of Matuna and Matuna. However, the notion that a weapon is given life, or energised by taking a life is important to the present discussion. Later on, in the heat

³ Milner, *Samoan Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan.*, 142 Mavaega: 1. Farewell ; parting words. 2. Parting promise. 3. Last wishes (of a dying person) .

⁴ Schultz, *Samoan Proverbial Expressions: Alagaupu Fa’a-Samoa* nos. 430. I’uogafa is a family name for my father’s family, Sā Tuagalū. It comes from the māvaega of the brothers and presages the advent of Nāfanua.

⁵ Ibid, nos. 438 Indicative of the oppression that they suffered was that Tai’i was forced to climb a coconut tree feet first.

⁶ Schultz, *ibid*, nos. 439. The proverb is used to express the hope of a happy ending for any undertaking.

⁷ Ibid, nos. 440. The proverb highlights the need to follow the orders of those in authority.

⁸ Ibid, nos. 441. The proverb warns to choose the right moment to act, to practice patience.

⁹ Ibid, nos. 443. The proverb “is applied to a matai who wrongs one of his relatives, particularly to one who who has illicit intercourse with a girl of his family”

of battle, Nāfanua accidentally kills Matuna and his wife, when they cross into Nāfanua's attacking front.

- (e) **A paia le pa o Fualaga, sua le tuli aua le Ali'i o Aiga**¹⁰ (*When you reach the boundaries of Fualaga hold fast for the Head of the Family*). Nāfanua's father, Savea Si'uleo, advises her to stop at the border of Fualaga, at the village of Faia'ai. When she looks as she is about to forget, he sends a breeze that blows off her tiputa (*chest guard*) that was covering her breasts, she stops, perhaps remembering her father's stipulation, or out of a sense of embarrassment at her exposure. Equally embarrassed are the opposing warriors who realise that they have been bested by a woman. In commemoration of this event, the malae (*village green*) is named Malaemā (*the malae of shame*).

The proverbs are also rife with energetcal implications. The clubs steer or extinguish life energies; Matuna directs and orders resistance forces; the soldiers await (talisoa) permission to fight (i'a a Nāfanua); bleeding her weapons on her relatives is described as "ola i fale", or find life at home, the weapons came to life by killing Matuna and Matuna's children; finally, the impetus of battle is to stop at the boundaries of Fualaga. Nāfanua is to sua le tuli, literally "take a knee". Saveasi'uleo sends a wind to blow up her tiputa. The breeze and wind can be regarded as a force that stops Nāfanua

Nāfanua settles in Falealupo, in a cave called Analega, and is regarded as a war goddess. She is consulted by chiefs seeking advice on matters of state and war, much like the Oracle of Delphi in Ancient Greece. Her priests Tupa'i and Auva'a channel her and carry out her will.

Nāfanua appears during times of great change in Samoan history. She communicates with people through her priests, Tupa'i and Auva'a, who also carry out her will. Her first appearance is in c.1236. Her second appearance is much later in Samoan history is when Nāfanua becomes involved in four wars over the ao titles Tui Atua, Tui Aana, and the newly established ao of Gato'aitele and Tamasoali'i.¹¹ Nāfanua instructs her priests Tupa'i and

¹⁰ Ministry of Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs, *Samoa Ne'i Galo: "Samoa lest We Forget": Talatu'u Ma Tala o Le Vavau: A Compilation of Oral Traditions and Legends of Samoa: Volume 1*, vol. 1 (Auckland, New Zealand: Dunelm Printing, 1994), 134. The story of Analega, the war of Nāfanua is collected from the tamali'i and failauga of Neiafu and Tufutafoe. See: 125-135. This is an excellent series from the Samoan Ministry of Sport, Education and Culture. Parallel translations of myths and legends told by lead orators from villages, and regions where the stories, proverbs etc originate.

¹¹ See Krämer, 1: 13-14.

Auva'a to gather together the four Pāpā, which are eventually bestowed on Salamāsina (**gen 21, c. 1534**) . Nāfanua offered the titles to Salamāsina's adoptive mother, Levalasi, who demurred, asking that the titles be conferred on her daughter. Thus, Salamāsina becomes the first Tafa'ifā. Nāfanua can be viewed as creating the Tafa'ifā, as she is responsible for bringing together those titles.

Her third appearance is over four hundred years later, when she is apportioning honours to assembled chiefs, Malietoa Fitisimanu (**gen 29, c.1776**) appears for his share and is told:

Talofa e, ua e sau, a ua ave le ao o mālō`. Ae ui i lea, o le a tali i le lagi sou mālō e te fai mālō i ai.¹²

O dear, you have come but the head of the Mālō has been distributed. Because of this that your mālō will be granted from the heavens.

This appearance is taken as presaging the appearance of Christianity in 1830. Malietoa Vainu'upō, Malietoa Fitisimanu's son greets the first European missionaries.

The anthropologist Penelope Schoeffel notes that, if one takes a rationalist view that Nāfanua did not exist,¹³ then much of Samoan gafa period history is the result of Tonumaipē'a political machinations. That Salamāsina's acquisition of the four Pāpā was the result of collusion between Salamāsina and Tupa'i as a descendant of Nāfanua and the Tonumaipē'a. As for the promise of mālō coming from the heavens, it could be taken as a Tonumaipē'a repudiation of Malietoa aspiration to power. However, as that promise of a new political order coming from the heavens is commonly referred to as le valoaga o Nāfanua, *the prophecy of Nāfanua*. So, it may be a sign that the old political order where Leulumoega (Tui A'ana) and Lufilufi (Tui Atua) were dominant, was being superseded by a Mālō led by Manono and the Malietoa areas. Nāfanua is reputed to have been mistreated by A'ana and Atua, but received well by Leiatua of Manono. She would possess him, helping him to win wars. Leiatua Lelologa married Valasi i Ologa¹⁴ who was of the Tonumaipē'a family. She is the mother of the infamous Tamafaigā.

¹² Brother Henry, *Talafaasolopito o Samoa*, trans. T. K. Faletese, 1958, 122.

¹³ See Schoeffel, "The Samoan Concept of Feagaiga and Its Transformation," 185.

¹⁴ Niel Gunson, "Sacred Women Chief's and Female 'headmen' in Polynesian History," *The Journal of Pacific History* 22, no. 3 (1987): 164; See Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular*

However, it is of interest that when momentous changes happen in their political history, i.e., in the *vā*-energies and forces between the major families; Samoans recourse is to explain it in supernatural terms. That is, that the goddess *Nāfanua* and her priests, *Tupa'i* and *Auva'a* were responsible for these changes for over 500 years.

4.4 *Salamāsina* (gen 21: c.1534). Bringing together the titles

There is a major convergence of political and genealogical forces at Gen 21: c.1534. *Salamāsina* is the youngest child of *Tamaalelagi* and *Vaetoefaga*, the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga*. She is adopted by *Levalasi* (aka *So'oa'emailelagi*), who is a cousin to her father, *Tamaalelagi*, and is her aunt.¹⁵ *Levalasi* is closely related to the *Tonumaipe'a*. When *Tamaalelagi* approached *Levalasi* for assistance against a rival for the *Tui A'ana* title (*Tui A'ana Sagate*), she approaches her brother, *Tupa'ivaililigi*, high priest of *Nāfanua*. But when the battle is won, *Nāfanua* retains the *Tui A'ana* title. The deity is asked to intercede in individual wars concerning all of the *Pāpā*. *Nāfanua* wins all those wars and accumulates the four *Pāpā*. *Nāfanua* offers *Levalasi*, her kinswoman, the four *Pāpā*, she demurs asking that they be given to her adopted daughter, *Salamāsina*.

In the person of *Salamāsina*, all the apex titles are combined. She is also potent in terms of genealogical connections. Through her father, she has claim to the *Tui A'ana*. Through her aunt *Levalasi's* *Tonumaipe'a* connections, she acquired the *Tui Atua* and the recently created *Malietoa Pāpā* of *Gato'aitele* and *Tamasoali'i*. Also her mother is the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga*. *Salamāsina* gives rise to a number of new families. The *Sālevalasi* and *Sāfenunuivao* families became more prominent as supporters of the *Tui Atua* under *Salamāsina* and her heirs. *Sātuala*, the family named after her eldest half-brother *Tuala* is a major support for the *Tui A'ana Pāpā*.

Consideration of German Samoa, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:125. For the gafa of *Valasi* i *Ologa*. She was the daughter of *Tauilili*, *Levalasi's* brother. So her aunt is *Levalasi*

¹⁵ See Krämer, 1: 124, 223. The mothers of *Tamaalelagi* and *Levalasi* are sisters, daughters of *Sanālala* (*Leatougaugaatuitoga* and *Vaetamasoa* respectively).

Salamāsina's descendents hold the top offices in Samoan politics till 1802 when the then incumbent I'amfana dies. He bequeaths his titles to Malietoa Vainu'upō. However, each generation of leader after Salamāsina faced the same tensions that were apparent at the time of her ascension to Tafa'ifā: namely that the forces that led to the convergence of genealogical, political, social, and economic energies in the form of the Tafa'ifā, are also subject to pressures that force their divergence. For Salamāsina, the main tensions were holding together and balancing the Tonumaipē'a, Manono, A'ana, and Atua alliances.

4.5 Sā Tupua dominance

One can see the effects of those tensions of holding together the Salamāsina alliances, by shifts in the socio-political energy of Samoa during Salamāsina reign through to the nineteenth century. Salamāsina marries Tapumanaia of the Tonumaipē'a. Thus, she bolsters the Nafanua/Tonumaipē'a connections. She fosters her connections to Atua, probably because the support of A'ana was assured through her father. She has two children: a daughter, Fofaivao'ese and a son named Tapumanaia. Salamāsina is reputedly buried at Salani or Lotofaga in Atua.

Fofaivao'ese (Gen 22, c.1564)

The titles disperse after the death of Salamāsina. Fofaivao'ese is Tui A'ana. She marries Tauatamainiulaita of Satupa'itea, once again reinforcing the Nafanua/Tonumaipē'a connections. She has two daughters: Taufau the eldest and Sina, and a son Asomuaalemalama.

Sina (Gen 23, c.1594)

Taufau, Fofaivao'ese's eldest daughter, succeeded her mother. On Taufau's deathbed she asked for her son Tupuivao to attend her. He prefers to hunt pigeons, and he arrives too late. Taufau disappointed at her sons disrespect of their vā, passes on the inheritance of her titles to her sister, Sina. Thus the Samoan saying "Ua tafea le uto o Taufau"¹⁶ or 'Taufau's

¹⁶ "Tafea" has an energetical meaning as in to be flowing. See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary*. 1893: 292. "Uto" is the floats on the edge of a net. See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary*. 1893: 195. So, the literal translation of the proverb is "the floats on Taufau's net are cast adrift."

vessel is adrift' indicates the passing on of Taufau's rights to Sina. (From Taufau's line comes Matā'afa Iosefo). Sina marries Titoiaivao and adopts her nephew Faumuinā.

Faumuinā (Gen 24, c.1626)

The district of Atua was aggrieved with the disinheritance of Tupuivao. They had thought that under Tupuivao, Atua would gain ascendancy in Samoan politics. Atua withheld the Tui Atua, so, Faumuinā was called "le Tupu Fia" literally "the want-to-be King" as he only had three Pāpā.¹⁷ Faumuinā marries Talaleomalie and gave issue to Fonotī

Fonotī (Gen 25, c.1656)

Fonotī should have succeeded his father as ali'i o le aiga, *first male issue of the first formal marriage*, but there was contention between himself and his half siblings: Samalaulu and Toleafoa. The dispute is also about who would keep the ie tōga named Pepeve'a. Samalaulu and Toleafoa have the support of A'ana and the Tonumaip'e'a, which includes the naval fleet of Manono. Fonotī had the support of Atua and Tuamasaga (with the exception of Safata). Fonotī's forces win. The Atua navy defeat the Tonumaip'e'a/Manono fleet. In recognition, Fonotī makes Fagaloa and Faleapuna an independent district called Le Va'a O Fonotī (or *the War Canoe of Fonotī*). Va'a o Fonoti is added to the Fa'alupega aoao. They are also conferred the honourific "Le Malu o Ma'auga ma Nu'uausala" meaning "Protector of Ma'auga and Nu'uausala", i.e., the main malae at Leulumoega, A'ana and Lufilufi, Atua.¹⁸

On his deathbed Fonotī reached an accommodation with Toleafoa, his half-brother: The title of Tonumaip'e'a now became the inheritance of Toleafoa and his heirs. The head of the Toleafoa chiefs at Leulumoega was given the honourific "Alipia le matua na togia". Toleafoa's mother's family was raised to aiga status: sālā Taulagi that would support the Tui A'ana.

Fonotī's achievements had the consequence of distancing the Salamāsina dynasty from the Tonumaip'e'a and Manono. The Malietoa took advantage of this by forming links with the

¹⁷ Tui Atua. Tamafaigā. 1997: 4.

¹⁸ See also Te'o Tuvalu. "A Brief History of Faleapuna District (as related by Fonoti, F.P.)." In *Papers Relating to the History of Samoa*. For more on the concessions given to Fagaloa and Faleapuna.

Leiaataua of Manono. This can be seen in the Tuilaepa title in Apai (village in Manono) and the naming of Leiaataua Lesā's taupou as To'oā.¹⁹

Muagututi'a (Gen 26, c.1686)

Muagututi'a succeeded his father Fonotī. He aimed to bolster the support of Atua. He is cited as founding the Satuala and Salevalasi families.²⁰ Muagututi'a is said to have the four Pāpā.

Tupua (Gen 27, c.1716)

Tupua was the adopted son of Muagututi'a, and was named as his successor. The deciding chiefs counted votes or "saesae laufa'i" on whether he or Muagututi'a's son, Fepulea'i should succeed their father. Tupua wins the vote and is also credited as Tafa'ifā.

Galumalemana (Gen 28, c.1746)

Tupua is succeeded by his son Afoafouvale, who resided in Lufilufi. Tupua's second marriage was to Tualupetū, who has ties to A'ana. Galumalemana is named after two of the main chiefs of Leulumoega: Galu (i.e., Alipia), and Lemana.²¹ Galumalemana resided at Leulumoega. King Afoa declared war on his brother when it became apparent that Leulumoega was treating Galumalemana as a king. Galumalemana tried to show obeisance, Afoa rejected him. Afoa's chiefs were impressed by Galumalemana's humility. The chief Talo, of Falealili, broke a spear, handing over the halves to the two brothers. He instructed them to fight themselves to find a winner. Galumalemana won the personal combat, so he assumed the Tafa'ifā. Afoa was exiled to Tutuila. Afoafouvale also means Afoa, the rebel without a cause. In that, his brother Galumalemana had apologised and there was no need for war. The loss of that war meant Afoa's exile.

Nofoasāefā (Gen 29, c.1776)

Nofoasāefā succeeded his father, Galumalemana, residing in Leulumoega. He faced a challenge when Atua attacked under the leadership of Matā'afa Fa'asuamaleāui. Matā'afa was killed in the ensuing war. Although he is tafa'ifā, Nofoasāefā wants to be regarded as a god. He also alienated the Tonumaipē'a when in an ava ceremony at Faleālupo, he drank the

¹⁹ Tui Atua, Tamafaigā: 7

²⁰ See Krämer, 1: 226

²¹ Krämer, 1: 227. Tui Atua. 1995

first ava and then broke the ava cup. He is cursed by the Nāfanua priest “e ta’amala le tamua” (*he is accursed*).²² With his tapu removed, Nofoasā’efā is assassinated by one of his own men. In Nofoasā’efā, we see an alternative to the Tafa’ifā status and the strictures around it. The desire to be a deity carries more self determination and breaks the Atua, A’ana, Tonumaipē’a and Manono bind of the Salamāsina dynasty.

I’amafana (Gen 29, d. c.1802)

After Nofoasā’efā is killed, efforts are made by Atua to bring back I’amafana who was in exile. After a series of battles, he attains the four Pāpā. “He was the chief to whom gods and men crowded”.²³ Despite the enticements of Atua, I’amafana is more inclined towards A’ana. He spent more time in A’ana. He died in Alafua where he and his troops had taken shelter after suffering a setback against Manono and Tonumaipē’a forces. After a year his body was reinterred in Satapuala according to his wishes. Before his death, he expresses a wish that Malietoa Vainu’upō inherit his titles.

In this brief overview of Gafa period history, one sees the convergence of forces that led to the formation of the Tafa’ifā in the person of Salamāsina. Then over time, one sees the divergence of forces in the form of Atua and A’ana competition to influence the Tafa’ifā, the waning influence of the Tonumaipē’a, and the development of different forms of leadership, e.g., the leader as deity, who is not subject to the rules of formal chieftainship.²⁴ In I’amafana, the titles of the Tafa’ifā are willed to a Malietoa.

4.6. Fa’alupega and history

The ethnologist Augustin Krämer came to Samoa with the intention to study the sea worm *Palola viridis*, “found in the of the reef for only a few hours on the morning after the third quartering of the October and November months”.²⁵ But he abandons that topic when he finds a number of other scholars similarly interested in the Palolo. He turns to ethnography when he discovers fa’alupega. They are sets of formal greetings that “enumerate all honours (ao), the honorary names of the individual communities, their orator associations (faleupolu)

²² Krämer, 1: 228. Tui Atua. 1995: 10

²³ See Krämer, 1:273

²⁴ Tamafaigā is another well known example of this type of leader. See Tui Atua, 1995.

²⁵ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 238.

and the outstanding chiefs”.²⁶ Krämer came across a chief from Falelatai named Le Kuka and his brother Saulā.²⁷ Le Kuka had a notebook listing a number of fa’alupega. Krämer pays Le Kuka to leave his notebook with him overnight, which he copies. He realises that the fa’alupega describes the social organisation of a village, a region and when all of Samoa is represented, the seemingly national organisation of power.

Krämer listed the ao tetele o Samoa (The great honours of Samoa) as:²⁸

Tulouna ‘oe Pule	<i>Greeted to you Pule</i>	Refers to Safotulafai, Saleaula, Palauli, Asau, Satupa’itea, Fa’asaleleaga, Salega
Tulouna a Tumua	<i>Greeted the Tumua</i>	Refers to Leulumoega and Lufilufi and to Afega and Malie
Tulouna āiga i le tai	<i>Greeted the family in the sea</i>	Apolima and Manono
Tulouna alataua ma itu’au	<i>Greeted the alataua and itu’au</i>	
Tulouna Va’a o Fonotī	<i>Greeted the ship of Fonoti</i>	Faleapuna and Fagaloa in Atua
Tama ma latou aiga, aiga ma latou tama	<i>Boys and their families, families and their boys</i>	

This regional fa’alupega covers the regions of Upolu, Savai’i, Apolima and Manono – The areas that were subject to German colonisation in 1900. The regions include the individual villages. So, this nifty formula encompasses the whole of German Samoa.

Yet, it also encapsulates an abridged version of Samoan history for those islands. The Tumua and Pule, Itū’au and Alataua are developed up to Salamāsina during 1256-1534. In c.1656, Fonotī defeated his sister Samalaulu and his brother Va’afusuaga with the assistance of

²⁶ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:660.

²⁷ See Augustin Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesia Und Samoa* (Stuttgart, Germany: Verlag von Strecker & Schroder, 1906), 181; See also Sven Mönter, *Dr Augustin Krämer: A German Ethnologist in the Pacific* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021), 43.

²⁸ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:19. In 1900, America Samoa became a United States territory by deed of cession. The territories included the island groupings of Tutuila and Manu’a ceded in 1904. Swain Island became a territory in 1925.

Manono, Fagaloa and Faleāpuna. This led to a redistribution of honours. Hence, the honourific Va'a o Fonoti and Aiga i le Tai (Manono and Apolima). The phrase "Aiga ma latou tama, tama ma latou aiga" may simply refer to the competition for titular honours between the lead representatives of major families (sons). But it can also refer to the historic Tumua deliberations in c.1716 when Muagututi'a put forward his adopted son Fuaivailili or Tupua as his heir, in favour of his son Fepulea'i. The chiefs had to choose who they preferred. They called the counting process "Saesaega launiufa'i a tumau", *tearing off a banana leaf*. The term also carries connotations of a gifted interitance

5. Containers of divinity

This section examines how the Gafa period society maximises the flow of genealogical energy through society. Genealogical energy is manifested in certain prestige items. The acquisition and circulation of these items are part of the energy flows as they wax and wane through the Samoan universe, pushing and pulling on objects in that universe. This section examines the energetical influences of ie tōga, *fine mats*, and the fale, *the meeting house*. In tracing the importance of these items, their stories begin with their gafa.

5.1 Ie tōga, (Fine mats)

Today, ie tōga, or *fine mats*, are regarded as prized items that are essential for Samoan ritualised gift giving at major life events, e.g., weddings, funerals, title bestowals. Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) (1877-1951) tells us how ie tōga were made from plaited thin wefts of leaves of lau ie, *pandanus*, and fringed with red feathers. He notes that in Savai'i, the first lau ie was reportedly bought to the village Falealupo by the quasi-mythical heroine Nāfanua¹. Although Hiroa classifies ie tōga as a form of clothing that is wrapped around and fastened to the torso of the wearer, he recognises that:

Ancient customs connected with the drinking of kava, the distribution of food and the giving of fine mats [ie tonga], and much social ceremonial are still living factors in the life of the people and give pleasure and satisfaction.²

Similarly, during the Gafa period, ie tōga were essential at most social occasions and rituals.³ Ie tōga are indicative of the gafa world view, and is important to Samoan gafa society, because of the circulatory nature of gift-giving. Stuebel's informant distinguishes between two types of material cultural goods: tōga and oloa:

E ta'ua o tōga mea e au mai e le aiga o le taupou o ie tōga ma siapo o ili falamoe fagu uu ma lega ma ie sina taele ie faaasu tutupupuu o selu.

E ta'ua o oloa o puua ma moa ma vā'a ie ula fale ma fanua pale fuiono faatufugaga (o to'i ma vili ma fao ma tafao afa) upega eseeseo le tunuma*) o le igoa lea o le ato

¹ Te Rangi Hiroa, *Samoa Material Culture*, Bernice P Bishop Museum, Bulletin 75 (Hawaii, HI: Bernice P Bishop Museum, 1930), 275.

² Hiroa, 5.

³ See Simanu, *O Si Manu a Ali'i: A Text for the Advanced Study of Samoan Language and Culture*, 314–15. Provides a short list of 23 social occasions that ie tōga are used.

e faa- potopoto ai i totonu o au eseese e ta i tatau a tagata ma le sausu o le tuiga o ula lei ma au[u]pega eseese o tao ma uatogi ma tao e fai a'i faiva i le sami ma pule e tatau a'i va'a o le aofana ma u e fana'i lupe ma le na'a ma le upega seulupe male manutagi ma le lupe faalele.

Tōga is the name of the objects used by the bride's family: fine mats (ie tōga) Siapo, fans, sleeping mats, oil and turmeric containers, ie sina (white mats), taele (red-colored mats), ie faaasu (black colored mats), tutupupuu (white mats, which have little short flakes) and combs.

*Oloa are mentioned: pigs, chickens, canoes, ie ula (red feather headdress), houses and land, nautilus headbands, hair wigs, whale tooth collars; Weapons such as: spears, clubs; Fish spears, nets, white shells to decorate the canoes; the tools of carpenters (faatufugaga) such as: axes, drills, nails, hammers and string; the tattoo device: tunuma *) (the container in which the various tattoo instruments are put together, also the mallet), bows and arrows for pigeon hunting, stems and nets for pigeon fishing, also the tame (trained for catching) manutagi [type of bird Ptilonopus fasciatus] and pigeons*

Tōga are items that decorate the body of taupou (daughters of chiefs) or fine mats that may be given by the family as part of her dowry. The making of ie tōga is wholly the domain of women. Oloa, on the other hand, tend to be utilitarian items associated with men's activities: tufuga tools, axes, tattoo instruments, and nets for pigeon hunting and fishing. Tōga and oloa are gender specific to groups that are primarily responsible for its production. Furthermore, tōga are associated with objects that are full of mana or tapu, or that direct those forces to or from things and people. Oloa.⁴ tend to be objects that are more practical, or, utilitarian. Oloa tend to buffer the effects of tōga objects, for example the gifting of ie tōga is always accompanied by foodstuff. The two types of objects are analogous to sacred and profane objects. Both types of objects figure large in the Samoan gift economy.

How did ie tōga acquire importance? Firstly, ie tōga have gafa and some are named. Krämer distinguishes between two types of ie tōga: firstly, those ie that circulate regularly, and secondly those ie that are named and have a social and religious importance. These named ie tōga are termed "ie o le mālō" (or "ie of the winners" or "ie of the state").⁵ Krämer tells the story of an ie that acquires four different names. The story goes that the couple Fane'a and

⁴ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 94.

⁵ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:31.

Fane'a had begun weaving a mat while travelling on the boat of Savea Si'uleo, the mythical half eel demon, from Puluotu, the Samoan Hades, situated in Fiji. The ie was completed when they made landfall at Saninoga (southwest Savai'i in Sala'ilua). They named it "Lagava'a" (meaning "*woven on the boat*"). There, the couple slept on the mat spread out on the earth, and dirt stuck to it. Hence, it acquires a second name Pipi'imaale'ele ("*dirt clinging on*"). Her husband died, and Fane'a, the woman, marries Tapu of Auala (Vaisala). However, he soon tired of her, as her hands were tapu (*sacred*), and she needed everything to be done for her. Fane'a next took the ie to Sāletele in Safune. On the beach, she laid the mat on the creeping vines and slept, thus the mat acquired a third name, Moeilefuefue (*sleep on the creeping vines*). Then she lived with the orator Paopao from the inland village Paia. She gave birth to a daughter, named Pipili (*lame person*). Pipili married Lafoniu from Lealatele, (northeast coast of Savai'i). Pipili always carried her ie on her back, so she named her daughter Fafagailletua (*carried on the back*). So far, the ie has travelled west to east on Savai'i, but then, Fafagailletua married someone in Amaile (northeast end of Upolu). There she gave birth to the girl Tuālafalafa. When Tuālafalafa grew up she was to marry Tagaloalagi the god. When the two families came together to collect their ie tōga together (aotelega, meaning *the collation of ie*), the husband's family collected one thousand ie tōga. Fafagailletua just bought her one ie, Lagava'a. She bathed while wearing the ie, yet when she displayed it, it was dry. The ie acquired another name Matūmaivai (*dry from the water*). When Lagava'a was unfurled, thunder burst, and lightning flashed. Fafagailletua told them that the mat had come from Puluotu and was worth one thousand of their ie. Hence, the ie got its final name, Tasiaeafe (*one but worth one thousand*). Tuālafalafa took the ie with her to the *heavens* (lagi), and her daughter Sinaalagilagi bought it back to earth, when she married So'oalo from Safotu. Krämer noted that Lagava'a is handed down through So'oalo and Sinaalagilagi's daughter, Fetui,⁶ and her female descendants to Salamāsina, the first Tafa'ifā.

In this gafa, the ie Lagava'a has its origins in the mythical Puluotu in Fiji, but more importantly, it circulates. The ie comes to Samoa landing at Saninoga in Sala'ilua, south-west coast of Savai'i. Then, in five successive generations, it circulates northwards along the Savai'i

⁶ Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:111 The Descendants of FotuoSamoa (Feminine Descendants down to Salamāsina Tuiaana).

coastline to Vāisala, then eastwards to Safune, then to the east coast of Savai'i to Lealatele. It then travels to Amaile in the east coast of Upolu. Tuālafalafa takes the ie to the heavens, lagi, when she marries the god Tagaloalagi, and Sinaalagilagi brings it back to Safotu, Samauga. In this time, the ie travels slowly to various villages as the women holders move to the areas and villages of their husbands. It also acquires five different names⁷. Krämer says that Lagava'a is inherited by Salamāsina, the first Tafa'ifā, five generations after Sinaalagilagi. When Salamāsina was made Tui A'ana, the ie was presented to Alipia, an alii of Leulumoega, A'ana. Its circuitry traces out the extent of its field, area of influence.

It is possible to outline a chronology for the gafa of the i.e., Krämer listed thirty-three generations of the main families of Samoa (terminating in 1896).⁸ So, recorded Samoan genealogies began 990 years (33 generations x 30 years) before 1896, i.e., generation 1 is in c. 906AD. According to Krämer, Salamāsina was 21 generations from 906AD, i.e., c.1536AD. Lagava'a was woven in c.1266AD (9 generations prior to Salamāsina). Salamāsina has possession of the ie after 1536. She gifts the ie to Alipia, when she acquires the Tui A'ana Pāpā. The gafa of the ie continues through to the nineteenth century. When l'amafana (Head of the Sā Tupua in Leulumoega, A'ana and reputedly Tafaifā) dies c. 1802, Lagava'a is given to the Tuisamau, the group of Sagaga orators in charge of bestowing the Gato'aitele Pāpā – which is usually bestowed on the Mālietoa title holder. Presumably, Lagava'a was gifted, so that l'amafana could be buried in Alafua in Sagaga, Tuamasaga, as the A'ana people were hiding in the Sagaga area, during a war with Manono. l'amafana's body would be later reinterred in Leulumoega.⁹ Though, Krämer says the "mat has long ago gone to pieces",¹⁰ the story shows how pervasive and persistent the ie has been in tracking the flows of power in significant events in the Gafa period.

There are other versions of the origins of this story. For example, Krämer cites one from the eastern of islands of Tutuila, now part of American Samoa. In this version the ie tōga is linked to the Tongan occupation of Samoa, and of course, plays up the role of Tutuila in the creation

⁷ Lagava'a, Pi'ipi'imaale'ele, Moeilefuefue, Matūmaivāi, Tasiaeafe

⁸ See Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:644–47.

⁹ See Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:32.

¹⁰ *ibid*

of ie tōga. The story starts with the gafa of the woman Ma’ofa, who is credited with weaving the first ie tōga in Samoa. Her weaving activities are linked to the village of Ma’opua. As evidence¹¹ for this claim, the story lists geographical features of the village which show connections to the production of ie: for example, the cliffs where the lau’ie strands are pressed is called Taogalau’ie, (*baking of lau’ie*)¹²; the water where the lau’ie are washed is called Ta’aigalau’ie, (*wringing of the lau’ie*); the malae where the lau’ie are dried is called Fa’alāgalau’ie, (*sunning of the lau’ie*); the land where the weaving house stood is called Soliga’ie¹³, and the terrace where the mat is spread out is called Legana’ie. [Lega-tumeric]

The story goes that Ma’ofa’s descendants, Manuosofusi and her daughter Tauolosi’i were kidnapped, while night fishing, by Lautivunia, the brother of the Tu’i Tonga. Tauolosi’i was sleeping on her mat on the fuefue (creeping vines) at the beach when she was captured. So the ie acquired its first name, Moeilefuefue. The women are gifted to the Tu’i Tōga as concubines. Tauolosi’i is tricked by the Tongan wives of the Tu’i Tonga to commit an indecency on the Tu’i Tonga; “ua mamau le tino o le Tu’i Tonga” or “she caressed all of the Tu’i Tonga’s body with her mouth” – Krämer translates the term mamau as “obscene sucking like miti, strongly prohibited in the case of kings”.¹⁴ For this, the women are sentenced to be burnt to death. They offer up the ie, Moeilefuefue, for their lives (togiola) with the phrase “e ui ina tasi, a e tasi ae afe” (even though it is only one, it is worth a thousand). It also acquired the name Pulouola, or “the covering of life”, i.e., the ie protected the lives of the Samoans in its sphere of influence. The ie comes back to Samoa via the Tu’i Tōga’s daughter, when she gives it back to a chief in Amoa, Savai’i. Hence, in this version, the term ie tōga means “ie from Tonga”.¹⁵ I have given a shortened account of this story, but one can see that it incorporates

¹¹ Samoans term evidence as “pine fa’amau” or badge or peg. See Milner, *Samoa Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan.*, 183.

¹² See Hiroa, *Samoa Material Culture*, 275–76 For a description of the preparation of the lau’ie. They are cut into lengths, sundried, bundled and baked to separate the leaves. Soaking for a fortnight in seawater bleaches the fibre.

¹³ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 268 “native cloth given by a virgin to visitors.”

¹⁴ See Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:468 footnote 88, p. 498; See also Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 220 miti: make a sucking noise with lips. As a child, I would be told off by my mother for making such sounds.

¹⁵ This is a common understanding, that ie tōga derive from Tonga. But this story is also an example of redaction. Some elements are similar to the story of Leutogitupa’itea, e.g. women insulting the Tu’i Tonga and being condemned to being burnt to death.

the mythic trope of the story of Lautivunia: that of a brother of the Tu'i Tonga trying to make amends to the Tu'i Tonga after sleeping with his wife, or this case his concubines. But in terms of the Tutuila account of the gafa of the ie, the most salient features are: that it was woven by Ma'ofa in Ma'opua in Tutuila; that Ma'opua has geographical features, whose names (pine fa'amau) attest to the connection with that first ie; that Tutuila suffered under Tongan oppression (it would later play a role in expelling the Tongans); that the ie travels from location to location; that the ie acquired names; and that the ie has life giving, or in this case, life-preserving properties¹⁶. A salient feature of the gafa of Lagava'a, Moeilefuefue and Pi'imaele'ele is that they track power and energy in the circulation of ie tōga from location to location and from family to family through time.

Krämer briefly describes five other named ie that are connected to chiefly families: Moeiuāniu and Leatumauga, Fa'aoti i Salani, Gogotagi, and Tamaletoloa.¹⁷ Each have a distinct gafa that starts with their origins and tracks the journey of the ie tōga through generations of women, geographic locations and its historical significance. For example, in the gafa of the ie Moeiuāniu and Leatumauga, both ie were woven by women with strong connections to the Tu'itoga Fa'aulufanua: Moeiuāniu is woven by Tufi the wife Ulualofaigā, brother of the Tu'itoga Fa'aulufanua, the father of Vaetoeifaga. Leatumauga was woven by Tufi's sister, Tafimalae. Both ie were woven in Fagaloa: Moeiuāniu in Napu'a, and Leatumauga in Tuanapu'a, inland from Napu'a. Moeiuāniu is inherited by Salamāsina and is gifted to Inu of Lufilufi when she acquires the Tui Atua Pāpā. Similarly, the ie Fa'aoti i Salani ('completed in Salani), Sivalavala, the wife of Tonumaipe'a Saumaip'e'a began weaving the ie in Saginoga, Sala'ilua, and completed it in Salani. The ie comes to Salamāsina, through her husband Tapumanaia, the son of Tounumaip'e'a Saumaip'e'a from his first wife Tuaeali. Salamāsina gives the ie to Fata of Tuisamau, when she acquires the Gatoaitale Pāpā.¹⁸

This cursory summary of the gafa of ie o le mālō, Lagava'a, Moeiuāniu, and Fa'aoti i Salani show also how the energies contained in ie tōga are selectively accumulated and dispersed.

¹⁶ Similar to the role of the ie in an ifoga (ritual of public apology), where people are not harmed when covered in an ie tōga

¹⁷ See Krämer, 1: 31-32.

¹⁸ Krämer, 1: 33.

Even though, these ie o le mālō tend to stay in locations for longer periods of time and are brought out, or gifted, on special occasions, they do circulate, but much travel much slower than unnamed ie tōga. These three ie were given to individual chiefs who represent regional chiefly confederations: Lagava’a was gifted to Alipia, Leulumoega and the Faleiva, who elect the Tui A’ana; Moeiuāniu was gifted to Inu¹⁹ and the Faleono who elect the Tui Atua; and Fa’aoti o Salani was gifted to Fata of Tuisāmau, who elect the Gatoaitale Pāpā. These ie are collected together under Salamāsina and are dispersed. To acknowledge the ties and thereby energy flows that hold together their society.

Aumua Simanu also lists a number of named ie that date back to the Gafa period. The gafa of two particular ie illustrate other characteristics of ie o le mālō. Simanu writes of the ie Laufafa o Fenunuivao:

O le tōga lea na sauni e Fuimaono ma aiga e momoli ai Tupua Fui’avāilili i ona mātua o Muāgututia ma Fenunuivao (c. 1686)²⁰ i le aiga Sātuala. Ua fa’aigoa lea tōga Laufafa o Fenunuivao; auā o le tōga lea na fafa ai Fui’avāilili i ona mātua i Sātupuala. O tōga fo’i ia na **tali** ai tōga o Leulumoega, Fasito’o. Le Falefitu, ma le Falea’ana.²¹

*This is the ie tōga that Fuimaono and his family prepared to send the child Tupua Fui’avāilili to his parents Muāgututia and Fenunuivao of the aiga Sātuala. This ie was named the “Carrying Platform of Fununuivāo”, because this is the tōga that carried Fui’avāilili in Sātupuala (northwest coast of Upolu, inland from the present-day International Airport). This tōga is **used to allow the reception** of tōga from Leulumoega, Fasito’o, Falefitu and the whole of A’ana.*

I have highlighted the term “tali” because the dictionary meaning is “to wait”, but it carries connotations to allow or to grant e.g., “e tali lo’u manao?” can mean “are you going to grant my wish?” or “are you going to stop my wish?” So, the phrase “na tali ai tōga”, I translate as allows the reception of tōga. This ie tōga is presented when receiving or presenting ie tōga from those areas. In terms of energetics, The Laufafa o Fenunuivao, acts as a battery, charging

¹⁹ Shortened form of the name “Fa’amatua’inu”

²⁰ Gen26 re Krämer, op cit, pp. 644-47.

²¹ Simanu, *O Si Manu a Ali’i: A Text for the Advanced Study of Samoan Language and Culture*, 316.

up those ie that are being presented, or acts as a regulator, buffering the energies of the ie tōga that they are receiving.

Simanu describes the ie tōga O le Pepeve'a o Fonotī as :

A o lālaga lenei i Lufilufi, sā masani lava ona tagi fa'apepe mai ve'a tuāmaota. O le ala lea na fa'aigoa ai le ie lenei a Fonotī, o le Pepeve'a. O le ie fo'i lenei na mǎfua ai le taua a Fonotī ma Tole'afoa ma Sāmalaulu. Na fa'aigoa lenā taua, o le taua o le Pepeve'a.²²

This mat is from Lufilufi, where ve'a²³ chicks cry out from the bush beyond the village. This is why they named this ie of Fonotī²⁴ o le Pepeve'a. This ie gave rise to the war between Fonotī and brother Tole'afoa and sister Sāmalaulu. this war is also called the war of the Pepeve'a.

The half-siblings quarrelled over who should receive Pepeve'a, after the death of their father Faumuina. Sāmalaulu, supported by her half brother, Toleafoa, felt that the ie should come to her. Fonotī wanted to keep it to himself, and so war broke out between the brothers and sister. Fonotī was supported by Futi of Manono, and Misa of Falelātai.²⁵ Fonotī won the war, which saw the last major political reorganisation in the Gafa period.

Simanu also provides lists of named ie tōga that are *in the keep* (au afa) of *major families* (Tupu ma o latou aiga),²⁶ and those in the keep of villages and regions (Nu'u ma itumālō).²⁷ Though, Simanu might be describing the present day Samoan understandings of ie o le mālō, there is the obvious and ever present question as to whether Gafa period Samoans had the same understandings. Despite this reservation, one gets the picture of a world-view that regards certain objects, in this case, that named ie tōga, are imbued with genealogically derived power which as they circulate, both charge up the social events and rituals in which they are involved. They also buffer and regulate the energies of other ie tōga that are being

²² Ibid, 316

²³ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 337 "the name of a bird (Rallus Pectoralis)."

²⁴ Krämer, 1: 644-647, Fonoti is Generation 25

²⁵ Krämer, 1: 264-69

²⁶ Simanu, O Si Manu: 316-17 (see Appendix A)

²⁷ Ibid, 317-18 (see Appendix B)

circulated. In this way, the networks of ie tōga in the au afa (*possession*) of chiefly families, villages and regions, both hold together and divide the Gafa period Samoan universe.

5.1.1. Forces associated with ie tōga

Ie tōga are described in energetical terms associated with them. Ie are said to pulou and ufufi, *to cover* and *shade* occasions and people. In Samoan gift giving, the ie tōga is essential. It is said to cover with mana all the other gifts. So, ie tōga move with every ceremony and event where they are presented. We have seen that they elicit human emotions such as *desire*, mana'o, and *pride*, mitamita. Certain ie release thunder and lightning when they are unfurled. Ie tōga have life saving properties, and as in the case of the ie Pepeve'a they can cause division among brothers and sister. The forces associated with ie tōga impel human movement and motivation

Named ie, for instance, ie o le mālō, circulate at a much slower pace. Every village have named ie, but they are rarely presented. However, named ie tōga attract other ie to them. As the ie tōga of visitors are paraded on the host's malae, the ie o le mālō of the host charges up the faster circulating ie.

5.2 Faletele/Fale Afolau

Samoan artefacts such as the Faletele and Fale Afolau (*meeting house or guest house*) also play a major role in the energetical view of vā. The large Samoan Fale comes in two varieties: the Faletele, which is characterized by the large round conical roof and round paepae (*floor base*); and the Fale Afolau that has a large elliptical roof with corresponding elliptical paepae (*raised floor base*).

Firstly, the Fale is a physical structure that occupies metric space. Its dimensions were traditionally measured in terms of the *breadth of a man's outstretched arms* (gafa, approximately 6ft); *outstretched arm to centre of chest* (half-gafa), *fingertips to elbow* (vāluaga o le lima), and the outstretched hand *from thumb to index* (afa).²⁸ As a physical

²⁸ UNESCO, *The Samoan Fale*, 18.

structure, it is subject to load-bearing physical forces. For example, the roof is hung from the central poutū (*main poles*); the sides of the roof do not fall inwards because supporting ribs and lattice frame exert an outward force that helps to maintain the roof's convex shape. The two tala (*sides*) are independent structures that are 'clipped on' once the main central structures (central poutū, and conical roof) are in place, and finally the outer pou, *poles* support the outer edge of the roof.

Secondly, there exists a social vā between the Fale Samoa and the people of the village. The Fale functions as a meeting house for the village council and **is** the domestic centre for the chief's family. Its existence is a status marker for the chief; as the Fale is testament to the chief's ability to socially organise the accumulation of resources for Fale construction; and the attendant rituals and gift-giving associated with contracting, maintaining and paying the tufuga fau fale (*specialist builders guild*) labour force. It can be seen as adding to the chief's *mana*.

Thirdly, the Fale is a centre for ritual. One of the most important rituals associated with the *Fale* is the *avā* ceremony—the imbibement of kava at the meetings of chiefs. These rituals may have the social function of reinforcing the rankings of chiefs, but it also links back to the deity *Tagaloa*, and his *alofa* for humankind, a reminder of the divine vā tapua'i.

Indeed, the cultural artefact of the *Faletele* has stories of origins, in which *Tagaloa* figures predominantly. In the creation song, Solo o le vā,²⁹ *Tagaloa*, the supreme *Atua* (deity), assigns the specialist house-building duty to the guild of Sā-*Tagaloa* (*Tagaloa family*). As a result, people must seek the permission of the God to build houses. In versions of the *Solo*, *Tagaloa* comes down from the heavens and destroys the Tui Manua's illicitly built Fale named the Fale'ula (*sacred red house*). Furthermore, the dome structure of the Fale roof is seen as mirroring the Samoan cosmos. The large dome-like roofs of the *Fale* are propped up by the central pou (*poles*) in the round *Faletele*; and *Fale Afolau*. According to some Sāmoan creation

²⁹ See Powell "A Samoan Tradition of Creation and the Deluge."

myths,³⁰ Tuite'elagi (*Chief of the heaven- 'proppers'*), at the command of Tagaloa, uses the Teve (*Amorphophallus Paeoniifolius*) and Masoā plants (*Tacca Leontopetaloides*).³¹ It is used to firstly, separate and prop up the sky from the earth³² and secondly, the broad-leaved Teve and Masoā plants are used to prise apart and prop up further openings in the firmament. These openings become the ten distinct lagi, (*heavens*) of the Sāmoan cosmos. These heavens were then populated, according to another creation account, by the offspring of earth and sky: Ilu (*immensity*) and Mamao (*distant*)³³. Nine lagi are populated by the offspring of Ilu and Mamao, but the tenth lagi is for Tagaloa alone. Furthermore, the central pou of the Fale is representative of the primordial Teve and Masoā plants, and the tiered rafters are representative of the lagi. Activities in the Fale would take place under this representation of the cosmos.

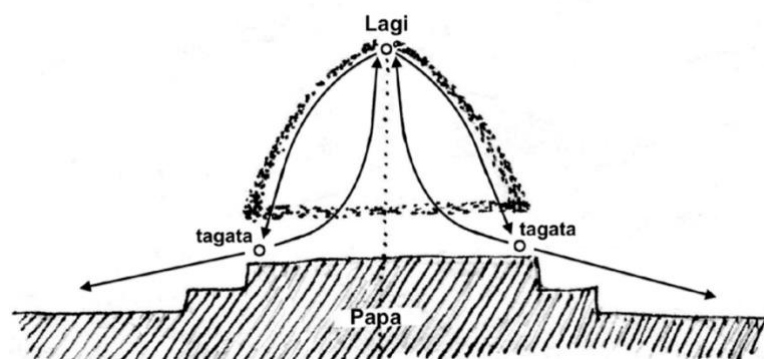


Figure 5. Two way flows of mana energy between lagi and village through the fale conduit. See Refiti, *Mavae and Tofiga*. 2014: 58. © Albert Refiti

³⁰ Both Kramer *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:539–44. and Fraser "Folk Songs and Myths from Samoa II: Chaos and Strife: A Solo." have slightly differing versions of the creation myth, Le Solo o le vā.

³¹ Kramer *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:540, 543, in footnotes 175, 176., notes that the leaves of the Masoā spread wide at the top so would act as a platform to support the sky. Forcing people to eat the tuber of the Teve was a form of punishment Steubel, *Samoanische Texte*, 135,220.. The Teve is also known as the "stink lily" and is related to the *Amorphophallus Titanum*, whose inflorescence has the odour of rotting flesh that attracts flies.

³² In Maori mythology, it is Tane, the god of the forests, who separates his parents Rangi, the sky and Papa, the earth, thus ending their perpetual coitus.

³³ Fraser "A Samoan Story of Creation: A 'Tala,'" 184. translate Mamao as 'limited extension'. He does call Mamao as space, but that might lead to confusion in the present paper. Pratt (1893) defines mamao as v. to be far off, to be distant. (p. 206)

The Samoan scholar and spatial designer Albert Refiti views the fale as a channel for divine energies (mana).³⁴ From the heavens, mana flows down from the sloping roof, concentrates around the alofisā (*meeting circle*) of chiefs, and then pulses outward through the Malae (*village centre*) to the periphery of the village. The 'field' containing mana being strongest at the centre, diminishing in power the further it moves away from the centre. Conversely, vā-energy is channelled from the earth heavenwards through the alofisā, chiefs' meetings, and rituals in the Fale. Of the two types of Sāmoan chiefs, it is the Ali'i (High Chief), whose genealogy traces back to divine origins, to the gods.³⁵ The Tulafale (*Talking Chief*) speak and act on their behalf. For Refiti, the genealogical links to ancestors that the chiefs represent, as the latest incumbents of their chiefly titles, provides the dynamism for the flows of energy. Bradd Shore notes that the authority practised by the Ali'i is better termed mana-sacred, ceremonial authority, the Tulafale exercise executive authority.³⁶ Ali'i sit at opposite tala (*ends*) of the Fale, facing one another. Tulafale are arranged by rank closest to the Ali'i they serve. In terms of energy flows, Ali'i pulse mana and tapua'i energy to Tulafale, who are then 'powered up' to activate the various divisions of the village to carry out the will of the Ali'i.³⁷ This dynamic is acted out in every ritual that involves Samoan chiefs.

The Sāmoan Fale is a physical structure that functions as a meeting place for the village chiefs and a centre for their domestic activities, but it is also a representation in miniature of the Sāmoan cosmos.³⁸ The Fale represents that primordial architectural act the separation of the sky father from the mother earth.³⁹

³⁴ See Refiti, "Mavae and Tofiga: Spatial Exposition of the Samoan Cosmogony and Architecture," 58.

³⁵ See Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 23–24; Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 8.

³⁶ Shore "A Samoan Theory of Action: Social Control and Social Order in a Polynesian Paradox" (PhD, University of Chicago, University of Chicago, 1977), 438.

³⁷ Tuagalu "Mata'afa Iosefo and the Idea of Kingship in Samoa," 7. list the Ali'i/Tulafale dichotomy as important to understanding 19th-century Samoan politics. See

³⁸ see Barrow *The Decorative Arts of the New Zealand Maori* (Wellington, New Zealand: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1968), 50.. The Maori model of Whare Nui (meeting house) is based on the body of an ancestor: the rafters represent his ribs, the roof ridge represents his spine, whereas the Samoan Fale is modelled on the cosmos

³⁹ As a speculative aside, the mythical division of the earth and sky also resulted in spaces for domestic activities by the children of earth and sky. Quite apt, given that the Faletele and Fale Afolau also serve as the domestic centres for the chief's domestic activities

5.3 Conclusion

This section examined two important Samoan artefacts to see how they are central to the Samoan energetical worldview. Named ie tōga have a gafa and have moved from place to place. They are usually made by semi-divine woman, its gafa is where the ie derives its power. The ie Lagava'a actually goes to the lagi, heavens, when it's mistress marries the god Tagaloa. Unnamed ie circulate quite a bit faster, but are charged up by the ie o le mālō which circulate much more slowly, and reside in areas for much longer.

6. Characteristics of pre-nineteenth century Samoan society and worldview.

Samoan civilisation and society had developed for over two millennia, and during the Gafa period there have been a number of changes. By the time Europeans sailed into the orbit of the Samoan islands, pre-contact Samoan society was organised around a number of dichotomies.

6.1 Alii/Tulafale

Political life in pre-European contact Samoa was organised around the distinction of two types of matai: Ali'i and Tulafale. These matai titles are the property of an extended family, and are bestowed upon worthy family members. The two types of matai are differentiated by their origins and social function.

Ali'i titles are genealogically connected to at least one of the major aristocratic lineages,¹ e.g., Sā Malietoa or Sā Tupua. Descent lines for ali'i titleholders can be traced back to their links with major lineages. These major lineages trace themselves back to the Gods

Tulafale titles also have genealogies, but they are legitimised by their social function. They act in the name of an ali'i. Tulafale are executors of the ali'i's will. An account for the origin of the term tulafale tells of when the Tui Manu'a sent his men to retrieve a fale that had been stolen by a raiding party from the island of Atafu. His men returned with the fale propped up on their shoulders. The Tui Manu'a gave them the name "Tulaga o le fale" "this is your calling he said and I will spill over my strength to you and you will execute the pule (*power*) of my afio (*dignity*)."² The types of authority that these matai practise are referred to as "pule" meaning authority. The ali'i, however is the repository of pule, from which the tulafale derive their

¹ See Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 23–24; Also Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 8.

