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A HIERARCHY OF SYMBOLS:

SAMOAN RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM IN

NEW ZEALAND

BETTY KATHLEEN DUNCAN

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Otago, Dunedin,
New Zealand.

December 1994.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation seeks to understand the religious experience of Samoans in New Zealand. The research uses the framework and themes of phenomenology of religion to observe, describe and interpret the expressions of Samoan religious experience in the thoughts of Samoans, their actions and their communities.

The major analysis is conducted on the basis of selected theoretical structures of symbolism, for religious symbols are an important means of expressing and thereby interpreting religious experience. Religions work through clusters of symbols which are activated by universal symbols. Religious symbols enable humans to conceptualize and thus experience the ultimate reality of God and salvation.

Samoan life is based on the inter-related areas and entwined symbols of fa'a-Samoan ('traditional Samoan way of doing things'), the 'āiga ('extended family') and the Christian Church. Central to all three is the experience of living within a hierarchy, for Christianity, fa'a-Samoan and Samoan families are all hierarchically structured. In both their secular and religious lives, the hierarchy is a key symbol of life and salvation.

Christianity plays a significant part in the lives of Samoans. The churches can be divided into two groups according to their acceptance or "rejection" of the cultural activities and ceremonies of fa'a-Samoan. However, instead of detailing the particulars of each religious group, this dissertation seeks to identify and describe the symbolic components which are important in the formulation of Samoan religious experience and which continue to activate the religious expressions of Samoans in New Zealand.
Part One introduces the different kinds of Samoan churches and examines varying types of religious experiences. Then traditional mythical models of hierarchy, sacrifice and associated taboos are discussed, for there is a strong possibility that the symbolism has been deeply embedded within the Samoan psyche. Because of this, the Samoan hierarchy and the discipline with which individuals subject their needs to that of their family and church, is reinforced through the traditional requirements, protocols and ceremonies of *fa'a-Samoa*.

Part Two focuses on characteristics and functions of religious symbols, and presents examples of mythical, allegorical, visual and natural symbols which are consciously used by Samoans. The perennial phenomenological themes of time and space are introduced through the hierarchical structure of the 'ie tōga ('fine mats') followed by an analysis of the Samoan concept of time, the symbolic functions of Samoan personal names and Samoan church buildings.

As a result of this research one can affirm that the religious experience of Samoans in New Zealand is closely tied to the symbols of hierarchy, for it is the hierarchical thrust which leads humans to the ultimate values in life. This symbolism becomes even more significant when it is combined with the universal symbolism of regeneration as manifested in the use of *'ie tōga* for *feagaiga* ('covenants') and *māvaega* ('farewells'). These symbolize the pulse beat of the constant meetings and partings - an essential component of Samoan time and the human life cycle.
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THE RESEARCH JOURNEY

Beginnings

In 1982, while visiting Dunedin, the Principal of Trinity Methodist Theological College, Auckland, suggested that my Ph.D. topic should be about "something to do with Samoan religion". He was prompted by several things. Firstly, at that time Samoan Methodists in New Zealand were experiencing the dilemma of divided loyalty between the Samoa Methodist Conference based in Western Samoa and the New Zealand Methodist Conference. Secondly, approximately one third of students at the St John's Theological College in Auckland were Samoans. This trend has continued, not only at St John's but also at the Presbyterians' college, Knox Theological Hall in Dunedin. Finally, in his view my training in phenomenology of religion appeared to present a sympathetic, interpretative approach which would allow cultural boundaries to be crossed and facilitate a better understanding between European and Polynesian church communities.

I agreed to consider such a project provided that I could include and develop my interest in the area of symbolism. Moreover, I expressed concern at limiting the scope of my study by confining my research solely to Samoan Methodists. Having been exposed to eastern and western religions through my training, the experience had taught me that one would get a limited picture should I research only one group in the Samoan community. This intuition has been confirmed many times, for

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1The Anglican and Methodist theological schools have combined resources at St John's Theological College, Auckland. The students include Anglicans, Methodists, private students and Samoans from the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa.

2Between 1978-1990 as a tutor in Phenomenology of Religion at the University of Otago I came into contact with a number of Samoan students. The majority were either theological students studying for the Presbyterian ministry, or graduates from Malua Theological College, Western Samoa who are furthering their education in New Zealand.
Samoans are connected to a wide spectrum of religious denominations through the many different affiliations of their 'āiga ('the relatives who make up their large extended families').

Towards the end of 1982, I visited Auckland and was invited to spend a few days with a Samoan family in Grey Lynn. So began my introduction into the continuous and intense round of activities and projects associated with Samoan church life. These include fundraising for the building of new churches not only in New Zealand but also in Samoa, planning malaga ('travelling parties'), the dedication and celebrations surrounding the opening of new church buildings, practising for a wide variety of performances and contests, and the continual training to be ready for the unexpected. For instance, on the occasion of a sudden death, the community immediately reverts to the Samoan way of doing things: speech making, the exchange of 'ie tōga ('fine mats'), the gifting of money and the providing of feasts.

Activities such as these reinforce the hierarchical structure of not only Samoan society but also its religion, and are part of the ancient traditions of the fa'a-Samoa ('the Samoan way of life'). It has taken me years to appreciate the fullness of these activities and to realize the significance of their symbolism; but the seeds of this dissertation were planted during that initial visit.

The research programme

The creation of this dissertation has progressed through four stages. The first stage involved an initial preparation through my attendance of a Samoan language class at the Otago Polytechnic, the Polynesian Studies class at Knox Theological Hall taught by Rev. Ned Ripley, an Otago University Extension Summer School in Photography, and culminated in a two month visit to the Samoan islands of Savai'i, Upolu and Tutuila, as well as Niue Island during May to July, 1984. As my topic was to focus on Samoan religion in New Zealand, it seemed prudent to not only
become familiar with Samoan customs but also to gain a first hand experience of the homeland environment.

The second stage of my research during the rest of 1984 to 1986 was spent in extending my knowledge through the Samoan language class at Otago Polytechnic, attending functions and church services in the local Samoan community, and exploring the literature. My research was suspended in 1987 and leave taken in 1988 due to a breakdown of my health.3

The third stage involved the years of 1989 to 1992, when my research became fully consolidated through field work within New Zealand. My Ph.D. studies resumed part-time and a new impetus was given to them with the writing of the chapter "Christianity: Pacific Island Traditions" in Religions of New Zealanders.4 During these years, I managed to visit many Samoan churches throughout New Zealand and several very profitable periods were spent in Auckland during August and September 1989, May 1990, and May to August and December 1991.

In my study of the Samoan churches I have integrated a number of different research methods. These include intensive participant observation, taped interviews with individuals, and sometimes seminar-type discussions with several people. Video tapes also proved a valuable way to review and discuss activities which I witnessed or which were described to me with enthusiasm by participants: for example weddings, birthdays, White Sundays, choir and cultural competitions, theatre productions, fund-raising concerts, title ceremonies and the launching of books.

3During 1988 five family members and close friends died, and my mother suffered a number of serious heart attacks.
I also used a questionnaire\textsuperscript{5} in order to achieve a specific focus with regards to my visits to churches. These visits were nearly always preceded by phone calls and letters of introduction, followed by a meeting with the minister concerned and an inspection of the church buildings before I became involved in a church community. Then I would attend Sunday and midweek services and prayer meetings, and other seasonal activities associated with the church communities. In some instances my association with a particular church has continued over a number of years. Often it took several weeks to arrange visits, and even then plans could be disrupted by deaths and the repatriation of bodies to the islands, or the ill-health of elderly people. One also had to work around annual conferences when ministers and their wives travelled to Samoa for several weeks. I found it confusing to work in more than two denominations at any given time, although as the Seventh-day Adventists meet on Saturdays, it was possible to have intensive weekends of research.

The fourth period of research has involved the years since 1991, and the writing up of the results in this dissertation. The telephone has proved an invaluable means of maintaining contact, and for the reviewing and updating of details.

**The legacy of Margaret Mead and words of warning**

On a number of occasions during my research, the name of Margaret Mead was brought to my attention by Samoans of a generation who still feel strongly about the views she expressed as a result of her studies of their society. These people, now in their fifties, sixties and seventies have remained silent because the Samoan protocol of *fa'aaloalo* ('politeness') has caused them to keep their opinions to themselves.

Usually the topic was raised with the question "Have you read Margaret Mead?"

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\textsuperscript{5}See Appendix Nine: Church And Sacred Space Features Questionaire.
Studies at Knox College, he requested that I not read her *Coming of Age in Samoa*, for it would give me a false picture of Samoan society. Over the years, Samoan educators and professional people have continued to ask me this same question, often within minutes of our meeting.

In 1992, while writing up this dissertation, I was warned by a senior minister whom I respect greatly that "You realize that you too may fall into the 'Margaret Mead trap'. When you discuss your ideas and interpretations with people, they may be lazy and just agree with you. You will never really know whether it is right or not."

Some Samoans are suspicious of researchers and see them as a long line of parasites on their society. These folk are not so happy about being studied for the benefit of some pālagi ('European') student. They see us as being prepared to take all we can without giving anything in return.

This was a lesson I learnt while living in Apia in 1984. I wanted to use the thesis reading room in the public library, but on many occasions, I was not allowed to do so; the reasons being that there was nobody free to supervise my being in the room, and that in the past, books had been stolen. Although this was somewhat frustrating, I also realized that to the librarians, I must be yet another graduate student who turned up for a few weeks and was never heard of again.

In Samoa, for reasons for my own safety, I was encouraged not to walk home by myself after 5 pm. Instead, in the late afternoon, I would often join my hostess at the Apia Bowling Club, next to the Tusitala Hotel. She was a successful professional woman, and an equally successful and competitive lawn bowler who played several times a week. The radio blared out the daily session from

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parliament, and the men sat smoking and drinking their beer in the shade of the club house verandah. To keep me occupied, I was often instructed to assist at the bar. After about one month of this activity, one of the librarians and her husband visited the Bowling Club for a social hour. Next day, and until the end of my stay, I was allowed to use the thesis room at the library.

How does one interpret this? The librarian did express great surprise in meeting me there. At the time, I felt that she had now realized that I was not just a tourist but someone was also prepared to do some work. (*Pālagi*, are seen as "people who shut their purses and sit on them" for they are nearly always the last to offer to pay for anything, and if they do, they are not over generous.) Now, I also realize that the status of my hostess probably had more to do with the unlocking of the thesis room door, than my helping in the Bowling Club bar.

Time and again, I have been warned not to assign meaning to everything I see, nor to interpret or equate all I see in New Zealand with what goes on in Samoa. However, whether in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch or Dunedin, I have been most warmly welcomed into the different activities of Samoan church communities. But, in spite of the care I took in introducing myself as a religious studies' student from the University of Otago in Dunedin, and not a theological student or a minister, there were occasions when I heard myself being promoted to either the status of a theological student from Knox College, or that of *misi* ('the title used to address European ministers of religion or missionaries back in Samoa') or even a *faʻifeʻau* ('minister').

Consultation with a Samoan cultural advisor in Auckland resulted in my adoption of his recommendation to play out whichever stereotyped role the people gave me. It was obvious that I could not be seen to protest or correct the minister during his introduction of myself in public at a church service. In smaller meetings too, I was often taken off guard by my sudden "promotion", but again I felt that
either the group would become confused (because of their lack of English and understanding of institutional roles and structures) or that I would embarrass the person introducing me if I started to interrupt or correct details in what was already a warm welcome. Moreover, I was aware that my "higher status" added to the status of the occasion. It ought to be pointed out that despite prior written descriptions of myself, as well as verbal details at the time of my arrival, ministers and church leaders continued to introduce me in their own way and in their own words.

Only once was my acquired status of fa'ife'au queried. A very elderly man questioned me closely because he did not want me there if I was a woman minister. His traditional view of a minister could not accommodate a woman in such a position. I much appreciated the experience for it helped me understand the battle being fought by Samoan women who are answering the call to become ministers of religion.

But, without exception, there were always people who were genuinely pleased that I was honouring their church by attending their services; talking with their minister and taking part in their functions and meetings. These people will never know the extent to which they have been my inspiration and motivation to continue this research. I feel a great responsibility to them. Their love, hospitality and prayers have carried me through my most difficult times. And I treasure the memory of the Henderson man who stood before his congregation and thanked God for sending me as an example of the bravery of someone attempting to cross the boundaries between our cultures.

Finally, this dissertation is a testing ground for the legitimacy of phenomenology of religion as a research discipline. I believe that it is a relevant approach as the following pages will attest.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the years a large number of people have assisted this research in a number of different ways. These include the provision of extremely hospitable accommodation, transport, personal introductions and the creation of significant research opportunities (both planned or unexpected). On numerous occasions people have given helpful explanations, advice, suggestions, discussion, encouragement, moral support, enthusiasm for my project and genuinely sustaining prayers for the well being of myself and my family. Therefore, it is with much pleasure that I express my sincere gratitude for the tremendous help I have received.

A number of Samoan families who have offered sincere and loving friendship have continued to be my teachers, and my own family has felt very privileged to share in their personal accomplishments, joys, sorrows, and tragedies during the last ten years. In particular, I acknowledge: Dr Paulo and Mrs Dora Koria (Dunedin; and since July 1994, Malua Theological College, Western Samoa); Afioga Pula T. L. Vaifou Faraimo (Apia and Sale‘imoa, Western Samoa); Tofa Taule’ale’ausumai Fa’asi’u and Mrs Viola Taule’ale’ausumai (Auckland), and the ‘äiga of the late Mr Vaealiki Tekiu (Christchurch).

To the Rev. Keith Rowe (then Principal of Trinity Methodist Theological College, Auckland), who initially suggested the topic and the late Rev. S’iaula Amituana’i (Development Division of the Methodist Centre of New Zealand), who both encouraged and pointed me in the right direction; the Rev. Mose Samani (Samoan Methodist Church, Grey Lynn); the Rev. Dave and Mrs Bev. Mullen (Trinity Methodist Theological College, Auckland); and Miss Poutolu Su’a (Auckland, Samoa in 1984) who opened her heart and home to me in 1982, I am greatly indebted.

I shall be forever grateful for the Western Samoan opportunities created for me in 1984, by my hostess, guide and teacher Afioga Pula T. L. Vaifou Faraimo, also Mr Maurice Fenn, Afa, Olomalu Vesi, Tufaina Luatua, Vaifou, Dora and Mura, and the staff of the Vaisigano Primary School.
I must also express my heartfelt gratitude to the people of Salelavaluuta, and especially the Rev. Lalomilo and Mrs Talalelei Tausā, and Naite Tausā, Talaouli Pi and Mirimisi Talaouli Pi, the family of the late Fa'atasiga, and especially Poutolu Su'a, my guide to Salelavaluuta, Sapapali'i, Tuasivi and Pu'apu'a.

A sincere thank you too for the hospitality I received during the Methodist Church's twentieth anniversary celebrations as an independent conference - to the Samoan Methodist President, the Rev. Fa'atauva'a and Mrs Tagafuaina Tapuai; the Secretary, the Rev. and Mrs Sione U. Tamaalii; the Principal of Piula Theological College, the Rev. Amosa and Mrs Moelagi Leota; the New Zealand Methodist President, Mr Geoff and Mrs Doreen Hill; for the helpful discussions with the late Rev. Ron Allardice; and for accommodation with the Rev. Siologa and Mrs Ruta Josefa Mapusua (Lufilufi), and at Avoka Girls' School, Fale'ula - thank you Poutolu, Ane, Vaiui, Keresai and other staff members.

I shall always regard myself as very privileged to have been able to spend time with the gifted teacher (and doctor of both medicine and divinity), the late Rev. Dr Bert (Williams) Tofaeono and the late Mrs Tia Tofaeono, and Mr Larry and Mrs Semurana Tofaeono at Kanana Fou, American Samoa. Thankyou too to their family and to Larry for the guided tour of the church buildings American Samoa.

Special thanks to Mr Maurice Fenn for the visits to Mapuifagalele, the Little Sisters' of the Poor home for the elderly and to Sister Irene's informed guidance. Also to Sister Karen, Sister Mary Letisia Stowers and Sister Olivina Isitole of the Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary (Marists) for their companionship and wisdom.

I must also record my appreciation of the assistance I received from staff at the Nelson Memorial Public Library, Apia, and the helpfulness of the Statistics Department, Apia. My very sincere thanks are also extended to Dr Claudia and Lalolagi Heini Forsyth for their generous hospitality and their infectious enthusiasm for research. Thanks are also due to Marita Wendt for the informative conversations we shared in Wendt's Bookshop.

Mention must also be made of the generous hospitality received from Mr Morris Tafatu and Mrs Ofa Tafatu, and the Rev. Afele Paea on Niue Island.
In the course of this study I have visited many Samoan churches in New Zealand. In particular I thank the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in New Zealand, Dunedin, which has always welcomed me to the services and special functions over the years and especially their minister, the Rev. Soniva Ng Shu and the late Mrs Diana Ng Shu. Also my most sincere gratitude to the Rev. Tautiaga Senera; and to Dr Paulo and Mrs Dora Koria and their family for the friendship and assistance which has spanned eleven years. Thank you too to the generosity of other CCCS ministers: The late Rev. Ofisa Nuualii'itia F.T. (Papatoetoe, Auckland); the Rev. Risatisone Ete F.T. (Newtown, Wellington); the Rev. Mose and Mrs Atimalala (Hamilton); the Rev. Maligi Evile QSM (Kingsland, Auckland); and Rev. Fa'amalua and Mrs Ruta Peteru (Henderson, Auckland); together with members of the Henderson congregation: So'iso'i Tu'ua, Fonofili and Totolua To'omata, Tofa Lealali Sotiata and Lagi Leilua, Afioga Niuafoolau and Filioiaulo, Latu and Iliui, Sauvao and Penilope, and Masae, Uili and Nora Tu'u'uga Stevenson.

To the following ministers and individuals of the Presbyterian and Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Churches, I express my sincere thanks: the Rev. Leuatea Si'o QSO F.T. and Mrs Rosalina Si'o (Newton, Auckland); the late Rev. Setu Solomona F.T. and Mrs Aliki Solomona (Glen Eden, Auckland); the Rev. Setu Masina (Porirua); the Rev. Leao Si'itia F.T. (Avondale, Auckland); the Rev. Lagaua Talagi (Newton, Auckland); the Rev. Tu'i Fatialofa (former Chaplain, National Womens' Hospital, Auckland); the Rev. Va'alotu Solofa (Newtown, Wellington); the Rev. Lapana Faletolu and Mrs Salote Faletolu (Christchurch); the Rev. Matavai Alefaio (Papakura); the Rev. Alex Toleafoa (formerly St James, Auckland); the Rev. Maua Sola (Mangere, formerly Grants Braes Union, Dunedin); the Rev. Elama Maea and Mrs Emily Maea (Hamilton); the Rev. Feiloaiga Taule'ale'ausumai (National Youth Co-ordinator, Presbyterian Church of New Zealand); the Rev. Pelu Tuai (Ranui, Auckland); the Rev. Muamua Strickson-Pua; Tofa Taule'ale'ausumai Fa'asi'u and Mrs Viola Taule'ale'ausumai, Violet and Solomona Tu'u'uga Stevenson, Albert and Falen, Helen and Penisimani Fonua, Ben Taule'ale'ausumai (for his informed reviewing of many church activities), George and Ofesira Taule'ale'ausumai; Afioga Tuale and Mrs Talai'Unasa, Mr Pita Tao'uma, Mr Ulu Manase, Mr Lalau and Mrs Tausili Iusitini, Mr and Mrs Mata'utia Titi Su'a, the late Mr Paeu Filimaua and Miss Lei Filimaua, Miss Poutolu Su'a, Miss Eita Tagaloa, (Auckland); Mr Lefau Sa'ena, (Newtown, Wellington); Afioga Sila Foalima Lemalu (First Church, Danedrin), and Mr Solomona and Mrs Lena Uitime (Dunedin). A special thanks is also extended to the congregation and autalavou at St Martin's PIPC (Glen Eden), and to the Newton Samoan Women's Fellowship, and the participants of 1992 Pacific Island Presbyterian Ministers' Retreat.
I am very pleased to acknowledge the following people from the Methodist Church: the Rev. Ieremia Tuiolemotu (Otara, District Chairman of the Samoan Conference Synod in New Zealand and Australia), the Rev. Aso Samoa Saleupolu (Mangere, Chairman of the Samoan Advisory Council to the New Zealand Methodist Conference), the Rev. Henry Kitchingman (Glen Eden), the Rev. Salāfai Mika (Otara, formerly Dunedin), the Rev. Iosua Sefuiva (Pitt St, Auckland), the Rev. Paulo Ieriko (Ponsonby), Rev. Uesifili Unasa and Mrs Susana Unasa (Auckland), Mr Leaula Kamu (Western Samoa), Mr Tagaloa Tautiaga (Ponsonby), Mr Tavuaga To'omata and Mrs Luamanu To'omata (Mangere), Miss Poufa Su'a (Grey Lynn) and Miss Bethne Smith (Take a Break, [women's drop in centre], Pitt Street).

I appreciate very much the way Father Peter Brown and Sister Koleta (Catholic Samoan Chaplaincy, Auckland), and Father Neil Darragh (Catholic Institute of Theology, Meadowbank) fitted me into their very busy schedules; and to the President of the Henderson Catholic Community for the kind hospitality during their sulufaga ('feast day').

It is with pleasure that I express my appreciation to the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Elder Ken Domney (Regional Representative, Takapuna), Mr Victor Cave (Area Office, Takapuna), Ms Jill Palmer (National Director of Public Affairs NZ), Bishop James Ah Mu (The Church Education Systems Co-ordinator), Patriarch Selu Fruean and First Councillor Reupena Felaga'i (Vaea Second Ward, Mt Roskill Stake), Brother George Fruean, Elder Na'i Le'auanae, the Women's Relief Society of Vaea Second Ward, Mrs Sina Seiuli, and a special thanks to Ms Olepa Endemann and Nimolina for the warm welcome into their household.

I also acknowledge the sincere welcome I received from the members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church: the late Afioga Magele Edmund Stehlin, Order of Tiafa'u, MBE; the late Mr Jack and Mrs Bella Ryan (New Lynn); Mr Lefau Jack Ryan (Deputy Principal Auckland Seventh-day Adventist High School); Pastor Bob Bolst, Mr Karl Sørensen JP, Mr Tere and Mrs Irene Marsters, Mr Ray and Mrs Lil Forno (Ponsonby); Pastor Paul Siope, Afioga Palelei Vaialae and Mrs Masina Palelei, Afioga Niulevea Simi, and the late Mr Josefa Tesese and Mrs Lemau Tesese (Papatoetoe); Pastor Ritchie Way (North Shore); Pastor Ativale Mulitalo, Afioga Le Mamea Tuva'a and Mrs Sei'a Uelese, and Mrs Dot Greenfield (Christchurch).
Thank you too to the members of the Assemblies of God and especially: Pastor Samani Pulepule and Mrs Sapapali'i Pulepule (Grey Lynn); Pastor Va'ai Veve (Manurewa); Pastor Pailate and Mrs Meli Tuisano (Dunedin) and Mrs Lily Aitu (Auckland).

I must acknowledge the Jehovah's Witnesses and in particular the Bethelites Mr Charles and Mrs Judy Pritchard (Watchtower Branch Office, Manurewa) and the Earwaker family (Dunedin).

Sincere thanks are also extended to Mr Earl and Mrs Pauline Simpson (Wai-ora Trust Nursery, Christchurch); Mr Paul and Mrs Justine Simei-Barton (Pacific Theatre, Auckland) and Artists, Messrs Johnny and Lyle Peninsula (Invercargill).

In 1984 I received financial assistance for the fieldwork in Samoa in the form of a University of Otago Travel Grant ($1000), the Smethyst Fund, administered by The N.Z. Methodist Women's Fellowship ($400) for photographic materials, The Methodist Church Travel Grant ($200) and the Helmut Rex Trust ($100), for which I am grateful. However, the majority of the research has been funded by myself, together with the proceeds from the skillful sales ability of Marshall Seifert of the Marshall Seifert Gallery, Dunedin.

I would in particular like to thank the assistance and patience of the reference desk staff of the Central and Hocken Libraries, University of Otago, and the staff of the Hewitson Library, Knox College, Dunedin, St John's College Library, Auckland, and Ms Jill Braime of the Pacific Islanders' Educational and Resource Centre Library, Auckland.

I am also indebted to the teachers of the Samoan language classes run by the Otago Polytechnic: Paulo Koria, the Rev. Ned Ripley, the late Mr Sale Ivalu and Mrs Tasi Lemalu.

There is also a unique group of people whose names must be singled out separately. These are former students at the University of Otago, the majority of whom I tutored in Phenomenology of Religion between 1979 and 1990. They all have a special place in the overall contribution to my understanding of Samoan culture and religion and to them I am forever indebted: the Rev. Tautiaga Senara (former Vice-Principal, Malua Theological College, and from 1994 Matāutu, Falelātai, Western Samoa), Dr Paulo Koria (from June 1994 Malua Theological
College, Western Samoa), the Rev. Lapana Faletolu (Christchurch), the Rev. Tainiaola Tofilau (Gisborne), the Rev. Alex Toleafoa (Christchurch), the Rev. Douglas Pa'u (Lower Hutt), the Rev. Numia Aiona (Tokanui, Southland), the Rev. Tala Simanu (Manukau, Auckland), Padre Perema Alofivae (Whenuapai), the Rev. Maua Sola, (Auckland), the Rev. Elana Maesa, (Hamilton), the Rev. Feiloaiga Taule'ale'a'ausumai (from Sept 1994, St Andrew Hall, Selly Oak, Birmingham), the Rev. Soniva Ng Shu (formerly Dunedin), Mr Aroma Mauigoa (Western Samoa), the Rev. Steve Tema and Mrs Ane Siô-Tema (Western Samoa), the Rev. Talosaga Su'a (Taihape), the Rev. Mika Fa'amausili (Auckland), Töfä Samaota Apevai Fauolo (Western Samoa), Ms Carmel Peteru (Wellington), Ms Romona Tiatia (Wellington), Mr Maheu Papau (Dunedin), Mr Solomona and Mrs Lena Uitime (Dunedin), the Rev. Uesifili Unasa and Mrs Susana Unasa (Auckland), and members of the Samoan Students' Association of the University of Otago, and the Maori and Pacific Islanders Students' Association (MAPESA).

The following people are also be thanked because of the valuable assistance they have provided with accommodation, transport and encouragement over the years: Mr Norman Jones and Mrs Wendy Jones (Auckland), the Rev. James Irwin (former Dean of Maori and Polynesian Studies, Knox Theological Hall) and Mrs Mary Irwin (Ohope), Dr Bronwyn Elsmore, Mr Colin and Mrs Tiresa Pinfold (Palmerston North), Ms Dawn Ireland, Mr Bill Toomath and Mrs Lola Jenkin (Wellington), and for their endless interest, encouragement, and support, Ms Ilona Kokay and Ms Louise Foord; plus for her stirling assistance with proof reading Ms Jill Davidson (Dunedin). For the colour photocopying I am much indebted to Mrs Lina Key and Mrs Theresa Fepulea'i of the Tomua Co Ltd, New Lynn, Auckland and I thank them most sincerely.

For the considerable assistance with translations I am especially grateful to: Afioiga Le Mamea T S Ioane, the Rev. Uesifili Unasa and Ms Carmel Peteru.

Special thanks are due to: Dr Albert C Moore (formerly Associate Professor of Religious Studies) of the University of Otago for his academic supervision, time, help, and patience over the years; for his teaching of Pacific culture and religion, the Rev. Ned Ripley QSM (former Dean of Maori and Pacific Island Students, Knox Theological Hall); for his superb guidance, teaching, supervision and endless review I am especially humbled to thank Afioiga Le Mamea T. S. Ioane QSO FRSA (the founder and first Director of the Pacific Islanders Educational Resource Centre); thank you to Associate Professor Peter Donovan (Massey University) for the focus provided by the opportunity of writing of the chapter "Christianity: Pacific Island Churches" in Religions of New Zealanders; Ms Jill Palmer for her
suggested amendments of material on The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and to Afioga Anae Sianaaua Ostler QSM JP (Wellington) for her insightful comments on the final script.

Finally, to my husband Arthur, my family Belynda and Peter Norrish, Matthew and Greta; Kathryn and Andrew Duncan and Imogen; and my mother Vera Bodie, my love and thanks for their endless support, understanding and patience over the many years during which this project has taken up so much of my time and interest.

The Author with Imogen Duncan, July 1994.
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**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AOG</td>
<td>Assemblies of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCAS</td>
<td>Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCS</td>
<td>Congregational Christian Church of Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFKS</td>
<td>Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa ('Congregational Christian Church of Samoa')</td>
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<td>Fig.</td>
<td>Figure</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.T.</td>
<td>Faife'au Toea'ina ('Elder Minister') in CCCS or PIPC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPS</td>
<td>The Journal of the Polynesian Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JW</td>
<td>Jehovah's Witnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDS</td>
<td>The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMS</td>
<td>London Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PICC</td>
<td>Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIPC</td>
<td>Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev.</td>
<td>Reverend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Seventh-day Adventist</td>
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**ORTHOGRAPHY**

Linguistic orthography is based on G. B. Milner's *Samoan Dictionary* (1966) and G. Pratt's *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language* (1893). However, it is to be understood that the Samoan language, like other Pacific languages, is evolving. Today, Samoans in their fifties and sixties are noticing changes in the pronunciation and meanings of certain words during their lifetime. While there is respect for Milner and Pratt, variations which sometimes appear in this text reflect that fact that this researcher has encountered words in the process of change. Although it is appreciated that written language should be formal, on a number of occasions it has seemed preferable to provide meanings for words or expressions which capture the essence or emphasis of the actual experience of everyday life. Finally, to satisfy the requirements for the award of the degree, macrons have been placed over vowels in the words 'ie tōga and tāupōu against the wishes of my Samoan advisers.
THE MORNING

It is a cool, damp August morning in Auckland. There is a general rush in the household as family members prepare themselves for work and polytechnic studies. The father, a tulāfale ('talking chief') and now retired, sits in his chair smoking a cigarette and sipping a cup of tea while his wife cooks in the kitchen. He is the session clerk of the local PIPC church and soon the married daughter, a school teacher, will arrive to drop off his two grandchildren. The boy attends the local primary school and the little girl will keep him occupied most of the day. He will drive his wife to her social welfare job. For many years she was a nurse but now works with child abuse cases.

The phone keeps ringing - everyone in the family seems to have meetings today. There is Samoan music playing loudly from the cassette player. The "Old Man" takes his place at the head of the breakfast table. He calls for me, the papālagi ('European') visitor who has been folded into the warmth and care of his household, to sit next to him. And amid the noise and bustle, the toast, fried eggs, porridge, taro, steamed fish and fruit juice we close our eyes and bow our heads as he prays to God:

Dear Heavenly Father, we thank you for all your goodness. We thank you for looking over us during the night while we slept. We thank you for all your love and care. We thank you for the night and for this beautiful new morning and we know that you exist because of the very fact that we are alive this morning. We thank you for bringing us to live in this new land and for caring for our family as they grow up in New Zealand. We also ask you to care for family members in Samoa, Australia, Hawaii and the States and especially our son and his family in Melbourne and our daughter at the Theological College in Dunedin. We have always known that it has been your will that we serve you our loving Heavenly Father.
Watch over us today and help us through this day, with our classes, our jobs and guide us to do well and make good decisions. And especially, look after our visitor as she travels to the south by plane to be reunited with her family and we pray that you will guide her as she furthers her study and your work. We ask you to bless the food that we are about to eat and to bless the hands of the people who prepared the food this morning and also those people who grew the food and processed it in the factories. In the name of your son Jesus Christ, Amen.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Aim

The aim of this dissertation is to understand the religious experience of Samoans in New Zealand as presented within the framework and themes of phenomenology of religion. That is, it seeks to understand Samoan religious experience by observing the expressions of that experience in the thoughts of Samoans, their actions and their communities. The major analysis of this research is conducted on the basis of selected theoretical structures of symbolism.

Argument

Symbols are the means of expressing and thereby interpreting experience. Religions work through clusters of symbols which are activated by universal-type symbols. Religious symbols enable humans to envisage and thus experience the ultimate reality of God and salvation.

Samoan life is based on the inter-related areas and entwined symbols of fa'a-Samoa ('traditional Samoan way of doing things'), the 'aiga ('extended family') and the Christian Church. Central to all three is the experience of living within a hierarchy, for Christianity, fa'a-Samoa and Samoan families are all hierarchically structured. In both their secular and religious lives, the hierarchy is a key symbol of life and salvation.

The religious adherence of Samoans can be divided into two groups. For the Samoan members of the mainline churches (Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church, Catholic Church and Methodist
Church) this means the continuance of an intimate relationship with the cultural activities and ceremonies of fa'a-Samoa and the reinforcement of a hierarchy which is traditionally based on status gained through positions of religious leadership, family titles, age, wealth, education, employment, social and family connections and gender.

The hierarchical positioning of Samoan adherents in the second group of churches, (Assemblies of God, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses), is more likely to be based on such considerations as date of conversion, spiritual rebirth, religious maturity, length of membership, missionary service and evangelical witnessing. The members are encouraged not to associate with the practices of fa'a-Samoa; nevertheless, in many instances their internalized cultural symbols have been substituted by similar one depicting hierarchical status, discipline, loyalty and obedience in these newer churches.

Therefore, it is my intention to identify and examine the hierarchical nature of Samoan and Christian symbols in order to discover the essence of the religious experience of Samoans in New Zealand.

Phenomenology of religion

Phenomenology of religion seeks to understand religious phenomena, that is, what "appears". Something is at first unrecognized, but once identified its nature gradually becomes revealed until finally through classification and description it is comprehended, understood, and has meaning. Phenomenology of religion is a branch of Religious Studies which also includes the history of religions, psychology of religion, philosophy of religion and sociology of religion. These subdivisions are interdependent and complement one another.
W. Brede Kristensen defines phenomenology of religion as the systematic treatment of History of Religion:

That is to say, its task is to classify and group the numerous and widely divergent data in such a way that an over-all view can be obtained of their religious content and the religious values they contain.¹

The starting point of phenomenology is the viewpoint of the believer:

... to interpret and penetrate the inner meaning and the reality of the religious phenomena as understood by the believers themselves. These phenomena had to be grasped in their own authentic significance and value.²

Phenomenological research developed out of early efforts to understand the world's religions.³ Meiners, a Göttingen investigator of religion during the Age of Enlightenment was the first systematic phenomenologist who not only attempted a classification of religious phenomena but endeavoured to discover what is essential in different religions. In the Romantic period, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), tried to comprehend religion solely and simply as religion, and rejected all derivation from metaphysical or moral interests.⁴ His insight that religion was a special feeling of wonder toward and dependence on the whole cosmos, came to influence the development of the general study of religion:

Schleiermacher's teaching provided a way of objectively understanding the great religions and their symbols while maintaining empathy with them.⁵

The modern comparative study of religions began with Max Müller in the mid-nineteenth century. "Comparative Religion", a term used since about 1880, emerged from the concern to survey and compare the variety of the world's religions for the purpose of determining their value. It was often associated with evolutionary theory which placed Christianity or Western culture at the pinnacle of human achievement.

During the twentieth century the methodology of phenomenology of religion was formulated and demonstrated in the scholarship of W. Brede Kristensen (1867-1953), G. van der Leeuw (1890-1950) and historian of religion Mircea Eliade (1907-1986). Van der Leeuw was critical of the undue prominence given to the comparative factor which he believed obstructed the phenomenological comprehension of religion. Kristensen also rejected such an approach which aimed at showing the superiority of Christianity when worked out systematically through an evolutionary interpretation of the history of religions, a technique which distinguished between the concepts of the lower or "primitive" and the "highly developed" forms of religion. For him, by contrast,

Phenomenology does not try to compare the religions with one another as large units, but it takes out of their historical setting the similar facts and phenomena which it encounters in different religions, brings them together, and studies them in groups. . . Certainly, it tries to determine their religious

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6Max Müller, *Comparative Mythology*, (Oxford, 1856), and *An Introduction to the Science of Comparative Mythology*, (London, 1881-3).
8Leeuw, *Religion and Essence and Manifestation: A Study in Phenomenology*.
value, but this is the value that they have had for the believers themselves. ...  

While phenomenology of religion recognizes the legitimate use of comparisons, it is for the purpose of adding to the general view of a category and being able to compare the phenomena with observations gathered from other religions - not for judging which is the better or of more value, higher or lower, more advanced or primitive.

Gerardus van der Leeuw in his classic thematic study *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, pointed out that phenomenology of religion should not be confused with the history of religion for although working closely with the historian, the phenomenologist can have no more to say once he or she ceases to comprehend. Neither is it a psychology of religion limited only to the psychical aspects of religion. Nor is it a philosophy of religion, although it may be regarded as a preparation for it. Finally, phenomenology of religion is not theology. Theology speaks about God directly as Divine Reality but for phenomenology, God is neither subject nor object. To be either of these God would have to be a phenomenon, that is, God would have to appear.  

The methodology of phenomenology of religion has been summarized as a succession of repeatable steps which are used in an effort to build up an understanding of the religious phenomena that appear. In the first instance the researcher assigns names to observable things (natural symbol, death ritual, sacred space, myth etc.). Then he or she systematically examines them with comparable or contrasting categories in order to offer an initial interpretation and understanding of the phenomena. The researcher should then "stand back" from the data and with an open mind consider if his or her interpretation fits what has been observed. The

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researcher should also be aware that what is being observed could be in a state of change, with many things happening but no immediately discernible pattern.

Finally, Kristensen reminds us that good phenomenology allows the subject of the study to speak for itself. It is the key for decoding the secret code of the inner meaning of religion. It seeks to

... interpret and understand (not: [sic] explain) religious phenomena of the same category (sacrifice, prayer, sacraments, etc.), appearing in different religions, to get at their inner meaning.\textsuperscript{15}

He sees the researcher's use of empathy as "imaginatively entering into" the mind of the believer in order to understand a religious phenomenon, rather than the philosophical concern with "the essence of religion".

**Religion and culture**

It is now time to clarify, with definitions appropriate for this study, the terms "religion", "culture" and in the following section "religious experience".

Over one hundred and sixty years ago Christianity was introduced to the Samoan islands. By the twentieth century it had been whole-heartedly adopted by the majority of the Samoan people. In searching for a national identity to symbolize independence, Western Samoa chose as its motto: \textit{Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa}, which translates as "Samoa is founded on God".\textsuperscript{16} Some Samoans claim that they are the most religious people in the world. Certainly the 1991 Western Samoa census responses appear to confirm this with 99.2% of the population positively affirming religious allegiance.\textsuperscript{17} In fact, Samoan churches whether at home, outreaching in

\textsuperscript{15}J. B. Carman, "Introduction" in Kristensen, \textit{The Meaning of Religion}, p. XXI.


\textsuperscript{17}Manfred Ernst, \textit{Winds of Change: Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands}, (Suva, Fiji: Pacific Conference of Churches, 1994), Table 13, p. 164. This figure is slightly down on the 1984 Western Samoan Census figure of 99.77%.
the mission fields or working among the migrant communities have proved to be the largest and most vigorous in all Polyresia.  

When offering a definition of religion we need to keep in mind two things. Firstly, in this dissertation we are dealing with Christianity, a religion which is historically bound to Western culture. (Defining religion is a predominantly Western preoccupation.) Secondly, fa'a-Samoa is essentially part of an oral tradition and much of Samoan spirituality, in the sense of a process of transformation and growth, is linked with the preservation and transmission of fa'a-Samoa. Among several complementary definitions of religion which can help to bring out the relevant key aspects of Samoan religion, Winston King provides the following suitably broad-based definition:

Religion is the organization of life around the depth dimensions of experience - varied in form, completeness, and clarity in accordance with the environing culture.

Then again, as religious symbolism is the focal theme of this dissertation, Clifford Geertz's definition is also appropriate. He interprets religion as a symbolic system which enables humans to reconcile the chaotic challenges all people experience. For Geertz these are ignorance (bafflement through lack of knowledge), pain (suffering) and injustice (moral paradoxes). Religions change these chaotic challenges into the positive affirmations of religious beliefs and practices. This reconciliation is achieved through sacred symbols synthesizing a people's ethos and their world view. Geertz says that a religion is:

1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations

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seem uniquely realistic.  

In New Zealand the Samoan cultural continuum ranges from people who are fully immersed in Samoan language and culture with little or no knowledge of English, to the other extreme of those who are well educated and highly articulate in English and the European New Zealand way of doing things. This end of the continuum also includes migrants with a complete immersion in fa'a-Samoa, and New Zealand-born Samoans who understand some Samoan but are not confident in speaking it and have not visited the home islands.

There are two approaches to the understanding of the term "culture". The most abstract meaning is found in the opposition of Nature and Culture:

It connotes all human activity which is not the pure expression of biological characteristics of the species Homo. [It embraces] the ideas, practices, and material and symbolic artefacts of specific human groups of all types. . . .

Or as Bronislaw Malinowski defines culture:

Culture is the 'artificial secondary environment' which man superimposes on the natural. It comprises language, habits, ideas, beliefs, customs, social organization, inherited artifacts, technical processes, and values.

In more popular usage culture is perceived as:

. . . the product of intellectual and especially artistic activity. This meaning is found in the opposition of Culture and Society. Rather than embracing all distinctively human products it is restricted to the symbolic realm - literature, the visual arts, music and formally constructed bodies of knowledge. More restrictive still is its use in Anglo-American society to refer exclusively to literary and artistic products.

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23Mann, The International Encyclopedia of Sociology, p. 75.
I have included both approaches to culture because of the nature of this research. On a personal level, until I broke through many of my preconceived Western ideas involving such things as the concept of "time" or the "aesthetic" values concerning the visual arts, I could not begin to appreciate the significance which such things as 'ie tōga ('fine mats') have for Samoans.

However, a paradoxical situation arose. In 1991, before this study was completed, two exhibitions of Pacific Island handicrafts and contemporary works of art toured in New Zealand. *Te Moemoea No Iotefa (The Dream of Joseph) A Celebration of Pacific Art and Taonga*²⁴ was shown in North Island art galleries, and *Mata O Atu Motu: Visual Feast of Pacific Island Arts*²⁵ travelled South Island galleries. But, when some Pacific elders saw finely woven mats, hats and other skilled handicrafts (which do not normally rank highly in Western cultural values), being honoured and granted artistic recognition in the nation's art galleries, they were not at all sure that such practical things should be put into static displays and not be of use anymore.

Polynesian attitudes towards everyday tools and utensils have tended to stress function rather than form. An artefact’s usefulness is of more importance than what it looks like. As a result "art" in the Western sense lies between the balance of these two concepts. However the most important art forms of Samoans - oratory, story telling, the kava ceremony, dance, tattoos and so forth - cannot be displayed on the walls of galleries for they are all living art forms.

This amplifies one of the more important attitudes concerning the material goods of Samoan culture. Samoans love to display their valuables and artistic skills in everyday use and action or before masses of people at competitions and ceremonial

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²⁴Organised and curated by the Sarjeant Gallery, Wanganui, with the support of Te Waka Toi: Council for Maori and South Pacific Arts.
²⁵Organised by Te Waka Toi: Council for Maori and South Pacific Arts and supported by the Southern Regional Arts Council.
functions, rather than in moments of solitary contemplation. Over sixty years ago Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) also noted in his very comprehensive study, *Samoan Material Culture:*

> The pleasure derived from the exercise of native institutions is perhaps the most important factor that has led to the persistence of Samoan customs and helped them to resist the disintegration that has taken place in other parts of Polynesia. Their satisfaction with themselves and their own institutions makes them less inclined to accept changes. . . .

Richard Niebuhr who built on the work of Ernst Troeltsch concerning the problem of church and culture identified the chief characteristics of culture which I summarize as follows. Culture is always social, always bound up with humans' lives in society. Culture is human achievement, something which is striven for and maintained with constant effort. Culture is a world of values in which the human achievements are for the good of men, women and children. Culture is concerned with the temporal and material realization of values, and cultural activity is almost as much involved in the conservation of values as with their realization. Finally culture is pluralistic in that the values a culture seeks to realize in any time or place are many in number.

**Religious experience**

The aim of phenomenology of religion is to seek to understand religious experience. In *The Comparative Study of Religions,* Joachim Wach (1898-1955) provides four criteria which define the nature of religious experience. (His methodology for defining religious experience has been instrumental in the choice of themes and the overall direction of this dissertation.)