² See Shore, "A Samoan Theory of Action: Social Control and Social Order in a Polynesian Paradox," 348.

right to act. Tulafale are commonly referred to as faipule, *doers of pule*. The social functions of the ali'i and tulafale are also distinct: the ali'i's is ceremonial; and the tulafale's that of an organiser and orator. This functional distinction is most apparent at formal occasions.

The behaviour of the ali'i is governed by notions of mamalu, *dignity*, that is associated with its rank and status. The tulafale is the executor of power and is not as constrained by these notions. At formal occasions, he is responsible for the allocation and distribution of money and food stuffs. The tulafale's oratory enables the execution of the ali'i's will. His oratory is the main means by which he persuades people to action. The relationship between the ali'i and tulafale is similar to that of a king and its chancellor. The distinction between the ali'i and tulafale is the distinction between ceremonial and executive authority. This is most apparent during social occasions where the ali'i *sits* (nofo) and the tulafale speaks and moves (gai'oi) on the ali'i's behalf. In doing so, the tulafale radiates the energies of the ali'i's will throughout the nu'u (*village*) and itū (*district*).

In energetical terms, the ali'i, by virtue of his gafa connections to the gods, charges up the tulafale with mana and tapu energies to social action through the nu'u, *village*.

6.2 Nu'u/itū politics

The basic political unit in Samoa is the Nu'u (usually translated as "*village*"). The territory of the nu'u is collectively owned and controlled by a number of bilateral corporate descent groups termed aiga (families). Each family grouping has at least one matai.

The primary site of village politics is the village fono, council of chiefs. The ali'i hardly speaks, the tulafale do most of the speaking.³ Furthermore, village life enables informal discussions between ali'i and tulafale. In this way differences of opinion between an ali'i and his tulafale could be ironed out before the actual fono. Thus in the nu'u context, consensus is achievable. When everyone had spoken in the fono, it is the main ali'i who judges whether a consensus had been achieved. If not, then discussions would continue, and concessions be made until a

³ Lowell Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa: The Mead/Freeman Controversy & Beyond* (Bergin & Garvey, 1987), 49. Ali'i statements were expository.

consensus is achieved. If this failed to eventuate, then the decision is postponed. The protocol of the fono is that everyone had to agree; majority rule did not apply.⁴ The main concern of politics at this level was the smooth administration of village affairs, and the fono was the paramount authority in nu'u politics.

Itū or district politics⁵ was concerned with inter-village relations, more importantly, inter-district relations. The missionary London Missionary Society missionary, John Stair notes that:

The Samoan islands are divided into districts which are subdivided into settlements and these again into village. The great divisions of districts are independent of one another⁶

Power and authority at this level are vested in firstly, special kinds of Ali'i titles, called ao titles; and secondly, that confederations of tulafale from certain villages are responsible for the conferment of the highest titles. Ao titles sit at the top of major lineages. Titles such as Malietoa, Lilomaiaava and Matā'afa are kinship titles. Holders of ao titles, could contend for the Pāpā titles,⁷ district titles. Ao titles were decided by the conferment of certain of the respective kinship groups. Pāpā titles were in the custody of, and conferred by, two tulafale groups: Tumua and Pule.

Tumua consists of the tulafale of the leading centres of A'ana and Atua, i.e., the 9 tulafale who confer the Tui A'ana and the 6 tulafale who confer the Tui Atua Pāpā. Pule consisted of the leading 6 leading tulafale from the six centres of Savai'i and the 9 leading tulafale from Tuamasaga, i.e., those tulafale who confer the Malietoa (in Malie), and the two Pāpā Gato'aitele (Afega) and Tamasoali'i (Safata). This makes 15 voices each for Tumua and Pule.⁸

Aspirants to the Pāpā had to firstly satisfy genealogical criteria, and then impress the tulafale groups for their bestowal. To push their claim, they would, more often than not, have to go to war, form, break, and reform alliances. Consensus is not easily achieved at this level. The

⁴ Holmes, 48–49.

⁵ I have used the term Itū or district, as national politics as the latter implies a sense of political centralisation that did not exist.

⁶ Stair, John Betteridge, *Old Samoa or Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean* (Religious Tract Society, 1897), 83.

⁷ Tui Atua, Tui A'ana, Gato'aitele, Tamasoali'i are Pāpā.

⁸ Felix M Keesing, *Elite Communication in Samoa* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1956), 23.

term used for a successful candidate was *mālō* (*the winner*), and the loser was called *vaivai* (*the vanquished, weak*). Itū politics proceedings tended to be more formalised, for example, *malaga, travelling parties*, would be greeted with speeches, *ava* ceremonies and reside in special guest fale.

The distinctions in social functions between the *ali'i* and *tulafale* are even more pronounced at the Itū level. Firstly, there are fewer opportunities for informal preliminary discussions between *ali'i* and *tulafale*. Secondly, there is a high level of distrust. Unlike, *nu'u* politics, *ali'i* and *tulafale* do not live in close proximity. In the *nu'u*, *ali'i* and *tulafale* are genealogically linked in the *fa'alupega*, and work together on a daily basis. At the Itū level, the contender would not have worked regularly with these *tulafale*. So, there is a tendency to treat each other with more formality. With such formality, negotiating positions tended to be more inflexible than at *nu'u* level. Negotiations were more likely to break down resulting in war. The increased formality at this level increased the *ali'i* like nature of these *Pāpā* in that their importance is mainly ceremonial.

In terms of energetics, the relations between *ali'i* and *tulafale* at the itū level are more unstable than those at the *nu'u* level. At the itū level, there are more *tulafale* (and *nu'u*) involved in the bestowal of regional *ao*. Thus, the risk of disagreement increases. Contention of opinion can and will lead to war, because the intimacy of the *nu'u* is missing. At the *nu'u* level, where people live cheek by jowl, consensus of opinion is much more likely. *Ali'i* and *tulafale* are able to have informal discussions with one another. At the itū level, the *ali'i* and *tulafale* relations are more formal, and there are fewer opportunities for the informal

6.3 Convergence and divergence of energetical forces

The development of Samoan Gafa society and its history can be understood in terms of patterns of genealogical and *vā* energy exchange. The dynamic of the two types of chiefs drives social action in the village. The *ali'i* who is descended from the gods practises sacral authority; and the *tulafale*, who acts on the *ali'i*'s behalf, practises executive authority. This separation of sacred and executive power is a basic dualism that permeates Samoan social

organisation. Energy convergence can be seen in the networks of chiefs who elect ao district titles. District title holders then compete for regional titles Pāpā (e.g., Tui Atua, Tui A'ana Gato'aitele, and Vaetamasoali'i), and upon successful acquisition of the four regional titles ascension to the "national" title of Tafa'ifā. The Tafa'ifā practices sacral power, and the confederations of tulafale practice executive authority on his/her behalf.

Divergence of energies can be seen when the Tafa'ifā dies: all the Pāpā and constituent ao return back to the originating villages. As the death chant states "ua ta'ape Pāpā" meaning *"the Pāpā titles have been returned"*. Then the competition for title acquisition starts anew.

Circulation of energies can be seen in the travels of ie o le mālō, where these ie tōga acquire properties and different names as they travel from village to village and even to the heavens. The malaga, *travels* of the ie, its different properties, and the people it comes into contact with, become part of the ie's gafa and tala. Where ie o le mālō reside, they act as batteries charging up faster moving ie tōga

The notion of malaga or travel can also be seen in energetical terms. The character of Pili moves from Manu'a to Tutuila to the heavens and back to earth, his children found the major regions of Upolu, Manono and Apolima: Atua, A'ana, Tuamasaga and Aiga i le Tai. He ends up in Aopo, north Savai'i. He acquires new names along his travels, e.g. Pilipa'ū when he falls from heaven; Pilia'au from when he swims after his sister, and Pili Tui o Aopo as King of Aopo. He marries into the daughters of the Tui Manu'a and Tui A'ana and as a master agriculturalist and fisherman, a tufuga, he creates large scale plantations and highly effective fishing methods. Pili travels and where he lands abundance takes root.

The Samoan spatial designer Albert Refiti envisages the Samoan individual in terms of the tangled web of social relationships. He terms the Samoan person as a fractal person, who "is a particle of the aiga"⁹ as is the aiga is part of him. The Samoan is defined by what Refiti terms as the "alaga system of belonging" where ala means pathway. In Refiti's schema (see Figure 5), the Samoan individual has pathways that encapsulates him in relations with all family

⁹ Albert Refiti. "Mavae and Tofiga" 2015: 111.

members. The family then is entangled in fuiala with every other family in the village. The village is then connected to all the villages in the district. Finally, at the national level every district is connected to all the other districts. Moreover, the fuiala can also be illustrative of energy fields that enwrap individuals to their aiga; aiga to other aiga in the nu'u; nu'u to other nu'u in the district; and districts to other districts at the national level. The figure below can be viewed as a schematic outline of the socio-political energetics of gafa society before the arrival of the Pāpālagi. It is important to note that the energetics are at its most stable at the individual, aiga, and nu'u (*village*) levels.

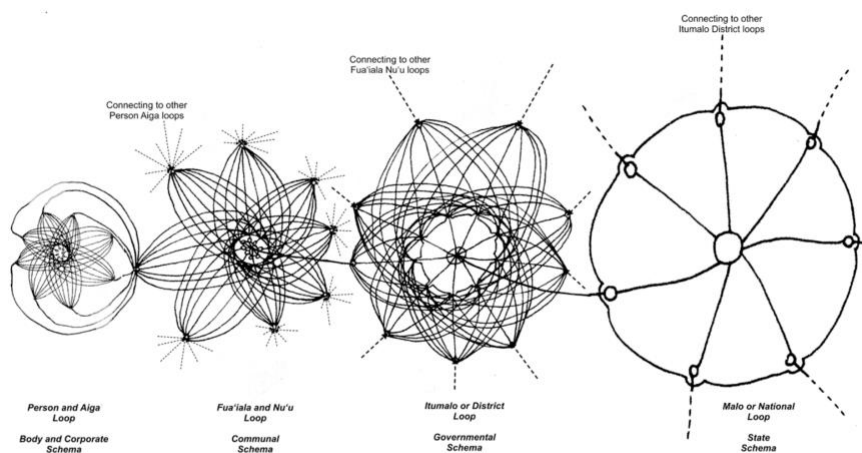


Figure 6. 'Alaga system. Taken from Albert Refiti, Tofiga and Mavae, 2015: 112. ©Albert Refiti.

7. Conclusion

By the time that Europeans first come upon Samoa, it is fully developed in its energetical worldview.

Part C: Colonial period: Feso'ota'iga ma Papālagi¹

The Colonial period in Samoa, begins with first contact with Europeans. It is when the gafa and vā relational system that had been developing since the time of Salamāsina, changes at a quicker rate. The acceleration in change was brought about primarily by foreign influences acting on Samoan social, religious and economic institutions. However, Samoans are actively choosing those aspects of their society and belief systems that they choose to forego or adapt. So, during the Colonial period, Samoans are rewiring the circuitry of their society, and are retaining aspects of their energetical worldview despite both internal and external pressures to change. This section is a series of examinations to see the significant reconfigurations of Gafa period social and ideational circuitry.

The Colonial period has two phases: the first phase spans from 1722 to 1899. It is characterised by Samoan political and social autonomy, but with increasing Papālagi interference in its politics and economy, Samoan autonomy is chipped away. The three Colonial Powers; Britain, the United States of America, and Germany, were in an uneasy condominium, where they played out imperial political rivalries by supporting different Samoan champions as they pursued Tafa'ifā status. European interference means that the Samoan political circuitry is never closed, a lasting mālō is never found and led to a constant state of warfare in Samoa throughout most of the nineteenth century. Papālagi interference led to two civil wars.

In the second phase of the Colonial period (1900-14), Samoans lose their political autonomy when the Samoa is made a German colony. The Berlin Treaty of 1899 assigns Germany the westernmost islands of Upolu, Savai'i, Manono and Apolima; and to the United States; the eastern island groupings of Tutuila and Manu'a. A Samoan King/Tafa'ifā is no longer required. In this phase, the Colonial power suborns the indigenous socioeconomic and political systems, to their own political order. That is, the colonial circuit board integrates and re-routes the

¹ Feso'ota'iga ma Pāpālagi, literally means the “meetings with the Papālagi”. It also has connotations of a properly conducted meeting between parties.

circuitry of the Samoan political economy. The Samoan circuits and systems that have been developing for a millenia become partially subordinated to the German colonial motherboard. But even in this phase, Samoans choose which parts of their circuitry that they will change, and the extent of that change.

In Part C, a series of historical vignettes illustrate changes to the Samoan energetical worldview.

1. The Colonial period: Phase 1: 1722-1899

1.1 What did they see?

In first contact situations between Samoans and Papālagi, what did they notice about one another? First contact situations are fraught with misunderstandings that come easily in situations where there is no common language, meeting protocol, and where parties feel out one another. In Samoa, these first contacts usually occurred at sea, sometimes the islanders are allowed on board European ships to trade. In which case, European protocols of encounter would predominate. Also records of these meetings are mainly from the European perspective. Sometimes, the contact also occurs on beaches, where European visitors come ashore primarily to trade for necessities. Through Samoan eyes, the environments of the sea and beach were socially uncontrolled areas. For them, meetings proper take place in the Faletele, meeting house, where chiefs meet with ship captains and Samoan protocols of encounter take precedence. This section explores firstly, what each party might have seen when they looked each other; and secondly, how Samoans incorporate the European visitors into their energetic world view.

1.1.1 The European gaze: Ignoble and Noble savage

Anthropologist Serge Tcherkezoff examines the European records of first contacts in Samoa. He uses sociological and anthropological methods to interpret these interactions. He finds that subsequent European perceptions of Pacific Islanders were influenced by the reporting of those first contacts.

The tenor of European first contact reporting led to Pacific Islanders being broadly categorised as either noble or ignoble savages. This dichotomy was largely the result of the observations of the French explorer Bougainville who delineated his perceptions of the paradisaical innocence and beautiful inhabitants of Tahiti, with those, who in his opinion were more the fearsome, and less beautiful inhabitants of other islands, for example, Samoa. One corollary of this simplistic dichotomy is that for the European observer, Pacific Islander motivations were easily understood and explained: for example, Pacific Islanders are either pleasure seeking, or warlike and greedy for European goods. European descriptions of Pacific islanders pictured them as either pacific or bellicose. Another consequence of this view is that the relations with Pacific Islanders were primarily commercial in nature, at least from the European perspective. In examining the journals of the European visitors, we can see recurring tropes in their descriptions of Samoans.

In **1722**, the Dutch explorer, **Jacob Roggeveen** met groups of Samoans on the sea. Such meetings follow the pattern of Samoans presenting them with food, e.g., coconuts, and pigs. The Dutch believe that they are engaging in commercial exchange. The Dutch also note exotic details such as the “painting that covered the Indians ...from the thighs downwards to the legs”,² and that Samoans were particularly desirous of blue beads. The blue beads becomes a standard gift to Samoans. Tcherkezoff attributes this desire for the blue beads to a particular incident where in 1616, the Dutch explorers Le Maire and Schouten shot and killed a number of Tongans, after tending to some of the wounded, they gave the Tongans “strings of oblong blue beads”. When some of the Tongans recovered from their wounds, the beads became associated with life giving properties, in the minds of Pacific Islanders.³ The Dutch also noted the hierarchical nature of Samoan society, when one of their onboard visitors, who Samoans showed deference towards “seemed Master of the country”. He was accompanied by “a young woman [who] was sitting, her body was all white”. Roggeveen is particularly impressed when this individual gestured to the crowd, who were gathered on the shore, “...one thousand or more were on the beach...he gave them a directing sign with his hand that they should go

² Serge Tcherkezoff, *First Contacts in Polynesia: The Samoan Case (1722-1848): Western Misunderstandings about Sexuality and Divinity*. (Canberra, Australia: ANU E Press, 2008), 16. I use Tcherkezoff's summaries of first contact documentation, though I do not emphasise the sexuality and divinity aspects of such contact.

³ Schouten, 1619: 100-104, as cited in Tcherkezoff, 20.

away, which was obeyed in a blink of an eye, all retreating into the trees”.⁴ Roggeveen is impressed by the hierarchy that allows individuals such level of social control.

In the **1768 Bougainville** visit, Samoans are still met at sea on the boats. Bougainville makes a few unfavourable comparisons between Samoans and Tahitians :

*Je ne crois pas ces hommes aussi doux que les Tahitiens : leur physionomie était plus sauvage”.*⁵

(I do not believe that these men are so gentle as those of Tahiti: their features were more savage).

One can see the contrasting classifications of “gentle” and “savage” being applied. In the case of Samoa, the women are ugly, and the men bellicose. Bougainville also noted that Samoans wanted small pieces of red cloth. Tcherkezoff surmises that they would have been told by Tongans of the papālagi cloth,⁶ which would not dissolve in water like their native barkcloth, tapa. The colour red is attractive throughout Polynesia, and in Samoa, is found in prestige items such as the ie ula, (roll of red feathers) and the red feathers that fringe ie tōga, fine mats.⁷ These red feathers were highly prized, but rare in Samoa. Red feathers were bartered for from Fiji, where specific parakeet species were found.

The **1787**, the ill-fated visit by **La Pérouse** was the first European incursion onto land. They did the usual trade on the water, though they found that Samoans were still desirous of blue beads, they did not want their axes. On December 9 and 10, they also made several landings for water and trade. The crowd of Samoans teemed past the French and Samoan guards, but were peaceful enough. It seemed though that the Samoans were more brazen, for apart from the petty pilfering, there were random acts of violence against the Frenchmen, which can be put down to:

bravado or sheer curiosity about the physical nature of the newcomers.⁸

However, by pinching and hitting the Frenchmen, Samoans would have confirmed that the Frenchmen were all too human, they can feel pain and bleed. One has to wonder, whether

⁴ as cited in Tcherkezoff, 17.

⁵ Bougainville 1772 [Forster’s translation] as cited in Tcherkezoff, 26.

⁶ Tcherkezoff, 25.

⁷ Tcherkezoff, 25.

⁸ See Tcherkezoff, 54.

this kind behaviour would have happened had there been a chief in attendance? La Pérouse did a tour of the village nearby and comments admiringly about the faletele and malae:

I entered one, which probably belonged to the chief, and my surprise was extreme to see a vast trellis cabinet as well executed as any of those around Paris. The best architect could not have given a more elegant curvature to the extremities of the ellipse which terminated this square; a row of columns, five feet apart, formed its circumference. These columns were made of very neatly worked tree trunks; between these columns fine mats, artistically covered one by the other in fish scales, rose or fell with cords, like our blinds; the rest of the house was adorned with coconut leaves.⁹

He does not mention meetings with chiefs. So, to my mind, they had not yet met the “right people”. Yet, the Frenchmen were well aware the difference that a chiefly presence makes.

On the occasion of a second landing, once again for water and purchasing provisions. The visit resulted in the killing of 12 sailors and officers, including Capitain de Langle, Commander of the second ship under La Pérouse. There are conflicting reports as to what happened,¹⁰ but it seems that what crowd control there was, failed. With the tide turned and longboats weighted down with provisions, de Langle and his men were caught in the shallows:

M. de Langle had only time to fire his two shots; he was knocked down, and unfortunately fell on the port side of the boat, where more than two hundred Indians crushed him on the spot with clubs and stones. When he was dead, they tied him by one of his arms to a prow of the boat, in order, no doubt, to benefit more surely from his remains.¹¹

Survivors attested that Samoans threw rocks with deadly efficiency that surpassed their musketry. Because they could not sail close enough to the shore to bombard villages, no retribution was exacted. As a postscript, La Pérouse was astounded when, a few days later, canoes approached their ship eager to trade. La Pérouse had been frustrated that they had

⁹ Barthelemy de Lesseps, *Voyage de Lapérouse* (Artus Bertrand, 1831), 324.

¹⁰ See Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, vol. II (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1845), 78. Captain Wilkes meets two witnesses to the La Pérouse massacre. Both put the blame on a visiting party from Upolu (one states that the visitors were from Falelatai). The French had apparently killed one of their number, so when they saw De Langle and crew stuck in the shallows, they attacked them.

¹¹ Lesseps, *Voyage de Lapérouse*, 327.

been unable to exact punishment for the deaths of their compatriots, but commendably he scared away the Samoans without seeking to punish them for the deaths of his crew. He disgustedly sailed away from Samoa without visiting Upolu or Savai'i. Reportage of this incident effectively halted visits to Samoa till the 1820s.

La Pérouse did comment positively on the inventiveness of some Samoan craftwork, in that they compare favourably with craft work from France:

they sold us a wooden vase filled with coconut oil, which had exactly the same shape as one of our earthenware pots and which a European worker would never have believed could be made without a turning-lathe; their ropes were round and woven exactly like several of our watch-chains; their mats were very fine but their cloth inferior in respect of the colour and texture to those Easter Island or the Sandwich Islands.¹²

In **1824, Captain Otto Von Kotzebue** visits Samoa. Once again, contact takes place on the sea. He describes the Samoans of Manu'a in this way:

Those we saw were at least five feet and a half in height, slender, their limbs of a moderate size, and strikingly muscular ; I should have thought their faces handsome, had they not been disfigured by an expression of wildness and cruelty ; their colour is dark brown ; some let their long, straight, black hair hang down unornamented over neck, face, and shoulders; others wore it bound up, or frizzed and crisped by burning, and entangled like a cap round the head : these caps are coloured yellow, and make a striking contrast with the heads which remain black. Some, again, coloured their hair red, and curled it over their shoulders like a full-bottomed wig. A great deal of time must be required for this mode of dressing.¹³

Kotzebue is distrustful of the Samoans. Tropes of the ignoble savage can be heard in his observations. He notices that Samoans are still desirous of blue beads, but now want to trade for metal, e.g., barrel hoops. They also bring along battle clubs to barter – though the thought of having armed Samoans on board trading for metal to presumably make better weapons, would be a source of consternation - He observes a Samoan waving kava roots seemingly

¹² Cited in Tcherkezoff, *First Contacts in Polynesia: The Samoan Case (1722-1848): Western Misunderstandings about Sexuality and Divinity.*, 53.

¹³ Otto von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World in the Years 1823, 24, 25, and 26* (London Great Britain: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), 264–65.

inviting them onshore. Kava plays an important role in Samoan rituals of encounter. They sail on.

Kotzebue also notes an encounter at sea with a Samoan chief that could have been the infamous Tamafaigā:¹⁴

In the fore part of the vessel, on a platform covered with matting, sat an elderly man cross-legged in the Asiatic fashion, holding a green silk European parasol, which we conjectured must have belonged to one of the unfortunate companions of La Perouse, and have been obtained by this chief from Maouna [Manono]. His clothing consisted of a very finely plaited grass-mat, hanging like a mantle from his shoulders, and a girdle round his waist. His head was enveloped in a piece of white stuff, in the manner of a turban. He spoke a few words, accompanied by a motion of the hand, to his countrymen or subjects, who immediately made way for his canoe to come alongside; and on our invitation he came on board attended by three persons. He was not tattooed, was about six feet high, thin, but vigorous and muscular. His features were not handsome but agreeable; his countenance was intelligent and reflective; his behaviour modest and decorous.¹⁵

The Samoans call him *Eigeh*, the Tongan term *eiki* meaning nobleman. Kotzebue's encounter with the Manono chief, shows the different quality of ethnographic data that can be gleaned when one meets the "right" person. We learn from this nobleman of the extensive contact with Tonga. The one English phrase that he uses is "very good, very good" which he uses gleefully when pleased at something, for example when given "a large hatchet, two strings of blue beads and a coloured silk handkerchief" in exchange for 3 pigs and fruit. He has a Spanish dollar coin which he gestures he acquired from Tonga. He seemed to know what *guns*, *pua*¹⁶ were, and explains to his terrified entourage the harm that a *pua* could dispense. He even invites the captain to shoot some of his entourage when they do not move quickly enough. He also invites Kotzebue to Manono to find "very good Wairaki" (very good women). Once again, the distrustful Kotzebue refuses to meet onshore.

¹⁴ See Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 71 n 25: Gilson notes that "Kotzebue met a high chief of Manono..a man of imperious bearing, greatly respected by the Samoans. This chief may have been Tamafaiga..."; See also Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 2: Material culture:22.

¹⁵ See Otto von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World: In the Years 1823, 24,25, and 26* (Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), 278–85.

¹⁶ See Kotzebue, 282.

Indeed, Kotzebue had ignored numerous attempts to “invite” them ashore. If this man was the infamous Tamafaigā,¹⁷ an historically significant moment had been avoided. At this time, Tamafaigā was engaged in the process of subduing the Samoan areas that control the Tafa’ifā titles. When he wins the requisite wars, he becomes the most powerful chief in Samoa. He was considered a major impediment to the spread of Christianity to Samoa, because as I argue later, Tamafaigā also tried to reconfigure the Samoan social and religious circuitry. With his assassination (c. 1827-29), Christian missionaries find easier passage into Samoa.

1.1.2 The Samoan gaze : o ai ea oe?

The subtitle for this section is a commonly asked question: who are you? The expectation in asking the question is that the inquirer may provide information as to who they are and why they are visiting. It is an opportunity for the parties to make connections. For Samoans, these early encounters occurring at sea, on the decks of European vessels, or on beaches, would be treated as opening gambits to setting up meaningful social relations. For Samoans, proper meetings between hosts and visitors, took place *sitting down*, *saofa’i*, preferably inside the *faletele*, *meeting house*, and includes the imbibing of *ava*, *kava*. The sea and beach meetings were in environments¹⁸ where formal Samoan rituals of encounter do not usually take place, i.e., *ava*, speeches, the citing of *fa’alupega* and *gafa*, *titles* and *genealogy*, and a statement of the purpose of the visit. Hence, in the uncontrolled environments of the sea and beach, there is the pandemonium of clamouring Samoans, and nervous Europeans fingering their weapons. Yet, when they encounter a Samoan of high standing, Papālagi observers note the deference these individuals command amongst other Samoans, that with a gesture people silently move away. The Papālagi viewed their beach and sea encounters as opportunities to trade with the locals. For them these encounters were viewed mainly as commercial interactions: trading goods for food.

¹⁷ Tamafaigā does not have a good reputation in the Samoan telling of history. He is disparaged for wantonly taking men’s wives and daughters, ie he discards the practice of *usoga* and *aumoega*. He was in the process of acquiring another wife in *Fasito’outa* when he was assassinated). So given this person’s obsession of “*wairaki*” (taken to mean “women”), and his insistence that Kotzebue come onshore to *Manono*, where he will find “good *wairaki*”, perhaps bolsters the case of this person being Tamafaigā

¹⁸ Much is made of the notion of the Beach See Dening: the beach as a metaphor for the area betwixt and between for first contact; and Caroline Ralston and Grace Burgoyne for the “beach” the area for European and urban expansion. The beach is the wrong place for meaningful contact which for Samoans is the *faletele*, the meeting house, where Samoan protocols predominate.

Samoans, however, were not shy of Europeans. They had heard from Tongans of their experiences with these pale visitors. Furthermore, Samoans initiated contact with the strangers for their own ends. The prized possession that Samoans wanted in these early contacts, were the blue or azure beads. Tcherkezoff argues that these encounters were not merely commercial in the eyes of Samoans. He contends that blue beads had been attributed with life giving properties, when during the 1722 visit by the explorer Roggeveen, where they shot at a group of Tongans. And in tending to the Tongan wounded, the Dutch gave them blue beads. These blue beads became associated with the recovery of the wounded, and were attributed with life giving properties. Tcherkezoff's contention that this association led to the desirability of the blue beads amongst Samoans at this time, does correlate with the energetical view of the Samoan universe with regard to prestige items such as ie tōga, fine mats. In that these items are able to channel mana, tapu and alofa forces to pūlou, ufufi, *cover, protect, and encompass* objects in the Samoan world. However, I hold that it is an overstep to regard these first encounters as anything more than Samoans, also trying to find out more about the Papālagi, and of course to get what they wanted from them. Any idea of Papālagi divinity, would have been dismissed with the first touch or pinch of their all too human bodies. The killing of the La Perouse crew would be proof positive of Papālagi mortality.¹⁹

Samoans, Tongans and Fijians had long engaged in ritualistic exchange of prestige goods.²⁰ Also, the practice of barter was not new to Samoans. Barter is "a system of exchange in which participants in a transaction directly exchange goods or services for other goods or services without using a medium of exchange such as money".²¹ Samoans would indulge in barter on

¹⁹ See Mariner, William, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, vol. II (Constable and co, 1827), 73. Where Mariner states "The people of the Tonga Islands behaved towards Cook with every external demonstration of friendship, whilst they secretly meant to kill him...". This belies the idea of Papālagi divinity. Samoans were in contact with Tongans.

²⁰ For example, See Adrienne Kaeppler, "Exchange Patterns in Goods and Spouses: Fiji, Tonga and Samoa," *Mankind* 11, no. 3 (1978): 246–52 Exchange of various gifting goods and wives between Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji. See Shawn S Barnes and Terry L Hunt, "Sāmoa's Pre-Contact Connections in West Polynesia and Beyond," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 114, no. 3 (2005): 227–66 There seems to be a high degree of connectivity between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa during pre-contact times. Also see Fergus Clunie, "Tongiaki to Kalia: The Micronesian-Rigged Voyaging Canoes of Fiji and Western Polynesia and Their Tangaloan rigged Forebears," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 124, no. 4 (2015): 335–418, <http://dx.doi.org/10.15286/jps.124.4.335-418> For the extensive and on-going contact between various islands in the development of the kalia.

²¹ O'Sullivan, Arthur; Sheffrin, Steven M. *Economics: Principles in Action* (Pearson Prentice Hall); 243.

a daily basis, for example, bunches of banana for firewood. Historically, they engaged in barter relations with early explorers (food and water for certain European goods). This is very different from gift giving,²² where there is a notion of reciprocation delayed by time, and a sense of obligation as the gift is identified with the giver. For example, in giving an *ie tōga*, fine mat, there is an expectation of a return gift at a later date. The *ie tōga* is identified with the giver. In shipboard barter situations, there is immediate reciprocation and no expectation of future return gifting. Also, the fact that sometimes Samoans sailed off without giving the expected foodstuff or good, shows that Samoans did not regard this as gift exchange. Furthermore, the women who were at those encounters complimented the chiefs that they accompanied, alluding to the *feagaiga* relationship that women share with their relatives and menfolk. I contend that trading of sexual favours would be seen in terms of a barter relationship. Any ensuing progeny would be an expansion Samoan *gafa*. So the appearance of women at these first meetings were complimentary to the appearance of Samoan males.

In the ensuing years, the contact situation had changed. Apia had become a safe harbour visited by foreign vessels (footnote). Apia had also become a centre for European habitation. And of course, Christian missionaries had arrived in 1831. Missionaries of both the London Missionary Society and Wesleyan are found throughout Samoa: in Savai'i, Manono, Upolu, Tutuila, and Manu'a. So, in **1839**, on the occasion of the United States Exploring Expedition (Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition), headed by Captain Wilkes, the situation had vastly changed. On his first visit to Samoa, Captain Wilkes notes that a:

fono, or council, was held by the chiefs of Upolu, Manono and Savai'i, at the request of Captain Wilkes, in which rules and regulations were agreed upon and adopted, for the security and protection of American whalers.

This indicates of the changing times. Captain Wilkes has missionaries to act as translators and intermediaries, and he calls a fono to hammer out an agreement to secure the protection of American whalers. No doubt, in the eyes of Samoans, his heavily armed ships meant that he had to be taken seriously. In Apia, he has meetings and discussions with Malietoa Pe'a. Meeting with chiefs in fono, meant that the expedition was under the protection of matai. This means that he and his men had greater access to Samoans. As a consequence of this

²² Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, (Cohen and West) 1966: 6-8.

fuller access to Samoans, Wilkes' ethnological observations are of a higher quality than the on-board and shore scramblings of earlier encounters. In the course of his wandering, Captain Wilkes observed a curious undertaking by a group of Samoans. He notes:

an odd amusement of the natives was seen in the forest, in one of the clearings near one of the heathen villages, and at a short distance from Apia (the vignette gives a good idea of it.) A fine large tree had been lopt of its branches (except at the very top) for a mast; around this a framework of timber, after the model of a vessel, was constructed; all the timbers were carefully fastened together with sinnet, and with requisite curvature; from the bow a large and long piece of timber projected, and at the stern a rudder was contrived, with its tiller; but instead of its ordinary movements as with us, it was intended to act vertically, in the way to which they are accustomed in managing or steering their canoes with an oar; vines and creepers were used for the rigging; ballast had likewise been placed in the hold.²³

Wilkes notes that

this afforded great amusement and showed an ingenuity in the construction of the Papalangi [sic], as they called it, which had cost them much time and labour.

This observation highlights how Samoans may examine things about which they are curious. In this illustration, Samoans are trying to figure out the workings of the European vessel. They mock up, at considerable effort, a facsimile of a European boat, no doubt fashioned on the American boats²⁴ in their harbour: a tall tree for the central mast, timbers fastened with sinnet ties so as to reproduce the shape of the hull, and an effort at reconstructing the European style rudder and tiller. However, the rudder and tiller worked, as the observer noted, in the Samoan fashion of a canoe paddle, i.e., vertically stuck into the water.

²³ Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, II:144.

²⁴ Though by this time, Apia people would be reasonably familiar with European boats, as Samoans are charging port fees. Wilkes was negotiating with them re protection of U.S. whalers.



Figure 7. *Papalagi* [sic] ship. Drawn by A.T. Agate. (Taken from Wilkes, 1845:144).

This exercise may have seemed a Samoan amusement to the European observer, but if we take seriously the notion that Samoans were trying to understand European technology, then the construction of their model European boat shows that Samoans have no difficulty in adapting what they know, to what they do not know. The Samoan ocean going vessels have mast and sail arrangements; a forward prow (to which they would attach sail and mast ties); and steering devices. And they adapt what they know to their conception of the workings of a European vessel. Hence, in their skeletal model, they have the elongated prow, and their version of the rudder and tiller mechanism based on the workings of their own sailing vessels.²⁵ This pattern of explaining new objects and phenomena, in terms of what is already known; of adapting what one already knows to new knowledge; and resulting in something (a facsimile of a European boat, in this case), that retains elements of both old and new knowledge, and that in theory could work.²⁶ It is a very pragmatic approach. I think that the amusement noted by Wilkes is that of Samoan self-satisfaction, that they had a working knowledge of the European boat.²⁷ This ability to adapt Papālagi things and expectations to something that is workable or acceptable to themselves is an underlying principle to future Samoan-Papālagi interaction.

²⁵ See also Albert Refiti, "Uneven Boundaries That Do Not Flatten Easily," in *Additions to Architectural History Conference, Conference Proceedings of the XIX Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand, Brisbane 4-7, 2002*, 2 or 10, https://www.academia.edu/1847152/Uneven_Boundaries_that_Do_Not_Flatten_Easily.

²⁶ What seems to be important to Samoans in this case, is not understanding the exact mechanism, but arriving at a model that may work.

²⁷ Wilkes does not even consider that Samoans may be seriously thinking about the workings of a European boat.



Figure 8. *Malietoa* [Pe'a]. Sketched by A. T. Agate. (Taken from Wilkes: 144).

The types of European visitor changes over time: the exploration missions give way to the whalers, beachcombers, and missionaries, then planters and diplomats. In each case, Samoans envelope them into their energetic world view: Whalers would see savages who could not be trusted. Samoans would view whalers as travel opportunities. Beachcombers would view Samoans as means to their survival; Samoans would use beachcomber's carpentry and warfare skills to their own ends. Some Beachcombers were also the first to spread their versions of Christian teachings. And, when the missionaries proper arrived, they saw souls that needed saving. Samoans themselves, saw much in the new Christian religion that coincided with their own traditional religious systems. So, Samoan conversion to Christianity, can be viewed as Samoans making deliberate choices as to what in terms of their culture they could adapt, and what they should change. Planters and diplomats would view Samoans as a means to a commercial end. Samoans for their part, would regard commercial activity, as a way of furthering their own gifting activities. Papālagi would regard as a threat any Samoan customs that impede peaceful and orderly commercial and imperial conduct. Samoans would try to divert western commercial and imperial objectives and mechanisms to serve their own political and social ends.

1.2. Conclusion

This section has examined earliest contact between Samoan and Papālagi and asks the question: what did they see? The Papālagi saw what they needed to see: Samoans

were people they needed to barter with, but they were not to be trusted, they were childlike, and deadly. Papālagi also saw an opportunity to pursue their socio-political and economic ends. The emphasis on commercial gain, underpins the Papālagi motivation for contact with Samoans.

The Samoans saw that Papālagi had things that they wanted, but they had their own reasons for wanting them. Barter is not new to Samoans. However, they wanted blue beads because for a time, they were important to them. Perhaps, the blue beads became associated with the life protecting forces and powers of resurrection, that are found in other prestige items such as the *ie tōga*, fine mat. However, there comes a time when the blue beads were no longer desired, when Samoans themselves chose not to trade for them. During early contact, Papālagi rebuffed Samoan invitations to “meet” properly: that is sitting with chiefs in the *faletele*, imbibing *ava*, and telling each other their *gafa*, genealogy. Papālagi preferred encounters on board their boats and on beach shores. However, when they do meet properly with Samoans, they are allowed much closer contact. As a result, Papālagi observations of Samoans becomes much more nuanced, than just the ignoble and noble savage variety. For example, Samoans show a curiosity of things *palagi*, but as in the facsimile of the European boat, they adapt what they know to fill in the gaps of what they do not.

For Samoans, meetings proper occur between people when the appropriate people, chiefs, share space. There are rituals to meeting: *saofa’l*, *sitting* in the *faletele*, *ava* imbibement, formal introductions would include the citing of *fa’alupega*. The parties would *lauga* (orate) to one another, and the purpose of the meeting would be clearly stated. Food would conclude the meeting. As will be seen in the Part C Section 4: *gafa* energies are released in the rituals and speech that bond people in relation to one another, and lead to the activation of other social forces that promote action and movement on the part of the Samoans.

2. Christianity

1830 is a watershed year in Samoan history. The London Missionary Society (LMS) Reverend John Williams led by a Samoan chief Faueā and his wife Puaseiese,¹ arrives bearing the Christian message, Le Tala Lelei (literally the Good News, Christianity). The popular perception is that from the first acceptance of Christianity by Malietoa Vainu'upō in Sāpapālī'i, Savai'i, Christianity is quickly accepted by all, and that there is a mass conversion to the new religion. So thorough is the conversion, that Samoans adopt the division of their history into, firstly, times prior to the arrival of the Tala Lelei, "Good News" known as Aso Pō'uliuli, the dark days; and then Aso Mālamalama, the days of light, the time after the arrival of the Tala Lelei. However, this did not mean a wholesale renouncing of beliefs and practices that had been developed in the Gafa period; but the adoption of Christianity did mean the rewiring and adjustment of the social, political and ideational circuitry of the nineteenth century Samoans.

Christianity arrives at a time when Samoans were experimenting with new social and religious models of leadership. The Samoan scholar, Tui Atua outlines the decline of the Sā Tupua during the 18th and 19th centuries.² For example, in 1802, I'amašana dies and in his māvaega, dying testament, he names Malietoa Vainu'upō as his successor to the Tafa'ifā. The Sā Tupua exclusive hold on the Tafa'ifā status was at an end. So, the nineteenth century is marked by the rise of the Sā Malietoa. There are also political and sacral power shifts away from Lufilufi and A'ana to Manono backed by the Tonumaie'a. Tamafaigā is the son of the Manono chief Leiaua Lelologa and Laolao the daughter of Tua'ilemafa from the village of Sāmauga. His gafa shows that he has strong connections to the Tonumaie'a clan. He assumes the Leiaua of Manono, after his father's death and engages in a series of wars that sees him wrest control of both Savai'i, Pule, and Upolu, Tumua. Yet, after conquering all his rivals, Tamafaigā eschews

¹ Richard M Moyle, ed., *The Samoan Journals of John Williams 1830 and 1832* (Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press, 1984), 54-55. Faueā had lived in Tonga for nearly 11 years and were returning to Samoa.

² See Tupua Tui Atua, "Tamafaigā: Shaman, King or Maniac? The Emergence of Manono," *The Journal of Pacific History* 30, no. 1 (1995): 3-21; Also Tui Atua, "The Riddle in Samoan History: The Relevance of Language, Names, Honorifics, Genealogy, Ritual and Chant to Historical Analysis"; See Aleni Sofara, "Tui'umi: The Assassin," *The Journal of Sāmoan Studies* 7, no. 3 (2017): 87-93 For an account of the assassination from perspective of the family of the assassin Ma'ipipili or Tui'umi Aiono of Fasito'outa .

the title of Tafa'ifā. According to historian Malama Meleiseā, he assumes the title of Tupu o Salāfai, King of Savai'i.³ This new designation means that he does not have to reside at Lufilufi, nor is he under the sway of the chiefly confederations of Tumua and Pule. He becomes, according to Tui Atua, the high priest of the Nāfanua religion. He uses the institution of the malaga, to terrorise subservient areas. His visitations were occasioned by wanton cruelty and subversion of the usoga and aumoega, marriage traditions. He would demand *droit de seigneur* (rights of the Lord) over any taupou, chiefly daughters who took his fancy.⁴ His brutal rule did not have the usual sanctions on Tafa'ifā behaviour, and it ended with his assassination by the A'ana warrior Tui'umi of Fasito'outa in c1827.⁵ When John Williams arrives in 1830, he first hears about the wars of reprisal against the A'ana region, and sees the smoke from burning villages and the Tītō, a burning pit into which captured men, women, and children were thrown. The leader of the revenging forces against the A'ana was Malietoa Vainu'upō.

Moreover, the Christian faith did not come unheralded into the Samoan world. It is believed, the deity Nāfanua's had prophesied its arrival, when she promised Malietoa that he would get his kingdom, mālō from the heavens. In one version, this was occasioned when Nāfanua, upon winning the war between the east, (A'eaisasa'e) and western sides of Savai'i (A'eaisisifo), distributed political favour to various areas of Samoa.⁶ Malietoa Fitisimanu (gen 29, 1776)⁷ arrived late, and he was told that most of the honours had been distributed, that the head of the fish had been given and that all that was left was the tail. Malietoa would have to await his mālō (government) from the lagi (heavens). The arrival of Christianity in

³ Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 28.; See also Stair, John Betteridge, *Old Samoa or Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*, 77. Stair states that Tamafaigā calls himself "Tupu o Samoa."

⁴ As Samoan cultural historian Fofō Sunia writes "e Lua mea e fiafia i ai le Tamafaigā – o taua e fasia ai tagata, ma fafine aulelei (Only 2 things pleased Tamafaigā: killing people and beautiful women). He did not take wives to form dynastic unions, he took them from desire. Another Samoan writer states that he wanted to have 9 wives. He was assassinated acquiring his 9th wife at Fasito'outa

⁵ See Tui Atua, "Tamafaigā: Shaman, King or Maniac? The Emergence of Manono"; See Sofara, "Tui'umi: The Assassin" Sofara is a descendant of Tui'umi the assassin.

⁶ See Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 57. For example of gifts to Leulumoega. This distribution of gifts is called "le valoaga Nāfanua". See also Penelope Schoeffel and Gavan Daws, "Rank, Gender and Politics in Ancient Samoa: The Genealogy of Salamāsina o Le Tafaiā," *Journal of Pacific History* 22, no. 4 (1987): 185, fn 21. The phrase may simply mean that Nāfanua had nothing to give him.

⁷ See Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 57–58 There seems a discrepancy in the dating as the war of A'eaisasa'e and A'eaisisifo took place much earlier (gen 11. c. 1236). However, what is important for our discussion is that Samoans feel that they must link the coming of Christianity with the goddess Nafanua, a founding ancestor of the Tonumaipe'a family.

Samoa, and its first acceptance by a Malietoa is usually taken as a fulfilment of Nāfanua's prophesy.⁸ From an energetical viewpoint, it is interesting that Samoans need to link the advent of Christianity in Samoa with the deity of the older religion, Nāfanua. Faueā was certainly aware of the prophesy when he visited Christianity upon Malietoa Vainu'upō.⁹ Faueā was relieved when he had heard of Tamafaigā's death. He had recognised that Tamafaigā was an obstacle to the spread of Christianity to Samoa, not just because he was a heathen "devil",¹⁰ but as successor to Nāfanua, Tamafaigā was high priest of her religion.

Also, the Samoans had variant forms of Christianity before the arrival of the missionaries. Firstly, from beachcombers and stranded whalers. A number of these stranded sailors became notorious as mercenaries amongst the Samoans (footnote). A few began teaching their particular "take" on Christian teachings so as to earn their upkeep by much less violent means. Samoa also had its own home brand variant of the Christian religion, named Siovili. The religion was named after its founder. Siovili (also called Joe Gimlet) was a visionary and prophet from the village of Eva in the district of Atua in Upolu. He had travelled on European trading vessels to Tahiti, and was in Tahiti at about the time of the Mamaia movement, which came into prominence when London Missionary Society (LMS) church member Teau claimed himself to be possessed by Jesus Christ. Possession by Jesus, the Virgin Mary, Saint John and Saint Paul, the gods Oro and Tane shows the syncretic nature of the Mamaia belief system.¹¹ Siovili makes his way back to Samoa and begins his new religion a few months before the arrival of the LMS missionaries. They were serious competition for the LMS. They built their own churches, devised their own ceremonies (based on missionary rituals), but the notion of spirit possession, where charismatic leaders were inhabited by the spirit of Seesoo Alaisah, Jesus Christ shows the merging of tenets of the old religion being adapted to the new: that is, the belief that priests become possessed by the gods and they

⁸ Alternatively, Malietoa might be seen as inheriting the kingdom of Tamafaigā, who saw himself as

⁹ Moyle, *The Samoan Journals of John Williams 1830 and 1832*, 69. Faueā is treated as a Samoan chief and this helped to avoid miscommunication

¹⁰ Moyle, 69. Upon hearing of Tamafaigā's assassination, Faueā says "Ua lotu le tatou enua ua mate a debalos" (The devil is dead our land will embrace the new religion).

¹¹ See J. D. Freeman, "The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult: An Episode in the Religious History of Early Samoa," in *Anthropology in the South Seas: Essays Presented to H. D. Skinner*, ed. J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes (New Plymouth, New Zealand: Thomas Avery and Sons, 1959), 190. The Mamaia movement is characterised as millennial, having charismatic leadership, as mouthpieces of Gods they are possessed, and apocalyptic, in that the end was at hand, and they are vehemently anti-missionary. These are characteristic of the Siovili.

become mouthpieces of those deities, vessels to channel their thoughts and wishes. They also merged Samoan myth with Christian teachings, e.g., Lu the son of Tagaloa-a-lagi lands his canoe (named Semata'emo) in Uafato, where it turned to stone. The Siovili claim that it is Noah's Ark.¹² One can see the attempts to retain aspects of their energetical worldview. The Siovili spread quickly and extensively through Upolu with centres in Lefaga, Safata, Faleata, Va'a o Fonoti, Aleipata; and Savai'i: Itū o Salega, Alātaua, Faleālupo, Vaisigano and Gagaifomauga.¹³ But by 1865, only a few adherents remained.¹⁴ The reason may have been that missionary Christianity (LMS, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic) may have become better vehicles to carry forward the energetical worldview.

John Williams had Faueā accompanying him and his familial connections to Malietoa no doubt aided in the reception of the Christian message. Chiefs greet Faueā as "their Etu Chief", those of chiefly rank rubbing noses with him, those of inferior rank, touching their noses to his hand. Faueā tells the Samoans that their purpose is to bring the Gospel. He explains the superiority of the Christian God:

They are clothed from their head down to their feet and we are naked. They have got large ships and we have only got these canoes.¹⁵

When they learn from Faueā that the newcomers are friends, pigs that were bought on board to be sold, become gifts. The dynamic of on-board meetings changes, when the right people are met properly. John Williams goes on to meet with Malietoa Vainu'upō and with Malietoa's patronage, Samoan society becomes much more accessible.

In 1839, Captain Wilkes¹⁶ of the United States Exploring Mission, benefitted from the missionaries presence. With missionary intermediaries, He met with Samoan chiefs in fono, council, and he and his crew were free to wander through the villages and countryside. As a

¹² As cited in Freeman, 196 Attributed to George Pratt 1843, Letter dated September 14, Livingston House.

¹³ Freeman, 197–98 Siovili did not spread to Manu'a. Malietoa Vainu'upō denounced the leader Siovili as "pua'a elo" (or stinking pig). Freeman notes that Matā'afa (Fa'asumaleaui?) was a Siovili adherent [citing Peter Turner's diary 1835]. .

¹⁴ Freeman, 198.

¹⁵ Moyle, *The Samoan Journals of John Williams 1830 and 1832*, 68.

¹⁶ See Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*.

result of this increased accessibility the ethnographic observations also increases. On the differences between Christian and heathen villages, he notes:

There is already a very great difference not only in dress, but in appearance, between those adopted Christianity, and those who adhere to heathenism. The latter have a look to which their long hair, tied in a bunch behind, adds not a little, and when going to war they let it hang down in wild confusion, which increases their savage appearance

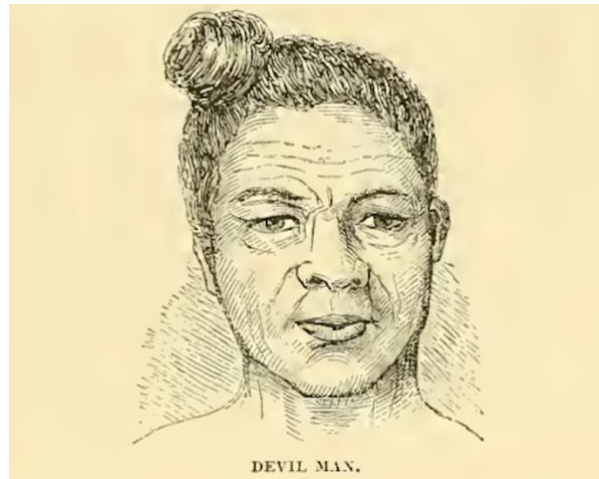


Figure 9. "Devil man" drawn by A. T. Agate. Taken from Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States*, (1845, p. 147.)

On the other hand, the Christians crop their hair short, a fashion which was introduced by the missionaries. The hair of the children is cropped close, except a lock on each side of the head. The manners of the people in the Christian and heathen villages are as different as their appearance. In the latter, no schools are seen, nor any of the incipient marks of civilisation. Their reception of strangers in the Christian villages is always kind and hospitable, although, as has been stated, a return is looked for. Among the heathen, the manner of reception cannot be counted upon with certainty, for they at one time welcome their visitors with cordiality, and at another are rude, insolent, and anxious to obtain all the strangers possess. When in good humour, they entertain their guests with the lascivious dances performed by native girls. Their whole manner and conduct are so different from those villages within a short distance of them, that the effect produced on the latter by the instruction of the missionaries appears almost miraculous.