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The first criterion is that humans respond to what is experienced as "Ultimate Reality".\textsuperscript{30}

Ultimate reality is understood as transcendental power from which life is not set apart, but upon which it depends... While ultimate reality may or may not be experienced in personal terms, any religious experience tends to [theoretical, practical and sociological] expression.\textsuperscript{31}

By defining religious experience as a response, it is shown to be more than merely a subjective experience and presupposes a capacity on the part of humans to respond.\textsuperscript{32} The human response to what is experienced as the ultimate reality of God involves four things:

The first is the assumption that there are degrees of awareness, such as apprehension, conception, and so on... Second, the response is considered as part of an encounter... Third, the "experiencing" of supreme reality implies a dynamic relationship between the experiencer and the experienced... Finally, we must conceive of it [religious experience] in its particular context.\textsuperscript{33}

All religions provide systems of divine instruction necessary for spiritual growth. From these emerge two basic forms of religious experience. One involves a growing spiritual development and awareness through gradual stages of learned religious knowledge. In the other, an individual's response to the divine may be through a direct encounter with the \textit{numinous}\textsuperscript{34} leading to sudden conversion. This is followed by doctrinal education and nurturing within the chosen religion.

The second criterion which helps determine religious experience as genuine\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{30}Wach, \textit{The Comparative Study of Religions}, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{31}Joseph Kitagawa, "Introduction" in Wach, \textit{The Comparative Study of Religions}, p. XXXI.
\textsuperscript{32}Wach, \textit{The Comparative Study of Religions}, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{33}Wach, \textit{The Comparative Study of Religions}, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{35}The term "genuine" is used as a valid category for life as lived and experienced by a person. It is not my intention to infer a partisan preference for one type of religion over another.
is conceived of as embracing both spiritual and physical responses in humans:

... it is the integral person which is involved, not just the mind, the emotion, or the will.36

Overlaying and integrated with the intellectual, the emotional and the voluntary actions, are the three traditional expressions of religious experience: thought, action, and fellowship.37 The intellectual aspect of religious expression includes the ideas, knowledge, myths, doctrines, dogmas, sacred writings, confessions of faith and creeds of a religion. Religious expression as action is focused in the acts of worship and service. These include religious dance, music, art, sacrifice, prayer, pilgrimage, buildings, offerings, vows, processions, sacraments, festivals, ethical obligations and the propagation of the faith. The third religious expression is fellowship, for it is the religious community which acts out the apprehension of the divine as confronted in worship and service.

Wach names the third criterion as intensity. Religious passion has always inspired humans to motivate people to praise God, to lead reforms, and to produce divinely inspired creations of music, art, literature.38

Finally, the fourth criterion of genuine religious experience is that the faithful are called to action. (In this context action should be understood as the opposite of inaction or indifference.) Religious experience is the most powerful source of motivation and action. At one end of the continuum action embraces a quiet life of contemplation while at the other extreme, action is noisily charismatic. Wach also distinguishes between endeictic (implicit, indirect) and discursive (explicit, direct) modes of expression.

The endeictic form of expression by which something is pointed out, hinted at, or expressed in veiled form, plays an immensely important part in the

36Wach, The Comparative Study of Religions, p. 32.
37Wach, The Comparative Study of Religions, p. 121.
history of religions. . . The discursive mode. . . is articulate and strictly defined. Here language is the foremost if not the exclusive vehicle, for words permit the greatest amount of precision. In this instance the ear is the receiving organ, as is the eye in the other case. Both modes of expression can be spontaneous. . . both can also be standardized.39

Religious symbols, an important example of endeictic expression, are the topic of the next section. Intellectual and practical expressions attain meaning in the context of a religious community, and a primary means of uniting the members of a religious group is in the symbolic expressions of their religious experience.40

Religious symbols

It is generally recognized that symbols are of great importance. Over the last two centuries much theorizing has focused on the phenomenon of their birth, their power, and their demise. Today there is

. . . a widespread agreement that the symbol is a powerful instrument to extend our vision, to stimulate our imagination and to deepen our understanding.41

All symbols appear to have a basic threefold pattern of relationship in which (a) a more visible, audible or concrete part is (b) connected to (c) a less obvious part. It is the function of a symbol to somehow connect or bring together the two parts or entities. The symbol is like a bridge which enables us to make a link between one thing or experience and another. It shows us how something has meaning for something else.

The word symbol comes from the Greek root verb symballein ('to match, throw together, join'). In its ancient usage an agreement was sealed by the breaking of something such as a tablet or ring. The two parties so contracted each

retained one of the two nearly identical pieces. At a later date when the bargain was to be honoured, the two pieces would be reunited. Today however it would appear that

... in developed usage the primary component could often be very dissimilar in appearance to, and of a different substance from, yet in some way capable of representing or calling up or pointing to that which it symbolized.42

Winston King sees symbols as representing "special experiences resulting in divergent ways of looking at the world."43 Thus a symbol is able to do such things as refer to meaning, represent the universal, participate in or illuminate reality, transform the literal to the commonplace and veil the Godhead.44 Robert Ellwood states:

Conceptualizations of what the sacred reality is are like symbols of the sacred within the mind... they may take the form of [as in the case of Samoan Christians] a personal God... These conceptualizations function as sacred symbols within the mind, building bridges from one area of its experience to another...45

Although transcendent, peak, numinous experiences appear to be beyond description, humans attempt to communicate such experiences to others by the use of symbols. However Bertalanffy sees that this is the one area in which symbolic description reaches its limits:

In the ultimate "existential" experience even these symbols prove inadequate... the mystic knows his experience to be ineffable, communicable only by metaphors which always remain inadequate... Here, then, is the limit of symbolism, not only of the discursive and utilitarian kind, but of non-discursive [Wach's endeictic] as well.46

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45Ellwood, Introducing Religion, p. 11.
46Ludwig von Bertalanffy, A Systems View of Man, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press,
Accepting these ultimate limits we can still affirm that it is through a study of religious symbols that one is able to gain an understanding of religious experience:

In religion, concrete symbols rather than abstract concepts are what engage the imagination. In religious thinking, symbols enable us to blend traditional wisdom with fresh hope, to relate present experience to transcendent ends.⁴⁷

In order to move closer to a description of religious symbols let us recapitulate Wach's description of religious experience. Religious experience involves an intense human response which embraces all areas of a person - the intellect, emotions and activities. This in turn motivates the individual, and by extension his or her community, into direct and indirect modes of expression. Within this framework religious symbols are the activating images which connect the cherished, traditional and revelatory experiences of a religious community with the activities related to its contemporary religious goals. Religious symbols link one with the ultimate, the transcendent. Thus religious symbols are:

... those phenomena, events, roles, and persons in everyday life which put us in mind of our transcendent ends or our ways of realizing these.⁴⁸

A key phenomenon and central symbol of Samoan life is its pattern of hierarchies. Just as religious symbols link one to the transcendent, so too do the hierarchies of fa'a-Samoa and Samoan Christianity. Within this context the Samoan hierarchy can be interpreted as being a religious symbol. Samoan Christians live within a hierarchical structure which links them to the transcendent and for many their experience within the hierarchy is a religious experience - not necessarily in the sense of Otto's experience of the numinous, but religious experience as defined by Wach.

⁴⁸Slater, The Dynamics of Religion, p. 15.
However, as this dissertation develops the theme of religious symbols and Samoan hierarchies we should remain mindful of Peter Fingesten’s warning:

Ideally the purpose of symbols is to simplify and convey complex abstract concepts, but they can also distort and misrepresent.49

Samoans in New Zealand (general background)

New Zealand Samoans are Polynesians50 who originate from the South Pacific tropical island archipelago which consists of Western Samoa, an independent state within the Commonwealth, and American Samoa, an "unincorporated" territory under the administrative authority of the United States Department of the Interior. Between the two largest islands of Western Samoa, Savai'i and Upolu, are the small islands of Apolima and Manono. Sixty kilometers to the south-east lies Tutuila, the main island of American Samoa. Close to shore is the small island of Aunu'u. A further 100 km east are the islands of Ofu, Olosega and Ta'u which make up the Manu'a Group. Further east and north respectively are the small coral atolls of Rose and Swains Islands.

The chain of nine volcanic islands is located between 13° and 15° south latitude and, 169° and 173° west longitude, 2900 km. north-east of New Zealand and 4200 km. south-west of Hawaii. The combined area is 3017 sq. km. Savai'i, the largest and most westerly island rises to an elevation of 1800m. The remaining islands vary between 600m. and 920m. except for the small islands of Apolima, Manono and Aunu'u which are less than 100m. high. The climate is hot and wet with a mean annual temperature at sea level of 27°C. Intermittent trade winds blow from the south-east, during April to September followed by the variable winds of the summer rainy season from October to March. The diverse physical environment is also subject to tropical cyclones usually between January and March.

50Many Samoans also have Chinese and European (especially German and British) ancestry.
Tropical rain forests, commercial plantations of coconuts and bananas, and family plantations cover these fertile islands. Crops include taro, yams, paper mulberry, pandanus, sugar cane, tobacco, breadfruit, kava and kapok. Coral reefs surround the coastlines.

Most villages are located close to the sea on narrow coastal flat lands. The main urban and administrative settlements are Apia, Western Samoa, and the area around Pago Pago Harbour, American Samoa.

The majority of Samoans still live in the Samoan island homelands of Western Samoa, population 161,298 (1991)\textsuperscript{51} and American Samoa, population 45,000.\textsuperscript{52} Western Samoa's main connections with New Zealand began in 1914 when New Zealand forces replaced the German Colonial administration. From 1920-46 it was a Mandated Territory of New Zealand under the League of Nations followed by a United Nations Trusteeship administered by New Zealand until 1962 when Western Samoa gained independence.

Western Samoans have emigrated not only to New Zealand but also to a number of cities in Australia.\textsuperscript{53} At the same time others have turned their goals toward the United States of America. For many the route has taken them to American Samoa as the first stepping stone for Hawaii and the mainland. By 1984 about 10,000 Western Samoans were living in American Samoa.\textsuperscript{54} The closing of the American naval base at Pago Pago in 1951 caused a severe recession and large scale emigration first to Hawaii and later to the west coast of the United States. A 1980


\textsuperscript{52}Ernst, \textit{Winds of Change}, Table 25, Religious Affiliation in the Pacific Islands in 1992, after p. 357.

\textsuperscript{53}Especially Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne.

The migration of Samoans to New Zealand occurred in a series of waves. The few first arrivals in the 1940s were mainly young, single transient workers. Family groups started settling in the 1950s, together with the scholarship students, followed by a large influx during the late 1960s and early 1970s as a response to the growing labour shortage in urban New Zealand. Moreover, because of their rapidly growing home islands' populations many Samoans were looking to New Zealand for better educational and economic opportunities. However, the oil crisis of 1973 and growing recession led to a restriction on all immigrants entering New Zealand. Because of the 1973-1974 "dawn raids" by police on potential overstayers many migrants shifted their destinations to Australia or the United States of America. Today Samoans are admitted according to an annual quota system, and for those with family connections New Zealand is still an attractive destination for new settlers from Samoa.

According to the 1991 New Zealand Census\textsuperscript{56}, of the 167,073 persons belonging to Pacific Island ethnic groups more that half are Samoan.\textsuperscript{57} Since 1981 the Samoan population has increased from 48,939 to the latest figure of 85,743 persons. Samoans have settled in all parts of New Zealand with the largest populations in the urban areas of Auckland, Wellington, Waikato and Washington, D. C. The United States Information Service in Wellington was generous with census information but unfortunately the information on Samoans is somewhat hidden within the broad heading of "Asian/Pacific Islander".

\textsuperscript{55}Paul T. Baker, Joel M. Hanna and Thelma S. Baker (eds), \textit{The Changing Samoans: Behaviour and Health in Transition}, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). The favoured areas of settlement are Seattle, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego and Washington, D. C. The United States Information Service in Wellington was generous with census information but unfortunately the information on Samoans is somewhat hidden within the broad heading of "Asian/Pacific Islander".

\textsuperscript{56}'Pacific Island Population and Dwellings', \textit{1991 Census of Population and Dwellings}, Department of Statistics New Zealand, Te Tari Tatau c Aotearoa. The 29th national census was held on 5 March 1991.

\textsuperscript{57}Total New Zealand population 3,373,926 persons. Samoan (85,743), Cook Island Maori (37,857), Tongan (23,175), Niuean (14,424), Fijian (5,097) and Tokelauan (4,146). 'Pacific Island Population and Dwellings', pp. 15-16.
Christchurch.\textsuperscript{58}

*Fa'a-Samoa*

Although Samoans are separated by thousands of miles across the Pacific Ocean and divided by political boundaries, as a people they hold a common identity through the conscious and deliberate transmission of traditional values and hierarchical aspects of the social structure of their culture. This is encompassed in the term *fa'a-Samoa* which is usually translated as 'the Samoan way of life' or 'Samoan custom'.

*Fa'a-Samoa* includes not only the unwritten traditions which lie at the heart of the oral culture but also the social ethics and etiquette of daily duties, responsibilities and values which make Samoans unique. A Samoan should never be individually oriented. Instead each person must know the full range of perceptions and reactions appropriate to each social relationship and physical situation. For the maintenance of order and harmony of the group, be it the family, village or church, Samoans are expected to be able to suppress negative reactions, objections and emotions in the affirmation of correct and proper behaviour. The strict observance of appropriate social behaviour is referred to as *fa'aaloalo*.

It is appropriate to state at this point that it is not the purpose of this research to discuss the complicated social intricacies of *fa'a-Samoa*. This, I believe is a task for fluent Samoan speakers. Rather, in much of this dissertation, *fa'a-Samoa* refers to the visible symbols such as the *'ava* ('kava') ceremony, speech-making, feasting, the exchange of gifts in the form of food and large amounts of both *'ie tōga* ('fine mats') and money. It involves such things as births, marriages, deaths, visiting parties called *malaga* (that is either hosting a group or being in the

\textsuperscript{58}Total Samoan figures for the Regional Council areas are: Northland (573), Auckland (56,523), Waikato (2,274), Bay of Plenty (786), Gisborne (237), Hawke's Bay (855), Taranaki (288), Manawatu-Wanganui (1,599), Wellington (16,347), Nelson-Marlborough (237), West Coast (54), Canterbury (4,065), Otago (1,143) and Southland (759). 'Pacific Island Population and Dwellings', Table 2, p. 27.
group making a journey), and the dedication of church buildings; in fact, all
ceremonial occasions are included.

In New Zealand, the key institutions for the transmission of fa’a-Samoa are the
’āiga (‘extended family’) and the church.59 As mentioned above, the churches
divide into two groups: those that use and accept fa’a-Samoa as part of the lives of
their congregations (Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, Presbyterian,
Methodist and Roman Catholic churches), and those that do not (Assemblies of
God, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Seventh-day Adventists and
Jehovah’s Witnesses).

Hierarchy

The modern Western values of equality and freedom are connected with the
concept of the individual human rights. However Louis Dumont points out:

... traditional societies, which know nothing of equality and liberty as
values, which know nothing, in short, of the individual, have basically a
collective idea of man. . . 60

In traditional Samoan culture as transmitted through the practices of fa’a-
Samoa, each person as an individual is subordinate to the group, for it is through
being a part of the community that each Samoan realizes an authentic identity. And,
central to all is the principle of hierarchy. However, it is a fact that both the
principles of equality and hierarchy are found in human societies.61 Again to
quote Dumont:

... the ideal of equality, even if it is thought superior, is artificial. It
expresses a human claim, which also entails the choice of certain ends. It
represents a deliberate denial of a universal phenomenon in a restricted

59Pitt and Macpherson, Emerging Pluralism, p. vii.
60Louis Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus: An Essay on the Caste System, (Chicago: The
61Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus, p. 3.
domain... it runs contrary to the general tendencies of societies... 62

The ideal of equality appears to be more difficult to realize than the natural phenomenon of hierarchy. We must therefore be careful not to let the modern denial of hierarchy hinder our understanding of Samoan customs. It is not my intention to deny either principle.

In the process of researching this dissertation my experience has been that of constantly being directed "up" the Samoan hierarchy. Samoan families, churches and society are all structured in hierarchies. This is the first thing of which a non-Samoan becomes aware. Each child is expected to obey and serve the older children. The children in turn should without question, obey the adults who themselves know where they stand in the hierarchy among all other adults.

As well as being a natural phenomenon, traditional hierarchies are also associated with sacred realms and godly power.63 Dictionary definitions still point to religious categories before secular areas: the three divisions of angels, priestly government and the organized priesthood in successive grades and finally, organizations with grades or classes ranked one above another. But upon consulting both the Encyclopaedia of Religion and the Encyclopaedia Britannica I could find no entry under the heading of hierarchy. Neither is there a section dealing with it in A Dictionary of Sociology,64 The International Encyclopedia of Sociology,65 or A Critical Dictionary of Sociology.66

At one stage in my investigations it began to appear that in spite of my constant experiences of church and Samoan hierarchies, the concept no longer officially

65Mann, The International Encyclopedia of Sociology.
66Boudon and Bourricaud, A Critical Dictionary of Sociology.
existed in Western thought. Dumont goes so far as to say:

In the modern age, hierarchy has become 'social stratification', that is, hierarchy which is shamefaced or non-conscious, or as it were, repressed.\(^{67}\)

Bound with social stratification or hierarchy are concepts which are of great importance for Samoans: status, prestige, honour, and the associated behaviours of respect and obedience. In sociology, status refers to an individual's social position while a person's role is the behaviour expected of the holder of that position. Status is confirmed according to social honour and prestige. Social honour is based upon ascribed social distinctions (age and sex) and codified rankings, while prestige (prescribed social distinctions) results from the evaluation of levels of achievement gained through effort, ambition, or merit.\(^{68}\)

Although the Western ideologies of equality and liberty are forever attempting to break down hierarchies, and the hierarchy of status is based in elements which are partly practical, there is also a recognition that in traditional societies, hierarchy has for a long time been based on religion.\(^{69}\) In Chapter 4 this theme is developed but for the moment it is sufficient to say that the Christian God, especially in the form of Jehovah, reinforced the emphasis on status as sanctioned by Tagaloa-a-lagi, the great god of pre-contact Samoan religion. For many Christianity is still understood in the terms of fa’ā-Samoa and correct behaviour has become for the Samoans the central concern of their understanding of Christianity, as it is through their actions within the hierarchy that salvation is guaranteed.

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\(^{67}\)Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*, p. 66.


\(^{69}\)Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*. 
The researcher’s place in the hierarchy

In the process of my research it was necessary to ask many Samoans for help and information. All were generous with their time and often, as is the protocol of people living in a hierarchical community, I was directed to a person who was considered to be more knowledgeable than the person I had originally approached.

Students must realize that once they start asking questions, especially of a Samoan who is in a position of power, they place themselves in a situation of less power. They are subservient to the person from whom they are seeking information. Therefore their teacher assumes a hierarchical power over them and will tend to talk in the affirmative and the emphatic. Every word he or she says is nothing but the truth and it will be vigorously defended. It will be very authoritative and should be believed. That is quite right in Samoan culture because one has to believe the storytellers and orators. People are not supposed to doubt them. That is a cultural orientation. Sometimes orators will add or subtract bits and pieces of information to suit their particular line of thought or to enhance their own power.

Malama Meleisea reminds us of the reason for the many contradicting versions of stories, each with a special meaning and importance for the people who tell them:

... one function of oral traditions is 'legitimization'. This means that a story will be told in a way that explains the situation of a village, district, title and so on... The differing versions of oral traditions cannot be looked at as 'true' or 'untrue'.

Likewise as soon as a minister is questioned, he immediately realizes that the researcher is in a position of less power. In my case because I am papālagi and not fluent in Samoan, it is assumed that I will have no way of comparing his story with one by someone else; that I will not know anything else. This puts the

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70 Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea (eds), Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa, (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987), p. 10.
researcher in a very vulnerable position. Information will always justify the position of the teacher because in a hierarchical culture, full of competitive situations, each person is constantly striving to enhance or at least maintain his or her status and prestige. That is in the nature of fa'a-Samoa.

Chapter outlines
This dissertation is divided into two major sections. The key topics in Part One, 'Some Aspects of Samoan Religious Experience', are the Samoan churches, religious experience, hierarchy, and sacrifice. By examining the different aspects and categories which can be identified in them, it is possible to gain an insight into the beliefs and practices of Samoans living in New Zealand, and by extension, the nature of Samoan religious experience can begin to be appreciated.

Chapter 2, 'Samoan Churches in New Zealand', recalls how missionaries from different Christian churches introduced the Gospel into Samoa during the nineteenth century. The 1960s saw the Samoan churches gaining independence and an increasing number of Samoans settling in New Zealand. Next, the different attitudes of the New Zealand churches to some of the main facets of fa'a-Samoa is introduced, and the use of the Samoan language, the clergy and different models of church organization are discussed.

The categories of church, denomination or religious group are used as interchangeable terms for all the churches. This is because for the members of each church, their religious experience, whatever its form, is authentic. However, in this study, the churches are divided into two groups according to their acceptance or "rejection" of fa'a-Samoa. Any further division into sects would divert the reader away from the main thrust of this investigation. Again, it must be stressed that this research does not pretend to discuss the intricacies of fa'a-Samoa, but refers only to sections of it in respect to the aims and objectives of this dissertation.
Chapter 3, 'Samoan Religious Experience', offers an initial interpretation of the Samoan world view within the framework of phenomenology of religion. After a general discussion on religious experience, an examination is made of the categories of mysticism, paranormal experience, charismatic experience (including prayer and mana) and regenerative experience, in order to gain an idea of their appropriateness to the communal religious experience of Samoans. The final section establishes that, for Samoans, the religious goal of salvation in eternal life after death is a strong motivational force for the communal actions which reinforce both the culture and its hierarchies.

Having already indicated in this Introduction that hierarchy is a natural phenomenon with sacred connections, Chapter 4, 'Hierarchy: In an Island Situation "No Man is and Island..."', outlines the mythical origins of Samoan hierarchies as found in both the creation story and the order of departing souls. Next to be presented are the phenomena of the ranking order of titles, the ceremonial greetings of the fa’alupega, the hierarchical nature of the Samoan language, and the exchange of gifts - all of which have the effect of building status and reinforcing the Samoan hierarchy.

Following this is an exposition of the themes of status, prestige, authority, respect, obedience and majority consensus. These deeply internalized social values reinforce the nature of Samoan hierarchy through their ability to motivate, mobilize and reallocate both human and material resources. The chapter concludes by retracing the immigrant experience for both the faife’au and matai, and examines the social factors which have contributed to the present power and high status of many of the ministers in the New Zealand church communities.

In Chapter 5, 'Symbols of Sacrifice', the structures of oblationary and festal sacrifice are analysed. Strong links are found to exist between these two forms of sacrifice and the sacred mythical origins of ‘ava and sugar cane, and the guaranteed
annual arrival of certain fish and the taboos governing their capture. The latter part of this chapter expands the idea of self-sacrifice, and the various aspects and values of the Samoan ideal of unquestioned obedience. In this way it is possible to gain an understanding of some of the powerfully pervasive forces behind Samoan ritual behaviour, as the sacred ties between myth and ritual continue to be observed or remembered. The observation of taboos connected with important community activities reinforces both the sacred origins of such behaviour and the value of the training in unquestioned obedience. In other words, the Samoan belief in the correctness of firm discipline is very strong because it is closely tied to mythic origins and ritual taboos.

The theme of sacrifice is developed because it appears to be relevant for some aspects of Samoan life. When listening to conversations among Samoans, the word they tend to use is "suffering" (tīgāina). For example, because of the increasing number of elderly folk in the New Zealand Samoan community, there is a growing number of deaths. Sometimes churches and families may experience one or two funerals a week over the winter months. This places a very heavy burden upon Samoans who are committed to the ways of fa'a-Samoa for not only will a family have to provide several hundreds of dollars but there will be more days of missed employment in order to meet the needs of attending or hosting yet another funeral. One hears such comments as:

The people [congregation] are suffering. The people have suffered so many times lately with so many deaths and now that "So and So" has died, the people are suffering again.

Or, as one other person said in reference to his congregation's desire to accept yet another fundraising:

"The people are slaves to the church and are buying their salvation."
Samoans often identify with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah and the suffering of Jesus as he gave his life for the salvation of humankind. Therefore, it is the intention of this chapter to demonstrate that for Samoans, the impulse to follow and readily accept such suffering, is bound by deeper forces of sacrifice which are symbolically played out and reinforced within the exchanges of fa'a-Samoa.

In Part Two, 'Samoan Symbolism', the emphasis shifts from the realm of values to the universe of symbols. The quest for a better understanding of Samoan religious experience explores a multitude of different expressions of the sacred symbols of Samoan-style Christianity and fa'a-Samoa.

Chapter 6, 'Religious Symbolism', sets the scene for Part Two. A short survey of the development of European thought on symbolism is followed by an exposition of the main types of symbols. This includes their main features, functions and some of the various modes by which the "symbolic universe" of humans may be identified and understood. The study also incorporates the iconographic approach for interpretation, and presents, together with a number of coloured illustrations, a range of examples of observable visual symbols, both communal and individual.

One of the most important material items whose function enhances an understanding of the fa'a-Samoa in action, is the 'ie tōga ('fine mat'). Chapter 7, 'Le Tōga as a Sacred Symbol: Religious Symbols as Discerned by Mircea Eliade', examines Eliade's exposition of religious symbols and answers the question: Is the 'ie tōga a sacred symbol?

The chapter (with illustrations) presents a comprehensive coverage of 'ie tōga, including its place in the hierarchy of Samoan mats, its functional uses, the different categories used in ceremonial presentations and other terminology connected with it. Next, an exploration is made of the symbolic elements which can be found in
the mythical history of the 'ie tōga. Discussed also is its pervasiveness within the universal symbolism of regeneration as manifested through the symbols of the moon, time and weaving. These features are then related to the symbolic use of 'ie tōga in association with the covenants of the human life cycle. Finally, the attitudes of the different churches towards the 'ie tōga are presented, and the chapter concludes with a careful examination of Eliade's framework of religious symbols and the symbolic relationship surrounding the 'ie tōga and Samoan society.

Two great themes of phenomenology of religion are time and space. In Chapter 8, 'The Papālagi Have No Time But Samoans Have Plenty', I retrace the personal route of gradual revelation which I have followed in order to explore, discover and begin to understand something of the dynamics of "Samoan time". The chapter is deliberately presented in this format because, firstly, I wish to record one example of the research process, and secondly, I found that Western theories of time no longer offered a satisfactory explanation for my ever expanding experience (and puzzlement) over Samoan temporal behaviour.

As the chapter progresses, it becomes apparent that in the way Samoans perceive and react to time, and particularly through the important components of all meetings and partings (and especially death), the symbolic elements of the world of oral traditions, form an essential link between the experiences of the sacred and profane, the cyclical and linear modes of the traditional culture and the modern Western world, and the religious experience of Samoans.

Another aspect of Samoan time is explored by studying personal names in Chapter 9, 'The Religious Symbolism Connected With The Personal Names of Samoans'. Interwoven with the temporal concepts of the oral tradition, Samoan names also act as recording devices through which the culture and significant events are recorded and passed on. The different categories of names used in this chapter
were suggested from the various criteria which Samoans use when selecting names.

The names also display all the typical features of symbols, and abound with hierarchical and religious connotations.

Chapter 10, 'Samoan Church Buildings in New Zealand', examines the symbolism connected with sacred space as revealed by Samoan church buildings in New Zealand. This chapter draws on the themes of orientation, the establishment of a sacred centre, the ordering of space, and the religious function of sacred space.

The establishment of permanent worship centres is of primary importance for the identity of Samoan immigrants and their ability to orientate themselves within a new environment. Through the Samoan attitude to the acquisition of church property in New Zealand, it is possible to gain a better appreciation of the overall Samoan concept of a church. Moreover, through their daily commitment to Christianity and the active role they play in their churches, Samoans know that they are progressing along the way towards eternal salvation.

The majority of the churches discussed (and illustrated) in this chapter belong to the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. The building of a new church is traced from the initial vision, through the symbolic importance of a foundation stone to the impressive activities associated with the opening and dedication of a church. Examples are also given of the decoration details and special Samoan features which are found in the churches.

In the final chapter of the dissertation, Chapter 11, 'Conclusion', the numerous threads of the symbolism inherent in the Samoan hierarchies are drawn together in order to offer an overview of the religious experience of Samoans in New Zealand.
PART ONE

SOME ASPECTS OF SAMOAN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER 2

SAMOAN CHURCHES IN NEW ZEALAND

In March 1990, the Vice-President of the Methodist Church of New Zealand (a Tongan) visited Dunedin. During the speeches at the conclusion of a lavish supper which followed a combined service honouring his visit, a Samoan Minister of a Dunedin European Union parish (Presbyterian and Methodist) summarized the Pacific Island "migrant philosophy" to the predominantly European gathering as: "First we serve God, and then we have what is left over".

In the course of this study, I have visited many Samoan churches in New Zealand. It is not the intention of this dissertation to record all the particulars of the development of the Samoan churches in this country, or to describe in detail the structure and daily programmes of each church group, as I have already presented a generalized coverage of Samoan churches in Religions of New Zealanders.¹ Instead, I have sought to identify and describe some of the symbolic components which play an important role in the formulation of Samoan religious experience and which continue to activate the religious expressions of Samoans in New Zealand. However, as the Christian church plays a significant part in the lives of Samoans, this chapter introduces the different churches to which New Zealand Samoans belong in the 1990s.

The Christian missions

Christianity was first brought to the South Pacific in the nineteenth century by missionaries belonging to Protestant Evangelical movements. The Missionary Society, founded in 1795 and after 1818 officially known as the London Missionary Society (LMS) was initially a non-denominational movement. Later as most support came from the Congregational churches, these two names became synonymous. Their aim was to save the South Seas heathens by teaching them the doctrine of the Cross as a means of atonement, for through the saving grace of Jesus Christ they could be redeemed from their sins. They believed that by civilizing the Islanders, they would lead them to Christianity. Civilization of course meant the imposition of European culture and the Anglo-Saxon social system. But above all else, the missionaries' highest motives were to prove their love for God, and through their actions to enhance the glorification of God.

The majority of the first missionaries were artisans, sent to teach the "natives" skills in agriculture, building and other trades. The initial start was shaky but after a twenty year struggle, Christianity was firmly established in Tahiti. John Williams, the LMS missionary, established his headquarters in the Society Islands in 1820, and from there, the thrust of Christianity progressed westwards across the

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Pacific. European missionaries were a scarce commodity and almost without exception, the missionary movement was spearheaded by Polynesian teachers. These "native" teachers were trained by the European missionaries and then taken to other islands where they were left for two to three years before the missionaries returned.

For them the task was to make the initial contact and to prepare the way for the European missionaries. By breaking down the traditional religious systems, they tried to stop such heathen practices as cannibalism and polygamy, thus preparing the people for conversion. In a number of cases when the missionaries returned, whole villages had already adopted Christianity.

One cannot stress too strongly the role played by the Pacific Islanders in the spread and maintenance of Christianity. As many islands were already in regular contact with each other, the knowledge of Christianity sometimes travelled ahead of the European missionaries. Moreover the "native" teachers acted as translators and advisers to the missionaries when they sought the necessary protection of chiefs. Later, at the local level, the "native" teachers developed into the local pastors who cared for their own villages as spiritual leaders and ran the village schools.

This initial enthusiasm of Samoans providing a Christian environment for their own people has continued until the present time. In the New Zealand Samoan churches, there is usually a surplus of lay preachers to be rostered onto the preaching plans. There are also a number of trained ministers without churches in both New Zealand and Samoa. In New Zealand, there are also Pacific Islanders who were born while their missionary parents were serving in such places as Papua New Guinea or Tuvalu.3

3. . . over 1000 Samoan, Cook Islander, Nā'ean, Fijian, Tongan, and Tuvaluan missionaries have served in New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, and elsewhere, as well as many more from island to island in their own countries". Ron Crocombe, The South Pacific: An Introduction, 4th rev. ed., (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1987), p. 16.

For a fuller account of Polynesian missions, see: Ron and Marjorie Crocombe (eds), Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea
The first churches

The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa (CCCS)\(^4\) traces its foundation to the arrival of Rev. John Williams in 1830.\(^5\) The Methodist Church\(^6\) recognizes 1828 as the year of the introduction of the Gospel into Samoa. Its message was carried from Tonga by a converted Samoan returning home to Tafua in Savai‘i. However, it was not until 1835 that the Wesleyan missionary Rev. Peter Turner arrived in Samoa.\(^7\) As Revivalists, the Wesleyans sought for the islanders a full conversion and rebirth in the Spirit. Between 1839 and 1857 the Methodist Church continued without any European missionaries and upon their return the church came under the administration of the Australasian Methodist Church.

When the first Roman Catholic Marist missionaries arrived in Samoa in 1845\(^8\), they faced strong opposition from the Protestant missionaries who had already made contact with most islands in the Pacific. By the 1860s, in the eyes of the missionaries, the conversion of the South Pacific to Christianity was almost complete and theological schools had been established in the Cook Islands,\(^9\)

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\(^4\)Originally called *Lotu Ta‘iti* (‘Tahitian Church’) as they first indigenous teachers were from Tahiti.


\(^6\)Originally called *Lotu Toga* (’Tongan Church’) as the Methodists came from Tonga.


\(^8\) Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars*, pp. 128-135; Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea*, pp. 202-205. The Catholic church was originally called *Lotu Pope* (’The Pope’s Church’).

\(^9\) “... the Takamoa Institute in Rarotonga [was opened] in 1839 to train Cook Islanders for mission work in the Western Pacific” (Richard Gilson, *The Cook Islands 1820-1950*, [Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington and Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific, 1980], p. 37).
Samoa\textsuperscript{10} and Tonga\textsuperscript{11}.

Today the arrival of the LMS, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missionaries continues to be regarded as highly significant and Samoan oratory acknowledges this at all important occasions as the Taeao o Samoa ('very important mornings of Samoa'). Rev. Leuatea Siō alluded to this in a 1990 conference paper:

[The arrivals of the three churches] are highly regarded by the Samoans as very very important happenings in its history and [they] are always mentioned in their speech making as significant experiences in the lives of the Samoans in every generation.\textsuperscript{12}

The missionaries of two churches founded in the United States in the nineteenth century struggled to establish their foothold, for outsiders needed the permission of the village fono ('council of chiefs') to preach in the villages. In 1888, two missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, also called Mormons) from Salt Lake City arrived in what is now American Samoa\textsuperscript{13} followed by the first Seventh-day Adventists (SDA) in 1891.\textsuperscript{14} However, in 1907, Dr Solf, the German Governor of Western Samoa observed that

\textsuperscript{10}Malua Theological College was established for the training of Samoan LMS pastors in 1844. The first class was held at Malua on 25 Sept 1844. Keri Soti, "The Translation and Critique of K.T. Faletogo's Book History of the Samoan Church (LMS)", Chapters I-IX, partial translation, Exercise in Historical Theology, 1975, p. 27. The Methodist Theological College at Piula was established in 1868 (Allardice, The Methodist Story in Samoa 1828-1984, p. 10).
\textsuperscript{11}Tupou College was established in 1866 by the Rev. James E. Moulton to educate promising pupils for the Church and Government (Sione Latukefu, Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875, [Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974], pp. 76-77).
\textsuperscript{12}Leuatea Siō, "Christianity in Samoa and its Effects on the Samoans", Samoan History Conference, Wellington, 10 February 1990. In the oratory the arrivals of the first missionaries are called taeao ('mornings'). This aspect will be developed in Chapter 8 on Samoan Time.
\textsuperscript{13}See R. Lanier Britsch, Unto The Islands Of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1986); Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea, pp. 211-212.
... the Adventist hospital on Upolu was "no longer existent" and "the Mormons are decreasing every year, and beyond their activities at an agricultural school at Sauniatu in Atua, they are harmless and insignificant."  

Independence

During the first one hundred years of Christian activity, most of the Polynesian islands, a notable exception was the Kingdom of Tonga, went through various stages of colonial rule. In the first two decades following the Second World War while the Pacific nations were preparing to become independent states, the Island churches embraced the rapid changes in their societies and emerged as independent entities in their own right.  

Since 1916, the LMS mission church in Western Samoa had been financially self-supporting and by 1928 it was almost fully self-governing. Full independence took place in 1961 when the LMS, later the Samoan Church (LMS), became the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa (CCCS) with its own Constitution and Conference. (Western Samoa became a self-governing nation in 1962.) In 1980 the Congregationalists of American Samoa split from the Western Samoan church. The Samoan Methodists gained independence in 1964 when their Annual Conference was established. According to Allardice, the Uniting Church in Australia has maintained an on-going relationship with both the Congregational and Methodist Churches in Samoa and it continues to support the Methodist Conference with financial grants and personnel. Charles Forman sees the independence of the Pacific Island churches as significant because

15Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea, p. 189.
16For a detailed coverage of the independence process of the churches see Charles W. Forman, The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1982).
18Forman, The Island Churches of the South Pacific, p. 130-131; Ernst, Winds of Change, pp. 171-172.
... the forms of church government determined the procedures through which [national] independence came.\textsuperscript{20}

The concept of an independent church does not fit within the structure of the Roman Catholic Church\textsuperscript{21} which had the second largest church membership by 1961.\textsuperscript{22} All Catholics are part of the one church which is centered in Rome and subject to the Pope. However, since the Second Vatican Council in 1962, there has been a growing indigenization of the episcopate in the Pacific.\textsuperscript{23}

Missions, the religious life, the liturgy, the use of scripture, ecumenism, the role of bishops in the church, the place of the laity and the official understanding of religious liberty were altered with astonishing speed... The new and simplified Roman Mass was translated into Pacific vernaculars and celebrated with locally devised ceremony and music.\textsuperscript{24}

In 1966 Pope Paul VI decreed the establishment of the regular hierarchy throughout the Pacific. This meant that the Pacific dioceses were considered sufficiently developed to be classified as normal dioceses instead of vicariates apostolic in which bishops had been subject to transfer. Although the Vatican had urged a rapid indigenization of the priesthood from about 1920, by the middle of the century approximately one-twentieth of the Pacific priests were indigenous. In 1968 Pio Taofinu'u, a Samoan, was created bishop and in 1973, he became the first Polynesian cardinal. Among his innovations for the Samoanization of the church has been his analysis of the Kava Ceremony and its prophetic role in prefiguring the Christian Eucharist.\textsuperscript{25} Nevertheless, Forman says:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Forman, \textit{The Island Churches of the South Pacific}, p. 168.
  \item Forman, \textit{The Island Churches of the South Pacific}, pp. 175-177; Ernst, \textit{Winds of Change}, pp. 169-170.
  \item Religious Affiliation in Western Samoa 1961 Census: CCCS (61,218) 53.5%; Roman Catholic (24,716) 21.6%; Methodist Church (18,194) 15.9%; Latter-day Saints (7,209) 6.3%; Seventh-day Adventists (1,488) 1.3% (Ernst, \textit{Winds of Change}, Table 13, p. 164).
  \item Forman, \textit{The Island Churches of the South Pacific}, p. 176.
  \item Garrett, \textit{To Live Among The Stars}, p. 306.
  \item Katinale ('Cardinal') Pio Taofinu'u, \textit{O le 'Ava o se Pelofetaga: The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy}, (Apia, Western Samoa: 1973). This theme will be expanded in Chapter 6: Religious Symbolism.
\end{itemize}
The strongest long-continuing force for indigenous leadership has come from the most nonindigenous body, the Vatican itself. In this respect the Catholics were much like the Protestants whose missionary headquarters outside the Pacific islands were the strongest factors in developing independence within the islands.26

More recently Manfred Ernst noted:

The Catholic Church in Western Samoa consciously recognizes the culture in trying to inculturate Samoan patterns into the Christian life and express them in the liturgy. The Catholics can also be seen as one of the driving forces behind ecumenical cooperation. According to the Cardinal, they, to some extent lead, the way for the other two Historic Mainline Churches concerning participation of youth and women.27

During the last three decades the membership of the Congregational, Catholic and Methodist churches has decreased from ninety one per cent to eighty per cent of the Western Samoan population.28 (Compare the 1961 and 1991 census figures in footnotes 21 and 27.) A close relationship between Christianity and fa'a-Samoana continues to be an essential part of the identity of the adherents of these churches. The standards of faith and morals taught by the missionaries of the nineteenth century churches are strongly maintained. However, there appears to be little flexibility or adaptation by the Congregational and Methodist churches in accommodating the changing economic and social forces of the late twentieth century. In his recent study on what appears to be a significant and rapid growth of newer religious groups in the Pacific Islands, Ernst notes that today in the Mainline Protestant churches there is also a conservatism resisting religious and theological innovation. With reference to the theological conservatism in the islands Ernst states:

26Forman, The Island Churches of the South Pacific, p. 177.
27Ernst, Winds of Change, p. 170.
28Religious Affiliation in Western Samoa 1991 Census: CCCS (68,651) 42.6%; Roman Catholic (33,548) 20.8%; Methodist Church (27,190) 16.9%; Latter-day Saints (16,394) 10.2%; Seventh-day Adventists (4,685); 2.9%; Assemblies of God (5,500) 3.4%; Jehovah's Witnesses (500) 0.3% and Bahá'í Faith (1,490) 0.9% (Ernst, Winds of Change, Table 13, p. 164). Bahá'ís do not include children in their own statistics (Ernst, Winds of Change, p. 32, n. 40).
The Mainline Churches of the South Pacific do not provide the theological basis for an ethical analysis and criticism of social problems.29

Later arrivals

After the Second World War, the still small Samoan Seventh-day Adventist and LDS30 churches, which "reject" the use of fa'a-Samoa, were joined in 1952 by the first pioneers (missionaries) of two more American based churches - the pentecostal Assemblies of God (AOG) and the Jehovah's Witnesses (JW). At about the same time, the first Bahá'í pioneers (missionaries) also arrived.31 Today, the adherents of these fast-growing churches number seventeen per cent of the population. These churches stand outside the ecumenical movement of the mainline churches with its goal of "interfaith dialogue without the aim of winning converts, but of learning from each other",32 and with the exception of the Bahá'ís, they continue to discourage the practices of fa'a-Samoa. (Samoan Bahá'ís have not been included in this study and from now on they are omitted from the discussion.)

Samoan churches in New Zealand

At the same time as the Samoan churches were gaining independence, Samoans migrating to New Zealand brought with them their vigorous religious faith and sought out appropriate churches in which to worship. In 1944 a Pacific Island Church was created as part of the Beresford Street Congregational Church in Auckland under the initiative of the Rev. Robert Challis, an LMS missionary to the

29Ernst, Winds of Change, p. 283.
30It is the policy of the LDS church to encourage its members to observe the principles of the gospel rather than discourage its members from cultural practices (no matter which culture it may be - even European culture). The Church's "Doctrine and Covenants" 121:34-44 addresses the manner in which those in authority should function, whether it be in the church, in civic life or in the home. This applies equally to men and women of all cultures (Personal communication, Ms Jill Palmer, National Director of Public Affairs, LDS Church, New Zealand, October 1994).
31For a summary of the recent religious activities of the newer religious movements in the Western Samoa, see Ernst, Winds of Change, pp. 174-176. For introductory information on the well established newer churches in the Pacific: see Ernst, Winds of Change: Assemblies of God, pp. 22-27; Bahá'í Faith, pp. 28-33; The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, pp. 34-39; The Jehovah's Witnesses, pp, 40-46; Seventh-day Adventists, pp. 47-52.
32Ernst, Winds of Change, p. 31.
Cook Islands from 1933 to 1947. In 1947 the Congregational Union of the New Zealand Assembly formally accepted responsibility for the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church (PICC). That same year, a PICC branch was formed in Wellington:

During the following two decades there was a rapid growth of branches throughout New Zealand. In the beginning European leadership was essential as new migrants were educated in European ways. However, as the numbers of Cook Islanders and Samoans grew, they took an active role in church government and decision making for they already had many years of experience running their island church councils and committees. The vernacular language services became the focus of the new communities and the venues progressed from private houses or rented halls and churches, to church buildings owned by the Pacific Island groups. The first ministers and pastors travelled vast distances to visit their congregations at least once a month and initially their load was lightened by theological students. However by 1967 there were eleven full-time ministers. For many the church became the sustaining focus of their religious and social life. Here they could indulge in their own cultural activities and catch up on news from home. The church community replaced the loss of the island village community.

In 1969, when the Congregational Union of New Zealand united with the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, the Samoan Congregationalists (together with Cook Islanders, Niueans and Tokelauans) became Presbyterians as members of the new Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church (PIPC). Since then, the

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35Duncan, "Christianity: Pacific Island Traditions", pp. 128-129.


36In 1992 there were thirty-one PIPC congregations in New Zealand. Of these, Ranui (Te Atatu), Glen Eden, North Shore, Owairaka, Gisborne, and Wanganui had only Samoan
administration of the PIPC has remained under the aegis of the Presbyterian General Assembly of New Zealand but many of the people, and especially the older ones, still long for a church in terms of the Congregational independence at the local level. In the last two or three years, the PIPC ministers have moved for more autonomy and self determination over their parishes as traditionally experienced in the CCCS.\(^{37}\)

Today in 1994, there are fifty-one Congregational Christian Churches of Samoa in New Zealand.\(^{38}\)

In 1963 a group of Samoans broke from the Auckland PICC church and established a branch of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa (CCCS), a second one being formed in Wellington the following year. For these people the CCCS provided a religious and cultural environment much closer to that with which they were familiar. Of special significance was the full use of the Samoan language and the supplying of ministers from Samoa.\(^{39}\)

As some Samoan congregationalists have preferred to belong to churches originating in the homeland, so too has been the choice of a number of Samoan methodists. The Samoan Methodist churches which are responsible to the Conference in Western Samoa are administered by the Samoan Conference Synod congregations. Nineteen other churches had mixed congregations containing Samoans and varying combinations of Cook Islanders, Niueans, Tokelauans and Europeans. The remaining churches contained no Samoan congregations (Information supplied by Rev. Leuatea Sio, Auckland, May 1992).

\(^{37}\)In May 1994, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church decided to approve in principle the formation of a Pacific Islanders' Synod. The Assembly agreed to set up a Special Committee to prepare details for the constitution of the Synod for presentation to the 1995 General Assembly. See "Pacific Islanders to work as a Synod" in Crosslink, Vol. 8 No. 5, (Wellington: Methodist Publishing Inc for the Methodist Church and Diane Gilliam-Weeks for the Presbyterian Church, June 1994), p. 7.

\(^{38}\)The CCCS divides New Zealand into North and South Districts. There are four sub-districts in the North and three in the South. The South District includes South Island, Wellington, and north to Napier. A fa'ite'ai toaina ("elder minister") is responsible for each sub-district. In 1994 there were thirty-three churches in the North District and eighteen in the South District (Information supplied by Rev. Risate Ete, Wellington, July 1994).

\(^{39}\)Duncan, "Christianity: Pacific Island Traditions", p. 129.
in New Zealand and Australia. It is possible to interpret the desire of some Samoans to belong to their national churches as part of an overall trend of Pacific Islanders to take responsibility for the spiritual care of their people.

In 1973 the New Zealand Methodist Conference responded to the needs of its Samoan members by approving the appointment of the Rev. S'iaula Amituana'i to direct work among Samoan Methodists in New Zealand. There are a few Methodist (and PIPC) churches with congregations made up almost entirely of Samoans. However, when a group of Samoans belong to a European-Samoan Methodist church, the Samoan congregation is called a fellowship. In 1993, the New Zealand Methodist Conference "approved the establishment of a Samoan Synod of Te Haahi Weteriana o Aotearoa" ('The Methodist Church of New Zealand').

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40 In Australia in 1991 there were three churches in Sydney, one in Brisbane and two in Melbourne. Church numbers for the Australian - New Zealand Synod, June 1989-31 May 1990 were 3354 people. A minister's appointment is usually for seven years. In 1991 there were also Methodist churches in the United States under the Samoan Conference: four or five in Hawaii, two in San Francisco and four Los Angeles (Information supplied by Rev. Ieremia Tuiolemotu, Auckland, June 1991).

In 1994 the churches in the Auckland District which includes Hamilton were Grey Lynn, Otara, Mangere, Otahuhu, Te Atatu, Mt. Roskill, Massey, Manurewa and Manukau. There were also congregations in Hastings, Palmerston North, Levin; Porirua, Taita, Hutt Valley, Wainuiomata, Stokes Valley, Hataitai, (Wellington); Christchurch (2), Dunedin and Invercargill (Information supplied by Mr Uesifili Unasa, Auckland, August 1994).


42 In 1994 in addition to the Samoan Methodist parish at St John's, Ponsonby, there were Samoan fellowships under The Methodist Church of Aotearoa - New Zealand at Panmure, Otara, Mangere-East, Mangere Central, Papakura, Manurewa, Papatoetoe, Glen Eden, New Lynn, Kelston, Henderson, Birkenhead, Waterview, (Auckland); Tokoroa, Hastings, Gisborne, Masterton, Stokes Valley, Petone, and Wellington (Information supplied by Mr Uesifili Unasa, Auckland, August 1994).

43 "The Samoan Synod shall have a nationwide responsibility for all Samoan members of Te Haahi Weteriana. The principle goal of this structure is to enable the Samoan people [to] discover their ministry in Aotearoa NZ, and thereby participate fully in the life of the Church. The Samoan Synod will help to meet the spiritual need of the Samoan Community, and to maintain and strengthen the identity of the Samoan people through the Samoan Language Worship Services and Christian Education, Cultural and Religious activities." From paper "Samoan Synod: For Synods' Discussions & Responses", The Samoan Advisory Committee [1994].
The Samoan congregation in a Catholic church is called a community. Nearly all communities are attached to English speaking parish churches while the particular needs of the Samoans are catered for by Samoan Chaplaincies.44

In New Zealand the Congregational, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist churches all create opportunities for their Samoan members to transmit and continue their language and cultural art forms to the New Zealand-born though Samoan language services, inter-church competitions and other social activities.

There is, however, a marked contrast in the acceptance of fa'a-Samoan between the mainline churches and the newer, worldwide evangelical and mission-oriented churches originating from the United States of America. These include the Assemblies of God (AOG)45 which are connected with The Associated Pentecostal Churches of New Zealand,46 the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA)47, The

44In 1991 there were twenty-seven Samoan communities in the Auckland Diocese, each with their own choirs; about twenty 'autalavou groups, Children's Catechetics or Sunday School programmes; and varying numbers of women's groups, Legion of Mary, and Rosary Groups. These were served by a chaplaincy consisting of three pālagi priests and three religious sisters (one Samoan, two pālagi). Hamilton and Tokoroa both had communities. Within the Wellington Diocese there were ten communities with choirs, three 'autalavou, eight Childrens Catechetics programmes and a chaplaincy of two priests (one Samoan, one pālagi) and two religious sisters (one Samoa, one pālagi). Christchurch, Dunedin and Invercargill each had one community and choir with part-time assistance from a local priest (Father Neil Darragh, "The Samoan Catholic Church in Aotearoa", unpublished paper, 1987, pp. 9-120).

45In 1994 there were sixty-five Samoan Assemblies of God in New Zealand. Every two years the Samoan World Conference of AOG meet with delegates attending from New Zealand, Australia, Western and American Samoa, Hawaii, Alaska, America and Germany (Information supplied by Pastor Pailate Tuisano, Dunedin, July 1994).

46This is a loose network of about six hundred assemblies from the major Pentecostal streams in New Zealand (New Zealand Evangel, Autumn 1991, p. 5).

47In 1994, there were eight Samoan Seventh-day Adventist Churches in New Zealand: Papatoetoe, East Tamaki, Mangere, New Lynn, Henderson (Auckland); Hutt Valley, Wellington Central and Wellington Samoan. There were also two companies (which parallel Methodist fellowships or Catholic communities) at Manurewa and Glen Innes and a newly formed group (called a unit) at Palmerston North (Information supplied by Mrs Masina Palelei, New Zealand Conference Office, Auckland, July 1994).

Samoans also worship in other SDA churches. For example, Ponsonby has Sabbath School classes conducted in Samoan, Cook Island Maori as well as English.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS),\textsuperscript{48} and the Jehovah's Witnesses (JW).\textsuperscript{49} The international headquarters of these churches are found respectively in Springfield, (Missouri), Washington D.C., Salt Lake City (Utah) and Brooklyn (New York).

Although these churches have special features giving each its own uniqueness,\textsuperscript{50} in other areas they have a number of characteristics in common. For instance, with the exception of the SDA Church none participate actively in the ecumenical movements.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{48}In October 1994 there were twelve Samoan language wards in New Zealand: Harbour Stake, Liahona Ward; Henderson Stake, Henderson Ward; Manukau Stake, Manukau 2nd Ward and Manukau 3rd Ward; Manurewa Stake, Alema Ward; Mt Roskill Stake, Vaea 2nd Ward; Panmure Stake, Vaea 1st Ward; Tamaki Stake, Tamaki 1st Ward, Tamaki 2nd Ward and Wymondley Ward; Upper Hutt Stake, Hutt Valley Ward; Wellington Stake, Ascot Park Ward; Christchurch Stake, Wainoni Branch, (Information supplied by Ms Jill Palmer).

\textsuperscript{49}In 1991 there were two Samoan language Kingdom Hall congregations meeting in Auckland. AOG members (and other evangelical, fundamental Christians) regard themselves as "born-again" Christians who have repented from sin and accepted Jesus Christ as their personal saviour. They put a strong emphasis on what is known as the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" and other gifts of the Holy spirit such has prophecy and healing, as described in Paul's letter to the Corinthians (I Cor. 12: 4-11). The phenomenon of glossolalia ('speaking in tongues') is taken as evidence that a person has been baptized by the Holy Spirit.

SDAs on the other hand will have nothing to do with such charismatic practices. Much of their spiritual guidance and inspiration is supplemented by the prophetic writings, testimonies and letters of the nineteenth century visionary, Mrs Ellen Gould White. They closely follow the Old Testament laws including the adoption of the seventh day Sabbath (Saturday) as their holy day.

The LDSs have an even greater prophetic tradition which has continued from the founder Joseph Smith to the First Presidency, which consists of three men called the President (who is regarded as a prophet), and two Counselors. As well as accepting traditional Biblical history the LDS also believe in the settlement of the Americas in ancient times by a group of Israelites as recorded in The Book of Mormon.

The JWs are fully committed to preaching their apocalyptic message of the rapidly approaching "end of the age" to every person in the world through "publishing", that is door-to-door proselytizing based on the monthly magazines The Watchtower and Awake and other literature.

\textsuperscript{51}The SDA Church has observer status at the World Council of Churches and other church meetings. In several countries it has become a member of the National Councils of Churches (Ernst, Winds of Change, p. 49).

"The LDS Church welcomes opportunities to join with clergy and members of other faiths in working to improve family and community life and in humanitarian efforts. However, it does not participate in the ecumenical movement because the Church's beliefs and practices are based on the Lord's revelations to man through his latter-day prophet, and only the Lord gives directives regarding issues of doctrine. These are not for mankind to alter without divine authorisation" (Information supplied by Ms Jill Palmer, National Director of Public Affairs, LDS Church, NZ, October 1994).
Fundamentalist, Bible-based, observing strict codes of behaviour and moral conduct, the dynamic groups focus in varying degrees upon living in the "last-days" of earthly life and have eschatological expectations of being part of the new order with Christ's imminent return. These beliefs are the motivating force behind the world-wide missions as adherents strive to save the souls of unbelievers.

The significance of this generalized summary lies in the understanding that the religious world view of these separatist churches is not compatible with, and at times is in conflict with the cultural orientations and obligations of people living within the precepts of fa'a-Samoa. The aims of these churches do not allow for any flexibility or adaptation to the cultural needs of their members.

Always there are exceptions. In November 1994, the Samoa (newspaper) reported that at the end of the year fiafia ('entertainment') of the Uarota 3 (3rd

The AOG have been generally hostile to the ecumenical movement "which they perceive as embracing the apostate, and stigmatize as merely human efforts to organize institutional unity" (Ernst, Winds of Change, p. 23, quoting Peter Hocken, "Pentecostals" in Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement, Nicholas Lossky, José Míguez Bonino, John S. Pobee, Tom F. Stransky, Geoffrey Wainwright, Pauline Webb (eds), [Geneva, Grand Rapids: WCC Publications and William Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991],793-794).

The most extreme rejection among the other churches is found in the JWs who refuse to cooperate with any other religious group.

The LDS Church does not regard itself as fundamentalist. Their 8th Article of Faith states: "We believe that the Bible is the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe that the Book of Mormon is the word of God." They also believe in continuing revelation (via the prophet of the First Presidency) through which changes may be made.

For example in varying combinations these churches require an abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, caffeine, banned Biblical meats especially pork and shell fish, gambling; while other requirements include the wearing of "modest attire" and strict codes of sexual behaviour.

For example the AOG, SDA and LDS believe that Christ's return is followed by a thousand-year reign.

The LDS anticipate that there will be two world capitals - Zion (The New Jerusalem) will be built upon the American continent where the literal gathering of the ten tribes of Israel will take place in, and the old Jerusalem in Israel which will be restored in grandeur in the last days. The former will be the centre of government, while the latter will be the spiritual capital.

The JWs believe "The 144,000 are born again as spiritual sons of God, and Christ will rule his Kingdom through them" (Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, Jehovah's Witnesses in the Twentieth Century. [Brooklyn, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc., and International Bible Students Association, 1989], p. 30).
Ward) Mangarei (sic) [Manukau], the recently formed 'autalavou ('youth group') presented a demonstration of Samoan culture. What is significant is the use of the term 'autalavou by a LDS group, and the inclusion of an 'ava ceremony.  

Although the 1991 New Zealand census does not identify the religious affiliations of all Samoans, one report gives a breakdown of the religious denominations of the Pacific Island ethnic groups resident in New Zealand. This reveals that from the list of twenty-four religious options, most Pacific Islanders belong to the Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Methodist, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), Seventh-day Adventist, Congregational, Assemblies of God and Jehovah's Witnesses churches. Another report, provides some details but it is lacking in that three vigorous Samoan denominations, the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, the Assemblies of God and the Latter-day Saints are lumped together under the section "Other".  

The remainder of this chapter will now present an overview of the use of the Samoan language in the churches, the clergy and three different types of organizations found in the churches.

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55Samoana, Tuesday, 29 November 1994, p. 12. The spokesperson on behalf of the group, Tofa Telea Tali, said that the main purpose of the day was for a young Samoan girl to know her duties, especially in the preparation of the 'ava for a matai, and to demonstrate its practice for paolo ceremonies which join two sides of a family together. This is also in keeping with the LDS principle of the family being a most sacred unit. Tofa Telea Tali also said that a young man should also know his duties and understand his relationship with his matai.

56Presbyterian (36,348), Catholic (34,719), Methodist (19,017), Latter-day Saints (13,368), Seventh-day Adventist (6,021), Samoan Congregational (4,149), Congregational (3,438), Assemblies of God (5,463), Jehovah's Witnesses (1,803) and Anglican (4,440) ('Pacific Island Population and Dwellings', Table 45, pp. 101-2).

57Anglican (570), Presbyterian (12,756), Catholic (17,595) Methodist (7,803), Baptist (738), Ratana (27), Other (24,429), No Religion (1,725), Object (1,872), Not Specified (1,047) ('Ethnic Group and Sex by Religious Denomination', Table 4a, p. 35, 1991 Census, New Zealand's Multicultural Society).

The total of 68,562 is somewhat short of the total New Zealand Samoan population of 85,743. One explanation for this discrepancy is that some Samoan churches within the mainstream European denominations are somewhat reluctant to reveal the total number of their members as this would mean that they would have to contribute larger sums of money to their connexional budgets.
The use of the Samoan language in the churches

The Samoan churches in New Zealand use the Samoan language to varying degrees. All services and activities in the CCCS and Samoan Methodist churches are conducted in Samoan. It has always been the intention of the Samoan conferences of these churches to extend to Samoans living outside of the islands the traditional form of worship and church life as experienced in the homeland. Moreover, by conducting the annual examinations of their Sunday Schools in Samoan, traditional forms of religious education are maintained together with opportunities for the transmission of the Samoan language and culture to the New Zealand-born children growing up in a country which is predominantly English speaking outside the home environment.

In the PIPC, New Zealand Methodist and Catholic churches, services are conducted in English with provision also being made for Samoan language services. When churches contain a number of different Pacific island peoples, vernacular services are scheduled for different times on Sundays in addition to the combined morning services conducted in English. The PIPC churches, especially in Auckland, are usually well serviced by an adequate number of Samoan ministers who are often assisted by lay preachers and other people with theological college training; but for the Samoan fellowships of the Methodist Church and the Samoan communities of the Catholic church with few Samoan ministers or Samoan-speaking papiilagi chaplain-priests respectively, Samoan language services are less frequent.

For example, in 1987 weekly Samoan language Eucharists were conducted for Catholics at Grey Lynn (Auckland) and Newtown (Wellington) while almost all of the other twenty six communities in Auckland, as well as Porirua East, Christchurch, Dunedin and Invercargill had monthly Eucharists. Other areas have Eucharists when a chaplain is available. Similarly, a CCCS, PIPC or Methodist
congregation without a minister, cannot have Holy Communion except when visited by an ordained minister.

However, today, some of the congregations of the PIPC and New Zealand Methodist churches have such an overwhelming number of Samoans that most European (or Tongan Methodist) church members have chosen other options for worship. Thus, to all intents and purposes, the activities of a particular church may be conducted almost entirely in Samoan and the facilities extensively used for their religious and cultural purposes.\textsuperscript{58}

The Samoan language is used in these churches for a number of reasons. Firstly, church services and especially prayers only become religiously authentic for the older Samoan-speaking members when conducted in their mother tongue. Worship in English has little meaning for those who cannot understand it, and this generates feelings of alienation when language separates a person from his or her church traditions and teachings. There is also a very strong and sincere body of belief, especially among the older folk, that worshipping and praying in the Samoan language enables them to experience the real depth of their Christian feelings, and maintain a spiritual connection with their God.

Secondly, during the earlier decades of settlement in New Zealand, some of the Samoan ministers encouraged the use of English in the belief that this would help families settle quickly into the New Zealand environment through their understanding of English. But today, the use of the Samoan language is encouraged in order to give the New Zealand-born an opportunity to learn and maintain their cultural heritage. Nevertheless, some churches have found it necessary to have two 'autalavou ('young adult groups')\textsuperscript{59} in order to cater for

\textsuperscript{58}For Samoan only PIPC congregations see Footnote 36 above.

\textsuperscript{59}A group of young people of both sexes usually associated with church organizations. Usually formed of teenagers and young adults but in many instances the 'autalavou also includes young children and even elderly people.
the predominantly Samoan-speaking or English-speaking people in their congregations.\textsuperscript{60}

Thirdly, some ministers believe that in today's difficult social and economic climate, a "back to basics" approach to language and self-discipline within the church will help sustain the people through the vicissitudes of life. Moreover, as all ceremonial activities are conducted in Samoan, the ability to speak Samoan is essential for the continuation of the ceremonial practices of \textit{fa'a-Samoan} in New Zealand. This is a by-product (though vitally important to the community as a whole) of the effort to serve the religious needs of the Samoan community.

The question of the extent to which the Samoan language is used is further complicated by a growing number of New Zealand-born Samoans who are not fluent in the language of their parents. Thus each of the mainline churches are endeavouring to find activities which will encourage the transmission of the Samoan language and culture to their young people. This often takes the form of a day of inter-church fellowship and good natured competing in different forms of traditional dance, songs and church choir singing.

With reference to the 1994 Samoan Catholic Youth Group cultural competitions\textsuperscript{61} between fifteen \textit{'autalavou} from different Catholic communities in Auckland Father Peter Brown said:

The main emphasis of our activities is firstly to find ways in which we can ensure that the culture is carried on and preserved within our young people. The young people in New Zealand have difficulties in the sense that they are

\textsuperscript{60} Sometimes an \textit{'autalavou} is divided into four groups. In some instances the whole church belongs to the \textit{'autalavou}. As well as providing an opportunity for socializing, travelling to meet with churches in other towns or Samoa, and hosting visitors; weekly activities include such things as scripture discussions, sports competitions and preparation for the participation in cultural activities and ceremonials, or the presentation of items (songs and dances) at such occasions as the wedding reception of a church member.

\textsuperscript{61} The four categories of the competitions were \textit{mâ'ulu'ulu} ("action song"), \textit{sásā} ("slap dance"), \textit{pese} ("singing") and \textit{tōgiga} ("uniforms").
asked to, or are required to live a life in two ways. A "kiwi" way of life [plus with] one foot firmly entrenched in their Samoanness.

Secondly, as far as the church is concerned many people will appreciate that when you look at the community, you look at the church and when you look at the church you look at the community. Both things are very much interwoven.62

Several people also spoke of the difficulty they had experienced in teaching the children Samoan:

At Sunday School we try to teach them to speak and understand the Samoan language. It was hard to teach them how to do the actions and how to pronounce the words. We worked together with the parents. We wrote the songs down and gave them to the kids to take home for their parents to work with them.63

The AOG, SDA, LDS and Jehovah's Witnesses also conduct services in Samoan. The motivation of the Assemblies of God is that for the church to be meaningful, people must be able to experience and understand religion in their own language. Thus, there is a tendency to find the services at some Assemblies conducted almost entirely in Samoan; at others English is used, or a mixture of both languages depending on the composition of the congregation and the area in which they live. For example, the words of the choruses, which are usually projected on to screens, may alternate between Samoan and English. In some churches, week-night prayer meetings may be entirely in Samoan, even if English is used on Sundays. The AOG strongly discourage the practices of fa'a-Samo. (Of course many members still meet 'aiga commitments but pastors forbid ceremonial activities on church property.)

For the Mormons, the emphasis is slightly different. The LDS church encourages its Samoan members in New Zealand to develop good English language

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63President of the Papatoetoe 'autalavou, Tagata Pasifika, Television One, New Zealand, 31 July 1994.
skills so that they may succeed in the fields of education and employment. At the same time it acknowledges that the church's message must reach all members and as Samoan is recognized at the first language in Samoa, likewise the concept is extended to Samoans in New Zealand who are not fluent in English. Accordingly, the (ethnic) Samoan language wards, which have the same organization and the same full programme as all other wards, were created so that people could worship in Samoan. As members become more proficient in English they are then encouraged to transfer to one of the English-speaking integrated wards. (In Samoa the gospel is taught in their own language; in New Zealand, ward selection is based on meeting needs.)

Many of the families in ethnic wards (and in the other denominations) are composed of island-born Samoan-speaking parents with New Zealand-born English-speaking children. With such a scenario, a Bishop might encourage the members of his congregation to speak in the language in which they are most comfortable. This could result in the adult classes using Samoan while all the others (primary, youth, young adults and seminary) are conducted in English. However, the main Sunday service, the Sacrament Meeting, would be in Samoan with some children participating in English. This is a shift away from the acceptable Samoan way of the service being entirely in Samoan. Nevertheless, the

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64 The Church teaches Latter-day Saints that education is really important, and to continue it throughout life. A religious education programme is run under the Church Education Systems (CES) Co-ordinator. Many high school students attend a seminary class every morning, Monday to Friday before their High School (College) starts. See also Appendix Eight: The Hierarchy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

65 Personal communication Bishop James Ah Mu, 1991.

When the first ethnic wards were established in the 1970s, some serious conflicts arose because of the different attitudes held by some church leaders and some Samoan members absorbed in the practices and orientation of fa'a Samoa. This resulted in the Samoan ethnic wards being dissolved. This was a time when neither side completely understood each other, and there was a period of mutual learning. The Samoan wards were re-established in 1984. (Personal communication with former Bishop George Fruean, Auckland, 1991.)

To follow the different responses of Samoans and Tongans concerning the establishment of ethnic wards in Auckland see, Ruby Weldeh, "Ethnicity Amongst Auckland Mormons", M.A. thesis in Anthropology, (Auckland, University of Auckland, 1989).
Bishop could argue that the church's prime task is to preach the gospel and teach spiritual things; not to teach the Samoan language and culture.

The Samoan language is used in the Samoan Seventh-day Adventist Churches. When congregations are composed of a mixture of Polynesian races, the main language is English; but Sabbath School classes are also offered in Cook Island Maori and Samoan. Adventists study, in depth, theological concepts at informed Bible studies and are motivated to achieve excellent standards in secondary and tertiary education. Moreover, I found that many Samoan Seventh-day Adventists were eager to engage in dialogue with me and that when I addressed an AYS (Adventist Youth) meeting about my research, my talk was translated into Samoan so that all could understand. In the Samoan SDA churches, the Samoan language is used in order to allow people to worship as they feel most culturally comfortable and in order to transmit information, with no hesitation being shown in the provision of an interpreter.

The Jehovah's Witnesses also hold meetings in Samoan. In 1991 there were two Samoan language congregations in Auckland. This is part of the world-wide missionary zeal of Witnesses for whom it is a religious duty to convey the message of salvation to all souls on Earth. However, the Jehovah's Witnesses appear to hold little attraction for the majority of Samoans for it is a characteristic of Witnesses to hold themselves separate from all the cultural activities of the local society in which they live. Moreover, the smallness of the number of Samoan Jehovah's Witnesses in New Zealand could be perceived as being a social disadvantage to a people who tend to aspire to grander and more visibly hierarchically-guided goals for their religious beliefs - notwithstanding the fact that

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66 These are conducted on Saturday mornings for the entire congregation prior to the 11 am Divine Service.
67 Adventists claim to have the largest protestant education system in the world, with universities in Australia, the United States, Mexico and Africa. Many enter the fields of education, food production, health and medicine.
68 Although called a Youth Meeting many adults also attend these afternoon sessions.
the Witnesses regard themselves as preaching in a very special way the good news of God's Kingdom.\textsuperscript{69}

The clergy

Apart from a few exceptions, the \textit{jaipe'au} (‘ministers’) of the CCCS and Samoan Methodist churches have trained at either Malua or Piula Theological Colleges respectively. Some have also furthered their theological education in New Zealand and abroad, mainly in the United Kingdom and the United States. Both churches always have a surplus of theologically-trained men in the homeland, many of whom are directed into teaching positions while waiting to be called to parishes. In New Zealand, too, some Congregational churches are assisted by New Zealand-trained theological students.

Samoan ministers who studied at the Congregational or Methodist theological colleges in Western Samoa are hierarchically ranked according to the time of their entry into theological training. Former students who were ahead of a particular individual are always regarded as senior to him, while later arrivals are lower still in the same hierarchy of ministers. The CCCS church also appoints senior ministers to the position of \textit{jaipe'au toea'ina} with the added responsibility of assisting other ministers in their area. In recent years, the PIPC ministers have also appointed four senior ministers in Auckland to the rank of \textit{jaipe'au toea'ina}.

The word \textit{toea'ina} literally means ‘old man’. In Polynesia, to be old means to be respected. In the churches, the term \textit{toea'ina} is used in connection with the concepts of grace, respectability, wisdom, experience and power, rather than as a fact of chronology. In the institutionalization of the position of \textit{Faife'au Toea'ina} (F.T.), the CCCS and PIPC have adopted an archetypal model of hierarchy which symbolizes the hierarchy of traditional power within the church.

The clergy of the PIPC and New Zealand Methodist churches come from a wider background. At one end of the continuum are the ministers who first received their theological training in the islands. They arrived in New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s and established the first Pacific Islanders congregations within the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church (PICC), and later the Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church (PIPC). Similarly, many of the Samoan Methodist ministers also fit into this category. These ministers also extended their training in New Zealand theological colleges. Further along the continuum are the Samoan-bred ministers who trained in New Zealand. Usually these ministers are placed in European parishes, and after they have gained experience they are called to Samoan churches. At the other end of the continuum are the New Zealand-born, New Zealand-trained ministers serving in European parishes. As not all of the licensed or ordained ministers have parishes, some contribute to the church as self-supporting assistant ministers; work in the social services or as in the case of at least one of the New Zealand-born ministers, teach in Samoa in order to gain experience in the culture and language.

Today, in the Samoan protestant churches, the vocation of minister is still very highly regarded, and many families hope that a son might become a faife'au. From the moment a young man (or in the case of the Presbyterian church, young woman) enters theological training, he or she is called an a'oa'o ('student of theological college' from a'o 'to learn'), and together with their spouses and families, they are held in great respect by the church members.

Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Samoan churches all practice a certain freedom in the choice and selection of their ministers. In some cases a church may have several ministers before they find one with whom they share the same vision and aspirations. When such a bond is formed, they will want their minister to remain as their faife'au for as long as possible if not for the rest of his life. The minister and his wife become the spiritual "father" and "mother" of the
congregation.\textsuperscript{70} His retirement or death can cause a crisis among the congregation - especially in a church where the minister and congregation have grown together over the decades, and have established themselves through the shared stresses and struggles of the migrant experience in New Zealand.

Catholic Samoans are ministered to by the Samoan Chaplaincies consisting of (in 1991): three European priests and three religious sisters (one Samoan, two European) in the Auckland Diocese; and two priests (one Samoan, one European) and two religious sisters (one Samoan, one European) in the Wellington Diocese. There are also a few other Samoan priests and religious sisters in New Zealand.

The Executive Council of the AOG includes a Samoan Superintendent. Some Samoan pastors have attended the AOG Bible College in Auckland,\textsuperscript{71} but many also study and train under the watchful eye of experienced senior pastors. In some areas, perhaps as few as one or two inspired couples have reached out to pioneer and establish small, but active congregations. Today there are many Samoan pastors with congregations ranging in size from several hundred to small groups of a few families.

All the Samoan Seventh-day Adventist Churches are cared for by Samoan pastors or in the case of a newly formed unit, as in Palmerston North, by a volunteer. Sometimes the same pastor is responsible for more than one church. Some of the Samoan-born pastors trained in their homeland while others have received the same training in Australia as the European pastors.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint's doctrine of priesthood is different from all other views. There is no professional or vocational clergy. All Latter-day Saint men who are worthy and faithful may receive the priesthood.

\textsuperscript{70}Tamā ma le Tinā fa'a-le-agaga. They are also known as Tamā ma le Tinā a le Galuega.
\textsuperscript{71}The Assemblies of God Bible College, 631 Sandringham Rd, Sandringham, Auckland.
Young men from 12 years old have the Aaronic Priesthood (which is part of the Melchizedek Priesthood) conferred upon them. From the age of 18, men may receive the Melchizedek Priesthood. Ordinations to offices such as deacon, teacher, priest in the Aaronic Priesthood; and elder, seventy and high priest in the Melchizedek Priesthood, occur as need and calling dictate.  

The adult women belong to the Relief Society while the Young Women auxiliary consists of three groups for the twelve through seventeen year olds. The children's auxiliary is called the Primary and caters for the three through eleven year olds. It is divided into various age groups, including the nursery, depending on local needs.

Any person who has served the Church faithfully in positions may be called directly from the Headquarters of the Church, from the First Presidency, to hold a position of special responsibility at any level of service. People usually serve for one to five years and are then released, often being called to another position.

A stake consists of about ten wards, each with three to four hundred people. The Mt Roskill Stake is made up of Europeans, Maori, Tongans, Niueans, Cook Islanders and Samoans. A stake is presided over by a stake presidency assisted by other male and female personnel.

A stake may have one or two patriarchs. In 1991, the two patriarchs in the Mt Roskill Stake were Samoan men. The appointment of a patriarch is a sacred calling within the Melchizedek Priesthood with authority being given by an apostle.

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72 At present there are two Quorum of the Seventy in the Church. Each Quorum has up to seventy men in it. These are at the General Authority level (see Appendix 8). They have a special calling and ordination to preach the gospel and to be special witnesses of Jesus Christ. They are directed by the Twelve Apostles. See also Encyclopedia of Mormonism, (Macmillan, 1991), pp. 1134-36.

73 In 1958, Brother Selu Fruean was ordained, by a Counselor of the First Presidency, as bishop of the Auckland Ward, the first Latter-day Saint bishop in New Zealand. Later he was ordained as a Patriarch by an Apostle of the church. In June 1991 the Church honoured him with a special fireside for fifty years service. A fireside is a spiritual meeting; a service with hymns, prayers, and
Patriarchs confer patriarchal blessings which are believed to be a direct revelation from God to an individual.\footnote{A patriarchal blessing is given to people who are considered mature enough to understand the importance of it. The blessing is recorded on tape by the patriarch. A typescript is given to the person concerned and another copy is stored in Salt Lake City for its preservation. A patriarchal blessing is special because it is a long term guide and blessing from God and it applies for the rest of a person's life and extends into the next. It is relevant for the present, but it also indicates what a person should do, what he or she can do, and how the individual should prepare him or herself in order to receive the blessings that are in store for him or her in the future.}

At the ward level a bishop is responsible for the administration of the ward as well as the spiritual and physical well-being of his congregation. He also determines if each person has satisfied the conditions required to be worthy enough for the annual renewal of his or her temple recommend.

A major goal for a Mormon is to be worthy to go to the Temple. In the Temple members are taught further principles about this life and eternity. Through temple ordinances they enter into covenants pertaining to families and eternity, for example: celestial marriage.\footnote{The most sought-after status for a Mormon is to be worthy enough to go to the Temple, for without access to a temple they are unable to have a celestial marriage (which binds the couple and their family for eternity), or carry out other temple work such as baptism for the dead (immersion in a font on behalf of ancestors) and "endowment (an 'ordinance' in which the initiate is anointed with oil, wears special temple garments, and witnesses a dramatic performance)" Brian Colless, "Christianity: Alternative Churches" in Peter Donovan, (ed.), Religions of New Zealanders,(Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press Ltd, 1990), p. 113.}

The construction, maintenance and day-to-day running of church buildings and schools is the concern of the staff line or "temporal" administration which can include paid non-ecclesiastical positions.

Every Jehovah's Witness considers him or herself a minister:

The Jehovah's Witnesses distinguish between two categories: 'Publishers' and 'Pioneers'. Publishers usually have a full time secular job and devote an average of about 15 hours per month to the organization for spreading a talk or speech. Firesides for young people give spiritual counselling and speeches (or a film), hymns and musical numbers.
the message. The Pioneers can be subdivided into two groups, 'general Pioneers', who are expected to give at least 100 hours of service a month without any financial support, and 'special pioneers', who are supposed to give a minimum of 150 hours a month. The latter receive a monthly allowance from the headquarters.76

**Organizational models found in the churches**

The administration and operation of each church takes place within a hierarchical structure. However, the degree of autonomy an individual or congregation receives from the church authorities varies from denomination to denomination.

In New Zealand, the worshipping communities in most of the Samoan churches range in size from about ten to sixty families. These groupings are formed through the common bonds of language, customs and kinship; residential locality and denominational membership. (However, the LDS Church is different in that it directs its members to a particular ward according to geographical boundaries. A ward usually numbers about four hundred people but is not limited to that.)

Father Neil Darragh says:

This local community formation is common to most of the churches existing both in Samoa and New Zealand (Methodist, Congregational/Presbyterian, Catholic). It is a characteristic, therefore, of *Samoan* migration rather than a characteristic of any particular *church*. It seems likely that the formation of *local* communities in Aotearoa [New Zealand] may be associated with a village-style organization in Samoa: i.e. in both cases *locality* is a basis for social organization. This formation of local communities could also perhaps be associated with the "congregational" principle, i.e. the local congregation is the basis of all church organization. Whatever its origin, this principle is accepted by almost all Samoan churches.77

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76Ernst, *Winds of Change*, p. 42.
Darragh also presents three organizational models operating within the Samoan churches.\(^{78}\)

One is the "president-and-officers" type of leadership consisting of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and committee. Although this is not a traditional Samoan form of organization, it is extensively understood and used by most churches for their parish councils with elders, deacons, lay preachers and youth leaders; choirs, women's and men's fellowships, 'autalavou, bible classes, Sunday schools, sports teams and cultural activities. The presidential model provides a neutral form of organization which encompasses all the families in a church and for allows decisions to be made by a system of voting rather than consensus.

The second organizational model is the traditional Samoan leadership of the matai according to family and rank. Although this is successful in a village situation where all families are represented, in New Zealand there is a weakness when some church families do not have a resident matai to speak on their behalf in the decision-making discussions. However, as most Samoan churches include several matai, for those denominations which embrace fa'a-Samoa there is always a certain degree of

... tension between the traditional authority of chiefs and the ecclesial organization (in this case, the leadership of the elected president and officers as well as the right of every family within the community to participate in decision-making).\(^{79}\)

The ceremonies, protocols and politics of fa'a-Samoa require the presence of matai for the establishment and maintenance of relationships between families within a church, as well as relationships between different Samoan churches. Thus it is that within a church, the Samoan congregation is

\(^{78}\)Darragh, "The Samoan Catholic Church in Aotearoa", pp. 2-5.
\(^{79}\)Darragh, "The Samoan Catholic Church in Aotearoa", p. 3.
always treading a delicate line in order both to maintain its own particular ecclesial order and yet maintain its cultural identity.\(^{80}\)

In those churches which do not condone the use of \textit{fa'a-Samoa}, an awareness of the continuance of the archetypal struggle between "church and state", "priest and warrior" or \textit{"faife'au and matai"} has in the past been heightened when those embracing the \textit{matai} model challenged the ascendancy of a theocratic church such as the Latter-day Saints.\(^{81}\)

The LDS church provides a direct contrast to the Catholic church. Although both churches are ruled by decisions which pass in a downward direction through the church hierarchies from the First Presidency or Pope respectively,\(^{82}\) the Catholic church is unique among the churches for it incorporates cultural features, such as the use of \textit{'ie tōga} into its Samoan Eucharist services.\(^{83}\)

On the other hand, one of the distinctive features of the LDS church is that everyone, male or female, young or old, at some time or other holds some position. This can be at various levels of the organizational structure.\(^{84}\) For the Samoan members, appointment to any office is not dependent upon their family status within the \textit{matai} model, but on service and faithfulness to the Church and to the

\(^{80}\)Darragh, "The Samoan Catholic Church in Aotearoa", p. 3.

\(^{81}\)"... the Latter-day Saints believe that there can be a successful separation of church and "state", and this is the situation today within the LDS church in relation to the \textit{matai} model (Personal communication, Ms Jill Palmer, National Director of Public Affairs, LDS Church, New Zealand, October 1994).

\(^{82}\)The First Presidency consists of a divinely directed prophet and two counselors. Their line of apostolic authority goes back through Joseph Smith who was given this power by heavenly messengers Peter, James and John. As bishop of Rome, the Pope continues "an apostolic tradition of unquestionable soundness" descending from the apostle Peter (Robert S. Ellwood Jr., \textit{Many Peoples, Many Faiths: An Introduction to the Religious Life of Humankind}, 2nd ed., [Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1982], p. 291).

\(^{83}\)This aspect will be expanded further in Chapter 7: \textit{'le Toga} as a Sacred Symbol.

\(^{84}\)For example, bishop, priest, elder, president, counselor, secretary, treasurer, conductor or pianist.
Gospel. In this way the hierarchy of the matai model is challenged by low-status people being sustained into high church positions.

The third form of church organization which Samoans have adopted at the local level, and which is widespread in the western world, is that of the "pastor-congregation" type. In Samoa:

The concept of a "feagaiga" or covenant between the village and the several pastors of various denominations tends to regard all pastors as more or less equal at the village or congregational level. The pastor is expected to concern himself with the unity of the congregation, liturgy, preaching and teaching. There are special Samoan social forces at work here which tend to require a uniformity in the several pastors' relationship towards the village regardless of historical church differences.  

For example, during a saofa'i ('ceremony bestowing a chiefly title') at Sale'imoa in 1984, the Congregational and Methodist ministers, together with the Catholic priest all took part in the Christian service which was conducted prior to and separate from the 'ava ('kava') ceremony. This pastor-congregation relationship is also acknowledged in New Zealand as witnessed at the receptions and feasts which follow funerals and weddings conducted by churches which permit the traditional ceremonies of fa'a-Samoa (CCCS, PIPC, Methodist and RC). On these occasions, all ministers present (or their representatives), and this includes not only the clergy of churches which embrace fa'a-Samoa, but also those of the AOG, LDS and SDA, are presented with gifts of 'ie tōga, food and money. (Church leaders accept these gifts as a matter of respect to the giver.)

The compatibility of these models is seen in the case of a Congregational, Presbyterian or Methodist church finding itself without a minister. The faith and ability of the people working within creatively balanced presidential and matai forms of organizations, can be such that the church will continue to function (even for several years) until a suitable replacement is found. Furthermore, each Samoan

85 Darragh, "The Samoan Catholic Church in Aotearoa", pp. 3-4.
church usually has an enthusiastic body of lay preachers, elders, choir conductors and musicians, women's groups and youth leaders. Decisions such as the acquisition of property, the participation in a pōpese ('friendly fundraising competition among church choirs') or the organization of a malaga ('journey') can also continue to be made through the processes of voting and consensus among the church elders and all families in the congregation, even in the absence of a minister.

The pastor-congregation model of church organization assumes a ready supply of clergy. The Catholic church faces a shortage in the number of ordained priests who can serve the Samoan communities. Nevertheless, in the same way as Samoan protestants form themselves into groups for worship, so too do Samoan Catholics. Samoans do not find it necessary to wait for a mainline church to take the initiative, although catholics will usually seek assistance from a local priest or Samoan chaplain in the establishment of a community.

In Samoa, the Catholic church uses the pastor-congregation model of organization with a catechist (who may not celebrate the Eucharist) under the supervision of the parish priest, caring as a pastor for the village congregation. The Catholic parish priest is in charge of a district which will include several congregations. In New Zealand the priest-chaplain maintains an overall responsibility for the communities in a district.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church operates through five levels of administration. At the local level, the churches are autonomously run in that people vote on the church floor on most issues. The church practice is not wholly democratic in the true sense of the word, but it is partially democratic in that is uses

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86The General Conference in Washington DC sets the policies which maintain the similarity between the world body of churches. The world is divided into eleven divisions with New Zealand being part of the South Pacific Division based at Wahroonga, NSW, Australia. The Division oversees the financial and spiritual aspects of church work. The South Pacific Division is subdivided into five unions. The New Zealand Union is divided into the North and South Conferences and these oversee the sisterhood of local churches which are autonomous in the decision making concerning the practicalities of the every day running of the church and it local committees.
a representative model and each congregation has representation at the conference level.

The making of decisions in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints appears to be closely incorporated with its very highly structured organization. Mormons teach the doctrine that their church is a theocracy. That is, it is governed by the Lord Jesus Christ and all directives, both ecclesiastical and temporal, travel down from the top. In practice, this means that even high ranking individuals appear not to be altogether autonomous as they do not make decisions without consulting someone else at an equal or higher level in the hierarchy. Nevertheless, Church positions are individually held, and the individual is accountable to the Lord and to his or her leader.

For example, a patriarch could not give me permission to attend the Sunday meetings at his chapel until he had spoken with ward officials. This is because a patriarch has no ecclesiastical presiding authority whatsoever over a ward. That is not part of his call. The person in charge is the bishop. In my situation as a researcher, it was a matter of courtesy to introduce me to the bishop who would ensure that I got the best help possible in order to visit the various classes and meetings.

It is true to say that Church members are concerned about the need to maintain the integrity and sanctity of the church. For this reason the dissemination of information about the church and its activities need to be both authoritative and

87 The LDS divide the world into areas. New Zealand is part of the Pacific Area and in turn is divided into regions. Regions are subdivided into stakes or branches (a branch is a group which is too small to be a ward). Missions, which are separately administered from stakes, are responsible for the full-time missionaries and for the members residing within the districts. See also Appendix Eight: The Hierarchy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

88 Each person who holds a position in the Church is entitled and is expected to receive from the Lord inspiration pertaining to his or her fulfilling that position. However, when Church leaders handle new or difficult situations, they can seek advice from those in higher positions. When Church policy is involved, advice is also sought from higher up.
appropriately handled by those duly empowered by the church administration.

The overall direction for the world-wide activities of Jehovah's Witnesses comes from the Governing Body at the world headquarters in Brooklyn, New York. The JWs divide the world into zones. The New Zealand District is part of the South Pacific Zone. New Zealand in turn is divided into circuits of five to six congregations. The congregations meet in the buildings called Kingdom Halls and each congregation systematically visits all the houses in the territories for which it is responsible. Today, the New Zealand JWs are administered from the Branch Headquarters\textsuperscript{89} in Manurewa, Auckland, which is staffed by forty-five full-time Bethelites, who include specialists in translation and the production and distribution of literature for the Pacific Islands and New Zealand.

In this chapter I have presented an overview of the Christian background and the different churches to which Samoans belong in New Zealand. In the following chapters in Part One, I shall focus on the different types of religious experience known to humans before exploring the symbolic complexities of hierarchy, sacrifice and some of the traditional myths which may have presented deeply internalized and reinforcing models for the richly endowed nuances of the fa'a-Samoa.