In the heathen villages the dress of the Samoans is to be seen in its primitive simplicity. It is no more than the titi which is a short apron and girdle of leaves of the ti (*Dracaena*), tied around the loins and falling down to the thighs. The women besmear themselves with cocoa-nut oil mixed with turmeric which gives them a shining yellow tint, that is considered as a beauty. On each breast a spot of reddish

brown of a singular shape, and of various sizes, from that of a dessert plate. They do not show the least sign of feminine bashfulness, while those of Christian villages cover their bosoms, and exhibit as much modesty as those of any country.¹⁷

This is a description of the differences between the pagan and Christian communities. The pagan Samoan is characterised as wild looking and untrustworthy, and in contrast to the orderly and more and civilised Christian communities. However, it would be an error to assume that the different communities did not still communicate with one another. Christian Samoans would have family members in pagan villages. The institution of malaga is still occurring, where travelling groups would visit one another, cultural practices such as siva, dance, are still occurring despite missionary strictures. However, the purposes for such visitations will change. For example, as the more Samoans converted to Christianity, the practice of usoga and aumoega, parties seeking wives for their chief, would diminish. However, malaga still occur except, in the future, malaga may occur for Kilikiti, the Samoan variation of the game cricket, or for raising funds for church building.

The observation (in the quote above) that :

Among the heathen, the manner of reception cannot be counted upon with certainty, for they at one time welcome their visitors with cordiality, and at another are rude, insolent, and anxious to obtain all the strangers possess. When in good humour, they entertain their guests with the lascivious dances performed by native girls.

Points to the rudeness and insolence of the heathen Samoans is directed towards Papālagi visitors. Presumably, Samoan malaga from Christian villages would be greeted with appropriate protocol. [One does not malaga without first ascertaining whether the purpose of the malaga will be well received by the host village].

Wilkes also observes that Samoans held onto certain cultural practices despite missionary efforts:

Their dances and other amusements are in a great degree abolished, but they are still practised in the heathen villages, and even the Christian women may still be induced to exhibit the former, which they call siva.¹⁸

Samoans are adapting cultural practices to make them more acceptable to Christian sensibilities, for example:

¹⁷ Wilkes, II:146–47.

¹⁸ Wilkes, II:141.

They were formerly in the habit of presenting their first fruits to the aitus [spirits] and chiefs. This custom still continues amongst the heathen, but the Christian party present theirs to the missionaries.¹⁹

One can see that despite missionary intervention and the so-called differences between the pagan and Christian sects were sometimes only on the surface. Christian converts adapt cultural practices so that they conform to Christian practices and strictures. In terms of the energetical world view, one can see how forms may change, but the underlying basis remains the same.

¹⁹ Wilkes, II:140.

2.1 Christian theological concepts interpreted by a Samoan divine.

Much is written about the “Samoanisation” of Christianity,²⁰ but this section examines what there is in the tala lelei, the *Christian message*, that was so attractive to Samoans. Moreover, how did Samoans make sense of the Christian view of the world, i.e., how Samoans may have understood central Christian beliefs. The difficulty with trying to ascertain a nineteenth century Samoan view of Christian conversion is that records written by Samoans themselves, are scarce. However, the writings of a Samoan poet and Christian convert named Penisimani (Benjamin),²¹ have survived from 1860’s Samoa.

Penisimani’s (Benjamin) writings survive through a series of happy historical coincidences. There are scant biographical details. Penisimani lived in Amoa, Savai’i. He was among one of the first London Missionary Society converts, because in 1846, he penned five hymns at the behest of Rev George Pratt. Pratt had thought to use Samoans to compose a new hymnal. He knew that Samoan wordsmiths would compose better worded hymns. The hymns, however, caused a furore, as papālagi missionaries objected to the lyrics as too pagan. Published copies of the Penisimani’s hymns were collected and destroyed.²²

The Methodist Reverend George Brown arrived in Samoa in 1860, and he formed a friendship with Penisimani. Brown disagreed with the LMS missionaries disapproval of Penisimani’s hymns. Brown sought him out and elicited his assistance in learning and using the Samoan language:

Peni (Ben) as we called him, not only helped me in any difficulties which I had with the Samoan language, but, at my suggestion, he wrote down at his leisure any songs, proverbs, stories, riddles, etc., of which he had any knowledge. From time to time,

²⁰ For example, see Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 115–37; John Garrett, *To Live among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania* (Suva, Fiji: World Council of Churches in association with the Institute of Pacific Studies, The University of the South Pacific, 1994); Damon Ieremia Salesa, “When the Waters Met: Some Shared Histories of Christianity and Ancestral Samoan Spirituality,” in *Whispers and Vanities: Samoan Indigenous Knowledge and Religion*, ed. Tamasailau Sua’alii-Sauni et al. (Wellington, New Zealand: Huia, 2014), 143–58; Lale Ieremia, “Transition to Christianity in Samoa in the Period 1830-1850” (Bachelor of Divinity, Fiji, Pacific Theological College, 1968).

²¹ Leulu Va’a refers to Penisimani as a Samoan Divine. In Va’a, “The Parables of a Samoan Divine: An Analysis of Samoan Texts of the 1860’s.”

²² Va’a, 11.

sometimes at intervals of several months, he brought me what he had written, and I gave him a present and more paper. He lived several miles away from my house, and I had little or no intercourse with him except when he brought me the sheets which he had written, and he had no intercourse with any other white man. During the course of four or five years, this collection grew to about 600 pages of closely written matter.²³

The George Brown Papers consist of two volumes of manuscripts deposited in the Mitchell Library, New South Wales, after George Brown's death in 1917. Copies of the manuscripts are fortunately available on microfilm. Penisimani's writings are found in the first volume on pages 20-481 of the microfilm – I use the page numbers in the microfilm sequence.²⁴ Apart from the Reverend George Brown²⁵, Dr Leulu Felise Va'a²⁶ is one of the few scholars who have examined Penisimani's writings.²⁷ Va'a's examination of Penisimani's work focusses on the analysis of 7 representative tala, (*stories*); 6 fa'ataoto, (*proverbs*); and 6 upu, (*words*). Penisimani's intent was to illustrate Christian teachings in these forms, so that unconverted Samoans will understand certain Christian teachings.

Va'a employs a hermeneutic methodology in his examination. Each of the tala, fa'ataoto and upu divide into three parts:

1. A Samoan cultural element, where a Samoan concepts are enunciated in tala, fa'ataoto and upu.
2. The Christian equivalence, where the Samoan concept is directly identified with a Christian concept. What Penisimani calls fa'atatau, or *application*.
3. And the Samoan Christian message that one would take away from the tale, proverb, and word.

²³ Brown, "Nature Myths from Samoa," 172–73.

²⁴ Va'a, "The Parables of a Samoan Divine: An Analysis of Samoan Texts of the 1860's," 13. The Penisimani file has 264 pages of words and definitions, 105 pages of prose folk tales, 92 pages of poetic folk tales, "21 pages of parables, 14 pages of metaphors, 11 pages of songs, four pages of proverbs and four pages of riddles"

²⁵ See George Brown, "Proverbs, Phrases, and Similies of the Samoans," *Report of the Australasian Association of the Advancement of Science* 14 (1913): 401–33; See Brown, "Nature Myths from Samoa."

²⁶ Also publishes under the name Unasa Felise Va'a. See Va'a, "The Parables of a Samoan Divine: An Analysis of Samoan Texts of the 1860's."

²⁷ Leulu Felise Va'a, "Sina and Her Brother Lupe," in *Sexual Snakes, Winged Maidens and Sky Gods: Myth in the Pacific. An Essay in Cultural Transparency*, ed. Serge Dunis (Noumea and Pape'ete: Le Rocher-à-la-Voile and Haere Po, 2008), 155–71 Va'a mentions others who have used Penisimani manuscripts: academic husband and wife Malama Meleisea, Penelope Schoeffel; and artist Dan Taulapapa.

An example can be seen in the tale of Malaesala, who is a Samoan chief who chastises his people for eating the tapu, (taboo) eel. The full Samoan text and English translation is given below – Va’a’s Samoan transcription and English translations are used extensively in this section:

O le tala i le nuu Leape na latou a’i (sic) le i’a sa, o le tuna le igoa o le i’a. Ua faalevao e le nuu ona a’i (sic), ua le iloa e le alii o Malaesala, aua ua a’i (sic) faalevao, ua le taua i lo latou alii, a ua iloa atu e le alii, i titi o le nuu, ina ua usiusi peiseai na uu, ona toatamai ai lea o Malaesala, ua tulia le nuu e le alii, ua malaia tele. **Faatatau** la o lea upu. O le a ea le i’a sa? O tulafono ia a le Atua, o le i’a sa lea, atoa ma agasala, e na fua ae le lilo i le silafaga a le Atua. Aua le faalevao i luma o Malaesala o le Atua o le lagi. Soia le solia tulafono e matua sa lava. Faauta ua malaia Leape, na ai faalevao le i’a sa. **E faapea** foi ona malaia o tagata agasala ma solia tulafono a le Atua.²⁸

*The story of the people of Leape who ate the prohibited fish, the eel. The people ate it in secret without telling their chief Malaesala. The chief, however, knew about it because of the bright appearance of the people’s ti leaf girdles, as if they had been oiled. Malaesala became angry and banished the villagers causing them great hardship. **Application of this.** What is the prohibited fish? It is the laws of God, together with sins committed but not hidden in the sight of God. Don’t do things in secret before Malaesala the God of heaven. Do not break the laws, this being absolutely forbidden. Behold Leape in distress having eaten the forbidden fish. People who sin **will experience a like** calamity for violating the laws of God.*

Va’a unpacks the cultural bases of the story: chiefly status and food taboos, and the consequences of breaking those taboos. In this case, the villagers of Leape are banished for eating eels, a fish prohibited from general consumption (i’a sā, *sacred fish*), that only chiefs can eat. The second part of Penisimani’s method is to equate certain cultural elements to Christian concepts. The phrase “fa’atatau²⁹ la o lea upu” (application of this word) signals this part: The chief Malaesala is equated with God, the tabooed fish, is equated with God’s laws. The last part is the Christian message, in this case, it is signalled by the phrase “e fa’apea fo’i” (lit: in this way). So, by not observing God’s laws, people will suffer the same severe punishments as the villagers of Leape.

²⁸ For original Samoan text, see George Brown, “Penisimani - Samoan Stories - A1686/25-26” (1861-1870), 20, Micro-Ms-0967, George Brown. (1835-1917). Papers relating to Pacific Island culture and society (1842-1917) I am using the pagination as given in the microfilm copy. See for English translation Va’a, “The Parables of a Samoan Divine: An Analysis of Samoan Texts of the 1860’s,” 120.

²⁹ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 187”to apply as a parable...to imitate.

For the nineteenth century Samoan listener they hear that Malaesala is a chief, and that God is a chief, and not adhering to God's laws, evince the same severe punishments as that as the villagers, when they broke the food taboo, ie, the destruction of personal property: houses, livestock, food plots; and banishment, which entails loss of rights to land and matai titles in that village. These penalties indicate the severity of disobeying Chiefly or God's laws, and would be fully understood by Samoans at that time.³⁰ For the banished, these penalties entail the abruption of gafa links, and vā-forces. This is a profound loss for Samoans.

Va'a's analysis for this tala, The Village of Leape can be tabulated:

<u>Cultural element</u>	<u>Christian element</u>	<u>Christian message</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Great power exercised by chiefs • System of food taboos • Banishment of transgressors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malaesala is God • Food taboos are God's laws • Banishment from God's kingdom and love 	<p>Don't break God's laws</p>

Va'a also provides extensive analysis of Samoan cultural concepts explored in each tala, fa'ataoto, and upu. The missionaries were perhaps correct in objecting to Penisimani's approach of "innovation, mixing sacred with profane".³¹ Given that there is a knowledge imbalance in a prospective convert's knowledge of the three parts. It is the Christian concepts and central message that they would know least about. They are more familiar with, and have a greater understanding of the Samoan cultural elements. This would lead to questions and discussion between the teller of the tale and the audience as they unpack the metaphors of equivalence. That is the purpose of a parable to, illustrate, and, through discussion, to clarify Christian concepts.

³⁰ Banishment from villages is still a penalty in present day Samoan villages.

³¹ Letter No. 107 in The Domestic Correspondence of the Rev William Day and His Family. Launceston Public Library, Tasmania. Transcribed by Phillip K Cowie, 1963. as cited in Va'a, "The Parables of a Samoan Divine: An Analysis of Samoan Texts of the 1860's," 11.

This emphasis on Samoan culture as a way of explaining Christianity anticipates contextual theology. Anthropologist Matt Tomlinson notes that in contextual theology “culture is treated as central to religious understanding and experience, and eliciting culture is a key step in making theological arguments”.³² He notes that contextual theology has two defining characteristics amongst modern Pacific theologians, who he surveys: “(1) their conviction that cultural distinction matter theologically and (2) their consistent advocacy of ‘dialogue’ as the best way to make theology meaningful and consequential”.³³ Penisimani’s approach anticipates contextual theology in his emphasis on Samoan culture as illustrative and explanatory of Christian elements and message. This approach demands that the Christian promoter be expert in Samoan culture. From statements such as “God is a chief”, questions such as “how is God a Samoan Alii?” is best answered by someone knowledgeable of Samoan chiefs. For the Papālagi missionary, this emphasis on Samoan culture would be incredibly confronting. Their expertise is explaining the nature of the Christian God, and they did this by imposing their definitions on Samoans, not through dialoguing with them to arrive at definitions. Penisimani’s approach is far from a fully worked out theology, but his focus on Samoan culture makes the Christian message more likely to be understood by Samoans.

Another example of Penisimani’s method is the upu, word “o le Tulaga” (sister’s child) which is defined by Penisimani (and the English translation follows):

O le Tulaga. Tasi ona uiga, o le Ilamutu, tasi ona uiga, o le Tamasa. Ao le Tulaga e taua nei. E matua mamalu lava naua. Faauta mai ea, a taute ma taumafa, e taumafa toatasi. A uma ona taute, ona taumamafa ai lea o tagata uma ma alii uma ma tamaitai uma ma u iai tua o tagata uma lava. E sa pea faasaga iai se tasi ma ’ai. E matua tele lava mea e faia i le Tulaga e tagata e a latou lea Tulaga, pese nuu uma, pese usoalii uma, aua o le Tulaga e tasi a le nuu uma poo se usoalii uma lava. **E lelei lava ona fai o Iesu ma tatou Tulaga tasi e tataui ai lava.** Ia faalo ia te ia o le Tulaga a luga ma lalo nei, o le Tulaga aitu ma tagata, o le Tulaga tasi a le lalolagi nei. Avatu i ai le viiga ma le faane’etaga aua e ao ia, aua o ia o le Tulaga a le lalolagi ma le lagi tuaafe, ma le lagi tuamano, ma le lagi tuailu, ma le lagi tuafeafa. E a latou lenei Tulaga paia ma pau, ma le mamalu tele, ma sasatetele, ma le mamafi tele, ma le taalili tele, ma le ’a’ave tele i le lalolagi nei, ma le ma’ave’ave tetele aua e ona luga, ma lalo nei, ma sisifo, ma sasae, ma tai, ma uta. Faauta la ia i le Tulaga tasi a mea uma lava atoa. Ua galulu uma ia te ia mea uma lava.³⁴

The Tulaga. One of its meanings is the Ilamutu, another the Tamasa. But it is the Tulaga that is here mentioned. It is exceedingly sacred. Behold, if the Tulaga takes food he/she does so

³² Matt Tomlinson, *God Is Samoan: Dialogues between Culture and Theology in the Pacific*, Pacific Islands Monograph 29 (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2020), “INTRODUCTION.”

³³ *ibid*

³⁴ Brown, “Penisimani - Samoan Stories - A1686/25-26,” 101–2.

alone. Only when the Tulaga finishes will the others, men and women, have their food with their backs turned towards the Tulaga. It is prohibited for anyone to eat while facing the Tulaga. Very many things are done to the Tulaga by those whose Tulaga it is whether it be a village or a group of brother-chiefs because the Tulaga is theirs in common. **It is very good to adopt Jesus as our only Tulaga** as this is appropriate. Let us salute him the Tulaga of above and below, the Tulaga of the spirits (aitu) and humans, the sole Tulaga of this world. Let us give Him praise for this is due to Him for He is the Tulaga of the world, thousandth heaven and the countless heavens beyond. This is their sacred Tulaga, solemn, full of majesty, sanctity, honour, power, renown in this world and extensive influence because He owns above and below, west and east, the sea and the land. Behold then the sole Tulaga of everything and who has power and influence over everything.³⁵

Va'a's unpacking of the upu's parts can be summarised as:

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
• Ritual behaviour towards Tulaga, sisters child	• Jesus is Tulaga	Honour Jesus for he is our sister's child

Va'a explains that Tūlaga, Tamasā and Ilāmutu are all terms for tama fafine, literally child from the women's side, or "bilateral descendants from a female ancestor".³⁶ This is in contrast to the tama tane, descendants from a male ancestor. Tama tāne /tama fafine statuses are referred to descendants of a brother and sister. So their social and political relations follow the relations between brother and sister. The vā between brother and sister is called feagaiga (covenant). So, tama tāne tended to inherit lands and titles, and tama fafine are given priority in ritual, and gift giving, and they had the power of veto in family meetings. The feagaiga relationship between brother and sister is a vā tapuia, where the sister is the focal point of the brother's gifting activities. So, it is with The Tūlaga. It is a focal point that creates a node of gafa-forces and vā relations. The Tūlaga becomes the focus of the gifting rituals as they receive foods, and special reverence. Penisimani makes a direct comparison, and urges the adoption of Jesus as a universal Tūlaga, as his influence is not limited to specific groups of people. The extent of the sphere of influence of the Jesus-Tūlaga affects luga (*above*) and lalo (*below*), aitu (*spirits*), tagata (*people*), lalolagi (*earth*), "lagi tuaafe, ma le lagi tuamano, ma le lagi tuailu, ma le lagi tuafefafa" (*the thousand heavens, the ten thousand heavens and the countless heavens*). What is outlined is the extent of the Jesus-Tūlaga field. The formulation

³⁵ Va'a, "The Parables of a Samoan Divine: An Analysis of Samoan Texts of the 1860's," 133.

³⁶ Va'a, 100.

of “lagi tuaafe” (*thousand heavens*), “lagi tuamano” (*ten thousand heavens*), “lagi tuailo” (*innumerable heavens*), and “lagi tuafefafa” (*heavens stacked one after the other*) signals the omniscience of the Tūlaga-Jesus; and the “ua galulu ia te ia mea uma lava” which Va’a translates as “has power and influence over everything” indicates his omnipotence. The term “gālulu” also carries the meaning “to go in crowds”³⁷ and attests to the power of attraction of the Tūlaga-Jesus: everything crowds in on, or gravitates towards him. Penisimani also incorporates traditional concepts such as aitu, and the infinite heavens, he does not dismiss them as the missionaries tried to do. The notion of the Jesus-Tūlaga attracting not only deference, but also gifts in the form of food, and by implication, ie tōga and other high prestige items, anticipates the competitions in fundraising for religious purposes, that bedevil modern day Samoan churches. The financial drain that this causes amongst Samoans is justified as service to Jesus.³⁸

This pattern of individuals being points of accumulation of vā-energies pertains to chiefs, warriors, feagaiga relations, and tūlaga. However, with the arrival of Christianity, the faifeau, *reverend* also becomes a person who attracts material goods and prestige items. This influence does not derive from their genealogical connections, but from the social influence they derive from being a representative of the Christian God. They are addressed as “Susuga a le Fa’afeagaiga”, *spokesmen of the sacred relationship with God*. Feagaiga refers to the relationship between sister and brother, and like the brother and sister relationship, the is a vā-tapuia between the minister and his flock. However. Missionaries use the term feagaiga to mean covenant (as in the covenants between people and God), and politicians use it to mean treaty between countries.

Another example of Penisimani’s method is found in the parable “Le uo o Tui A’ana Leuotele, *the friends of Tui A’ana Leuotele* (see Appendix E). The parable goes that the Tui A’ana and his friends would often feast together in the evenings. When travellers came upon them, they

³⁷ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 170. The illustrative sentence for this sense of gālulu is “o lea tupu e gālulu i ai aitu ma tagata”, (*to this king spirits and men crowded*). The epithet is used to describe l’amafana to indicate the level of support that he had for the Tafa’ifā: “He was the king to whom gods and men crowded”. See Pratt, “Genealogy of the Kings and Princes of Samoa,” 663.

³⁸ The financial drain of church donations on Samoan families is a major concern for diasporic Samoans. See Cluny Macpherson and La’avasa Mapherson, “Churches and the Economy of Sāmoa.” *The Contemporary Pacific* 23, 2 (2011): 304–337.

would be given all to eat, if they showed deference by bringing water to wash the hands of Leuotele and his friends. Those travellers who did bring water for the friends to wash their hands would not get any food to eat. In applying the parable, Penisimani equates Tui A'ana Le Uo Tele with God (Le Atua); the band of friends with "His word and his ceremonies and his kingdom". The wise travellers, who bring water to the friends are equated with those who have "talía Iesu le faaola o le lalolagi", i.e., *accepted Jesus as the Saviour of the world*. Those travellers, who do not bring water to Leuotele and his friends are equated with those who have not received Jesus as their Saviour. They do not share in the feast, and will starve in a great famine. The parable ends with poetic sequence that is reminiscent of the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount,³⁹ where instead of a list of the Blessed, the attributes of the convert are enunciated:

Asu le vai o **le faatuatua ia Iesu**.
 Asu le vai o **le faamalosi**.
 Asu le vai o **le tatalo**.
 Asu le vai o **le taulaga i le Me**.
 Asu le vai o **le ana'ana i sauniga uma lava a le Atua**.
 Asu le vai **alofa i tagata o le Atua**.
 Asu le vai o **le matau i le Atua**.
 Asu le vai o **le salamo i agasala**.
 Asu le vai o **le fia faamagaloina**.
 Asu le vai o **le fia maua o le Agaga Paia**.
 Asu le vai o **le faamaulalo i luma o le Atua le Tama ma le Atalii ma le Agaga Paia le Atua e toatasi**.
 Ona tatou taumamafa aai ai lea i taumafa a le uo i se aso e oti ai ma le aso faamasino

Lift up the water of **faith in Jesus**.
 Lift up the water of **perseverance**.
 Lift up the water of **prayer**.
 Lift up the water of **the May offering**.

³⁹ Matthew 5, 1-12. Seeing the crowds, he went up on the mountain, and when he sat down, his disciples came to him.² And he opened his mouth and taught them, saying:³ "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."⁴ "Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted."⁵ "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."⁶ "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied."⁷ "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall receive mercy."⁸ "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."⁹ "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons^[a] of God."¹⁰ "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."¹¹ "Blessed are you when others revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. ¹² Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven, for so they persecuted the prophets who were before you.

Lift up the water of obeying **all of God's ceremonies**.⁴⁰

Lift up the loving water to **the people of God**.

Lift up the water of **fear of God**.

Lift up the water of **repentance for sin**.

Lift up the water of **desire for forgiveness**.

Lift up the water of **desire for the Holy Spirit**.

Lift up the water of **humility before God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the one God**.

Then shall we eat the food of the friends on the day of death and judgment

This is a list of characteristics of the friends of Tui A'ana Leuotele-God, i.e., "His word and his ceremonies and his kingdom". Those who accept Jesus as their Saviour will also display these characteristics, they will: have faith in Jesus; persevere in their faith and prayer; pay their contributions to the Church, observe God's ceremonies, love fellow people, fear God, repent their sins, desire forgiveness and the holy Spirit, show humility before God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In this way, the penitent will reap their rewards on the day of their deaths and judgement.

The repetitive phrase "Asu le vai" is similar to the call in the ava ceremony to bring a cup to a chief: "aumai se ipu", *bring a cup of ava*. This association with the ava ceremony is a powerful one for Samoans. As the ava has religious significance. The ceremony binds chiefs together at a point of time, and for a common purpose. They share drink from a common bowl, and a portion of the ava is offered to the gods.⁴¹ Water is commonly used as a cleanser or purifier and is a symbol common to both Samoan and Christian traditions. The food and feasting imagery point to the desirability of accepting Jesus as one's saviour. The verb "talía" has energetical connotations it means to accept or to allow to pass, as in the phrase "e talía o'u mana'o," *to allow or accede to my wishes*.⁴²

The Christian notion that one's mortal life is in preparation for the life yet to come is in direct contrast with the pagan Samoan notion of afterlife:

⁴⁰ Va'a translates "ana'ana i sauniga uma lava le Atua" as "risking danger on behalf of all God's ceremonies". I translate "ana'ana" as to obey.

⁴¹ In pre-Christian times, the ava drinker would spill a little ava in front of himself, declaring it a portion to Tagaloa. In Christian Samoa the libation is offered to Le Atua, the Christian God.

⁴² "Talía" comes from the term tali which means, to answer (a question), to receive, or to take food. See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 208.

When a Samoan dies, his body is buried, he also descends as an *aitu* into the *Luavai* [literally two waters] or *Apulotu* or *Pulotu* for short and lives there enjoying the pleasures so prized by the Samoans, such as kava-drinking, gambling, getting around and polygamy, in a state of perpetual pleasureable idleness. He also acquires the capability to do good or evil to the living as is his inclination. He can also assume any animate or inanimate form, so as to appear on earth as a human, animal, plant, stone, coral, etc. or to return to the underworld.⁴³

The afterlife for the pagan Samoan is a continuation of their mortal life: Chiefs would do chiefly things, and commoners would serve the chiefs. Furthermore, the dead can assume any form to return to the land of the living, where they can perform good or evil acts to serve their families and hinder their enemies. The Christian promise of reaping the rewards in one's afterlife, that "the best is yet to come" (the metaphor of eternal feasting is used), regardless of rank and status would sound very appealing to prospective converts. The notion of the afterlife being a continuation of one's mortal life is also found in the thinking of recent converts to Christianity. The Reverend George Brown tells of an elderly convert named *Siaosi*, who had a premonition of his impending death. He laid out his Sunday best as if in preparation for going to church. When his wife asked him as to why he had laid out his clothes, *Siaosi* replied: "I am going to heaven now. I shall preach there tomorrow".⁴⁴ He died the next morning. For this Christian convert death was a continuation of his lifetime of worshipping his God.

In these three examples of *Penisimani's* writings, we can see how Samoans may have understood Christian notions of the nature of God, his penalties, the status of Jesus as saviour, omniscience and omnipotence in terms of the extent of the *Jesus-Tulaga* influence, and the rewards of accepting the tenets of Christianity. The use of equivalent Samoan concepts to convey the essential features of those Christian concepts, for example, *Malaesala* (*ali'i*-chief)

⁴³ von Bülow, "Samoanische Sagen III," 367. "Stirbt ein Samoaner, so wird sein Körper begraben er steigt ebenfalls als „*Aitu*“ in den „*Luavai*“ oder „*Apulōtu*“ oder auch kurzer „*Pulotu*“ hinab, lebt dort in den Genüssen, wie die die Samoaner so hoch schätzen, wie kava trinken, Spielen, Gelangen und Vielweiberei und einem ewigen Dolcerfarnienten weiter und erhält die Fähigkeit, den Überlebenden je nach Neigung Gutes oder Böses zuzufügen und unter jeder beliebigen, lebender oder leblosen Gestalt, als Mensch, Tier, Pflanze Stein, Koralle etc. auf der Erde zu erscheinen oder wieder in die Unterwelt zurückzukehren“.

⁴⁴ George Brown, *George Brown, D. D. Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer: An Autobiography: A Narrative of Forty-Eight Years' Residence and Travel in Samoa, New Britain, New Ireland, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), 52–53.

is God; Jesus as Tūlaga; and salvation of the faithful being expressed in in terms of feasting. However, the use of Samoan social equivalents will undoubtedly lead to syncretism, but my object is not to adjudge whether Penisimani is consistent with the missionary theology, but to examine how Samoans may have understood the Christian message. Not surprisingly, Penisimani shows that new ideas are filtered through the Samoan energetical world view. The notion of energy focussed towards the Malaesala-God, the Tūlaga-Jesus attracting people and objects, and dispersion of worldly and spiritual benefits to believers make Christian concepts more comprehensible. To my mind, the fa'ataoto, *proverbs*, tala, *stories*; and upu, *words*,⁴⁵ would promote further discussion between Christian Samoans and potential converts. They are tools to catch the interest of the pagan convert, and they show points of convergence in the Samoan understanding of Christian theology and gafa/vā-religious thinking.

2.2 Conclusion

The Samoan conversion to Christianity did not mean the wholesale rejection of former religious belief. How Samoans understood Christian concepts can be seen in the way that Penisimani fashioned his heuristic fa'ata'oto, tala, and upu. Penisimani not only used those cultural forms to explain Christian concepts, but showed that the energetical view of the Samoan universe is compatible with the Christian worldview: the Christian God is equated with the ali'i, who together with the tulafale drive the village to action, i.e., initiate and give direction to the energy flows. Jesus is to be regarded as tūlaga, a sister's child, i.e., everyone is in a feagaiga relationship to him and as such Jesus is the focus of ritual and ceremonial activities of the community. Hence s/he is the focus point of energetic activity (gift giving of mats and food). For the Christian "the best is yet to come", earthly life is a drudge that must be suffered. However, after living a virtuous life one enjoys just rewards. For Penisimani, the image of a perpetual feast is paradisaal.

⁴⁵ See Appendices D Tala; E Fa'ata'oto; F Upu. For more examples

3. Developments in Gafa politics

This section examines nu'u (village) and Itu (provincial) politics during nineteenth century. The aim of Itu politics was to determine the winners of provincial titles, ao, and Tafa'ifā, Pāpā, who would then hold that station for a number of years. At the Itu level, Samoan politics was most likely to lead to armed conflict in finding a winner and establishing a mālō government.

However, European interference in the process of finding a tafa'ifā, meant that no single champion is found, or can sustain a viable mālō. The Samoan quest to establish a tafa'ifā became equated with the European need for a Samoan King, who could ensure a safe and peaceful environment necessary for commerce. Paradoxically, Europeans were wanting Samoans to institute an absolute monarch, i.e, a monarch that one that would exercise both executive and ceremonial power. Paradoxically, this is at a time when the British and Germans had constitutional monarchies, and the Americans had expelled the British Monarchy in its War of Independence (1775-1783). The tafa'ifā is different, it has sacral and ceremonial power. However, executive power is not centralised; in Samoan politics it is "dispersed among village councils and confederations of Tulāfale."¹

This meant that the nineteenth century was rife with national conflict as rivals contest for the Pāpā titles, backed by one or other of the three colonial powers. The nineteenth century is characterised by these political energy shifts: the wane of Sā Tupua influence; the consequent rise of the Sā Malietoa; the challenge of the Sā Matā'afa and Sā Tuimalealiifano, who have genealogical links with both Sā Malietoa and Sā Tupua; Europeans playing imperial politics; and all the while, Samoans choosing stratagem to achieve their own political and economic ends. Samoans can be seen as rewiring and realigning their socio-political system.

3.1 Itu (province) and nu'u (village): wars

This section explores the interplay between Itu and nu'u politics. Itu politics involves the acquisitions of regional titles: ao and Pāpā. Nu'u politics tends towards consensus, and peaceful relations at the village level. Contention at the village level is negotiated through and

¹ I'uogafa Tuagalu, "Matā'afa Iosefo and the Idea of Kingship in Samoa" (Dissertation Master of Arts, New Zealand, University of Auckland, 1988), 15.

deliberated by matai of the groups concerned within the village. Such deliberation is under the auspices of the fono a matai, *village council*. This is not to say that village relations preclude conflict and violence, However, at the village level, such conflict is more likely to peacefully resolved, than lead to open warfare. The annotated timeline below outlines some of the complicated wranglings of Itū and nu’u politics during most of the nineteenth century.

Before Malietoa Vainu’upō could take advantage of l’amafana’s bequest in 1802, Tamafaigā, who is descended from Nāfanua through both his mother and father, defeated in separate battles the forces of Savai’i (including Malietoa Vainu’upō), Atua and A’ana forces.² He won the rights to the Tafa’ifā, but preferred to set up his own regime. The new centre of power was Manono, because he did not want to reside at Lufilufi or Leulumoega. The precedent for this was the Sā Tupua retention of the Tui Atua and Tui Aana. Tamafaigā can be seen as circumventing the Tafa’ifā system that had been developed since Salamāsina. Tamafaigā’s assassination led to the ascension of Malietoa Vainu’upō and coincided with the arrival of Christianity, the Tala Lelei, *the Good News*. The arrival of Christianity seemed to be a fulfilment of Nāfanua’s prophesy, that Malietoa Fitiseanu’s mālō would come from the heavens. Indeed the political turmoil of nineteenth century Samoa can be seen as Nāfanua’s prophesy of Malietoa mālō, dominance attempting to fulfil itself.³

Samoa dominated wars

1841: Malietoa Vainu’upō was the first Mālietoa to attain Tafa’ifā status. Vainu’upō was the last uncontested Tafa’ifā. He is reputed to have converted to Christianity on his death bed, taking on the Christian name Tavita (David). In his māvaega, *will*, he states that the status of Tafa’ifā was to end with him.⁴ He bequeaths the Tui A’ana Pāpā to Tuimaleali’ifano To’oā of Falelātai (He is later known as Tuimaleali’ifano Suamalaui). He also bequeaths the Tui Atua Pāpā to Matā’afa Fagamanu of the Sā Tupua in Atua. The Gato’aitele and Tamasoali’i Pāpā

² See Tui Atua, “Tamafaigā: Shaman, King or Maniac? The Emergence of Manono.” *Journal of Pacific History*, 30, 1(1995): 3–21.

³ Schmidt, “The Aitu Nāfanua and the History of Samoa: A Study in the Relationship between Spiritual and Temporal Power,” 229-237. Schmidt holds this view, but it seems to me that Nāfanua was predicting the end of her religion as Malietoa Vainu’upō and his successors became patrons of Le Tala Lelei, Christianity.

⁴ See Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:17. For his Tamafaiga’s gafa, see p. 254 p.

and the Malietoa ao, are to be passed to his brother Taimalelagi. Malietoa Tavita's (Vainu'upō) thinking may have been that by dividing the Pāpā amongst the major contenders, he could end the warfare around the acquisition of ao and Pāpā. The Sā Matā'afa and Sā Tuimaleali'ifanō have strong genealogical links to both the Sā Malietoa and Sā Tupua lineages. Malietoa Tavita may have thought that by apportioning the Tafa'ifā, that he could avoid the contestation around acquiring the Pāpā. However, this situation would have been quite frustrating to Samoan power brokers, for not only was there no mālō, a clear winner; but the drive to unify the four titles was still present. thus, with Papālagi connivance, the rest of the nineteenth century is riven with almost constant war.

Rifts within the Sā Malietoa

1840's:

After Tavita's death, "the new spirit of Christian pacifism"⁵ and chiefly prohibitions on war led to a brief peaceful respite. However, when Malietoa Taimalelagi's son Tupapau died, the Christians of Sāpapālī'i claimed his death was God's punishment for his "secret sin" of living with a woman. Taimalelagi tempted God by committing the same sin with the same woman, daring the Christian God to kill him.⁶ He leaves the LMS, and many others defected. This rift with the LMS only ends with Taimalelagi's death in 1860.

Furthermore, Malietoa Taimalelagi and Malietoa Talavou were concerned with the resurgent A'ana. So, when Manono saw that Fasito'outa had posted sentries as they sailed past, they took it as a challenge to their position as mālō. They sent a war party, who burnt houses and plundered the village. The A'ana people were forced to leave their villages. Once again, they took refuge in Atua and together, they planned for war against the Malietoa mālō. With the assistance of beachcombers, Atua and A'ana forces designed boats with mounted guns, the significance of which, as Malama Meleisea writes:

⁵ Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 28.

⁶ Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 119.

probably for the first time in Samoan history, the naval and strategic supremacy of Manono.⁷

Manono also adapted to armed gunboats. Warfare continued till the LMS missionaries organised a truce in 1851. As the historian Richard Gilson points out:

[it] was the last general war in which European intrigues played no substantial part and the first to be influenced by European arms.⁸

1860: Internal divisions in the Sā Malietoa: Malietoa Molī, son of Tavita took over leadership after Malietoa Taimalelagi died in 1859. However, Molī fell foul of British and American consuls when they demanded the capture and execution of a Sāgone murderer of an American trader, William Fox, a store owner from Sala'ilua. Molī could not comply with this demand as he cannot dictate to Sāgone.⁹ The British bombarded a number of nu'u in Palauli, arrested and hanged the murderer. They forced Molī to agree to the execution and then placed a heavy fine on him. Molī lost face within the Malietoa leadership. Molī died a few years later. Opinion is divided within Sā Malietoa as to who should be leader: Molī's son, Laupepa or Malietoa Talavou.

1867: The villages of Satupa'itea and Palauli went to war. The Satupa'itea people moved to the Fa'asāleleaga area.¹⁰ The Reverend George Brown gives an account of the war and the devastation that was meted out on properties and crops. Moreover, Brown offers a very personal account of his connection to some of the Satupa'itea dead:

Poor fellows! We had lived amongst them; but there they were, men whom we had seen the previous day in health and strength, shot down in defending themselves from what I could not regard as a most unjust and unprovoked attack. One man had prayed most earnestly in the prayer meeting a few hours before he was shot, that

⁷ Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 29.

⁸ Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 120.

⁹ See Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 32.; See also Thomas Trood, *Island Reminiscences: A Graphic, Detailed Romance of a Life Spent in the South Sea Islands* (Sydney, Australia: McCarron, Stewart & Co, 1912), 37 Fox was shot when he accused a Sāgone chief of theft in 1857. Sāgone killed a "plebian" as blood price to the Sāla'ilua people. It was deemed inappropriate that the chief should be executed because Fox was not a chief. In 1859, the British warship apprehended and executed the murderer.

¹⁰ See Brown, *George Brown, D. D. Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer: An Autobiography: A Narrative of Forty-Eight Years' Residence and Travel in Samoa, New Britain, New Ireland, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands*, 45. Fa'asaleleaga is on the Southeast coast of Savai'i

God would prevent war or bloodshed. Another chief had bought me a dollar a few weeks previously, and asked me to keep it for him against the time of the missionary meeting. Others were busy making oil for the missionary meeting, often scraping nuts with their guns by their side in case of an attack. Another went to bid his teacher good bye, and told him with tears that he did not want to fight, but he could not stand aloof and see his people killed. He was no coward, as his subsequent actions proved. All these were slain. We found that there were ten men killed on each side, and several others severely wounded. The principal chief of Satupa'itea, Asiata with whom I had spoken on my way inland, was shot, and I saw his head brought in as I passed from the village.¹¹

The account above captures how waging war and upholding Christian tenets found an uneasy compromise in Samoans. Both sides would pray equally earnestly for both God's intervention in securing peace, and for his assistance in the justice of their cause. Satupa'itea men were worried at the prospect of war, but were also eager to secure monetary contributions to the missionary meetings. The loss of ten people would be devastating to the Satupa'itea village. The short extract above gives an account for four of the slain. One is the principal chief Asiata. His loss would have been keenly felt, especially as the villagers moved temporarily to Fa'asleleaga (the missionaries were removed to Saleaula never to return). Asiata's leadership and organisational ability that had been accumulated over a lifetime, would have been missed. War has cost Satupa'itea the loss of property, crops and banishment (albeit for a short while) and is compounded by the loss of leadership, recovery from which would take up to a generation.¹²

1869: Faitasiga war (*The Wars to unify the Malietoa family*): Malietoa Laupepa (1841-1898), son of Moli assumes the Kingship opposed by Malietoa Talavou, his half-uncle.

1873: Colonel Albert B Steinberger (1841-1894) arrives in Samoa. He is a "special agent" of the American State Department. He was there ostensibly to compile a report on land sales in Samoa. During the recent wars, land had been sold to purchase weapons and ammunitions.

¹¹ George Brown, *George Brown, D. D.: Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer: An Autobiography. A Narrative of Forty-Eight Years' Residence and Travel in Samoa, New Britain, New Ireland, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands*. (London, England: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), 49.

¹² August 4, 1867. "Satupa'itea people were banished to Fa'asleleaga district. A death feast was celebrated for the Agasala [those who died without the chance to put right their sins]. In Te'o, *An Account of Samoan History up to 1918*, 18.

Theodor Weber, representative of the German trading company Godeffroy und Sohn, bought 25000 acres between 1869-1872. Samoans believed that Steinberger was laying the grounds for American annexation of the islands. Steinberger's solution to the Kingship issue: he proposes a bicameral Parliament with joint kings from the heads of the Sā Tupua and Sā Malietoa; an Upper House the Fono a Ta'imua (*House of Nobles*) where there were 14 representatives from the lead families, and a Lower House, Fono a Faipule (*House of representatives*) which would consist of 19 representatives of the sub districts.¹³ The kings would alternate the rule between them, for a term of four years. Steinberger would act as Ta'imua Sili, or Premier, in advising and guiding the Tupu, *King* and Ta'imua. In effect, the Papālagi would be both a neutral umpire, and director of policy. In this way,

Malietoa Laupepa and Tupua Pulepule were the first Joint kings. Malietoa was the first to serve as king . However, In 1876 Steinberger is deported when it is found that he had a secret agreement with the German firm Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft (DHPG). Moreover, there was resistance from the European community when Steinberger's taxation measures began to affect the whites. Malietoa Laupepa was harangued by the British and American Consuls to sign a proclamation demanding Steinberger's expulsion. Nevertheless, the notion of joint kings with alternating four year terms of office was an innovation in Itū politics and was particularly appealing to Samoans. This arrangement of shared alternating Kingship between two or more Royal title holders, with a European premier who oversees the workings of Government, became the model or ideal of a Samoan led Government. The historian J. W. Davidson says that by making a King a constitutional figurehead, " it minimized the danger of a revival of the tafa'ifā conflict".¹⁴ However, the stability of the government was dependent on European oversight, when Steinberger is expelled the coalition collapsed. Such arrangements where the kingship is shared by rivals for the tafa'ifā is too unstable for Samoans, as no mālō, or clear winner had been found.

¹³ Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 84.

¹⁴ Davidson, *Samoa Mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa*, 53.

Also in **1879** September 2: the Municipal Convention of Apia was signed by representatives of the United States, Germany and Britain, and the Government of Samoa, Malietoa Laupepa was the signatory. The territorial boundaries are outlined in Article 1. The Samoan Government had no jurisdiction over the government of Apia: The three Consuls would administer to their own nationals (Articles V, VI, VII). However, Article 9 stipulates:

A tupu se tana [sic; read taua] o Samoa latou e ilogaina le aai ma nuu o Apia ma nuu i ona talane e pau mai Letogo, pau mai foi tolotolo i Tiapepe ma Siusega e fai ma laueleele sa. E faitalia foi Alii ua tofia e pulea le faia aia o Apia ona faia ma faasalalauina ni Tulafono e tatou [sic; read tatou] ina ia mamalu le sa o le laueleele ua ta'ua.

*In the case of civil war, the town and district of Apia, and the adjacent districts comprised between the boundaries of the town and district of Apia and Letogo, Tiapepe Point and Siusega shall be considered as neutral territory, and the Municipal Board may frame and issue such regulations as may be considered necessary for the support and maintenance of such neutrality.*¹⁵

In effect the Lauele'ele sā (*Sacred or forbidden land*), is another itū,¹⁶ comprising of Pāpālagi. Despite the agreed neutrality, Samoans now fight battles in and around the Ele'ele sā. Successive Samoan mālō, Governments take up residence in Mulinu'u which is outside of, but faces the Municipality, Samoans would have to cross the neutral territory of Sogi.¹⁷ The villages within the Lauele'ele sā (Apia, Mata'utu, Tanugāmanono) retained their village chiefly structures, and distinct identities, though they very quickly became inundated with Samoans from other parts living in and around Apia. Land in and around Apia becomes alienated at a quicker rate.

December 15: Malietoa Talavou and Malietoa Laupepa agree to end the war on board the German ship Bismark. On December 23, the Consuls and chiefs of the last Government

¹⁵ *Great Britain Parliament Papers; House of Commons; Correspondence, Treaties and Conventions Relating to Samoa: 1881-1899*, n.d.

¹⁶ See Peter John Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance* (ANU eview, 2016), 27. The Municipality is a centre of power, and Mulinu'u the site of successive Samoan mālō, becomes a site of contestation.

¹⁷ See Leilani Leafaitulagi Grace Burgoyne, "Re-Defining 'the Beach': The Municipality of Apia: 1879-1900" (Master of Arts in History, The University of Auckland, 2006), 85.

decided to appoint Malietoa Talavou as King and Laupepa as his Deputy. The Samoan flag was raised on the Bismark: "It was a red flag with a white cross and a white star on the top."

1880 Malietoa Talavou dies in November. Malietoa Laupepa is considered his successor. Sā Tupua rivals are Tamasese Titimaea (1830-1891) who has the Tui A'ana, and Matā'afa Iosefo who is the Tui Atua.

1881 A conference was held on board the USS Lackawanna where a peace is negotiated: Malietoa Laupepa is appointed King, Tamasese (Sā Tupua, A'ana) is Vice King, and Matā'afa Iosefo (Sā Tupua, Atua) is premier.

1883 Malietoa Laupepa petitions Queen Victoria for British annexation. The American backed Lackawanna Agreement is breaking down

1885: Tamasese moves to Leulumoega and proclaims himself king. Eugen Brandeis (1846-1931) is his Premier. Brandeis is an employee of the Deutsche Handels Plantagen Gesellschaft (DHPG), and a former Bavarian Cavalry officer. The Germans are fully backing the Tamasese faction. His mālō is declared even though he only has the Tui A'ana Pāpā. British and American Consuls back Malietoa Laupepa.

Matā'afa Iosefo was Kovana of Atua under the Tamasese -Brandeis mālō, *government*. But soon withdraws from their mālō.

1887: February 17. Malietoa Laupepa signed the Deed of Federation with the Kingdom of Hawai'i. A delegation from King Kalākaua of the Kingdom of Hawai visited Samoa. He allies his Government to the Kingdom. He hoped that the Polynesian Confederation would result in tangible support for his Mālō in the face of European interference. The Kingdom of Hawai'i is another example of Polynesians adapting their own circuitry of political power to lessen the impact of colonialism.

1888: Matā'afa leading Malietoa troops against Tamasese Brandeis Regime.

On **December 18** a force of German marines landed at Fagali'i and Vailele to assist Tamasese forces. The Germans found themselves surrounded by Matā'afa forces. In the course of trying to make their escape, 16 Germans were killed and 39 wounded. At least two heads from German dead were presented to Matā'afa.¹⁸ This action earned Matā'afa German enmity, and would blight his political aspirations

1889: Matā'afa is conferred a Malietoa title from his Manono family. Malietoa Laupepa is exiled by Germans, but he has a secret meeting with Matā'afa Iosefo, where he bequeaths to Matā'afa, the care of his country.

Matā'afa's success over the Tamasese government, brings him into direct conflict with the Germans as his soldiers killed a number of German sailors. Their bodies were desecrated and heads were taken. At this time, he earned the enmity of the Germans.

March 16 Hurricane Gunships sunk: Adler Eber Vandalia

A Hurricane sweeps through Samoa. British, American and German naval ships are sunk in Apia harbour. World attention is cast on Samoa and the reasons as to why naval vessels of three nations were facing off in Samoa. The 1889 Berlin Conference is convened. The aim is to find an accommodation to ensure peace in Samoa. No Samoans are present at the Berlin Conference.

Tridominium

June Berlin Treaty calls for the reinstatement of Malietoa Laupepa as King and that British , German and American interests should have Consular jurisdiction over their own nationals, and work together to ensure a peaceful state in Samoa. It is the beginning of the Tridominium or as Robert Louis Stevenson called "*Furore Consularis*".

¹⁸ See Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa* (Wellington, New Zealand: Pasifika Press, 1996), 214 For more details of this battle, see: 210-214; See also Harry J Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa* (Apia, Samoa: Commercial Printers, 1986), 76–78.

November 9 Malietoa Laupepa is reinstated as King after returning from exile. There is an uneasy political situation of two Malietoa, Malietoa Laupepa in Mulinu'u, Apia, heading up the European backed Samoan Government. Malietoa Matā'afa Iosefo ensconced in Malie, the village of the Malietoa title. Once again there is a split in the Sā Malietoa. As the Sā Mōlī support Malietoa Tanumafili, and Sā Talavou support Malietoa To'oā Matā'afa'

1891 Civil War (May: Matā'afa moves to Malie)

1893 Matā'afa's forces are defeated by Laupepa, who is backed by the three Consuls and their Navy boats. Matā'afa takes refuge in Manono. His mother is the daughter of Futi, an ali'i of Manono. Matā'afa and seventy others and are deported to Jaluit. Houses at Manono are burnt, against the instructions of the British Commander. This incident is memorialised in a war song:

Vī'i o le taua¹⁹

Usu: E Manono e

Tali: Se'i fai a fai 'ua mū

Usu: E mū pea ia

Tali: O le nu'u fa'atalatū²⁰

Usu: E Ta'ifau²¹ e

Tali: 'Ua sola le va'a papālagi

Usu: 'Ua mū fale

Tali: E le fana 'ae liu sami

Usu: Seiuli e na tafu le afi, Seiuli e

Tali: 'Ua i tai le va'a a papālagi Seiuli e

Usu: Seiuli sōsō i uta, Seiuli e

Tali: Ua lavea le fana i luga, Seiuli e

In praise of war

Leader: Hey, Manono

Response: Do tell, they say it is burning

Leader: It will continue to burn

Response: it is a village of impotent

Leader: Oh Hound

Response: The Europeans boat has fled

Leader: Houses are burning

Response: From the gunfire, and changed into water

Leader: Seiuli, a fire has started, Oh Seiuli

Response: The European boat is offshore, Oh Seiuli

Leader: Seiuli move inland, oh Seiuli

Response: the top mast is obstructed, Oh Seiuli

¹⁹ See Richard M Moyle, *Traditional Samoan Music* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 1988), 168-9. For this version and the extensive recording history of this vī'i.

²⁰ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 136. Fa'atalatū is translated as "to boast, and not to perform."

²¹ The ta'ifau, dog, is the emblem of Manono

Usu: Seuli e, pā le fana tele, Seiuli, e
Tali: Lauaki e 'ua sola, 'ua fefe, Seuili e.

Leader: *Seiuli, the big gun will fire. Oh Seiuli*
Response: *Lauaki you fled in fear, oh Seiuli.*

1894 Sā Tupua are united behind Tamasese Titimaea as they fight against Malietoa Laupepa

1895 A'ana set up government independently at Leulumoega, opposed to the Malietoa Laupepa Government in Mulinu'u, Apia.

1898 August 22 Death of Malietoa Laupepa

Sept 19 Return of Matā'afa Iosefo from exile in Jaluit.

Dec 19 Court Case to decide kingship.