\textsuperscript{89} The Branch supervises the work of JWs in New Zealand, the Cook Islands, Niue Island and Norfolk Island.
CHAPTER 3

SAMOAN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

Phenomenologists of religion seek to understand religious experience and this must now be considered in relation to the Samoan setting. Samoan culture is based on tremendously strong traditions and most individuals submit to the will and decisions of the group. At the same time there are exceptions. No absolute, definite statements should be made by the researcher, for in New Zealand, as in the home islands one finds regional, church and family differences.

Some elderly people hold rigidly to traditional practices and opinions while others are not only open to new ideas but may even try to initiate changes. Take an example from Auckland of two senior ministers belonging to the same denomination. One dares to make a small change in the order of service, while the other asks his congregation to tolerate some quite radical experimentation in dress, style of presentation and music at services led by an enthusiastic "modern" young minister. There is often a fluidity and blending at the boundary areas of ideas and the wary researcher must constantly return to generalities.

The Macphersons in their study of Samoan traditional medicine, *Samoan Medical Belief and Practice*, illuminate the basic world view:

Samoan culture holds that humans live within three 'worlds', a natural world, a social world, and a spiritual world. The human condition is at any one time influenced by relations between individuals and the natural, social and spiritual realms. The desired state is one in which relations between humans and each of these worlds are stable and without tension.

To reiterate, these three worlds are: the world of nature (including hurricanes, taro, fish and coconut products); the social world of the village and family; and the world of the supernatural. This last world includes both the world of Christianity and the world of spirits, of aitu. (Formerly these also included the categories of atua, tupua and saualili'i).\(^2\) However, even today, most Samoans have not yet dichotomized the world of the supernatural into two discrete areas. As one person said to me:

We don't yet say, this is where we put our gods and over there is where we put the saints, for these areas still merge. At times there is no strong boundary or line of demarcation between the one area and the other.

In this dissertation I have chosen to study just one aspect of this supernatural world. This is, Samoan religious symbolism from the point of view of the practice of Samoan Christianity which has been superimposed on the naturalistic view of the Samoan people. But neither can I separate the three worlds, for my focus is also upon Samoan religious experience and belief as practised within the hierarchy of the social structure.

Human beings appear to have a capacity to experience special moments of their lives within a framework which can be defined as religious. Unusual experiences such as mystical states, possession or prophecy, speaking-in-tongues or extrasensory perception are often connected with religion. From a Western individualistic point of view, religious experience tends to be regarded as a private psychological experience based on subjective inner feelings and awareness. But similar peak experiences, timeless moments, ecstasies and states of altered consciousness can also be produced within a completely secular schema through fasting, intoxicants, drugs and other brain stimulation or psychosomatic techniques.

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In Western religious scholarship, religious experience has been connected with an awareness of the presence of the sacred or the holy. Sacredness is that 'unique and irreducible essence of all religious experience', that particular quality of being set apart from the usual, the ordinary, the every-day, the profane. Early in the twentieth century Rudolf Otto (1869-1937) formulated his analysis of religious experience using the example of Isaiah’s awareness of the presence of the living God in the temple sanctuary as the prototype of all truly religious experience. For Otto the human encounter with the transcendence of God, which he calls the numinous, is a combination of two types of experience. One is the feeling of creature helplessness brought on by the overwhelming experience of awe, fear and fascination before the divine; the other is the awareness of the mysterium tremendum, the ‘wholly otherness’ of the divine being.

Although the transcendence of God tends to be a focus in Western religions, the immanence of the sacred is emphasized in Eastern religions. The wider ranging scholarship of Mircea Eliade saw that

No longer is the sacred to be sought almost exclusively in the God-encounter type of experience; it is abundantly exemplified in the symbolism and rituals of almost every culture, especially the primitive and Asian cultures.

For Eliade a sense of sacredness is embodied in sacred spaces. These can include such things as natural features: a rock, pool, stream, tree, mountain; areas set aside because they are taboo, or human constructions such as temples and churches which are full of rich religious symbolism. Time too has a sacred dimension:

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3 Isaiah VI.
Every religious festival, every liturgical time, represents the reactualization of a sacred event that took place in a mythical past, "in the beginning." 7

I am aware that many of Eliade's critics based in other disciplines reject his schema, believing religious experience to be

... a compound of cultural entities and experiences, not a separable thing in and of itself. 8

Nevertheless, on a number of occasions in an attempt to make sense of, and to help in the interpretation of many of my own research experiences and material, it has been to Eliade's writings that I have returned, especially when dealing with some of the selected phenomenological themes in Part Two of this dissertation. For, as Wach says, it is the aim of phenomenology of religion:

... to let manifestations of the religious experience speak for themselves rather than to force them into any preconceived scheme. 9

Therefore, it is not my intention to force a definition upon Samoan religious experience. Nor am I on a quest to discover the function of Samoan religion. Rather I prefer to follow the thought of Winston King who summarizes religious experience as follows:

... religious experience is religious precisely because it occurs in a religious context of thought, discipline, and value. 10

Or as Peter Donovan says, religious experience is,

... the sort of experience which religions are interested in, which they value or consider important. 11

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He also draws attention to the fact that

For the moment religious experience is mentioned, there is a common tendency to think only of the private, psychological side of experience, our inner life of awareness and feeling and subjectivity.¹²

I believe that one must look beyond this viewpoint, for Samoans are very pragmatic and communal people. Donovan in his book *Interpreting Religious Experience*, classifies the great variety of religious experiences into the broad groups of mystical, paranormal, charismatic and regenerative experiences.¹³ Let us consider in what ways these categories reflect Samoan religious experience.

**Mysticism**

The central concept of all mysticism is unity and a profound sense of oneness with nature. However Christian mysticism tends to focus on a sense of union with the transcendent personal creator God. Mystical experience is usually reported to be mostly brief, rapidly fading and hard to put into words. It deals with states of knowledge - not just feelings, and is something which happens to a passive person, rather than being something in which one is actively involved. Mystical experience is "had" rather than "done".¹⁴

Other observers of Samoan behaviour might have found, as I have discovered, that Samoans prefer things to be public and communal. Samoan oratory specializes in putting deep feelings and knowledge into words. The saying "*E pala le ma'a ae lē pala le upu*" ('stones rot but not words') demonstrates the Samoan belief in the importance of words and oratory, and parallels the Christian belief of "In the beginning was the word..."¹⁵

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¹⁵St. John 1:1.
Samoans are well known for showing their emotions. Their lives are full of ceremonies and repeatable rituals celebrating a constant progression of successfully completed projects. These bring whole communities together over long periods of time as they work towards achieving their ambitious goals such as building a new church, or in the case of Auckland Roman Catholic Samoans, a community centre. Therefore it would appear that, except in a few isolated cases, mysticism is not very likely to be a feature of Samoan religious experience.

Paranormal experience

The spiritualistic category of paranormal manifestations includes apparitions, ghosts and the world of spirits. But Christianity has always had an:

... abhorrence of magic and evil spirits, (and) has systematically discouraged the search for paranormal experiences.\(^\text{16}\)

Yet in spite of the discouraging efforts of the early missionaries and present Samoan ministers of religion, experiences which could be classed as paranormal still occur. The most common manifestation of *aitu* ('spirits, ghosts') is through sickness. This area in particular belongs to the realm of the Samoan healers, especially the *taulāitu* or spirit mediums who diagnose and treat illnesses which have supernatural origins. Such sicknesses are called *ma‘i aitu* ('ghost illness').\(^\text{17}\)

With the introduction of Christianity, a continuing belief in evil spirits was legitimized by Biblical examples such as Jesus driving out demons and evil spirits.\(^\text{18}\) Today most experiences of *aitu* are believed to have dangerous, threatening or evil connotations. At the same time, because Samoan healers successfully cure many of the spirit sicknesses which are identified as having


\(^{\text{17}}\)For an example of *ma‘i aitu* see Macpherson, *Samoan Medical Belief and Practice*, pp. 99-100.

ancestral connections, the Christian belief in life after death is reinforced together with the reality of the spirit world.

Here are a few examples. I recall attending a Samoan Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath School class.\textsuperscript{19} An intense discussion was stimulated by the day's topic which emphatically taught that under no conditions could a spirit or ghost arise from a cemetery to haunt, threaten or hurt a family member.

On another occasion I heard a Samoan Presbyterian minister preach a sermon reinforcing Christian beliefs in response to a late night horror movie. Many of his congregation had been frightened by the depiction of a frozen body reviving and causing murder and mayhem, for it no longer contained its former conscience and soul. He felt that "because of the lingering traditional superstitions, it was very necessary to reassure the congregation that once people are dead, their next step is Christ, not returning to terrify the living." Later, both his sermon and the movie, which some of my hosts had watched and still felt uneasy about, were discussed at great length over \textit{to'ona'i} ('main Sunday meal').

In another example, a man educated at St John's Theological College in Auckland and a leading lay person in the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, discussed with me the difficulty he found in changing the beliefs of some family members. He explained how a condition such as epilepsy can be seen to provide proof of the presence of spirits. The direction in which the eyes point while a person is having a seizure, indicates the position in the room where the spirit is manifesting itself. Such beliefs are supported by the New Testament example of the healing of the boy with epilepsy which clearly states that Jesus commanded the evil spirit to leave.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{19}In the Seventh-day Adventist church, Sabbath School classes are conducted for everyone, not just children and youth. These classes are held for an hour before the Saturday morning service.\textsuperscript{20}Luke 9:37-43.
Finally, I have seen sophisticated, westernized Samoans unable to suppress an uneasy apprehension and concern over the news that someone had died suddenly away from home. The experience of having a visitor die in one's house is extremely disturbing and causes much anxiety, for this raises the possibility of hostility from and the need for the appeasement of the deceased's spirit. In some households, even if some form of Christian blessing or exorcism has been conducted in the house, it may be some time before anyone will sleep (without being conscious of the presence of the aitu) in a bedroom in which an outsider unexpectedly died. In some instances the function of a bedroom is changed. This enables the continued use of a room without the need for anyone to sleep in it.

**Charismatic experience**

Donovan says of charismatic experience:

All groups and movements have their leaders and heroes, men and women who stand above the crowd of average believers, on account of their superior insight, single-mindedness, holiness of life or strength of personality. The abilities and attainments of such spiritual leaders will usually, in a theistic religion at least, be viewed as charismata - that is, as gifts or blessings bestowed on them by God.21

The two groups of people regarded by most Samoans as being close to God and able to act as vehicles for his power are: the faife'au22 ('ministers of religion') and the fofô ('healers').23

From the moment a young person is selected to train for the ministry, he is treated with the respect appropriate for one who will live an exemplary life as the inspired mouth-piece of the Christian God.24 Ideally, the Samoan minister and his

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22 Literally fai fe'a'au means 'to serve', 'to wait on.' Therefore a faife'au is a servant of God.
23 Taulasea is often used in preference.
24 Nearly all Samoan ministers are male and it is very hard to imagine the day when a homosexual faife'au would be accepted by a Samoan congregation. All Congregational ministers must be married. To date (June 1993) the only exception has been the five Samoan women ordained by the Presbyterian church. One other woman is licensed.
wife should have the charismatic ability to lead, teach and guide their congregations in both religious and secular aspects of life.

In New Zealand, I believe that almost without exception and regardless of denomination, the status of and the respect in which the most senior Samoan ministers are held by their congregations is above that given to the matai ('chiefs'), for the minister's role is one of mediator between his congregation and God. Like a prophet of old, the Samoan minister preaches with the power and authority of God. Several faife'au have each explained to me in exactly the same way their experience. It is as if their voices are picking up God's power as their (or more correctly), God's words pass over the communion table to the people. In many instances Samoan prayers are experienced as mediated conversation with God.

Prayer

During a church service an affirmation of the faife'au's role as spiritual mediator can be heard in the people's response during prayers which are presented as a monologue by the minister. The people's wishes are with him, as it is the minister who speaks to God on their behalf. Emotions are poured into the prayers. In a Methodist service one can hear a chorus of people agreeing with the minister while he is praying: "E moni lava" ("[Yes] it is true"), or "Fa'afetai Iesu" ("Thank you Jesus"). After years of practice, every one seems to say the same words for they know by the expression used by the minister, with which phrase to reply. By saying these phrases during worship the people are reinforcing the minister's role as the speaker to God.

For very special occasions Samoans may not even be able to function until they

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25The components which sustain the New Zealand minister's power will be discussed in the following chapter on Hierarchy.
26One minister who vividly described the experience initiated a discussion as to how it fitted into Otto's category of the numinous. The layout of churches and the varying positions of the pulpits will be discussed in Chapter 10, Sacred Space: Samoan Church Buildings in New Zealand.
have received a prayer and a blessing from their minister. For example, I recall visiting the Auckland home of a PIPC minister on Wednesday 22 April 1992. The second rugby game between the All Blacks and the Rest of the World was just about to commence. People including the choir master and the session clerk were gathering to watch the game on television for six Samoan young men were playing in the team that day. I was told how on the previous evening one of the new Samoan All Blacks had phoned his minister. He had phoned from Wellington. He was crying. He was in tears. He had asked the minister to pray for him on the phone. He needed the strengthening of a prayer and blessing for his debut in test rugby. (He scored two tries that day.)

Let me try and explain the difference between the European and Samoan attitudes to prayer. European Christians traditionally accept a theology of grace. For them God has already given his grace and through Jesus Christ humankind is redeemed. There is nothing more to be achieved. Human actions do not achieve God's grace for it is freely given and can be received by all.

However, Samoans tend to have the understanding that they still have to do things, that through their work they will achieve God's blessing. Hence their willingness to make sacrifices for the church. Some will make financial commitments to the point of mortgaging their homes to assist with the building of a church. Families will do whatever work or contribute anything their minister requests, for it is through their actions that Samoans work for the grace of God. In seeing a project or task completed not only do they feel satisfied but they know they have received God's blessing.

27 The concepts of fa'amāvaega ('farewells') and fa'amanuiaga ('blessings') will be developed in Chapter 8, The Papalagi Have No Time but Samoans Have Plenty.
28 The name given to the New Zealand national rugby football team.
In the context of prayer, they invite God to be present. This is not a formality but a genuine request. Whereas European Christians understand God's presence as already being there, it is different for Samoans. They have to request God to bless the proceedings. The rugby player phoning his minister is a classic example of the Samoan attitude, for it is as if God cannot see them playing rugby unless He is asked to be there. And the sportsman would interpret his success of two tries as his reward for being faithful, for believing in prayer, for believing in the minister as God's representative and for believing in God.

In my experience Samoans are deeply involved in prayer. All meetings and special occasions begin and end with devotions, prayers and blessings. God is always called upon to be present, to watch over the proceedings which include independence celebrations, fund-raising activities, balls, anniversaries, birthday parties, sports meetings, choir contests, the opening of new businesses, the launching of books and saofa'i (title ceremonies'). At the conclusion of any activity there is a time of prayers and thanks for God's presence, and His enhancing and blessing of the occasion.

The minister of a big church may attend several birthday parties in one day and conduct a short service at each; especially for 1st, 5th, 21st, 50th, 60th, 65th and even more senior birthdays.

On a personal level, many Samoans, especially the older folk, tend to spend a lot of time "talking with God". God is constantly informed of one's earthly activities. This widespread attitude can be illustrated from a personal example.

One day during the winter of 1991, an elderly Samoan woman and I made a nostalgic journey to St John's Theological College in Meadowbank, Auckland. On the way we stopped for lunch at McDonald's. We bought our food and sat down at one of the tables. As I started to eat I realized that my friend was about to pray.
Now this woman is fairly deaf, and as a result, she tends to speak in a very loud voice. So over our hamburgers and in a voice which reached both God and half the customers, she began. Very quickly I realized that this was going to be a full blown prayer of thanks, supplications and blessings. Thus she proceeded to inform "Our Heavenly Father" and everyone else about our friendship.

She thanked God for our meeting in the library at St John's ten years earlier, and for his love and care of both of us and our families. She thanked him for "the special work that my very dear friend Betty is doing, thank you for her study, thank you for her research and thank you for her helping our Samoan students in Dunedin. Thank you, thank you Heavenly Father for bringing her safely to Auckland again, thank you for our friendship, thank you for this lovely day. Thank you for Betty who is doing your work", and so on.

Then after spending some time asking God for his care for everyone and everything, I finally heard her ask for the blessing of our food, and of the people who had grown, who had prepared and who had processed the food that we were about to eat, "in the name of your loving son Jesus Christ, Amen."

In Samoan culture beginnings are symbolized by mornings while evenings symbolize endings.\(^{30}\) As at the Last Supper when Jesus and his disciples gathered for their final meal together, as he blessed the food and wine and instructed the people to continue the actions of the Communion in his memory,\(^{31}\) so too do Samoans gather together. In fact the last evening before a journey is usually spent at home with one's family, as this is the occasion for special family prayers and a meal together.

The night before the Western Samoan football team *Manu Samoa*\(^{32}\) departed

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\(^{30}\)The *taeao*, the important mornings of the past will be expanded upon in Chapter 8 on Time.
\(^{32}\)See Chapter 9, The Religious Symbolism Connected with Samoan Names, and Appendix Six for the story behind the name *Manu Samoa*. 
from Auckland for the 1991 World Cup competition, a church service was held. The prayers called upon God to always be present with the team, to bless them and to care for them, to enable them to be successful. And when _Manu Samoa_ returned from the World Cup, a service was held in the airport arrival area. The minister who conducted it told me that he wasn't even dressed to take a service but the people decided then and there to offer their thanksgiving.

I have been with university students in Auckland when they gathered with their families at their minister's house on the evening prior to returning to Dunedin for a new term. Before a sumptuous meal, the minister conducted a service for them in his lounge. Included in the service was a very strong reminder of why they were going back to Otago University - to work hard, to not be distracted by too many social events and to pass their exams.

There is another concept which should be mentioned here. Those who remain behind are in a state of _tapua'i_.\(^3^3\) While loved ones or a group have gone on some excursion, those behind are in "a state of waiting". But it is more than that. They are waiting with prayers expecting something to happen. They follow the loved person in their thoughts and wish them well. It is like a silent prayer for the safe arrival of the traveller.

When someone arrives home the welcoming person says, "_Mālō le malaga manuia_" ("Congratulations on your safe journey"), to which the reply is "_Mālō fo'i le tapua'i_" ("Congratulations also for [you] being in a state of prayerful expectancy"). So in this matter there appears to be a continuance of pre-contact tradition that when Samoans leave to go on a journey, for whatever reason, those who stay behind are in _tapua'i_, in a state of being sacred. Originally they remained behind in prayer but not in the Christian sense. Nowadays, Christian prayers are said but the behaviour is customary.

\(^3^3\)From _tapu_ which means forbidden, sacred.
Not only do Samoans ask for God's blessing but they also always remember to offer a thanksgiving. Take for example graduation day in Dunedin. Within two or three hours after being capped, one will find the new graduates and their families at church taking part in a service of thanksgiving and blessing for the life they are now about to embark upon. If a person has been in hospital, then on the first evening of their return home, the minister, many of the congregation and other groups associated with the sick person may come to that person's house for a service of thanksgiving.

**Charismatic experience and mana**

The other group of people, the healers, do not appear to have any special status solely because of their ability to cure people. Nevertheless their work has social significance when they are able to restore the balance between the natural, social and supernatural elements of people's lives.

I have placed these people in the charismatic category of religious experience for two reasons. First, the majority of both healers and Samoans believe that a healer's talent is a gift or blessing bestowed by God. In fact it is God who heals, not the healer:

> For many fofo the fact that their God has chosen to give them a talent, *taleni*, for healing and to achieve His purpose through them is more important than secular recognition. . . . the success of healers may be recognised as evidence of a good relationship with their God . . . (and it is expected that) the abuse of talent, *taleni*, would lead to its eventual loss.\(^{35}\)

The Macphersons also note:

> . . . that successful healing requires both secular knowledge and a spiritual sanction which is bestowed by God. The requirement of this

\(^{34}\)Macpherson, *Samoan Medical Belief and Practice*, pp. 101-120.

\(^{35}\)Macpherson, *Samoan Medical Belief and Practice*, pp. 102-103. Samoans have also told me that should a healer seek status, that person would no longer be able to heal.
sanction places the size and composition of the body of healers in the hands of God and beyond the control of ordinary people. . . . healers pointed out that God bestowed the gift of healing on whomsoever He chose and they were not able or willing to guess why He had chosen to distribute healing gifts, taleni, in a particular way.  

Second, although today the term mana (in the sense that things are potent and efficacious in working), is more or less exclusively reserved for the Christian God, the concept of mana is also associated with healers.

Whenever I have asked Samoan ministers about the use of the term mana, without exception they have insisted that only God has mana. One person described it as follows:

When Samoans speak of the mana of God we remember the great things which God did in the time of Pharaoh to demonstrate his power, his mana: the plague of locusts, the river of blood, the parting of the Red Sea, the pillar of fire that came down to lead the fleeing Israelites and the gift of manna from Heaven. Later, during the time of Jesus, the Samoans looked at the miracles and all those things that Jesus did as an expression of the mana of God - like feeding the people with five loaves and two fish. That demonstrates mana. Samoans refer to those things as the mana of God.

At the same time I have come across a few Samoans (but in each case they are very fluent in English), using mana with reference to humans in the Maori

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36 Macpherson, Samoan Medical Belief and Practice, p. 107.
38 Exodus 10.
39 Exodus 7:14-25.
40 Exodus 14.
42 Exodus 16.
sense, and the increasingly common Pakeha ('New Zealand European') usage of the word. Several other people, but all from the same West Auckland church, informed me that the succulent plant aloe has mana. They believe this is the plant referred to in the Bible. However, a misidentification appears to have occurred as most commentators consider the aloe tree of the Bible to be Aquilaria agallocha sometimes called the eaglewood tree.

To return to mana as associated with Samoan healers. The Macphersons record the example of a healer transferring her mana to her daughter as she too begins to practice the healing of others:

When she told her mother that she had treated the [sick] child, her mother was pleased and suggested that it was time she gave the daughter the mana, the sanction which ensured that her treatments would work in the hands of the younger woman. The transfer of the mana was accomplished without formality or ceremony and public knowledge of her entry into practice grew gradually.

It is now possible to offer three interpretations for the concept of mana. Firstly, resulting from the great debates at the beginning of the twentieth century which combined such things as European folk metaphors, nineteenth century theories of physics, and physical models of electricity and hydraulics, Western thought resolved that mana was:

... a kind of invisible medium of power, a spiritual energy manifest in sacred objects, a potency radiated by humans.

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44Keesing, "Rethinking Mana", pp. 151-2.
46Insight on the Scriptures, (Brooklyn, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc., International Bible Students Association) Vol. 1, pp. 79-80. An exception is found in John Heinerman, Heinerman's Encyclopedea of Fruits, Vegetables and Herbs, (West Nyack, New York: Parker Publishing Company Inc., 1988), p. 3, which says that aloe vera is a perennial succulent native to East and South Africa and was the material used to embalm Pharaoh Rameses II and to preserve the body of Jesus Christ.
47Macpherson, Samoan Medical Belief and Practice, p. 108.
48Keesing, "Rethinking Mana", p. 137.
This approach would encourage one to interpret the above example of the mother giving her daughter the *mana*, as being something like a spiritual essence passing across from one person to another.

A second view uses "solid textual, linguistic and ethnographic evidence". Keesing argues that in Oceanic languages *mana* is mostly used as a stative verb. That is, it describes "states" of human activities which "are" *mana* rather than *mana* being something which a person "has" and can give to someone else. *Mana*-ness is a quality which in the case of such things as a successful battle, harvest, cure or rescue, is retrospectively regarded as efficacious or successful. European thought did not understand that

Things that are mana are efficacious, potent, successful, true, fulfilled, realized: they "work." Mana-ness is a state of efficacy, success, truth, potency, blessing, luck, realization - an abstract state or quality, not an invisible spiritual substance or medium.\(^{49}\)

A third possible interpretation is associated with charismatic experiences in the form of "spiritual gifts" from the Holy Spirit as described in the New Testament.\(^{50}\)

One may have the gift of preaching with wisdom given him by the Spirit; another may have the gift of preaching instruction given him by the same Spirit; and another the gift of faith given by the same Spirit; another again the gift of healing, through this one Spirit; one, the power of miracles; another, prophecy; another the gift of recognising spirits; another the gift of tongues and another the ability to interpret them.\(^{51}\)

This is an area of special interest and desired religious experience among not only members of the Assemblies of God but also Samoan teenagers and young adults belonging to the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. (At the same time charismatic or pentecostal behaviour causes concern and anxiety among

\(^{49}\)Keesing, "Rethinking Mana", p. 138.
\(^{50}\)1 Corinthians 12:1-11; Romans 12:6-8.
\(^{51}\)1 Corinthians 12:8-10.
Seventh-day Adventists.  

I have already stated that Samoan healers believe that it is God who heals and that their talent is a gift or blessing bestowed by God. In fact, a successful cure is evidence of the sanction of God. It would therefore appear that the concept of mana when used in connection with healers, could also be associated with charismatic gifts in the Biblical sense. Unlike rationalized Westerners who must always make decisions as to which interpretation is correct, Samoans appear to be far more comfortable holding several varying beliefs simultaneously. Two or three options can be equally correct. However, researchers have to remind themselves that many of the questions which they (the researchers) are answering do not even exist in the minds of the people they are studying.

**Regenerative experience**

In every church there will be someone whose life has been changed, perhaps in a reforming or spectacular way, by a sudden religious conversion, healing, deliverance or similar experience. However, for the majority, religious experience is a process of a gradual awareness, of a growing closeness to God. Donovan says:

... indeed it may well be that the most widespread of all regenerative experiences in religion is that of ordinary people (i.e. not mystics, charismatics or ecstatics) who through religious belief find their life to be continually filled with meaning and given spiritual value which, so far as they can see, it would otherwise lack.  

The experience may be very personal, but for Samoans, in the majority of cases, the family, church group or even a whole community is often involved. One has only to be in a hospital ward when a church member is ill to discover that the

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52 In the course of my research, several Seventh-day Adventist pastors became aware of my wide experience of different types of Christian churches. This resulted in them consulting me as to what would happen and what should they do supposing a person in a church service started to 'speak in tongues' or be 'slain by the spirit'.

place is inundated by Samoans, some of whom may have travelled from other towns. This is a result of a combination of two things. One is the cluster of cultural requirements, the natural moral duties and obligations of fa'a-Samoa. The other has to do with the many shared experiences of life, both secular and religious. Again to quote Donovan:

The meeting of moral needs is, then, an important function of religion, whether such help is received through prayer, worship, the sacraments or in the form of 'grace' or spiritual gifts.\(^{54}\)

Now, to address the concept of faith. Samoans in their personal, family and church prayers express a deep faith that God will hear their prayers. Devoted Samoan Christians take every opportunity to invite Him to be present in their lives. Recapitulating on the previously mentioned examples, this includes prayers before meals, meetings, celebrations, competitions, examinations, the making of decisions, departures and journeys, church services and evening prayers, cases of illness and misadventure, and the crucial passages of life. God is constantly called upon to care, guide and give them strength and success in the daily tasks ahead. For Samoans, God's existence is continually proved through the everyday blessings He bestows upon them. (The fact that the sun came up this morning or that someone has arrived home safely is proof of God's existence.) And, He is always thanked, often in great detail.

This is closely linked to regenerative religious experience. With a sense of communal faith, many Samoan congregations have been filled with a compulsion to follow a certain course of action (for example, the mammoth project of acquiring church property or the more simple task of the autalavou ['youth group'] going on a malaga ['journey'] from New Zealand to Samoa). However, regardless of the hardships, suffering and sacrifices which a project requires, with courage and

vision a congregation and their minister will demonstrate to the wider community and prove to God, their faith, love and devotion.

The religious goals

Closely connected with the concept of faith are the religious goals of Samoans. These fall into the two categories of the personal and the communal. The individual's goal is that of immediate personal salvation through Christ and a life after death. Samoans believe that through Christ's suffering and Passion all will live in heaven when they die. This is the central theme of Samoan belief and can be achieved by following the example of Christ's suffering and sacrifice.

The communal goal of Samoan families is the desire for the perpetuation and success of their family in the village. This is projected into the village goal of a Christian society in the village, and right at the core is the church. Further, by emulating the life of Christ through the Church, in Samoan perception and belief, Christ and the Church are one and the same.

By comparison, in New Zealand many of the churches of the Samoan immigrant community are in a position of increased strength, for often out of necessity, they have incorporated into themselves many of the functions of the village. For the congregation of individuals with their personal and communal goals, and the encompassing minister with his wide secular knowledge and Christian spiritually, it is their faith in life after death which becomes the motivational force for action. Through church projects they profess their faith in God. Even though originating from different villages with which they have retained strong family links, the immigrant Samoans will say, "it is our faith that brought us together as a group in the same congregation in New Zealand". Finally,

55 I have heard several Samoans offer the opinion that many Samoans put fa'a-Samoa before Christ and that the building of churches is really about establishing territory. Then again I have heard Samoan ministers clearly distinguish between the sacredness of a church service and the secular and formerly pagan realms of the activities of fa'a-Samoa.
in many New Zealand Samoan churches the culture and hierarchy are being reinforced by the enactment and outward expressions of this common faith.

To order understand more specifically the communal forces motivating Samoans, Chapter 4 will discuss Samoan hierarchy which is complementary to Samoan religious experience. In Chapter 5: Symbols of Sacrifice, this theme will be further developed by examining some of the cultural attitudes which bring Samoans together to make the various outward expressions of their common faith in God's power.
CHAPTER 4

HIERARCHY: IN THE ISLAND SITUATION
"NO MAN IS AN ISLAND..."

This chapter introduces the mythical sacred origins of Samoan hierarchy and briefly notes such things as language and work restrictions which support the hierarchy of titles. However its main theme will be to discuss certain aspects of behaviour which bind Samoans closely to the hierarchies of fa'a-Samoa. These include such things as status, prestige, power, responsibility, obedience and service.

Myths

Myths are dramatic stories manifesting aspects of the cosmic order. In religious studies and scholarly usage 'myths' refer to sacred charters, foundation stories of human life in the cosmos, and archetypal, exemplary stories. Myths tell how humans are to act in their communities; and they are tied to rituals. They are not to be confused with the popular usage of the word meaning 'something which is not true'. Stories in oral traditions tend to be classified as myths, legends, folk-tales, fairy-tales, fables, and so forth. However, because of the supernatural character of the Samoan legends, folk-tales and fāgogo ('fables'), in this work the term myths also covers these traditions. The following section contains a well


known Samoan creation story which can be interpreted as the first sacred charter to legitimate Samoan hierarchy.

**Creation's hierarchy**

Samoan creation myths recount the direct descent lines of Samoans from gods and relate the ancestors' place and founding activities in a sacred hierarchy.\(^3\) The following version, which I shall summarize, was chosen for two reasons. It is believed to have been first recorded in the 1840s\(^4\) when few Samoans had been converted to Christianity,\(^5\) and it is one of two versions favoured by the Samoan collaborators of *Lagaga: A short History of Western Samoa*.\(^6\)

The god Tagaloa\(^7\) dwelt in the Expanse; he made all things; he alone was (there). . . there grew up a Rock on which he stood.

Then Tagaloa said to the Rock, "Be thou split up."\(^8\)


\(^4\)Collected by Rev Thomas Powell and later edited by Fraser.


\(^6\)Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea (eds), *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987).

\(^7\)The name Tagaloa is made up of the words *taga* ('free from restrictions, cannot be restrained or bound') and *loa* ('continuous, long or far off; continuous as in time'). G. B. Milner, *Samoan Dictionary*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 227, 109.

\(^8\)Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, p. 2.
Clouds. Some of the creations from the Rock were male or female such as the boy Two Clouds and the girl Water Hole which he appointed behind the Sky. These were followed by the boy Native Tree Branch, the girl Open Sea and then Man, Spirit, Heart, Will and Thought. But they were only floating about on the Sea for there was no fixedness there.

Then Tagaloa ordained that the Spirit, Heart, Will and Thought be joined together inside the Man and he became intelligent. Man was joined to the Earth and they became the couple - Fatu⁹ the man, and 'Ele-'ele, the woman.

Tagaloa continued the creation process by instructing Tui-te'e-lagi ('Sky Propper') to hold up the sky, and other preparations were made in readiness for Fresh Water, Sea and Earth to be peopled. Next the Nine Heavens were created and Immensity and Space brought forth Night and Day who produced the Sun.

In succession the Nine Heavens were created from Lagi ('Sky'), and in ascending order Tui-te'e-lagi propped up each heaven which was peopled with stars, the children of Ilu and Mamao, ('Immensity and Space').

Then Tagaloa sat (still); he is well known as Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupu-nu'u; then he created Tagaloa-le-fuli (stable Tagaloa), and Tagaloa-asiasi-nu'u (Tagaloa the visitor), and Tagaloa-tolo-nu'u (Tagaloa the village creeper), and Tagaloa-savali (Tagaloa the walker),¹⁰ and Tuli (a seabird) also, and Logonoa (deaf).

Then said Tagaloa, the creator, to Tagaloa-le-fuli, "Come here; be thou chief in the heavens." Then Tagaloa, 'the immoveable' was chief in the heavens.¹¹

Tagaloa the creator then sent his messenger Tagaloa-savali, as ambassador through the Heavens with the proclamation that all should gather at the council

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⁹ Samoan proper names are not italicized.
¹⁰ The Messenger.
¹¹ Meleisea, Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa, p. 4.
ground in the Ninth Heavens. At this meeting the children of Immensity and Space were appointed to be builders. Next Tagaloa the creator, told Night and Day from the First Heavens to send their sons Samoa and Manu'a to the earth.

"Let those two boys go down below to be chiefs over the offsprings of Fatu (man) and 'Ele-'ele (woman)." But to the end of the names of the two boys was attached the name of Tagaloa-le-fuli who is king ('tupu') of the Ninth Heavens; hence the Samoan kings ('tupu') were named 'Tui of Manu'a-tele ma Samoa aoto' (King of Manu'a and whole of Samoa).12

Sun and Moon were instructed to follow Day and Night. Then Tagaloa, the messenger, caused the groups of the islands of Manu'a, Fiji, Tonga as well as Savai'i to spring up. Later Tagaloa, the creator, visited the countries and was delighted in them and prepared the lands for people to dwell in. Tagaloa, the messenger, took pairs of people from among the children of Tagaloa to people the islands of Manu'a, Fiji and Tonga. Following the creator's command, Tagaloa, the messenger, returned to Manu'a and instructed Valu'a and Ti-apa, the children of Fatu and 'Ele-'ele, to people Savai'i. They were the parents of the girl I'i and the boy Sava and the island Savai'i was named after them.

After Tagaloa had raised up the islands of Upolu and Tutuila, Tagaloa the messenger placed the Peopling vine in the sun on the council ground called Malae-of-the-sun. From it came forth a multitude of worms.

... then Tagaloa, the creator, shred them into stripes, and fashioned them into members, so that the head, and the face, and the hands, and the legs were distinguishable; the body was now complete, like a man's body; he gave them heart and spirit; four persons grew up so this land was peopled. . . 13

And one pair peopled Upolu and the other pair, Tutuila.

12 Meleisea, Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa, p. 5.
13 Meleisea, Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa, p. 7.
Then Tagaloa gave his parting command thus; "Always show respect to Manu'a; if any one does not, he will be overtaken by calamity; but let each one do as he likes with his own lands."\(^{14}\)

In this foundation story it is possible to see how the great god Tagaloa, with the strike of his hand or a spoken command, created the elements, other aspects of himself through manifold incarnations and ordained the order of the world. Nine heavens were raised above the earth and all gathered at the Council from where appointments were made, instructions delivered and messengers sent forth to oversee other aspects of creation. But the creator himself personally fashioned the humans who peopled the islands of Samoa and established a sacred model of government together with the ancient precedence of showing respect to his descendents, Tuimanu'a, the king of Manu'a.\(^{15}\)

Together with the Tuimanu'a, Tuitoga and Tuifiti, (the kings of Tonga and Fiji), also boasted divine origins and Krämer says that the reverence shown to them was unbounded.

As titled chiefs they were sacred (pa'ia) and therefore everything with which they came in contact, was likewise sacred.\(^{16}\)

Over the centuries, intense and highly competitive battles and political challenges among the islands resulted in successful new dynasties with powerful royal titles. A continuing belief in the sanctity of high-ranking chiefs was observed in elaborate ritual prohibitions during the nineteenth century:

... Thomas Nightingale noted in 1834, no one dared pass in front of the chiefly residence of the paramount chief of western [sic] Samoa "under penalty of the severest punishment"; or, as Hood observed in


\(^{16}\)Krämer, *The Samoan Islands: The Outline of a Monograph Giving Special Consideration to German Samoa*, (translated by D. H. & M. De 3eer), (Rarotonga: Dept of Native Affairs [mimeo] 1941), p. 17.
1862, during the meeting of a fono attended by the Tui Atua, any canoe passing by was, as a mark of respect to the Tui Atua, vacated and pushed across the lagoon, its occupants wading up to their shoulders in the water.17

A contemporary theological interpretation of this version of the creation myth has been made by Lalomilo Kamu in his 1989 Ph.D. thesis, "The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel".18 He considers the similarities between Tagaloa-a-lagi and Yahweh and argues that in the pre-Christian experience of the multifaceted Tagaloa, Samoans had already formulated concepts of god which paralleled the Christian-Judaic god, thus enhancing their acceptance of Christianity. Kamu says that

God revealed Himself to the Samoans within their own context. Hence, the Samoans had different perceptions and images of God depending on how He revealed Himself to them . . . The Samoans accepted the Christian explanation of God as the triune Godhead because the trinitarian doctrine was not entirely strange to the people who were aware of God revealing Himself to them in more than one way, i.e. the creator, visitor, messenger, prohibitor and matai.19

**Departing souls**

Before leaving the realms of pre-contact belief it is also possible to note that the earthly hierarchy was retained after death. According to Gatoloaifaana Peseta Siō, in pre-Christian times the dead retained their hierarchical groupings as recorded in the following example of souls departing on their journey to Pulotu, the resting place of all spirits. (Pulotu is situated in the sea to the west of the north-west coast of Savai'i.)

When Upolu people die, their spirits proceed to the western most point of Upolu called Lefatuosofia (or jumping rock) where they jump into the sea and swim to the fafa of Lualoto [two whirlpools of deep sea water].

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17Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa*, pp. 133-4.
18In 1991 Rev. Dr Lalomilo Kamu was appointed Principal of Piula Methodist Theological College, Western Samoa.
The souls of Savaii walk the pa sopoia [a stone wall] until they reach their road where they then proceed to the fafa of Lualoto.

When the chiefs die their spirits do not swim the channels. Instead they are taken by the vaaloa (or the long boat of the spirits) until they reach the fafa of Lualoto. When the spirits of the dead reach the fafa of Lualoto, they then proceed under the sea towards Pulotu, the resting place of all spirits.

The spirit in charge of the fafa of Lualoto is the lady Sisialefafa who arranges the swimming parties of souls. Swimming parties are arranged according to ranks. Manaia or noble young men swim together, taupou or virgin ladies swim together.\textsuperscript{20}

The highest titles

\textit{Papa} is the term given to the \textit{ao} of Tuiatua, Tui'a'ana, Gato'aitele and Tamasoali'i. (An \textit{ao} title is one which stands at the top of a large 'family tree' or genealogy as the senior title.)\textsuperscript{21} These titles conferred paramount rank in the land. An \textit{ao} title was bestowed as a special honour by the chiefs of a maximal descent group representing a district or confederation of districts, or by a group of \textit{tulafale} ('orators') such as Tumua and Pule. (The name Tumua is an honorific reference acknowledging the orators of the villages of Lufilufi and Leulumoega in Upolu, while Pule refers to orators of certain villages in Savai'i.\textsuperscript{22}) On the rare occasions that the \textit{papa} were collectively held by one chief he was termed \textit{Tafa'ifā} which literally means 'four standing as one'.\textsuperscript{23} The first \textit{Tafa'ifā} was the lady

\textsuperscript{20}Si6, \textit{Compass of Sailing in Storm}, pp. 90-1. A similar account is in John Stair, \textit{Old Samoa: or Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean}, (London: Religious Tract Society, 1897), p. 184. He too notes that "The idea of the superiority of the chiefs over the common people was thus perpetuated, none but chiefs or higher ranks gaining entrance to the Samoan Elysium." p. 217.

\textsuperscript{21}Melmisea, \textit{Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa}, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{22}Villages too have hierarchical rankings.

\textsuperscript{23}Although there have been few \textit{Tafa'ifā} in Samoan history, the exact number is a matter of oratorical contention with different people producing varying versions. See also J. W. Davidson, \textit{Samoa Mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa}, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 28-29, 33, 41-43; and R. P. Gilson, \textit{Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community}, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 58-63, 117-121, 420 43n.
Salamāsina but since the death in 1841 of the last Tafa'īfā, Malietoa Vaiinu'upo (Tavita, 'David'), there have been no others. Instead the high position of Tafa'īfā has been succeeded by the Tamā-a -āiga ('sons of the families'), the term which has been used since the late nineteenth century to refer to the paramount titles of four national descent groups. The four titles are Malietoa, Tupua, Mata'afa and Tuimaleali'iifano. Any descendents of these people are referred to as Aloali'i ('son of the high chief'). Through the cistricts, villages and titles which support the paramount titles, all Samoans are connected to the highest echelons of the hierarchy, and today it is from the Tamā-a -āiga that the Head of State is selected.

The Aloali'i are supposed to be hierarchically superior in rank to most of the village chiefs, and many customs and ceremonies connected with them, differ from those for other high chiefs and talking chiefs. For example, when a sua-ta'i ('the presentation to a chief of a baked pig with accompaniments') is served the commencement of the ceremony is announced with the beating of drums, the blowing of conch shells and the forming of a 'guard of honour' by twenty or so young men holding lighted torches through which will be carried the procession of gifts to be presented.

The word for chief is matai. There are two orders of matai: ali'i ('high chief') and tulāfale ('talking chief' or 'orator'). Each family's high titles are

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25A sua should include an already opened ripe coconut from which the liquid can be drunk, cooked chicken and taro, siapo ('tapa bark cloth') which is sometimes substituted by a bolt of material, a pig which is sometime substituted by a keg of beef, and large and small 'ie toga ('fine mats').

26I observed one such ceremony on 14 July 1984, at Levaula College during the celebrations for the twentieth anniversary of the independence of the Methodist Church of Samoa. Those present included the Head of State, the Governor of American Samoa, The Prime Minister, the Speaker of the House, a number of High Commissioners and Presidents of the Methodist Churches of Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Australia and New Zealand. I was immediately struck by the use of torches and the possible symbolic interpretation of the cleansing properties of fire. Any profaneness of the gifts would be removed by their purification passage through the corridor of flames and smoke as they approached the sacredness of the highest chiefs.
supported by lesser titles and the orators act as the ceremonial spokespersons for their particular high chief. But there are exceptions as in the case of Safune where all chiefs are *tulāfale*. The hierarchy of the men extends to their wives, their activities and the positions they hold in the community. The term for the wife of paramount chief is *masiofo*, that of an *ali‘i* is *faletua* and the wife of a *tulāfale* is called a *tausi*. Also the daughter or niece of the most important high chiefs is bestowed with a title. She becomes a *tāupōu* and is conferred in a ceremony with a name of one of the *sa‘otama‘ita‘i* or ancestresses of the family.

**Fa‘alupega**

Each village is governed by a council of *matai* called the *fono*. When a council meeting begins with an *‘ava* ceremony the chiefs are served in the strict order of their *tūlāaga* ('rank') which is also affirmed by their seating positions in the *fale* ('house') and the recitation of the *fa‘alupega* ('salutations'). The numerous conventions which surround the Samoan order of rank are carefully observed and if the need arises, aggressively protected. Malama Meleisea defines *fa‘alupega* as:

> A *fa‘alupega* is a set of ceremonial greetings which are recited when the *fono* (council) meets. It serves as a constitution and encapsulates, in a few phrases, the origin and rank of each constituent title of the *nu‘u* (village) and the order of precedence and ranking in the *fono*. There are *fa‘alupega* for individual titles, for groups of titles (as in the case of orator groups), for the *nu‘u* or local polity, for districts and for the *nation*. The national *fa‘alupega* of Samoa recognises firstly the local polities and districts through their principal orator groups, then the two most important districts not represented by the former, and finally the descent groups or *aiga* (families) of Samoa through their highest ranking titles.28

Late in the nineteenth century Augustin Krämer recorded in great detail the

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genealogies and *fa'alupega* of Samoa. More recently the churches have published books containing them while in *Lauga: Samoan Oratory*, Tatupu Fa'afetai Mata'afa Tu'i presents a study of the concept of social communication through the formal structure of Samoan oratory. However:

The contents of the *fa'alupega* have not remained constant. Political changes and divisions have been reflected in alterations to them, some temporary and others lasting.

A recent inclusion, during the 1980s, into the *fa'alupega* has been the church ministers. No one seems to quite remember when this practice was first adopted in New Zealand but the following are examples:

*Susū maia lau Susuga ile Fa'afeagaiga taulagi, lau Susuga _ _ _. O le paia lava lea ile Ao o Fa'alupega.*

(Welcome your Dignity the Minister of the Spirit [heavenly affairs], your Honourable _ _ _. Your Dignity is as for the majesty of the All Mighty holder [God] of all honours.)

*Susū maia lau Susuga ile Toea'ina, lau Susuga _ _ _. Fa'apea le paia o le Aufaigaluega, ile nofo a Fa'afeagaiga taulagi.*

(Welcome to your Honour the Elder Minister, Your Honourable _ _ _, as well as the Dignity of all [other] 'workers' [of God], the Minister of the Spirit.)

**Language hierarchies**

Another way of indicating hierarchy is through language. Specialized vocabularies of courtesy and ceremony are used on appropriate occasions. It is a matter of good manners and politeness for individuals, regardless of rank, to use polite

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29 Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*.
30 O le Tusi Fa'alupega o Samoa Atoa (Malua, Western Samoa, 1958) and O le Tusi Fa'alupega o Samoa Atoa, (Methodist Church in Samoa, 1985).
31 Tatupu Fa'afetai Mata'afa Tu'i, *Launga [sic.]: Samoan Oratory*, (Suva and Apia: University of the South Pacific and the National University of Samoa, 1987).
words to honour persons of higher or lower status, and self effacing words when speaking of themselves or their family. This also includes the use of respectful terms or expressions when describing arimate or inanimate things in the presence of chiefs or orators, and not merely in speaking to or of such people. Gratton also says:

Again there are words the apt choice of which define the rank or social group of the person or his wife who may be addressed or referred to, or a reference of personal or individ:ual significance may involve an explanation reaching far back into the early traditions of the village or district. 33

To give one example of the hierarchy of words used to refer to the different ranks of people, here are the Samoan words for 'death'. If an aloali'i dies the word used is tu'umālō; for an ali'i, malu; for a tulafale, usufono; and for an ordinary person oti.

In speeches and etiquette there are many internal signals. The following example shows the typical Samoan behaviour of acknowledging the fact that one has been put in a higher position than the other person. When one chief addresses another chief that person is always addressed in the highest language possible, that is in ma'asalafa ('smooth flat stone'). This refers to the fact that in a river there are many rough stones. As one has to step from one to another when making a crossing, it is always a welcome thing to stand on a safe, solid and smooth stone. So in oratory after a person has been addressed one courteous reply using more meaningful language could be: "Thank you for putting me on a ma'asalafa", or in other words: "Thank you for all that elevated speech you gave me".

As God is the most important of all beings, in church services the faife'au also use the language of honour and courtesy.

Work roles

Although most traditional activities and occupations were divided into two groups to be executed by men or women, a few tasks have been restricted to people of higher status. The best example would be the duties performed by the tāupōu in village ceremonials. These include her participation during the presentation of the sua, the preparation of 'ava in the kava ceremony and leading the final dance or taulauga which symbolically draws together the close of a special function. However, in most cases the most important consideration concerning the production of work continues to be the skill of the people concerned rather than their social status.

The exchange of gifts

Another way of reinforcing the Samoan hierarchy and building status is through the exchange of valuable goods, food, 'ie tōga ('fine mats') and money. Exchanges made between individuals, families, groups, villages or churches must be at an appropriate level commensurate with the status of the receiver.

When the reciprocal gift is being presented, the aim is to give the best gift possible in return. Ideally it should not equal the gift received but be slightly better. At the same time it should not be too large for that would belittle the other people. Therefore while it is not exactly the same or equal, it should have a slight edge over the gift received. (However, in the competitive situation of fundraising, to enhance the status of their group, Samoans try to ensure that their combined individual giving will enable their family or church to give more than any other group.)

But to give an inferior gift is remembered and regarded as an insult. As an example let us consider the reception after a funeral. During the speech-making the orator of the bereaved family oversees the distribution of gifts. Suppose one person from a church is given forty dollars and the rest of the group are each given

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Gratton, An Introduction to Samoan Custom, pp. 161-166.
twenty dollars. If the one who receives forty dollars is the president of the church, every one will be in agreement that he should have more money than the others and his status is reinforced. Moreover, the hierarchy of that church is also confirmed in public. The president will stand up and make a speech of thanks. The others who receive twenty dollars each will not complain because they know that traditional practices have been observed. But if everybody is given forty dollars and the president receives only twenty dollars, that is a slight, a straight out insult.

In this instance through such gifts, the givers reinforce the hierarchy of the church. This is appreciated. Not only is the person who received the forty dollars acknowledged, but all the congregation, every one present, is acknowledged through their president. This is an example of how in Samoan gift giving, the gift acknowledges the relative status of the receivers.

Choosing a chief

The basic unit of social organization within Samoan society is the 'aiga or extended family group. Formal leadership of the 'aiga is vested in the traditional chief or matai.\textsuperscript{35} In ancient Samoan society the selection of a matai was based on the ascribed or hereditary preferences of primogeniture, seniority, descent lines, and patrilineal succession.\textsuperscript{36} However today, as well as genealogical rank, an individual's achievements also play a significant role in the choice of a new title holder.

Succession to a matai title is influenced by a number of factors. Tautua, ['service'] to the family, village, or district, is recognised as an important route to higher status. Some preference is also given to the title holder's close relatives, and primogeniture is a significant factor in allocating high titles. Wealth, status, or qualifications and abilities that have been demonstrated in the European world of Apia may also help, especially educational or occupational qualifications. Judicious


marriages and political influence and activities may also be significant, especially for high titles.\textsuperscript{37}

Irving Goldman believes that it is through the combination of both the systems of ascribed status and achieved status that Samoan society as a Polynesian culture has continued to be strongly dynamic, creatively flexible and highly competitive.\textsuperscript{38}

**Status, prestige and power**

Each Samoan group is hierarchically structured and the most powerful people are those who have access to the greatest number of resources. They must also be leaders whose status, authority and ability are regarded as having enough prestige and respect to enable them to motivate, mobilize and reallocate the combined resources of the group. Samoan status is gained through a combination of ascribed inheritance, work, service to the family, as well as educational and other achievements. By contrast, prestige is assigned to a Samoan by others. Recognition of prestige is a combined behaviour towards the status a person has achieved and involves the perception and attitude of the observers. But when a person becomes old, infirm and muddled in thought, although his or her active status and prestige may slip away, the individual is still treated respectfully on account of what he or she once was.

As each high chief needs to have a skillful orator, the Samoan minister ought to have a session clerk, elder, or deacon who is also most likely to be a *tulāfale* ('orator'). Through this combination of leader and spokesperson, the most important resource, the people, families or congregations are persuaded to devote labour, money, food and *'ie tōga* for whatever project is the focus of the moment. But it is a two-way contract, for projects need a majority consensus of the people before ideas are acted upon.


\textsuperscript{38}Goldman, *Ancient Polynesian Society*, p. 8.
The status of chiefs and ministers is maintained through their ability to motivate others and this reinforces their *pule* (authority' and 'power') - in the sense of making management decisions. Western thought makes clear distinctions between the concepts of power and authority. Power is connected to the notion of passive or resisting relationships and the planned allocation of resources. Authority can be classified as unquestioned traditional authority, legal-rational authority which includes bureaucratic hierarchies and competitive professionals, and thirdly, irresistible charismatic authority. However it would appear that in the Samoan word *pule*, these different concepts become blended and are mutually reinforcing.

*Pule* denotes the function of a person or a group of people of status. Samoans refer to such things as: the *pule* of the *toea'ina* ('elder minister'), the *pule* of the church, or the *pule* of the chiefs and orators. For instance on the appointment of a new minister to a church, the question is often asked: "Whose *pule* was it"? The answer: "The *pule* of the church", refers to the various groups within the church which used their power to make the decision. Similarly should a minister be dismissed the question is asked: "Who got rid of the minister"? "The *pule* of the church".

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41 The background of Samoans is in the oral traditions of Polynesia and this discussion provides an example of how the literal translation of a word can be too narrow. In this instance 'authority' and 'power' are probably not sufficient to explain the various ways in which *pule*, the concept, is perceived by Samoans. It is a word which is symbolic of a variety of meanings and translations, some of which are explicit and some are implicit, some are straightforward, some are esoteric and some are implied. If one thinks of the contemporary process of the democratization of Russia then one can appreciate the various understandings by which the word democracy can be interpreted. In a similar way *pule* is an all embracing term with a range of meanings.
42 This would be an example of how the terminology sometimes combines power and authority in the same context.
With regard to the village *fono*, a common expression in answer to the question by whose authority was a certain decision made, is: "*O le pule a ali'i ma tulâfule*" meaning: "The authority of chiefs and orators". Pule is therefore a concept tied to status and hierarchy. The higher the position, the bigger the pule or source of power. Above all is God. Just as he has mana so too does he have pule. God is the puleaoao, the one with 'supreme authority'. Therefore the kind of statement which Samoans still use in prayer is: "*O Lau Afio olo'o i ai le puleaoao i mea uma*". "In Thee (O Lord) is the supreme power over everything".

It is appropriate to amplify this a little further. When Samoans came under the colonial rule of Germany and then New Zealand, the term director had to be translated. The word pule was used for boss, director or manager while the overall boss of the managers was referred to as a pulesili. Over the years this led to an evolution of the word pulesili for when the Samoan ministers prayed from the pulpit, they had to find a term which conveyed a more important meaning than pulesili. Should they have addressed God as "You are the pulesili", then God was placed no higher than the general manager of Burns Philp or some other colonial shop in Apia. Eventually the meaning of the word pulesili became devalued through common usage. Finally the Samoan ministers adopted the use of the term puleaoao which means 'over and above everybody else' that is, 'supreme authority'.

A similar thing happened to the word afioga as seen in the above statement "*O Lau Afio...*" The word afio is short for afioga, the prefix used before the names of the high chiefs. Instead of applying the word afioga to God, which

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43 Although today Western Samoan law is supreme and the *fono matais* should deal only with civil matters, in September 1993 there occurred a death "under the matai authority in a village." See "Father shot dead in the ‘old barbaric way’," *The New Zealand Herald*, 30 September 1993, Section 1:1. See also 1 October 1993, Section 1:20 and 2 October 1993. This is an extreme example of matai pule and what happens when an individual fails to concur with village majority opinion or shows a total disregard for village protocol. In the past it would have been considered an appropriate action to take. Unfortunately it appears that the 1991 Village Fono Act does not fully specify the boundaries and limitations to which the pule of the village *fono* can be applied.

44 (‘Lord’), a respectful word used before a name to indicate that the person is a high chief.
would equate God with the high chiefs, it has become practice to drop the *ga* from the end of the word. Although *Lau Afio* is not grammatically correct, as idiomatic language it shows that God is much better than an *Afioga*. Therefore when ministers and people of note pray to God, instead of saying *Lau Afioga*, they say *Lau Afio* thus putting God above the chiefly level.

**Majority consensus**

In the above section it was stated that "projects need a majority consensus of the people before ideas are acted upon". A major conflict for young Samoans in New Zealand is their "wanting to do their own thing" when they should without question be responding to the requests of *fa'a-Samoan*. The key to equality and personal liberty in the modern Western world is based upon the idea that all persons have multiple aspects of the world contained within themselves:

> Our two cardinal ideals are equality and liberty. They assume as their common principle, and as a valorized representation, the idea of the human *individual*: humanity is made up of men, and each man is conceived as presenting, in spite of and over and above his particularity, the essence of humanity... This individual is quasi-sacred, absolute; there is nothing over and above his legitimate demands; his rights are limited only by the identical rights of other individuals. He is a monad, in short, and every human group is made up of monads of this kind.45

But this is a complete reversal of being an individual in Samoan society where each person is expected to be subordinate to the group. Of course there are always exceptions. There are individuals who choose to stand alone, outside the family, church and the demands of *fa'a-Samoan*. But in my observation, these individuals are not abandoned by their family. (Samoan street kids can disappear pretty quickly into some relation's house.) At the occasion of death, the independent individual is reclaimed by the extended family. Order, harmony, and normality are restored not only for the family but also for the deceased through the observation of the funeral

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ceremonies, regardless of the range of denominations to which different family members belong. The family feels secure in the knowledge that they have done the right thing and that their loved one will have a peaceful existence in the next life.

In the Samoan way of life consensus is never one hundred per cent. Fa’a-Samoa is never fully democratic but an adjusted democracy based on majority consensus. If one belongs to the minority - then "hard luck", because the will of the individual is subjugated to the will of the majority.

The selection of a chief for a family is a matter of consensus - majority consensus, not one hundred per cent consensus. Those who do not agree keep quiet. They acquiesce and eventually they are "dragged" into the mālilega ('agreement'). In the Samoan way people make their objections known and if there is strong support, they win. But should they discover that theirs is almost the only objection, that they are a lone voice, they will acquiesce.

The reason is that it is a positive gesture on their part to acquiesce. In doing so they show that they have taken cognizance of the wisdom of the majority and therefore they do not lose face. It is a face-saving and hence status-saving action. In the traditions of a communal way of life, there is no room for dissenters although they are given a place to air their views. Perpetual dissenters are never part of the Polynesian way of life. They would be lonely people.

When discussing certain aspects of fa’a-Samoa with me, one matai said that

I think it is a good thing. It is not conducive to producing Einsteins but it is certainly good for producing practical heroes and well heeled community leaders. But certainly you wouldn't have people who argue the merits of metaphysics. They will not produce Galileos for instance because the culture has forbidden it through the curbing of independent or individualized action.
In other words in an island situation, no man is an island. Consensus is the guiding principle although it is not one hundred per cent because it is an adjusted consensus. If you know that you are in the minority, and if you insist on being the minority, then you will be the only odd person out and you become the laughing stock. All of a sudden you are in a disadvantaged position and your prestige goes down, doesn't it?

But this is how they do it. If a high chief objects to the village consensus, he will say so to everyone. And everybody will say "Yes Afioga So-and-So, we know your position, we know where you are coming from, but can't you see this..?" But a clever chief will say "Yes, I know, I know you people are all wrong, but, because of my great regard for you, who am I who will drag the village down? No, I'll come with you despite my objections, as long as you know. I have a very high regard for you Chief So-and-So, and Chief So-and-So". And they will turn around and say "Yes we know High Chief So-and-So, you are a man of honour and fortitude. We have great regard for you, but now you have acquiesced, yes we really respect you".

That way one loses nothing and one's prestige is maintained. They know that you objected but because of your high regard for the village opinion, you have acquiesced and your prestige becomes much larger. But, if something happens and the village decision proves to be the wrong one, for instance, the church is built and something goes wrong or if something goes wrong with a project, then everybody knows - without you saying "Well! See!" And who gains more? You do.

Because the village super-structure knows that you have acquiesced in deference to their status, they too will acknowledge your stand-point and thank you. They show appreciation for your support and in doing so you maintain your status in the village as well as the other people knowing - yes, the high chief has acquiesced in deference to us.

Therefore you are in a way putting pressure on them. They now feel obliged to prove themselves right. But because you are siding with them your own status has been saved. In the end everything equals out and the project goes ahead.

The overall result has an equalizing effect on status. By acquiescing to the village or church opinion, status is not lost. In fact it is enhanced. This is the
reversal of what happens in Western society. In fa’a-Samoa it is a great act of magnanimity. When a chief defers to the point of view of another, or the opinion of the village at a fono, he is usually said to have exercised his fa'aloalo ('courtesy'). This means he has shown the other person or persons his respect. This is a very honourable thing to do. The practice of fa'aloalo is a reciprocal one and it is also applied to the exchange of gifts, the settling of disputes between individuals or groups and normal interpersonal encounters.

Such behaviour keeps the social system stable. Through conciliation the hierarchy is reinforced. After that no one dares to step out of the circle of agreement which encompasses the amalgamation of both majority and minority opinions and ideas. The village ties are reinforced because once the chiefs have made their pact, no one dares to step in with other ideas. It is a sacred contract and it keeps the hierarchy of the village stable as a unified whole.

Ministers and chiefs: components of the ministers' power

In New Zealand as a result of a number of social and economic conditions, there is the belief that the faife’au ('ministers') have higher status than the traditional matai from the islands.

A number of elderly Samoans have recounted to me the stories of their arrival in New Zealand in the nineteen fifties and sixties. Away from their families and villages they suddenly found themselves in the unusual, indeed the unique, position of being young people having to make major personal decisions about their future. Some were fortunate to have relations or acquaintances who gave support but on occasions situations arose in which promises of help did not eventuate. Like all new immigrants they experienced the numerous insecurities of settling in a strange land. And typically, when finding themselves in such a

46 And Australia and the United States.
47 In Samoan families major decisions concerning the welfare of young people are made by the more senior members of the family.
position, Samoans immediately sought support from God and the agent of God - the Samoan minister.

The first ministers tell of how they regularly waited on the wharves and at the airports. They tried to make contact with all new arrivals. When necessary they welcomed them into their homes and offered practical help in the form of accommodation, finance and searching for employment. On Sundays the new settlers usually chose to attend the church belonging to the friends or minister who had helped them in their need. Together they sought spiritual fulfillment in prayer, both in personal relation to God and in more institutionalized forms of worship. They also sought psychological fulfillment in the reinforcement of the Samoan culture.

In New Zealand the immigrant matai found themselves unable to function as they would in the homeland for they no longer took part in their village council. Therefore they lost a certain amount of their prestige, because their village was their forte. Hence without their villages to back them, the chiefs also found themselves in a position of relative insecurity alongside ordinary untitled Samoans competing for whatever benefits there were. The chiefs too went to the ministers for practical, moral and spiritual support. Thus it was that by performing many lateral functions, the ministers found themselves in a position of power over the chiefs.

Although the chiefs became relatively secure through employment, they still experienced insecurities through the intense rivalry among themselves. It has been difficult for one chief to exercise power over another chief in New Zealand. Conflicts over this matter were common. Competition among individuals also extended to ordinary Samoans who were no longer bound to the constraints of village rules and customs. Moreover these people realized that the chiefs were

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48 Many people have joined churches of a different denomination from their village church. Their love for their original church continues and they will give it practical help. Yet after thirty or forty years their present church membership still is witness of their loyalty to those who first gave them assistance.
"kings without kingdoms". As a result many people were in socially precarious positions. This tended to put the ministers in a very strong social and political position in the Samoan community.

As neutral servants of God in a foreign land they continue to have the important role of uniting the people. Not only do they stabilize the spiritual aspect by administering to the people (including the chiefs), but they are perceived by all the competing chiefs in a church as the only ones who can unify the congregation. Therefore the ministers have become the mediators of all these competing social and cultural interests.

Another reason for the relative increase in the power of the ministers is that in terms of Western education, they are among the most knowledgeable people in the congregation. In the early days of settlement, this disparity between the ministers and the chiefs also created a dependency by the latter on the former when dealing with such things as immigration matters, applying for benefits from the Social Welfare Department and so forth. In other words, through carrying out their normal pastoral duties as ministers, they inadvertently became depended upon by the people who traditionally held higher positions of hierarchical power. Therefore, in New Zealand the status of the faife’au has continued to increase over the years.

Back in the homeland it is different. The minister works for the village and usually defers to the dictates of the pule of the ali‘i ma failauga ('chiefs and orators'). Village projects although sometimes initiated by the minister, are not always thought through by him. This is usually done by the chiefs who guide the village. Unless the minister is very strong and clever at manipulating the chiefs, he will not have a very strong say. A village project is always an exercise in compromised unity. And, if the minister continually argues with the chiefs he may not be recalled next time he goes away on furlough.
In the history of the formation of Samoan church communities in New Zealand, many of the individuals who came together to form the first churches originated from not only different villages but also from different denominations back in the homeland. For this reason, most people in the new congregations tended to start from a base of relative insecurity which led to an abundance of conflicts and differences of opinion among church members. At the same time these difficulties acted as a unifying force by motivating people to build a spiritual as well as a cultural centre to cater for their needs.

This necessitated the setting up of a practical base from which to organize the activities of the new church, the appointment of a new faife'au and the establishment of church officials. These included a secretary, treasurer, deacons, finance committee, choir master, Sunday School organizer, Sunday School teachers and so on. By following this pattern of development, a complete and functional church hierarchy was born.

Initially the congregations consisted of the members and friends of the original families, but as time passed, new families were accepted into the church. At this stage the people also probably realized that to maximize the mana and dignity of the church in the eyes of the Samoan community at large, it should appear to be a successful project much like some of the most successful village projects back in Samoa. This meant that some churches (CCCS, PIPC, Methodist and Catholic) tended to recognize the traditional chiefs as useful figure heads for church-based ceremonials. In many instances deacons have tended to be matai title holders, although there are also many who are ordinary untitled folk.

Today in the perception of people outside the church, the most successful churches have everything. They own their church and associated buildings, they provide social services, sporting and cultural activities as well as have a minister and chiefs who preside over ceremonials. Therefore the church, being an
institution which thrives on ceremonies, needs to have some of the practices of *fa'a-Samoan* to support the spiritual ceremonials. That is an integral part of a church and of course, the spiritual part is led by the minister.

When a *malaga* (‘visiting party’) comes into the church it reinforces the whole system. A *malaga*, which always "carries" the *faife'au* and chiefs of their village, will feel at home when they are given a traditional welcome by the church's chiefs. On the other hand should a *malaga* be welcomed by ordinary people, they will feel insulted. The church will feel empty of culture. That is one reason why churches bring the chiefs into their administration. The chiefs realize that their role, although subservient to that of the minister, still has the traditional function to perform. This once more gives them a sense of importance and self respect. So an equilibrium is established. This is how in New Zealand, the Samoan churches have become a substitute for the villages.

Over the years the congregations have built up their "village" around their churches. The ministers have to use the chiefs, because they are the traditional leaders, but the chiefs are always in a compromising position because they have to defer certain decisions to the minister. This is why some ministers in New Zealand have risen very quickly in status. Here they are "big people". Chiefs are careful not to rise against the minister because that would mean that they are opposing the church. Occasionally some very strong chiefs stand up to their minister and in the end either they or the minister leaves. Some of those who leave might start a new church. They then become the figure heads until a minister, usually younger than themselves with less experience, is appointed. This behaviour could also be interpreted as being about the establishment of one's territory in a new land. But what is more significant is that territory is not sacred until there is in it a sacred centre - or more specifically in the Samoan situation, a church.
Many chiefs do not comfortably subjugate themselves to the church in New Zealand. Some of the latest social developments in the Samoan community show a tendency for chiefs to "do it" on their own, without a church. They want to bring the culture of Samoa here and attempt to maintain it through organizations like the Samoan Advisory Council or The Council of Village Chiefs of Samoa in Otara. Then again others wish to combine their talents as seen in the Joint Council of Samoan Church Ministers and Community Leaders.

Thus it seems apparent that the ascent in the power of church ministers in New Zealand has invariably been related to the need to solve social conflicts within the various hierarchies in the church community. As ministers are perceived as God's representatives they are also thought to be the most appropriate people to lead the congregations. Samoans in the United States were discussing these elements of conflict two decades ago. Viewed from the phenomenology and sociology of religion, any tension between ministers and chiefs is part of the ongoing theme of the struggle for power between church and state, priest and warrior, pope and king. These are perennial dynamics which help to maintain the tension and vitality of a religion. Those who are perceptive enough to provide resolutions to these conflicts and can manipulate the situation to suit their needs are the people who gain the most out of it, for they also reinforce the boundaries of the congregation. Those who fail to resolve the conflict in ways that are acceptable to the majority of people involved are the losers.

Successful fa'ife'au administer to both the spiritual and the mundane life of the people. They also tend to be good politicians, manipulators at very subtle levels, and especially good facilitators who can delegate wisely. They are greatly loved, esteemed and respected. They always respond readily to requests. They do not merely give affirmative promises which result in no action. They know their "way

49 Observations from a friend who stayed with the late Rev. Dr Bert (Williams) Tofaeono in Los Angeles in the early 1980s. I also stayed at the latter's house while visiting American Samoa in 1984.
around" and skillfully use a wide range of resources both inside and outside their churches. They also have to maintain their high status. The most successful ministers are those who understand the potential of their role as a minister, while the less successful fail to internalize the significance of the position they hold. In other words in New Zealand social conditions have allowed the most religiously effective, resourceful and influential Samoan ministers to become firmly established at the top of the Samoan hierarchy.

In conclusion it can be said that in a typical village situation, the apex of the church hierarchy is Christ. Directly below are the ministers who are ranked according to their seniority of training, age and experience, then the elders and deacons (who are usually matai) and at the bottom are the families of the congregation. At the top of each family are its chiefs, then the family members and at the bottom, the children. Families are aware of their position in the hierarchy. Also it would appear that as all Samoans seem to be related to one or more ministers everybody feels personally connected to the top of the church hierarchy.

Should a minister or deacon die, their status continues through the widow. The minister's wife will play out the spiritual role of the faife'au within her own family and may continue to contribute greatly to the church by taking an active role in the Women's Fellowship and as a Sunday School leader. Similarly a widow can replace her deceased husband as an elder of the church. With her increase in age, so too may her piety increase. Now she will speak to God and the minister on behalf of her family. One church elder explained to me that

My children don't speak directly to our faife'au about affairs of the family. I speak, not my wife. But if I am dead then they will speak through her to the church minister. That is the hierarchy. And family donations are given in my name, not anybody else's name.
Individual and group responses

One reason why many Samoan churches are so strong is that they continue to incorporate into themselves many of the beliefs of fa'a-Samoa, (even if they do not use cultural practices such as the exchange of 'ie toga). Therefore in the churches, the interests of the individual are subservient to the interests of the group and the entire spiritual needs of the church community are looked upon as a group response. Thus a congregation is made up of individuals who as a group believe in what the church as a whole is doing.

This raises the question of personal salvation. If the Samoan attitude to spirituality is group oriented, how then, within the group does one forge the concept of personal salvation through Jesus Christ? The answer would seem to lie in the fact that Samoans appear to find no conflict between public and private areas of spirituality. To them the idea of both a collective and an individual belief is very important. Some people with whom I discussed this explained that

Most Samoans who go to church - when they hear the preacher say "your personal salvation", they still think of the salvation of everybody else in that church rather than themselves. It is always a together thing. I am part of that. If they go to Hell, then I too go to Hell. But we are all going to Heaven. Why? Because we have been doing all of these good things.

Yet while there is a very strong group approach to salvation and God especially through sacrificial actions, there are also areas where individuals should represent themselves before God through private prayers and worship.

Samoans know that God is the "collective" God of their people. This is a vision which lies comfortably within the communal way of life of Polynesians. More importantly, the collective view of God is always public. This includes the faife'au praying for the masses, the head of the family filling the minister's mediatory role during lotu ('religious devotions'),⁵⁰ and my friend saying Grace

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⁵⁰Lotu is a general term which both covers community and family devotions and prayers. It can
in McDonald's. She was speaking for the two of us, the collective, to God. Therefore it had to be public. But the individual God of Samoans is private. Quietly in their rooms they open their hearts to God: Thus it is that in a number of areas, Samoans appear to have a duality of perception. Without any apparent internal conflict, individuals can hold two differing beliefs.

Another example would be the apparent lack of a clash between the belief in two different existences after death. Within the traditional framework, Samoan medicine caters for a belief in the reality of spirits while simultaneously all seek eternal life with the Christian God.

The previous chapter ends with a discussion of the religious goals of Samoans. They believe that by following the example of Christ's sacrifice, all will go to Heaven. But as Christ and the Church are seen as one and the same, and each individual makes up part of the whole body of the church within a structured hierarchy, then salvation is also achieved through their actions and projects. These witness their faith and perpetuate the success of their church. For Samoans faith and works are inseparable, and their pragmatism is seen in the way Samoan religious experience is couched in actions.

This belief as taught in the New Testament is a motivational force which enables Samoans to work so hard for their churches:

 Faith is like that: if good works do not go with it, it is quite dead. . .A body dies when it is separated from the spirit, and in the same way faith is dead if it is separated from good deeds.

At the same time the Bible also provides models which legitimize the competitive nature of Samoans to work their way up the hierarchy:

include the members of a choir holding their devotions, a service for a football team at an airport, or the family prayers in the privacy of their house.
51Hebrews 11 and 12; James 2:14-26.
It was because of his faith that Abel offered God a better sacrifice than Cain, and for that he was declared to be righteous when God made acknowledgement of his offerings. Though he is dead, he still speaks by faith.\(^{53}\)

With Abel's sacrifice to God the stage is reached for examining another aspect of Samoan hierarchy. Samoan religious experience involves making sacrifices as part of the daily actions of their faith. In the next chapter the theme of sacrifice will be further developed. Understanding why Samoan children are trained to be unquestioningly obedient will be expanded, and the chapter will conclude with some contemporary methods of fundraising.

CHAPTER 5

SYMBOLS OF SACRIFICE

All religions focus on their central symbols. Clustering around these are the auxiliary or secondary symbols. Their relative positions in terms of their significance to a given set of beliefs, are not static; and the hierarchy of the symbols within this constellation of images may change as people's perceptions favour one aspect and then another. Similarly, on interpreting religious experience, many things are drawn together

Every symbol tends to identify with itself as many things, situations and modes of existence as it can.¹

Christ and the Church are key religious symbols and by participating in the hierarchy of the Church and the culture, Samoans live within the transcending environment of their religious symbols. In this way the symbols of the Church are reinforced in the perception of the followers.

But for Samoans, faith is empty unless it is combined with communal activities and other works. Closely connected with this major aspect of Samoan religious expression is the important auxiliary symbol of sacrifice, for it is through the obedience and self discipline associated with personal and communal sacrifices that the Samoan hierarchy is sustained.

While reading the chapter "The Symbolism of Sacrifice" in F.W. Dillistone's Christianity and Symbolism,² I was struck by the parallels which exist between

the theoretical structures of sacrifice and the on-going religious behaviour of those Samoans whose churches embrace the practices of fa'a-Samoa.

In order to further enhance the understanding of Samoan religious experience, it will be beneficial to examine the theme of sacrifice. Firstly, the different patterns of oblationary and festal sacrifice, together with the associated motifs of offerings and provisions will be detailed in relation to the Samoan foundation myths concerning the origin of 'ava ('kava') and sugar cane. Next, by using two myths associated with the provision of fish, it is possible to see how, through the meticulous observance of tapu (tapui) ('taboo'), fishing can be a sacred activity. The final mythical model presented features the story of Poluleuligaga, and his readiness to sacrifice himself in order to stop his father's cannibalistic practices.

All these examples are significant for, although the stories might appear to originate in the mythical past, they nevertheless provide models for ideal behaviour in relation to obedience and self discipline. These continue to be essential elements in the concept of sacrifice which contemporary Samoans carry out for their church and family. Moreover, not only do the actions of the protagonists in the stories that follow live on through the years of myth-making and the names of Samoans resident in New Zealand today, but there are also folk who are still alive who recall such fishing practices in their youth.

The latter half of this chapter will focus on gifts and offerings given to a holy cause. I shall also examine the three categories associated with correct behaviour and unquestioned obedience, the anomaly of public giving and Christian humility, and finally, some of the methods of church fundraising which are favoured by Samoans.
Two patterns of sacrifice: oblationary and festal

Dillistone says that

... in a strangely impressive way it [sacrifice] has remained the central ceremony around which social life has constantly revolved. In fact the sacrificial drama must be regarded as one of the oldest and the most significant of all patterns of symbolic human activity.³

Historically two patterns of sacrifice have emerged. Oblationary sacrifice is performed to ensure a steady supply of the basic needs of food and water. Nature is sustained and increased through the motif of offering. The other form of sacrifice is festal. Its aim is to tame wild beasts and fishes and involves the act of eating together.

Central to oblationary sacrifice is the act of making an offering:

From all parts of the world evidence has been gathered to show that the essential pattern of offering an object containing or representing life to pass through a process actualising or symbolising death in order to sustain and increase the total resources of life-substance in the universe, is one of the most characteristic and significant in the whole history of mankind.⁴

Samoa myths record how the sacrificial offering of a person’s life resulted in the creation and growth of new plant life. Through death, life is created or renewed. When the whole universe is seen to be interconnected and animated by a single force, tribal gods are often given blood. Today, blood and flesh are consumed in the symbolic forms of the wine and bread of the Christian Holy Communion service, the ‘ava of the Kava Ceremony, the flesh and milk of a green coconut and in the life giving properties of fish. But the most important aspect of offerings, is that through the symbolic repetition of mythical sacrifices in ceremonial and daily life, the continuity of a society and its physical and social unity are maintained.

³Dillistone, Christianity and Symbolism, p. 221.
⁴Dillistone, Christianity and Symbolism, p. 224.
Festal sacrifice involves both the central act of feeding people, and the redistribution of food and other precious resources as a means of binding people together:

Thus the simple motif of eating together in order to sustain life and to promote fellowship is I believe, at the root of many of the ritual observances of those more dynamic societies which have had to depend upon creatures outside their immediate environment for their food-supply . . . Sacrifice was above all an occasion of communion, of covenant, of the renewal of the common life. The material of the sacrifice was not primarily an offering. It was a gracious provision. It had been secured by the hunter through the assistance of divine powers or it had been released for the use of the worshipper by an act of divine grace.5

Dillistone's theory of sacrifice grew out of a study of the food sources of early societies. For centuries Samoan feasts have included domesticated pigs, fowls and seafood. Through the ceremonial consumption and redistribution of these mea taumafa ('food consumed at feasts') resources and other physical items of cultural significance, the binding ties of the Samcan community are continually formed and renewed.6 Symbolically, the physical prowess of the hunter of wild animals is transferred to the power of the Samoan chief who, in turn, redistributes the resources such as food, 'ie tōga ('fine mats') and money to mark important occasions such as traditional celebrations, marriages and deaths. But even today the successful capture of seafood still depends on the skill of the fishermen. Not only that but the legends teach that correct observance of ritual behaviour is necessary for the successful rising of certain species of fish. For instance the rising of the palolo ('sea annelid') a seaworm delicacy and the i'aeva ('wandering fish'), a species of ocean mullet.

5Dillistone, Christianity and Symbolism, p. 226.
6Sometimes the manner of cooking food such as vegetables, fish, fowl and pork depicts communal attitudes towards sacrifice. For example the heart of a pig may be cooked in an 'ofu. That is, the heart is wrapped with banana leaves before being baked in the umu ('stone ground oven'). The 'ofu o le fatu, ('the wrapped heart') is then offered to the matai or senior elder of the family. This symbolizes humans using the power of the animal for their own benefit. It also reinforces the mana of the chief or the head of the family.
Van der Leeuw says that

... it is precisely the essence of all sacrifice that it should be at the same time an offering and a receiving. 7

To summarize, oblationary sacrifice may be defined as that sacrifice:

... in which life-substance, natural or symbolic, is ritually offered and immolated in order that the wholeness of social life may be renewed and the individual parts of it strengthened. 8

On the other hand, in festal sacrifice the

... life-substance, natural or symbolic, is ritually made available and divided up and distributed in order that those who share in it may be strengthened as individuals and renewed in the bonds of their common life. 9

'Ava and its origin

The Samoan myths which tell the stories of the origin of the 'ava 10 appear to have parallels with Dillistone's category of new life from death as seen in oblationary sacrifice.

In his account of the first 'ava in Samoa, Gatoloaifaana Peseta S. Siō 11 tells how two sisters, the Samoan ladies of medicine, Sinapoula and Sinafaalua, cured Tuifiti ('King of Fiji'), of a long illness. Restored to health, he took both women as his wives and they bore him children. When Tuifiti grew old he spoke his last will to his wives and children.

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8 Dillistone, Christianity and Symbolism, p. 227.
10 Piper methisticum.
"While I die, and plants grow from my grave, do not take them away but wait until they mature. Should you want to visit Samoa, take these plants with you and plant them wherever you reach land."¹²

On their return to Samoa his children planted the roots in different villages.¹³ Later someone noticed that a rat gnawing at the roots of one of the plants grew dizzy. Thus the narcotic property of 'ava was discovered.

In the version recorded by Stübel,¹⁴ it is the first-born son of Tuifiti and one of the Samoan women who became ill and died. His parting instructions were similar to those given by the dying Tuifiti in the Siō account.

"If I die, don't weed my grave but whatever grows on it, take it along when you visit our relatives in Samoa: consider it as coming from me."¹⁵

In this account two plants sprouted from the grave. The first grew large like the bone of a man. The rat which ate this kava plant also became quite giddy. The second plant appeared to be full of joints. It was sugar cane and when the same rat ate some its eyes cleared again.

In his collection of Polynesian myths, Alpers¹⁶ gives a Tongan version of the origin of 'ava, which I now summarize.

Fevanga, the attendant of Chief Loau had a daughter called Kavaonau who suffered with leprosy. After a hurricane the chief visited Fevanga but food was very scarce. In order to honour Chief Loau, Fevanga dug up his one kape plant

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¹² Siō, *Compass of Sailing in Storm*, pp. 95-6.
¹³ The two women did not survive the swim back to Samoa (Siō, *Compass of Sailing in Storm*, p. 96).
and killed his leprous daughter to make good food for their guest. When they brought the cooked food (the daughter) to Chief Loau, he refused to eat but instructed them to bury her head in one place and her body in another. Five days later an 'ava plant grew from her head and from her intestines, sugar cane. Again by observing the effects on a rat the people discovered the special properties of both plants.

What is the common theme in these three versions? A sick person dies and from his or her body grows plants. The Samoan versions do not name the illness but in the Tongan story, it is revealed that the girl suffered from leprosy. This is a logical choice when one considers the greyish-white, knobbed rooted appearance of an 'ava stem. Although no one was deliberately sacrificed in the Samoan stories, nevertheless plants grow from human remains. In the Tongan myth, it is the sacrificed fruit of Fevanga’s own body, his daughter, who is offered to the chief, and through her death the world is given the 'ava plant. In each case as in other mythological instances, plant life is born from the death of a person or creature.

Time and again, it is possible to discern the universal symbol of resurrection running through the stories of the origin of vegetation and especially plant species used for cultural or medicinal purposes. After the death of the king or the king’s son the precious commodities of 'ava (and sugar) grow from their bodies. Furthermore, the mana, social status, power and all the excellent and elevatory attributes of the dead person from the time of superhuman actions continue to be transmitted through to posterity and in traditional rituals by the symbolism of the 'ava ceremony.17

That 'ava personifies the dead body of a person of very high status, symbolically broken, crushed and mixed into a redemptive fluid is indicated by one

17 The main sections of the 'Ava Ceremony will be outlined in Chapter 6: Religious Symbolism.
of the titles by which the plant is ceremonially addressed: *Tugase* ('Sealed in Death').

During a discussion one Samoan chief reflected that

Samoans regard the *'ava* stem as a human being. The oratory reflects that and before they drink the *'ava*, most people pour a little *'ava* onto the floor as a libation.

The Reverend Leuatea Siō told me his version of the story behind this custom and the reason for the practice of it today:

One morning Si'utaualovasa from Aleipata arrived at Lepea while the *'ava* ceremony was being performed. He was invited into the house to join in the ceremony. When he received the cup of *'ava* the people were surprised to see him lean back and pour a little of the *'ava* into the basket which hung behind him. The people wanted to know the significance of this act. Si'utaualovasa said; "My gods are in my basket. They must first have the *'ava*.”

Since Samoans became Christians, and before they drink the *'ava*, they have always poured a little of the *'ava* onto the floor in front of them for before them now is the Christian God. And always, as they are about to drink from the cup, all the orators from Lepea think: "Saofaiga a le Atua", ("The Holy presence of the Christian God, you must drink first"). Today it is regarded as very undignified behaviour if one does not show his or her respect to the Christian God by first pouring a little of the *'ava* onto the floor.

It would appear that not only is the *'ava* ceremony connected to oblationary sacrifice through its mythical origin involving regenerative life forces from a person's body, as well as the continuing practice of pouring a libation to the Christian god. It also contains elements of festal sacrifice and communion through the ritual distribution of the *'ava* to promote fellowship between those present.

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But, as the 'ava is served according to the hierarchical ranking of those present it is possible to see yet another way in which the sacredness of the social hierarchy is confirmed and reinforced.

The Story of the I'aeva or The Wandering Fish of Si'uamoa.

A more explicit Samoan example of a daughter being sacrificed as a food offering is found in the tale of "The Wandering Fish of Si'uamoa in the Island of Savai'i".20

Before continuing with this legend I should like to present a few words of explanation. For academic reasons a student selects certain stories to enhance his or her argument. After searching the available literature, one can feel quite delighted that a theme (in this case, sacrifice), will be reinforced. But, sometimes in the course of a study, it is a researcher's good fortune to discover that both the choice of material and one's interpretation of it are unexpectedly enhanced and given a living identity by the realization that Samoan friends and acquaintances are directly linked to the characters and experiences described in the myths.21

No longer do the stories belong to a remote, mythical time and place although the rationale of some of the practices have their roots in the ancient past. In these founding stories, the deeds of the Samoan ancestors continue to be important for they live on as significant and exemplary memories in the names and titles of contemporary families who have settled in New Zealand.22

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20 Siō, Compass of Sailing in Storm, pp. 55-62.
21 I was first directed to the stories recorded by Gatoloaifa'ana Peseta S. Siō by an elderly orator and personal friend living in Auckland. As a boy, he had been a pupil of Siō's in the village school at Pu'apu'a and later in the early 1950s, Siō had advised him to settle in New Zealand. His connection with Pu'apu'a reminded me that one young Samoan woman I had tutored in Religious Studies at the University of Otago held an orator's title from Pu'apu'a. More recently I have further discovered that I have New Zealand Samoan friends who are relatives of the most recent holders of the titles of Ta'ala and Lemalu, two of the main protagonists in the story. A daughter of one lives in Wellington and a brother of the other lives in Christchurch.
22 Upon seeing my choice of this legend in an early draft of this chapter, the reaction of one Auckland matai (who holds a Pu'apu'a title associated with the characters in this story), was as follows:
Let me set the scene for the following story in which the name Si'uamoa ('the tip of Amoa') is used to refer to the village of Pu'apu'a which is situated at the eastern end of the District of Amoa.

The coast line of the village of Pu'apu'a encloses a bay which is protected from the ocean by a fringing reef. Taualagi at the eastern end of the village is the seat where the chief Ta'ala resides. The rocky promontory opposite the gap in the reef is Ta'ala's lookout for the arrival of the ocean mullet (the 'anae with the red lips) as they come into the bay to spawn.

At the western end of the village lies Vaipae which is the seat of chief Lemalu. Vaipae means 'Scattered Waters' because in the olden days there was a depression in the ground which became filled with water on exceptionally rainy days. Mangroves used to grow here and nearby are beautiful springs. Beyond Vaipae, the land extends around to Lesolo Point, which shelters the bay from the north. Near the Vaipae end of the bay, the lagoon deepens because of an underwater crater. Between the crater and the reef are the shallow waters where the fish are caught. Now to continue with the story of "The Wandering Fish of Si'uamoa in the Island of Savai'i".

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I am so happy to read through our old story. We all know the story and we performed the functions. But only when I look at it again at my age now - I look at it and I am so proud of it. I can say to my kids: "there are these folk lores and legends but they are not just a story, these people actually lived". To be involved in the legend is a tremendous thing. We are the descendents of those people, those fish catchers of the red-mouthed fish. Our family carries the names. Here is a family, with a story and characters as ancient as Samoa itself. So far as our ID is concerned - we don't have to worry because this is our identity. As the different parts of a New Zealand town are known by suburban names, so too are the various areas of a Samoan village distinguished by different names.