Chief Justice Chambers decides in favour of Tanumafili which lead directly to the second civil war

1899 March 1 German annexation. Wilhelm Solf is Governor. The Kingship is abolished.

Matā'afa is Alii Sili and Head of the Samoan Administration.

3.2 The Kingship court case (1898)

The Tafa'ifā status had been equated with that of a European style absolute monarch, or Tupu. Competition for the Samoan Kingship had been along Tafa'ifā lines, where representatives of the two main lineages; Sā Tupua and Sā Malietoa engaged in armed conflict to accumulate the four titles, and thereby earn the right to establish a mālō, a government that the colonial powers i.e., Britain, America and Germany, could support. Europeans were aware that their support of one or other Samoan candidate interfered in the Samoan processes to establish a mālō. Similarly, Samoans played off European imperial rivalries to further their own ends. Both Europeans and Samoans justified their actions, saying that they acted "in accordance with Samoan custom".¹ But this time around, in an effort to avoid civil

¹ In terms of deciding Samoan disputes with the Germans, what is "Samoan custom" becomes a primary concern.

war, both sides agree to decide the kingship question in court, where the American Chief Justice William Lea Chambers (1852-1933) would preside. Both sides are to present their arguments to decide who should be King. The decision was to be made in accordance with “Samoan custom and tradition”. The records of this court case offer insight into the ebbs and flows of gafa and vā forces in Samoan Itū politics, and the effects of papālagi interference.

In 1898, Matā’afa Iosefo² returned from four years in exile in Jaluit. On his return, he is forced to reside at Mulinu’u, Apia. He is now the main Samoan political figure. His rival Malietoa Laupepa had died prior to his return.³ Malietoa Laupepa had recommended that Matā’afa succeed him to the Samoan kingship. Despite his stated reluctance to again enter into Samoan politics, Matā’afa finds himself drawn back into contesting the Kingship, this time against Laupepa’s eighteen-year-old son, Tanumafili. Matā’afa’s other Sā Tupua rival Tamasese was unable to garner enough Sā Tupua support, as most were now supporting Matā’afa as the Tui Atua. So, Tamasese and his faction gave their support to the young Tanumafili. No doubt Tamasese thought he would act as regent for the young Tanumafili, if Tanumafili was made King. In an effort to avoid civil war, both parties agree to the Chief Justice adjudicating who should be King. In effect, a western style court would decide the Samoan King/Tafa’ifā.⁴

Both factions began to bolster their credentials for the kingship. Given the aversion of the London Missionary Society, and the British to Matā’afa’s candidacy, and despite the German regime now supporting his candidacy, H J Moors enquired as Matā’afa’s eligibility to the kingship.⁵ He received the following reply of Chief Justice Chambers:

...the High Chief Matā’afa, he having the same right as to aspire to the kingship as any other Samoan, and if the people elect him as Malietoa’s successor in a rightful

² Matā’afa and the other exiles had to sign a pledge of loyalty to Malietoa Laupepa’s government. For a copy of the pledge, see *The Cyclopaedia of Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and the Cook Islands* (Papakura, New Zealand: R. McMillan, 1907), 23. See also Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 424. Malietoa Laupepa only consented to request Matā’afa’s return after Matā’afa’s adherents in Samoa signed a similar pledge.

³ Matā’afa and 70+ Samoans had been exiled

⁴ Matā’afa’s party had proposed that eligible males with pe’a, full body tattoo gather at Apia and a headcount of who supports Matā’afa or Tanumafili. The candidate who has the most supporters, is named King. see Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*, 118. Moors to Chief Justice, 30 November 1898.

⁵ The situation had changed for Matā’afa, the Germans now support his candidacy.

manner, according to the laws and customs of Samoa, why shouldn't he have the office?⁶

Preliminary meetings were held in Lufilufi and Leulumoega to decide who should be king. For example, on 26 October 1898 the tulafale groups of A'ana and Atua, and the main tulafale of the Sā Malietoa met. Fata of the Sā Malietoa says:

You (addressing A'ana, Atua, Leulumoega and Lufilufi) choose a chief to represent all our families. If your choice is to our liking, then we will tell you our opinion on the matter.⁷

On 22 November 1898, Matā'afa was conferred the Tui A'ana Pāpā by Alipia and Lemana (the lead Tulafale of Leulumoega, A'ana), who are responsible for the bestowal of the Tui A'ana Pāpā). Also present were the tu'itu'i, attendants, of the Tui A'ana, namely Umaga and Pasese.⁸ The investiture is usually carried out at Leulumoega, but it was held at Mulinu'u, Apia, because Matā'afa could not travel without permission.

On 14 December 1898, the Chief Justice received a letter from the Tanumafili party declaring that Tanumafili is "to be king of Samoa, he has already been bestowed with the Pāpā of Tuiatua, Tuia'ana, Gatoaitele, as well as the Ao of Malietoa."⁹

On 26 November 1898, it was decided in a meeting between the two factions and the Chief Justice, that the court case would begin December 19, 1898. Each party would have three days each to present their case. There would be two sittings each day. The case for Tanumafili was presented by thirteen chiefs and two papālagi lawyers; Richard Hetherington-Carruthers (1844-1909) and Edwin Gurr (1862-1933).¹⁰ Hetherington Carruthers was the main

⁶ Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*, 115 Letter is reproduced in full. Dated 5 October, 1898. See also Moors, *Recollections*, 118: Moors to Chief Justice 30 Nov 1898. The Matā'afa chiefs agree to Moor's proposal to hold an election to settle the Kingship dispute.

⁷ Gurr Papers Ms 17(u). The group of orators known as Tuisamau are responsible for the conferment of the Pāpā Gatoaitele. The group of orators named Auimatagi are responsible for conferring the Ao of Malietoa

⁸ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:481. The Tu'itu'i or tafa'i (hence tafa'ifā) or attendant pairs are listed: The Tui A'ana has Umaga and Pasese; the Tui Atua has Tupa'i and Tainau; Gatoaitele has Fata and Maulolo; and Tamasoali'i has Faga and Mauava

⁹ Edwin Gurr Papers Ms 7/1(f)

¹⁰ *The Cyclopedia of Samoa*, 1907.: 96; 113. Hetherington Carruthers was a barrister of law and solicitor in Apia. He was born in New South Wales, Australia, and studied law at Melbourne University. He practiced law

spokesperson. Matā'afa was also represented by thirteen chiefs,¹¹ his case was to be presented by Lemana, orator from Leulumoega, and Lauaki Namulauulu the renowned orator from Safotulafai. Just before witnesses were questioned, the Matā'afa's party asked for two German advisors to be appointed to their team: the first was the planter and ethnologist Werner von Bülow (1848-1913),¹² and second was the ethnologist and medical doctor Augustin Krämer, who states that von Bülow¹³ was to be "*Hilfe gegen die Kunstgriffe der Weissen*"¹⁴ (*Help against the tricks of the whites*).

The court case to decide the Samoan Kingship began 19 December 1898 at 9am. Matā'afa Iosefo and Tanumafili were not present at the court case.¹⁵ The Chief Justice Chambers (CJ) began the court case by making an important distinction :

O le uiga foi lea o le talatalaga nei e su'esu'e lava e ia e tusa ma feagaiga ma Malo Tetele, i le upu i se Tupu. E tusa ma tu ma le Masani a Samoa. Ona tuu tuu atu lea i lona Taofi : Ae afai e aumai i le Fale Faamasino, **o le faaPapālagi lea**, ae le'o le faa-Samoa. O le fetautalatalaiga nei, afai ua i ai se fia fetalai, e saoloto lava, ua leai se tautoga. Ia faia lava tau o upu ua tataui i lenei talatalaga ae 'aia le fai se faapi'opi'o. Afai ua uma ona fetalai taitasi o outou itu e lua ona aumai ai lea o se tusi e faali mai ai Suafa o molimau tou te loto i ai. O le upu i T Feagaiga ua faia lava ma le fa'atatau e tusa ma mea ua faia.¹⁶

in Fiji and arrived in Samoa in 1887. Edwin W Gurr was born in Tasmania, Australia. He studied law at the University of Auckland after teaching at Temuka High School. He practiced law in Apia with Hetherington-Carruthers. In 1900, he was retained as legal advisor to Captain Tilley (USN), the first Governor of American Samoa. He was then appointed Secretary of Native Affairs and Chief District Judge of the colony

¹¹ Edwin Gurr Papers Ms 18(g) Gurr's notes from the trial. He names a number of Matā'afa matai representatives: Moefa'auo (Tulafale of Lufilufi), Lauaki (Tulafale, Safotulafai), Lemana (Tulafale, Leulumoega), Toelupe (Tulafale, Malie), Alipia (Tulafale, Leulumoega), Fue (Ali'i, Saleaula), Molio'o (Ali'i, Faleāpuna)

¹² Royal Navy Australia Station [RNAS] 39 Supreme Court of Samoa before his honour Chief Justice Chambers, p.2. See also Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*, 124–26 for Court proceedings. Werner von Bülow (1845-1913) lived half his life in Samoa. Son of the noble Prussian family von Bülow.

¹³ Werner von Bülow had published extensively on Samoan ethnography, and was considered an expert on Samoan culture. The German Administration noted: "Planter in Savai'i, near Safotu former Lieutenant on half pay, Officer's title, uniform and decorations with the exception of the iron Cross, which he was dispossessed of by sentence of Court of Honour. Drunkard, Gifted, but after decades of stay in the tropics abnormally mendacious and totally turned Kanaka." See Enclosure [35] to Report 143. Dated 10.5.09 No 3157.6. In *Administration of Western Samoa*, II, 219. Krämer dedicates his 2 Volume work, *Die Samoa Inseln* to Matā'afa Iosefo Faifeau, O le tafa'ifā.

¹⁴ Augustin Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesia Und Samoa* (Stuttgart, Germany: Verlag von Strecker & Schroder, 1906), 542 Krämer downplays his role in the courtcase ; See also Otto Riedel, *Der Kampf Um Deutsch-Samoa: Erinnerungen Eines Hamburger Kaufmanns* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag, 1938), 128 where Kramer is to provide support, because of "his knowledge of Samoan customs and traditions."

¹⁵ Chambers, W. L., "Supreme Court in the Matter of the Contest of Tupua Mataafa and Malietoa Tanumafili for the Kingship of Samoa as Successor to Malietoa Laupepa," *Samoa Weekly Herald*, January 7, 1899, 3.

¹⁶ Gurr Papers Ms Folder 6(h) Faamasino i Apia dated 19 December 1898. p. 1. I use Gurr's notes in Samoan. English translations are mine.

*The reason for these testimonials is to search out if the issue of determining the King is in keeping with the Treaty of the large Powers (Treaty of Berlin 1889), and is in accordance with the customs and the Samoan way of deciding such matters. In this way we can come to a decision. But when these issues are brought in a courthouse, **Papālagi rules and protocols prevail**. It is not Samoan rules and protocols that dominate. So in terms of the testifying, You are not under oath, so you are free to speak and debate as you will, and as is appropriate. But do not try to any crooked tricks. When both sides have spoken, then both sides will provide written testimonials under the name of the witnesses you have chosen. As to the consideration of the Berlin Treaty [1889], we can decide that case by case as to what was done.*

The Chief Justice reminds the court that there are **two** criteria that determine the selection of the Samoan King: firstly, whether the selection was in accordance with Samoan custom and tradition; and secondly, whether the selection was in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin 1889.

The argument of the Matā'afa faction is based on showing the legitimacy of his ao, the regional titles that he had accumulated. Witnesses, who are called, state their bona fides, and the regions they represent, and speak for, in their selection for King. Below is a transcript of the court testimonials for Matā'afa. The brief extracts are from the court notes of Willam Gurr (1863-1933), one of the Counsels for the Malietoa faction. Gurr notes the Samoan words and phrases used by the Samoan witnesses. Gurr's notes allow us to hear nineteenth century Samoan voices. As one of the opposing counsels, Gurr would have kept close records, because they would form the basis of any counter-arguments.

The first testimonial is given by Lemana, a Tulafale from Leulumoega.

Lemana (Tulafale, Leulumoega) is the first of the Matā'afa party to give his testimonial:

O filifiliga nei e faia ma le filemu. E faia foi ma le fealofani ma le su'esu'e lelei i upu o lo matou atunuu

(a) Matou te savali foi e tusa ma le feagaiga tele

(b) O le filifiliga a Samoa e tusa i so matou Tupu. Auā ua potopoto Samoa.

(c) O A'ana oi iinei, O la'u fanau. O le Tupu ua fai e le igoa o Leulumoega ia usitai i ai. O le mea ou te mana'o i ai ia outou fa'asaga mai i le mea ua ou faia. A'o le Malo uma o Tumua ma Pule. Ou te le aiā i ai. A'o A'ana lava, Ao lo'u mana'o e molia i luma o le Fa'amasino Sili ma Alii Konesura ma F. Samoa. A i ai ni A'ana, ma ni Aiga o iinā, a ua ne'i latou faia se mea e tupu ai se leaga. A ia latou faasaga mai i le Malo

ua ou i ai ma le Tupu ua ou faia, ma le mea ua ou nofo ai- (ua i'u lau lauga Lemana).¹⁷

The selection process will proceed in peace, fellowship and in good questioning spirit. In terms of our regions:

(a) We also walk in line with the Treaty of Berlin

(b) This selection will result in a true King of Samoa, because all the regions of Samoa are represented here.

(c) A'ana is here, they are my children. The King has the name of Leulumoega [Tui A'ana], so you should obey it. What I would like is that you all face me and see what I have done. But as for the governments of all Tumua and Pule, I have no say there, I can only speak for A'ana. I want to put to the Fa'amasino Sili, Consuls and the whole of Samoa is that if there are any from A'ana or Aiga (le Tai) [Manono], then do not do anything that may lead to further contention. They should come to the government with the King that I made, and to where I sit. (here ends the speech of Lemana)

The Chief Judge commends Lemana for his brevity, and asks “Po ua ufitia A'ana uma i lau lauga?” (*whether all of A'ana is covered in your lauga, speech*) To which Lemana replies “O lea lava” (*that is the case*). In short, Lemana says that his voice speaks for all of A'ana and in particular Leulumoega, which bestows the Tui A'ana ao, *regional title*. Lemana clearly delineates the limits of his representative voice. The use of the energetic term ufitia, *to cover*, is also applied to ie tōga, *fine mats* and to the extent of one's political influence.

Moefa'auō (Tulafale Lufilufi) was the next to testify:

O lenei lauga, fa'afetai atu i lau Susuga le FSS. Ona ua mafai ona fesilafa'i ma lau susuga le FSS. O lenei sauniga e faia lava ma le fealofani, e pei o la'u lauga i aso ua mavae i le pule

(a) Ou te savali i le Feagaiga Tele

(b) O le upu nei ua lafo mai e Tuisamau ma Auimatagi i se fai ma Tupu ia i maua ma Leulumoega, la saili atu ai se Alii Sili e fai ma Tupu. Ua ma filifili toalua i se fai ma Tupu o Samoa. A maua ia i maua se fai ma Tupu ua lelei lea

(c) ua ma talia lava, ua i'u la ma filifiliga O Tupua Matā'afa le Tupu. Ua talia e Safotulafai, ua talia foi e Tuisamau ma Auimatagi.

(d) A ua faia se filifiliga a Atua nei e fia ui ese ia te a'u ma le mea ua ou faia. O lea ua ou tautala atu ai pei o le upu o Lemana. O Atua o la'u fanau, a ua faalia mai e Tagaloa lo latou taofi o Tamasese le Tupu.

(e) A Atua oi iinā ia alolofa ia faamolemole ia usitai mai i mea ua ma loto i ai ma Leulumoega.¹⁸

¹⁷ Gurr papers Ms 6(h), p. 2

¹⁸ Gurr papers Ms 6(h), pp. 2-3

In this speech, I thank the honourable Chief Justice for the opportunity to meet with you and the learned counsels. These proceedings are indeed done in spirit of fellowship, it reminds me of my speeches at a time when power was divided.

(a) I walk with the Treaty of Berlin

(b) Tuisamau and Auimatagi told us that that both Leulumoega and I should decide who would be King, that we should find a high chief to make King. So, both Leulumoega and I deliberated on who should be King. And it would be good, if we could agree on our choice for King.

(c) Leulumoega and I came to an agreement in our deliberations: Tupua Matā'afa will be King. Safotulafai agreed, also Tuisamau and Auimatagi also agreed.

(d) However, there have been other deliberations in Atua as to who should be King, and their deliberations took a different path to mine. Now I say to you using the words of Lemana, Atua are my children, but now Tagaloa has put forward that in their opinion, Tamasese should be King.

(e) If there are any Atua listening, then show alofa, and please obey what Leulumoega and I have taken to heart.

The Chief Justice clarifies by asking if Lemana and Moefa'auō (ie, Leulumoega and Lufilufi) consulted together. Which is affirmed by Moefa'auō. Then, he is asked “ua loto faatasi ea i ai: A'ana ma Atua?” (so A'ana and Atua are of the same mind and heart?) To which Moefa'auō replies “O le loto lava lea” (we are of the same heart). The main Tulafale from districts that distribute the Tui A'ana and Tui Atua ao are working in unison and they support Matā'afa Iosefo for King

Lauati the renowned Tulafale from Safotulafai was the next to give testimonial:

Lauati Ou te tulai atu ou te molimau i le mea ua i'u i ai le filifiliga o Lufilufi, ma Leulumoega,
I stand before you to give witness as to the results of the deliberations between Lufilufi and Leulumoega...

(Vavao CJ: E le aoga ona tautala i lea mea, ae tautala mai oe i lau pule).

(The Chief Justice intervened : it is of no use to speak of those matters, just explain the extent of your pule, sphere of influence.)

Ua i'u la ma filifiga ma Tuisamau, a ia tuu atu lava ia Lufilufi ma Leulumoega. e saili mai ai se fai ma Tupu o Samoa

Tuisamau and I concluded in our deliberation, that we would leave it to Lufilufi and Leulumoega to decide who to support for the Kingship of Samoa

CJ ia malamalama mai lau pule.

Explain to me your sphere of influence

Counsel¹⁹ O Safotulafai ea e pule i le Faasaleleaga. Pe gata ea lau pule ia Safotulafai ma le Faasaleleaga

Does Safotulafai have a controlling influence over Fa'asaleleaga. Or does your influence just extend to Safotulafai and Fa'asaleleaga.

Lauati O Safotulafai o le pule lea i Savai'i

Safotulafai has a controlling influence over the whole of Savai'i

CJ O le Faasaleleaga ea ete pule ai

you have influence on Faasaleleaga

Lauati Oi matou nei Pule ua potopoto. O la latou upu ua ou tautala i ai nei

We are the assembled chiefs of Pule, Savai'i. It is their words that I speak today

CJ O oe ea ua e pule ia i latou uma

So you are the controlling influence over all of them

Lauati O le uso lava lenei ia Pule, E pule lava ia Samoa

So the brother groupings of Savai'i, have influence of all of Samoa

CJ Ai outou Pule, o la outou upu e tasi ia lenei.

So, the various groupings in Savai'i, you are all of the same opinion at this time

Lauati O lea lava – o a'u lava lenei e amata upu i Pule, talu mai ia Atamu ma Eva

that is the case, I start the speeches in Savai'i, it has been so since Adam and Eve.

CJ Ua e fetalai mai a ua malamalama ia te a'u

You have spoken, and I am now beginning to understand

Lauaki Namulau'ulu, states that as prime spokesman for Safotulafai, he speaks for the whole of Savai'i (since Adam and Eve).:He explains the process of choosing a Malietoa titleholder: the Auimatagi, (the seven Tulafale who bestow the "ao" Malietoa) must all agree on a candidate and then consult with Manono and Fa'asaleleaga, the district of Savai'i that Lauaki was the main speaker. He states:

Tuamasaga, [the Upolu district that has the village Malie] never approves a Malietoa until they consult Manono and myself"²⁰.

¹⁹ Designated council (Von Bülow, Hetherington-Carruthers and Gurr) were able to cross examine witnesses.

²⁰ Gurr papers Ms 18(h)

Lauaki explains that the Tulafale of the Sā Malietoa (Tuisamau, Auimatagi, Manono and Savai'i) had decided that the Sā Tupua should provide and decide the next King of Samoa: “

Because Malietoa Pe'a (ie, Malietoa Talavou) is past and Laupepa is past.²¹

Over their three day allocation, the legal tactic of the Matā'afa faction was based on the pule, authority of his supporters. That they were the rightful representatives of the pule of the Pāpā and ao in their care. They claim that appropriate consultation between the appropriate people had occurred. Furthermore, for Lauaki, his support of Matā'afa was not a betrayal of his Malietoa support. As he says, the Malietoas Talavou and Laupepa have died and Tanumafili is too young. For Lauaki, Matā'afa is the most appropriate choice for King; the Malietoa must bide their time. For as Lauaki clarifies:

The son of Laupepa, [Tanumafili] we are sorry for him...I [Lauaki] have protected his father and I am looking after the boy as well. I can't give him up, but I do not want him to be King.²²

Leiataua, the paramount alii of Manono or Aiga i le Tai agrees with Lauaki:

When the Auimatagi (chiefs who confer the Gatoaitale Pāpā) wants a chief they go to Luatimu (Leiataua's residence). I am ruler of Manono, which is Aiga i le Tai... all I have done is binding on Aiga, and my authority cannot be disputed.²³

The Malietoa faction consisted of thirteen chiefs. Krämer lists a number of them:²⁴

Tagaloa, chief of Saluafata. He had been Chief Samoan Judge under Malietoa Laupepa.

²¹ Ibid .p. 4. See also Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:246.

²² Gurr Papers Ms 18(g), p. 4

²³ Gurr papers Ms 18(g) p. 7

²⁴ See Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesia Und Samoa*, 533. Krämer is dismissive of these chiefs, he paints them as falsely claiming Pule, influence over Pāpā and Ao .”Tagaloa, Häuptling von Saluafata, früher samoanischer Oberrichter unter Laupepa. Lupetuloa, Redner von Malie, ausgestossen aus dem Haus der neun daselbst. Fata, Verwandter des grossen Redners Fata in Afega, ohne Recht auf den Rednernamen. Leota, Häuptling von Solosolo. Pa'o, Sprecher von Fasito'outa. Aiono, Verwandter des Häuptlings in Fasito'outa. Leu tele, Verwandter des Häuptlings in Falefä. Leasio, Häuptling von Falealili. Fuimaono, Häuptling von Falealili. Tanuvasa, Häuptling von Nofoali'i. Ama, Häuptling von Safata.“

Lupetuloo, orator of Malie. He had been expelled from the Faleiva, *House of the nine*.

(The Faleiva select candidates for the Malietoa ao)

Fata, relative of the great orator Fata in Afega, though this Fata has no rights to the orator's name.

Leota, chief of Solosolo. (Atua)

Pa'o, speaker of Fasito'outa. Has no rights to speak on the conferment of the Tui A'ana Pāpā.

Aiono, relative of Tanumafili in Fasito'outa.

Leutele, relative of the Tanumafili in Falefa.

Leasio, chief of Falealili (Atua).

Fuimaono, chief of Falealili (Atua).

Tanuvasa, chief of Nofoali'i (A'ana).

Ama, chief of Safata (Tuamasaga).

Krämer is dismissive of the Malietoa representatives – They are relatives of Tanumafili, or according to Krämer, have no real rights in bestowing the Malietoa ao. However, unlike Matā'afa's support, who represent the major areas in A'ana, Atua, and Tuamasaga that elect the Tui A'ana, Tui Atua, Gatoaitale, Tamasoali'i Pāpā, and Malietoa ao. On the first day of their allotted time, the Malietoa party headed by Hetherington-Carruthers argued against the legitimacy of Matā'afa's claim to the Pāpā.²⁵ They argued that Matā'afa and his brother did not adequately serve (tautua) the ageing Tui Atua Fagamanu. They did not feed him properly, and had actually been disallowed from title succession by Fagamanu.²⁶ One major form of tautua, service, is the feeding of one's chief, and the provisions of victuals to one's chief is a major criteria of selection for a chief title.

The Tanumafili counsel also argued that Matā'afa was descended from Luafalemana, the brother of Galumalemana. Galumalemana had declared in his māvaega, *deathbed will*, that all future kings will be descended from himself and his children be called alo'ali'i (*Sons of*

²⁵ See Gurr papers Ms 18(i) "Points to be considered". Gurr lists 29 points that needed to be rebutted For example Point (4) The intention of people and the Will of Tamasese; (9) Did Matā'afa have the titles; (10) If any, what were they; (11) When were they bestowed and how etc...

²⁶ See Gurr papers Ms 18(m): 4-5.

Lords). Matā'afa was not alo'ali'i.²⁷ They also argued that the Matā'afa line was descended from Tupuivao, who had been excluded from the Tui Atua.²⁸ They also used the dispute between Matā'afa Iosefo and Tamasese Lealofi over the Tui Atua title. The māvaega of Tamasese Titimaea in 1891, advised that Tumua should bestow their Pāpā to his son, Lealofi; and that their side should join with the then Malietoa faction – at that time led by Malietoa Laupepa. So, the situation of Tamasese Lealofi supporting Malietoa Tanumafili is a continuation of Titimaea's māvaega. They even attempted to argue that when Tuisamau and Auimatagi said to the Tulafale of A'ana and Atua "Fili mai oe se matai mo Samoa" that it was referring to the Titimaea's māvaega "It was thought by some at least, that it could only mean that Tamasese's son should be chosen".²⁹ Tamasese has passed on his rights in favour of Malietoa Tanumafili.

Interestingly, Pa'ō (Tulafale, Fasito'outa) testified for the Malietoa party. He contradicted Lemana's testimony that he had collected the opinions of those who decided the Tui A'ana, and they decided for Matā'afa Iosefo as King. Pā'o. says that he attended the meeting called by Lemana, "and that meeting decided that Tamasese shall be King. Lemana has no right to declare Mataafa King.³⁰ When Pā'o is asked by Matā'afa counsel Werner von Bülow "does Fasito'outa make Kings?" He answers:

Tutuila, Fasitoo[uta], Ape, Taoposo, Aiga and Nofotua make Kings. Tutuila and Ape are chiefs of Tui A'ana. When these agree they direct Leulumoega. Leulumoega cannot alone give title. Fasitooouta and Fasitootai can and have done.

Pa'o sums up the main objection to the opposing sides claims of having properly achieved the Pāpā titles. Essentially the objection is that procedures in the acquiring the Pāpā were not correctly followed. In this case, the consultation was not wide enough.

²⁷ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:16.

²⁸ Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesia Und Samoa*, 544. Tupuivao preferred to hunt pigeons than visit his mother Taufau on her deathbed. Taufau then handed rights of Papa inheritance to her sister Sina and her descendants.

²⁹ See Gurr papers Ms 18(m) p.7

³⁰ Chambers, W. L., "Supreme Court in the Matter of the Contest of Tupua Mataafa and Malietoa Tanumafili for the Kingship of Samoa as Successor to Malietoa Laupepa," 3. January 14, 1899.

Lauaki, as main counsel, would have easily countered these arguments: Any arguments about the unanimity of Malietoa support for Tanumafili was blatantly wrong as Lauaki, supported by the Savai'i areas and Manono were not with Tanumafili. Also all contestants for the Tafa'ifā were descended from Salamāsina, and that mitigates the effects of Taufau's passing on title rights to Sina's line. As for Tamasese Titimaea's māvaega, most of the chiefs, who present at the māvaega and supported Titimaea in 1891, were now with Matā'afa Iosefo.³¹ One can argue that those chiefs had fulfilled the conditions of Titimaea's māvaega, as they supported Malietoa Laupepa's Government. Lealofi did not have the support of Tumua, the majority are now with Matā'afa. So, Titimaea's māvaega did not guarantee his son Lealofi's succession. The māvaega are guidelines to title succession, but the final determinant is the collective of certain Tulafale, not the māvaega of the previous title holder.

On the second day of Malietoa submissions, they changed tactics. Hetherington-Carruthers and Gurr began questioning Matā'afa's eligibility to the kingship:

A copy of the Treaty together with the Protocols of nine sessions of the Conference in Berlin at which the Treaty was enacted certified to by Her British Majesty's Consul at Apia, was submitted in evidence on the last day but one of the Trial, for the purpose of proving the that the Contestant Tupua Matā'afa was excluded from the Kingship of Samoa.³²

The protocols of the Treaty are records of the discussions between the representatives. They are important in determining the "undoubted and unequivocal intention of the framers of a treaty"³³

Carruthers-Hetherington and Gurr concentrated on the sections pertaining to the election of a Samoan king. In the Protocols of the 5th Session, the German representative, Count Bismark stated:

³¹ See Gurr papers Ms 18(m) p. 7. "Amongst those present [1891] were Lemana, Tupuola, Vaitogi, Tuena, Aiono, Pa'o, Maiava, Sauva'o, Fesola'I, and others all of whom obeyed that māvaega and joined Malietoa at Mulinu'u in other words all of Tumua". All these chiefs now support Matā'afa, with the exception of Pa'o (Fasito'otai, A'ana) and Sauvao (Faleasi'u, A'ana) – my maternal great-grandfather. See also Gurr papers Ms 17(a) for those villages in A'ana which supported Tamasese.

³² RNAS 39 Supreme Court of Samoa before his Honour Chief Justice Chambers.

³³ RNAS 39

The principle of the election of a King was therefore acceptable but he was bound to make one exception in the person of Matā'afa, on account of the outrages committed by his people, and under his authority, upon dead and wounded German sailors lying on the field of action.³⁴

Carruthers-Hetherington and Gurr argued that this statement by Count Bismark clearly excluded Matā'afa from the Kingship.

The Chief Justice was clearly taken by surprise, and found it necessary to consult with the three consuls, although it was still *sub judice*, under judicial consideration.³⁵ The German Consul informed him that the German Government had not expressly removed it's objections to Matā'afa, but he felt that the German Government no longer objected to Matā'afa seeking election, as the consular office was now supporting his election to the Kingship. The British and American consuls had not received any instructions concerning the provisions of the Treaty.

In the end, Justice Chambers found that Matā'afa Iosefo was ineligible to seek election as King, being expressly excluded. Malietoa Tanumafili was named King by default.



Figure 10. Chief Justice Chambers delivering his decision in the Supreme Court in favor of Malietoa Tanu. December 31, 1898. *Harper's Weekly*, February 25, 1899.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000020241155&view=1up&seq=194&size=175>

³⁴ "Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. House of Commons, Correspondence, Treaties and Conventions Relating to Samoa 1881-1899.," n.d., 47.

³⁵ Chambers, W. L., "In the Matter of the Contest of Tupua Matā'afa and Malietoa Tanumafili for the Kingship of Samoa as Successor to Malietoa Laupepa," *Samoa Weekly Herald*, January 14, 1899, 3.

The day after the decision, civil war broke out. The 1200 Tanumafili/Tamasese soldiers were vastly outnumbered, by 5000 Matā'afa troops. The fighting was in and around the Apia township. The Tanumafili-Tamasese faction was completely routed. Fighting only lasted one day, it is called "Taua o le Asotasi" or *War of one day*. Malietoa Tanumafili and Tamasese Lealofi sought refuge on board the British warship "Porpoise".³⁶ Ironically, this was exactly the result that the Treaty of Berlin was meant to avoid. Instead of leading to a peaceful transition of power, it led to war. The British and American forces virtually declared war on the Matā'afa forces, in their support of the Supreme Court decision. Matā'afa's forces had vacated Apia, but took up positions around the township. The British and American ships bombarded Samoan villages suspected of supporting Matā'afa soldiers. Their forces clashed directly with Matā'afa soldiers, and near Vailele more than 12 American and British soldiers were killed. The exact number of Samoans killed and injured is unknown. An uneasy truce is called when it became known that a Joint Commission comprising representatives of the three Treaty powers were to visit Samoa. The Joint Commissioners were to consider:

...the provisions which they may think necessary for the future Government of the Islands or for the modification of the final Act of Berlin.³⁷

The Chamber's decision is upheld. Then Tanumafili abdicates and removes himself to Fiji to complete his schooling. Once again the fate of Samoa is decided in the diplomatic meeting rooms in Berlin, as Great Britain, Germany and the United States decide on annexing the island group. Needless to say there were no Samoans at these discussion.

Conclusion

In this section, I have examined the court case testimonies to show the workings of the Samoan energetical world view as played out in a European court. The Court proceedings were held in the Samoan language, and Gurr, one of the counsels for the Malietoa party, kept verbatim Court records of the main arguments in Samoan. The records show that Samoan tulafale adapted readily to European courtroom procedures. Each testifier formed cogent legal arguments based on their role in the process of electing a King. The spokesmen were

³⁶ Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*, 125–26.

³⁷ RNAS 40 Admiralty to Commander in Chief 18 April 1899

very clear as to their roles and their limits in that process. Moreover, the flows of energy, that cause Samoans to move and act, can be seen in these processes: firstly, the gafa, genealogical links that make a candidate eligible for Pāpā titles are listed. Then the requisite groups of chiefs who represent the villages, which designate the titles, are called together to deliberate whether to support a candidate. Lastly, one tulafale representing those groups then confers that Pāpā on the chosen candidate. The arguments presented by both the Matā'afa and Malietoa sides contest the accounts of the other as to whether the correct processes were followed, whether the speakers actually represent the groupings they say they do, and finally that choices that each group made is correctly conveyed.

But in the end, it was Papālagi international law that decided the outcome of the Kingship court case, not “tu ma le Masani a Samoa” (*the custom and practice of Samoa*). There is no wording in the 1889 Treaty itself that excludes Matā'afa Iosefo, but the Protocols, which very few knew existed, let alone have read, determined the question of Kingship. This is despite the different political times because Germany now supported Matā'afa for the kingship. Once again, Samoans adapt their legal circuitry only to have it overridden by European circuits of international law. The traditional gafa systems of deciding political matters, in this case, the Tumua and Pule processes of negotiation and deciding upon a Tafa'ifāi are subordinated to Western legal systems. Ironically, if the outcome of the legal process was to ensure peace? It failed. Samoa was plunged into a second civil war, which saw British and American gunboats and soldiers in direct conflict with Samoan forces.

3.3 Constitutional versus Absolute Monarchy

One central dichotomy that confused political relations between Samoans and the Europeans during the later nineteenth century is the equating of the tafa'ifā with European notion of absolute monarch. Europeans needed a Samoan leader who would practise both executive and secular authority and thereby secure optimal conditions for European trade. However, the more elevated the ali'i-like title, the more ritualistic and ceremonial the role. The Pāpā (Tui A'ana, Tui Atua Tamasoali'i, and Gato'aitele) were district titles, and when held collectively by an ali'i, he was termed Tafa'ifā. As Gilson summarises:

The main advantage to be gained from war was the power to call the tune in matters of a ceremonial or ritual nature, which were largely of prestige-making significance.³⁸

The role and function of the Tafa'ifā was more like a constitutional monarch, where his role is largely of ceremonial, a figurehead. The Tafa'ifā does not exercise executive powers.³⁹

The historian Malama Meleisea applied the sociologist Max Weber's (1864-1929) typology of authority to Samoa.⁴⁰ Weber itemised three pure types of legitimate authority:⁴¹ charismatic-where one was able to command through some personality trait, i.e., charisma; the traditional, where "powers of control as they have been handed down from the past"⁴², i.e., authority based on inheritance; and the rational-legal authority, where firstly, power adheres in certain offices or position rather than as attributes of personality or inheritance. Secondly, rational-legal authority is a characteristic of a centralised administrative elite, who execute and administer the decisions of the office holders. Given the Weberian typology, one think that it is a simple a contrast between traditional authority of the Samoans and the rational-legal authority of European colonial bureaucracies

However, there are aspects of the matai in Samoan society that are compatible with rational-legal authority of bureaucrats. For example, in the village fa'alupega for the nu'u (the list of ceremonial greetings) records and outlines the political structure of the village: the ali'i and tulafale titles are itemised and their relations to one another are made apparent, i.e., which tulafale speak and act on behalf of which ali'i. The accompanying epithet also provide historical context to the title and nu'u. The titles are listed, even if they are unfilled. One has to satisfy certain criteria for a title, e.g., one has to be genealogically connected to the title,

³⁸ Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 62.; See also Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, II:161." Although there is no supreme authority acknowledged in any one individual, yet there are instances of chiefs of districts assuming and maintaining it."

³⁹ See Kerry R Howe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Sea Islands History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule* (Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1984), 234 "... if an individual did manage to become Tafa'ifā, his powers were largely ceremonial and not executive" .

⁴⁰ Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 14–16.

⁴¹ See Max Weber, *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (Oxford University Press, 1947), 328–33.

⁴² Weber, 341. Though genealogy makes one eligible for itū and Pāpā titles, they are not inherited. They have to be won.

and have done service to the previous title holder and family. One was elected by the appropriate family members, or groups of orator confederations. So the idea of a bureaucratic office is compatible with the office of matai. What is missing is the idea of a centralised government.

The competing colonial powers desired a Samoan leader who would operate more as an absolute rather than constitutional monarch, I was much easier to deal with one ruler who in his supremacy, has the ability to make laws, to collect taxes. However, the Tafa'ifā could not overrule village councils who were the supreme authority in their own areas.

In this phase of the Colonial period, the colonial powers wished to conflate the roles of ali'i and tulafale and combine in one person both ceremonial and executive power. In the nineteenth century the unification of these powers in one person was anathema to Samoan politics. Meleisea describes the Samoan system of government as "a unitary system of dispersed power"⁴³ that a single national authority was recognised as an idea, if not in reality. However, given the Samoan tendency to keep executive and ceremonial powers separate, I tend towards Samoan politics as being a dualistic system of dispersed power: executive power residing in tulafale in village fono and in confederations of tulafale. Ceremonial power dispersed amongst ali'i at the village level, district and itū levels.

3.4 Conclusion

Samoan politics in nineteenth century was in a constant state of flux. The rivalry of the three consuls interfered with Samoan efforts to settle on a Tafa'ifā. The primary way to settle on a Tafa'ifā was war. Europeans never allowed the Samoan circuitry to power to resolve itself. The Americans and British tended to resolutely back the Malietoa candidate against which ever contender against the German's Samoan contender for the Tafa'ifā. The Malietoa family were propped up by the British and Americans. The Tamasese regime were artificially installed by the Germans, and Mata'afa Iosefo, who was Sā Tupua, did not have the full support of the Tumua. He had the Tui Atua Pāpā, but, Leulumoega supported Tamasese

⁴³ Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 1.

Titimaea (and after 1890, his son Lealofi) but as an avowed Roman Catholic, the LMS, British and American consuls derided him as a papist. However, even if a viable tafa'ifā was found, it is doubtful that he would be able to act as an absolute monarch, as the Tafa'ifā has sacral power and his role is ceremonial

4. Colonial period: Phase 2: The German Administration

The German flag was raised on 1 March 1900, as she took control of her latest colony. Thus, began the second phase of the colonial period. The previous phase was characterised by Samoan autonomy. Despite Papālagi interference in Samoan affairs, Samoans pursued Samoan ends in Samoan ways. However, there is a willingness to adapt their energetical worldview to incorporate economic, political and social innovations insisted on by the Papālagi. This section examines German colonial efforts to subordinate the circuitry of Samoan politics, law and economy. The German Administration did this by subsuming the Samoan political and economic and legal systems under the colonial administration.

Colonialism is one of several related terms that are used to describe ways by which one society tries to control another.¹ One such term is **imperialism**, where nations take control of foreign territories by making them colonies, and thereby expanding their political and commercial influence. In the case of Samoa, there are three imperial nations Britain, Germany, and The United States of America that vie for control of Samoa. For much of the nineteenth century these three powers, in furthering the interests of their own nations, complicated Samoan politics by backing different Samoan candidates for the Tafa'ifā-King, that is by rerouting Samoan political circuitry.

Colonisation is another such concept, where the colonising nation send settlers to represent the empire and extract local resources. Quite often the extraction of resources leads to the **exploitation** of indigenous people, entailing a diminution of their rights to political, economic, and even cultural self-determination. Colonial regimes do this by imposing political, economic and legal frameworks that make indigenous people dependant on the colonising nation. In the case of Samoa, their rights to political and economic self-determination are curtailed as Samoans themselves become colonial agents, who are in the end dependant on, and loyal to the colonial regime.

¹ D. K. Fieldhouse, *Colonialism 1870-1945: An Introduction* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 21.

Lastly, as one of the principal purposes of colonial regimes is the extraction of local resources. The political aim of maintaining peace, serves to increase the commercial profits. One of the most profound changes during this phase is the diminution of Nu'u and Itū politics. However, it is important to note that the strategies employed by the German administration were influenced by the small numbers of Germans living in Samoa. Jurgen Schmidt notes that between 1902-1914, the numbers of Germans increased from 151-373. In 1914, the number of Europeans and Americans comprised 600 individuals. 100 of this number were female, but only 10% were of marriageable age. There were 1000 "half-castes", children with Samoan mothers and had been officially recognised by their Papālagi fathers. So, the German Administration strategies always had to consider that they did not have many Germans on the ground, so to speak.² The German Administration had to recruit Samoans to enable their policies. This would make them a competing source of legitimisation and recognition to the gafa-chiefly system. The following section will examine the subordination of the Tafa'ifā system.

4.1 Subordination of the Tafa'ifā system

The annexation of Samoa by Germany meant that there was no longer a need for a Samoan King. Indeed, a Samoan King may hinder a colonial administration, which seeks to control the Samoan population, so as to better enable commercial activity. The new Governor, Wilhelm Solf (1862-1936)³ had recognised that the factional opposition of the chiefly confederations of Tūmua and Pule in the competition for Tafa'ifā status was counterproductive to the peaceful development of commercial interests. Furthermore, the Tafa'ifā or Samoan King was no longer necessary. So, his two immediate aims upon the annexation of Samoa were the abolition of the Tafa'ifā, and the defanging the chiefly confederations of Tumua and Pule.⁴

² See Jurgen Schmidt, "Work and Non-Work in the "Paradise of the South Sea": Samoa, ca. 1890– 1914," in *Explorations and Entanglements : Germans in Pacific Worlds from the Early Modern Period to World War I*, ed. Hartmut Berghoff, Frank Biess, and Ulrike Strasser (Berghahn Books, 2019), 197.

³ Dr Wilhelm Solf was born in Berlin educated in Berlin, Kiel and Göttingen Universities. He was a Doctor of Philology specialising in oriental languages. He studied at the University of Jena, for a Doktor Juris in 1896. He was assigned in 1898 as District Judge in Dar es Salaam in German East Africa.

⁴ Solf to British Consulate, 10 January 1900, in Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 583 p.292: Solf writes "My prediction that the greatest danger to peace and quietness of Samoa was in the so-called Tumua and Pule has so far proved true."

In April 17, Solf addressed a group of chiefs at Mulinu'u about the new Samoan Administration:

It is not the intention of the German Government to force you to adopt our morals and customs: the Government has a high regard for your old traditions, and respects them in as far as they do not give offence to the precepts of Christianity, and to the well being and safety of the single man [sic, meaning the individual person].⁵

The office of the King was abolished, and in its place was installed a new office of Ali'i Sili. The chief Matā'afa Iosefo was at that time the most senior Samoan chief, and by far the most popular choice as leader of the Samoans. He was appointed Ali'i Sili, who would head the Samoan administration. As Solf points out:

At the head of the Samoan self administration shall be a High Chief, he shall have the title "Le Ali'i Sili" He shall be the intermediating instance through which the wishes and orders of the Governor are made to the Samoans.⁶

The Ali'i Sili is advised by two councils: firstly, the Ta'imua, which consisted of the highest-ranking royal chiefs (those of Tama-aiga status; *sons of the family*); and secondly the Faipule, consisting of ali'i and tulafale representing all the villages of Samoa. At Solf's insistence, the Faipule were to have both Matā'afa and anti-Matā'afa members. Ta'ita'i Itū or *district officers* will administer the districts. Each district will have Fa'amasino, or *judges*. Villages will have Pulenu'u, commonly translated as *village mayor*, but they were paid by the Administration. Additionally, Leoleo, or *Police officers* were to be appointed. A Fa'amasino Sili (*Chief Judge*) was to be appointed as well. So, the Native administration was a separate wing of the colonial regime staffed by leading Samoans paid for by taxes collected from Samoans.

Samoans may have believed that the Germans just served to the traditional political system in favour of one party". But they were soon to discover otherwise. Samoa was now part of the German imperium. The Kaisa or *Kaiser* is the Tupu Sili (*Highest King*), and his spokesman is the Kovana, or *Governor*.

⁵ Administration of Western Samoa, *A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauati) in Western Samoa - 1909*, vol. I, n.d., 2.

⁶ Administration of Western Samoa, I:2.

The subsuming of the Alii Sili to the German Colonial Administration was made explicit in several ways. For example, Solf interfered with Matā'afa's taligā toga (distribution upon assumption of the office of the Ali'i Sili. In celebration of Matā'afa's assumption of the Alii Sili, supporters of Matā'afa would be gifted ie tōga, food and a sum of money. The numbers and quality of ie tōga (as well as food and money) would vary depending on the rank of the receiving chief. So, a leading chief of Lufilufi (Atua, and area that supported Matā'afa Iosefo) would expect a larger quantity of food and money and higher quality ie tōga in proportion to the support he had rendered Matā'afa during his political career. Other factors that would affect the size and quality of gift, would be the proximity of the gafa links of their genealogies, titles, villages and regions. Solf, on the other hand, insisted that all the chiefs receive the same number and quality of toga,⁷ food and money. The chiefs were to leave immediately after receiving their allocation. The equal apportioning of ie tōga negated the purpose of the ceremony. It was an opportunity for Matā'afa's to distribute ie tōga and monetary gifts to his supporters. So, Matā'afa was unable to culturally acknowledge his network of chiefs, their villages and families. Moreover, ie tōga are charged cultural items that are circulated from family to family and village to village. Furthermore, the taligā toga ceremony was held at Mulinu'u, and not at any of the more appropriate and traditionally significant malae, such as Anapapa at Amaile (Matā'afa's village), or Lalogāfu'afu'a, the malae of the Tui Atua at Lufilufi. This interference with the distribution of ie tōga has severe repercussions for Samoan cultural energetics.⁸

Matā'afa soon found out the type of leader that the Colonial Administration required, namely a figurehead, is devoid of executive power. As, policy was determined by the German Administration, The Samoan Administration advised the Germans, but in the end, just followed German orders. When Matā'afa tried to exercise executive power, he was given short shrift by Solf. For example, when Matā'afa is seen to be interfering in matai title distribution between Tuala and Taulagi, he is seen by Solf to have "played the role of a Tupu, [King] in his relation with the natives" Solf insists that:

⁷ Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 52.

⁸ Even Samoans in 2023 get upset when they are told about the German interference in Matā'afa's taligātoga

Such relapses must never happen again.... there can be no mistake, he must drop all Tupu [*king like*] pretensions.⁹

The Fa'amasino Sili Leota Su'atele¹⁰ and had been a problematic appointment and was typical of many of the Samoan Administration appointees. Leota Su'atele had been along time supporter of Matā'afa. As Fa'amasino Sili, he interpreted laws by gafa period criteria: for instance, he wrote a will ascribing his successor and apportioning of lands. When members of his aiga contested his right to name his successor, Su'atele argued that the written word carries greater validity, than "the Samoan method to appoint a person by a word and no further."¹¹ Furthermore, he said that his written will could not be challenged. Su'atele was rewriting Samoan tradition of the chiefs mavaega (*spoken will*) to his own benefit. In this instance, Su'atele was trying to cut out legitimate rivals to the title succession. In this instance, Chief Justice Schultz and the Governor had to intervene.¹²

1903 Nov 9 Governor holds fono to consider retire Su'atele

In 1905, The Ta'imua and Faipule were dismissed

By 1903, Lauaki Namulauulu Mamoe the renowned orator from Sāfotulafai had discerned the German Government's strategy. He is reported as saying:

Oh, the Governor is a very good man, but he is too tricky. At first he cuts up all the different districts so as to weaken them, and gradually takes away all the power from the Ta'ita'i Itū's [district chiefs] and lastly, he deprives the Samoans of the high position of Fa'amasino Sili [chief judge]. After this, the Governor will even take away the position of the Ali'i Sili, so that no higher office remains for the Samoan people.¹³

Upon the death of Matā'afa Iosefo, the office of Alii Sili was replaced by two Fautua, *Advisors*: the first appointees were Malietoa Tanumafili I (1880-1939),¹⁴ and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I.

⁹ Minute Solf 23/10/01. PMB 479 XVII B5 Vol 1, No. 37

¹⁰ Samoan Chief Judge was subordinate to the Imperial Judge.

¹¹ Malama Meleisea. *The Making of Modern Samoa*. 1987: 55.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Taylor to Governor, 17 November 1903 Administration of Western Samoa, *A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauaki)*, vol. II, n.d., 21; See also Davidson, James, "Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe: A Traditionalist in Samoan Politics," in *Pacific Islands Portraits*, ed. Davidson, James and Scarr, Deryck (Australian National University Press, 1976), 293–94.

¹⁴ Malietoa Tanumafili I was the last to be appointed Samoan King, albeit he won it in a court case in 1898.

When they were appointed in 1913, they had to swear allegiance to the Kaiser in Germany. Below is the National Fa'alupega under the German Administration, it was announced in 1913. Closer examination of the State Fa'alupega shows the radical rerouting circuitry of traditional Samoan politics:

State Fa'alupega 1913

Tulouna a Lana Maiesitete le Kaisa o le tupu mamalu o lo tatou Mālō Kaisalika aoao.

Tulouna a Lana Afioga le Kovana Kaisalika o le Sui o le Kaisa i Samoa nei

Greetings to his Majesty, the most dignified King of our Imperial Government.

Greetings to his Honour the Imperial Governor, the Kaiser's representative here in Samoa.

Susu mai Malietoa

Afio mai Tupua

Ua fa'amanatuaina ai aiga e luai o oulua tofiga Kaisalika o le Fautua

Welcome to Malietoa,

Welcome to Tupua

In remembrance of the two families that you represent in your positions as Advisors to the Imperial Government.

Tulouna a le vasega o Faipule Kaisalika o e lagolago malosi i le Mālō.

Greetings to the class of Faipule in the Imperial Government, who are its strong supporters.

Afifio mai le nofo a vasega o tofiga Kaisalika oe ua fita i le tautua i le Mālō.

Welcome to all the other officials who serve the Imperial Government faithfully.

At the top of the hierarchy is the Kaiser, similar to the Ali'i, he dignifies (mamalu) all the stations below him, i.e., he emanates the power that runs the colonial system. Next is the Kovana, Governor, representative of the Kaiser; then the representatives of the two senior families as Fautua, Advisors, to the German Administration.. Finally, "all the other officials who serve the Government". The phrase "le nofo o vasega o tofiga Kaisalika" groups to the workers much like the aumaga of a village. These workers are left in no doubt that they have their *designation* (tofiga) through their *hard work* (fitā)¹⁵ in their *service*, (tautua) for the German Administration. All the power is vested in and comes from the Kaiser so the flow of power is from the top downwards mediated by the Governor, sui, or *representative* of the Kaiser.