Today less mullet arrive in the annual run. This is possibly the result of being caught by deep sea fishing boats from other countries or that they are falling victim to improved fishing techniques such as nylon nets along their sea routes. The problem could also be due to village development; the mangrove and spawning grounds around the Lesolo Point have disappeared due to modern developments in housing and village amenities like water usage and sea front housing.
A high-born lady of Fiji called Sinafiti decided to travel to Samoa to meet the people and to sight-see ... She took with her only a fishing basket which contained her pets and which were the three fish, the igaga,26 the manini27 and anae28 with red lips.29

Sinafiti accepted the hospitality of Puleia village and in gratitude left them the gift of the igaga, a fish which is still plentiful for the people of Puleia. But when she arrived tired and hungry at the house of Chief Ta'ala in the part of the village of Pu'apu'a which is called Tauatalagi, the chief did not welcome her.

He neither spread out any mats for her, nor gave her food or drink.30

Angry, she left no present but proceeded to the house of Chief Lemalu at Vaipae at the western end of Pu'apu'a. Chief Lemalu suspected that Sinafiti was a spirit and was afraid.

So he planned to appease the spirit by preparing his daughter as an offering of food for their visitor.

Commands were duly carried out and when the offering of food was placed before Sinafiti, she quickly discerned what had happened. She therefore cried. "Lemalu, you have won today's contest. You have offered me the very best that you possess.31 I will return to Fiji defeated, but before I go, I would offer this gift. This is my pet, the anae with the red lips. It will be as a pet in your lagoons. At a certain time each year, the shoals of anae who are my maidservants will be led by this pet of mine through the entrance in the reef to the east called

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26Whitebait of pa'ofu, (Eleotris).
27Acanthurus species.
28'Anae are the grey mullet (Velamugil) of the coasts while the 'anae with the red lips are the ocean mullet. 'Anae are also referred to as the 'aeva, the wandering fish. Samoans believed that they could go as far away as Easter Island.
29Because "Anae" is a matai title in the village of Falelatai on the western side of the island of Upolu, anae, the fish, is referred to by the Falelatai people as afomatua. It is also the practice in other villages to substitute a different name for a fish when it is a matai title. (Personal communication from Afioga Anae Sianaua Ostler of Wellington.)
30Siô, Compass of Sailing in Storm, p. 60.
31This is reminiscent of Abel's favoured offering to God, Genesis 4:3-4, and as previously mentioned in Chapter 4, also Hebrews 11:4.
Utumalama. The shoals will arrive at your lagoons and you and your people must then proceed to take and eat.

In this myth it is possible to see the patterns of oblationary sacrifice as the offering of Chief Lemalu's daughter resulted in the annual arrival of shoals of 'anae. But because the fish are the gracious gift of the supernatural Sinafiti, and their capture, distribution and consumption involves the activities of the whole community, it is also possible to discern the structure of festal sacrifice. Chief Lemalu also took the precaution of asking Sinafiti as to what disciplinary behaviour the people should follow in order to guarantee a successful harvest of fish.

"But pray tell us Sinafiti, are there any tapu for this fish." Sinafiti replied. "Very well these are the tapu of this fish."

The following example of tapu ('taboo') instructions has been included as they demonstrate something of the complexity of pre-contact fishing laws:

1. You Lemalu is the chief fisherman. On the first day of fishing when the shoal is due, the female kinsfolks of the village are not to eat the first fish. Only the male kin are allowed to eat these first fish because the shoal consists of maidservants not menservants.

2. During the time when you go out to catch fish, no man or woman is allowed to wear either a rain or sun shade. Every person in the fishing group must wear a skirt of leaves and a garland made of banana leaves.

3. On the first day of fishing you are forbidden to eat any other food but taro cooked in coconut cream and fish.

4. As soon as the shoal is sighted you must all make sure that no foreigner comes into your village or my maidservants would become bashful and not want to go into the pool you prepared for them in your lagoon.

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32 Utu ('ditch' or 'trench') and malama ('window', 'clear' or 'way through').
33 Siō, Compass of Sailing in Storm, p. 61.
34 Siō, Compass of Sailing in Storm, p. 61.
5. Lastly, you need an aitu to keep a lookout for the shoal. Taala who did not greet me well when I arrived at his home shall be this aitu. He will watch out for the fish shoal and note when they enter through Utumalama. The rock yonder is his post, and he shall stand in the rain and sun without any rain or sun-shade until he sights the shoal, then he shall hold his paddle aloft to let you all in the village know that the shoal has arrived. You should all take to your canoes then and place your nets at the ebbing of the tide at the pool you have prepared at the Vaipe [sic].

When my maidservants are in the pool you should take your nets and surround the pool. My maidservants will try to leave after they have sojourned in their pool, but you will block the entrance to the open sea. They will then try to jump over this block and by so doing will land on the paepae of stones which you have prepared which by that time has emerged from the ebbing tide.

If you observe all those tapu you will be ensured of catching abundant fish every time you await my maidservants.35

This tale is of cautionary value, for if one does not properly welcome a guest, then the offender could end up as an aitu with some tedious tasks to perform. Likewise guests should always generously reciprocate the hospitality they have received and Samoan protocol requires such things to be publicly acknowledged in the presence of distinguished people. This story also provides evidence that the offering made in a sacrifice should be one's best, one's most precious possession.

In this case, Chief Lemalu sacrificed his daughter to the spirit Sinafiti.

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35 Si6, *Compass of Sailing in Storm*, pp. 61-2. One Auckland matai from Pu'a'pu'a further enhanced the reality of the myth by recounting the following memories from his youth:

When the fish enter the lagoon through the gap in the reef, Ta'ala sees the fish from his position on the promontory. In the meantime the nets are put across the shallows in the form of a semicircle with two extended sides which later will be brought around to encircle the fish. As the people bring the ends of the net closer and closer the fish keep jumping. These fish are always jumping. When all the fish are in they seal the net. But the net can be broken when a lot of excited people pull it here and there and it has to be fixed before you loose all the fish.

The catchers are circled all around. Everyone is equipped with a hand net and you have to catch the fish as they jump. But you don't know where the fish will jump. You are not allowed to scoop the fish out of the big net. You are forbidden to dip your net into the sea because our forefathers said "the fish that runs away will come back. Let him go. Don't pursue it. But what you catch out of the jumping fish, is what we eat". I think that is a conservation principle so that you do not wipe out the species. Therefore you catch the fish as they jump.

Some fish, the heavy females which are laden with eggs, don't jump high. Therefore those in the front row catch most of them. But the males can jump ten or twelve feet. So there is always a second and third row of people behind you with nets catching as well. Then there are also the people who come and collect the catch and put them on the dry rocks sticking out of the shallows.
Fishing as a sacred activity

Both the legend of "The Wandering Fish of Siuamoa in the Island of Savai'i" and the following story, "The Bonito Baits", illustrate how fishing (and hunting) is a sacred activity for societies embracing a primal world view. The successful capture of different species of fish depends upon the correct observation of rituals. When Sinafiti detailed the tapu of the 'anae with the red lips, laws were created which required the observation of certain prohibitions. This is important for it is through obedient behaviour in ritual that the sacredness of an action, in this case fishing, is defined.

For those holding a modern rationalized view of the world, it is perhaps a little difficult to understand the connection between a successful catch and the instruction that women must not eat fish caught on the first day. But a pragmatic Samoan would speculate that in the past there was probably a good reason for the taboo. Perhaps the women had become ill eating the rich fish roe or those carrying babies had aborted. Then again, as the mullet sometimes run for three days, it is practical to feed the men first as they will have more long days of hard work ahead of them in the hot sun.

Likewise, why on the first day may only taro cooked in coconut cream be eaten with the fish? Yet by respecting these taboos the villagers are demonstrating an unquestioning obedience which reinforces the sacredness of the rituals surrounding fishing. Moreover, it appears that the fish are aware of what is happening in the village for the story says that they are shy of strangers.

Included among the practical instructions for catching fish, Sinafiti also decreed that men and women must not wear either a rain or sun shade. This is still a common prohibition in Samoa for no one may cross the malae with an umbrella up while the village fono ('council') is meeting. Other taboos include the ban

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36An open space in the village where public meetings are held and an area of high social importance.
on riding a horse or driving a car past an important meeting. Also in some villages an evening curfew during the time of family devotions is strictly enforced.) 38

This is one instance when a student of symbolism must not be tempted to overinterpret the symbolism surrounding umbrellas, for in this case, it is not the object, but the behaviour which is more important. 39 To refrain from using a rain or sun shade could have no more significance than the polite behaviour of a European man respectfully removing his hat when addressing a lady or senior person. However, with reference to Samoa, Barbara Christensen says:

As with other Polynesian areas, to wear something on one's head or over one's head such as an umbrella in the presence of those higher in authority was considered a great insult. 40

Even in the present day a commoner does not walk by a chief's house with a load on his shoulders, an umbrella up, or anything on his head. 41

37 In 1984 I stayed with the Principal of the Theological College of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa at Kanana Fou in American Samoa. During that time the fonotele (annual church conference) of the American Samoan church, which included Hawaii and mainland United States, was taking place. For the duration of the conference, during the daytime sessions, no vehicles were allowed to leave the compound for that meant driving past the church buildings where the meetings were being conducted. In order to travel to the shops for provisions a vehicle was sometimes parked beyond the compound early in the morning but on its return, the goods had to be carried to the houses.


39 The symbol of an umbrella is invariably related to the sun-shade, which is a solar emblem of the monarchs of certain peoples. But its mechanism has tended to lend it a phallic significance. It is a father-symbol for this reason and because of its implications of protection and of mourning (J. E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, [New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1962], p. 337). As a symbol of the solar disk or wheel, its spikes are the rays of the sun and its haft the world axis; the canopy of the heavens; power, both temporal and spiritual; the shelter of the branches of the Cosmic tree; as the parasol it is also warmth and protection (J. C. Cooper, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols, [London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1978], pp. 182-3).


41 Christensen, "Bark Cloth or Tapa", p. 170. Here, Christensen in 1967-68, is confirming Su'apa'ia, Samoa: The Polynesian Paradise, p. 84.
Nevertheless, there is a paradox in the Sinafiti taboo. While it could appear that for some fishermen, this taboo could bring discomfort, at the same time it also provides for the practicality of not being impeded by unnecessary clothing during the rigorous activity of catching the fish. However, F. J. H. Gratton would support the former opinion for he says that

The Samoans are not lovers of the hot sun: they prefer to wear hats or use umbrellas to ward off its rays. People working in plantations, fishing in the lagoon or on the reef or rowing a boat wrap their heads with cloth or leaves or plaster their hair with coral lime.42

It is thus possible to conclude that the discomfort of Ta'ala, who must "stand in the rain and sun without any rain or sun-shade until he sights the shoal" is a symbolic act of respect toward Sinafiti. Again, it appears to be that by observing a canonized ritual behaviour with unquestioned obedience, the sacredness of the activity is reinforced. Personal sacrifice ensures the successful catch of a festal sacrifice and afterwards the village men will eat together.

The story of "The Bonito Baits",43 also provides an excellent example of the sacred connections between humans and their food sources. The following extracts clearly outline the way fishermen must ritually prepare themselves before the bonito will rise. A significant feature of this story is that it reveals how the fish are informed as to whether the fishermen have observed the rituals and are thus worthy persons by whom to be caught.

Three Samoan brothers Laulu, Paupau and Faumea were fishermen. In response to a request from Tuiuea, they travelled to Uea in order to instruct the villagers how to fix the bait so that they could catch bonito:

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43 Si6, Compass of Sailing in Storm, pp. 18-20.
The bait, au-o-manu had certain ritual observances which the fisherman must needs carry out before he could acquire the power to fix it correctly. Those were; the fisherman must sit on sleeping mats; he must dress in fineries and must oil his body so that it would shine. Only then would the bait be fixed correctly.\(^\text{44}\)

The first two brothers were careless in their rituals and as a result the bonito remained in the ocean depths. The story presents a line of communication from the village to the ocean depths.

Unknown to Laulu, (and later Pau'pau) that rat was spying on him, and it quickly told the lizard. "Pass the message on. The bait is falsely fixed." The lizard passed the message on to the popoto fish in the shallows, the popoto to the avaava (another fish) the avaava to the tavatava fish in the lagoon and the tavatava fish to the bonito in the ocean. The bonito shoals in the ocean knew that the bait was falsely fixed, so they did not rise. They stayed in the depths of the ocean.\(^\text{45}\)

But the youngest brother, Faumea observed everything correctly.

Faumea said to the girl, "Go and clean the house, spread sleeping mats on the floor, then bring me a fishing garment, a fan and oil for my body. I will follow when you have done all these things." Faumea then went and bathed. He put on his fine garment and oiled his skin until it shone. Then he sat on the mat and attended to the bait. The rat saw that the bait was properly fixed so it crawled to the lizard and said "Pass this on; the bait is now truly fixed". And so the bonito rose. The fishermen who tried the bait fixed by Faumea were amazed. They loaded the canoes with bonito fish until they were almost submerged. The people of Uea could not take all the fish.\(^\text{46}\)

To summarize so far. In the first part of this chapter, the oblationary and festal forms of sacrifice have been explored by featuring Samoan myths which focus on the establishment of a food source and associated cultural protocols within the pre-Christian world view. The motif of offering which is associated with oblationary

\(^{\text{44}}\)Sio, *Compass of Sailing in Storm*, p. 25.
\(^{\text{45}}\)Sio, *Compass of Sailing in Storm*, p. 25.
sacrifice was pictured in the growth of 'ava and sugar cane from human remains. The sacrifice of a daughter was rewarded with a plentiful supply of fish.

These two myths associated with fishing demonstrate festal sacrifice for it is through the meticulous observance of the prohibitions and rituals of tapu that wild animals become catchable. "The Bonito Baits" also includes a rising hierarchy of animals with the transmission of information from the rat to the bonito. Through the co-operation of a community the fish are

\[\ldots\text{ritually made available and divided up and distributed in order that those who share in [them] may be strengthened as individuals and renewed in the bonds of their common life.}\]47

Obviously, with an abundant supply of fish, the festal motif of eating together is fulfilled in the feasting which follows. Additionally, bonito are prestigious fish; and Samoan custom requires that when they are caught the same ought to be reported, so that the village can distribute them among the people.

**Self sacrifice**

For consideration now is a story of the supreme sacrifice in which a man voluntarily offers his own life in order to save that of another person. At the beginning of this chapter, Dillistone was quoted as saying:

\[\text{In fact the sacrificial drama must be regarded as one of the oldest and the most significant of all patterns of symbolic human activity.}\]48

Some Samoan stories describe acts of cannibalism which took place in mythical time or the distant past.49 Closer to home is the account of the ending of the

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48Dillistone, *Christianity and Symbolism*, p. 221.
49In some instances this practice was indulged in by bad people such as the cannibal queen in the story of Lupe and Sina (See Chapter 6: Religious Symbolism), or Tagaloa of the village of Safune whose expulsion led to the establishment of the title Taule'ale'a'ausumai (see Chapter 9 on Samoan Names). That Fijians were cannibals is a well established fact, but stories also tell of the Samoans' release from the bondage of former Toagan invaders whose rulers indulged in such eating
cannibalistic practices of King Malietoa Faiga. The significance of including this story is twofold. Firstly, it is a sacrificial drama which prefigures the supreme sacrifice of Jesus for the salvation of humankind. In a similar fashion, the son of King Malietoa Faiga is prepared to give his life in order to save the lives of other people. Secondly, by describing a little of the discussion which can develop between a storyteller, a small audience and the researcher, the reader is able to glimpse something of the process a researcher is privileged to be part of when listening to the recounting of personal stories. The following version was related to me by a senior matai during a family visit to Dunedin in 1989:

In those days Malietoa Faiga used to eat people. He was a cannibal; and being a king, every day, one human being was served as the main dish of the day. A roster system existed for people to be delivered, cooked and served to the king.

Poluleuligaga, one of the sons of Malietoa Faiga, was sent to live on the boundary of the districts of Aana and Tuamasaga. One morning Poluleuligaga met a couple who were bringing their son from Savai'i. They were crying and dreading the thought of sending their son for Malietoa's meal. So Poluleuligaga asked the couple why they were so full of remorse and the parents said, "We are taking our son to be used for Malietoa's breakfast". They said, "Tafaata fasia" ("To be killed at Dawn").

We spent some time discussing these words which orators use. Tafaata refers to the beautiful scene at the time of dawn. However, my Samoan friends felt that the English word 'dawn' did not convey the right meaning of that beautiful time in the morning when the sky glows. They wanted a word which conveyed the sense of the coming of the sun's rays. I mentioned the way Homer in The Odyssey refers to Dawn:

But when the young Dawn showed again with her rosy fingers.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{50}Richard Lattimore, The Odyssey of Homer, (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), Book IX, lines 152, 307, 437 and so forth.
They liked that and from then on when talking about dawn they used Homer's phrase. (But I must state quite clearly that I do not wish to imply that there are any direct links between Homeric verses and Polynesian myths. Any parallels which can be drawn are only similarities, not identicals.)

So the couple at the time of the rosy finger of Dawn had wailed out the words "Tafaata fasia". "We are seeing what is there before us".

Then they explained that the word tafaata is usually used in a positive way to refer to a beautiful scene, but in this instance, it is used in a negative way. The parents are saying, "We are seeing Doxm, the rosy finger of Doom". As fasia means to be beaten, done away with - here it conveys the meaning of "We are seeing the rays of Doom, and Death".

Another person told me that tafaata fasia literally means struck (killed) at Dawn and that most sacrifices were set to take place at that time ('taeao-tafa o ata'). To continue:

Poluleuligaga said, "Don't worry. Do exactly as I say. Go and cut the coconut palm leaf." Poluleuligaga instructed the parents to place him in the coconut palm leaf intended for their son. So it was that he was woven into the coconut leaf like a big fish.

Poluleuligaga then told the parents. "When you go, after you have woven me into the coconut leaves, take me to where Malietoa's throne is, where it sits in the front of the house". Malietoa's throne was a high chair on legs with a space underneath it. The usual way of presenting food was to place it on the ground in front of Malietoa.

By this time Poluleuligaga had instructed the parents to place him under the throne with his head presenting first. This way Malietoa bent forward and started to untie the weaving. The first thing he uncovered was his son's face. From then on Malietoa made the vow of stopping the practice of eating people all together.

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51 Big fish are prepared for cooking by weaving them around with a coconut leaf.
This story provides a very positive model of self-sacrifice. Poluleuligaga's willingness to die for another, not only saved their lives but changed Malietoa Faiga's culinary preferences and thus benefited the whole community. Then again, Poluleuligaga symbolizes the unselfish person making sacrifices for their church and community. Like so many other Samoan tales, this story also involves a whole history; and by the simple mention of an expression or name (personal or geographic) the history is kept alive. Furthermore it would be incomplete if it did not include an explanation of the naming of particular places. My storyteller concluded:

When the couple cut down the coconut palm, a particular area of Sale'i'moa was named Fatitu after the incident. *Fati* ('tear it out, tear down'); *tu* ('stand'). As they had no knife they used their hands to tear out the coconut palm leaf. It is a difficult thing to do. They had to stand and tear it out.

Another part of Sale'i'moa is called Tofuola. The couple were bathing in a little pool and as they dived into the water and came up they uttered these words. "Tofuola". ("Thank God we are alive"). *Tofu* ('to dive') *ola* ('life, alive'). And so the place was named.52

And then the couple went on their way to Savai'i feeling very happy.

**Taulaga: gifts and offerings**

Connected with the idea of sacrifice is the Samoan word *taulaga*, which indicates any gift or offering given to a holy cause. This includes such gifts as donations to help the needy overseas and anything given to the church. Any money earmarked for the church and certain traditional collections are referred to as *taulaga*. Tithing is also a form of *taulaga*. Some *taulaga* are collected for the running of the local church while at other times special funds are needed for activities such as the *fonotele* ('annual conference').

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52Both these examples keep the history alive. It comes alive simply by the mention of a name.
Another form of sacrifice is symbolized in the personal offering of men and women to God. Quite often, out of a deep love for God, a commitment is made by parents when the person concerned is still a small child. If a family offers their son for training in the ministry, that is the taulaga from that family to God. Families also refer to their folk going overseas on missions as taulaga - the family sacrifice.

One Seventh-day Adventist pastor told me of how on every Friday since he was born, his parents have fasted until the evening meal. This is part of their sacred duty of dedicating their son to the work of Christ. However, he did not know of this taulaga until after he had experienced some very delinquent years and a teenage marriage. Then, when he told them of his calling and decision to become a pastor, both parents burst into sobbing; tears and prayers of gratitude, for finally their faith had been rewarded with God's blessing. Similarly, they had dedicated their first daughter to serve the Lord. She is now in a teaching mission. Further evidence of the devotion of this family is seen in the children's names. The father and uncle decided that the first son to be born to either of them would be named after the apostle Paul. Subsequent boys would be named after men Paul met on his missionary journeys, while girls would be named after women associated with Abraham. Family names include: Paul, Silas, Barnabas, James, Rebekah, Rachel and Leah.

In another instance, the woman concerned could be regarded as a taulaga by her family because of her auspicious entry into the world. Not only was she born six weeks prematurely, but she was also a breach birth. Her hurried arrival, feet first, was interpreted by her parents as, "she is going places in the world". Because of this, the family has always believed that there is a special purpose in life for her, and in 1991, she was ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.
Unquestioned obedience

At this point, it is useful to recall a few of the elements which reinforce the Samoan concept of hierarchy. Status, prestige and power are interrelated attributes and it is an accepted feature of fa'a-Samoan, that taulaga ('rank'), should always be observed and maintained through the principles of usita'i ('obedience') and fa'aaloalo ('respect'). By using amio tatau ('correct behaviour'), a Samoan demonstrates his or her ability in how to act or choose the correct vocabulary which could be used appropriately in any situation.

Another tenet of fa'a-Samoan prescribes that people of status must be respected. There is a respect for elders by those younger. This expected behaviour in the community filters down through the echelons of siblings whereby the elder child is expected to be respected by the younger ones. Within the immediate family unit, the status of older siblings is not so important as respectful behaviour towards them. Nevertheless, Samoans want to see a mirror image of the outside community within their own family. In other words, the microcosm of the family reflects that family's image in the community at large which is the macrocosm. Children and teenagers are thus trained from an early age in unquestioned obedience as well as other associated areas of social enculturation such as responsibility toward the family, service to the community and personal sacrifice.

In the forming of character, there is also a gradation of community practices which reinforce the concept of obedience. One way is fa'amata'u, which means to frighten. By teaching the fear of something or a person, people come to accept reverence for the object of fear. In this way, Samoans respect the dignity of their dead relatives, a powerful leader or chief - and even God. For instance, the traditional gods were those of which people should be afraid. Sometimes, they sent punishments in the form of hurricanes and volcanoes to devastate the land. So too was Jehovah of the Old Testament - a god to be feared. Many Samoan children still learn to conform through the pain of physical punishments. The following is an
example of the type of story Samoans tell of the fear they felt for some village chief or person of status:

I saw my cousin being walloped by our village chief in Savai’i. He broke the paddle on the poor fellow’s hand as he raised his hand to protect his head. He brought the paddle down and he smashed the paddle. Fortunately my cousin was a muscular fellow and he had enough flesh there but he [the chief] could have broken the boy’s hand. The boy had the hand in a sling for a while. Oh how we feared and hated the old chief. But he also had our respect and we didn’t raid his fishing nets any more.

*Fa'amata'u* can thus be seen as being closely associated with obedience through the fear of the rod on one’s back or some other personal or community calamity.

The second form of social conditioning is called *āmio taupulea* (‘controlled behaviour’). Here the young person is encouraged to exercise self-control and good behaviour at all times. In both cases, the child does not enter into a discussion but must remain silent with respectfully lowered eyes, be unquestioningly obedient and listen with care.

At times, the two forms of social conditioning may be blended together as I have witnessed on a number of occasions in Sunday morning church services. During the prayers, which often last up to twenty minutes, all heads should be bowed. (In Samoan Methodist churches the congregation also endures the discomfort of kneeling on the floor.) Naturally, the children are not supposed to talk. During this time, an elderly gentleman will silently move around the aisles with a long stick. Any whispering culprits receive a sharp whack on their heads, the intention being to make the children conform to the *āmio taupulea*. In this instance, physical punishment is used as a form of social control.
The final category of behaviour is āmio ta'uleleia. This is praiseworthy behaviour; the perfect behaviour of ladies, gentlemen and righteous people. It is the aim of all parents to have their children trained in the perfect behaviour (āmio ta'uleleia) of good Samoan etiquette. But when the children step out of line, parents tend to resort to oral and physical punishments. So, it is accepted that the element of fear is used to punish as well as chastise people in order to achieve the desired social goal.

Samoans demand respect from their children, and it is through obedient behaviour that the showing of respect is reinforced. But underlying this demand for respect and obedience is the question of responsibility. Who is holding the responsibility at any given time?

As soon as the parents leave the home, the eldest child present takes over the responsibility of child-minding and the supervision of household tasks. Samoans believe that people should take responsibility as soon as possible. One older person recalled:

When my eldest sister told me to go and fetch some water, I had to go whether I hated it or not. But then if I fell down and got a cut - it was her responsibility and because of that I never ran away for fear of getting her into trouble. For instance, you know how mothers have to dash off to do the shopping or perhaps go to choir practice and someone has to mind the kids. I would want to say: "Mum's gone now and I am going down the road to play". But my sister would say: "No, no, you stay here, I'm the boss now". And because we believed in that system I immediately had to obey and stay at home.

Yes it's good. Because that is how you learn. You learn then and there to look after other people.

People who do not understand Samoan culture are sometimes baffled, but Samoans regard this training as a very positive thing. The unspoken, unquestioned acts of obedience and serving others, teaches the taking of responsibility for other
people. This includes family members giving up their beds with the expected or unexpected arrivals of relatives and friends. Likewise sleeping children or teenagers may be roused from sleep to prepare and serve food for the guests. The same person explained:

We are brought up in that unspoken thing. You take your responsibility and without question. I've done that all my life. When my brother was sick and came and sought me out and lived here for treatment - he stayed a whole year with us.\textsuperscript{53}

I don't know how long this custom will last but it is still alive here in New Zealand. But our children will perpetuate it and their children also. The youngest in our family serves everybody. And look he is now a more mature person. He is more confident because he has done all these things. So what if it was an irritation at the time.

But the learning of obedience and serving others is also a reciprocal behaviour based on self-discipline and personal sacrifice. For when Samoans are on a journey, whether planned or sudden as in the case of a response to a death, the former hosts will then become the guests and experience the reverse treatment. This is a key way in which Samoan family ties, hierarchies and relationships are reinforced and shows why the family structures continue to be so strong.

\textbf{Widow's mites and street corners}

While it is correct to say that Samoans see the Church as a means of service towards the goal of life everlasting, they are also well aware that God's promise is free to those who have faith in Christ's sacrifice. However, for an outsider observing the activities of Samoan church life, it could appear that they are attempting to buy their salvation.\textsuperscript{54} But for Samoans, the use of the word "buy" immediately raises thoughts of the evils of the \textit{papālagi} way of life. Rather,

\textsuperscript{53}It goes without saying that terminally ill persons would usually be accompanied by their spouse and other family members whenever possible.
\textsuperscript{54}In particular the Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches.
they think of the word "give", for Samoan culture is always a culture of giving and receiving at the same time - with the emphasis on giving.

In many Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist churches the weekly offerings of each family are read out publicly during the Sunday service. Similarly, should anyone give a donation towards any project or the opening of a church, that person's name will be mentioned. The pro-active nature of fa'a-Samoa requires that things are demonstrated openly. A gift which is publicly given is publicly received. Fa'a-Samoa is a publicly active culture and requires an audience at all times. This is why every gift is publicly acknowledged.

However, here is a paradox which I have termed "widow's mites and street corners"; for this is one occasion when Samoan culture appears to militate against Christian teachings such as these sayings of Jesus:

"Make certain you do not perform your religious duties in public so that people will see what you do. If you do these things publicly, you will not have any reward from your Father in heaven."\(^{55}\)

"When you pray, do not be like the hypocrites! They love to stand up and pray in the houses of worship and on the street corners, so that everyone will see them."\(^{56}\)

In this instance, it can be seen that in the name of giving to the Church of God, fa'a-Samoa tends to take over and obliterate these particular Christian teachings. At the same time many Samoans must identify with the poor widow who was given a special mention by Jesus:

Jesus looked around and saw rich men dropping their gifts in the temple treasury, and he also saw a very poor widow dropping in two little copper coins. He said, "I tell you that this poor widow put in more than all the others. For the others offered their gifts from what they had to

\(^{55}\text{Matthew 6:1.}\)

\(^{56}\text{Matthew 6:5.}\)
spare of their riches; but she, poor as she is, gave all she had to live on."\(^{57}\)

In many congregations, and in spite of personal financial difficulties, the desire to give is very strong. When discussing this topic with the session clerk of one large PIPC church, he said that even though the church could organize projects and investments which would raise money, the people seemed to be influenced by their view of European churches. When they see *papālagi* having a lot of money but no people in their churches they are afraid for they associate empty and closing churches with having too much money. When people become affluent, they forget about God. The people say:

> You must not take away our freedom to give, to put our hands into our back pockets for the money. Please don't take away our right to give.

To some people, it would appear that Samoans have become slaves to their churches - slaves to give, give, give. But most Samoans associate the giving of money and the necessary sacrifices which it demands as all part of successful communal and religious activities.

**Some methods of fundraising**

As Part One draws to its conclusion, this is an appropriate point to include some methods currently in use in New Zealand for the raising of funds.

From the time of the European missionaries, a traditional method of church fundraising which is still much favoured is the *tusigāigoa* (*tusi* 'to write' and *igoa* 'name'). The addition of *gā* at the end of a verb changes it to a noun - therefore *tusigāigoa* means 'the writing of names'. The origin of this practice is based on the story in Luke 2:1-7 when Joseph and Mary travelled to Bethlehem to be registered, in Joseph's home town.\(^{58}\) It was during this time that Jesus was


\(^{58}\)The main reasons for the Roman census was to ascertain the population, for taxation purposes and the conscription of men for military service.
born. So it was that Samoans took over the idea when fundraising for a church project in the village and called it *tusigāigoa*, the writing of names.

Today, in the islands and in New Zealand, to have a *tusigāigoa* means to call people to come and to register their support. The project may be advertised by means of radio, newspapers, written invitation and word of mouth. People are even sent out to tell friends and relatives everywhere that there is a *tusigāigoa*. They are invited to come to the village and write down their names, and the amount of money they are gifting to the church. This includes those who are descended from the village, those villagers who have gone away, married and raised families in other villages or overseas as well as their friends and the *gafa* ('relatives by marriage'). One person elaborated:

Everybody is supposed to come and give their support and write down their name. We appeal to the loyalty of people, to their families and to their friends. For instance people come from everywhere to register their support for their family. Now if we have a *tusigāigoa* in Auckland, I will then say to my family - "let's see who comes". That means that they really value our links. And, "let's see who is not going to come". Whenever there is a *tusigāigoa* in Auckland, we always go and support our relatives.

Although the *tusigāigoa* started off with religious connotations, in Samoa it has now been extended to village projects such as school and official government fundraising. Because of its biblical connection, there was the general reservation that it should not be used to raise funds for secular projects.

Generally, when a person or a group gives a gift of money it is given simply as a donation and not as part of a competition. But, more recently, fundraisers have been somewhat motivated by the need to use business techniques. This has resulted in the use of "special incentives" in the form of *'ie tōga* or other goods or consumables as competition prizes for large donations. These include fundraising
for such projects as the restoration of a church building after the cyclones, or on the occasion of the opening of a new church in New Zealand.

Samoans have proved to be ingenious fundraisers, and among their inventions is the tausala. In its traditional form, a tausala\(^{59}\) means simply a beautiful young maiden who performs a dance, or a group of women performing a dance. But they have to be pretty. It has nothing to do with fund-raising and is not a competition. The tausala usually dances at the time before, or during a taualuga, the last dance or finale of a special occasion such as a fiafia ('entertainment'). The taualuga is usually performed by a tāupōu, who is the daughter of the highest chief in the village. The tāupōu may not be beautiful. She may be big, middle-aged and unfortunate-looking, but she has status. By contrast, a tausala need not be a woman of high status, but she is loved for her beauty and dancing ability.

The tausala as a form of fundraising appears to have developed in the last five to ten years.\(^{60}\) Being free of religious connotations, it was probably first used for secular appeals. Then the church people, always seeking new and stimulating ways to raise money, also realized that they could use the tausala. Today it is used by churches in New Zealand and Samoa. The fundraising tausala is a competition to see which family or group can raise the most money. The girl who leads the dance is supported on the floor by family members, but no longer is her appearance of primary importance. Rather, the most important thing is the amount of money her dance raises.

The third form of tausala is a modern adaptation of the original activity and combines the traditional beauty and skill in dancing of the maiden with the element

\(^{59}\)There are other interpretations, however, for example G. B. Milner, *Samoan Dictionary*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 256.

\(^{60}\)One women commented that "one feels guilty if one does not donate, especially to assist members of one's extended family or village".
of competition as witnessed in the Miss Samoa Contest. One judge informed me that the qualities they are looking for are:

Beauty, mainly beauty, intelligence, personality, appearance, appropriate dress and articulation in both English and Samoan. Those are the qualities.

He also predicted:

In the next few years we are going to get another name too for fundraising. We will soon get sick of *tausala* and someone will invent another thing.

A third form of fundraising which appears to be popular in Auckland is based on the weekly Lotto draw. This requires a group of forty people to each pick a different number from one to forty. Each Saturday those playing the game watch TV Two to see which number is drawn as the bonus number. The person holding the same number as the bonus number is the winner.

Each week everyone contributes to the kitty an amount of money, such as $10. A certain amount is decided upon as the weekly prize - for example $100. This is funded by $2.50 being subtracted from each person's weekly payment. Playing Lotto as a means of fundraising may be conducted every week or over an agreed numbers of weeks, for example five weeks.

Raising money this way is seen as a means of saving for the individual or the group. Suppose a certain organization, a church group or a family are planning a *malaga* to Samoa at Christmas time. The collected money will be invested until it is needed. Later, at the time of travelling each person receives back his or her own contribution, minus the money subtracted for prizes. A few lucky individuals will also have the added bonus of their $100 Lotto prize, and if the money has been safely invested, all will have an extra few dollars from the interest.
Finally, some churches have found that conducting weekly Housie in their church hall is a good money maker. In these cases, a reasonable proportion of the money is often made from the European section of the community and thus the financial drain on the Samoan families of the church is reduced.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the key topics in Part One of this dissertation are the Samoan churches, religious experience, hierarchy, and sacrifice. By examining the different aspects and categories which can be identified in them, it is possible to gain an insight into the beliefs and practices of Samoans living in New Zealand, and by extension, the nature of Samoan religious experience can begin to be appreciated.

In this chapter, the structures of oblationary and festal sacrifice are analysed and linked to the sacred mythical origins of 'ava, sugar cane and the annual arrival of certain fish. Through these stories it is possible to gain an understanding of some of the powerful forces behind Samoan ritual behaviour as the sacred ties between myth and ritual continue to be observed or remembered. The observation of taboos connected with important community activities reinforces both the sacred origins of such behaviour and the value of the training in unquestioned obedience. In other words, the Samoan belief in the correctness of firm discipline is very strong because it is closely tied to mythic origins and ritual taboos.

Thus the myths provide Samoans with traditional role models for the exemplification of ideal behaviour through the suppression of one's personal desires for the good of the society. As the son of Malietoa Faiga was prepared to give his life that another might live, and as Christ suffered the supreme sacrifice for the salvation of humankind, so too are the Samoans taught to make personal sacrifices for the benefit of their families and church communities. Through this understanding of Samoan religious experience the foundations have now been set for Part Two with its focus on Samoan religious symbols.
PART TWO

SAMOAN SYMBOLISM

CHAPTER SIX

RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

It has already been stated that the aim of this dissertation is to seek an understanding of Samoan religious experience. After introducing the different Samoan churches in New Zealand, Part One builds a picture of the various elements of Samoan religious experience, hierarchy and sacrifice. As the communal aspects of the culture are highly valued, several myths are explored which provide models for the training and discipling of Samoans. By learning to sacrifice personal needs for the cultural goals and aspirations of their families and church communities, the hierarchy is reinforced. A point of transition is now reached as this study moves from the realm of values to the universe of symbols. In Part Two, this search will continue by identifying, examining and interpreting some of the sacred symbols of Samoan-style Christianity and fa'a-Samoa. Of special concern is religious symbolism and the interplay between the faith and traditions of Christianity and fa'a-Samoa.

Certain categories of Samoan symbolism - the themes of Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 10 (religious symbols, 'ie tōga ['fine mats'], time and church buildings), were deliberately chosen for study because they deal with basic key areas connected with the spiritual life experience of humans. Powerful clusters of symbols hold the culture together when activities of fa'a-Samoa are joined through great symbolic themes. These include such things as the way hierarchy is linked with the transcendent vision of religious symbols, the allegorical connections which can be made between the 'ava ('kava') ceremony and the Christian Eucharist, the weaving
symbolism of the 'ie tōga as they continually thread the communities together, sacred time, and the sacred space of Samoan church buildings.

Because in one's own culture these are part of the inescapable everyday experiences of a person, the individual is usually not aware that any special symbolic significance can be attached to them. As an outsider, I sought out these categories, and while my interpretations may or may not be of any importance to Samoans, they will, nevertheless, contribute to the pool of knowledge on symbolism. The topic of Chapter 9, The Religious Significance of Samoan Names, was not an area I had considered for research, until the symbolic nature of Samoan names imposed itself on me. A similar experience happened with Chapter 5 in Part One, for as this study progressed, I found it impossible to ignore the symbolic link between the sacrificial elements in Samoan myths and some of the most valued components of Samoan behaviour.

The present chapter sets the scene for Part Two of this dissertation. After a short survey of the development of thought on symbolism over the last two hundred and fifty years, the main types of symbols are introduced together with their characteristics, functions, and some of the various modes by which the "symbolic universe" of humans may be understood. A study is then made of the observable visual symbols, both communal and individual, and the iconographic approach for interpreting them, and concludes with a few examples of the use of nature symbols by contemporary Samoan artists.

The development of thought on symbolism

The modern lines of thought concerning the nature of symbolism appear to originate in the late eighteenth century vision of the Romantic movement. This reacted to the excesses of the abstract rationalism of the Enlightenment by pressing for a recognition of the symbolic "phenomena of nature and history as revelations
of a divine communication". Human imagination, language, poetry, analogy and so forth were defended as symbolic means by which to know a higher reality, while dreams were recognised as symbolic expressions of the inner self. The major concern of the Romantics was to interpret specific symbols and formulate a general theory about the symbolization processes. The nineteenth century saw a development of symbolic scholarship through a comparative approach to the myths of the non-literate ancient world and the classical mythology of the former great civilizations of the Mediterranean and the East.

Late in the nineteenth century, the chief concern of the short-lived Symbolist movement was to create poetic symbols of ideal Beauty. Working outside a Christian framework, the Symbolists chose to express their beliefs in the symbolic imagery of mystical, esoteric, aesthetic literature. Yet in spite of their deliberate withdrawal from the public political spheres they provided a cross-fertilization among the developing schools of anthropological, classical and religious thought. Also in seeking the evocative, psychological power of the symbolic process they anticipated the twentieth century formulations of Freud and Jung.

Contemporary with the Symbolists and the decline in influence of the Romantic movement was a growing interest in primitive societies and a more empirical approach to the study of symbols. The first of the modern cultural anthropologists, Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) focused on the evolutionary development of the mind and animism as the source of the symbolic process, while the work of James G. Frazer (1854-1941) grew out of his study of nature symbolism. The major influence at the beginning of the twentieth century was Émile Durkheim (1858-1917). Rather than studying the "inner reality" of symbols he turned his interest to the effect of symbols on society. He proposed that

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[in] society as a system of forces conditioned by the symbolizing process: symbols were social because they preserved and expressed social sentiments.²

It has come to be recognised that together with the need for classifying and interpreting symbolic forms, symbolic thought and behaviour are unique in themselves and that the process of symbolization is essential to the formation, function and transmission of culture. This recognition of the complexity of symbols is reflected in the diversity of opinions which embraced the studies of the psychological, philosophical, linguistic and religious disciplines.

As well as his studies on ritual, metaphors and the psychological "safety valve" function of symbols in the ordering of social life, Victor Turner³ (1920-1983) also identified three forms of meanings which depend upon the context of a particular interpreter. In order to illustrate Turner's terms - exegetical meaning, operational meaning and positional meaning⁴ - I now refer to a personal experience from 1989 when I spent some time with a Samoan family in Auckland.

On a number of occasions after the evening meal, the elderly father and tulafale ('orator') of the family would call for me to join him at the dining table where he would proceed to tell me Samoan stories.⁵ Usually he told me the stories from memory but occasionally he consulted written material during the daytime and on one occasion he dictated a story to me. Over the weeks I came to appreciate his genius as he entwined into the stories of his family and village some of the places I had visited in Samoa. Sometimes a fantastic incident from the time of myth or legend was emphasized with the words "it is true, it is true", or a myth would be

²Heisig, "Symbolism", p. 201.
⁵Time was also spent discussing important Samoan expressions and he liked to hear me read back my notes in order to learn English phrases.
moved forward into the time of European settlement. Often the evening storytelling would conclude after midnight and with a sigh of satisfaction he would comment "I enjoyed that".

When Turner's classification is applied to this example, the exegetical meaning is, the actual meaning that the traditional stories had for the story teller. For, in keeping with the oral tradition of past times, the Old Man⁶ was continuing the process of myth-making. By weaving the significant events of past myths and folklore into the present in order to consolidate or justify current beliefs, the past and present became coincidental and continuous.

The mode of their presentation contains the operational meaning, for, in those evening sessions the *tulāfale* was, in an adapted form, re-creating for me the experience of listening to *fāgogo* as described by Richard Moyle:

There exists in Samoan folklore a type of story called *fāgogo*, told mostly at night, privately, inside individual homes.⁷

The third type of meaning is of the positional kind. This is the meaning deduced by the researcher after the story has been interpreted within the wider context of symbolic knowledge.

Through the theory of structuralism, Claude Lévi-Strauss⁸ sought to understand symbols as phenomena connected to human mental structures and as being something more basic than their meanings or functions. More recently Dan Sperber has argued that symbols have no meaning at all nor are they induced from

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⁶"The Old Man" is a commonly used term of respect and endearment for the senior male in the household.
experience. Symbols are simply an autonomous cognitive mechanism that makes experience possible.9

Developing out of the innovation by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) of the analysis of the dream symbols of his patients, twentieth-century practitioners of Jungian depth psychology drew attention to the dynamic involvement of both the human conscious and unconscious in the formation of myths and symbols. For Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) symbols were not merely "private symptoms of unresolved repressions but expressions of the psyche's struggle for realization and individuation".10 The explorations of the analysts have continued to stimulate and influence the mythologists, scholars of esoteric mystical traditions, and art and literary critics.

Since the time of the Romantics, philosophy and religious studies too have had a continuing interest in the problem of symbols.11 Many of the prominent names of the twentieth century built on the work of the philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945).12 For him the interpretation of symbolic forms played the central role in his understanding of reality. Cassirer's attempt to formulate a theory of the human mind was based on symbolic function.

It is symbolic thought which overcomes the natural inertia of man and endows him with a new ability, the ability constantly to reshape his human universe.13

Susanne Langer14 developed this theme through aesthetic theory while Paul

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Ricoeur used a hermeneutical approach to recover meaning from the symbol-making function of speech and language. For Protestant systematic theologian Paul Tillich (1886-1965) religious symbols were central to his doctrine of God. He frequently explored the significance of their functions and the indispensable role they play in religious language.

... [in] the use of religious symbols the important point is that we see in and through them the living process whereby we bring together, and go beyond, what in abstract thought we treat as polar opposites, for example, life and death or faith and doubt. In this respect, dialectical thinking is not simply "phenomenological." that is, restricted to an orderly description of phenomena.

Traditionally classification and description have been the primary concerns of phenomenology of religion. Unlike Ricoeur who excluded visual symbols from his analysis, phenomenology of religion embraces all forms of symbolism. But today, like Ricoeur, modern religious studies also affirms that symbols and interpretation are inseparably bound:

... the supreme duty of the interpreter is to go beyond the literal in order to elucidate hidden meanings, secondary meanings, enriched meanings - meanings which are properly called symbolic. It is through the discovery of symbolic meaning that the self is opened out towards a new level or dimension of existence.