¹⁵ The term fitā has connotations of difficult or arduous. See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 160. Defined as "difficult" or "a steep incline".

There is no mention of the traditional Samoan power structures:

Tulouna Tumua ma Pule	<i>Greetings to Tumua and Pule</i>
Tulouna a Itū'au ma Alataua	<i>Greetings to Itū'au ma Alataua</i>
Tulouna a Aiga i le Tai	<i>Greetings to Family in the sea (Manono)</i>
Ma le Va'a o Fonoti.	<i>And to the Crew of Fonoti</i>

In this fa'alupega, Tumua, Pule, Itū'au, Alātaua, Aiga i le Tai, and Va'a o Fonoti encapsulate the political, social and economic power nexus' by geographic areas. For example, Tumua comprises the power nexus' of Leulumoega and Lufilufi and includes the villages and their power structures (as outlined in their fa'alupega), the families and gafa therein. This fa'alupega delineates the regions from one another. They are a list of power nodes, that are distinct from one another. They list the tuā'oi, *boundaries* between one another.

4.2 Land and Titles Commission

The Lands and Titles Commission (LTC) was established in 1903, to provide an orderly way of determining ownership of traditional lands and titles, which was a constant source of contention. Yet, the LTC became a new arena for chiefly contestation. The real effect of the LTC is the diminuation of the power and influence of the village fono.

The historian Malama Meleisea uses Max Weber's typology to contrast the German Administration and Samoan traditional authority. He characterises the German Administration as "rational-legal" where "authority resides in the rules themselves and in a set of offices with carefully defined authority to apply these rules";¹⁶ much like a modern bureaucracy. Meleisea contrasts the German imperial bureaucracy with the Samoan traditional authority which is defined in "a system of statuses of persons who can legitimately exercise authority".¹⁷ However, the tulafale and ali'i can be regarded as bureaucratic offices:

¹⁶Max Weber. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*. 1947: 60. See also Malama Meleisea. *The Making of Modern Samoa*. 1987: 14.

¹⁷ Malama Melesea. 1987: 14

the ali'i practising sacral authority, and the tulafale who practice executive authority and act on behalf of the ali'i. Each chiefly "office" is subject to sets of rules, just like the bureaucrat. The real difference between the bureaucratic office and traditional authority is that the bureaucrat's loyalty is to the office and its rules, regardless of who is in charge.

Herein is the quandary, the German Administration had to appoint local Samoan chiefs as Native Commissioners, because of the knowledge required of customary practices. Admittedly, they were under the control of the Chief Justice of the German Administration. Furthermore, they were paid employees of the German Administration. However, this did not stop them from using their official positions to pursue their chiefly prerogatives.

Below are the first Native commissioners:

Names	Districts
Tuatagaloa	Atua i Saute
Leota Napoleone	Atua i Matu
Pu'epu'ema	Va'a o Fonoti
Matafa	Tuamasaga
Manogi	Ele ele sa (Apia)
Afamasaga Auauna	A'ana
Futi Toimoana	Manono
Tofilau Saita'ase	Fa'asaleleaga
Auali'itia	Gaga'emauga
Lesaletele	Vaisigano
Tau'ili'ili	Alataua i Sisisifo
Tuisalega	Satupa'itea
Niupulusu Viliamu	Palauli
Tuilemafua	Gagaifomauga

List of Native Commissioners. Taken from Meleisea. *The Making of Modern Samoa*. 1987: 67.

There were queries as to the selections of the commissioners. For example, Tafua Fa'ausuusu questioned the appointment of Leota Napoleone. In his mind, the Leota was not of high enough status to represent the district Atua. In the end, Governor Solf followed Matā'afa Iosefo's recommendation of Leota.¹⁸

¹⁸ Malama Melesea, 1987: 67-68.

Working for the German Native Administration meant that Samoans had more opportunities for recognition and legitimisation. For example, Tafua Fa'ausuusu, a leading ali'i in Salea'aumua, had to stay at Mulinu'u as a Faipule for his district. He conferred the title on Tafua Tamatoa, to be his proxy in the village. This is, according to Meleisea, the first instance of a split title being officially recognised by both the German Administration and by the Samoans. Governor Solf had ruled in 1900 that the title Tafua was the sole prerogative of Fa'ausuusu, Tamatoa could use the name only. However, matters came to a head when Tamatoa questioned Fa'ausuusu's right to present i'a sã (turtles) to a visiting malaga, saying that Tafua could only receive i'a sã. This is aga'ifanua, i.e., a custom that is practised in Salea'aumua. Tamatoa had the support of the village fono. The matter was referred to the Governor, and once again Solf found in favour of Fa'ausuusu reiterating that Fa'ausuusu was the main Tafua in the village. Tamatoa dies shortly after this incident, and with Fa'ausuusu's consent, Tafua Uluave is appointed for village duties. However, when in 1905, all Faipule were sent home from Mulinu'u and expected to carry out their Faipule duties from the village, Salea'aumua then had two Tafua. Fa'ausuusu felt that he no longer needed to delegate any of his authority. Tafua Uluave and his supporters did not agree. So for years both Tafua accused the other of interfering with village protocol. Official malaga would receive ta'alolo, presentation of food and gifts¹⁹ from both Tafua. The competition between the two Tafua had consequences for the district, for example when Tafua Uluave supported Matã'afa Iosefo, and Tafua Fa'ausuusu supported Fānene in a dispute over a piece of land in the neighbouring village of Samusu. The Tafua case was referred to LTC, which stated that it "should have been settled in the Governor's office rather than the Land and Titles Commission".²⁰ The two Tafua were instructed to come to a reconciliation. When this failed, Governor Solf visited Salea'aumua to inform them of the Commission's finding. He accepted the ta'alolo from Tafua Fa'ausuusu and then informed the nu'u that the Commission had decided that Tafua Fa'ausuusu was the only Tafua who is recognised by the Administration. A chastised Tafua Uluave offered to leave the village and promised obedience to the "father" Tafua. The decision also caused Fa'ausuusu to forfeit his position as Pulenu'u. But the Commission

¹⁹ See Pratt, Dictionary and Grammar, 1893: 275. "The taking of food to visitors by a whole district at once."

²⁰ See GCA Series 4, No.2. In New Zealand National Archives, Wellington. Cited in Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*. 1984: 72.

awarded him 300 Marks, the equivalent of three years salary as Pulenu'u. This case shows that using the LTC meant more Government involvement not less in local cases.

More importantly, as seen in the Tafua case, the establishment of the Court weakened the power of the village council. Disputes over the ownership of traditional lands and title matters in the village had been previously decided by the fono of matai (*council of chiefs*).

The LTC weakened the very base of Samoan political power in the village, in that it limited the effectiveness of the Alii-Tulafale nexus of power in the village and its connections to the district and national power circuits. One of the LTC most used judgements was the fa'aleleiga,²¹ where contesting parties were instructed by the LTC to come to a sort of reconciliation or compromise. Usually, parties would share the title, until time that the encumbants died, when the title would go back to the original title holder's family. In reality, after a fa'aleleiga incumbent died, the families would appoint a matai without consulting the other family. The title remained split, each side acquiring divergent and different gafa and tala by which each party justify and legitimate their own path to the title. The voice of the village council, who previously adjudicated these matters, was effectively muted.

4.3 Coconut colonialism and malaga

Under the German Administration, Samoa became fiscally self-sufficient through the promotion of its copra exportation. Samoa becomes embedded into the global economic networks. This section examines how Samoans chose to engage in commercial activities primarily to bolster their own gift economy

The copra industry in Samoa was developed to extract copra oil to supply world markets. Since the 1850s, the production of copra and cocoa is a central reason for the European intervention in Samoan affairs. Ostensibly, Samoans grew coconuts that were then supplied to Europeans to process and export.

²¹ See Pratt, *Dictionary and Grammar*, 1893: 119. Fa'aleleiga means "reconciliation".

Indeed, German Imperial Samoa was an economic success. The historian J W Davidson points out that in 1902 the export of copra was just under 6000 tons. However, by 1910-12, the average rose to over 10,000 tons. The monetary value of copra also rose during this time period: £63,500 during 1900-2 to £173,400 during 1910-12. Similarly, cocoa exports at 6 tons 1900-2 for £350. By 1910-12, cocoa had become the second most important export at 600 tons valued at more than £35,000.¹ Because of the export profits, German Samoa became less dependent on financial grants from Germany. Over this time period, the colony became self-sufficient.

Historian Holger Droessler² shows that the copra industry incorporated Samoans into global trade and labour networks. However, because Samoans had continued to practise sustainable farming practices, it ensured them a greater measure of autonomy, even as large tracts of the islands were being bought up for large scale plantation developments. Samoans grew coconuts that were sold on to the European exporter. Their smaller holdings provided the exporters with the bulk of their coconut supply. Also, because of their sustainable agricultural practices, Samoans could choose when they entered into the wage labour, “primarily to earn the cash needed for imported commodities, government taxes and church donations”.³

The German Administration’s paternalistic attitude towards the Samoans meant that other peoples were brought into Samoa to provide a more consistent labour supply for the plantation industry. Before 1900, Melanesians had been contracted to work the plantations of the Deutsche Handels Plantagen Gesellschaft. Furthermore in 1903, Chinese indentured labourers were bought in by the Germans. By 1914, there were over 2000 Chinese in Samoa providing labour for the European plantations.⁴

So, what activities could induce Samoans to sell their labour for income? Church building and donations are activities for which Samoans needed to raise revenue: donations could be in

¹ See James Davidson. *Samoa mo Samoa*: 89.

² See Holger Droessler. *Coconut Colonialism: Workers and the Globalization of Samoa*. Harvard University Press. 2022.

³ Holger Droessler. *Coconut Colonialism*. 2022: 56.

⁴ See James Davidson. *Samoa mo Samoa*: 77

the form of Copra. The Methodist Minister George Brown notes that 1898,⁵ £1400 funds were raised for a church in Satupa'itea. The church was 132 ft long and 48 ft 6 inches in width. The walls were 3ft in thickness. The parishioners had given their labour over many months. There was a debt of 32 shillings, but the inaugural service collection was £108. The surplus money was used towards the ceiling of the church. 809 pigs were roasted for the feast. Also 2 kegs of beef, 3 bullocks and 112,940 heads of taro. Reverend Brown notes that for his share, he was gifted 10 large pigs and 1000 heads of taro, sundry vegetables and 2 large kava roots. The bullocks and the kegs of beef were introduced items to Samoan gifting practices.⁶

Samoans were so prolific in their churchbuilding that a visitor to Samoa in 1912 noted that:

If there is a village in Samoa that does not possess from one to half a dozen solidly built coral rock church edifices I do not recall having passed through its single street. Villages have gone bankrupt, mortgaging their incomes for years to build a church a little more imposing than the one in the next village.⁷

Holger Droessler also uses the Samoan concepts of “malaga” and vā to explain the globalisation of the Samoan worker into the colonial work networks. He describes the relationship between the two concepts as:

Malaga are crucial in maintaining vā, the links and pathways and networks that people re-establish as they move. As a central principle of the Samoan moral economy that denotes spaces in between people places and environments that need to be in balance and reciprocal. By moving back and forth between these relational spaces Samoans nurture social harmony and ensure the integrity of their culture.⁸

⁵ George Brown, *Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer*. 1908: 61-62..

⁶ Kegs of corned beef are called “povi masima” (lit. salted beef). Those kegs were standard foods given out as part of reciprocal gifts during my childhood. During the 1980s, the kegs were replaced by cans of corned beef. (Hellaby's, Palm and Pacific being the most popular labels). Canned fish is also used in gifting. These food gifts show that Samoans are adopting foreign foods into their gifting heirarchies as they can still denote status of the receiver, e.g., high status chiefs or ministers would receive the bullocks.

⁷ Hugh M. Polworth, 'Church Life in the South Seas', *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 3:4 (April 1912): 365. As cited in Benjamin Sacks, *Cricket, Kirikiti and Imperialism in Samoa, 1879-1939* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 35, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-27268-5>.

⁸ See Youtube video: *Labor and Working-Class History Association Book Chat with Holger Droessler. Coconut Colonialism: Workers and Globalisation of Samoa*, Youtube video, 2023, 14m40s, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oH6mMIgRIVk>.

Malaga, as in circulatory travel, are crucial in maintaining vā relations. I have argued that malaga are important in gafa, tala, usoga and aumoega and gift economy. However, Droessler ascribes malaga to Samoans who travel away from Samoa. For example, Charles Taylor,⁹ a half-caste Samoan translator for the German Administration, and whose wanderlust takes him to Germany to widen his experience of German language and culture. He also travels to New Zealand and twice to Tonga. Yet, contrast this with the malaga of the famous tamaaāiga and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I, who in 1910 led a dance troupe to Germany. However, Tamasese Lealofi's mission is to meet with German power brokers. It was a diplomatic mission. The malaga dance party are made up of taupou (daughters of chiefs), young men (aumaga), young women (aualuma), tamaaiga (Tupua Tamasese Lealofi) and tulāfale (Aiono).¹⁰ One can see by the geographic and genealogical information given, that most of the people were related to Tupua Tamasese Lealofi.

Name	District
Tamasese Lealofi	Prince of Aana, son of King Tamasese of Samoa
Va'aiga	His wife
Mea'ole	Son of Tamasese from this relationship, b. 1905
Pu'e	Daughter of Tamasese from previous marriage b. ca1855
Soli	Daughter of Tamasese from previous marriage
The "old orator Aiono"	Fasito'outa b. ca 1846
Saili (m)	Vaimoso b. ca 1895
Talesito (m)	Vaiusu, b. ca 1894
Pao (m)	Nofoalii, b. ca1888
Tito (m)	Nofoalii
Eteloma/Ekeloma (m)	Vaimoso
Vaegau (m)	Leulumoega, b. ca 1883
Tautau	Wife of Vaegau, Fasito'otai, b. ca 1893
Faiiluga	Taupou of Vaimoso
Faiilalo	Taupou of Vaimoso (based on their names and common origin probably twins)
Feagai	Taupou of Nofoalii
Soolenini (f)	Vaimoso
Sina (f)	Vaimoso

⁹ See Holger Droessler. *Coconut Colonialism*. (2022): 1-3, 170-177.

¹⁰ See Hilke Thode-Arora, "A Diplomatic Visit? Tamasese in Germany and the Samoa Show 1910-11," in *From Samoa with Love? Samoan Travellers in Germany 1895-1911: Retracing the Footsteps*, ed. Hilke Thode-Arora (Hirmer Verlag, 2014), 141–42.

Leuta (f)	
Fiaono/Faioa (f)	Nofoalii, b. ca 1894
Toe (f)	Vaimoso, b. ca 1894
Pepa (f)	Vaimoso
Faiai (f)	Afega, b. ca 1894
Fasiiloilo (f)	Afega
Metita (f)	
Lonola (f)	

List of the aumalaga, *travellers*, to Germany (1910-1911). See Hilke Thode-Arora, "A Diplomatic Visit": 141-142.

The malaga visits a number of German cities, performing at a number of zoologische Gärten.¹¹ Tupua Tamasese and the troupe are feted by, and met with German nobility. Tamasese has his meeting with the Kaiser on 26 May 1911 at the Spring Parade at the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin. Tamasese kisses the hand of the Kaiser. The marching of the troops and cavalry made a great impression on Tamasese.

In Samoan malaga, the return is as important as the travel away. In terms of the Tamasese malaga, Tamasese returns to Samoa and on Matā'afa Iosefo's death, he becomes Joint Fautua to the German Administration. The office of Ali'i Sili was abolished after Matā'afa Iosefo. His wife, Va'aiga was pregnant when she returned from Germany. She gave her son Matai'a the middle name "Europa" in memory of the malaga to Germany. Pu'emalo, Tamasese's daughter marries her beau from the malaga, Eteloma. They have two sons. When Eteloma died, she made a politically important union with Manuleleua Siavao of Vaimoso. Tamasese Lealofi's young son Mea'ole (1905-1963), who accompanied them to Germany, assumes the Tupua Tamasese titles in 1929.¹² He is one of the architects of the Samoan Constitution, and when Western Samoa gains independence in 1962, Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole becomes joint Head of State with Malietoa Tanumafili II (1913-2007). Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole's son, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi (b.1938), served as Prime Minister of independent Western Samoa from 1976-1982, and was elected twice as Head of State between 2007 to 2017. Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I was pro-German even during the New Zealand military occupation. He refuses to take

¹¹ See Hilke Thode-Arora. "A Diplomatic Visit?": 168. For a schedule of the tour's venues.

¹² After his older brother Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III (1901-1929) was shot by New Zealand soldiers during a peaceful protest by the Mau.

down a portrait of Kaiser Wilhelm that had been gifted to him.¹³ Tupua Tamasese Lealofi's malaga was consequential for his family, and through his descendants, Samoa as a whole.

Droessler tells us of the malaga of Melanesian workers, who were contracted to work Samoan plantations, and how they became embedded in Samoan vā networks. For instance, the friendship of Ielu and Malua, who meet each other while hiding from the authorities in American Samoa. The "wild man" Malua was one of four runaway Solomon Islanders in 1901 and had been living in the bush. He was well known to Samoans and "was made to feel like a long-lost member of the family".¹⁴ The younger Ielu had escaped prison on a charge of theft. They were inseparable for a short while before the older Malua died of pneumonia in 1923. Droessler observes that:

Pacific Islanders succeeded in forging effective ties with one another beyond the control of their colonizers. By escaping the confines of colonial globality, runaway workers like Malua lived out their own form of Oceanic globality.¹⁵

Samoans also tried to establish their own copra cooperatives. In 1905, while Governor Solf was visiting Germany, Lauaki took part in the Oloa movement.¹⁶ The Oloa or Kumpani (Company) aimed to set up an independent Samoan-owned copra cooperative. Samoan growers would sell their copra to this independent buyer who then ships the copra overseas. The Oloa would completely bypass the Colonial Administration's monopoly control of the copra trade. The Oloa brought together a number of factions that were at odds with the German Administration: disaffected German colonists, the half-caste business community, and Samoans wanting to be economically independent. Matā'afa Iosefo had supported the movement at the beginning. In 1904, the Oloa company charged a tax of 4-8 Marks on all Samoans so as to finance its activities.¹⁷ The German Administration could not allow the company to survive. On his return to Samoa, the Oloa was almost defunct. Solf used the divisions within the Samoan leadership to bring about the downfall of the company. He used

¹³ This stance probably served to distinguish himself from Malietoa Tanumafili I who was pro New Zealand Administration.

¹⁴ As cited in Holger Droessler. *Coconut Colonialism*: 88-89.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ For a fuller account, see Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance*. See also Part C: Colonial period: Phase 2: 213. For more on Lauaki's protest against the German Administration.

¹⁷ Holger Droessler. *Coconut Colonialism*: 48-50.

the chiefs' disobedience to dismantle the Samoan Administration which was led by Matā'afa Iosefo. Solf fined all the chiefs involved, and confiscated land in Safotulafai owned by Lauaki's aiga. In 1908, Lauaki once again revived the idea of a Samoan owned copra cooperative as part of a wider protest movement called the Mau a Pule. It ended with Lauaki's exile.

This section has examined how Samoans adapt to globalising influences of colonial capitalism. The German Administration bought in Chinese indentured labourers from 1903 to supply labour for the copra industry. Samoans supplied most of the coconuts for the industry but they chose when they would sell their labour. Historian Malama Meleisea notes that:

Because the Samoans conceived of fa'a Samoa as a framework for action based upon the social structure of the 'aiga and the nu'u and the authority of matai and fono, new practices, ideas and goods could be accepted and incorporated into it so that either the system remained unchanged in its essentials, or else was not perceived to have changed fundamentally.¹⁸

Samoans adapted to the global commercial networks. Labour for one's aiga, nu'u and lotu was productive work for Samoans. Church building and church donations were two activities that they would sell their labour. Indeed, any activity that raises the status of their aiga, and nu'u would occasion Samoans accumulating a surplus of goods and cash.

4.4 Soundscape: voice

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the spoken word is one of the main ways by which Samoans convey the energetical worldview. The spoken word prompts Samoans to action, it is a vital component of the Samoan energetical circuitry. Also the voice forms a field that encompasses the immediate hearers and listeners. Samoans however developed ways that expanded the field of the original vocal statement is expanded both geographically and through time. Despite having become literate, Samoans in the nineteenth century preferred to transmit information by performing language. This section examines three modes of information transmission: firstly, the fa'alupega is a verbal listing of the hierarchy of chiefs in a village. Its recitation is the prerogative of the talking chiefs. It is also a

¹⁸ See Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, 17.

field, because it binds the people in a village into a network of shared histories and narratives. The *lauga*, *formal speech*, is the second mode. *Lauga* is performed at any formal occasion where groups of Samoan chiefs representing family and social groupings, meet and greet other Samoan groupings. *Lauga* occur at village fono, chiefly meetings, and ceremonial occasions such as: welcoming *malaga*, *travel parties*, *fa'aipoipoga*, *weddings*, *maliu*, *funerals*, gift-giving rituals, ie, *Lauga* is primarily a means by which Samoans are persuaded to undertake or acknowledge tasks and social relations. In this way, *lauga* can be viewed as a field, wherein objects within hearing range can be persuaded to action. This part examines, firstly the structure of *lauga* as it developed since the nineteenth century. This part concentrates on one *lauga*, which was given by the famed orator Lauaki Namulau'ulu in 1907. Lauaki had become the lead spokesman for Savai'i led resistance to German rule. The grouping was called "Mau¹ a Pule", (meaning *the convictions of Pule*). The last part contrasts *pese*, *traditional song*, with *pese lotu*, *christian hymn*. It examines both modes of carry information,

4.4.1 Fa'alupega

The *fa'alupega* of a village is a list of the major titles, *ali'i* and *Tulafale*, chiefly and orators, in that village.² Felix Keesing describes the *fa'alupega* as "a verbal distillate of history and a 'who's who' of a community, a district, and even of 'all Samoa' in allegorical language to be recited on the appropriate occasion".³ The *fa'alupega aoao*, the *fa'alupega* for the whole of Samoa would include *Tutuila* and *Manu'a*. However, the part that pertains to German Samoa is:

Tulouna Tumua ma Pule	Greetings to Tumua and Pule
Tulouna Itū'au ma Alātaua	Greetings to the Itū'au and Alātaua
Tulouna i Va'a o Fonoti ma le Aiga i le Tai	Greetings to Fagaloa and Faleāpuna and the Family in the sea

¹ Mau has the meanings of: 1. To be firm and 4. To be decided, to be unwavering. Mau carries connotations of a firmly and deeply held conviction.

² See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 121 *Fa'alupe* is defined as "to call out the names and titles of chiefs and villages.

³ Felix M Keesing and Marie M Keesing, *Elite Communication in Samoa: A Study in Leadership*, 2nd ed. (California: Stanford University Press, 1973), 74

Each and every village and district have their own fa’alupega.⁴ The village fa’alupega is recited at village meetings and gatherings between villages. In the writings of Penisimani, he provides the fa’alupega of Satupa’itea to his friend the Reverend George Brown of the Methodist mission. He thought that it would be useful to the Reverend in his work with Satupa’itea.

Penisimani advises “a osi ni outou fetalaiga,⁵ ona fa’apea ona fai o lau fetalaiga” (When you want to talk to Satupa’itea, then start your oration in this way):

Penisimani version of Satupa’itea fa’alupega	Translation
Tulouna lou fetalaiga a le Va’aimalae	Greetings to the orators of the Va’aimalae
O lau fetalaiga a Asiata	To the orator Asiata
Tulouna a le afioga a Tupa’i	Greetings to the chief Tupa’i
Tulouna le afioga Tonumaip’e	Greetings to the chief Tonumaip’e
Tulouna alo o Lilomaiaava o Tuimaseve, ma Fa’anana o lo’o tula te oe le Alataua	Greetings to the children of Lilomaiaava, Tuimaseve and Fa’anānā on you the Alataua perches
Tulouna le aiga Savalomua ma le susuga a le Fauatea	Greetings to the family Savalomua and the orator Fauatea
Tulouna Tavui ma Gasū	Greetings to Tavui and Gasū
Tulouna Lufilufi ma Noāpule	Greetings Lufilufi and Noāpule
Ala ala mai la ia	Rise up all
A se’i sauni atu se upu ma a’u, i le tāua o la tatou feagaiga ma oe le Alataua –	At this time I have prepared a few words on our relationship/covenant with you the Alataua –
Ona sauni ai lea o lau fetaiga. Faitalia oe i ni upu e fai ai – ai tau ina i maua le ala o lau fetalaiga e amata ai e lelei ai... ⁶	Then you can give your speech. You choose whatever you want to say – but you must first prepare the path for your speech by beginning well...

Penisimani advises Brown that when addressing the fono of chiefs of Satupa’itea, that he begins with the fa’alupega, which lists all the major titles and families of the village Satupa’itea. It is a way to ensure the smooth passage of one’s fetalaiga, speech. Or as Penisimani puts it: “ai tau ina i maua le ala o lau fetalaiga e amata ai e lelei ai”. Reciting the

⁴ Felix M Keesing and Marie M Keesing, *Elite Communication in Samoa: A Study in Leadership*, 2nd ed. (California: Stanford University Press, 1973), 74.

⁵ Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 157 “fetalaiga” means “to speak, used of chiefs”. A respectful term used for the utterances of a tulāfale.

⁶ Brown, “Penisimani - Samoan Stories - A1686/25-26,” 461. This is probably the earliest recorded fa’alupega for a nu’u, village, c.1860-65.

fa'alupega, is the best way "i maua le ala", *to find the passage for*, or to channel the energy released by one's speech.

Comparison of Penisimani's with published fa'alupega for Satupa'itea (1860-1915)

Penisimani (1860s)	Churchill (1902, p. a503) ⁷	Kramer (1903, p. 91-92)	Le Mamea et al. (1915) ⁸
Tulouna lou fetalaiga a le Va'aimalae	Tulouna a oe le Alataua	Tulouna oe alataua	Tulouna oe le Alataua
O lau fetalaiga a Asiata	Tuouna a le āiga Sa Moeleoī	Tulouna oe lufilufi ma nofoa pule	Tulouna le Aiga sa Moeleoī
Tulouna a le afioga a Tupa'i	Tulouna a Asiata, o le va'aimalae.	Tulouna tapa'au lē fano	Tulouna Asiata o le Vaa i Malae
Tulouna le afioga Tonumaip'e'a	Tulouna a Tupa'i, o le va'aiti.	Tulouna le aiga Samoeleoī	Tulouna Tupa'i o le Vaa i Tī
Tulouna alo o Lilomaiaava o Tuimaseve, ma Fa'anana o lo'o tula te oe le Alataua	Tulouna a Tavu'i ma Gasū.	Tulouna lau susuga Asiata o le va'a i malae i tumua	Tulouna Tavui ma Gasū Tulouna alo o Lilomaiaava o Tuimaseve ma FA'anana
Tulouna le aiga Savalomua ma le susuga a le Fauatea	Tulouna a alo o Lilomai'ava, o Tuimaseve ma Fa'anānā	Tulouna lau afioga Tupa'i, o le va'atī o Nāfanua	Tulouna a lau Susuga a Fauatea ma sa Valomua
Tulouna Tavui ma Gasū	Tulouna a Lau Sūsuga a Le Fauatea ma le āiga Sa Valomuā.	Susū mai lau susuga a Gasū ma Tavu'i	Afio mai lou Tapaau o le Tonumaip'e'a
Tulouna Lufilufi ma Noāpule	Afio mai lou tapa'au o Lau Afioga a le Tonumaip'e'a.	Tulouna alo o Lilomaiaava o taumafatia se ava o oe alataua o Tuimaseve ma Fa'anānā	
Ala ala mai la ia		Ae tulouna le aiga Savalomua ma lau susuga a Fauatea	

In my treatment of the fa'alupega for Satupa'itea, I apologise for what may seem to Samoan thinking as rough handling of something that is treasured by the people of Satupa'itea. However, by way of explanation, I am using documented fa'alupega to examine the energetical world view of Samoans. When one looks at various published versions of the Satupa'itea fa'alupega (see Table above), there are a number of differences in wording and

⁷ William Churchill, "Samoa o Le Vavau: O [Le] Fa'alupega. Book 1" (Auckland War Memorial Museum, 1902), a503, MS-64.

⁸ Le Mamea et al., *O Le Tusi Fa'alupega o Samoa*, 39.

sequencing of the elements of the various versions. However, the essential titles and epithets are repeated largely unchanged over time. Certain chiefly titles and epithets recur. They are:

Tulouna oe le Alataua
Aiga Samoeleoi
Asiata o le va'aimalae
Tupa'i o le va'atī o Nāfanua
Gasū ma Tavu'i
Alo o Lilomaiaava o Tuimaseve ma Fa'anānā
Tulouna a lou susuga a Fauatea ma Savalomua
Afio mai lou Tapaau o le Tonumaip'e'a

In examining these recurring titles and epithets, they show the essential power flows in Satupa'itea:

1. Satupa'itea is **Alataua**.⁹ The term refers to villages that that are consulted on important matters, for example, the decision to go to war.¹⁰ In Savai'i, Satupa'itea, Neiafu, Falelima and Tufutafoe form the Alataua.
2. **Aiga Samoeleoi** is founded by the ancestor Moeleoi (Gen 20) when she couples with brothers Taui'i'ili and Tupa'iivaililigi of Satupa'itea.¹¹
3. **Asiata o le va'a i malae** : Asiata is a son from the union of Moeleoi and Tupa'iivaililigi (Gen 21).¹² The epithet "o le va'a i Malae" literally means "ship of the village green". However, it can also mean priest or "authorised one".¹³ Asiata informs the Tumua (Palauli and Safotu) of the Alataua's decisions.

⁹ See Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions: 658. For discussion on the term Alataua.

¹⁰ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 198. Fa'aalataua is defined as "to take news of a war to the gods, or to the shades of departed chiefs."

¹¹ For the gafa of Samoeleoi, see Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:128.

¹² Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:128.

¹³ Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:90.

4. **Tupa'i le va'atī** : Tupa'i is the high priest of Nāfanua, and links Satupa'itea to Faleālupo, Nāfanua's home village. The epithet "le va'atī" literally means boat made of heavy tī wood
5. **Gasū ma Tavu'i** : Gasū is the son of Asiata, and Tavui is the son of Loli, Asiata's brother (both Gen 22).¹⁴ So, they are first cousins, and the title holders would work together in village affairs.
6. **Alo o Lilomaiaava o Tuimaseve ma Fa'anānā** : Lilomaiaava Tumailagī of A'ana, Upolu, coupled with the daughter of Lavea of Safotu, and produced the brothers Tuimaseve and Fa'anānā.¹⁵ Satupa'itea has genealogical links to A'ana, and Safotu.
7. **Tulouna a lou susuga a Fauātea ma Sāvalomua**: The founding Valomua couples with the sister of Toleafoaolō. Their daughter Tumupu'e marries Luamanuvae, (who is the son of the infamous Tupuivao), and their daughter Saofa'ialo marries Sifuiva.¹⁶ Their union gives rise to Fuimaono, who fathers Fuiavailili, Valomua's great-grandson. Fuiavailili is adopted by Muagututi'a, and he takes on the name Tupua. On Muagututi'a's death, Tupua eventually assumes the Tafa'ifā. Valomua connects Satupa'itea to the major lineages of the Tui A'ana, and Tui Atua, and power centres of Samoa
8. **Afio mai lou Tapa'au o le Tonumaipe'a** : Satupa'itea is one of the areas that decide the recipients of the Tonumaipe'a ao, regional title. Together with Sataua, Falealupo, and Tufu, they are called the "itu o falefā"¹⁷ (lit: *the region of the four houses*), they decide the bestowal of the Tonumaipe'a.

So, why is the fa'alupega so important? The recitation of the fa'alupega for Satupa'itea gives a location and context to both the village as a whole, and for the individuals that comprise

¹⁴ See Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:92;

¹⁵ Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:92 Tuimaseve and Fa'anānā are also called Inuivaisisi and Mautagatamua.

¹⁶ Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:393.

¹⁷ Krämer, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:53; See also Steubel, *Samoanische Texte*, 188.

the village. Satupa'itea is Alataua and links with three other villages in the function as counsellors to the Tumua of Palauli and Sāfotu. Sāmoeleoi is the major family. The titles Asiata, Gasū and Tavu'i are descendants of Moeleoi. The titles of Tupa'i and Tonumaie'a links to Nāfanua the war goddess, and to Faleālupo, Nāfanua's village. The Lilomaiaava title links Satupa'itea to A'ana (Upolu), and Fauātea of the Sāvalomua is a link to all the lineages of Samoa, and thereby to large regions of Samoa. The names in the fa'alupega can also be placed in a chronological sequence. So, fa'alupega carries history and illustrates the flow of power within the village, to other villages and regions. Everyone in Satupa'itea would trace themselves genealogically to the fa'alupega.

The epithets describe aspects of a title name, and are used as a form of formal address. For example, when acknowledging Asiata, one could use the phrase "va'a i malae". So, for instance, "Fa'afetai, Asiata, o oe le va'a i malae" (*Thank you Asiata, the authorised one*). When addressing Tupa'i "one might say "...auā o oe Tupa'i le va'atī o Nāfanua" (...because you are Tupa'i, the vessel of Nāfanua). One may address Tuimaseve as "alo o Liliomaiaava". Satupa'itea villagers are acutely attuned to listening out for any inaccuracies in the recitations of their fa'alupega. It is important because it enhances a sense of identity with place and people through a shared history. But, I think that it is more significant because the correct recitation of the fa'alupega, uplifts the hearer, when they recognise the references to themselves. And this is a psychological and emotional response to the energies released by the recitation.

My analysis of the Satupa'itea 1860 fa'alupega is that of an diasporic outsider using published sources. But for someone from that village, the fa'alupega anchors them and their family to a location. Furthermore, fa'alupega has the same effect across time. Let me illustrate with a personal example that is 147 years distant : the Tuagalu Tulafale, *orator* title comes from Satuimalufilufi, a village in A'ana, Upolu. In 2007,¹⁸ my older brother Va'aaao Solomona, and cousin, Matāfai Pulusau had their saofa'i, *joint installation* as Tuagalu in Satuimalufilufi. On

¹⁸ See Tuagalu, "Heuristics of the Vā," 112. I give an account of my late brother's 2007 saofa'i as Tuagalu Va'aaao Solomona (1947-2023).

the day of saofa'i, the part of the Satuimalufilufi fa'alupega¹⁹ that pertains to the Tuagalu title was recited as:

Tulouna le falelua ma le aiga na pitolua	<i>Greetings to the two houses and the</i>
Tulouna ma lau fetalaiga a Tuagalu	<i>family of two parts</i>
Ma lou Gataiala	<i>Greetings to the orator Tuagalu</i>
	<i>and your supporters</i>

In order to understand the section of the fa'alupega that pertains to the Tuagalu title, one has to know that in the Satuimalufilufi fa'alupega, there are two major groups of orators. The first is "Le Matua Pei ma le Falefā" (the elder Pei and the house of four orators [Tālevu, Tāloto, Laifaga, and Tuala]); and the other is "lau fetalaiga a Tuagalu le falelua ma le aiga na pitolua" (the orator Tuagalu and the two houses of orators: [Mala'eulu and Fuga]; and the family of two parts: [the orator Malagamā]).²⁰ At the saofa'i of a Tuagalu, Le Matua Pei and the Falefā would be the main speakers for the village and visitors. In this case, Tālevu (of the Falefā) initiated the laga fa'atau, the contestation amongst the gathered orators to decide who would perform the main lauga, speech that affirms and consecrates the saofa'i. The fa'atau is usually performative,²¹ as most times, who will speak is pre-decided. However, in this case, Malagamā asked if he could have the day, i.e., give the speech. Tālevu replied:

E te le'i fa'alogo i le fa'alupega : le Falelua ma le aiga pitolua ?	<i>Have you not listened to the fa'alupega? "the two houses of orators and the family with two parts"</i>
O ai ea e te lauga i ai?	<i>To whom are you going to perform your speech?</i>

The interchange caused much mirth, as Malagamā sits with Tuagalu, i.e., "le aiga pitolua". However, I am sure that Malagamā knows his vā with Tuagalu. His request was perhaps to get Tālevu to clarify it to the assembly. The laughter was affirmation that the assembly understood the relationships listed in the fa'alupega. This interchange showed me that a fa'alupega recited in the Samoan village, where everyone knows their vā relation with

¹⁹ See Tusi Fa'alupega Committee, *O Le Tusi Fa'alupega o Samoa Atoa*, 40 for the whole fa'alupega of Satuimalufilufi.

²⁰ See Tusi Fa'alupega Committee, 40. There are a number of published Tusi Fa'alupega. This one published by the Methodist Church of Samoa, lists the orators that make up the Falefā, Fālelua and aiga na pitolua.

²¹ Such contestations can seem quite heated, but in the Satuimalufilufi village situation, who will speak is decided beforehand. If not le matua Pei, then one of the Falefā.

everyone else, gives the fa'alupega greater salience – in the village, one hears the accepted version of the fa'alupega.

Furthermore, personal histories become incorporated into the village narrative: my Father, Tuagalu l'uogafa (1895-1976), had held the Tuagalu title, and when he emigrated to New Zealand in the 1950s, he made his younger brother (Enelē), the Tuagalu in the village. Samoans call this practice “so'o/fa'au le ula” literally, *passing on the necklace*, meaning to pass on, or share the matai title. Since, Tuagalu Enelē's passing, at least two of his sons have successively held the Tuagalu title in the village.²² Since my father's death in 1976, two of his sons have held the Tuagalu title overseas: firstly my eldest brother, the late Tuagalu Ta'ai (1924-2000); and my older brother Tuagalu Va'aoao Solomona. Tuagalu Enelē's son, our cousin, Tuagalu Matāfai Pulusau and Tuagalu Va'aoao were joint holders of the Tuagalu title (till my brother's death in 2023). This mirrored the situation when my father and uncle were alive: My father using his matai title in New Zealand to organise Samoan communities, and to assist in establishing the Ekalesia Metotisi: The Samoan Methodist Mission in New Zealand.²³ While, his brother tended the home hearth in Satuimalufilufi, taking care of family interests in the village. So, my brother was the Tuagalu overseas; and our cousin Pulusau lives and represents our family's interests in the village. These family details are now woven into the Tuagalu family history and village narrative.

So, the fa'alupega pins families through the titles to a village location. It outlines the power relations within the village, i.e., how the title holders relate to each other in the village. Also, as descendants marry out of the village, their gafa, genealogy, becomes melded with the gafa of others, through the children of those unions. Villages and regions are drawn into the affairs of other areas by dint of their genealogical and historical connections to an individual, as they contest for higher titles, marry, or die. This explains how regions are drawn into war, and gift

²² My brother is Tuagalu Va'aoao Solomona, and my cousin is Tuagalu Matāfai Pulusau in the village of Satuimalufilufi

²³ See Sila Saunaoa, “Le Laau o Le Sopoaga: A Plant for a Journey: Planting Samoan Methodism in New Zealand” (Doctor of Philosophy, Auckland, New Zealand, The University of Auckland, 2012), 85-112. For more on Tuagalu l'uogafa's role in the establishment of the Ekalesia Metotisi Samoa (EMS), when they left the New Zealand Methodist Conference. The EMS is then affiliated to the Samoan Methodist Conference. It came about because of EMS dissatisfaction with the New Zealand Methodist Conference's handling of the incorporation of Samoan cultural elements into church practices, eg more Samoan language church services at more convenient times.

giving around marriage and death rituals. The Samoan phrase “o ia e gālulu i ai aitu ma tagata: (*To him spirits and people crowded*) describes the attraction of individuals, who things crowd to because of their gafa and shared history. The fa’alupega is an acknowledgement of the gafa and vā forces in play in a village. Its recitation uplift the hearers, who live in the village.

After Penisimani points out the importance of the fa’alupega, he provides Brown with a formulaic beginning to any speech:

A se’i sauni atu se upu ma a’u, i le tātua o la tatou feagaiga ma oe le Alataua
(*At this time. I have prepared a few words on our relationship/covenant with you the Alataua*).

The use of the term feagaiga, *covenant*, reminds listeners that as a faifeau,²⁴ church minister, Brown would speak on matters relevant to the church or religion. Hence his instruction “Faitalia oe i ni upu e fai ai” (*You choose whatever to say*). But, whatever he chooses to say will be charged, by the recitation of the fa’alupega. The relevance of the national fa’alupega of Samoa and its replacement by the fa’alupega of the Mālō Kaisalika becomes apparent. The national fa’alupega implies a unity because it outlines the boundaries of geographical and historically separate socio-political units i.e., it outlines many fields of comparable size with boundaries preserved. In the Mālō Kaisalika fa’alupega, everything exists under the Kaiser, i.e., there is one field: the Kaiser. He supplies the mafu’aga (*origin*), tala and gafa of the German Administration.

The next section examines the lauga, the formal speech, which is the prerogative of the matai especially the Tulafale, orator. The fa’alupega is an important part of the lauga

²⁴ . An honourific for Christian reverends and priests is “Susuga a le feagaiga” or “representative of the covenant with God”.

4.4.2 Lauga

The term lauga is both a noun, meaning *formal speech*,²⁵ and a verb: *to make a formal speech*. In Samoan, the lauga is the prerogative of the matai, and though ali'i, *chiefs* do lauga, it is the mainly the task of the tulafale, *orator*. Lauga are generally performed when groups of Samoans meet, and chiefs and orators are in attendance.²⁶ Lauga is the main way that tulafale convince Samoans to take particular actions. This section will examine the structure of lauga to show that its parts gather and focusses gafa energies. It will also examine a lauga given by Lauaki Namulauulu in 1909, when he leads the Mau a Pule,²⁷ a group that led Samoan resistance to the German Administration. I will show that lauga exemplifies and is the product of the energetical world of the nineteenth century Samoans. The parts and structure of the lauga, much like the fa'alupega, concentrates and extends the power of the spoken words and phrases to prompt action amongst the beyond just the immediate audience and beyond.

The difficulty with assessing Samoan lauga for our period, is that there are only traces of lauga are left behind in archival and published sources. For example, the lauga that I will examine, was given by Lauaki Namulau'ulu in 1908. It exists in truncated form and only in English translation. The account of the lauga was recorded in 1908 in German by the German Administration, and then translated into English in the 1930s by Police Inspector and Civil Police Commander, Arthur L Braisby (d. 1955). However, if we look at modern accounts of lauga, we can attempt a partial reconstruction of Lauaki's lauga. What follows is an examination of the structure of Samoan lauga.

The late Tātupu Fa'afetai Tu'i (1949-2005) completed his Master of Arts thesis titled "Lāuga: The practice and principles of Sāmoan oratory" in 1986. In 1987, he published a book titled

²⁵ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 176. Pratt lists an additional meaning of "sermon". Samoans quickly equated the church sermon with the formal chiefly oratorical deliveries. See also Milner, *Samoan Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan.*, 101 n.1. Speech, 2. Sermon. v.1. speak, talk, 2. preach.

²⁶ See Tātupu Fa'afetai Matā'afa Tu'i, "Lauga: The Practice and Principles of Samoan Oratory" (Master of Arts Thesis, New Zealand, university of Auckland, 1985), 56-59. The types of occasions that lauga is performed: Fono, (meetings), fa'alelegātama (rites of passage), Fa'aipoipoga (weddings), usualele and ali'itaeao (welcome ava), fa'aulufalega, and umasaga (inauguration of house. boat, church), saofa'i (title investiture), maliu (funerals).

²⁷ Mau a Pule literally means "the strongly held opinion of Pule [Sava'i'i]"

“Lauga: Samoan oratory”, based on his thesis.²⁸ Both were seminal publications, in that, Tu’i examines exemplar lauga for six types of occasions, where lauga are performed: Fono, (*meetings*), fa’alelegātama (*rites of passage*), Fa’aipoipoga (*weddings*), usualele and ali’itaeao (*welcome ava*), fa’aulufalega, and umasaga (*inauguration of house. boat, church*), saofa’i (*title investiture*), and maliu (*funerals*). Tu’i is particularly well placed to undertake such a thesis topic: He was a practicing tulafale, *orator* of Lufilufi, fluent in the honorific forms of speech utilised in Samoan chiefly oratory. His thesis was for a Master degree in anthropology, so he is explicating the workings of lauga in English for a pālagi audience. His analysis of lauga concentrates on the formal aspects such as structure, language appropriateness, and the avoidance of shame from a poor lauga performance, as lauga is a form of contestation. In total, Tu’i examines six speeches, dating from 1981-85. Three of the speeches were delivered in diasporic New Zealand,²⁹ and three in Samoa.³⁰ His analysis shows that the various lauga have parts in common, and that certain types of lauga may have other parts, or differing emphases of parts, depending on the type of lauga, and the occasion at which it is performed.

Tu’i notes that lauga may have up to 7 parts, each part has a different function. He listed the parts as:

1. **Tūvaoga/folasaga/paepaeulufanua (Introductory laudation)**

These terms are used interchangeably for the introduction of any formal speech, and it is a mandatory. The folasaga “consists of proverbial phrases relating to old mythologies, traditions, history and folklore”³¹. It is aimed at grabbing the attention of the hearer, “a flashpoint to inculcate interest and immediate attention to a ceremony”, and though the orator has to choose appropriate proverbs and myths, the introduction does not need to hint or connect to the purpose of the lauga. So, quite unlike the introduction of an essay, the folasaga does not outline the parts of the lauga.

²⁸ See Tu’i, “Lauga: The Practice and Principles of Samoan Oratory”; Tātupu Fa’afetai Matā’afa Tu’i, *Lauga: Samoan Oratory* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, Western Extension Centre of the University of the South Pacific and the National University of Samoa, 1987).

²⁹ See Tu’i, “Lauga: The Practice and Principles of Samoan Oratory” Lauga for wedding ceremony in Auckland, 1984, (p. 90); welcome ceremony, Auckland, 1984, (p. 113); Inauguration ceremony, Mangere, 1981, (p. 139) .

³⁰ See Tu’i Lauga for the convocation of fono in Leulumoega, 1984, (p. 60); Title investiture in Lufilufi, 1985, (p. 160); Funeral speech in Saluafata, 1985, (p. 180).

³¹ See Tu’i, 45-47.

Sadat Muai'ava writes that the folasaga grabs the attention of the listener,³² and in its eloquent and intricate delivery gives confidence to the listening supporters of the orator.

2. **Ava³³ (Kava)**

The ava part is also mandatory in lauga for fa'alelegātama, fa'apoipoiga, usualele, fa'aulufalega, saofa'i and maliu.³⁴ Its importance stems from its origin myth: Suāsamiava'ava,³⁵ whose father was the Tui Viti and mother was Samoan from Vailele. When Suāsamiava'ava died, he had requested his mother and siblings to visit their family in Samoa, and to take with them the plant that grows from his grave. During the journey to Samoa, they become aware that the plant, that looked like the fingers of a hand, possessed supernatural powers. Rough seas caused the plant to break into pieces. The travellers left portions of the ava plant at places at which they stopped: Manu'a received a portion, as did Vailele (their mother's village), where it was discovered that ava had a narcotic effect, when rats became disoriented after gnawing on the root, (the Vailele malae is called Niniva, meaning dizziness named after the effect of the kava root on the rats). Safotu in Savai'i received a piece, that they named Tolua'iava (*the third ava*).³⁶ Manono and Apolima also accepted a piece of ava that they called ava Tugase. The journey, its supernatural powers and the gifting of ava constitute the gafa of the ava plant.

The importance of ava is also indicated in le taeao o Saua, *the morning of Saua*. Taeao commemorates significant event in Samoan history. Le taeao o Saua commemorates the first ava ceremony between Tagaloalagi and Pava from Manu'a, when the protocols of the ava ceremony are set. Pava's son, Lefanoga, inadvertently crosses the sacred space during the ceremony, and is cut in half killing him immediately. However, upon seeing Pava's grief, Tagaloalagi resurrects Lefanoga, and ava is used to fuse the

³² See Sadat Muaiava, *Lāuga: Understanding Samoan Oratory* (Te Papa Press, 2022), 64. Muai'ava has a number of Tulafale and ali'i titles, but performs his roles mainly in the diaspora, i.e., practiced in New Zealand churches and communities.

³³ Tu'i, "Lauga: The Practice and Principles of Samoan Oratory," 47–48.

³⁴ Tu'i, 53. See Table 2. For the parts of each different type of lauga.

³⁵ See Steubel, *Samoanische Texte*, 168; Muaiava, *Lāuga: Understanding Samoan Oratory*, 135–36.

³⁶ See Steubel, *Samoanische Texte*, 233.

boys broken body. So, ava the plant and drink have a gafa, and channels supernatural forces, to protect and give life. There is also an element of sacrifice, as seen in the tala, story of Suasamiava'ava and Pava's son.

The ava part of a lauga specifically mentions the plant and drink. The host speaker for apologises for the quality of the ava the offer; and the guest orator praises the quality of the host ava.³⁷ And the first libation of ava is offered to God with the words "O lau ava lea, le Atua" (*this ava is for you, Lord*).³⁸ In pre-Christian times, libation would be offered to village or family gods. In recent times the libation is always offered to the Christian God.

3. Fa'afetai i le alofa o le Atua (Thanks for God's love)

This mandatory part is the "Thanks for God's love" In the times before Christianity, the local and family deity would be given thanks. In the nineteenth century, the Christian God becomes the motivating urge to all Samoan action. Christianity permeates all aspects of Samoan culture and ceremony.³⁹ There is a commonly used phrase: "tu'u mea uma I le Atua" (*Give everything over to the Lord*) which implies to leave it to God's will. This part of the lauga gives thanks for God's intercession; gives thanks to God's workers, the faifeau (*pastors or priests*); give thanks for the *opportunity to speak* (le avanoa); gives thanks to the *host village* (taumale); and to give thanks for *cultural gifts* (fa'alooaloga literally "*objects of respect*").⁴⁰ When receiving gifts, Samoans raise the gift to their head as a sign of gratitude.

4. Paia (Dignities)⁴¹

The greeting by title of key individuals and groups that are assembled (ali'i, *chiefs*; Tulafale, *orators*; aiga, *families*; faifeau, *ministers*; ekalesia, *church groups*). The sides of the house, itū; *the front*, talāiluma, and *the rear*, talāitua and the whole house are

³⁷ See Muaiava, *Lāuga: Understanding Samoan Oratory*, 142-143. Downplaying one's own ava is called fitifiti ava; and the praising of other's ava is called fa'avii'i'i.

³⁸ Muaiava, 145.

³⁹ Tu'i, "Lauga: The Practice and Principles of Samoan Oratory," 48.

⁴⁰ Muaiava, *Lāuga: Understanding Samoan Oratory*, 166-169. For reasons to give thanks in lauga.

⁴¹ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 234 "Pa'ia" is defined as "sacred. A term applied to titled chiefs."

also greeted. The fa'alupega of the visitors is recited and then that of the host village. The fa'alupega of a village is literally the power chart of that village, and the listing of the pa'ia is an inventory of the genealogical, social, and political forces that are represented in the assembled people.

5. **Taeao** (literally, “Mornings”)

Taeao are iconic events in Samoan history.⁴² There are a number of taeao,⁴³ but there are 2 types: mornings of pre-Christian Samoa; and the Gospel mornings that celebrate the arrival of Le Tala Lelei (*Christianity*) to Samoa, i.e., the coming of the London Missionary Society (Taeao nai Mataniu ma Feagaimaleata),⁴⁴ the arrival of Methodism (Taeao nai Faleū ma Utuagiagi),⁴⁵ and the Roman Catholic missions (Taeao nai Malaeola ma Gafoaga).⁴⁶ The taeao list these historic occasions to remind the audience of joyous, terrible and culturally significant occasions. The orator chooses the appropriate taeao for the occasion of his lauga. The energies in the tala, gafa. named people and places in these taeao are called upon and released for the present lauga. It is common practice for orators (past and present day) to use all three Christian taeao in a lauga, and thereby maximising the energies to draw people to action

6. **Faiā/matāupu or auga o le aso**

Faiā is defined as either a bridge, an enclosure, or a matrimonial alliance.⁴⁷ Tu'i describes faiā as “essentially relation by affinity or marriage”⁴⁸ it is an essential part of the wedding, welcome, title investiture, and funeral lauga. The acknowledgement of

⁴² See Milner, *Samoan Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan.*, 224.

⁴³ Tu'i, “Lauga: The Practice and Principles of Samoan Oratory,” 19-24. For a list of 15 taeao, including the 3 Gospel taeao; See also Muaiava, *Lāuga: Understanding Samoan Oratory*, 208-216. Muai'ava lists 7 taeao. His two types are: Taeao o le Atunu'u (pre-christian); and Taeao o le Talalelei (Gospel).

⁴⁴ Mataniu and Feagaimaleata are the 2 main malae (*village greens*) for the village of Sapapālī'i, where the Reverend John Willaims of the London Missionary Society first landed in 1830.

⁴⁵ Faleū and Utuagiagi are the 2 main malae on the Manono, where the Wesleyan Methodist Reverend Peter Turner first landed in 1835.

⁴⁶ In 1845, Catholicism was accepted in Lealatele in Savai'i. Its two main malae are Malaeola and Gafoaga. However in 1908, the village was relocated to a site in Upolu (Tuamasaga) and renamed as Leauva'a (“those who came by boat”), see Tuala Leota Lemalu Tele'a Lili, *O Le Manuia Sa Lilo: A Blessing in Disguise* (Samoa: The Author, 2008), 27–34.

⁴⁷ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 142.

⁴⁸ See Tu'i, “Lauga: The Practice and Principles of Samoan Oratory,” 50.

marriage relationships, affinity, outlines the auala, passage and thereby rights for the people to be at that assembly. It is also a statement of blood relation.

Matā'upu⁴⁹ or auga o le aso

This is sometimes regarded as the main topic or argument of the lauga. However, Muai'ava refers to this section as “autū o le aso”, contextualisation of the lauga.⁵⁰ Orators use words and phrases that accentuate the purpose and theme of the lauga. For example, on the occasion of a wedding, a predominant metaphor would be “ia fua tele le niu” (*may the coconut tree bear many fruit*), that the union may bear many children. At his saofa'i (*title bestowals*), Muai'ava heard the terms “fa'apa'ia” (*to consecrate or to bless*); he heard the blessing “ia fa'agaganaina outou e le Atua” (*may God bless you all with oratory skills*); he would hear the exhortations “ia fa'aogā tou matai e tautua ai le ekālesia” (*use your matai titles to serve the church*), “ia outou manatua le nu'u” (*May you all remember the village*), “la manuia a outou nofo” (*May your title tenure be blessed*).

The faiā and matāupu appear to serve different but related functions: to establish the affinal and blood relation, and thereby the right to speak, and the matāupu to enunciate clearly the purpose and context of the lauga. The previous sections power up the matāupu o le aso through word-images that tulafale use.

7. Fa'amātafiga o lagi

Clearing of the heavens. This section ends the lauga. It is not a summary of the topics covered. The speaker wishes everyone peace, prosperity and good luck, firstly the visitors and then the village.⁵¹ All the energies that have built up, are now dispersed.

This brief analysis of the parts of lauga shows that each section gathers and concentrates gafa and vā energies: The **folasaga** grabs the attention of the audience by intricately merging

⁴⁹ Matāupu is defined as “a subject of discourse”, see Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 213; Auga is defined as “foundation, root. O le auga a Le Tala Lelei: The ~ of Christianity”. See Milner, *Samoan Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan.*, 34.

⁵⁰ Muaiava, *Lāuga: Understanding Samoan Oratory*, 255–57.

⁵¹ See Tu'i, “Lauga: The Practice and Principles of Samoan Oratory,” 50–51.

mythology and proverbial phrases. The **ava** serves to instil a sense of communality. It does this by the power of its gafa, and narratives of sacrifice. The **fa'afetai** acknowledges and gives thanks to the gods. Since, the Christianising of Samoa, thanks is given to the Christian God, who now powers the Samoan universe. In the **pa'ia**, the recitation of fa'alupega and acknowledgment of the fale and malae pins the assembled individuals and groups to a specific location. The **taeao**, mornings recalls the energies and vā relations of past historically significant events, and puts them in service of the present occasion. The parts of the lauga have to this point concentrated and honed vā and gafa forces for the delivery of the **matā'upu** and **auga o le aso**. The **fa'amātafiga o lagi**, the clearing or cleaning of the skies, where after the build-up of vā and gafa forces, there is a release of tension, and a restoration of balance, as all parties are wished well. It is a positive ending to the lauga.⁵²

In 1905, Lauaki was involved in the unsuccessful attempt to form the Samoan copra cooperative called the Oloa, or the kumpani. Its suppression by the German Administration led to the dismantling of the Samoan Administration. The Ta'imua were disbanded, the pulenu'u were now based in the villages reporting to German Colonial officers, and Matā'afa sat alone in Mulinu'u. By 1908, Lauaki had become the leading voice of Samoan protest against the German Administration, which had coalesced into a movement called Mau a Pule. The name is translated by the Reverend Herder as "the opinion, the conviction of Savai'i",⁵³ Pratt's dictionary defines the term "mau" as "to be firm, to be fast".⁵⁴ Lauaki had long discerned the colonial government's strategy of whittling away the autonomy of the Samoan Administration, and completely subordinating it to the Colonial Administration. The Mau a Pule were demanding that more of a role for the Ali'i Sili, and for the Ta'imua to be reinstated at Mulinu'u, that is the reinstatement of the Samoan Administration. The Pulenu'u were to report to the Ali'i Sili and the Samoan Administration. At close to 60 years old, Lauaki was rejuvenated. So, a showdown with the German Administration was inevitable.

⁵² See Muaiaava, *Lāuga: Understanding Samoan Oratory*, 257–58. Fa'amatafi means wishes for good health. Muai'ava places an emphasis on wellbeing.

⁵³ (No. 3) Heider to the Governor, 30 Jan 1908. in Administration of Western Samoa, *A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauati) in Western Samoa - 1909*, vol. III, n.d., 320.

⁵⁴ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 197; The more modern Samoan dictionary defines mau as to hold fast, stick firmly", see Milner, *Samoan Dictionary. Samoan-English, English-Samoan.*, 139. So Mau is much more than just an opinion, it is a resolutely held conviction.

The occasion was a special visit by Governor Solf, who had just returned from Germany with his new bride. Lauaki had wanted to greet the Governor's boat at Apia, when he arrived in Samoa, but he and his supporters had been forbidden to come to Apia. Lauaki was told that the Governor would come to Savai'i, Safotulafai, as part of touring the colony with his new wife. Lauaki's speech took place at the Safotulafai malae, village named Fuifatu, on 18 December 1908.

The process of fono, *Samoan meeting* begins alerting appropriate people, what Samoans term as logo, "to report" or "to hear".⁵⁵ It relies on activating Samoan networks of people and resources. Appropriate Samoan groups are informed by feau, *messenger*. The aim is to bring people together, that they converge upon the occasion of the fono/lauga.

The Reverend George Brown notes the use of messengers:

Heralds or messengers were always held sacred in war...Each land had a name for its herald or embassy....No one would say that a messenger had come with a command or request from Safotulafai, but simply "the Tagaloatea" had come; from Satupa'itea, "the Vasa" had come; from Palauli, "the Taulua"; from Falefa "the Laufa"; from Manono, "The Maina".⁵⁶

Prior to this meeting the "Tagaloatea" (the messengers from Safotulāfai) would visit the 6 pule (Fa'asaleleaga, Saleaula, Palauli, Satupa'itea, Safotu, Faleālupo); the Tumua (Lufilufi, Atua; Leulumoega, A'ana), the laumua of Malietoa (Tuisāmau [Malie] and Auimatagi [Afega]). At this time messengers would also travel to Tutuila. Messengers would announce the meeting date, location, and purpose of the meeting. One messenger could set off a cascade of messengers, as those villages would also send their own messengers to alert their neighbours and allies of the impending fono. Each of these groups would decide whether they would attend, the representatives to send, and preparations would be made for travel. On the occasion for this meeting, the Tagaloatea were sent to Fa'saleleaga, Tuisāmau and

⁵⁵ See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 189.

⁵⁶ Brown, George Brown, D. D.: *Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer: An Autobiography. A Narrative of Forty-Eight Years' Residence and Travel in Samoa, New Britain, New Ireland, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands.*, 51.

Auimatagi, Savai'i and Sā Malietoa strongholds.⁵⁷ These communications channels are part of a network that were utilised to disseminate information, and in this case to ensure maximum representation of parties with vested pule.

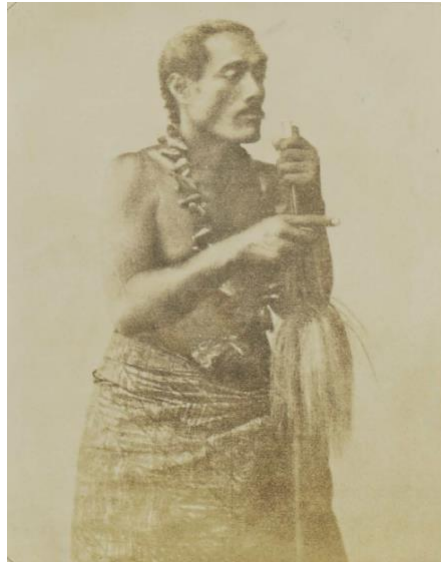


Figure 11. *Lauaki, N. Tulafale of Safotulafai Savai'i*. Taken from Administration of Western Samoa II, 123

The fono tauati, speech on the open malae is taxing on the speaker. The record of Lauati's speech is only 3 pages in length.⁵⁸ However, he spoke at length because at the end of the record, there is this note:

During the Orators [Lauaki's] speech, one man stood up and bought a large branch of a tree to shelter the speaker from the heat of the sun.⁵⁹

In the abbreviated notes, Lauaki firstly gives thanks to the Lord for the safe appearance of the Father and Mother of Samoa and greets the assemblage at the Fuifatu malae "where the history of past Samoa Government lie buried". He is thankful:

for the good fortune of Your Excellency in that you have bought a Mother for Samoa – the beauty of beauties has at last made Samoa distinguished.

⁵⁷ See Dr Solf's report to the Colonial Office in Berlin. dated 10 May 1909. In Administration of Western Samoa, *A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauaki)*, II:130. The Governor finds "a large majority- alone nearly the whole of Fa'asaleleaga- taking Lauati's side an ready tp follow him anywhere.

⁵⁸ (No. 4). Friday 18 Dec, 1898. Speech made by Tulafale Lauati, at Safotuafai, Savai'i. See Administration of Western Samoa, *A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauati) in Western Samoa - 1909*, n.d., III:323–25.

⁵⁹ Administration of Western Samoa, III:325.

In six lines of the English translation there are the extremely foreshortened Tuvaoga, Fa’afetai and Paia sections. There is mention of the historically important malae Fuifatu, but there is no Taeao nor ava section. This lauga structure is severely curtailed in translation. It may mean that the note-taker did not record these parts of Lauaki’s lauga, because they were not regarded as important.

The matā’upu or auga section is introduced with the phrase “but my soul is almost taking its flight” because of the Governor’s accusations against him. Lauaki states that lesser orators would have found it difficult to draw breath in facing those charges. To the accusation that he wants to replace Matā’afa as the leading Samoan. Lauaki reminds Solf that he had placed Matā’afa in his current position. As for harbouring rebellious thoughts, when he and supporters wished to meet them when they arrived from Germany, he says that it was to show fa’aaloalo, *respect*, and to place before him the wishes of the Ali’i Sili, Matā’afa Iosefo.⁶⁰ The tulafale acts at the behest of the Ali’i that he serves. I think that this is a very important point, as most historical accounts give the impression that Lauaki is acting on his own.

He reminds everyone that:

the sons of Sons of old Samoa Kings and the darlings of the Nation. They have been left under my guardianship. Then we again beseech you to allow the Faipule Kaiserlika to again assemble in Mulinu’u where our fathers are buried.

He has worked with all the major powerbrokers of Samoa (Leulumoega, Lufilufi, Auimatagi, Tuisamau and Aiga i le Tai). He likens himself to a master boat builder:

When I think it best to place the plank of a boat which I am building, inside or out.
All they have to do is to hold on and keep the plank in position

Lauaki explains his position in relation to Governor Solf using an “anecdote”, a proverb (à la Penisimani). He tells the story of Lautivunia, who sleeps with Lavinia, a concubine of his brother, the Tu’i Tonga. Lavinia gives birth to a boy named Tupou. The Tu’i Tonga resolved to kill his brother. Lautivunia asks for his forgiveness by presenting firstly, a meal of yam and fowl wrapped bamboo leaves. The wrapping of lau’ofe (bamboo leaves) and ufi (yam)

⁶⁰ Administration of Western Samoa, III:324.

symbolises the filial connection. The Tu'i Tonga recognised the significance of the meal when he says:

Indeed we are true brothers, yet the man [Lautivunia] must die.⁶¹

Lautivunia sends another dish wrapped in “Lauti [*Leaves from ti tree*] and Launonu [*leaves from the Nonu tree*]”. The meaning of this dish sends may be found in the ‘alagaupu, *proverbial expression*:

Ifo i le ti, a’e i le nonu⁶²
(take it off the ti tree, hang it on the nonu tree)

The proverb is used as a warning to quarrelling families. Lautivunia’s message that the brothers must resolve this family quarrel, because no one benefits from its continuance. Yet the Tui Toga rebuffs the gift and still insists on the death of his brother, saying:

Indeed he jumps from the Ti to the Nonu – but for all that, the man will surely die.⁶³

Lautivunia, seeing the intransigence of his brother, resolves to kill himself:

But not in the bush nor on the ocean, lest Tui Toga would not find him and afterwards feel disappointed. So he remembered the Malae – the burial place of a long line of Tui Toga’s, and where the Alia (Ocean going canoes) is kept. Here he buries himself alive until he died, but with his face towards the seat of the Tui Toga.⁶⁴

The Tui Toga sends search parties to Samoa, and in Salāfai (Savai’i), they are sent back to Tonga to search under the Tui Toga’s canoes. Lautivunia’s body is found, and a drinking cup for the Tui Toga, is made of his skull. The gruesome cup is hung around the neck of the boy Tupou.

Lauaki explains that in this narrative, the Governor is the Tui Toga, Lauaki is Lautivunia who has slept with his wife, who represents the Tulāfono (the Law). So Lauaki has abused the law, and the Tui Toga/Governor has resolved that he should die, despite “the dainty dishes” he presents to him - No doubt, Lauaki is referring to his service with the German Administration

⁶¹ Administration of Western Samoa, III:325.

⁶² Schultz, *Samoa Proverbial Expressions: Alagaupu Fa’a-Samoa*, 140. (no:560). Schultz notes “the saying is used to refer to discontent and envy: Pratt [1893, p. 308]: Applied to family quarrels.”

⁶³ Administration of Western Samoa, *A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauati) in Western Samoa - 1909*, n.d., III:325.

⁶⁴ Administration of Western Samoa, III:325.

and to Samoa as a whole. Lauaki asks the Governor, that like Lautivunia, to let him die on the malae with his eyes turned to the spot occupied by the Tui Toga/Governor:

I also am Tupou in this respect, I wear thy cup wherever I go, and tied forever around my neck are **the Samoan traditions and usages to which we have been accustomed** (emphasis mine).⁶⁵

It is apparent that this lauga is not of contrition but of defiance. Lauaki, like Lautivunia, acts as a reminder to the Governor/Tui Toga of his folly. The imagery of a defiled wife, was meant to discomfort the newly wed Governor; the repeated efforts to cajole the Governor/Tui Toga to act correctly; and the skull hanging from Tupou's neck is a constant reminder of the cost of the Tui Toga/Governor's obstinacy. Finally, the skull represents "the Samoan traditions and usages to which we have been accustomed"; an often repeated refrain in Samoan history since the 1840s, when there is increased European interference in Samoan autonomy.

Standing next to the German flag on the malae, the Governor replies to Lauaki, with his own speech.⁶⁶ - not a lauga. He greets the assemblage, and then states that Lauaki has given proof of his reputation for being "a clever Failauga" (*orator*). Solf points out a few home truths: that Samoa is now under the care of Germany, no other foreign power can intervene in the administration of German Samoa. So, asking the Americans to intervene in German affairs is futile.⁶⁷ All loyal Samoans are protected by the sharp beak, talons and spreading wings of the Eagle as depicted on the German flag.⁶⁸ He points out that Samoa has been peaceful for 10 years:

Where then have you seen any more bloodshed – burning houses and depredations on plantation during the last 10 years, since the hoisting of the German flag?

He reminds Lauaki that as a Faipule in the Samoan Administration, he should report any discontent to the biannual meetings of Faipule at Mulinu'u. All high appointments, such as

⁶⁵ Administration of Western Samoa, III:325.

⁶⁶ Administration of Western Samoa, *A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauaki)*, II:159–62.

⁶⁷ Administration of Western Samoa, II:161. The young Chief I'iga Pisa was caught attempting to go to American Samoa with a letter asking for America to annex German Samoa. He had smuggled himself on a boat travelling to Tutuila.

⁶⁸ Administration of Western Samoa, II:159.

that of the Alii Sili, are not his prerogative but that of the Kaiser.⁶⁹ Solf takes exception to Lauaki's version of the Lautivunia story, in that he did not carry it on to the end. Tupou carried the skull cup around his neck till his mother told him that it was his father Lautivunia's skull. Tupou avenged his father by assassinating the Tui Toga. Solf states:

If then you say that you are Tupou, then you are the murderer Tupou, and you would then kill me, the Tui Toga?⁷⁰

The Governor concludes his speech by saying that he will not pursue an examination into his acts against the Government at this point, but Lauaki is required to report to Apia for examination.

The abridged English translation does not do justice to either oration. Both were delivered in Samoan. However, even through German and English linguistic filters, we can see two distinct ways of describing the world around them. The Lauaki's lauga has been shorn of its energetical elements: The tuvaoga, fa'afetai and pa'ia sections are extremely short. Yet, these are sections that energise the lauga: the tuvaoga, grabs the attention of the listeners. The fa'afetai section is the acknowledgement of the Christian God and draws on its power in the delivery of the lauga. The pa'ia draws on the energies of the cited fa'alupega. There are no taeao or ava sections or they were not recorded. Yet, there is a suspicion that the speech took much longer in its delivery, as it notes that a man came with a branch to shade the orator from the heat of the sun. The tenor of the Lauaki's lauga shows that it was aimed at the assembled Samoan chiefs: He is reminding the Samoan assemblage of their loss of political autonomy under the German Colonial Administration. He demands the reinstatement of the Pulenu'u offices at Mulinu'u under the leadership of the Ali'i Sili, Matā'afa. The Ali'i Sili should have the trappings of their office :

uniform – sword – salute of guns. Just as the old Samoa Kings used to have.

Furthermore, Lauaki wants to influence the election of the next Ali'i Sili. Moreover, he reminds the assembled chiefs that what he is safeguarding is "the Samoan traditions and

⁶⁹ Administration of Western Samoa, II:161. Matā'afa Iosefo was of an age, where the question of succession was a very real concern. The contenders were Malietoa Tanumafili, Tamasese Lealofi, Fa'alata, and Tuimaleali'ifano.

⁷⁰ Administration of Western Samoa, II:161.

usages to which we have been accustomed” -as symbolised by the skull cup around Tupou’s neck.

The Governor, on the other hand, gives a speech, it does not have the sections of a lauga. He comes straight to the point: Samoa has enjoyed ten years of peace, under the German Administration. He denounces Lauaki as a duplicitous trouble maker. Solf thinks he is being clever when he notes that in the allegory, Tupou matures to assassinate the Tui Toga. But that was the unspoken moral of the story: anyone tampering with Samoan custom will surely die. In the end, he takes no actions against Lauaki and his supporters. He advises Lauaki to present himself in Mulinu’u.

Lauaki had long been at the forefront of Samoan resistance to the German Administration, but with this speech, it seems as if he runs headlong to a direct confrontation with the Germans. He supported by most of Savai’i and Manono. Using the messenger networks, he coordinates Samoan support and seeks support from Tumua through series of fono. In January 14, 1909, he lands with about 3,000 armed supporters. He forces another back down by the Germans at a fono in Vaiusu on January 18. This time in the presence of assembled chiefs, Lauaki says that all his actions were a result of Matā’afa’s instructions to approach the Governor about reinstating the Samoan Administration in Mulinu’u with the Ta’imua and Pulenu’u, and his need for a uniform and gun salute. It was the Ali’i Sili

who loaded the gun, which he Lauati, in Samoan reverence for the High Chief, had to fire.⁷¹

Lauaki finishes his lengthy lauga, with a promise to withdraw in peace, if he be forgiven his latest transgressions. Matā’afa started his reply “spontaneously”. The recorder says that Matā’afa was justificatory in tone, and did not attempt to dispute any of Lauaki’s statements.

He made some phrases about the darkness still reigning in the hearts of the Samoans, and expressed a hope that with God’s help with the devils which now were creating confusion in Samoa would be vanquished.⁷²

⁷¹ Vailima, 10 May 1909. The Reichs-Kolonialamt, Report 143. In Administration of Western Samoa, II:136–37. Lauaki’s speech on this occasion “may be considered a masterpiece of Samoan rhetoric and diplomacy”

⁷² Vailima, 10 May 1909. The Reichs-Kolonialamt, Report 143. Administration of Western Samoa, II:137.

However, Matā'afa's saunoaga⁷³ serves the Ali'i purpose of dampening some of the energies released by Lauaki's words and sentiments. He does not refute any of the claims, because they are true in part – Tulafale do act at behest of Ali'i. Matā'afa's words calm the fraught atmosphere and heightened tensions amongst the Samoan pro and anti-Government listeners. He also sets the tone for the Governor's response: In his reply, Solf does not address the role of the Ali'i Sili in Lauaki's explanation. He dramatically rips up two inflammatory letters written by Lauaki, and pardons Lauaki of his anti-government actions, on the condition that he disperse his forces and return to Savai'i in peace.

The Governor's conciliatory tack was probably dictated by the fact, that they were surrounded by thousands of armed war painted warriors. The Governor uses the traditional frictions between Tumua (Leulumoega and Lufilufi) and Pule to drum up resistance to the Mau a Pule. He taunted Tumua saying that they are following the lead of Pule. He was so successful in exacerbating traditional rivalries that Tumua (Leulumoega and Lufilufi) held fono declaring war on Pule. Lauaki had complained:

Lufilufi had sent Togisala [the guild of messengers] as messengers of war to Leulumoega to stir up Tumua against Pule⁷⁴

The Samoan officials were members of the colonial bureaucratic network. After 1905, these officials were reporting directly to the German Administration. As bureaucrats, they owe their paid positions to the German Administration. The bureaucrat's (rational legal) authority derive from the offices they held in the German Administration, rather than their inherited matai title. At the same time, their eligibility for certain administrative positions was dependent on being matai, e.g., Pulenu'u, *village mayor*. However, as Samoan matai, they also belong to the feau, fono and nu'u circuits and networks of the traditional chiefs. The bureaucrat/chiefs keep the German Administration apprised of Lauaki's movements and efforts to coalesce support around him. The Governor's strategy of utilising the traditional divisions between the tulafale confederations of Tumua and Pule, drawing on the loyalties of

⁷³ Sāunoaga means " conversation of chiefs". See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 255.

⁷⁴ Vailima, 10 May 1909. The Reichs-Kolonialamt, Report 143. In Administration of Western Samoa, A *Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauaki)*, II:137.

his Samoan bureaucrats led to Lauaki's capitulation and subsequent exile. Thus, the German Administration were kept informed of Lauaki's movements and plans. Lauaki found his support slipping away except for the stalwart support Fa'asaleleaga, Satupa'itea, and Manono. Ultimately, he and his supporters were outgunned with the arrival of the German gunship, *Leipzig* on March 18.

In April 1909, Lauaki and a number of chiefs and 70 family members from Fa'asaleleaga, Satupa'itea, and Manono were exiled. They included: Lauati, Tuilagi, Namulauulu, Tevaga, Asiata Taetoloa, Asiata Ma'agaolo, I'iga Pisa, Leiataua, Mana, Taupa'u Pauesi, and Le Tagaloa.⁷⁵ Lauaki never saw Samoa again. While returning with the other exiles He died of dysentery in Tarawa, Gilbert Islands on November 14, 1915.

4.5 Conclusion

The annexation of Samoa brought the tridominium era to an end. The new Governor Wilhelm Solf recognised that Samoan political structures around the Tafa'ifā, especially the orator confederations of Tumua and Pule were challenges to colonial rule. So, the abolition of the Tafa'ifā and replacing it with the office of Ali'i Sili for the then leading Samoan Mata'āfa Iosefo was the first step. In terms of Samoan energetics, it seems as if order had been restored to the Samoan universe. The correct leader was now in place and gafa politics could proceed apace. The top Samoan position of Ali'i Sili, then became a focus of Samoan energetical competition. However, a colonial regime aims to subordinate and suborn indigenous elites to their own ends. And they did this by turning the top Samoan officials into agents of the state. The orator confederations of Tumua and Pule were defanged by the promotion of new chiefs as paid officials of the state. And yet the need for Samoans to focus vā and gafa forces in one person or status remains constant even under colonial rule. The Gafa worldview is seen in the persistence of fa'alupega and the lauga. Even Samoan supporters of the German Administration, such as Te'o Tuvale, who when asked by the incoming New Zealand Administrator to write a history of Samoa, begins with the Gafa of the Rock.

⁷⁵ See Administration of Western Samoa, *A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion (O Le Mau Lauati) in Western Samoa - 1909*, n.d., III:352.

The establishment of the LTC and the entrenchment of Pulenu'u, who were paid agents of the Administration, had the effect of dismantling the power of the village fono. Ironically, many of the LTC cases would traditionally have been dealt with by the village fono. This would mean that property and title disputes were under the guardianship of village a whole, not an impersonal bureaucracy. The administration of Samoans meant the Governor and his lead officers had to intervene at the local level as chiefs regarded the LTC as another arena for contestation.



Figure 12. *Ali'i Sili – Mata'afa Iosefo*. Taken from Administration of Western Samoa, II: 122.



Figure 13. *Melanesian officers to bolster the Samoan fitafita*. The German Administration never deployed them during the Lauaki troubles. Braisby Collection @ Auckland Museum. Kiindly supplied by photographic historian Tony Brunt

5. Notions of vā-history: gafa, and tala, people and places

This section examines what Samoans considered important in the telling of history. Much like their myths, legends, proverbs, and fa'alupega, and lauga; important things are elucidated with tala (story of significance), gafa (genealogical connection), important named people and place (geographical location). Tala enables the flow of gafa energy pathways of energy through ala (*circuitry pathways*) of people and places.

One instance where Samoan notions of gafa and European notions of history meet is in the work of Te'o Tuvalu (1845-1919). Teo was born in Faleasiu and was a member of the renowned Sā Petaia. He served as an administrator for various Samoan governments, and European Administrations during the later 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1918, he was asked by the New Zealand Administrator Colonel Robert Logan (1863-1935) to write a history of Samoa (He calls it tala tu'u fasolo, which literally means a *sequential story that have been handed down*). Of his undertaking, Te'o writes:

Different version of the ancestors and of the beginning of Samoa together with a record of events in past times down to the present day.

Although the stories and opinions from different districts differ and lack a single origin, yet they have been recorded. The recording has not been done under the eye of a critic for Samoan stories in the days of darkness were **treasured in the heart and not written**.

I, Te'o Tuvalu, have tried to gather these stories over many years for my own use and interest. Colonel Robert Logan intimated to me that he wished me to put on record the story of happenings in Samoa from ancient times to the present day in order that they should be issued in printed form, and I attempt to obey his wish with this object in view.¹

It is indeed unfortunate that the Samoan original of Te'o's papers is missing or no longer exists. We currently have only the English translation, which was done by E. Riddel on 10 November 1930, 21 years after the death of Te'o Tuvalu. Of his translation, Riddel writes:

¹ Tuvalu Te'o, "Papers Relating to History of Samoa [Held Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia]" (n.d.), preface [p. 2?], ML MSS 39 item C.

An attempt has been made to adhere as closely as possible to a literal translation of these notes.

Although there are some apparent contradictions in dates of events and some repetition of events, neither the dates nor the incidents have been omitted or altered in the translation. A fuller understanding of the native mind and of the intention of the writer as well as of the incidents recorded, would probably reconcile any discrepancies.²

A microfilm copy is kept at the Mitchell Library New South Wales, Australia.³ The manuscript copy has 19 separate files, and each file has its own pagination. It does not have a table of contents, so navigation is cumbersome. The whole document consists about 302 pages. However, because the original documents are missing, it is unclear as to whether Te'o is the author of the whole document. But what is certain is that Te'o's history relates to the first 5 chapters consisting of 102 pages, which are numbered uniformly. I think that his history, *tala tu'u fa'asolo*, (literally, stories in sequence) refers to the first five chapters of the manuscript. Te'o died 22 December 1919, so his *tu'u fa'asolo*, *history* is one of his final duties.

The first chapters of Te'o's history are *gafa*,⁴ *genealogies* outlining the familial origins of the Upolu and Savai'i. They are:

Chapter 1: The ancestors of Samoa – Tumua and Pule and their King. (pp. 1-5)

Chapter 2: The ancestry of Lealali. (pp. 5-9)

Chapter 3 Beliefs of Tuamasaga regarding the history of Samoa. (pp. 10-11)

Chapter 4: Lauati's version of the Ancestors of Samoa. (pp. 11-14)

Except for Chapter 2: The ancestry of Lealali, each of these *gafa* start with the *gafa* of the primordial rock. The *gafa* of the rock is inspired by observations of how the life force of plants break through and break down volcanic rock. It serves a dual purpose, firstly to show the age of the *gafa* as it starts in the pre-human phase of the development of the Samoan universe;

² Te'o, [preface]. Emphasis mine

³ There is also an online version found on New Zealand Electronic Texts NZET version follows the same file order as the microfilm copy. This online version is a machine code version of the original manuscript. It has a clickable table of contents of the titles of individual files. The NZET online version can be found at: <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TuvAcco.html> The microfilm copy, that I use, has folder numbers in the top right hand corner.

⁴ For a similar description of Te'o's history, see Jocelyn Linnekin, "Contending Approaches," in *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, ed. Donald Denoon et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 18–19.

and second to show that these gafa are powered by the forces that encouraged life in the Samoan universe.

Chapter 5: A record of events in Samoa since 1822. {pp. 15-102) is an 87 page chronology of events 1822-1918. a tala tu'u fa'asolo (*sequential stories that have been handed down*). If we examine a typical entry in his chronology:

Jan 19 1878	Mauga ⁵ knelt down on a fine mat and humbled himself before the Government as compensation for his rebellious conduct. The mat was called Filoiaulo . I went to Mulinu'u to live in the house of my brother LeMamea ⁶ who was in America. I was also appointed a scribe to assist the Secretary to the Government. ⁷
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It has a European running date; named people, in this case Mauga, a rebellious Tutuila chief; a tala: Mauga performs an ifoga⁸ asking pardon for his rebellious behaviour. Mauga uses a mat named Filoiaulo (*thread of gold*).

Te'o then brings in autobiographical details of himself, his family. That is at that time, he was living in Mulinu'u at the house of his older brother Le Mamea, who was in America arranging a treaty. His gafa becomes part of the tala tu'u fa'asolo. Important events are from his perspective, and punctuated with events that concern his brothers, extended family, and village of Faleasi'u.

The format of chronological history is not alien to Samoans. Like gafa, tala tu'u faasolo have tala that link named people, objects and places. In other words, Te'o bringing in his family and

⁵ See Gilson, *Samoa: 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 319-20. By 1875, Mauga had made himself unpopular with Europeans and Samoans for demanding high port taxes. See also Te'o, "Papers Relating to History of Samoa [Held Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia]," 32. Maunga dies in Tutuila in Oct 21, 1880.

⁶ Le Mamea Faletoese Makalau Va'aelua (1836-1894) is Te'o's brother. He was one of the first missionary educated Samoans. His father was a pastor in the LMS. Le Mamea's notes are the basis of Te'o's history, and *O le Tusi fa'alupega o Samoa*, 1930, Upu Tomua

⁷ Te'o, "Papers Relating to History of Samoa [Held Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia]," 24.

⁸Ifoga is a ritual of attrition, or submission, where the wrong doer asks for forgiveness by sitting under an ie toga. See Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 87. Ifoga is defined as "bowing down, an act of submission."

village into his history, adds a dynamic, and gives direction to his chronology. They are markers as to where the Sā Petaiā stand as the tide of historical events and happenings lap against them. The gafa and tala tu'u fa'asolo enables us to track vā forces as they course through Samoan society at that point of time. One of the main organising principle to Te'o's history is to articulate and adapt those aspects that Samoans "treasured in their hearts." Hence, the mention of family and nu'u.

6. Tala tu'umusumusuga a le vā:¹ gafa forces in Samoan artefacts.

In examining Samoan indigenous religion, the Samoan scholar Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese talks of a culture of whispers – musumusuga meaning *whispers*. He distinguishes two types of whispers in Samoan culture. Tui Atua explains that things that matter to Samoans are tala tu'umusumusuga, which are whispered stories that convey positive virtues. The phrase “Tala tu'u” conveys the idea of a story that has been handed down.² On the other hand, tala taumusumusuga, are whispered stories that are “pejorative and throw away comments that are meant to pass on prejudice and dislike”. Tui Atua cites Sister Vitolia Mo'a saying that tala tu'umusumusuga is “sacred and profound” and the other as irreverent. In this section, I examine a number of nineteenth century Samoan objects, to show the persistence of vā and gafa forces in Samoan thinking. It seems to me that the provenance records of such objects may provide its gafa, and thereby a means to activate the vā and gafa forces dormant in object.

In 2018, I was visited the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, Germany. I wanted to examine the Augustin Krämer (1865-1941) collection of artefacts. The Linden Museum has many Krämer's Samoan artefacts. I was interested in those objects that have provenance records. Provenance records show the origins of an artefact, but I was hoping that Krämer may also have recorded the Samoans from whom he obtained the artifact, special circumstances by which he came across the artefacts, and the significance of the object to Samoans. Krämer did provide provenance details for several Samoan artefacts in his collection in the second volume of his publication *Die Samoaner Inseln*. The Linden Museum also has Krämer's 12 field diaries.³

¹ See Tui Atua, Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi, “Whispers and Vanities in Samoan Indigenous Religious Culture,” in *Whispers and Vanities: Samoan Indigenous Knowledge and Religion*, ed. Suaalii-Sauni, Tamasailau M et al. (Huia Publishers, 2014), 11-12. Tui Atua translates musumusuga as “whispers”. He contrasts “tala tu'u musumusuga” (stories that whispered to convey positive virtues) and “tala taumusumusuga” that are “pejorative throw away comments that are meant to pass on prejudice and dislike.”

² Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language Samoan-English, English-Samoan*, 104. Talatu'u is referred to the term “uputu'u” which is defined as “a tradition” .

³ Linden Museum, “Augustin Krämer Tagebuch Index” (Linden Museum, (n.d.)) Handwritten entries of his fieldwork. Vols 5-7 (1893-1895), have notes from his first voyage to Samoa; and Vols 8-10 (1897-1899) second voyage.

I found this curious artefact in the holding cabinets (see right). It is an ipu fafano (a washing bowl). Krämer provides the provenance of the ipu fafano in volume 2 of his *The Samoan Islands*:

It should also be mentioned that Samoans eat meat tearing it apart with their fingers, but after a meal wash their hands and rinse out their mouths. While the young people seek to do so outside, water is taken to the chiefs. in former days in special hand washing bowls, **ipu fafano** or tanoa fa'a'au resp. fai le 'au. 34cm long, has six legs under the bowl. also a handle. Illustration [Above] shows one such bowl of **Saluafata** which **accidentally** came into my possession in **1898**



Figure 14. Underside of Ipu fafano . Research Images by I'u Tuagalu © Linden Museum, Stuttgart

It is of **recent and poor workmanship**; 34cm long, has six legs under the bowl. also a handle. That brings to mind the cannibal meal plates of Fiji which however have only two legs supporting the bowl. However in the Samoan collection in Berlin there also is a kava bowl of about 20cm diameter with only two legs on one side. at the third side is a handle with a foot similar to the hand washing bowl of Saluafata. Its workmanship definitely points to Samoa but Fijian influence is unmistakeable.⁴ (emphasis mine)

He states the purpose of the object, its Samoan name, an ipu fafano. It comes from the village of Saluafata, and that it came accidentally into his possession in 1898. He notes its dimensions and similarities in design to Fijian cannibal meal plates. He also states that there is an ipu of similar design in the Samoan collections in Berlin. Furthermore, the ipu is of “recent and poor workmanship”.



Figure 15. *Ipu fafano*. Research Images by I'u Tuagalu © Linden Museum, Stuttgart

⁴ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 2: Material culture:152.

However, while examining volume 8 of Krämer's field diaries, I came across this entry which had a drawing of the ipu fafano:

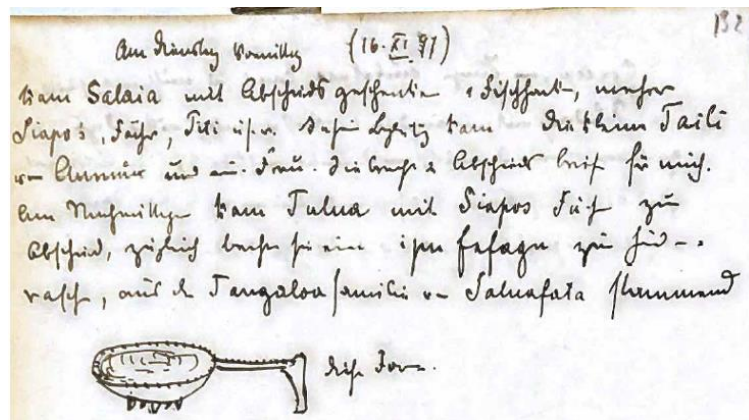


Figure 16. Page from Krämer diary vol 8, p. 132. Research images by I'u Tuagalu @ Linden Museum Stuttgart

I am unable to read the handwritten German script.⁵ But luckily, Dr Ulrich Menter of the Linden Museum was on hand and provided a quick translation (ellipses indicate where words were indecipherable):

On Tuesday morning (16.11.97)

Salaia came with farewell gifts (*Abschieds Geschenken*): 1 fishing net, some siapo's fans, titi etc... In his company were the little Saili of Aunu'u. In the afternoon Tulua came with siapos for farewell, at the same time they brought an ipu fafagu [...for washing hands(?)] from the Tangaloa family of Saluafata.⁶

There are significant differences between the field diary entry and the published text. Firstly, the date is 1897. Secondly, the ipu was a farewell gift (*Abschieds Geschenken*) during his second visit to Samoa.⁷ Thirdly a number of Samoans are named : Salaia, Saili of Aunu'u, Tulua. Fourthly, a number of Samoan villages are named: Salaia is from Siumu and is a fishing expert (elsewhere Salaia is termed a Gewährsman, *pundit*) and in 1897, he was living in

⁵ German handwriting scripts can be difficult to read. Kurrent script is based on Latin medieval cursive script and was in popular use in Germany around 1865. Sütterlin script is based on Kurrent and was developed around 1911. It was taught in German schools 1935-1941. German colleagues agree that that Krämer's handwriting script is particularly difficult to decipher.

⁶ Krämer, Augustin, "Tagebuch [Diary]. Volume 8." (1997), 132 Translation by Dr Ulrich Menter, Linden Museum, Stuttgart.

⁷ See Mönter, *Dr Augustin Krämer: A German Ethnologist in the Pacific*, 2021, 21. He makes two visits to Samoa: 1893-1895; and in 1897-1899. From mid November 1897 – May 17 1898, he toured the Pacific travelling with various German vessels. See Mönter, 49.

Mulinu'u as he was a member of Malietoa Laupepa's Samoan Government.⁸ Aunu'u is a small volcanic island in Tutuila, which at this time was not yet annexed by the United States, so, Tutuila was involved in the political turmoil in Samoa. Furthermore, the ipu fafano is associated with the Tagaloa family in Saluafata.

The ipu fafano was a gift, given to Krämer at the end of his first stay in Samoa. He did not come upon it "accidentally". Furthermore, all the gifts were given to him by Samoan chiefs with whom he had vā, relationships. The fact that the ipu seemed of "poor workmanship" may have been because the gift-giver had had the ipu made hurriedly especially for Krämer's departure. The provision of ipu fafano for one's chief is a service (tautua) that untitled males perform.

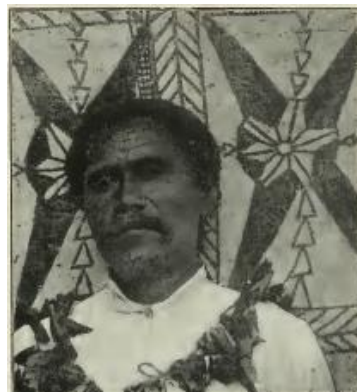


Figure 17. *Salaia of Siumu*. Taken from Kramer *Hawaii, Ostmikronesia and Samoa*, p. 479

I do not know why Krämer did not include these details in his published description of the ipu. My German colleagues opined that such personal details may have been excluded in the publication because it may have been seen as distracting from the ethnographic study. However, when we look at the details that were excluded, we see Krämer does not tell us the **tala**: that the ipu was a farewell gift (Abschieds Geschenken), given on the occasion of his departure. The general Samoan word for gift is mea alofa literally "a thing of love". Even though, he does name the Samoan **people** involved (i.e., Salaia, Sa'ili and Tulua), but he does not tell us the vā relation that he has with the chiefs. It would be fascinating to know why these Samoans felt the need to gift him these artefacts – in the case of the ipu, Krämer

⁸ Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesia Und Samoa*, 479.

suspects the chief of hastily making the ipu. Krämer does tell us the **gafa** and **location** of the ipu in that it originated from the Tagaloa family in Saluafata.

Another object from the Krämer collection that caught my eye was an ornate club. It is called the Sale'imoa club. It was in a drawer with a number of other artefacts.

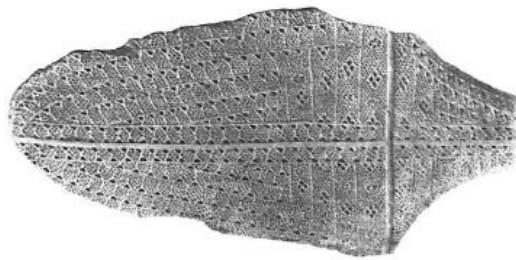


Figure 18. *Sale'imoa club*. Taken from Kramer, *Samoa Islands* v2, p. 249

Krämer calls it the Sale'imoa club. It has an ornate and high quality wood carving. He also notes that he bought it from a dealer in Apia for 87 marks. He traces the club to a family of



Figure 19. *Sale'imoa club*. Research images taken by I'u Tuagalu @Linden Museum.

chiefs in Sale'imoa. Of the history of the club, Krämer writes:

That club was carved 200 years ago by **Leiataitimu**, the first chief of ***Sale'imoa***. All of it by use of mussels, which took many years. It was used in many battles, and has killed many a warrior and chief, as f.i. **Leaufua**, the paramount chief of ***Falelatai***, **Napitau** of ***Safata***, the two famous ***A'ana*** warriors **Togafitifiti**, and **Petelemuamua** usw. The club was even used in recent days being carried as a mascot ahead of the Sale'imoa people as they went to war⁹

⁹ Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 2: Material culture:249.

The club has a tala: Krämer buys it from a dealer, but he finds out more about the club; it has a gafa; it was made by Leiataitimu (the first Chief of Saleimoa), who is referred to as “alo a Malietoa” (*son of Malietoa*) in the Sale’imoa fa’alupega.¹⁰ Therefore, it was made by one of the founding ancestors of the village. Krämer names a few of the who were killed by the club: Leaufua, Napitau, Togafitifiti and Petelemuamua. He also names the villages of those victims: Falelātai (A’ana), Safata (Tuamasaga), and A’ana. This shows the geographical extent of the club’s influence over the time that it was used. The named victims also add to mana of the club and the village Sale’imoa. Just as the names of the victims become part of the gafa of the club, the club becomes part of the gafa of its victims.

The ipu fafano and the Sale’imoa club looked bereft and disembodied as they lay in their respective holding trays. The items therein seemed disconnected from one another, a random group of artefacts. When Dr Menter lay the individual items on the display tables, one could appreciate the description of the rushed appearance of the ipu, the heft and weight of the club, and the intricacy of the carved design. However, when Dr Menter quickly translated the diary entry, I was struck by the fact that the published description omitted the very details that Samoans would have found most interesting: The **tala**, **gafa**, **people** and **places** associated with the artefact. Moreover, those aspects denote the vā relations between Krämer and his named Samoan colleagues.

I am very familiar with the text description of the club and accompanying photographs. But the physical object seemed to contextualise what I had read. Krämer’s photographs were taken over a century ago. Furthermore, Krämer dates the club 200 years earlier. Yet, if the maker was Leiataitimu, and he is the first chief of Saleimoa, then the club could date to c. 1384, as his father is Malietoa Ganasavea (Gen 15, c. 1354). The short list of notable victims and their villages link this club to their tala and gafa through time.

¹⁰ The fa’alupega of Sale’imoa lists Le l’ata’atimutimu and Sapa’u are “alo a Malietoa”. Their father is Malietoa Ganasavea (Gen 15, c. 1354). See Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:301–2. If this club was made by the first Leiataitimu, son of Malietoa Ganasavea, then Gen 16, 1384-1414 AD

In the short description above of the club, the German abbreviation “und so weiter” (usw) is the equivalent of the term “et cetera”. Normally, such a term would have comforted me , because one of the implications of the term” is that there is further information. However, in this instance, it made me feel quite frustrated, because to find more details of this club, and other artefacts, I would have to plough through screeds of Krämer’s impenetrable Sütterlin script!

Sometimes, the quest for Samoan objects with provenance can take very roundabout routes. In 2018, I was at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) in Cambridge University. Ostensibly, to attend an European Society of Oceanists (ESFO) conference.¹¹ I took the opportunity to research the MAA. Dr Rachel Hand, the then Collections and Curatorial Assistant in Anthropology, and I talked about the nineteenth century Samoan chief Matā’afa Iosefo and his exile to Jaluit in 1893-1898. She referred me to the collection of Arthur William Mahaffy, a British administrator in the Pacific 1896-1904. The MAA had a typescript copy of the Mahaffy “Catalogue Raisonné” and “Supplementary list of objects brought home in 1914”. She also suggested that I contact Dr Aoife O’Brien who had completed a Museum Studies doctoral thesis on the artefact collections of Charles Morris Woodford and Arthur William Mahaffy. Dr O’Brien had worked at the National Museum of Ireland, which held a number of Mahaffy artefacts. As chance would have it, Dr O’Brien also attended and presented at the 2018 ESFO Conference.

Arthur William Mahaffy (1869-1919) was born in Howth , Co. Dublin.¹² He was educated at Marlborough School and then Magdalen College (1889-1891). He then entered Trinity College, Dublin where he obtained a B.A. (1891) and an M.A. (1904). Upon completion of his studies, Mahaffy spent several years in the army as a 2nd Lieutenant with the 1st Battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers. His military experience serves him well in the pacification of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate [BSIP] (1898-1904). He comes into the Pacific in 1896.

¹¹ European Society for Oceanists: 2018 Conference: Dealing with inequality: Pacific perspectives, Pacific futures. December 7-10. London and Cambridge, United Kingdom.

¹² See Aoife O’Brien, “Collecting the Solomon Islands: Colonial Encounters & Indigenous Experiences in the Solomon Island Collections of Charles Morris Woodford and Arthur Mahaffy (1886-1915)” (PhD thesis, United Kingdom, University of East Anglia, 2011), 180. In 2018, Dr O’Brien was the Oceania Curator for Nation Museums of World Culture in Sweden. At the time of writing, Dr O’Brien is Curator of World Cultures/Ethnography, National Museum of Ireland.

There is a photograph in the Thomas Cusack-Smith photo album that places Mahaffy in Samoa dated 1886, far too early, so probably the correct date is 1896.¹³ While serving in the BSIP, he begins collecting artefacts. Most of his collecting was from the Micronesian islands, and after 1898, the Solomon Islands. However, at sometime between 1896-1898, Mahaffy visits Jaluit, the island to which Matā'afa Iosefo, a Samoan contender for the Tafa'ifā/Kingship, and some seventy others had been exiled since the 1891 civil disturbances in Samoa. Several of the 18 Samoan items in the Mahaffy collection originate from this encounter with the Samoans exiles.

Dr Aoife O'Brien kindly let me use photographs of several of the items in the Arthur Mahaffy collection. The National Museum of Ireland [NMI] has 15 of Mahaffy's Samoan artefacts, and the Pitt Rivers Museum [PRM] has 3. Mahaffy's is not a major collection of Samoan artefacts, however, I am using these items to illustrate how nineteenth century Samoans may have appreciated these items.

One such object is called The Samoan Ladies Hair-oil dish (See Figure 13) It has the following note:

Given to me by **Silei** or **Levei Malo** the **tupo** [sic; **taupou**] or princess of the **Falefa** her "chief name" was Fenunuivao.¹⁴



Figure 20. *Samoan Ladies Hair-oil dish*. Accession number: 1923.105 [NMI]. Research Images by Aoife O'Brien© National Museum of Ireland

¹³ See PAI-o-545-8: Cusack-Smith album 4 (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand). In O'Brien, 181.

¹⁴ See Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archives, *Typescript Copy of the Mahaffy Catalogues "Catalogue Raisonee" and "Supplementary List of Objects Brought Home in 1914"*. OA1/1/3, n.d., 23a Item 87.