The last name to be introduced in this section is that of the historian of religion, Mircea Eliade. From his very wide-ranging, all-embracing studies of religion he

... gradually constructed a comparative view of the phenomenon of

symbolism that at once incorporates the deliverances of other disciplines and informs them with fresh insight.19

Of special significance to Eliade was the way symbols represent "hierophanies", that is, manifestations of the sacred. The sacred can be revealed through natural phenomena, at special times and places, and by consecrated persons. Eliade claimed that the human awareness of the sacred is demonstrated in such things as the patterns of formalized rituals accompanied by songs and myths. By thus stimulating humans to respond to the sacred, the symbol participates in the sacredness of the source of life and ultimate reality.20

The characteristics and functions of symbols

As already stated in The Introduction (Chapter 1), symbols appear to have a threefold pattern of relationship. Two different entities are connected by a symbol. A thing which is usually something concrete and specific stands for something else which is more abstract and generalized. It is the function of the symbol to bring together the two. Symbolic theory generally accepts that humans have a universal capacity to create symbols and that symbols are the basis of all social communication.

It is usual to start any description of symbols by distinguishing them from signs. Signs are unambiguous, definitive, conventional tokens which have a one-to-one correspondence with a particular object or event. For example the letters F.T. after the name of a Samoan minister stand for the words Faife'au Toea'ina. This indicates that the person concerned has been appointed as an elder minister.

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19Heisig, "Symbolism", p. 204.
with special responsibilities in the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, or since 1991, the Pacific Islands Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (PIPC).

By contrast symbols are thought to express the power of what is symbolized. Thus the *faife'au*, ('minister') as the mouthpiece for the word of God, is a focal or major symbol of each Samoan church. He, and sometimes his wife, usually heads most of the very important church committees. In New Zealand the *faife'au* also does many of the traditional tasks (negotiations, decision-making, advising) of the village *matai*. The *faife'au* is always at the head of his church community with the *Faife'au Toea'ina* ranking highest in the church hierarchy.

Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1901-1972) divides symbols into the two categories of discursive and non-discursive symbols (Wach's endeicctic form of religious expression).21 He defines discursive symbolism as the means whereby information is communicated. These include flag signals, everyday vernacular languages and the highly technical artificial languages of mathematics and science. Discursive symbols convey facts whereas non-discursive symbols convey human values. These are the values which are felt by our emotions, are the motivations for our actions and "transcend the biological values of maintenance of the individual and survival of the species".22 Non-discursive symbols include:

... everything that can be communicated symbolically but cannot be expressed in discursive, yes-or-no type answers ... symbols referring to the individual (status symbols, for example); symbols referring to a social group such as a company, army, or nation (insignia in the broad sense); economic symbols such as money; and many others. Symbols such as banners, anthems, democracy, communism and whatnot cannot be verified by discursive or scientific thinking. They are expression and communication of personal762(133,120),(775,216) and social experience, culturally determined in space and time.23

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Non-discursive symbols are also the symbols of art, poetry, music, morals, religions, and so forth. They are the symbols by which one's existential experiences can be culturally communicated.

Symbols have a number of other features. They have a cognitive function which opens up different levels of understanding, consciousness and knowledge that would otherwise be closed. Symbols give rise to thought and a framework to thinking. Symbols can both reveal and conceal as they directly or indirectly convey messages.

Symbols are multi-valent with an ability to display many values. Natural symbols such as water or the human body are particularly potent for they have many aspects which make them suggestive of many things. Different values are attributed to things on different levels, thus giving a continual range of meanings which includes a certain ambivalence which is associated with the characteristics of multi-valence. Eliade says:

They open out on to a plurality of possible meanings and still have a surplus of meaning left over.24

Because of their multi-valence symbols have the power to integrate both human and cosmic experiences, and are a source of great richness. Again to quote Eliade:

Every symbol tends to identify with itself as many things, situations and modes of existence as it can.25

Symbols are evocative because of their mysterious ambiguity. They have the power to arouse within humans some response or action, and emotions both private and public. Symbols contain such contrasts as good and evil, light and darkness, or life and death. They can communicate through literal meanings the opaqueness

of the non-literal. They may evoke a sense of the numinous, that is, an awareness of the sacred or a divine presence. Symbols evoke models of and provoke models for something else. In as much as symbols both hide and reveal, they may also point to something which is more transcendent.

The main types of symbolism

Symbols embrace three different modes of expression - visual symbols, symbols of action and linguistic symbols. Visual symbols of Samoans include abstract and simplified forms of nature are seen in the diagrammatic patterns of tattoos and the ornamental designs of tapa cloth. There is a dominant use of the colours white, black and red for church clothing. In New Zealand, many wall hangings and clocks portray pictorial representations of the life of Jesus while the visual symbols relating to traditional spatial orientations are found in the layout and design of Samoan houses and churches.

The symbolic actions of Samoans include a host of gestures and body movements which define the different components of ceremonial and religious rituals. These range from the formalized movements of a kava ceremony, the display and presentation of fine mats, the hand movements of dance, sitting with lowered eyes as a posture of respect, and the hierarchical order in which people are served food.

Linguistic symbolism is found in myths, names of people, places, flora and fauna, and even events, as well as metaphors, allegories, music, chants and other sounds. It is common for different modes of symbolic expression to be found in various combinations.

Many Samoan place-names recall significant events. For example, the village inland from Apia and famous for the homestead of Robert Louis Stevenson is called Vailima, which means 'catching water with the hands' from the words vai ('water') and lima ('hand'). Legend tells how, when So'oalo became dehydrated

and was dying of thirst, Sina, his wife, found a small waterfall. Forming her two hands into a bowl she carried the water to her husband to drink. When recovered, he named the spot Vaillima in honour of the way Sina carried the water and saved his life.

Samoans look upon the bending of a coconut tree towards the sea as a symbol of a cause to be manifested in the near future. People use the expression “E lé falala fua le niu” meaning “the coconut tree does not bend without a reason”. The tulafale, also refer to this phenomenon as symbolic of the cause of something which has happened in the community - such as the killing of somebody, the arrival of a large body of people to honour the saofa’i of a well known chief, or the opening of a new church or school building. In plain words, things happen because there is a cause or a good reason for them.

Another way of categorizing symbols is by viewing them in accordance with their derivation, subject and purpose. Nature symbols are based on observable biological and natural phenomena such as plants, animals, water, colours and the human body. How a Samoan’s persona is treated indicates to all in the community the individual’s status in the hierarchy. This is observable through such practices as the choice of clothes, the length of a person’s hair,27 the material from which a necklace is made, where a person sits in a room or at a table, and what food is presented for him or her to eat.28 Nature symbols appear to have a

27 Minsters’ wives are expected to have long hair tied back in a bun, wear no makeup, keep their arms covered to the elbows, while the upper garment of a puletasi should extend to below their knees.

28 Samoan attitudes toward food reflect a deep sense of a hierarchical social structure. The type of food or part of an animal (either cooked or raw) presented to a person reflects the recipient’s status. The ranking of food occurs according to such things as species, size, appearance, smell, locality of habitation, association with other high- or low-ranking creatures, a particular part of the body of an animal (some parts of the body are more prestigious than others) and methods of cooking. Pigs are the most prestigious animal, and the number of pigs presented at a feast indicates the importance of a ceremonial or church function. The head of a fish is always presented to a high chief while the tualá (mid-section) of a cooked pig is its equivalent. Legs are low in status.

There is also a hierarchical ranking of vegetables and meats according to the way in which
universal quality enabling the same features to be of significance to the people of different cultures. For example the combination of woman, snake, water and fruit is found not only in the Judaic Garden of Eden (Eve, snake and the fruit tree),\textsuperscript{29} in Celtic mythology (Mother Goddess, hazel groves and a salmon in a sacred pool)\textsuperscript{30} but also in Samoan mythology (Sina, Tuna the eel and the coconut palm).\textsuperscript{31}

Traditional, historical symbols are human-made and are inextricably related to the community concerned. Although often long-lasting, they are also susceptible to change, for they are not as deeply rooted as natural symbols. Nevertheless, they have a potent force.

Take for example the flag of a country about which one may know very little. It merely acts as a sign. But, for the citizens of the country concerned the flag's colours and patterns symbolize their nation and thereby afford it instant recognition. Yet to the foreigner, there is much to be explained. In comparison, the flag of a strong nation which is admired, or that of an enemy, evokes emotions ranging from respect, love, desire and longing, to fear or hatred.

Symbols of a third type are the consciously constructed technological ones based on invention and commerce. Although there is often a strong use of natural

\textsuperscript{29}Genesis 2-3.


\textsuperscript{31}The Legend of Sina and Her Eel", in \textit{Tala o le Vavau: The Myths, Legends and Customs of Old Samoa}, adapted from the Collections of C. Steubel and Bro. Herman, (Auckland: Polynesian Press, Revised 1987), pp. 106-108. For a contemporary version of the story, which also incorporates the Christian image of the love of Jesus in its conclusion, see Appendix One: \textit{Sina and the Eel} as told by Tofa Taule'ale'a'sumai Faa'i'u of Auckland in 1989.
symbols in traditional societies, the fact that these communities also participate in the modern technological world is evidenced by the adoption and borrowing of these symbols from today's global culture. Examples of this are found in the national emblem and flag of Western Samoa.

Although this dissertation focuses on Samoan religious symbolism in New Zealand, it is also appropriate and legitimate to feature symbols which originate in the islands. This is because most New Zealand Samoans have strong connections with their island families. Older members were born in the islands, and many hold titles and traditional rights to family land. Many migrant families desire that elderly parents join them in New Zealand, and the new arrivals continue to bring traditional Samoan culture with them. Moreover, people are well informed as to what is happening in the islands through the Samoan language news broadcasts, newspapers, Television One's Tagata Pasifika programme, Radio 531 PI, and other community radio networks in the larger cities of New Zealand.

Every year thousands of Samoans exchange visits with their New Zealand counterparts through church, school or family groups, for sporting contests or arts festivals, fundraising projects, celebration of marriages and to lay their dead to rest. In other words, the high rate of mobility for Samoans today in terms of travel between the homeland and New Zealand, and the regular updating of information through the media, have been instrumental in continuing a cultural osmosis within New Zealand's Samoan community.

The New Zealand churches of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa are administered from the islands by the Western Samoan Conference. A few exceptions are under the aegis of the American Samoan Conference. Nearly all the ministers are trained at Malua Theological College and annually they travel to Samoa for their conference - another way in which the members of their congregations are directly linked to their homeland. There are similar island
connections for the members of the Samoan Methodist Conference in New Zealand. Therefore, through all these activities, there is in New Zealand a constant reinforcement and use of island symbols.

The badge of the Trust Territory of Samoa, prior to self government, consisted of a circle depicting the natural symbols of three coconut palms growing on a sandy base (Fig. 1). On 26 May 1948 the Government of New Zealand granted the people of Samoa the freedom to fly their own flag. The flag had a red field with the proportions of two to one and a blue upper canton containing four white stars each having five points. These are the same four stars of the Southern Cross as depicted on the New Zealand flag. Then on 24 February 1949 a smaller white five-pointed star, the fifth star of the celestial constellation was added. When Samoa gained independence this flag was adopted as the national flag (Fig. 2).

At midnight on 31 December church bells throughout Samoa rang out to mark the birth of a nation which had declared, in the Preamble to its Constitution, that it was 'based on Christian principles and Samoan custom and tradition'. Next morning, [1 January 1962] at Mulinu'u, in the presence of representatives of New Zealand (including the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition), of the member states of the South Pacific Commission, of Germany and of neighbouring Pacific countries, the New Zealand flag was lowered for the last time and the Samoan flag raised to fly, in future, alone.

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32 There is a standard sequence by which flags are described. Firstly the shape is given followed by the proportions or dimensions. The vertical dimension is known as the breadth or hoist and the horizontal dimension is known as the length. Proportions are given as the ratio of the length to the breadth. The basic background colour, that is, the description of the field, is given next. The field is roughly divided into two parts, the hoist being the portion next to the staff while the remainder is called the fly. It is common for a rectangle containing a badge or emblem to appear in the top corner of the flag next to the hoist. This rectangle is known as a canton. E. M. C. Barraclough, (ed.), Flags of the World, (London: Frederick Warne and Co, Ltd, 1969), pp. 8-10.

33 Red and white were the colours of the precolonial flags of the Samoan kingdom. Flags of the World, (Wm. Collins and Sons & Co. Ltd, 1985), p. 154.

34 The Southern Cross consists of the stars Gamma Crucis at the top, Beta Crucis to the left, Delta Crucis to the right, Alpha Crucis at the base and the smaller appearing Epsilon Crucis between Delta Crucis and Alpha Crucis.

35 W. Davidson, Samoa Mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 410. See also Maurice Shadbolt,
As the major dictionaries on symbolism originate in the Northern Hemisphere their authors appear to be unaware of the very potent symbolism which can be attached to the Southern Cross. Traditionally stars have been interpreted as indicating the presence of a divinity or the god's messenger, supremacy, the eternal, the undying, the highest attainment and hope.

For Christians in particular, stars symbolize divine guidance and favour, the birth of Christ and the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven. In the southern skies five stars combine to form a unique and slightly skewed cross. Thus the Southern Cross is a constant reminder of the reality of God through the death, suffering and resurrection of Jesus, and of his promise of life eternal.

The national emblem of Western Samoa is an excellent example of the combined use of a number of different types of symbols (Fig. 3). These include natural, traditional, historical, political, technical, universal and religious symbols. The basic shape of the emblem is a shield (historical) surrounded by a circle (universal). The two thin red lines of this circle are flanked on the outer side by two green olive branches. These directly acknowledge Western Samoa's former status as a Trust Territory of the United Nations and the aspirations of global peace (political and historical). When the Samoan emblem is compared with the flag of the United Nations (Fig. 4) one is able to recognize the same global meridians (technical) which surround the map of the world and the olive branches (natural), the symbol of peace since ancient times (traditional, historical and religious).

The lower two thirds of the shield repeats the five white stars of the Southern Cross on the dark blue of the night sky as depicted in the flag. In the upper third stands one coconut palm (reminiscent of the badge of the Trust Territory of Samoa) before four green scalloped lines showing the peaking waves of the Pacific Ocean.


36Cooper, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols, p. 159.
Christianity as the official religion of Western Samoan is affirmed by the red lines radiating from the Christian cross (a human-made symbol growing out of the natural symbol of the universal Cosmic Tree) at the top of the emblem and the motto Fa’a‘avae i le Atua Samoa (‘Samoa is founded on God’) across the bottom. Also by placing the shield directly above the lines of the earth’s meridians, that is, directly above the North Pole of the United Nations flag, the Samoans are also stating that now, as in ancient times, their world and culture continues to be of central importance to them.

The annual Raising of the Flag is a significant holiday in both Western and American Samoa. Each year on 1 June the Western Samoan Independence celebrations include an early morning procession to Mulinu’u, the site of the parliament. There is a religious service, the "Raising of the Flag of Freedom', the Head of State's speech and a March Past. On such an occasion Samoans are reminded of the sacred trust they took upon themselves when proclaiming their independence and the good fortune God has bestowed in so many ways on their small but blessed land.37

The special symbolism of the flag and its stars is also confirmed in the words of the Samoan National Anthem: O le Fu'a o le Sa'olotoga o Samoa (‘The Banner of Freedom’).38

Samoa, arise and raise your banner that is your crown. 
Oh! see and behold the stars on the waving banner 
They are a sign that Samoa is able to lead,39 -
Well done, well done!

38 Words and music by Sauni I. Kuresa.
39 One Samoan school teacher recalled that when he returned to Samoa in 1963, the school children were singing the third line thus: This is the symbol of Jesus who died for Samoa, (‘O le fa‘ailoga lea o le su na malu mo Samoa’). In this example can be observed a shift in the interpretation of the symbolism of the stars on the flag.
Oh! Samoa hold fast  
Your freedom forever - Keep our heritage forever

Do not be afraid; ne'er again your crown shall be taken;  
Our treasured precious liberty. 
Samoa, arise and raise your banner that is your crown.⁴⁰

Samoans in New Zealand too, are mindful of their country's independence. In some Congregational churches the Samoan and New Zealand flags are displayed on either side of the cross at the front of the church (Fig. 5). Independence is often celebrated with church services followed by formal dances. The members of Fetu Lima or The Five Stars band took their name from the five stars on the flag of Western Samoa and the fact that the first time they played as a fully fledged band, (1 June 1975) was at such an occasion.⁴¹

A good example of a technological symbol based on invention and commerce is the red cogwheel to be found in an advertisement for the Development Bank of Western Samoa at the time of the 25th anniversary of Samoan independence (Fig. 7). When the advertisement is compared with the official anniversary logo (Fig. 6) a number of common design elements and symbols can be noted.

Both emblems are contained within a circle. The siapo border of the Independence logo has been replaced in the bank's image by the green leaves of agricultural growth on the left side of the circumference and the hard angular lines of the red cogwheel of industry on the right. The bank's identification with twenty-five years of independence is shown by the re-use of the official logo's tānoa 'ava ('kava bowl') and fūe ('fly-swish').⁴² In this way the bank is confirming that

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⁴⁰25th Independence Anniversary Special Commemorative Issue (Souvenir magazine) 1987, p. 1.  
⁴¹Personal communication with the band.  
⁴²Although fūe is usually translated as fly whisk, this term has difficult connotations for Samoans for one of the most undignified acts a person can make is to hit at and kill a fly on his or her body. Hence a fūe is regarded as having a symbolic rather than a functional role. By moving the fūe from shoulder to shoulder, the tuilafale uses it to ward of evil and to wipe clear the region in front of himself. Through this symbolic opening, the audience is able to perpetually keep in sight the aura and mana of the speaker.
they too operate with the honoured advice and authority of chiefs. Finally, the stars of the flag have been replaced by the morning sun rising above the horizon. In this instance the radiating sunbeams which are presented with the same angular lines of the cogwheel symbolize that there is a bright and fruitful future, obtainable through hard work and industry.

Religious symbols

In religion the importance of symbols cannot be overstated. Religious symbols are "that something" which links a person to the sacred, the transcendent, the ultimate spiritual goal in a person's life. They are the motivating force which gives meaning to not only this life but to eternity as well. To repeat what Peter Slater says about them:

... religious symbols are those phenomena, events, roles, and persons in everyday life which put us in mind of our transcendent ends or our ways of realizing these.43

For Clifford Geertz religious or sacred symbols

... function to synthesize a people's ethos - the tone, character and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood - and their world-view - the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order.44

In F. W. Dillistone's interpretation:

Religious symbols are those which synthesize and integrate 'the world as lived and the world as imagined' and they serve to produce and strengthen religious conviction.45

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43Slater, The Dynamics of Religion, p. 15.
Through symbols our future takes shape. Some indicate or point the way to what is hidden while others have a transfiguring power. The same symbol may be used in both ways. Take for instance the foundation stone of a Samoan church.

The origin of foundation stones lies in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.\textsuperscript{46} In European Christian religious practice, during the laying of the foundations, an engraved stone is ceremonially laid above ground, usually at one corner of a new church. However within Samoan tradition there have also been very important ceremonies recognizing the commencement of the construction of a building.\textsuperscript{47}

Today it would appear that some of the ceremonial concepts connected with the building of traditional houses have been incorporated into the Christian idea of foundation stones. When a new Samoan church is being built, it is now the custom to set the \textit{ma'a fa'a'avae}\textsuperscript{48} ('foundation stone') beneath the floor of the church, and under the stone is placed a sealed jar or bottle. This usually contains the names of the minister, the elders, and all the families and individuals in the congregation, together with other information such as the dates of a person's arrival in New Zealand and when he or she became a member of the church.

The ceremony of laying the foundation stone is an important occasion. Many church groups gather to take part in the celebrations. It is a time for speech-making, fund-raising and feasting. The foundation stone symbolizes that the church is literally being built on top of those people whose names are buried underground. In other words these people who are symbolically buried under the foundations of the church are themselves the foundation of the church. In this context the foundation stone acts as an indicative symbol, for it symbolizes the

\textsuperscript{46}Ephesians 3:20., 1 Peter 2:6-8.
\textsuperscript{47}Tradition relates that the craft of house-building came directly from the god Tagaloa-matua and that the original members of the builder's guild were called Sā Tagaloa. Much ceremony has surrounded the commencement of work and the raising of the main posts. See Te Rangi Hiroa, \textit{Samoan Material Culture}, pp. 82-97.
\textsuperscript{48}From \textit{ma'a} ('stone') and \textit{fa'a'avae} ('foundation').
expectations of the congregation. They know that there will be many personal sacrifices but they can also anticipate the completion of the church which they have undertaken to build.

But the foundation stone is also a transfiguring symbol. Sometimes it is placed at one corner of the church. For example the foundation stone at Saint Martin's Presbyterian Church, Auckland (Glen Eden PIPC), is placed at the north-west corner - the intention being that every evening the sun symbolically sets on all the people of the congregation. However, for the majority of churches the favoured position appears to be beneath the communion table in the sanctuary of the church. In some churches the pulpit is placed immediately behind this spot. As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, some ministers have said that when they preach, they feel that their words, which are the "word of God", pass directly over the communion table (and the foundation stone) to the congregation. In the completed and dedicated church the foundation stone, which no longer can be seen, continues to be a powerful transfiguring symbol for the minister and the congregation. Together they created their place of worship and a center for their community.

As a transfiguring symbol it suggests the final harmony, glory and fulfillment within the completed church. But more importantly by association with the practical experience of achieving their goal, the believers are able to anticipate, to understand and participate through faith, in the rewards of life after death. The Samoan foundation stone is a good example of how religious symbols are a means of realizing transcendent ends as they

\[ \ldots \text{give a dynamic thrust to religious thinking in order to evoke the kind of faith that makes our dreams come true.} \]

Further

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49 Personal communication with Rev. Setu Solomon.
... the function of symbols in religion is to enable us to discover or have revealed to us "the bond between man and what he considers sacred." 51

The symbolic universe

According to general systems theory as defined by Bertalanffy 52, a system (as in the case of an integrated universe of religious symbols) has holistic properties that result from the mutual association of the parts. The symbols which make up a universe of symbols are not merely the sum of a collection of individual parts but form relationships which create a larger whole. General systems theory seeks to unite the different human systems such as the values, ideas and ideologies of a culture. Bertalanffy

... considers the world of symbols, values, and cultures as "being 'real' entities classifiable in the cosmic hierarchy of order"... 53

As well as living in the world of biological needs (food, shelter, sex and security) humans also live in a world of social needs which is created through their thoughts. These include the spheres of culture, tradition, ideology, art, science, philosophy and religion - worlds where "status-seeking is a perfectly normal human ambition". 54 It is in these areas of life that humans live not only in a world of things but also in a world of symbols. Humans create their universes of symbols in thought and language for, as previously stated, symbolism is basic to the human mind.

When many types of symbols come together through conscious and unconscious representation there exists what is called a "system of symbols" or a "symbolic universe". In the interaction of combinations of symbolic elements an autonomous life force is generated which has the ability to spread across time and

51 Slater, The Dynamics of Religion, p. 18.
52 Bertalanffy, A Systems View of Man.
54 Bertalanffy, A Systems View of Man, p. 21.
space. In this way symbols may cross language boundaries and transcend the normal limits of communication:

Symbolism is not only international, it also stretches over the ages; it has 'the virtue of containing within a few conventional lines the thought of the ages and the dreams of the race. It kindles our imagination and leads us to realms of wordless thought' (Lin Yu-tang). . . . it goes beyond the individual to the universal and is innate in the life of the spirit. . . Thus the symbol can never be a mere form, as is the sign, nor can it be understood except in the context of its religious, cultural or metaphysical background, the soil from which it grew. The symbol is a key to a realm greater than itself and greater than the man who employs it.55

Moreover, it is through symbols that humans are able to know themselves for symbols are the instruments of knowledge and "the most ancient and fundamental method of expression"56.

For the uninformed one lone symbol, such as a tree, conveys very little information. But it is the nature of symbols to cluster together around universal expressions of the unity of life. The most binding symbols of a culture or a religion are those which hold the people to their world centre, and this is reinforced by the minor, supporting, secondary symbols which help to create a nucleus of meaningful images.57 Associated with the tree is the fruit it bears, and the cycles of regeneration. Its vertical thrust creates an axis between the earth and the heavens. That the terrestrial is also a reflection of the celestial is readily demonstrated by numerous sacred buildings.

In Christianity, the tree of life from creation's Eden, by later allegory, becomes the wooden sacrificial cross of Calvary. But in a typically ambiguous display of the

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55Cooper, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols, p. 7.
56Cooper, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols, p. 7.
57In the literature on symbolism, the primary symbols which represent these universal expressions are also called central, major, master, key, universal, focal, and archetypal symbols. The lesser supporting symbols are named as secondary, auxiliary, marginal and tertiary symbols.
behaviour of symbols, the tree-based instrument of death also gives life through Jesus as the fruit of the vine. Thus entwined as a central living symbol, the Christian tree is connected to the human experience of life, death and resurrection—the transcendent dimension of re-creation. Grounded in a well documented mixture of history and tradition, the focal activating images of the cross, the risen Christ, the Church and its hierarchies demonstrate an ability to evoke a sense of the sacred. They continue to transform human lives by providing symbols of the future and eternity. In a dynamic interplay between the past and the future and by structuring human experience, symbols become modes for religious action. Religious modes include such things as ritual, liturgy, liturgical and devotional art, and religious literature.

A major or primary symbol is one which is central to the development of a particular religious tradition and satisfies the intellectual, spiritual and emotional needs of the people concerned. It is supported by its foundation stories, the ceremonies which cater for the important passages of transition in people's lives, and a whole host of other secondary and even marginal symbols, attributes, emblems, postures, names and signs. In a dynamic outreaching religion stretching across many centuries and geographical regions, the importance and positions of certain symbols in their particular hierarchy can evolve or change through the innovative tensions of new cultural developments and intellectual insights. Then again some may die forever while others lie dormant for centuries only to resurface later in new, invigorated and adapted forms. However, the universal language of signs and symbols still needs translating and over the years numerous categories of symbols have been identified and many interpretations have been offered. 58

From among the variety of organizing images which enable symbolic interpretation to take place I shall now examine some Samoan examples by using

myth, simile, analogy, metaphor, allegory, and communal and personal visual symbols.

**Myth**

Further to the introduction on myth in relation to hierarchy (Chapter 4), Paul Ricoeur says that a myth is

... a traditional narration which relates to events that happened at the beginning of time and which has the purpose of providing grounds for the ritual actions of men of today and in a general manner establishing all the forms of action and thought by which man understands himself in the world.

But in losing its explanatory pretensions the myth reveals its exploratory significance and its contribution to understanding which we shall later call its symbolic function - that is to say, its power of discovering and revealing, the bond between man and what he considers sacred.\(^{59}\)

Moreover myths are a species of symbols

... which developed in the form of narrations and are articulated in time and space that cannot be co-ordinated with the time and space of history and geography according to the critical method.\(^{60}\)

In order to illustrate some aspects of myth (and examples of simile and analogy below), I shall use a few themes from the story of *Lupe and Sina: A Love Story with Cannibals*.\(^{61}\) This modern example of myth-making which was first presented in pantomime form in Auckland during December 1991, was created from a collection of Samoan legends from the village of Sasina, Savai'i.\(^{62}\)

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\(^{59}\)Ricoeur, *Symbolism of Evil*, p. 5.

\(^{60}\)Ricoeur, *Symbolism of Evil*, p. 18.

\(^{61}\)Paul Simei-Barton, Pacific Theatre Inc., Auckland, 1990. The full text is presented as Appendix Two.

\(^{62}\)Pacific Theatre presented *Lupe and Sina* at the Maidment Art Centre, Auckland. Director Justine Simei-Barton, based the production on the ancient Samoan performance tradition known as *Fale Aitu* or Ghost House which "allows performers to recreate stories, with song, dance, improvisation, magic and humorous use of topical references". (Programme notes.)
As a foundation myth, the main themes of the narration centre on why Samoan cooking fires are to be lit only once a day, and the troubles and disasters that can happen to people who are disobedient. The main action of the story originates from a māvaega ('farewell blessing or will of a dying person'), an event which continues to be of prime symbolic importance in the lives of Samoans. But, with the typical paradoxical characteristic of a symbol, the story is also exemplary in that it illustrates how cunning and intelligence can defeat brute force and even the wishes of a māvaega can be changed. For it demonstrates how the wisdom gained from the experience of an initiatory journey allows a hero or heroine to question unwise rulings and make sensible reforms on his or her return.63

_Lupe and Sina_ is an example of narrative as the organizing image which provides both a model of what is to be understood (disobedience can lead to disaster, and "look to the wisdom of your ancestors"), and a model for building a better future (avoid excessive over-eating in order to remain healthy). Through its tragic elements (the disappearance of Sina's beloved brother Lupe, the threat of death from the notorious cannibal Fo'isia, and the confrontation with the fearsome spirit priest TauHiitu) it symbolically presents a resolution of the conflicts, in Lupe's restoration as a human from his transformation into a pigeon. As a cosmic drama it reveals what humans consider most sacred as it celebrates, promotes and extends life.

After a formal introduction by the Tūlāfale, _Lupe and Sina_ commences with the parents calling their children to their side as they prepare to die:

_Mother_: Lupe, Sina, Come here. Come to Papa. We must leave you now, but before we go, you must listen to Papa. He has something to tell you. Listen carefully.

_Father_: Lupe, you must look after your sister now. You must cook for her one, no, two meals every day. Lupe you must cook for her three meals every day.

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63 It is a feature of many Samoan myths and legends that the heroic role is played by women, for example the goddess Nafanua, Sina, Tau'olo and the historical Salamasina.

Father: Three meals every day. Three meals. (Scene I)64

After their deaths, Lupe takes on the responsibility of supervising the feeding of Sina. Three times a day the villagers toil in the hot sun, lighting the cooking fires and serving food. However, Sina rejects all this over-feeding. When her brother tries to beat her into obedience, he is overcome with anger and is transformed into a pigeon.65 Sina’s heroic journey commences as she searches for him, but she loses her way and is washed up on a foreign shore.

There she is discovered by two young men, one of whom woos her. They fall in love and Tigilau asks her to stay with him. The priest Taulaitu warns that Sina is a monstrous ogre and tries to banish her from the village. However Chief Olosega overrules the priest’s words and gives them permission to live on the sea shore. (A mythical example of a priest challenging a chief’s power.) They build a fale and a son is born. The pigeons including Lupe visit the new baby. But Tigilau is sad for he knows that all first-born children are sacrificed to Fo’isia, the Cannibal Queen. It is a very cruel law but it is believed that without it the village will never survive. Every village must pay tribute to the gluttony of Fo’isia. (Another example of oblationary sacrifice.)

Sina rejects such a law as tyranny and successfully plots with Tigilau to outwit Fo’isia, to bring about her death, and to recover their child. But the jealous priest Taulaitu wickedly brings false proof to Chief Olosega that Sina is an ogre. Sina is banished.

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64 Transcription of text from the video-tape of the play: Lupe and Sina: A Love Story with Cannibals.

65 The name Lupe means pigeon while Sina’s name stands for ‘universal woman’. For ornithological information on Samoan pigeons and doves see Corey and Shirley Muse, The Birds and Birdlore of Samoa: O Manu ma Ala’aga o Manu o Samoa, (Washington: Pioneer Press, Walla Walla, 1982), pp. 87-96.
Finally good triumphs over evil; Lupe is restored to human form and rescues Sina. Together with Tigilau and the baby they return to their village. The heroic exploits of the young people have given them wisdom. They have experienced the extremes to which gluttony can develop and as a result Lupe makes a new ruling that the cooking fires will be lit only once a day.

Lupe's transformation into a bird could also be interpreted as the spiritual shamanistic flight of a pre-modern religious specialist. As such he would therefore have an even greater authority to change the māvaega of his parents.

**Simile**

A simile is a figure of speech in which the meaning of something is enhanced by its comparison with something else. It could be said that a greedy eater devours his or her food like Fo'isia, the Cannibal Queen.

**Analogy**

An analogy, too, indicates a similarity, but it is also capable of showing how a pattern in the part of something can represent the whole. Dillistone says that

The analogy is an extraordinarily powerful form of speech for it always bears within it the suggestion that the object or event to which it is applied is part of a greater whole.66

For the modern audience of expatriate Samoans, the final speech from *Lupe and Sina* draws an analogy between the unsavoury gluttony and overeating in the story and the present situation in New Zealand of an ever-ready access to take-away food:

*Tulāfale:* That, my friends is the story of Lupe and Sina, and that is the reason why even today, in the islands of Samoa the cooking fires are only lit once a day.

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Because of this custom, the people are strong and healthy and seldom overweight. But here in our new island home, Aotearoa, things are different. The cooking fires burn all day and all night long at Kentucky Fried, McDonalds, Pizza Hutt... Georgie Pie ... And our people are suffering, growing fat and dying before their time.

So, if you want to live a long and healthy life, if you want to win the world cup, remember the story of Lupe and Sina. Look to the wisdom of your ancestors. Tofa soifua.67

Metaphor

As well as being based on analogy a metaphor enlivens the meaning of something through its imagery. Also it has the ability to make a connection between two completely different things. More importantly, when the symbolic bridge between two contrasting or even conflicting concepts is metaphorical, a resolution of ideas is possible.

The basic function of a metaphor is to provide a transference from the expected to the unexpected, from the usual to the surprising. . . [It] not only uncovers conflicting elements in reality but holds them together in a tentative resolution. . . But every metaphor which holds together two disparate aspects of reality in creative tension assumes the character of a prophecy of the final reconciliation of all things in the kingdom of God. 68

Rather than saying something is like something else, the metaphor says that it is something else. For example, as a result of his analysis of the kava ceremony, the first Polynesian to be made a cardinal, Samoan Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u declares: "The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy."69

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67 Scene IX.
Allegory

An allegory is an extended metaphor which describes something in the guise of something else. It can include a painting in which the meaning is symbolically represented or a literary narrative such as The Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan (1628-1688).

One of the most famous allegories in Samoan tradition is the prophecy made by the goddess Nafanua when she told Malietoa to "Tali i lagi se ao o lou mālō" ("Wait for the head of your government from Heaven"). This presupposed the arrival in later years of the schooner the Messenger of Peace carrying the Rev. John Williams and fellow Christians with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

In O le 'Ava o se Pelofetaga: The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy, Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u presents a summary of the kava ceremony, - the sacred ritual at the heart of Samoan culture. Through his heavily allegorical interpretation he shows how the underlying symbolism of the kava ceremony parallels, indeed is prophetic of the Christian story and way of life. In the foreword Taofinu'u states:

The spirit of this work is to remind us again of the vital importance of our Culture. From earliest times, our Culture was our religion; before Christianity, our Culture united us.

It came to our ancestors from God, to preserve our Samoan people in love, peace and unity. We can safely say, then, that our Samoan Culture was a prophecy, a foretelling, a foretaste, of the Christian way of life.

Today, our traditional Samoan religion is married to the religion of Christ. From this unique marriage, our Christian Samoa has been born. The spirit enlivening our nation-family is love, peace, and unity. This is, most especially, signified in our Kava Ceremony.

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70 In this section I have followed the English translation of Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u and used the word kava in preference to 'ava.
In New Zealand the kava ceremony is performed to welcome visitors and friends. It is also held during the installation of a person to a chiefly title. Summarized below are the main sectors of Taofinu'u's allegorical analysis of the kava ceremony and its subsequent activities.\textsuperscript{72}

\textit{The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy}

The kava ceremony is an occasion for the royal welcoming of guests and expresses the obligations of Christian charity. The chief who calls everyone to the ceremony, parallels the Eternal Father calling His son Jesus Christ as the spiritual redeemer of humankind. The kava roots which are brought to the ceremony represent Jesus. The kava ritually unites the people in peace and friendship as Jesus links humankind with God.

The titles by which kava roots are addressed can be related to the Saviour. These include \textit{Lupesina} ('Royal Pigeon of Sina') which stresses the idea of royalty and is thus linked to Jesus's mother Mary as Queen of Queens. As \textit{Tugase} ('Sealed for Death') the kava symbolizes Jesus as the suffering servant while \textit{'Avafelafoa'i} ('Fitted for all Cases') conveys the idea of Jesus as Universal Judge. \textit{Ugaolei'a} refers to the protective shell of a turtle and is equivalent to Jesus as the Good Shepherd, and the name \textit{Fetaia'imauso} ('Meeting of Brothers') expresses the unity of all nations and peoples in Christ.

The structure of a kava ceremony is ordered in the following sequence. The language used in the first greetings which honour the dignity of the guests is reminiscent of the angels welcoming Jesus at the time of his birth. The ceremony proper begins with the proclamation of the distribution of kava roots to the guests - a symbolic gesture that shows that the visitors are accepted into the host community. The orator then announces the titles of the various roots (see above) as St John the Baptist proclaimed Christ to the world.

\textsuperscript{72}For information on Samoan oratory ('lauga') and its symbolic characteristics, structure and categories see Tatupu Fa'afetiala Ta'ai Tu'i, \textit{Launga [sic] Samoan Oratory,} (Suva and Apia: University of the South Pacific and the National University of Samoa,1987).
This is followed by the *Fa'atau o le Lauga*, the debate which decides the orator best qualified to present the welcome speech and it reflects:

The inspired authors [who] are at great pains to convince the world of the Messiah sent by God the Father, so that all may come to a realisation of His purpose and message, and the One who will unite heaven and earth into a wonderful unity.73

The welcome speech, the *Lauga o le Fesilafa'iga*, should contain the following sections. The *Talanoa i le 'Ava* ('Introduction') tells the history of the root74 and its function to unite the people in a common drink. In a similar fashion the Old Testament prophets foretold the purpose of Jesus. In the *Fa'afetai* ('Thanksgiving') God is sincerely thanked for the safe arrival of everyone while those who have in the past died while travelling are also remembered. These sentiments echo the 'voice' of the New Testament as found in the beautiful words of Mary in The Magnificat,75 and St Paul's instructions to the Ephesians and Colossians76 to "always give thanks for everything to God the Father".

During the *O Taeao* ('A Recall of Historical Events')77 stories are told to convince the visitors that they are most welcome. In a similar fashion Jesus used parables to enhance his teachings and moral truths. Next the orator humbly offers a *Fa'alalolalo* ('Apology') for the hosts are always anxious that the ceremony could fall below the standard required to honour the guests. This is conveyed in the same spirit of humility which is necessary for the acceptance of the Gospel. Symbolically this mirrors Christ's atonement for the sins of humankind, the supreme form of apology to our Heavenly Father. The final section of the welcome speech is the *Mo'omo'oga Lelei* ('Prayer') in which God is asked to bless all the

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74 The mythical origin of the kava root was discussed in Chapter 5: Symbols of Sacrifice.
76 Ephesians 5:20 and Colossians 3:17.
77 Literally 'the morning', see Chapter 8: The *Papālagi* Have No Time but Samoans Have Plenty.
people with good fortune and health. Taofinu'u likens this prayer to the appeals made to God for his blessing in The Beatitudes and the Sacerdotal Prayer of Christ in St John's Gospel.

The Lauga Tali ('Visitor's Reply') which follows the same pattern as the host's welcome speech enables the Christian to recall with joy, faith and thanksgiving, the Good News of the Gospel.

During these speeches the kava drink is prepared by the tavenport ('village virgin') and her assistants. The mixing of the kava drink is full of symbolic allegories. For example the crushing of the kava root represents Christ's passion and death while the tavenport represents Mary, the Mother of Jesus:

Seated by the Kava Bowl made of wood carries the Christian mind to Mary standing beneath the wooden cross, upon which her Son was crushed as the scripture says "Like a worm and no man." Is. 22, 6. Isaia 53, 3. But from that divine tanoa (Kava Bowl) was to come a redemptive fluid, a liquid that will regenerate mankind. The blood of Christ is more than what appears to the eye, it is the heavenly drink that will bind God to man and man to God in Christlike charity. How appropriate will we find our Samoan proverb, "Ua mai vai ae suamalie 'ava i le alofa o le Atua," which translates "water is bitter but Kava is sweeter in the love of God," because the Kava brings with it the bond of friendship and love.

The kava ceremony reaches its climax with the serving of the kava drink. (The priests and ministers, chiefs and other honoured people among the guests and hosts are served from a common cup in a descending order of hierarchy. In this way the sacred structure of the Samoan hierarchy is ritually reinforced and publicly affirmed.)

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79 John 17.
The proclamation of joy and the clapping of hands should be a continuing Alleluia of all Christians who are now partaking of the Heavenly Drink of charity given by Our Lord Himself from the Cross. . . [We are reminded] of the apostles distributing the words of Faith and Holy Communion to the faithful newly come to Christ. 81

After the kava ceremony a series of events, the Fono o le 'Ava ('The Consequences of the Kava Ceremony'), takes place over the succeeding days. (These are variables which depend upon the length of the stay of the visitors.) Taofinu'u continues his allegorical interpretation by comparing these events with the seven sacraments.

Each of the gifts of the Sua ('ceremonial presentation')82 - 'ie tōga ('fine mats'), wrapped cooked food, coconut drink, siapo ('bark cloth or tapa') and roasted pigs, has a spiritual equivalent, the effects of which are reflected in the Sacrament of Baptism. The Si'ilaulau ('presentation of the food for the feast') symbolizes the communal meal of the Eucharist. The third sacrament, the Sacrament of Confirmation is likened to the Tautauga [Talisuaga] ('feast at night'). Before the advent of electricity it was important that the hosts provided adequate light so all could see the food of the feast. On the spiritual plane, Confirmation lights the interior banquet within ourselves and the Holy Spirit rescues us from spiritual darkness.

Just as each family provides food for the feast called Laulautasi or 'Ava Taeao ('feast for the daylight hours'), so in the same way the Sacrament of Holy Orders provides priests to spiritually feed the people. Each donation of food for an even bigger feast, the Amo'ulu, is publicly announced and reflects the individual's confessions in the Sacrament of Penance. Taofinu'u links the Ta'alolo ('village or district royal presentation of gifts') with the Sacrament of Matrimony. The group

procession from the community is led by the dancing, knife-wielding, ceremonially dressed daughter and son of the paramount chiefs. He likens the mānaia ('high chief's son and leader of the young men') and tāupōu to a groom and bride who are about to be joined as one. So too will the guests be linked with the hosts through the gifts.

They bespeak that all misgivings have been overcome and now there is left nothing but joy in giving.83

Finally the 'Aiavā ('farewell feast') is always held at night before the final partings. Many expressions of thanks and apologies are made and gifts are presented. In the islands a common gift is Samoan oil. Thus as the journey of the malaga is about to end, so too the Christian is prepared for death. Sacramental Anointing prepares the way of the Viaticum, our final journey. In the last rites the dying person has the opportunity to apologize to God and thank Him for His goodness and mercy.

In Taofinu'u's allegorical interpretation the kava ceremony has a direct relationship with human redemption by God. And, before the arrival of Christianity, it symbolically presented the Samoan people with a prophetic structure which can be related to Christian life and the Roman Catholic sacraments.

Preserve, my dear Samoa, this heart of your culture, because it is your spiritual guide map in your journey from Samoa to your Eternal Dwelling in Heaven.84

Visual symbols

Visual religious symbols can be divided into two groups. Firstly there are the public, theologically-based symbols which are easily recognized and understood by the religious community concerned. The other group involves the private,
individual symbols whose interpretation and full meaning can only be realized through an explanation from the individual who initiated their use.

Associated with visual symbols and images is the descriptive and classificatory discipline of iconography. The word iconography literally means writing in images and is derived from the Greek words eikon ('image') and graphein ('to write'). The iconography of religions aims at understanding the direct or indirect meaning of the content of religious images, and focuses on reading the subject-matter rather than studying the artistic style. In his book *Iconography of Religions: An Introduction*, Albert C. Moore offers the student of religious art an inventory of questions which can also be applied to Samoan visual symbols. 85

Davies and Davies identify new patterns of religious symbols in *Sacred Art in a Secular Century*. 86 They demonstrate how old symbols have been renewed, revised, syncretized or secularized. There are new symbols with new emphases as well as the signs of a new religious spirit which embraces both moral indignation, and compassion and tenderness.

By adopting the iconographic approach of inquiring into and discovering the stories, myths or legends used by the artists in association with their life stories, one can learn to read symbols and images. The following two examples - the public sculpture "The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy" which portrays the thoughts of Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u, and the personal cross worn by a Presbyterian minister, illustrate aspects of both the Davies' classification and the iconographic method.

A few kilometres to the east of Apia in the village of Vailele is Mapuifagalele, a

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nursing home and hospital for the elderly run by the Little Sisters of the Poor. The name Mapuifagalele implicitly means 'After the Storms of Life They Come to the Haven of Rest'.87 The large chapel at Mapuifagalele (Figs. 8 and 9) is decorated in a visual interpretation of Taofinu'u's analysis in The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy. This is done through an integration of symbols from Samoan life and Christianity.