The dish has a tala: it was given to Mahaffy by a taupou surname Silei or Levei Malo when he visited Matā'afa and other exiles in Jaluit. The bowl comes from a place, Falefā in the Atua region of Upolu. It has a gafa in that it originates from the Sā Fenunuivao families in the Atua district. Moreover, that gafa is made more specific when we look at the fa'alupega for Falefā, and that of Sāleapaga.¹⁵ We find that Fenūnuivao is a sa'otama'ita'i or taupou name bestowed by the chiefly title Leālaisalanoa (also shortened to Salanoa). The epithet for Lealaisalanoa is "o le tei o Tupua", (*the younger brother of Tupua*). Silei or Levei Malo is the daughter, or a younger female family member of the chief Salanoa, who has the taupou title of Fenunuivao. She is there with other young women to perform taupou functions for the exiled chiefs, The perfume bowl is essential to her role as taupou.

In the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) are two ie tōga that were collected by Mahaffy. Photographs and the full catalogue entry are provided below. The first is an ie given to him by Salanoa, nephew of Matā'afa [Accession number 1948.12.1B.]. See Figure 14:



Figure 21. *Ie tōga* given by Salanoa [1948.12.1B] © Pitt Rivers Museum.

The full PRM catalogue entry for the Samoan ie [1948.12.1B] reads:

Accession Book Entry - 'Viscount Harcourt, ... Oxon - Purchased at the sale of his effects held at Blenheim by his orders 2.12.1948 -Samoa **Upon [Upolu] Island, Atna**

¹⁵ Also Churchill, "Samoa o Le Vavau: O [Le] Fa'alupega. Book 1"; Also Le Mamea et al., *O Le Tusi Fa'alupega o Samoa*, 133. p. 134 gives Fenunuivao as sa'otama'ita'i for Salanoa. See Tusi Fa'alupega Committee, *O Le Tusi Fa'alupega o Samoa Atoa*, 121. Lealaisalanoa title is situated in Saleapaga. . See also Krämer, 1: 393, Fenunuivao is the taupou name for Leutele in Falefā.

[**Atua**] district - Mat of pandanus leaf strips with border of red parrot feathers and a few white feathers Given to Arthur Mahaffy [British Resident, New Hebrides] by a chief named **Salanoa, nephew of Mataafe [Matā'afa]**, sometime "King" of Samoa. Folded? once into frame 3' 2 1/2" x 2' 6 1/2" Given to Mrs Harcourt 1914 [no cost given]. Added Accession Book Entry - 'These fine mats ('ie tonga) are worn round the waist as a skirt, doubled so that the technical finishing edge hangs down with the feathers in front. See Te Rangi Hiroa Samoan Material Culture pp 275 - 181 and Pl LIV C.'

Related Documents File - On 21 October 1914, Arthur Mahaffy wrote to Mrs Harcourt from 39 Bryanston Street, London. The letter is pasted on, I leave two mats for you. A short note as to what they are may perhaps interest you. 1 [i.e. 1948.12.1B]. The cleaner and newer one the back of the frames of both 1948.12.1B and 1948.12.2B and a typescript deposited in the RDF: 'Dear Mrs Harcourt the cleaner and newer one comes from the Atna district of Samoa (Upon Island) and was given to me by a chief named Salanoa - the nephew of **Mataafe [Matā'afa] sometime "King" of Samoa** whose doings and fate have filled many white, blue and yellow books, and whose insurrection was the theme of Stevenson's book "A footnote to History". Mats such as this were, and are, the most valuable form of native property among the Samoan natives, - they form part of the dowry of all ladies of high degree and are rarely, if ever, sold by the natives - who value them more than anything they have. They are hand-made of course, and without looms, from the leaf of a particular kind of pandanus. They are carefully kept and I have seen some over 100 years old - the old and very fine mats have names - and they all take a long time in the making seldom less than six months and often a year.

The catalogue entry for the ie provides much ethnographically significant information.

However, the most important information to Samoan eyes are the energetical elements: gafa, tala, names of people, and places. In the case of this ie tōga:

Tala: The ie was given by Salanoa, when he accompanied his uncle Matā'afa Iosefo into exile to Jaluit. The ie may have been obtained from the Matā'afa party of exiles in Jaluit.

Gafa: The mat comes from the Atua region, Given by Salanoa of Falefā. The ie is associated with the Sā Mata'afa. Salanoa is the nephew of Matā'afa Iosefo

People: Given to him by a chief named Salanoa, a chiefly title from the village of Falefā. He is the nephew of Matā'afa Iosefo, one of the contenders for the Tafa'ifā.

Place: The ie, like the people is from Falefā, in the Atua district of Upolu

This second ie is given to Mahaffy by the King of Tonga Fatafehi:



Figure 22. *Ie tōga* given by *Fatafehi* [1948.12.2B] © Pitt Rivers Museum

Below is the PRM entry:

No. 2 [1948.12.2B]. comes from Tonga though it was almost certainly made in Samoa. It is over 50 years old and has as you will see, been patched in several places. It was given to me by **Fatafehi** the father of the present King of Tonga and the last of the line of Sacred Kings or Tin Tonga [**Tu'i Tonga**]. There used to exist in that group a system of temporal and spiritual Kings side by side. The spiritual King was much the greater man and was descended directly from the ancestral Gods, through about 30 generations of man - the temporal King was elected. Tongans almost certainly got the habit of wearing these mats from Samoa which they invaded and conquered about 150 years ago. Tongans always like these mats to appear old and tattered and would never wear a new one. Only the highest chiefs can wear them and on occasions of ceremony. **This mat was part of Fatafehi's dower and he died 2 years ago aged 74 and was married quite young and the mat may well have been old when he got it.** They are no "spolia" from Samoa such as a German flag, or the Governor's seal, but such as they are they have an interest and I am happy that you should have them. Please forgive this discursive note but I thought you would like to have some explanations with the mats themselves.

I am always most Truly yours

Arthur Mahaffy.' [GI 22/1/2002; JC 15 7 2005]

There is a letter that accompanied the two *ie tōga* (see Figure 16). It is dated 1914. Mahaffy says that Fatafehi who gave him the *ie* died two years earlier in 1912. So, it is Siaosi Fatafehi Tu'ipelehake who gave Mahaffy the *ie*. His son, the then Tu'i Tonga¹⁶ is George Tupou II

¹⁶ I am retaining Mahaffy's terminology. The title of Tu'i Tonga was abolished with the death of the last Tu'i Tonga, Fatafehi Laufilitonga (1797-1865) died. The dignity of the title was transferred to the title King of Tonga.

(1874-1918). Tu'ipelehake is a distinguished name, and his mother Salote Pilolevu, who was a daughter of George Tupou I. So, he is the grandson of George Tupou I. However, his wife 'Elisiva Fusipala Tauki'onelua is the daughter of Tevita 'Ungi, a son of George Tupou I. It is through her that his son is in line for the Tu'i Tonga.¹⁷ So, the ie has an impressive gafa where three generations of Tu'i Tonga progeny are involved. There is also the fact that the ie was part of a wedding dowry, when Fatafehi marries Fusipala, an auspicious occasion in itself, which resulted in a future Tu'i Tonga, or rather King of Tonga.

This brief analysis allows us to locate energetic elements of this ie:

Tala: The ie was given to Mahaffy by Siaosi Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake, the father of George Tupou II. It was part of the wedding dowry

Gafa: This ie is deeply significant to the gafa of the King of Tonga

People: Tu'i Pelehake Fatafehi, his wife Fusipala, George Tupou II

Place: Tonga. Samoa is mentioned as where the ie would have been originally made.

Laufilitonga's wife, Sālote Lupepau'u later marries the first King of Tonga. Ian Campbell, *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient & Modern* (Canterbury University Press, 1992), 231–32; See also Okusitino Māhina, "Myth and History," in *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 61-88. shows the subsuming of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua by the Tu'i Kanakupolu lines of descent.

¹⁷ Campbell, *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient & Modern*, 108.

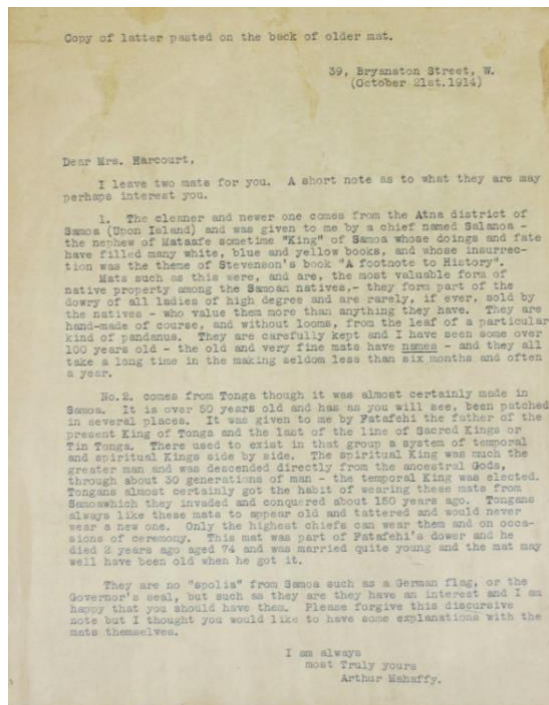


Figure 23. Letter accompanying the two ie at the Pitt Rivers Museum.
<http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/jpegs/1200/PRM0002123135592.jpg>

The formula of tala, gafa, people and place seems to put information in a culturally appealing way. It tells us what Samoans want to know about the artefact.

7. Conclusion: Changes in the Samoan energetical view of the universe to

1914

This thesis aimed to interpret Samoan history through the lens of *vā*. In this respect, I hope to derive a telling of history that Samoans consider important to them. There are three research questions that drive this present study. Firstly, what is the ontological status of *vā*? The concept *vā* was found to share the characteristics of: psychological, social, objective and mathematical spaces. However in Samoan *vā*, mathematical, psychological, and objective spaces are reducible to social space. I argue that *vā* has a realist ontology in that they exist in the objective world, even though *vā* objects may be incorporeal e.g., *aitu*.

When the notion of field is added to *vā*, we can conceive of *vā* as areas that are subject to *vā*-forces, such as *mana*, *tapu* and *alofa*. A force is defined as something impelling movement or action amongst Samoans. So, as an analytical tool, *vā* fields and forces are real and exist in the real world. *Gafa* or *genealogy*, is a real thing to Samoans. It is a type of *vā*. Any object of consequence in the Samoan Universe, has a *gafa*. Furthermore, I contend that *gafa* is a way of tracking *vā* forces as they move through the Samoan world.

The second research question is, how is *vā* manifested in Samoan history and culture?

Vā and *gafa* forces are strongest in villages. In the development of Samoan society, villages form around people who are genealogically connected (*gafa*). In a village there are the two types of *matai*: the *ali'i chief*, who descended for the gods; and the *tulafale (talking chief)* who *gaioi, move* to organise the other parts of the village, i.e., *aumaga, untitled men*; *faletua* and *tausī*, wives of chiefs and *tulafale*; *aualuma, unmarried women*; and *lalvaoa, children* to carry out the will of the village *fono* of chiefs.

Villages form larger aggregations with other villages that are founded by relatives. They band together into regions of genealogically related individuals. These villages and areas come under the aegis of an *ao*, or *regional title*. The *Pāpā* and *tafa'ifā* are *ao* titles written large, as even larger aggregations of people and villages come under them. The *Tafa'ifā* is the closest

to a national title. Hence, Papālagi equating it with the European style King. However the Tafa'ifā exercised sacral power.

However, these larger groupings are inherently unstable. As titles and regions accumulate, tensions are inevitable. The vā relations at these larger aggregations tend to force people apart because of conflicting agendas. In this case, gafa-forces bring genealogically related people together, and when vā-forces cannot sustain them, the union falls apart. In terms of ao titles, when the incumbent dies, the titles return to the villages and chiefs who bestow them. This is stated in the death calls of high chiefs. For example, “Ua gasolosolo ao” *the clouds (ao) have passed*, or “Ua tā'ape Pāpā” *the Pāpā have departed*.

These cycles of convergence, and divergence shows a Samoan state of mind that things are impermanent, that in politics, one's time will go and come back: “e alu aso, toe sau aso” Days will come and go. This is a sentiment that Samoans often repeat. It speaks to resilience.

Cultural artefacts such as the ie tōga and faletele enable the passage of energy through Samoan society. Ie tōga are needed in Samoan ceremonial life. Named ie tōga do not move as much as others. The genealogy of the named ie means that they act as batteries for the faster moving ie. They charge up other ie tōga when they come in close proximity as they malaga, *circulate* through the villages of Samoa where the named ie are kept. However, ie tōga can also generate negative energies. For example, the ie Pepeve'a. Fonotī, his half sister Samalaulu and half brother Toleafoa went to war over its possession (Taua o Uso; gen 25, c.1656). Ie tōga can generate envy and greed. The gafa and tala of the ie tōga determines the extent of its field of influence.

The Faletele in villages act as conductors as they channel vā and gafa forces from the heavens via the fono of chiefs throughout the village to its periphery (the extent of the field of vā-forces). Similarly, it channels va-energies back to the heaven from the earth to the heavens through people's prayers, daily activities and every vā transaction they enact during the day. Through these energetical exchanges, the Samoan universe is held together.

The third research question was, does an historical analysis of *vā* enable an articulation of a Samoan view of history? In concentrating on what Samoans are doing, one notices times in their history when there are spikes and concentrations of *vā* and *gafa* forces. For example: Nāfanua is highly active at times of great change. She redeems her family against their oppressors. She plays a major role in the ascension of Salamāsina (Gen 21: 1534), by collecting the Pāpā. Salamāsina, is another spike of *vā* and *gafa* forces. She is the first Tafa'ifā, where all family, regional titles come under the sway of the Tafa'ifā. Her tenure gives rise to more titles and matai groupings. The Sā Tupua family hold the major titles till the 1802, when the I'ama fana, bequeathed his titles to Malietoa Vainu'upō. Nāfanua also predicts the arrival of Christianity and the ascendancy of the Malietoa. Fonotī (gen 25: 1656) defeating his siblings and instilling a new political order. Tamafaigā foregoing the Tafa'ifā status (c 1820s). Even with intense interference by the Europeans, Matā'afa Iosefo was able to bridge genealogically the Malietoa and Sā Tupua support even enlisting the support of Lauaki Namulau'ulu, a major spokesman for the Sā Malietoa.

Under the *gafa* system, villages were protected, in that regardless of the outcome of the war, the villages continued to exist. Their boundaries were more or less intact. The conflict of *itū* politics did not really affect individual villages. Europeans had tried to infiltrate the village but with little effect. The establishment of the Lands and Title's in 1903 court dealt a blow to the power of the village fono, *council*. Villagers no longer had to put their grievance to the village fono, they could go to court. This seriously undermines the integrity of energy distribution in the village.

Coming of Papālagi:

During the nineteenth century Pāpālagi wanted Samoans to install an absolute monarch, who had sacral and executive power. European competition with one another interfered with Samoans forming *mālō* in *Itū* politics. Even if Samoans could form a Tafa'ifā, it would be unlikely to serve as an absolute monarch, as executive and sacral powers were found in one person/office/status. The Tafa'ifā held sacral power and was ceremonial in function.

Samoans accepted European cultural artefacts e.g., Christianity, on their terms, regarding Jesus as a matai, or a sister's son to which everything crowded are examples of using a cultural

lens by which to filter European ideas. It is Christianity but with a Samoan understanding of it.

Samoans retained the notion of gafa energies in their fa'alupega and lauga, Also a view of the world that is caught in phrase "according to their customs" tu ma aga or fa'asamoa.

In the kingship trial of 1898, Samoans adapt to court room proceedings. Their argumentation of Samoan lore/law was informative as to how gafa decision making works.

The Germans:

Germans followed colonial practice by subordinating the indigenous system of rule:

1. They abolished the tafa'ifā status and created the office of Alii Sili (Paramount Chief). It gave the leaders of the main families something to compete for, but they were agents of the state. Eventually, the leading Samoans became Advisors or Fautua to the German Administration and were mainly ceremonial in function.
2. The German Administration defanged the Tumua and Pule. The Governor Solf played them off against one another. A new elite emerged: chiefs and others who worked as bureaucrats in German Administration. The Kaisalika fa'alupega clearly shows to all Samoans that all power is now derived from the Kaiser, whose representative in Samoa is the Governor.
3. The establishment of the Land and Titles court seriously weakened the village fonofono one of the last bastions of gafa society. A serious hurdle to the energy flows within the village. People can sidestep the chiefly structures in the village and go to court.
4. The German Administration had great success in promoting its commercial interests. Yet Samoans did have grievances with the German monopoly and tried to start up their own trading company, that was set up by collective funds. The Oloa as it was called was quashed by the Germans. Once again by playing Samoans off against one another. Furthermore, Samoans chose when to work for a wage. Because of their practice of subsistence farming and agriculture, they tended to sell their labour only when a surplus was required. They chose to work for wages when church collections were due, or when funds were required for church building projects. They chose to work for gift giving activities. They also utilised the gafa and vā energies to malaga (*circulate*) to raise funds for their community projects and sport, for example, church building and cricket.

Analysing Samoan history through a *vā* lens focusses attention on what Samoans found to be important. In this analysis the four components of Tala, gafa, people and place is important to Samoan explanations of history. Te’o Tuvale starts his history with gafa, of the Savai’i and Upolu. Even in his chronology, tala, gafa, people and place are inherent in his writing. When tala, gafa, people and place applied to the artefact’s provenance, they enable the artefacts to “live” again. This shows that the *vā*/gafa worldview is still relevant.

There is still much work to be done in defining and applying this model of *vā*-field and forces to Samoans. This study ends in 1914, when Samoa was becoming increasingly subject to different global forces. Samoa is yet to undergo two world wars, the New Zealand administration of the islands as a United Nations Trust Territory, finally achieving independence in 1962.

One could ask whether the talk of energetics is simply that of a *façon de parler* (a way of speaking), or whether Samoans believe that the universe is a web of *vā* relations, where objects are genealogically connected and can affect one another, where people are pushed along on waves energy, and their universe is held together by the interplay of *vā* forces and fields. I take nineteenth century Samoans seriously by what they write about themselves. I find that the energetical worldview makes more understandable the world that they inhabited. The worldview is also useful in explaining their behaviour, as they often use energetical terms to describe the push and pull forces that act upon them. Moreover, I find vestiges of the energetical worldview in modern day diasporic Samoans. I think more work can be done to extend the approach I have taken and apply it to modern day Samoans to see how *vā* forces and fields may be relevant to both homeland and diasporic Samoans.

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9. Appendices

Appendix A: le tōga gafa of Lagava’a to Salamāsina¹

Couple	Offspring	le tōga	Village or area
Fane’a and Fane’a		Lagava’a, Pi’imaele’ele	Sagigoga/Salailua
Fane’a and Tapu			Vaisala
Fane’a and Paopao	tasi o Pipili	Moeilefuefue	Paia
Pipili and Lafoniu	tasi o Fafagaitua		Lealatele
Fafagaitua and ?	tasi o Tuālafalafa		Amaile
Tuālafalafa and Tagaloailagi	tasi o Sinaalagilagi	Matūmaivāi; Tasiaeafe	Lagi
Sinaalagilagi and So’oalo	tasi o Fetui		Safotu, Samauga
Fetui and Tuisamoa	tasi o Tagilelagi		Falealili
Tagilelagi and Ugapo	tasi Mamālemasina		Lealatele
Mamālemasina and Lefono	tasi Tupōmasina		Amoa
Tupōmasina and Tuitōga Fa’aulufanua	tasi Vāetoeifaga		Tonga
Vāetoeifaga and Tamaalelagi Tui A’ana	tasi Salamāsina		Leulumoega
Salamāsina		Lagava’a given to Alipia	
c.1802		Lagava’a given to Tuisāmau	Sagaga, Tuamasaga

¹ Adapted from Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:31–32.

Appendix B: Ie tōga of major families.²

Families	Named ie tōga
Malietoa	Lauta'amutafea; Tao ma Uatogi
Tupua	Taofegauia'i
Tui Atua	O le Anapapa
Tui A'ana	Moemoe o le Mālō
Sātuala	Nafinafi ma Natunatu
Taua'ana	Lauolefalaitu
Sālevālasī	Pulu ma Leuleu
Sātunumafono	Lautifitifi ma Lautamtama
SāFenuuivao	Laufafa o Fununuivāo
Sālilomaivā	Fuataiua
Taulagi	Si'imatu'u
Aiga o Māvāega	Falese'ese'e o Tamaalelagi
Sālemuli'aga	Failāmatāfaga
Sāmoeleoi	Lau'ua ma Tafo'e
Sāgauifaleai	Momoemauāniu
Sātagō	Pulu ma le Leuleu
Sāamituana'i	Tutugātaume
Sāpesetā	Falase'ese'e o Tamaalelagi
Tagaloa i Sāoluafata	Aneanea
Sagapolu i Sāoluafata	Ie se'ese'e o Teuialilo
Tupua	Fetuatuana'iga o Malae
Lei'ataua i Manono	So'otino ma So'ototo
Fonotī	Pepeve'a

² Taken from Aumua Mata'itusi Simanu, *O Si Manu Ali'i: A Text for the Advanced Study of Samoan Language and Culture* (Auckland, New Zealand: Pasifika Press/University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 316–17.

Appendix C: Named ie tōga and regions.³

Region	Named ie tōga
Asau	Falese'ese'e o Galuega a Pāpā
Faleālupo	La'ei o Nāfanua
Sāleaula	Fa'atuniutū ⁴
Sāfune	Failāmatāfaga
Sāsina	Sautiaivāsa
Fagaloa	Aneanea i Vāitu'u
Falefā	Laufafa o Fenunuivao
Sāoluafata	Folafolaifafo
Evā	O Lupe n Seu Silasila
Tuisamau ma Auimatagi	Lau o le Fale Ta'ita'i o Malietoa
Alo o Fanene I Faleālili	Luafafa o Taufau
Sale'imoa	Afu i Moana
Tuana'i	Umutitoga
Falelātai	Tologatā; Tieti'e; Vā'atu'itu'i
Aleipata	Aneanea
Aiga ma Salāfai	Sinaolelauao; Falese'ese'e o Tupua
Alātaua	Tafo'e ma Lauua
Faleata	O le Pula o Si'ufaitoto'a; Lau o le Fale o Aitu
Sātuimalufilufi	Momoe o le Mālō
Sāasomua	Aneanea
Mulifanua	O le Pona o le Titi o Nāfanua
Ivā	Loimata o Si'alei
Vāifanua	Fala o fuka
Aunu'u	Puipui o Tama lē Paoā
Malaeloa	Lauao o Tuife'ai
Aūa	Puipui o Paepae Ulupo'o
Pago Pago	Puipui o Gagamoe
Faga'alu	Puipui o Vāovāi; Fale'ula
Tutuila	Pūlou o le Ola; Toto ma lauulu
Manu'a	Alavatualuea; Matūmaivāi
Saua	Afimūtasi o le Matāsaua

³ Taken from Simanu, 317–18.

⁴ On the occasion of my brother Va'aaao Tuagalu Solomona's funeral, our family was presented with this ie o le mālō (Fa'atuniutū) from the Sā Va'aaao of Saleaula. We returned it back to the family, as it did not seem appropriate that the Tuagalu family retain such an important ie.

Appendix D. Tala, tales: Samoan originals and translations used by Leulu F

Va'a

T 1: Nu'u o Leape (The village of Leape)

O le tala i le nuu Leape na latou a'i (sic) le i'a sa, o le tuna le igoa o le i'a. Ua faalevao e le nuu ona a'i (sic), ua le iloa e le alii o Malaesala, aua ua a'i (sic) faalevao, ua le taua i lo latou alii, a ua iloa atu e le alii, i titi o le nuu, ina ua ususi peiseai na uu, ona toatamai ai lea o Malaesala, ua tulia le nuu e le alii, ua malaia tele. Faatatau la o lea upu. O le a ea le i'a sa? O tulafono ia a le Atua, o le i'a sa lea, atoa ma agasala, e na fua ae le lilo i le silafaga a le Atua. Aua le faalevao i luma o Malaesala o le Atua o le lagi. Soia le solia tulafono e matua sa lava. Faauta ua malaia Leape, na ai faalevao le i'a sa. E faapea foi ona malaia o tagata agasala ma solia tulafono a le Atua (GBP, p. 20).

The story of the people of Leape who ate the prohibited fish, the eel. The people ate it in secret without telling their chief Malaesala. The chief, however, knew about it because of the bright appearance of the people's ti leaf girdles¹⁰ as if they had been oiled. Malaesala became angry and banished the villagers causing them great hardship. **Application of this.** What is the prohibited fish? It is the laws of God, together with sins committed but not hidden in the sight of God. Don't do things in secret before Malaesala the God of heaven. Do not break the laws, this being absolutely forbidden. Behold Leape in distress having eaten the forbidden fish. People who sin will experience a like calamity for violating the laws of God" (GBP, p. 20).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Great powers exercised by chiefs • System of food taboos • Banishment as punishment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malaesala is God • Nothing is hidden from God's view 	Don't break God's laws

T2: O Le Tala Ia Sinalalama

"O Sinalalama, o le tama a Ga'oga'oaletai. O Sinalalama e mau i le ititai o le moana, e alu ae ai ana lamaga i le a lalamalalama ona ui foi lea i lona ala i lalo e i le a'au le ala e ui ai i lalo. Ona togafiti lea e Manua o Sinalalama i se mea e maua ai lea fafine. Ona ave ifo ai lea o le upega ua vae i le ala o le fafine o Sinalalama. Ona o ifo lea o Manua ua lavea le fafine i le upega. Faauta la Sina ua maua i le upega. **Faatatau la ia.** O ai ea Manua? O le tiapolo. O le a le upega? Ona togafiti ia. Ao lea Sinalalama? O i tatou ia. Faapei ona tele mataupega o le upega, e faapea lava ona tele o togafiti a le tiapolo. Sinalalama e, o oe le ekalesia, o faifeau ma aoao, ia mu lelei le lama, ma vaavaai le upega nei lavea i tatou, aua ua togafiti le tiapolo ia Sina o le ekalesia lea. Tatalo aua le aunoa ona mu o le lama, seia suluia le pouliuli ma le nofo ai o le tiapolo. Sinalalama e, mu lau lama, taga'i ia maua luga faitau le tusi pa'ia, tatalo to aua le aunoa, faatuatua ia Iesu. Ia e faamaualugaina lona suafa i luma o tagata o le lalolagi, ina ia malamalama uma, ia lau iloa le upega o le tiapolo, nei ai se lavea. Mu la ia o le

lama, o le amio lelei, o le lama lava lea e finagalo iai le Atua. Mat V:16. Sina e, taga'i le lama, ia sega mata o le tiapolo ma loto leaga" (GBP, p. 37-8).

*Sinalalama was the daughter of Ga'oga'oaletai. She lived at the bottom of the deep sea whence she used to set out to fish with torches[^]. Afterwards she returned to her undersea home through an entrance in the reef. Manu'a, in devising a trick to capture Sinalalama, placed a fishing net in the path of the girl. Later Manu'a found the girl entangled in the net. Behold Sina caught in the net. **Applications of the tale.** Who is Manu'a? The devil. What the net? His tricks. Who is Sinalalama? We. As a net has many meshes so does the devil have many tricks. Sinalalama, you are the church, pastors and teachers. Let the night fishing shine brightly. Watch the net lest we be ensnared because the devil has laid traps for Sina who is the church. Pray that the night fishing shines continuously to cast light on the darkness, the abode of the devil. Sinalalama, let your night fishing shine, give priority to reading the bible, pray ceaselessly, believe in Jesus. Lift up his name in front of all peoples, that all may understand, that all may be aware of the devil's net lest anyone be ensnared. Let the night fishing of good conduct shine as this kind is pleasing to God. Mat v:16.[In the same way, let your light shine before others, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father in heaven.] Sina, watch the night fishing, that the eyes of the devil and the envious be blinded (GBP, 37-8).*

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Samoan conceptions of marriage • High status of virginity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	Avoid the traps of the Devil

T3: Usuga A Le La Ia Sinaleavi (The marriage of the Sun and Sinaleavi)

O le tala i le usuga a le La ia Sina-le-avi. O le afafine o Moemoetinoga, na usuia e le La. Ona nofo ai lea o Sinaleavi, ua fai po foi ona nofo ai o Sinaleavi. Faauta mai, o le a toe manao le La ia Sina'avi le uso o Sinaleavi. Ua fai atu le La ia Sinaleavi, "Sina e, penia faateoe, oute fia alu i lou uso e itiiti." Ona fai mai ai lea o Sinaleavi, "Ua lelei foi lea mea, aia e alu foi i le e vave mai foi ia te a'u." Ua fai mai le La, "Ua lelei lava." Le La le ua alu ia Sina'avi. Faauta, ua le toe sau le La, aua ua manao ia Sina'avi. Ua tuu feau tuu feau le La e Sinaleavi, ua le mafai mai lava. Ona laga'au lea ia Moemotinoga lona tama i se mea e mafai mai ai le La. Ona mafai mai ai lea o le La ia Sinaleavi. Le La le ua sau ia Sinaleavi, ua moe ai i lea po. Faauta mai, o le a alu le feau a Sinaleavi i lona tama i lea lava po, ua faapea atu a Sinaleavi: "Sena e, Moemoetinoga, o o'u manao nei lava i le ponei. Sei e tolona le po nei ia toto'a, aua o lo'u manao lava ia le La." Ai na faia'i lava i lea po pei o lona manao. Ona iu lava lea ina alu o le La ia Sinaavi ua tumau ai, a ua lafoaina Sinaleavi. Faatatau ia. O ai ea le La? O le Agaga Paia, ma faifeau. Ao ai Moemoetinoga? O le Atua. Ao ai Sinaleavi? O e na mua'i iai le ala asoifua, ma e, na muai maua le ekalesia i le ua toe te'a i tua ua toe pouliuli foi. Ao ai ea Sina'avi? O e na mulimuli i ai le afioga a le Atua ma atunuu pouliuli. Serna e, tafefe nei tatou pei o Sinaleavi, nei sola le La, ioe, nei teva le Agaga Paia ona oa tatou amio leaga. Faauta mai ea, na tagi Sina i lona tama sei tolo le po ia toto'a mo ia lava. Ia faapea foi i tatou ona tatolo i le Atua o lo tatou tama alofa, sei tolo le malamalama, o lana afioga lava lea ma lona alofa tele, mo i tatou lava e lelei ai (GBP, p. 129-130).

The story of the marriage of the Sun and Sinaleavi, the daughter of Moemoetinoga. The marriage had already lasted for some time but behold the Sun also desired Sinaavi^, the sister of Sinaleavi. The Sun said to Sinaleavi, "Sina, what do you think? I want to go to your younger sister. Sinaleavi replied, "Very well but be quick to return to me." So the Sun goes to Sinaavi. Behold, the Sun would not return because he desired Sinaavi. Sinaleavi sent many messages to the Sun to return but without avail. She then sought the assistance of her father, Moemoetinoga, for a way to get the Sun to return to her. Thus did the Sun return to Sinaleavi and spent the night with her. Behold, Sinaleavi planned to send a message to her father that very night saying, "Dear father, my desire is for this night. Prolong the night that it be peaceful because it is my only night. Let not the daylight come too early lest the Sun leave me too soon for Sinaavi. That is why you should prolong the night that it be gentle because my desire is the Sun." Perhaps it was done as she wished. Finally the Sun went to Sinaavi and lived with her permanently while Sinaleavi was forsaken. Applications of the story. Who is the Sun? The Holy Spirit and pastors. Who is Moemoetinoga? It is God. Who is Sinaleavi? Those who first received the path of life and the church but who had fallen behind and living in darkness again"". But who is Sinaavi? Those who received the word of God last and pagan countries. Friends, woe to us if we be like Sinaleavi lest the Sun runs away, yes, lest the Holy Spirit leaves us because of our evil ways. Behold, Sina cried to her father to prolong the night so that it would be gentle for her alone. Let us likewise pray to God, our loving Father, to extend the light, signifying his word and great love for us, as this is good" (GBP, p. 129-130).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creative power of earth fertilising power of the Sun • Abduction of brides. • Existence of polygamy 	•	Don't fall from God's Grace

T4: I'a Tagaloalagi Ma Lona Afafine (The fish of Tagaloalagi and his daughter)

"O le i'a Tagaloalagi ma lona afafine. Na la silafia ifo i lalonei, o galue le alii i lalonei e lavalava lona leula. E le aunoa lava se aso ma galue lava faapea le alii. Ona pea (sic) mai ai lea o le afafine o Tagaloalagi, "Sena e, o la'u tane lava le la oute fia alu i ai." Ona fai atu lea o le Tagaloalagi, "Ua lelei lava lea. Ae o mai le nuu lena e toalua o Uafaafuamanava, ma Uale la te molia oe i lalo nei tuai oe i le alii, nei e alu ifo ua manava le alii i tai." Ona o ifo ai lea. Faauta mai ua to ifo le ua, ona tatala ai lea e le alii o lona leula aua nei uaina, ona ufiufi lea i le tasi mea, aua lavalava lona titi. Ona tepa atu lea o le alii ua tu mai le tamaitai. Ona fesili mai lea o le tamaitai, "Le alii e, o oe ea lava sa galue ae nei?" Ua fai atu le alii, "O lea lava." Aua ua manatu le tamaitai, ai e le o le alii ina ua la leaga, aua sa la lelei o le leula sa lavalava [e] le alii, aua ua tatala i le ua nei su (sic) le leula, o le mea [lea] ua vaai gata ai le alii e le tamaitai ina nei sese, aua ua la leaga foi le alii sa la lelei lava o le leula. **O le a faatatau.** O ai ea le tamaitai? O le Agaga Paia lea. O ai ea le alii sa galue i lalonei? O i tatou lava ia. O lea ea le leula? O lo tatou faatuatua lava lea ia Iesu. Faauta mai, ua toe foi le tamaitai i le lagi, ua la leaga o le alii, aua sa lelei lava o le leula sa i le tino o le alii, a ua na tuu ese le leula ua inoino ai le tamaitai. Faauta mai la ia sema e, a tatou tuu ese lava le faatuatua ia Iesu le Faaola, e matua moino lava le Agaga Paia ia te i tatou. Aua e fiafia mai lava le Atua ma manao mai ia

te i tatou, ona o lo tatou faatuatua ma loto lava ia Iesu, le Togiola e toatasi. Lavalava pea le faatuatua lelei ai i tatou, aua le tuu ese ina nei leaga ai i tatou pei o lea alii. Nei teva le Agaga Paia ia te tatou nei” (GBP, p. 150-1).

‘The fish of Tagaloa-lagi and his daughter. They looked down below and saw the chief at work wearing a red garment. He worked thus every day. Then Tagaloalagi’s daughter said, “Dear father, that is my husband I desire to go to.” Tagaloa-lagi replied, “Very well. But let Uafa’afuamanava and Uale accompany you below lest you be late and the chief has finished working.” Then they went down. Behold it began to rain and the chief removed his red garment lest it got wet, hid it somewhere and then wore his leaf girdle. The chief looked and there was the lady. The lady asked, “Sir, is it you who was working here?” He replied yes as, by then, the lady was beginning to think this could not have been the man she saw as he was ugly. The man she had seen before was handsome because of his red garment which had been removed because of the rain. Thus the lady’s difficulty in identifying the man with the red garment who had been so handsome because of it and so ugly without it. **We will apply the tale.** Who is the lady? It is the Holy Spirit. Who was the chief who worked below? It is we. What is the red garment? It is our faith in Jesus. Behold, the lady returned to heaven because the chief was ugly. He had been handsome because of the red garment he wore. Having removed it he became repugnant in the eyes of the lady. Listen carefully, my friends. If we put aside faith in Jesus the Saviour, the Holy Spirit will find us most repulsive. Because God is pleased with us and wants us owing to our faith in and desire for Jesus, the sole Redeemer. Wear the faith, it is good for us. Let us not dispose of it lest we become repugnant as the chief; lest the Holy Spirit abandon us” (GBP, p. 151-1).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
• Pre-eminence of Tagaloa, the Samoan High God	•	Don't abandon faith in Jesus

T5: Taeao Na I Saua (Morning at Saua)

”O le tala i le mua fetalai i le taeao na i Saua. O le taeao lelei lava lea. O le taeao lea na siva ai Tumupue, le alo o Valomua, le Satupa’itea, ae muliau ai Lesalevao, o le tiapolo lea. Ona toto ifo ai lea o le Tavaetoto. Ona faatoa na ai lea o le tama tagivale o Fua. **Faatatau la ia.** Ai o Saua? O le lalolagi nei. Ai o Saua foi Petelema aua na fanau ai Iesu. Ai o Saua foi Samoa nei? Ao lea ea le taeao na i Saua? O le aso lava lea na faatoa oo mai ai le Lotu i Samoa nei. O le aso lelei lava lea aso ai aso uma, aua na oo mai ai le tala ia Iesu le Faaola. Ao ai ea le Tava’etoto? O Iesu, ma le Agaga Paia i ona po nei. Ao ai ea le tama sa tagi? Ai o le malaia lea o le lalolagi na fai e le toe moe lava, ao lenei ua utu - ua na le tama sa tagi, ua moe lelei le tama ina ua toto o le Tava’etoto o Iesu ma lona maliu puapuaga ma le Agaga Paia, ma lana galuega i loto o tagata e lelei ai. Ao ai ea Tumupue sa siva? O i tatou ia. Ia tatou siva i le tatalo i le mea lilo, ma le faitau tusi paia e lelei ai lava, ma le usiusitai ma le an’ana i sauniga uma a le Atua e lelei ai i tatou, e afio ifo ai le Agaga Paia, ia na ai le tama o Fua, o le malaia lea na fai e le mafai ona fa’au i le toasa o le Atua, ai le lalolagi nei, ona o le maliu ifo o Iesu i lalo nei na maliu ai” (GBP, p. 152-3).

'The story of the prominent expression, the morning at Saua. It is a good morning, in which Tumupu'e, the son of Valomua at Satupa'itea, danced while Salevao, who is the devil, sang. Then the red tropic bird screeched and the fretful child Fua ceased to cry. **Applications of the story.** What is Saua? This world, perhaps also Bethlehem where Jesus was born. Perhaps Saua is also Samoa. And what is the morning at Saua? This was the day Christianity reached Samoa. Of many days, this was the good one because on this day was received the message of Jesus the Saviour. But who is the red tropic bird? It is Jesus and the Holy Spirit today. And who is the boy that cried? Perhaps it is the evil of the world which was thought would never go to sleep but now controlled and no longer the child that cried but one who sleeps peacefully once the red tropic bird of Jesus, his painful death, the Holy Spirit and its works in the hearts of people, had screeched. And who is Tumupu'e who danced? It is we. Let us dance with prayer in secret places, reading of the bible, obedience and endure difficulties for all the ceremonies pertaining to God. This is good for us as it will cause the Holy Spirit to descend and quieten the boy Fua who represents the evil against which it was thought the wrath of God could not be assuaged. However, the descent of Jesus to the world and his death changed all that" (GBP, 152-3).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
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T6: Niu o Leosia (The coconut tree of Leosia)

"O le niu lea na toto e Leosia e puni tai le Fafa e o iai tagata oti pea oti le tino. O le Niu lea e aoga anamua i le nuupo. Aua a oti le tagata ona lele atu lea o lona agaga o le a alu i le fafa i Lualoto o alii poo Lualoto taufanua (sic). I le a lele atu le agaga o le tagata oti, ae fetoi ma le Niu o Leosia, ona toe foi mai lea ua ola, ae a le fetoi ma le niu o Leosia aua lele loa i le fafa ua oti, e le toe foi mai le agaga ua alu lava i le nuu o aitu. O le tala lea i le niu o Leosia. Ai ua o le Niu o Leosia lesu i ona po nei, e talia mai ai o tatou agaga i le aso e oti ai. Ia tatou felelei faatatau la lesu e talia mai i tatou ma faaolaina ai. Aua nei ai se lele ese pe lele loa i le fafa o le malaia lea e faavavau. Lele ia lesu i le faatuatua ma le usiusitai ma le salamo i le agasala. Ia lele faapea e tata ai ma talia mai ai e lesu i luga. Aua le tu ma lele, ma soona lele, a ia faatatau ia lesu ua na punitia le fafa o le malaia tele na fai a oo ona o le agasala" (GBP, p. 165-6).

'This is the coconut tree that Leosia planted to cover the entrance where dead persons go. This coconut tree was useful in the old days of the dark land. Because when a person died his soul flew to the entrance to enter the chiefs' pit or that for ordinary people. If the soul of the dead person flies to the entrance and strikes the coconut tree of Leosia it returns to live again in the body. But if it does not strike the coconut tree of Leosia and enters it does not return and continues on its journey to the land of spirits. This is the story of the coconut tree of Leosia which was located between Tufu and Falealupo. Perhaps the coconut tree of Leosia is Jesus today who receives our souls when we die. Let us fly towards Jesus to receive and give us life. Let none fly elsewhere or straight into the entrance which is eternal damnation. Fly to Jesus with faith, obedience and repentance. Fly thus because it is appropriate and be received by Jesus up there. Do not stop and fly or fly recklessly, but aim towards Jesus who covers the entrance of terrible disaster which would have been the result of sin" (GBP, p. 165-6).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
• Belief in afterlife	•	Seek spiritual redemption through Jesus

T7: Taua Tuveve Ma Le Satele (The war between Tuveve and Satele)

"O le tala i le taua nai Tutuila o le alii na (sic) Tuveve ma le Satele, o le taua ua autupulaga. Ona sau lea o le Satele e tago au atu i Upolu ma Savai'i. Ona faila matafaga loa lava lea o Upolu ua alu i Tutuila, ae oso niu Salafai ma alu lava i Tutuila i le tagoga taua a le Satele. Ona oo atu lea o Salafai i Tutuila, faauta ua le matau le taua. Ai sea? Aua ua fasia e le laaumalu. O le mea lea ua taugata ai lea taua. Ona togafiti ai lea e Lavea le matai Safotu. Ua faapea le togafiti a Lavea: "A ona tau ona tauga o le taua pea ua fasi e le laaumalu, ia fai ma tao le talo tele, ae fai ma uatogi le niu latele, ma le la tele, ma le tufaga a puaa tele ma le masi tele, ma le ulu la tele. O a tatou mea tau ia e lelei ai." Ona fai ai lea o le fetalaiga a Lavea e le itu taua a Salafai. Le taua le ua tau, ua vevelo mai tao e le itu taua a Tuveve ae togi atu le talo, togi mai le maa, ae togi atu le niu ma le ulu, ma le masi, ma le tufaaga a puaa tele. Faauta, ua tufi e le itu taua a Tuveve ma ave i uta i le mea oi ai Tuveve le alii o le itu taua. Ona masalo lea o Tuveve, ai ua i tai se pule. Ona faapea ai lea o Tuveve ona tau o lea pule alofa ua lelei naua, se pule o lea ua maeu, ai o Lavea lena ia Salafai fua i lena pule lelei, aua ua vevelo atu tao, ae fetogi atu talo ma ia ma puaa, "O lea ou talia lena i le alofa, e lelei ona faatau alofa, ma soofua le taua aua lena pule lelei, ae tatou ifo i le itu taua ma soofua le malo." Ona faapea lava lea, ua ifo Tuveve, ona [o] lea togafiti alofa a Lavea. Faatatau la ia. O ai ea Lavea? O Iesu. Ao ai Tuveve? O le tiapolo. Ua ifo Tuveve i le togafiti a Lavea. Ua lafo le malo o le tiapolo i le togafiti alofa na faia e Iesu. E tatau ona faapea o le taua faale agaga ona taua (sic). Ita mai pea le lalolagi ae velo atu pea le tao o le alofa, o le tala mom ia Iesu, aua o le mea lea na sau ai Iesu na te faaumatia le malo. Le itu taua e a Tuveve o Iesu velo le alofa i le lalolagi, ae fe'ai mai pea le lalolagi ma nuu pouliuli, ae togi atu pea i le alofa, ina ia vave ifo ai Tuveve ae au tasi malo o Iesu i lalo nei" (GBP, p. 438-9).

The story about the war in Tutuila between Tuveve and Satele, a war lasting many generations. Satele came to Upolu and Savai'i to seek assistance. The Upoluans sailed from their shores for Tutuila while the Salafaians jumped on their coconut rafts and proceeded to Tutuila. Behold, the war had not been lifted. Why? Because La'aumalu was wreaking havoc among the troops, hence the difficulty in waging the war. Then Lavea, a chief of Safotu, devised a scheme as follows: when a battle was being fought and the La'aumalu was causing destruction, let the spear be replaced by the big taro (edible root of the plant *arum esculentum*) and the club by the big coconut, big fish, large portion of pork, large biscuit and large breadfruit. 'These are our weapons,' said Lavea. The Salafaians troops did as Lavea said. The battle was fought. Tuveve's troops hurled spears, to them were thrown taro; they threw stones, to them were thrown coconuts, breadfruit, biscuits and large portions of pork. Behold, Tuveve's troops gathered up the food and took them inland where their chief Tuveve was. Then Tuveve thought perhaps some person of authority (pule) was on the seaward side. He said what a loving and wonderful authority was this; perhaps it was Lavea of Salafai because of his good authority. "We hurled spears but they threw back taro, fish and pork. I will accept this gesture of Lavea because love should be exchanged for love. Let the war cease because of this benevolent authority and let us submit and unite with the

government.” And it was done. Tuveve submitted because of this gracious scheme of Lavea. Applications of the story. Who is Lavea? Jesus. Who Tuveve? The devil. Tuveve fell to the trick of Lavea. The devil’s kingdom is overthrown owing to the loving scheme of Jesus. Spiritual battles should be fought in a similar manner. Let the world be angry but let us throw to it the spear of love, the true word of Jesus, because for this reason did Jesus come to overthrow the devil’s kingdom. Jesus’ supporters among Tuveve’s war party, throw love to the world even while it and heathen lands show ferocity so that Tuveve might hurry down and Jesus’ kingdom be unified here below” (GBP, p. 438-9).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important role of spirits in warfare • Seeking alliance in wartime 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	Jesus overcomes the Devil’s tricks.

Appendix E: Fa'ataoto, proverbs: Samoan originals and translations used by

Leulu F Va'a

P 1: Faataoto i le Au Uso e Toatolu (Parable about three brothers)

"O le faataoto ia Tiitii ma Fatugati ma Fatugata. O le uso e toatolu lea. O Tiitii na ia ao matagi uma lava, e leai se matagi o totoe ua uma lava le ao e Tiitii. Ua toe o le Maileula e lei maua, aua o le Maile e nofo i le ana. Ua fai atu Tiitii, "Sole, Fatugati ma Fatugata, se nei lua o lava i le mea o iai le Maileula nei lua fano a seia ou ala tatou o e lama le maile a sou moe ifo." Tiitii le ua moe, ona fai atu ai lea o Fatugati ia Fatugata, "Fatugata e?" "Oe?" "Nia ea fau (sic), ina ta o ia i le mea oi ai le Maileula ta te lamaina sei taua ai o ta igoa, aua o Tiitii ua taua lava lona igoa i matagi ua ia ao uma a o le Maileula a o sei taua ai i taua nei." Ona fai atu ai lea o Fatugata, "Ua lelei lava." Le nuu le ua o ua la malaia ai i le Maileula. Tiitii le ua ala, ua vaai atu i le mea na i ai ona uso ua leai, ua masalo ua fano i le Maile. Ae moni lava a Tiitii, o le nuu ua tuu māvaega. **Faatatau**, o ai ea Tiitii? O le afioga a. le Atua ua tusia i tusi pa'ia ma faifeau aua o loo vavao mai ia te i tatou. O ai ea le Maileula? O le tiapolo ma tu a le lalolagi ma le loto leaga. Ao ai ea Fatugati ma Fatugata? O le ekalesia ma aoao ma tama iti sa aoao ina. Faauta ua toatele e malaia, ona b le faafiataua pei o ia tama o Fatugati ma Fatugata. Ua toatele aoao e malaia i le finau tele i mea leaga. Ona gata lea o lea faataoto" (GBP, p. 203-4).

*'The parable about Ti'iti'i, Fatugati and Fatugata, three brothers. Ti'iti'i used to collect the winds and there was none left to be collected except the Maileula. This was because the Maile lived in a cave. Said Ti'iti'i, "My brothers, Fatugati and Fatugata, never go to where the Maileula is lest you die but wait till I wake up and then we shall hunt the Maile. But now I want to sleep." Ti'iti'i slept, then Fatugati said to Fatugata, 'Fatugata?' The latter replied, "Yes?" Fatugati continued, "What do you think if we go to where the Maileula is to hunt it and thereby make our name famous as Ti'iti'i is famous for all the winds he has collected? Let us make a name for ourselves with the Maileula." Said Fatugata, "Alright." The two then went to hunt the Maileula. Behold the Maileula set upon the two brothers and they perished. Ti'iti'i awoke, he looked around, his brothers were not present. He suspected they had been killed by the Maileula. Ti'iti'i was right, the two had been killed. **Applications of the parable.** Who is Ti'iti'i? The word of God written in the bible and the pastors because they are telling us to stop doing wrong things. Who is the Maileula? The devil and the ways of the world and jealousy". But who is Fatugati and Fatugata? It is the church and teachers and children who had been taught. Behold many have suffered misfortune because of the desire for fame, like Fatugati and Fatugata. Many teachers have also suffered misfortune because of their stupid argumentativeness over bad things. Thus ends this parable" (GBP, p. 203-4).*

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
•	•	Avoid arrogance

P2: Uso Na Faimanu (The hunting brothers)

"O le faataoto. O le uso na faimanu, ua faapea le tala i ai. Fai mai na la filifili, ai se manu e uluai maua ile 'ave lea manu ma le aitu o le vao. Ua iu lava i ai la la filifiliga, ia tautua lava o

lo la aitu ia muamua lava sana manu taumafa. Le manu le ua maua. Faauta mai, ua le avea ma le aitu aua fafao i la la ola faimanu, ua fai ma laua a ua le avea ia le aitu o le vao, ua tala pepelo. Toe maua le tasi manu foi, ua fafao foi i la la ola faimanu, a ua le ai lava lo la aitu. Faauta i le pepelo. Ona maua lea o le Imoa. Ona faatoa ave ai lea ma lo la aitu. Aua o le mea leaga le Imoa. **Faatatau la ia.** Faauta mai ea, na fai lava le moli o le taulaga i le Atua, i le ua maua tala ua le avea i le taulaga, a ua ave le seieni, pou le sisipeni, o le Imoa lea ua ave ma le aitu o le vao o le Atua foi lea. Soia le faapea nei ita le aitu o le vao ona taupuo ai lea o le tuasivi ona sese ai lea i le ala e faimanu ai ma oti ai. E faapea ona toasa o le Atua i le fai taulaga leaga i le maliu o Iesu. Ona tatou le iloa ai lea o le [alofa] o Iesu i le lagi pea toe pouliuli Samoa nei, ona malaia ai lea e faavavau” (GBP, p. 355).

”A parable. The story about two brothers who went hunting in the bush. It is said that they decided that the first bird they caught would be given to the spirit deity (aitu) of the bush. Thus they decided to serve their aitu by giving him the first bird they caught. The bird was caught. It was not given for the aitu but stuffed into their hunting basket. They kept the bird for themselves instead of giving it to the aitu. They lied. Another bird was caught. Again it was stuffed into their basket and nothing for the aitu. Behold the lying. Then they caught a rat. Only then did they give it to their aitu. Because the rat is a bad thing. **Applications.** Behold, the coconut oil was prepared as an offering to God. Later word came that it was not given as an offering but instead only a shilling or a sixpence, comparable to the rat given to the aitu of the bush which is God. Refrain from doing this lest the aitu of the bush becomes angry and then causes the mountain ridge to be thick with clouds causing hunters to lose their way and so perish. God will be similarly angry with those who make bad offerings in connection with the death of Jesus. And then we will no longer know the love of Jesus in heaven, if Samoa again becomes a land of darkness (pouliuii), and there will be evil (malaia) everlasting” (GBP, p. 355).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
• Giving first fruits	• Offerings to God	Fulfil our obligation to the Church.

P3: O le Manu Lagi (Bird of the Sky)

”O le faataoto i le manu lagi. O le manu lagi, na fai la la faatau ma le Imoa. Aua sa lele le Imoa, ae totolo le manu lagi. O le Pea foi lea. Ua vaai ifo le Imoa o gaupulu le Pea i lalo nei i le eleele, ona alu ifo ai lea o le Imoa ua la gaupulu faatasi. Ona fai atu ai lea o Pea, ua faapea atu, ”Le alii e le Imoa?” Ona fai mai lea o le Imoa, ”Sea ea?” Ona fai atu ai lea o le Pea, ”Le alii e, sei au mai nai ou fulu so’u faataitaina ae poo ou te ma lele i luga i lai pe leai. A o’u le ma lele foi o’u alu ifo a vatu ou fulu, ae sei e tali ae lou tootoo lea. A o’u alu ifo foi avane lo’u tootoo ae avatu ou fulu.” Ona fai atu ai lea o le Imoa, ”E fai ona faapefea, sei tau avatu foi. Ua le fai ea pe, a e avea ifea se ou (sic) ave ea foi, e le o lata uo foi.” Ona fai ai lea o Pea, ’foe au maia foi avatu ai nanei pea o’u alu ifo.” Fulu o le Imoa e ua avatu i le Pea. Le Pea le ua lele ae, ua tu i le fai. Ona fai ae lea o le Imoa, ia alu ifo mo la. Ua fai ifo le Pea, ’Tali ae a so’u toe lele ae foi i luga i lai pe pei o ai.” Le Pea le ua toe lele, ua tu i le niu. Le Imoa le ua valaau ae, ”Ai ’oi, o le a lea, le alii, o le a e oo atu lava i lugana ma o’u apaau. Le alii e, alu ifo ia a po, ma o’u apaau o le a ou alu atu i lugana.” Ona fai ifo ai lea o le Pea, ua faapea ifo, ”Soia nofosao ia i lalona ma lou tootoo lena e te tootoo, ae fai mo’u ou apaau ona lelei ai lea.” Le

Pea le ua lele maualuga, ai ua feagai ma mauga, le Imoa le ua uio tele lava i luga i le Pea, e ave ifo lava ona apaau, ae alu ifo i lona tootoo e le fia fai tootoo usu fono lava ia na o lona lava fia fai apaau e pau lava ia te ia. Ua faifua ni upu a le Imoa, aua le toe lagona ifo e le Pea, aua ua maualuga ona lele fiafia i ona apaau ua mau i lana togafiti. Le Imoa le ua iu lava ina tago i lona tootoo ua alu lava ma ia, pela a toe faapefea ua sola lava le Pea ma ona apaau. O lea lava le 'au aina. O ai ea le Pea? O le tiapolo. Ao ai ea le Imoa? O i tatou ia. E ui lava ina ua fiafia o le Pea i ona apaau ma ua maua i lana togafiti pepelo, ua malaia lava lea manu i manu uma lava. Aua e le iloa tu pea tu i se laau, ua faatautau lona ulu i lalo aua u le muili i luga. E lelei ea ana tu? E leai lava. Aua o le tau i lona pepelo i le Imoa, o lea ua tautau ai lona ulu i lalo, ua le tu lelei i se la ose laau, e iai manu uma lava. E faapea lava tagata agasala ona malaia i le leaga o anno. E fiafia le Pea ina lele maualuga ae mataga ona tu. E faapea lava tagata faamaualuga i se aso" (GBP, pp.356-7).

'The parable about the bird of the sky. The bird of the sky had a conversation with the rat. Because in those days, the rat flew while the bird of the sky crawled. This was the flying-fox. The rat looked down below and saw the flying-fox gnawing at the Pulu tree. Then the rat came down and gnawed the pulu together with the flying-fox. The flying-fox said to the rat, "Mr Rat?" The latter replied, "What do you want?" The flying-fox continued, "Sir, can you lend me your feathers so that I can try them to see if I can lift myself up with them to there or not? If I cannot fly ^Coconut oil was an important source of revenue for the early Christian church in Samoa. It was donated by church members, stored by the missionaries and later sold to merchants for cash.

up with them I shall come down again and return them to you. But please hold on to my walking-stick. When I come down give me my walking-stick and I return your feathers." The rat replied, "No problem in granting your wish for after all are you not my friend?" The flying-fox said, "Sure, give them to me and I shall return them this evening when I come down." The rat gave his feathers to the flying-fox, the flying-fox flew up and stood on a banana tree. The rat told the flying-fox to come down for him. The flying-fox replied, "Wait till I fly up further to there to see what it's like." The flying-fox flew again and stood on a coconut tree. The rat now cried out, "Hey, what is this? Mate, you have almost reached the top with my wings. Come down now, it is almost night-time, with my wings, I am going to come up." Then the flying-fox said, "No, you stay down below with my walking-stick for you to use, and let me have your wings." And so he flew off. The flying-fox continued to fly higher, perhaps as high as the mountains. The rat continued to shout louder to the flying-fox above to return his wings and to take back his walking-stick. He, the rat, did not want an orator's staff'd, only his wings. The rat spoke in vain because he could no longer be heard by the flying-fox who had by now flown to great heights, exuberant with joy because of the wings he had won by a stratagem. The rat finally took the walking-stick and set off. There was nothing more he could do as the flying-fox had stolen his wings. And so it remains today. Who is the flying-fox? It is we. Even though the flying-fox rejoices because of his wings acquired through his lying trick it is the most miserable of birds because it does not know how to stand on a tree. Its head hangs down, its bottom faces upwards. Are its manners good? None whatsoever. Because the reward of its lying to the rat has caused its head to hang downwards. It cannot stand properly on a tree branch like all the other birds. Thus will sinners suffer punishment because of their evil behaviour. The flying-fox delights in flying high but its habits are ugly. Arrogant people will be like this one day" (GBP, p. 356-7).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
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•	•	Evil will be punished
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P4: Tui A'ana Leuotele (Friends of Tui A'ana Leuotele)

"O le faataoto i le Tui A'ana Uo Tele. E tele lava ana uo, pe 10, pe fia? E tofu lava le uo ma lona matai. E tele taumafa e fai ai, o le i'a ma le puaa, le talo, etc., e aofia lava i ai mea uma. E papae i le afiafia. A maua ane e se malaga ale ala o papae ia uo, ona o lea e asu vai e avae fafano lima o le uo. Ona fai atu ai lea o le matai o lea uo, e fuli ane uma lava taumafa ma le malaga, aua ua asu vai. Ona fuli lava lea o taumafa ma lea malaga. A o le malaga e faavalea, e le iloa lea tu o le uo o le asu vai, e le aai, aua e lei asu vai e fafano lima o le uo. Faatatau la ia. O ai ea Tui A'ana Le Uo Tele? O le Atua lea. Ao ai uo? O lana afioga lea ma ana sauniga, ma lona malo, aua e tele mea lelei oi ai ua saunia mo tagata. Ao ai le malaga atamamai ua asu vai? O e ua talia Iesu le Faaola o le lalolagi. Ao ai le malagavalea ua o loa e le iloa le uiga o le uo, ua le asu vai e fafano lima o le uo, ua leai ni a latou mea e aai ai? O e ua le talia Iesu le Faaola o le lalolagi. O lea matelaina i le oge tele lava, ma le faanoanoa i le malaia e faavavau lava. E lelei onatatou asu vai e fafano lima o le uo nei tatou le aai i le mea e ai faale agaga, o lemanuia lea e le uma ae faavavau lava.

Asu le vai o le faatuatua ia Iesu.

Asu le vai o le faamalosi.

Asu le vai o le tatalo.

Asu le vai o le taulaga i le Me.

Asu le vai o le anA'ana i sauniga uma lava a le Atua.

Asu le vai alofa i tagata o le Atua.

Asu le vai o le matau i le Atua.

Asu le vai o le salamo i agasala.

Asu le vai o le fia faamagaloina.

Asu le vai o le fia maua o le Agaga Paia.

Asu le vai o le faamaulalo i luma o le Atua le Tama ma le Atalii ma le Agaga

Paia le Atua e toatasi.

Ona tatou taumamafa aai ai lea i taumafa a le uo i se aso e oti ai ma le aso faamasino (GBP, p. 361-2).

The parable about Tui A'ana Leuotele. He had many friends, perhaps ten or whatever. Each friend was a chief. They had plenty of food to eat: fish, pork, taro, and so on - in fact, everything. They ate together in the evenings. When travellers came across the friends as they were about to eat, they would go and get some water for the friends to wash their hands with. Then the chief of these friends would command that all the food be turned over to the travellers because they had obtained water for the friends. Then the food would be given to the travellers. But the travellers who were foolish, who did not know this custom of the friends about getting water, would not eat - because they did not get water for the friends to wash their hands with. Applications of the story. Who is Tui A'ana Leuotele? It is God. Who are the friends? His word and his ceremonies and his kingdom, because there are many good things in it prepared for people. And who are the wise travellers who obtain water? Those who receive Jesus the Redeemer of the world. But who are the foolish travellers who pass on knowing nothing about the custom of the friends, who do not obtain

water for the friends to wash their hands with, who have nothing to eat? Those who do not receive Jesus the Saviour of the world. They will starve in the day of the great famine and saddened by disaster everlasting. It is fitting for us to obtain water for the friends to wash their hands with lest we fail to eat the spiritual food, the blessing without end but eternal.

Lift up the water of faith in Jesus.

Lift up the water of perseverance.

Lift up the water of prayer.

Lift up the water of the May offering.

Lift up the water of risking danger on behalf of all God's ceremonies.

Lift up the loving water to the people of God.

Lift up the water of fear of God.

Lift up the water of repentance for sin.

Lift up the water of desire for forgiveness.

Lift up the water of desire for the Holy Spirit.

Lift up the water of humility before God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the one God.

Then shall we eat the food of the friends on the day of death and judgment" (GBP, p. 361-2).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
• Traditions of Tui A'ana Leutele	• Jesus providess sustenance	Everlasting life only comes through Jesus.

P5: Faataoto Nai Le Faaumatausaga (Parable about death)

"O le tala lenei i le faataoto nai le faaumatausaga. O le alii na o Po'upupu, ma lana fanau, o le alii Palauli. Ona mai lea o lea oti, ona fai lea o lana māvaega. Afai ae oti, nei tanumia lava ia i le eleele, ae atulala (sic). Ona atulala lava lea. Ona nonofo nonofo lea o lana fanau ona o lea e uu ma faafoliga pe foliga mai ia te i latou. Faauta, ua le toe foliga mai ia te i latou.

Faatatau ia. O ai ea Po'upupu? O le Atua lea. Ao ai le fanau? O faifeau ma le ekalesia ma aoao. O lea ea le sua uu? O le afioga ale Atua, o loo uu ai i tatou ma faafoliga ina ia foliga i le Atua - o lauga i le aso sa ma lea mea ma lea mea o loo faia i lea aso ma lea aso i sauniga a le Atua, ae peitai ua tatou le au foliga lava i lo tatou Tama o le Atua, e le au tatau lava lai a tatou amio, ma mea uma lava tatou te faia. O le faataoto lea" (GBP, p. 384-5).

'The story about the parable of life's end, about Po'upupu, a chief of Palauli, and his children. He became sick and was about to die. Then he made his will, that if he should die that his body would not be buried but be embalmed. And it was so done. After awhile the children went to the corpse to oil it and to dress its features to see if they resembled theirs. Behold, the corpse's features were no longer like theirs. Applications of the story. Who is Po'upupu? God. Who are the children? The pastors, the church, the teachers. What is the coconut oil? The word of God by which we are oiled and made to resemble God. It is the Sunday sermons, this and that, done from day to day in God's ceremonies. But we do not resemble the features of God our father; our behaviour and all our other actions do not meet his standards. This is the parable" (GBP, p. 384-5).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embalment of dead to see if the body resembles them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men are imperfect 	Be true Christian teachings

P6: O le Fee Ma Uluave (The Fe'e and Uluave)

"O le faataoto i le taua o le Fee ma Uluave. Na faoa le ava a le Fee e Uluave. O le Fee o le alii Fiti. Ao Uluave o le alii Samoa. Ona alu atu lea o Uluave i Fiti, o nofo mai le ava a le Fee i lo la fale, aua alu le Fee i le tausamaaga o le faletua o Tui Fiti. Ona ai sola mai ai lea e Uluave o le ava a le Fe'e. Le Fee le ua alu ane ua leai se ava ua sosola ma Uluave. Ona ita tele lava lea o le Fe'e, ua le matuu tino i faia i le ita i le ava ua faoa e Uluave. Ona sii mai lava lea o le taua o lona fale ulufia, ua aau mai lava i le vasa i le tuliloaga o lana ava, fa'i lava e maua mai i le vasa e lelemo ai Uluave ia oti le pagota. Aua le maua mai ua tuta le vaa o Uluave ma le ava a le Fe'e. Ona tautoai tautoai lava lea ina ua le maua o Uluave ma lana ava ona iu ane lava lea nofo i le Puga sa tietie ai, ua fai mona fale ua maua ai. O lona lava le au ai na. **Faatatau la ia.** O ai ea le Fe'e? O le tiapolo lea, ma tagata ulavavale. Ao ai ea Uluave? O tagata o le Atua ia. Faapei o le Fe'e ona toaitoai i le iu ane nofo i le Puga ua fai mona fale ina ua le maua o lona fili, e faapea lava le tiapolo ma tagata armo leaga i le ola nei. E toaitoai lava iu i le malaia e faavavau pei o le Fe'e lava. Ae sao lava tagata o le Atua i luga, pei o Uluave ma le ava le fili o le Fe'e" (GBP, p. 358).

Parable about the war between the Fe'e and Uluave. Uluave abducted the Fe'e's wife. The Fe'e was a chief of Fiji while Uluave was a Samoan chief. Uluave went to Fiji. The Fe'e's wife was sitting at home while the Fe'e had gone to the marriage feast for the Tui Fiti's wife. Uluave thereupon stole the Fe'e's wife. The Fe'e returned and found his wife missing, having run away with Uluave. The Fe'e became very angry. He could not lie down to rest because of his anger against his wife kidnapped by Uluave. Then he embarked on a war to avenge the insult against his house. He swam across the ocean in pursuit of his wife, hoping he would catch Uluave in the ocean and drown him, so that the outlaw would die. But he failed to catch up, the boat of Uluave and the Fe'e's wife having reached land. After he had given vent to This means literally "a fetish exposed to the sun". Samoan chiefs were fetishes because they were deified after death. his anger at his failure to overtake Uluave and his wife, the Fe'e made his home in the coral upon which he had been sitting and stayed there and continues to do so. Applications of the story. Who is the Fe'e? The devil and troublesome people. But who is Uluave? The people of God. Just as the Fe'e ended up by making his home in a big coral after he had given vent to his anger for failing to catch his enemy, so like him are the devil and people of evil ways in this life. After blindly giving expression to their anger they will end up in disaster everlasting, just like the Fe'e. But the people of God will escape to above just like Uluave and the Fe'e's wife, enemies of the Fe'e" (GBP, p. 358-9).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beliefs about Fe'e • Historical contacts between Fiji and Samoa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	God will reward his people and punish those of the Devil.

Appendix F: Upu, words: Samoan originals and translations used by Leulu F

Va'a

W I: **Tauinatamafa'apoi** (Just to strike and halt)

"O le tatalo lava pei o le tatalo ei luma. E ole atu i le aitu aua le oo le ta ae tau ina faapoi nei oti le tagata mai o le aiga pea oo le ta i le tino a le aitu. E lelei pea ona tatou tatalo. Ia tatalo pea tatou mamai i le Atua. Fai atu iai pea mai se tasi ia te ia, aua oia lava tatou te mamai ai. Fai atu ia te ia na upu lelei ea pea? Ia tauinafaafiuola i tatou a sei salamo pea tusa i lona finagalo, ae a le tusa faitalia lava ia. Tauinatamafaapoi pea tatou ia te ia, a le tatau faitalia lava lona finagalo e lelei ai. E lelei pea lea tatalo ia upu lelei, ae ala pea atu i le maliu o Iesu, aua na o lea e talia ai a tatalo, o le ala ma le faitotoa ia e ui atu ai a tatou tatalo i le Atua, ae le o so tatou mau upu lelei. O upu lava o le tatalo, e faapea atu: "Ia e solisoli a matou agamasesei ua fai i ou luma, le aitu e." O lona uiga o le upu, ia soli e ona vae le mea ua toasa ai i le aiga poo le tagata. ia galo lea mea nei toe manatu iai le aitu i lea mea. ua ita ai." Ta lafoia i le alogalu i matou nei." Aua o le alogalu o le mea e filemu ai le tagata pea aau i le sami, ae leaga le tuagalu e malemo ai le tagata ma tigaina ai pea, sei loga e lafoia i le alogalu ona ola mai ai lea ma aau mai i uta nei i le lau eleele. O le mea lea e fai atu ai i le aitu ia lafoia i le alogalu se mea o toasa ai. "Ia maona ia o lou toasa." O le faatusa i le galu na fai afati aua toe maona, ua lelei ai, aua ana fati poua tuia le vaa, ae peitai ua le fati aua maona fua le galu. O le mea lea e fai atu ai i le tatalo ia maona le ita o le aitu, nei oti le tagata. Alofa mai le aitu i le aiga, ona fai atu lea o le aiga, ua faapea: "Alofa i le malama." O le tali lea a le aiga e alofa i le masina ae aua le alofa atu ia te i latou, aua oia o le alii tele. O le upu faamaulalo lea i le aitu. "Ia lafoia ia i ou tuataafalu o amio leaga a le aiga nei, ae afio atu ia i se nuu o aina ma teetee atu asovale ma malaga aitu ia o atu i se nuu o toatele ni ona tagata. Ua aina e le vao lenei nuu ua tuufua ua le aina." O le faafiti lea i le aitu, ua tuufua le nuu ua le aina. Ona fai mai ai lea o le aitu: "Soia, faitalia au ona tetee e ui ane i vasa ma le tuasivi ae nonofo pea outou e le afaina lava outou." Ona faamavae lea o le aitu o lea alu, ona faalogo atu lea o le aiga ua faapea lana upu e alu ai: "Tutuilatutuila. Futigafutiga. Sei tafaapea peaaneita." Ona alu lea ae tuua le tagata sa tautala ai le aitu" (GBP, p. 447-9).

It is a prayer like the one above. The spirit is implored not to let the fatal blow fall but merely to threaten lest the sick person of the family die once the spirit's blow reaches the body. It is always good for us to pray. Let us pray to God when we are sick. Let us talk to Him if one of us is sick owing to Him because He is truly the cause of our becoming ill. Let us say to Him those good words, perhaps? Just make us tired of life so that we may repent of our sins if it is in accordance with His will. If not, then let Him please himself. Let Him strike and halt us. If this is not appropriate, His will be done for this is good. It is good always to pray with these good words but let the prayer go through the suffering of Jesus because only in this manner will our prayers be answered. It is the path and the door through which our prayers pass on to God and not any eloquence on our part. The words of the prayer [to the aitu] are like this: "May you stamp on our transgressions committed in front of you, o spirit." The meaning of the expression is, may his feet stamp on the thing which has caused his anger with the family or the person so that 'the spirit may forget this thing lest he

remembers that which caused his anger. "Let us be thrown into the lagoon", because the lagoon provides a haven for people when they swim in the sea, but the reef channel is bad because people drown there and suffer endlessly unless they are thrown into the lagoon and so live and able to swim to land. This is why the spirit is asked to throw to the lagoon whatever has caused his anger. "May your wrath be full." This is a comparison with the wave which was about to rise from the depths but failed to do so. This is good because if the wave had broken the boat might have been wrecked. But it did not break, it became full on its own. For this reason the boat escaped, avoided being wrecked, because the wave became full. This is why it is said in the prayer that the spirit's wrath be full lest the person die. The spirit expresses his love to the family. Then the family says, 'Please love the light.' This is the family's answer, that the spirit love the moon and not them because he is a big chief. This is an expression of humility to the spirit. 'Throw behind you the evil ways of this family but continue to a village with many people and turn back evil days and travelling parties of spirits so that they may go to a village with many people. As for this village it is inhabited by weeds. It is abandoned and without people.' This is the manner of avoiding the spirit: the village has been abandoned and there are no people in it. Then the spirit says, 'That is enough. Leave it to me to turn back those who travel by sea and the mountain ridge but you remain. There is nothing wrong with you.' Then the spirit bids farewell as he is about to leave. Then the family hears the spirit's words by which he will depart, 'Tutuila, Tutuila; Futiga, Futiga. I will strike this way to find what happens next.' Then the spirit leaves and abandons the person through whom he spoke" (GBP, p. 447-9).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional beliefs about illness • Prayer to cure illness • Use of spirit medium 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	God cures

W2: Fa'aoso'ai (Encouraging extra food)

"O le upu lea i le manaia lalelei, poo le taupou lalelei. A alu lana malaga ae moe ise nuu ua oso mea e 'ai, ua fiafia lea nuu, aua o le tu faasamoa e fia mata siva i le malaga fai siva lelei, ma lo latou manaia lalelei poo le taupou lalelei ma le siva lelei. O le mea lea ua oso ai mea e ai i le malaga aua o loo iai le faaoso 'ai~ **E tatau lea upu** i le faaosoai ia Iesu, aua ua oso ai taumafa lelei e tele i lona afio mai i le nuu nei o le lalolagi, ua oso ai mea faaleagaga ae maise la le tino. Ua maua le manuia ona o Iesu" (GBP, p. 382).

This word refers to the handsome son of a chief, or the beautiful virgin daughter of a chief. If he/she goes in a travelling party and sleeps in a village, there would be an increase in the abundance of food. The village is happy because it is the Samoan custom that the hosts want to vie in dancing skills with the travelling party that performs good dances and with their handsome manaia [chief's son] or beautiful taupou [chief's daughter] who dances well. This is the reason why food to the travelling party is increased because there is something to encourage extra food... This word of encouraging food is appropriate to Jesus because his coming to this land of the world has encouraged the provision of a plentiful supply of good food. It has given rise to spiritual things and especially to physical ones. Success has been achieved because of Jesus (GBP, p. 382).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role of Manaia and taupou. • Travelling parties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • God will provide 	Jesus' coming has profited the world both spiritually and materially.

W3: **Fetuia'i** (Spiteful criticism)

"O le upu lea e tupu ai le malaia. O le fetuiai o lea tagata ma lea tagata ona malaia ai lea o pai ma lafai. E faapea ona fetuiai: "E aitue ua le lavatia atu aiga malolosi ma le toatele. E, ua le lavatia atu mea gaoi ma mea sau, ma mea faamaualuga. E aitue, ua ta fiu i le lima vale ma le 'ote soo. E amuia e mau toga, ma mau mea e 'ai, mau oloa, ma 'ai mea lelei. E, amuia o e toatele ma uluola ao lenei aiga ua leai m tagata. Amuia o e tamaoiga i latou. E, aitu e, ua le lavatia atu aiga malolosi, ua sei au le tolifua o niu ma ulu o le mea nei o fanua o aiga taufafine. Ua fesilafai mai lava ua leai m tagata o lenei aiga o nonofo atu i le ua tumai ai le soli la aiga ina leai o ni tagata ua uma le oti. E aitu e, fia ola ua le lavatia atu mea faamaualuga ma le sau faapenei. E fiaola aitue." Ai ua alofa le aitu i lea aiga, o le a malaia le aiga sau ona o le fetuiai faapea o tagata faapaupau, ma tagata ulavavale. E leaga le fetuiai faapea anamua i le faapaupau, aua sa tele ai le oti ma le malaia o nuu ma aiga anamua. O le agasala tele le fetuiai faapea, aua o le fetuu ma le fauto lea mea. E lelei ona fealofani, aua o le tulafono lea ua tusia e Mose, "E alofa atu i le ua lata mai ia te oe faapei o oe laVa ia te oe." Soia le fetuiai, aua o le losilosi lea ma le mataua i le ua maua ana mea mai le Atua, peni oloa peni toga, poo lana galuega ua faamanuiaina e le Atua (GBP, p. 72).

This word causes evil. Spiteful criticism by this person and that person causes on evil to Pai and Lafai . This is how the spiteful criticism by one against another was done: "Oh spirit, I am fed up with strong and large families. Oh, I am fed up with stolen property, with cruel things, with arrogant things. Oh spirit, I am tired of stinginess and frequent scolding. Fortunate are those with many fine mats, plenty of food, much property and with many good things to eat. Oh, fortunate are those who are many and continue to increase while this family has no members. Fortunate are those who are rich. Oh Spirit, I am fed up with strong families. Often have they taken freely of the breadfruit and coconuts from the lands of families of women. They indeed see there are no people in this family yet it is being crushed underfoot because it has no members, all being dead. Oh spirit, I want to live." Perhaps the spirit has shown favour to this family and that evil will befall the cruel family as a result of such spiteful criticism by pagan and troublesome people. Such spiteful criticism was destructive in the old days of paganism because it caused many deaths and much evil to villages and families. Such spiteful criticism is a big sin because it is a form of cursing and extortion. It is good to love one another because this is the law written by Moses, 'To love your neighbour as yourself'. Stop the spiteful criticism because this is envy and jealousy towards one who has obtained his riches from God, whether goods or fine mats or whose work has been blessed by God (GBP, p. 72).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
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• Black magic and curses	• Love thy neighbour as yourself	Avoid jealousy and envy
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W4: **Pomalae** (Darkness in the land)

”O le upu lea i le faiva o Lapalapa, o lona igoa o Aigofie, o le tasi lea muau (sic) tele o Samoa. E taufetaai i Lapalapa, e toalua tagata e fetaai, i le a fetaai, e muai tautala, ona fetaai ai lea. O le faiva foi e oti ai tagata, o le mea lea e muai tautala ai lo la nafa o le a fetaai. E matua fai lava a la lauga. E maeu lava ona lelei ma le filemu o upu e tautala ai, e faapea upu: ”Fetalai mai ia ina o la ta fetaiga nei. O le manao foi lava le mea ua ta sau ai nei i lou alaala, aua ua e masani i lou faiva. O le mea foi lea ta te sau ai nei, tau ina agatonu ai o lou alaala, i le ua malu ona fai o lou faiva o le fia faaaoao mai nei i lou alaala na mua i lenei faiva. I le a o’u tea tuu mai a’u, ae tea foi tuu atu oe.” Lana lauga le ua iu. Ona fai mai lea o le tasi, ua faapea mai lana tali: ,rUa lelei lava lea. Ta fai a’i ia o lau fetalai. A o’u tea tuu mai a’u, ae tea tuu atu foi oe.” Faauta, e galo nei tautalaga pea fetaai. Ua tau i se tasi e malosi. Ua le tuliaina tautalaga, a pau i lalo so laua ua fasi pea lava. Aua o le po malae, fai lava o tu mai e lei pau i lalo, aua lava o le po lava malae, ua maga vaai ua le oa le la tagata. O le mea lea e i ai le muagagana nei o le pomalae. Faatuta ia. O fea ea malae? O le ola nei. E lelei lava ona tatou silasila lelei, nei sese o tatou, aua ua uma ona tautala o le fetalai o le loto lea ua uma ona tala i luma o le Atua i le ola nei, ua uma ona tauto, o lea tatou usiusitai ia Iesu le Faaola. Aua o le pomalae lenei tatou te i ai nei. O loo sau le ao, nei ai so tatou tuumāvaega”(GBP, p. 68).

This word refers to the sport of club fighting using the stem of the coconut leaf. This sport is called aigofie and was one of the leading pastimes of Samoa. Two competitors engage each other with coconut stems but before doing so they speak to each other and then they start fighting. The sport also sometimes causes death and this is why before the engagement each tells the other his genealogy . The speeches are studiously attended to. Gentle and good are the words they use. For example, one says, ”Speak to me, good sir, on this occasion of our meeting. It was the desire that brought me to your village because you are familiar with your sport. May your village be blessed as a result. You are talented in your sport and it is my wish to aspire to the talent of your village which was first in this sport. When I leave, leave me alone. When you leave, I leave you alone also.” His speech is finished. The other now replies as follows: ’Thank you very much. Let us do as you say. When I leave, you leave me alone. When you leave, I will leave you alone.” Behold, all these words are forgotten once they begin to strike each other. They will battle to find the stronger. Their words are no longer followed. When one falls he continues to be beaten because the land is dark. Even if one is standing and not fallen, the land is still dark because images come in two’s and the other is no longer recognised. Thus the origin of the prominent expression, pomalae. **Applications of the word.** Where is the land in question? It is this life. Let us look carefully, lest one of us goes astray, because we have finished the speeches of the club fight; we have expressed the desires of our hearts before God in this life; we have sworn that we will obey Jesus the Saviour. Because we are in the darkness of the land. The light is coming; let none revoke his oath (GBP, p. 68).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
• The protocols of club fighting	• Jesus is the light to the darkness of earthly life.	Be loyal to Jesus

W5: 'Ai o le Ma'osi'osi (Gains of injury)

O lenei lona uiga. Afai na tatou tau ma se nuu, ae tulia, ona alu lea o se tasi alii, ua nofo ai, ma na taumafa na o ia taumafa o lea nuu. Ona tatou tiga ai lea, ina ua la taumafa toatasi o taumafa o le ma'osi'osi, aua ua lailoa uma, ma tigaina uma tagata i le taua, a o lea na sasa uma mea a le nuu ua toilalo. Aua sa lailoa uma lava i le manua ia (sic) i tao, ma uatogi, ma maota, ma fia 'ai, ma fiainu i se vai, ma mata moe i le po, ma le maalili i le sau ma le ua. Faauta ua maosiosi uma nuu ma alii ma le malo i le taua, a o lea na taumafa toatasi 'ai o le ma'osi'osi. Faatatau la ia. O ai ea o tatou tau nei. O le tiapolo ma le lalolagi ma tu leaga ma loto leaga. Ao a ea taumafa o le ma'osi'osi. O taumafa uma lava o le lalolagi, o le uta ma le tai. Ua na ona taumafa lava ma nofosao e le o ma'osi'osi lona tino i le taua faaleagaga, a o lea na sasafua lava taumafa o le ma'osi'osi o Iesu, ma le au aposetolo, ma perofeta, ma faifeau, ma le ekalesia uma lava o i le lalolagi uma lava" (GBP, p. 153-4).

A word about the gains of injury. This is its meaning. If we fought with another village and drove away its people, then a high chief would go to live in that village and to eat for himself only all the food of that village. Then we would be hurt that he had eaten by himself the gains of injury, because all had worked hard and suffered in the war. Yet he would prohibit to others everything belonging to the defeated village. Because all had suffered greatly through wounds from spears, clubs, houses destroyed, hunger, thirst, lack of sleep, the cold and rain. Behold all the village people, the chiefs and government have been 'scratched in the war but now the high chief would eat by himself the gains of injury. **Applications of the word.** Who are we fighting with now? The devil, the world, evil customs and evil hearts. And what are the gains of injury? All the food of the world, of the land and sea. All he [the devil] does is to eat and sit up straight. His body is not scratched by the spiritual war, yet will he prohibit to others the gains of the injury of Jesus, the apostles, the prophets, the pastors and the whole church in the world (GBP, p. 153-4).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
• Customs relating the spoils of war	•	The Devil is a cheat.

W6: O le Tulaga (Sister's child)

O le Tulaga. Tasi ona uiga, o le lllamutu, tasi ona uiga, o le Tamasa. Ao le Tulaga e taua nei. E matua mamalu lava naua. Faauta mai ea, a taute ma taumafa, e taumafa toatasi. A uma ona taute, ona taumamafa ai lea o tagata uma ma alii uma ma tamaitai uma ma u iai tua o tagata uma lava. E sa pea faasaga iai se tasi ma 'ai. E matua tele lava mea e faia i le Tulaga e tagata e a latou lea Tulaga, pese nuu uma, pese usoalii uma, aua o le Tulaga e tasi a le nuu uma poo se usoalii uma lava. E lelei lava ona fai o Iesu ma tatou Tulaga tasi e tatau ai lava. Ia faalo ia te ia o le Tulaga a luga ma lalo nei, o le Tulaga aitu ma tagata, o le Tulaga tasi a le lalolagi nei. Avatu i ai le viiga ma le faane'etaga aua e ao ia te ia viiga ma faane'etaga, aua o ia o le Tulaga a le lalolagi ma le lagi tuaafe, ma le lagi tuamano, ma le lagi tuailu, ma le lagi tuafefafa. E a latou lenei Tulaga paia ma pau, ma le mamalu tele, ma sasatetele, ma le mamafi tele, ma le taalili tele, ma le 'a'ave tele i le lalolagi nei, ma le ma'ave'ave tetele aua e ona luga, ma lalo nei, ma sisifo, ma sasae, ma tai, ma uta. Faauta la ia i le Tulaga tasi a mea uma lava atoa. Ua galulu uma ia te ia mea uma lava (GBP, p. 101-2).

The Tulaga. One of its meanings is the Ilamutu, another the Tamasa. But it is the Tulaga that is here mentioned. It is exceedingly sacred. Behold, if the Tulaga takes food he/she does so alone. Only when the Tulaga finishes will the others, men and women, have their food with their backs turned towards the Tulaga. It is prohibited for anyone to eat while facing the Tulaga. Very many things are done to the Tulaga by those whose Tulaga it is whether it be a village or a group of brother-chiefs because the Tulaga is theirs in common. It is very good to adopt Jesus as our only Tulaga as this is appropriate. Let us salute him the Tulaga of above and below, the Tulaga of the spirits (aitu) and humans, the sole Tulaga of this world. Let us give Him praise for this is due to Him for He is the Tulaga of the world, thousandth heaven and the countless heavens beyond. This is their sacred Tulaga, solemn, full of majesty, sanctity, honour, power, renown in this world and extensive influence because He owns above and below, west and east, the sea and the land. Behold then the sole Tulaga of everything and who has power and influence over everything” (GBP, p.101- 2).

Cultural element	Christian element	Christian message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The importance of sisters child • Ritual behaviour towards Sister's child 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jesus is Tulaga 	<p>Honour Jesus for he is our sister's child</p>

Appendix G: Penisimani Hymns

I	
<p>1. Ala ma ia, ina ala mai Ala mai le atu laulau Aua le moe, a ia tulai Ua oso mai le Fetuao</p> <p>2. Saili ma le fa'amaumau Usi i le galu ma le au Ia lagolago ma pii mau I le Alii e fa'avavau</p> <p>3. O ia na maliu tiga Ia faamagalo ai Tu'umāvaega ma pagota Ma mea uma tuanai</p>	<p>Awaken, awaken Arise, to all those on the islands Stop sleeping, and stand The morning star has arisen</p> <p>Succeed and endure Observe the waves both large and small Prop up and hold fast To the Lord everlasting</p> <p>It is he who died with great suffering So that we could be forgiven He broke covenant in forgiving the prisoners And everything since then</p>
II	
<p>1. Iesu, e malie loto I lou manatua mai A e matua olioli Pe a e afio mai</p> <p>2. E le logo i taliga E le talatala mai E le folafolaina O se lua te tusa ai</p> <p>3. Iesu le fa'amoemoe O e loto salamo Amuia le mautinoa Lau tofi i lou malo</p> <p>4. O lou suafa Iesu e Ua u'u manogi mai O le olo le saofia Matou te sulu i ai</p>	<p>Lord Jesus, we are happy That you think of us And we really rejoice When you come to us</p> <p>It has not been heard Nor has it been spoken about It is not announced You have no equal</p> <p>Jesus, you are the hope To those who are bereft Fortunate are those who are certain Of your station and kingdom</p> <p>Your name Jesus Is like perfumed oils A fortress of safety In which we shelter</p>
III	

<p>1. E le ifoga la lenei Ia te oe te alofa mai Matou te magalo lelei Ai lo matou nei moe mai</p> <p>2. Ia tatou apo atu nei Ia Iesu te mamalu mai Aue, to ofo, ua tei Ina ua e saili mai</p> <p>3. La nofo mau I matou nei I mea puapuaga Pe na fai e i'u lelei La matou sala faigata</p> <p>4. Ua togi tasi e Iesu I mea tatou te tiga ai Ua faailoa le filemu I lona toto na sui mai</p>	<p>As we bow here We ask that you love us And that you forgive us As we lay down to sleep</p> <p>Let us cling To Jesus who sanctifies Aue, I wonder and am surprised As you have come to us</p> <p>Reside within us In our torment and despair You can bring about good resolutions To our many wrongdoings</p> <p>Jesus takes on All the things that cause us pain He shows us the peace That is enabled by his cleansing blood</p>
IV	
<p>1. Saili atu i le nu'u i luga Saili i le ala faigata Ua tala mai ua logologoā E le sao i le faasoesā</p> <p>2. Ua na o oe ua maputiga E maua atu le ola i luga Auā le tupu na soli tiga Ia uma ai le puapuaga</p> <p>3. O mea sese e le fa'aleaoga A e tupu e pei o laau mafalā Lou malo Iesu te pule lelei I le atu i luluga ma sasae</p> <p>4. Tau ina matou sauniuni ai Ma faatali i Le afio mai Pe a tu'u tau'i o mea na fai E le mafai ona toe fesua'i</p>	<p>Succeed to the land above Travel through the difficult roads To the widely known Haven from stormy waters</p> <p>You are the only balm from pain Through which we find life above Because the King banishes earthly pain And ends earthly suffering.</p> <p>Things that are wrong and are of no use But grow like broad leafed plants Your kingdom Jesus that you rule over Are the domains above and to the West</p> <p>All we can do is prepare And wait for your coming And if we have to pay for our actions Then it is too late to change those actions</p>

Appendix H

(i) Fa’alupega of Satupa’itea: c.1860-1915

Penisimani (1860s)	Churchill (1910, p. a503)	Kramer (1903, p. 91-92)	Le Mamea et al. (1915)
Tulouna lou fetalaiga a le Va’aimalae O lau fetalaiga a Asiata Tulouna a le afioga a Tupa’i Tulouna le afioga Tonumaip’e Tulouna alo o Lilomaiaava o Tuimaseve, ma Fa’anana o lo’o tula te oe le Alataua Tulouna le aiga Savalomua ma le susuga a le Fauatea Tulouna Tavui ma Gasū Tulouna Lufilufi ma Noāpule Ala ala mai la ia	Tulouna a oe le Alataua Tuouna a le āiga Sa Moeleoī Tulouna a Asiata, o le va’aimalae. Tulouna a Tupa’i, o le va’aiti. Tulouna a Tavui ma Gasū. Tulouna a alo o Lilomaiaava, o Tuimaseve ma Fa’anānā Tulouna a Lau Sūsuga a Le Fauatea ma le āiga Sa Valomuā. Afio mai lou tapa’au o Lau Afioa a le Tonumaip’e.	Tulouna oe alataua Tulouna oe lufilufi ma nofoa pule Tulouna tapa’au lē fano Tulouna le aiga Samoeleoi Tulouna lau susuga Asiata o le va’a i malae i tumua Tulouna lau afioga Tupa’i, o le va’atī o Nāfanua Susū mai lau susuga a Gasū ma Tavui Tulouna alo o Lilomaiaava o taumafatia se ava o oe alataua o Tuimaseve ma Fa’anānā Ae tulouna le aiga Savalomua ma lau susuga a Fauatea	Tulouna oe le Alataua Tulouna le Aiga sa Moeleoī Tulouna Asiata o le Vaa i Malae Tulouna Tupa’i o le Vaa i Tī Tulouna Tavui ma Gasū Tulouna alo o Lilomaiaava o Tuimaseve ma FA’anana Tulouna a lau Susuga a Fauatea ma sa Valomua Afio mai lou Tapaau o le Tonumaip’e

(ii) Fa’alupega for all of Samoa

Tulouna ‘oe Tūmua ¹ Tuouna ‘oe Pule ² Tulouna ‘Itūau ³ ma oe Alataua ⁴	Greetings to the Tūmua Greetings to the Pule Greetings to the districts Itūau and Alataua Greetings to the Family in the sea
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¹ Refers to Lufilufi and Leulumoea in Upolu.

² Refers to the six ruling villages in Savai’i.

³ Refers to the village of Faleata in Upolu

⁴ Refers to the village of Sāfata in Upolu

<p>Tulouna 'Aiga i le Tai⁵ Tulouna le Va'a o Fonotī⁶</p> <p>Tutuila Tulouna a le Faleagafulu⁷ Tulouna Sua ma le Vaifanua Tulouna Fofō ma Itulāgi Tulouna Itūau ma le Alataua Tulouga Sā'ole ma le Launiusaelua</p> <p>Manu'a Tulouna le Manu'a Tulouna le Lā'au Amotasi a Samoa⁸</p> <p>Tulouna lau afioga Tuimanu'a o lo'o e afio i le fale'ula tau tagata</p> <p>Afio mai la'ia i ou epa⁹ ma ou faleto'a¹⁰</p>	<p>Greetings to the boat of Fonotī</p> <p>Greetings to the House of Ten Greetngs to the districts of Sua and Vaifanua Greeting to the Fofō and Itulāgi Greetings to Itūau and the Alataua Greeting Sā'ole and the Launiusaelua</p> <p>Greeting to the [title] Manu'a Greeting to the one wooden yoke for oll of Samoa Greetings to the highest Tuimanu'a who lives in the red house [made of breadfruit wood] of mortals</p> <p>In veneration welcome for those, the royal mats and thy sleeping house</p>
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⁵ Refers to the villages of Manono and Apolima

⁶ Refers to the villages of Faleāpuna and Fagaloa in Upolu

⁷ Refers to the ten districts of Tutuila: Sua, Vaifanua, Sā'ole, Ituau, Launiusaelua, Leasina, Tualatai, Tualauta, Fofō, and Alataua

⁸ Reference to the Manu'atele as the kin of Manu'a

⁹ Refers to mats belonging to the Tuimanu'a

¹⁰ Refers to the sleeping house of the Tuimanu'a

Appendix I: Gafa

(i) Gafa of Tupua and Malietoa families Gen 20-33 (c. 1504-c. 1896)¹

Gen	Tui Atua	Tui A'ana	Malietoa
20	Mata'utia	Tamaalelagi	
21		SALAMĀSINA	Tui Togamatoe (w)
22		Fofoaivao'ese	Taulapapa
23	Taufau	Sina	Mal. Talaopo (w)
24	Tupuivo	Faumuinā	Mal Tuilaepa
25	Luamanuvae	Fonotī	Mal Toatuilaepa
26	Falana'ipupu	Muagututi'a	Mal Aeofinu'u
27	Togafau	Tupua	M. Laulauafolasa
28	Ilmatogafau	Suafalemaua	Mal ia Ti'a
29	Tuimaseve	Salainaoloa (w)	Mal. Fitisimanu
30	Matā'afa Fa'asuamaleaui	Nofoasaefā	Mal Vainupo
31	Matā'afa Filisounu'u	Leasolagi	Mal Moli
32	Va'ailua	Moegagono	Mal Laupepa
33	Tupua Matā'afa	Tamasese (TF)	
		Tamasese, Lealofi	Tanumafili

¹ Taken from Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesia Und Samoa*, 520–21.

(ii)Gafa-chronology¹

Genealogy number	Chronology	Events	Malietoa	Tui A'ana	Tui Atua	Tagaloa	Tonumaipe'a
1	936			Malamagaga'e-Malamagagaifo			
2	966			Lupe-Papatū			
3	996			A'alua-Papamau			
4	1026			Papafoagia-Ma'ata'anoa			
5	1056			Papa'ele-Palapala			
6	1086			Papamavae-Imoa	Luamanvae-Tumupu'e		
7	1116		Si'usei'a-Tapalemalama	Salasala-Tagaloanimonimo	Tui Atua Tuloutele - Sinaatauata		
8	1146		Si'utaulalovasa-Lulai Lulago	Tupufua-Leletamalie	Tui Atua Malaetele - Samalaulu		
9	1176		Ata-Fa'auliaumi	Leopili-Lesauopualai	Taepipitele-Taemo'otele		
10	1206		Si'ufe'ai-Lepolatele	Tn Pilisolo-Toa'imailagi	Taemo'omanaia - Lefe'eiali'i		Savea Si'uleo-Tilafaigā
11	1236		Si'ulefualelaumalō-Aigamasitele	Tn Nifosili-Upegamamao	Tui Atua Leutelei'ite-Fetutafeilo		Sua'ifanua (Nāfanua)
12	1266		Fe'epō-Lepaleatele	Tn Fuaoletaulo'o-Usumalefua	Tui Atua Aumaulelua'iali'i-Fe'esaga	Lealali-Malelegaato'elau	Latuivai-Mimisapu'a
13	1296		Leatiogie-Tauaiupolu	Tō-Faga	Tui Atua Fepulua'i - Utafa'asili	Tupa'imatuna-Laufafaetoga	Taigalugalu-Lilomaiaava Seve
14	1324	Rise of Malietoa	Tongan expulsion	Mal Savea-Luafatasaga	Tui Atua Tologataua-Siufogafepapa	Va'asilifiti - Lefe'egaga	Foaloō-Lologaapivao
15	1354		Mal (Faigā) Uilamatutu	Fulisiailagī ō-Ogafanuatele	Tui Atua Aumua Tagafa-Malaepogapoga	Funefe'ai-Tetoafaigā	Maisinaō-Fouafa'asani

¹ Taken from Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, 1994, 1: Constitution, pedigree, and traditions:644–47.

16	1384			Mal Uitualagi-Gatoloaiao	Fa'asiliailagi ō-Tn Uōtele	Tui Atua Muaitetele-Matagitausulu	Tagaloaega-Lanuopouli	Leanuiō- Leulafi	Leutogitupa'itea-Tui Uea
17	1414			Mal La'auli-Gauifaleai, Totogatā	Fa'alulumaga ō - Letufuga	Tui Atua Polailevao (Tt Fa'aso'utele i Ti'avea)- Momoe i Fuifatu	Tagaloaletula-Tu'umoega	Mo'ouiō- Lefainatu	Fa'asega
18	1444			[Mal Falefatu] Gatoaitele ō-Sanalāla Manu'a	[Tn Vaemā] Fitimaula ō- Tagaloafa'aofonu'u	Tui Atua Fotuitama'i - Tete'etama'i	Tagaloafa'atauitele-Fagalilo	Tonumaie'a Sauoaiga-Leato'ugauga a tuitoga	
19	1474			[Mal Sagagamuli] Vaeatamasoa-Selaginatō	[Tn Sagaate] Selaginatō-Vaeatamasoa	Sefa'atauemana - Lalovimamā	Tagaloafa'aofonu'u-Letelesā	Tauiliili- Liutogitui	
20	1504			Tn Tamaalelagi-Senatoe	Tn Tāmalelagi-Vaetoeifaga	Mata'utia-So'oa'emalelagi	Tagaloasauniifanua-Tafeutuloo	Tonumaie'a Saumaie'a-Tuetali	
21	1534	Consolidation of families	SALAMĀSINA	Tuitogamatoe ō- Lemafaitu'uga	SALAMĀSINA ō - Tapumanaia	SALAMĀSINA ō	Maisagamai ō - Fotuitamai	Tapumanaia	
22	1564			Mal Taulapapa-Tonu'umatasiva	Tn Fofoaivao'ese ō- Tauatamainiulaita	Fofoaivao'ese (Tn)- Tauatamainiulaita	Tagaloaafulu - Oloitoa	Tn Fofoaivao'eseō- Tauatamainiulaita	
23	1594			[Mal Seuli] Taiaopo-Anavao	Sina ō-Titoaivao	Taufau ō-Tauiliili i Papa	Fatumiti - Malietoa Taulapapa	Sinaō-Titoaivao	
24	1626			Mal Tuilaepa-Maisagamai	Faumuinā-Talaleomalie	Tupuivao-Iliganoa Taulapapa	To'omata - Tofoipupū	Tn Faumuinā-Atamulau	
25	1656	Rise of Manono	FONOTI	Malietoa Toatuilaepa-Tofoipupū	FONOTI -Fuatino	Luamanvae-Tumupu'e	Amituana'i-Tinaitaala	Va'afusuaga-Lefe'onu'u	
26	1686			Malietoa Ae'o'ainu'ū-Saipuanume	Muagututi'a-Fenuunivao	Falanaipupu-Talaopatina	Leotatoga -Oilau	Toleafaioilō- Lo'o	
27	1716		"Tamaaiga"	Mal Laulauafolasā-Ali'itasi	Tupua-Tuaopetū	Togafau-Suluo'o Ilimatogafau-Leteletaneolevao (Salevalasi)	Lealamanu'a Aumoegalogo - `O Lagi	Nonumalo-Nonumea	
28	1746	Aloali'i		Mal ia Ti'a	Galumalemana		Lealamanu'a - Sina	Levaopili- To'iata	
29	1776			Mal Fitisimanu-Palo	Nofoasāefā (Tamafaigā-- l'amafana	Tuimavave-Salaina'oloa	Loavaegogo - Liulemauga	Gisa-Fa'amaunatusa	
30	1806	19 century		Mal Vainu'upō (Mal Taimalelagi: tupu o Salāfai)- Suilī Atuilagi	Leasiolagi	Mata'afa Fa'asumaleaui-Leativā o Sālafai	Lealamanu'a - Tuileafu	Lulualeseve-Ti'ovaitafe-Seutatio	
31	1836			Mal Moli-Fuatino (Su'a)	Moegāgogo	Mata'afa Filisounu'u-Fuatino	Va'amolea'ana - afafine o Tauiliili	Pa'ōvale-Umutiitaua	
32	1866			Mal Laupepa -Sisavai'i	Tamasese-Fuatino	Mata'afa Va'ailua-Ali'isalele	Tagaloa i le Va'aiga	Malaita'i Faumuinā	
33	1896			Mal Tanumafili	Tamasese	Mata'afa Tupua (Faifeau)			