At the centre of the sanctuary, beneath the crucifix and before the rays of the sun, the consecrated host is housed in a Samoan fale-shaped tabernacle. In this way Christ's continuing presence in the Blessed Sacrament is also symbolized as being at the focal point of every Samoan home. Two smaller fales are positioned on each side of the central fale. The circular shape of the table in the sanctuary epitomizes the round shape of a traditional fale and a kava bowl (Fig. 9). The vase of flowers on the floor before the table is sitting in a kava bowl.

The table is draped with a white cloth with a scalloped hem (Fig. 10). The patterns on the cloth are the same as those on the border which runs across the back of the sanctuary. The three elements which form the design are a black and white four-pointed siapo ('bark cloth' or 'tapa'; pattern), a brown kava bowl and a sacred monogram which symbolizes Christ. This is written with the Greek letters XP (Chi-Rho) which begin the name Christos. In this instance the letters are formed from the attributes of a tulafale ('orator'). A looped to'oto'o ('staff')88 creates the upright P while the X is made from two crossed fue ('fly swishes').89

87 The literal translation of Mapuifagalele is 'rest at Fagalele' - a reference to the sheltered Fagalele Bay near the north-western tip of Savai'i. For details of the proverbial expression E lutia i Pu'ava, 'ae mapu i Fagalele see E. Schultz, Samoan Proverbial Expressions: Alaga'upu fa'a-Samoa, (Auckland: Polynesian Press, in association with the Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, 1980), no. 314, p. 79.
88 The to'oto'o is a long wooden staff used for ceremonial speeches.
89 Fue are made of a number of short lengths of sennit braid attached to a wooden handle. The fue of an ali'i has a longer handle and shorter lengths of sennit braid than the fue of a tulafale. Buck measured the differences as fue of an ali'i: handle length 15.5 inches, length of fibre 13 inches, fue of a tulafale: handle length 14 inches, length of fibre 24 inches. Te Rangi Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, Plate LIV, p. 696.
These letters very clearly symbolize that Christ is the orator of the high chief, God the Father. A piece of *siapo* covers the top of the table.

To the right of the sanctuary (see extreme right of Fig. 8) is a statue of the Virgin Mary. On the left side of the Chapel, in a similar position are the wooden sculptures depicting *The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy* by the Samoan carver Timu Tua (Fig. 11). The figures of Christ and a *mānaia* serving kava also present a good example of the moulding together of traditional iconographic elements of European Christianity and ancient Samoan religious motifs.

The standing figure is of Christ in the formal dress of an orator. His long straight hair and beard conform to the traditional European iconography of Christ but the musculature of his body and limbs is clearly that of a Samoan. The lower part of his shirtless body and thighs are clothed in *siapo* and around his neck hangs a chiefly 'ula ('necklace') made from scented *lau fala* ('pandanus') seeds.

A *tulāfale* always stands when he makes a speech outside the *fale*. His right hand firmly holds the top of the *to'oto'o* and it is customary to commence the oration by waving the *to'oto'o* in three directions - to the front, right and left. Next three movements are made with the *fue*. Held in the left hand it is flicked over alternate shoulders. If the orator wishes to rest the *fue* on his left shoulder, he will commence by passing it over his left shoulder first, then over the right and finally set it to rest over his left shoulder. (Should he wish to speak with it resting on his right, the first movement is made over the right shoulder.) Once the *fue* is in the correct position the orator may commence speaking. One *tulāfale* informed me that

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90 Also known as Tua Timu, New Zealand Television One *Tagata Pasifika* programme 1990. A recent visitor to the chapel informed me that a number of carved wooden figures, depicting *matai* (disciples?) seated in a *fono* circle, have been added to the tableau. Communication from Mrs Lina Key, Auckland, August 1994.

91 One orator told me that for him the three movements stood for his prayer before his speech and the three directions symbolized God the Father, God the Son and the Holy Ghost.
At anytime when I forget a word I take the *fue* and go through the three movements to call up the word. You can move the *fue* when you want to remember some words because the *fue* is also [symbolically] linked with the *lauga* which means the speech.

Each orator holds this position for the duration of his speech. In some instances, such as the presentation of gifts at a large function, this may be for two to three hours. When the speech is completed the *to'oto'o* is shifted to a horizontal position and held in front of the body. This is the sign that the speech is finished. The *fue* is removed from the shoulder and carried away together with the *to'oto'o*.

In Timu's sculpture the *fue* is held horizontally across Christ's body in a formal position in accordance with the traditional way it is worn in Samoan speech-making. The *to'oto'o* is held upright by Christ's right hand with two fingers raised in the gesture of a divine blessing. Normally the hand of Christ is shown with the palm facing outwards but in this carving the artist has probably reversed the position in order that the staff may be held in a natural way. Clearly the stance symbolizes Christ in his roles as the incarnated mouthpiece of God, as well as the Divine Protector and Ruler of the Universe.

But symbols are renowned for their ambiguity. Is there in this image a suggestion of Jesus as the Good Shepherd? Does the *to'oto'o* also symbolize a shepherd's staff? Tropical islands are not renowned for shepherds and sheep. But, in this sculpture, the kava bowl before the seated figure to the right of Christ has been created from the upturned body of a turtle. And, in his analysis, Taofinu'u

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92 "A fa'alava loa le to'oto'o o lona uiga ua uma le lauga ("When the to'oto'o is horizontal this means the speech is finished"), Tofa Taule'ale'asumai Fa'asii'u.
93 Inside the house the orator never stands and only the *fue* is used.
94 The proportions of this *fue* are 3.5: 5.8 which are in keeping with the proportions of the *fue* of a *tultifale*.
95 In order to show his respect to the guests, the orator removes his *'ula* when he is speaking.
draws the following allegory between one of the titles of the kava root and Jesus as the Good Shepherd:

*Ugaoleia* - the word has reference to the protective shell of a turtle.
We can easily relate this to the Good Shepherd who became the protective saviour of mankind. Psalm 23:1, 4:

- Yahweh is my shepherd,
- I lack nothing.
- Though I pass through a gloomy valley,
- I fear no harm;
- beside me your rod and your staff
- are there, to hearten me.\(^{96}\)

During a kava ceremony the kava root is mixed and prepared by the *tāupōu* or *mānaia* ('the daughter or son of the leading ali'i'). In the sculpture a tattooed *mānaia* holds out the coconut cup waiting for the cup-bearer to carry it to the next recipient of the drink. In this context it is appropriate that it be a *mānaia* not a *tāupōu* who is represented as only the Catholic priest may deliver the sacrament to the congregation.

The final illustration from the Mapuifagalele Chapel shows the syncretization and transformation of the kava into the Christian Eucharist (Figs. 8 and 12). Painted on the wall on each side of the sanctuary above a *siapo* patterned border is a kava bowl. Above it are the raised hands of the priest holding aloft the traditional coconut shell cup in which kava is served. Within this context the kava, the consecrated wine of the Eucharist and the sacrificed blood of Jesus have become one and the same. (However in practice, the wine of the Eucharist would never be substituted with kava.) Transubstantiation has been made. Further elucidation is offered by the white dove of the Holy Spirit hovering above. The multi-valent nature of the symbol can be seen when it is recalled that another of the titles of the kava root is *Lupesina* which Taofinu'u translates as 'royal pigeon of Sina' and

associates it with the Virgin Mary. But sina can also mean white and for Christians the white dove has always symbolized the Holy Spirit.

An example in a New Zealand setting again demonstrates the multi-valence of the Samoan symbols. Incorporated into the front of the pulpit of The Ketesemane ('Gethsemane') Church (CCCS) at Porirua (Fig. 13) is a Christian cross which has been formed from a vertical to'oto'o and horizontal fue. In yet another way these important symbols from the heart of fa'a-Samoa are shown to be intricately linked to Christianity.

But it should not be suggested that the use of the to'oto'o and fue in any way symbolizes the role of the faife'au as the orator or spokesperson of God. For in the mind of Samoans, no human being is good enough to be represented by sacred symbols such as a kava bowl or fue. What is significant to understand is that when Samoans incorporate Christian beliefs and values into their life and culture, they do so by adding symbols from their own native culture which are considered sacred and prestigious. In this way they achieve a continuity and an easy amalgamation with European Christian iconography. Thus the inclusion of a kava bowl, or a fue and to'oto'o are symbolic of the congregation's culture having been made subject to the will of God and to the service of the Christian Church. Although the people may hold their faife'au in great esteem, he will not be represented by a single traditional symbol and it would be considered disastrous if that were so.

Before discussing the private individual symbolism of a cross belonging to a certain Presbyterian minister, this is an appropriate place to make the following observation: Roman Catholics in general have always had a rich experience of Church art. However, the iconoclasm of the Reformation in Europe resulted in Protestant denominations suffering an absence of images - the exception being

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97 As soon as Jesus was baptized, he came up out of the water. Then heaven was opened to him, and he saw the Spirit of God coming down like a dove and lighting on him (Matthew 3:16).
stained glass windows. It could be that as a result of this, and the lack of a tradition of local figurative art, the majority of Samoans are not as acutely aware of the differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant painting as are their European counterparts. Nevertheless Samoans appear to enjoy displaying Christian pictures and texts. One can find favourite Catholic pictures such as the "Sacred Heart of Jesus", or paintings associated with the Passion, in Protestant homes and churches. For them the important thing is that the topic illustrates some aspect of the life of Jesus. They are not concerned with the theology behind the illustration. Two such pictures are the prominently displayed in an Auckland Methodist Church (Fig. 14).

Rich and brightly coloured fabric wall hangings are probably the most prestigious of all forms of illustrations, with clocks containing three dimensional religious pictures being also very popular (Fig. 15). Most church furnishings are gifts and it is common for a bereaved family to bequest a wall hanging in memory of the deceased. Other popular topics include Jesus praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Crucifixion, Jesus surrounded by children and Jesus with the disciples as fishermen.

The designs on stoles and crosses worn by the clergy tend to include symbols that are of personal significance for the wearer. The cross (Fig. 16) used by one woman minister was created in 1991 by carver Jim Lowe. It had to affirm a number of things - her ancestry as a Pacific Islander, New Zealand as the country of her birth, the *tagata whenua* ('the people of the land' - Maori), Christianity and the Presbyterian church.

The cross is made from 30,000 year old swamp kauri wood, a timber which is native to New Zealand. Its age symbolizes the continuation of the human spirit and the promise of eternal life through the death of Jesus on the Cross. Her choice of the Iona Cross acknowledges the Presbyterian Church into which she was ordained - the only church to date which has Samoan women ministers. The paua shell is
used to symbolize her Samoan ancestry while the white bone is a traditional material of Maori carvers.

The Christian symbols of the dove in the centre and the tear drops of Christ at the ends of the arms of the cross have been formed from paua shell set on a white bone background. These drops can represent both the tears which Jesus shed over Jerusalem and the drops of blood from his crucifixion. As such they symbolize the suffering and pain of Christ. But they also symbolize the water and blood of the birthing process experienced by the pioneer Samoan women as they struggle to be fully accepted as Christian ministers.\(^{98}\) Thus, through all these interweaving elements, it can be seen how this cross symbolizes one woman’s life as a Samoan Presbyterian faife‘au in New Zealand.

Nature symbols

All Samoans are familiar with the living aesthetic patterns of the *pe’a* (‘male full body tattoo’),\(^{99}\) and the traditional brown, black and white designs of *siapo* (‘bark cloth’ or ‘tapa’). I shall now discuss examples from three Samoan artists in New Zealand who have found traditional Samoan stories, and the depictions of nature as seen in the *tatau* (‘tattoo’) and *siapo* patterns, not only an inspiration for their creative impulses but also a legitimate means by which to explore and reinforce their religious and cultural identity.

In 1990, Invercargill sculptor Johnny Peninsula described the manifestation of his ethnic identity in the following way:

> When I first started carving I wondered how can I put myself into my work? I started with my origins. I was asking questions about myself. Why am I called Samoan? What is the meaning of Samoa? I started putting this name into my work. Lu’s tapui. I’m basing all my work on


\(^{99}\) *Malu* (‘woman’s tattoo’).
the name of the country where I was born. Ole tapui a Lu is another way of saying Samoa.¹⁰⁰

As a result, Johnny Penisula turned to the story of the origin of the name Samoa. George Turner, of the LMS, recorded several versions. In the first, Samoa is sacred because it is the centre of the world:

The rocks married the earth, and the earth became pregnant. Salevao, the god of the rocks, observed motion in the moa or centre of the earth. The child was born and named Moa, from the place where is was seen moving. . . Salevao then provided water for washing the child and made it sa, or sacred to Moa. . . hence also the rocks and the earth were called Sa ia Moa, or as it is abbreviated, SAMOA.¹⁰¹

Later, Lu the grandson of the great god Tagaloa, came down to the earth.

At one time the land was flooded by the sea, and everything died except some fowls and pigeons. The pigeons flew away, but the Moa, or fowls, remained and were made sacred by Lu, and not to be killed, and hence called the Sa Moa or preserve fowls of Lu.¹⁰²

Eventually the fowls were caught and eaten by two fishermen from the heavens but at the time of his marriage

Tangaloa [sic] told Lu to name the earth SAMOA when he came down, and so keep in remembrance his preserve fowls.¹⁰³

Johnny Penisula has captured the essence of his origins in his sculpture Tapui A Lu (Figs. 17 and 18).¹⁰⁴ Carved in argilite are the skeletal lines, feathers and

¹⁰²Turner, Samoa a Hundred years Ago and Long Before, p. 10.
¹⁰⁴The title Tapui A Lu is taken from the exhibition catelogue for Tamā Ma Atali‘i (Father and Son), Paintings & Sculpture by Johnny & Lyle Penisula, Grays’s Studio, 210 North Road, Dunedin, 2-22 October 1993. In the Te Moemoea No Iotefa (The Dream of Joseph): A Celebration of Pacific Art and Taonga exhibition it was titled Ole Tapui Lu. See Panoho, Te
body shape of the sā ('sacred') moa ('fowls') of Lu.

Before the arrival of Europeans, most Samoan men and many Samoan women were tattooed. However, the missionaries quickly discouraged tattooing as a pagan practice and taught that the "spilling of blood" was against Christian beliefs.\textsuperscript{105} Moreover, the missionaries were probably correct in associating the practice of tattooing with pre-Christian religion as the \textit{tatau} motifs are rich with nature symbols.\textsuperscript{106}

In 1982, \textit{tufuga tatau} ('tattooist') Li'o Tusiofo told Claudia Forsyth

\ldots religion and healing are both supposed to respect nature. \ldots So you can see on the \textit{tatau} religious symbols. For example Tagaloalagi (the creator), animals, birds, canoes and a kind of writing that is like a picture. So the \textit{tatau}, first of all, makes a statement of respect about nature and things of great power over human beings.\textsuperscript{107}

Michel Tuffery used the \textit{tatau} as a personal symbol of pain and suffering as he went through the process of deciding whether or not to be tattooed:

At the time of making this decision, I became aware of the body as a living sacrifice. The pain of tattooing, which is something you do for

\textsuperscript{105}The skin bleeds while being tattooed.


\textsuperscript{107}Li'o Tusiofo, of Siumu village, in Forsyth, "Samoan Art of Healing", p. 225. Li'o Tusiofo enhanced his description of tattoo motifs by providing interpretations of the symbols. For example: \textit{Aso}: the ribs and frame are symbols of an anchor, to remind you that you are anchored to your skeleton and your body. But that is only an anchor; you are free of it, yet it is your frame; \textit{v}: the symbol of the pe'a ('flying fox') is to remind you of motion and movement. \ldots The "nest" is the nesting place of the soul, found just below the navel. This is the place where the life of a person lives and guides his or her life (pp. 225-226). The \textit{aoao} ('Milky Way weblike cloud structure') gives a man the ability to communicate with the heavens. It is like the modern term "antenna." It is how you can communicate with higher beings who know more than you (p. 228).
both yourself and the honour of your family, could be likened to the
pain of the crucifixion.\textsuperscript{108}

This resulted in the woodcut *Tianigi*, which features a naked, uncircumcised,
tattooed Christ on the Cross.\textsuperscript{109} Tuffery also emphasized that by portraying Christ
as uncircumcised, he is showing the universality of Christ for "This Christ is not
Jewish",\textsuperscript{110} - a bold statement as it is customary for all Samoan boys to be
circumcised.

Another young artist, Lyle Penisula of Invercargill (son of the above mentioned
Johnny Penisula), has also explored his New Zealand-born Samoan and Christian
identity through the medium of picture-making. But whereas Tuffery examined
personal suffering through a detailed portrayal of the *pe'a*, Lyle Penisula has
tended to depict a social dimension of suffering in his paintings. (He, too,
frequently uses the *pe'a* in his paintings as a bold design element symbolizing
things Samoan.) His 1990 painting, *Christ, it Ain't Easy*, shows a youth at the
lower left corner wearing sunglasses, T-shirt, jeans and sneakers, with a beer bottle
at his side. He is sitting on the pavement by a wall which divides him from the
dark silhouette of a church in the top right-hand corner. Incorporated into the
texture of the wall and pavement are the words: "How can I go forward if I don't
know which way I'm facing?"\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{108}See "Samoan Crucifixion" in *Crosslink*, Vol. 8, No. 3, (Wellington: Methodist Publishing
Inc. for the Methodist Church and Diane Gilliam-Weeks for the Presbyterian Church, April 1994),
p. 5.
\textsuperscript{109}Michel Tuffery, *Tianigi*, 1988, woodcut on tapa cloth, 765 x 540 mm (Edition of 25). See
\textsuperscript{110}*Crosslink*, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{111}*Christ, it Ain't Easy*, (1990), Collection: Central Library, University of Otago, Dunedin. See
also Albert C. Moore, "Faith and Experience as the Basis for Arts in Christian Worship", in
The South Pacific Association of Theological Schools).
Another rich source of symbolism is found in the design elements taken from the natural environment and used to create the *siapo* patterns.\footnote{Common design elements include pigeon and turtle nets, small lines, trochus shells, male pandanus blooms, pandanus leaves, breadfruit leaves, terns, sandpipers and their footprints, starfish, banana pods, rolled pandanus leaves, worms and centipedes. Mary J. Pritchard, *Siapo: Bark Cloth Art of Samoa*, (American Samoa: Council on Culture, Art and Humanities, Special Publication Number 1, 1982), pp. 41-46.}

Over a number of years, Lyle Peninsula has combined leaf, thorn and bird patterns to capture the essential inseparability of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit of the Christian Trinity as depicted in the three etchings of the *Holy Trinity* (1988), (Fig. 21). The lower panel (Fig. 19) clearly shows, in actual size, Peninsula's development of the Trinity. In the right third are the leaves\footnote{From the shape of the leaves it is possible to identify the tree as an *'o'a* tree: (*bishofia javanica*). The bark of the *'o'a* is the most important source of the brown dye used for decorating *siapo*. Pritchard, *Siapo: Bark Cloth Art of Samoa*, p 32.} of creation which represent the *Father*; the thorns that formed the cross on which the *Son* was crucified are in the centre; in the left third, an extra element has been added to the basic bird shape to create the dove which symbolizes the *Holy Spirit*.

Associated with the etchings are the three acrylic paintings *Holy Trinity* (Fig. 20). Each picture contains the same essential elements of leaves, thorns and birds; and like the etchings, gives an initial impression of a simple *siapo* design. However, by adding colour, the three expressions of God in One, the Trinity, are clearly distinguishable. The life-creating aspect of the *Father* (right), is indicated by four bright green-orange-yellow leaves. These grow forth from the darkness of Chaos which also contains shadowy thorns foretelling the Cross. In the centre painting *Son*, the red leaves represent the spilt blood of the sacrifice of Jesus. The Cross now dominates the painting. However, the almost white centre before a yellow background, suggests life and hope rather than foreboding death. Moreover, the shed blood is a source of life. Finally, in *Holy Spirit* (left), the cross has faded to little more than a memory while the dove, outlined in white, gains a quality of the sky and spirit through the soft blue and fawn colours of the...
painting. In this way Lyle Peninsula has simultaneously revealed the diversity, yet basic unity, of the Trinity.

This chapter traced the development of European thought on symbolism and outlined the characteristics and functions of symbols. Then, the main types of symbolism (visual, symbols of action and linguistic) were introduced followed by examples of natural, traditional and technological symbols found in Samoan flags and emblems associated with independence. Some of the ongoing transcendent and transfiguring qualities of religious symbols are revealed through the Samoan practice of laying foundation stones under new church buildings. Many types of primary and secondary symbols combine to form the symbolic universe, and from among a great variety of organizing images, humans are able to know themselves and the world in which they live. Finally, some Samoan examples were given of symbols as found in myth, simile, analogy, metaphor, allegory, and communal and personal visual symbols.

The following chapters of Part Two will continue the exploration of Samoan religious symbols. One of the most important material items whose function enhances an understanding of the fa'a-Samoa in action, is the 'ie toga. Chapter 7, will examine Eliade's exposition of religious symbols and answer the question: Is the 'ie toga a sacred symbol? The topics of Chapters 8 and 10 concentrate on two of the great themes of religious studies - sacred time and sacred space, while Chapter 9 extends the examination of the Samoan concept of time by exploring the symbolism connected with personal names.
FIGURE 1: Badge of the Trust Territory of Samoa

FIGURE 2: Flag of Western Samoa

FIGURE 3: National emblem of Western Samoa

FIGURE 4: Flag of the United Nations

FIGURE 5: The flags of Western Samoa and New Zealand at the front of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Dunedin.
FIGURE 6: The official logo of the 25th anniversary of the independent Government of Western Samoa.

FIGURE 7: The advertisement which the Development Bank of Western Samoa placed in the 1987 special commemorative souvenir magazine celebrating 25 years of independence.
FIGURE 8: View of the interior of Mapuifagalele Chapel, Vailele, Western Samoa.

FIGURE 9: The front of Mapuifagalele Chapel showing the *fale*-shaped tabernacle housing the host and the decorated table cloth. (See Fig. 10 for details.)
FIGURE 10: Detail of Mapuifagalele Chapel showing the table cloth decorated with tānoa 'ava ('kava bowls') and the Greek letters XP ('Christ') created from fue ('fly whisks') and to'oto'o ('orators' staffs').
FIGURE 11 (above): *The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy*, by Timu Tua. Wooden sculptures in Mapuifagalele Chapel, Western Samoa.

FIGURE 12 (right): Detail of the priest's hands raising a coconut shell cup above a kava bowl with a white dove flying above, and the *siapo*-patterned border which runs around the walls of the chapel and along the main roof beams.
FIGURE 13: A *fue* and a representation of an orator's *to'oto'o* incorporated into the front of the pulpit of the Ketesemane ('Gethsemane') Church (CCCS) Porirua.

FIGURE 14: Interior of the Auckland Samoan Methodist Parish church, St John's, Ponsonby, (New Zealand Conference) showing the fabric wall hangings depicting *The Last Supper* by da Vinci (left) and the *Sacred Heart of Jesus* (right).
FIGURE 15: A clock containing a three dimensional picture of the Last Supper.

FIGURE 17 (top) and FIGURE 18 (bottom): Johnny Peninsula, Tapui A Lu, 1990, argilite, wax thread and chicken feathers, 73 x 205 x 130 mm. Collection: The Artist.

CHAPTER 7

THE 'IE TŌGA AS A SACRED SYMBOL
Religious Symbols As Discerned By Mircea Eliade

This chapter has a number of purposes. One is to gain a further and deeper understanding of the structure of symbols by exploring the symbolic possibilities suggested by Mircea Eliade's exposition of religious symbols. Another purpose is the pursuit of the symbolic meanings which can be attached to a key material object of Samoan culture, the 'ie tōga ('fine mat'). What symbolic relationships can be discovered about the 'ie tōga and its place in Samoan society?

The 'ie tōga is placed at the top of the hierarchy of Samoan woven mats and it is well accepted that, as the most valuable item of the Samoan exchange system, it is a form of currency. Moreover as an essential part of all traditional ceremonies and social exchanges during the different stages of a person's life, the 'ie tōga plays an active role of symbolically threading an individual's life to the community, as well as weaving together the social fabric of Samoan families, churches and communities. Although one must always guard against a tendency to assume that there is a universality of symbolic language, nevertheless it can be seen that hierarchy and weaving, the central symbols of the 'ie tōga, can be linked to the universal symbols of transcendence and regeneration.

The final task of this chapter is to measure the effectiveness of Eliade's insights against what they can reveal of the symbolic structure of the 'ie tōga.

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1 Although 'ie tōga are constructed through the technique of plaiting, because they are a fabric, they are generally spoken of as woven mats rather than plaited mats.

2 A 1994 estimate values 'ie tōga as being worth about $25 (New Zealand dollars) each for lalaga ('small fine mats') while the very large fine mats - the 'ie tūua or 'ie tofa range from between $1000 and $2000 and even more.
First, is a summary of the six key features of religious symbols as discerned by Eliade which will guide the analysis. The reasons for choosing his revelations on symbols, and an outline of his understanding of the sacred shall follow. ‘le tioga are introduced through their hierarchical relationship with other woven mats, and their use in relation to the human body; and a description of the various ranked forms of ‘le tioga. The next three sections describe some of the functional uses of ‘le tioga as exchange items and gifts, their hierarchical categories and the format used in ceremonial presentations.

Following this are examples of presentations connected with malaga and funerals, records of other terminology connected with the ‘le tioga, and some possible reasons for their high status. Next, are reflections on the mythical history of the ‘le tioga and the significance of symbolic elements in the story. Before noting the main covenants of the Samoan life cycle which are symbolically acknowledged by the gifting of special ‘le tioga, there is a review of the lunar structure of weaving and other associated symbols. After this is an outline of the continuum of attitudes held by the different denominations regarding the symbolic and actual use of ‘le tioga. Finally, by analysing the different features of the ‘le tioga within Eliade’s framework of religious symbolism something may be discovered about the symbolic structures of the Samoan world view.

Notwithstanding the foregoing statements it is also important to be aware that any symbolic insights that may be revealed by this investigation have been reached by applying to the Polynesian traditions of fa’a-Samoan the results of an examination made within the context of Western academic thought. The question now addressed is: Can the Samoan ‘le tioga be regarded as a sacred symbol?

Religious symbols as discerned by Eliade.

As an historian of religions Eliade concludes that

... the World "speaks" or "reveals itself" through symbols, not,
however, in a utilitarian and objective language. The symbol is not a mere reflection of objective reality. It reveals something more profound and more basic.\textsuperscript{3}

The following is a summary of the main aspects of religious symbols as proposed by Eliade.\textsuperscript{4} These features will guide the search to reveal the various meanings hidden within the symbolism of \textit{ie tōga}.

Firstly, religious symbols have the ability to reveal life structures of the world which are beyond the everyday experience of humans. A sense of the ultimate foundation of the world can also be grasped, not through rational knowledge, but through a symbol which reveals the world as a living totality:

The majority of religious symbols reveal the World in its totality or one of its structures (night, water, heaven, stars, seasons, vegetation, temporal rhythms, animal life, etc.), or they refer to situations constitutive of all human existence, that is to say, to the fact that man is mortal, is a sexual being, and is seeking what today we call "ultimate reality."\textsuperscript{5}

In primitive and archaic cultures symbols are religious because they point to something real or to a structure of the world. Whatever is powerful, meaningful and living is included in the idea of the "real" and is equivalent to the sacred. In the previous chapter it is noted that a cognitive function of symbols is found in their ability to give rise to thought. However, archaic symbols function in an even more basic way when they reveal the very essence of Being, of ontological "becoming":

From a particular point of view, the symbol itself may be considered as a language which, although conceptual, is nevertheless capable of expressing a coherent thought on existence and on the World. The


\textsuperscript{5} Eliade, "Methodological Remarks", p. 105.
symbol reveals a pre-systematic ontology to us, which is to say an expression of thought from a period when conceptual vocabularies had not yet been constituted.\(^6\)

Through the 'ie tōga's symbolism of weaving within a lunar structure it ontologically symbolizes the unity and regeneration of life - features which are central to all traditional symbolism.

Religious symbols are multivalent but their capacity to express simultaneously a number of meanings is not immediately evident. To decipher a symbol fully Eliade classifies its multiple values into three hierarchical groups: the cosmological level of universal wholeness untouched by humans, the anthropocosmic level available to humans in an altered state from everyday life, and the anthropological level which humans physically experience.\(^7\)

... these valences are considered interdependent, each one implies all the others in some way, and considered together, form a structure... [This is] because the symbol's function is precisely to "open" simultaneously multiple and complementary perspectives on the world and on existence.\(^8\)

It is through the multiple meanings of religious symbols that humans discover not only a certain unity of the world but also their own destiny as an integral part of that world. In other words symbols have the capacity "to open up a perspective through which things can be grasped and articulated into a system".\(^9\)

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\(^6\)Eliade, "The Symbolism of Shadows", p. 3.

\(^7\)In his analysis of the symbolism of "shadows", Eliade allocates to the cosmological level Cosmic Night and Chaos. The regions of the anthropocosmic level include Hell, the Land of the Dead and the desire to return to the maternal Womb. At the anthropological level the shadows are physically experienced by humans through death and initiation - ritual death followed by mystical rebirth. Eliade, "The Symbolism of Shadows", pp. 11-12.

\(^8\)Eliade, "The Symbolism of Shadows", p. 12.

Eliade considers that perhaps the most important feature of religious symbols is their ability to hold contradictory aspects of ultimate reality within themselves. They have the capacity for:

... expressing paradoxical situations, or certain structures of ultimate reality, otherwise quite inexpressible.\(^\text{10}\)

Finally, religious symbols demonstrate an existential value as they allow a continuing translation to be made between the mundane everyday world of human existence and the spiritual sources of life:

A symbol always aims at a reality or a situation in which human existence is engaged. It is above all this existential dimension that marks off and distinguishes symbols from concepts.\(^\text{11}\)

In other words:

The symbol translates a human situation into cosmological terms; and reciprocally, more precisely, it discloses the interdependence between the structures of human existence and cosmic structures.\(^\text{12}\)

Humans need not feel isolated and alone in the world or the cosmos for through symbolic intuitions, rather than reflective thought, ultimate reality can be known:

An important consequence proceeds from this cosmological valence of symbolism: we who understand symbols not only "open" ourselves to the objective world, but at the same time succeed in leaving our unique condition and acceding to a comprehension of the universal . . .

... the symbol makes a concrete object "explode" by disclosing dimensions which are not given in immediate experience. Likewise, the symbol "explodes" a particular condition by revealing it as exemplary, i.e., indefinitely repeated in multiple and varied contexts. Consequently, "to live" a symbol and to decipher the messages correctly is equivalent to gaining access to the universal. To transform an


\(^{11}\)Eliade, "Methodological Remarks", p. 102.

individual experience by symbolism is equivalent to opening it to the Spirit.13

Now a summary of the key features of religious symbols which are to guide the analysis of 'ie tōga. Firstly, religious symbols have the ability to disclose the world in one of its structures or in its totality. Secondly, religious symbols can reveal the very essence of Being in a way that does not depend upon philosophical thought. Thirdly, as religious symbols are multivalent they can express simultaneously a number of meanings. Fourthly, paradoxical situations and contradictory aspects of ultimate reality come together in religious symbols. Fifthly, through their existential values religious symbols form a communicating interdependence between the structures of human existence and cosmic structures. Finally, while the cosmological, anthropocosmic and anthropological valences of a symbol are interdependent the symbol does not exactly repeat itself in each level:

Each context of a symbol reveals something more which was only unformed and allusive in the neighboring contexts.14

Why Eliade?

Eliade’s framework has been chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly he wrote extensively on religious symbolism and his scholarship covers many of the phenomena of eastern, western, primal, archaic and modern religions. Moreover he was particularly interested in defining the sacred by contrasting it with the profane, and identifying its embodiment in symbols, rituals, space and time.

When Samoans embrace both the Christian faith and the practices of fa’a-Samoa, there is combined in their lives a very strong belief in the new religion and an equally strong adherence to the traditions of a pre-European contact oral culture. In other words it must be acknowledged that incorporated into the Samoan consciousness are the structures of a great western religion and some of the

13Eliade, "The Symbolism of Shadows", p. 13
14Eliade, "The Symbolism of Shadows", p. 14
nonliterate expressions of the beliefs and ritual ceremonies of the formerly embraced primal religion.

The term "nonliterate" acknowledges the rich source of unwritten oral traditions and is used in preference to "preliterate" which has evolutionist connotations. Likewise the word "primal" is the preferred term for the religions of traditional cultures which "both anteceded the great historic religions and continue to reveal many of the basic or primary features of religion". Similarly when Eliade used the terms "primitive" and "archaic" to describe legitimate forms of religion, he did not intend to imply an evolutionist progression of religion from a dark savage state to a refined superior higher type of religion.

For these reasons alone, Eliade's approach to interpreting symbols must be an appropriate choice for anyone studying a blend of modern and traditional sacred symbols within a contemporary situation.

Eliade had a vast knowledge of the structure and function of religious symbols and the role universal symbols play in the primal and modern contexts. Of particular relevance to this study is the fact that he appreciated the importance of hierarchy as an aid to fully deciphering a symbol.

Finally, as I have written earlier, in order to gain a better understanding of some of my own research experiences, it has been the writings of Eliade which have provided the most useful insights into different manifestations of Samoan religious experience. As this dissertation is conducted within the framework of the history and phenomenology of religion it is appropriate to analyse the thoughts of a professor in this field of religion rather than from the approach of a scholar from some other discipline.

By the end of this chapter, one shall have a better idea of the degree to which Eliade's framework of religious symbols can be used to illuminate the symbolism contained within 'ie tōga. Perhaps only parts of the 'ie tōga's symbolic structure will fit Eliade's framework. But first and foremost the aim of the exercise is to dig as deeply as possible into the symbolism surrounding the 'ie tōga in order to find out the extent to which it can be regarded as a sacred symbol.

The sacred

Today Samoans draw a clear distinction between things which belong to Christianity and the Church, and those which are of a cultural nature. The former are concerned with "religion" while faife'au classify the latter as "secular". Out of a feeling of respect for the ministers and their churches, and also for the members of those denominations which do not include the practices of fa'a Samoa in their church activities, it could be argued that it is more appropriate to substitute the word "sacred" for "religious" symbol. Therefore in this chapter the term "religious symbols" will be reserved for Christian symbols and Eliade's exposition of religious symbols, while "sacred symbols" will indicate items directly connected to the practices of fa'a-Samoan and in particular the 'ie tōga.

Eliade defines sacredness as "something wholly different from the profane". In this dichotomy Eliade perceives two different modes of being in the world. One is the relatively recent way of modern non-religious humans who consider as purely physiological all essential acts of daily life (food, sex, work and so on). The other is the world view of archaic societies in which basic acts can become, or are, "a sacrament, that is, a communion with the sacred". One feature of their religious behaviour is that the members tend "to live as much as possible in the sacred or in close proximity to consecrated objects". Out of a great regard for their church

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and minister and for the convenience of easily attending the almost daily church activities, many older Samoans in New Zealand prefer to reside in suburbs close to their church buildings. However, for New Zealand Samoans the two modes of existence are intertwined. As well as going about their daily lives of earning a living in the secular world, Samoans also readily shift into the sacred world of their life cycles and the religious world of their churches.

A hierophany is an act of manifestation of the sacred. In traditional, premodern oral societies the sacred can be found in an apparently ordinary object such as a rock, cave, tree or pool. The supreme Christian hierophany is the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ. Eliade says:

In each case we are confronted by the same mysterious act - the manifestation of a wholly different order, a reality that does not belong to our world, in objects that are an integral part of our natural "profane" world.20

A cult object such as a sacred tree may not be distinguishable from any other tree except to the persons connected with it. However, it is not worshipped simply as a tree but because it embodies a sacred significance of the universe. The tree may symbolize the constant renewal of life and act as the axis mundi ('world axis') linking the earth to the heavens through its vertical thrust.21 Because the sacred was originally revealed to the community through some religious experience at a certain time and place, it also became possible for the immediate reality of the sacred object to be transmuted into a supernatural reality.22 In other words sacred objects such as trees, mountains or woven mats are venerated because they embody part of, or symbolize, the universe as represented by all the Cosmic Trees, Cosmic Mountains or Cosmic Weavings in all mythologies.23

20Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane*, p. 11.
22See Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane*, p. 12
Today Samoan life experiences involve both the sacred and profane worlds. Important stages of transition in the lives of Samoans are usually marked by a *lotu* ('Christian service'). These include the marriage of two people, birthdays, funeral rites, the dedication of a new church and in some instances the blessing of the recipient of a chiefly title before the actual installation ceremony. But also surrounding and intimately connected with these special occasions are the "secular" activities of *fa'a-Samoa* - the feasting, speech-making and the exchange of *'ie tōga*. However, even in the context of modern consciousness these activities cannot be regarded as taking place in the profane secular time of the everyday workplace. For instance, when a family spends a week or more burying a loved one, the members are also living in a time which is marked off and set aside from ordinary time. This is the "sacred" time of cultural activities of Samoan traditions.

For many the preservation of the oral traditions and practices of *fa'a-Samoa* is an important and even essential part of their existence. As such they can be interpreted as sacred duties. Sacred things are always closely associated with religious symbolism even if they are not part of the institutionalized church.

**The hierarchy of Samoan woven mats**

The Samoan verb *lalaga* means both 'to plait' and 'to weave'. Milner also states that *lalaga* "refers to the technique of finger-weaving, and by extension to weaving on a loom and to knitting". Samoan woven mats can be arranged in a progression of ascending levels and are classified according to their function and the material from which they are made.

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24Glenn Jowitt, *A Title Bestowal in Western Samoa*, (Auckland: Longman Paul Ltd, 1987), pp. 4-5. Some important transitions in the lives of Samoans have not been blessed by a Christian service. These include the circumcision of young boys (a ritual marking of the advent of puberty), the former practice of a *tāupōu* losing her maidenhead and the public display of her bed clothes as proof of her virginity, or to mark the beginning or ending of tattooing. Even today in Auckland, it would not be normal to tattoo a person in the house of a minister of religion in spite of the fact that in recent years, some *faife'au* have been tattooed.

The technical term for the process of manufacture is "plaiting in check". This means that in the plaiting process each weft passes alternately over and under each consecutive crossing weft. A weft may consist of a single strip of material or more than one strip as in overlaid plaiting or in narrowing where two wefts are brought together. However, when discussed within a symbolic framework, the procedure of interlocking hundreds of fibrous threads to create the mats is synonymous with weaving.

Today mats are still made from the materials described by Peter Buck:

In mat making the Samoans use three kinds of pandanus, distinguished as paongo, [sic] fala, and 'ie. As the leaves are used the material is generally referred to as laupaongo, [sic] laufala, and lau'ie.

During 1980 when Roger Neich examined the material culture of Western Samoa and compared his research with the 1927-1928 field work of Buck he found:

The making of plaited mats, which is the work of women, is without doubt the strongest surviving traditional craft in Western Samoa. There has been simplification and blending of some types of mats, but others have been elaborated and diversified to meet new needs.

In the old Polynesian manner, mats still represent most of the traditional wealth of a Samoan family. They are kept piled up layer after layer on the floor to form a chief's bed, ulumoega, or under the mattress on a European-type bed. It is a sign of special trust and favour for a visitor to be shown the mats kept in this cache. The more important kinds of mats are the main currency for exchange transactions at all levels of Samoan society. Mat types are strictly ranked in importance, and the more important the house or the occasion, so the
more highly ranked will be the mats used. The continuing importance of mats as exchange valuables and floor coverings has kept the craft viable and expanding.\textsuperscript{29}

Neich names the main groups of mats (floor mats, sleeping mats, bed covers and fine mats) in ascending order as:

Thus the lowest ranked coconut leaf floor mats are the ones that are placed on the bare ground or stones of the \textit{paepae}.\textsuperscript{30} Then, higher ranking floor mats of, first, \textit{laupaogo} (leaves of \textit{paogo}) and, next, \textit{laufala} are laid on top. Over these are laid various kinds of sleeping mats of \textit{laufala}. For the traditional \textit{ulumoega} (chief's bed) or the introduced frame bed, which are both raised off the floor, higher ranking mats of \textit{laufala} or \textit{lau'i'e} with applied decoration are required. The highest ranking mats in the exchange system are the \textit{'ie toga} made of \textit{lau'i'e}. These are expressly not allowed to touch the bare ground and if they are to be laid down, people are always careful to lay other lower ranking mats first. At certain ceremonies, \textit{'ie toga} were worn as kilts by the village \textit{taupou} (virgin) and \textit{manaia} (chief's son), the ultimate in importance being raised from the floor in a high position.\textsuperscript{31}

The importance of the occasion, the rank of the visitors and the building to be used all determine the status of the mat to be presented. More importantly mats have an increased amount of decoration. In addition there appears to be a direct hierarchical correspondence between the spatial use of mats and their association with parts of the human body.

Floor mats, the domain of the feet (the lowest part of the body) are completely plain. Sleeping mats with coloured wool fringes are spread on the floor mats for the whole body to lie on. Obviously this has a practical purpose. However,
sometimes better quality sleeping mats are laid out to honour guests who may not necessarily be sleeping the night. These sleeping mats can have geometric patterns woven into or painted onto the wefts (Fig. 22).

Bed covers can have broad bands of painted or woollen embroidered designs, pictures and texts. They may have fringes of weft material at the ends. The embroidered panels of bed covers are also often prominently displayed together with 'ie tōga as decorations at the time of very special celebrations such as weddings (Fig. 26), White Sunday (Fig. 27) or funerals (Fig. 41).

Fine mats are also finished by a long fringe at one end. A row of coloured feathers is sewn onto the mat across the bottom just above the fringe. In this way each 'ie tōga has its own features and is individually identifiable. As the 'ie tōga is the only woven mat to be worn on the bodies of people of high status for ceremonial purposes it is a prestigious article of clothing.\textsuperscript{32} For example it is worn by the tāupōu or mānaia when leading a group of gift bearing visitors (Figs. 28 and 31) or mixing the kava for a kava ceremony. An 'ie tōga will be worn by a person for his or her installation into a chiefly title (Fig. 23) and it is also used for covering the coffin of a person of rank (Figs. 40 and 41).

Another action which confirms the 'ie tōga's prestigious place at the top of the Samoan hierarchy is the symbolic role it plays in a ceremony of reconciliation called an īfōga.\textsuperscript{33} To atone for his or her sins, the offender, with lowered face and head (the highest part of the body) covered by an 'ie tōga, is made to sit publicly in complete humility before those who have been offended. In such a situation, the true significance of the 'ie tōga is seen in its protecting and life-saving function for it allows peace to be restored between the families of the victims and the guilty.

\textsuperscript{32}Buck classifies 'ie tōga and 'ie sina ('shaggy white mats') as garments. Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, pp. 275, 266.
\textsuperscript{33}Feleti E. Ngan-Woo, Faasamoa: The World of Samoans. ([Auckland]: The Office of the Race Relations Conciliator [New Zealand], 1985), pp. 43-45.
party. This topic will be continued in the section dealing with the mythical history of the 'ie tōga.

Adrienne Kaeppler, has spent many years researching the history of important Tongan royal mats, theorizes that the kie hingoa (a Tongan equivalent of the Samoan 'ie tōga) which are worn in many layers around the bodies of a Tongan bride and groom and covering their reproductive organs, are a fertility symbol. However, it would appear that the Samoan 'ie tōga cannot be regarded specifically as a fertility symbol. Rather, it symbolizes both the wider intrinsic spiritual and cosmic life force of an individual and the unity of the community. I shall return to this theme later.

The 'ie tōga

'ie tōga are also ranked in a hierarchy and the main criteria for assessing their quality are the fineness of the weft, the age of the mat, size (not all large sized 'ie tōga are of excellent quality) and decorations. Neich reports that aesthetic judgements are made on the basis of the "fineness of the wefts, the flexibility and softness of the fibres, and their soft sheen in the light". Closely tied to their value is the length of time that it takes to make an 'ie tōga.

During the 1920s Buck measured 'ie tōga with 12 to 14 wefts to the inch, while others were even finer. For example, he described a famous 'ie tōga named Fa‘a‘uma-i-Tuavao ('Ending in the Bush') as being "6 feet square, brown with age, and beautifully fine with 22 wefts to the inch". As the finest 'ie tōga take months or years to make, they are of great value.

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34 Adrienne Kaeppler, 'Kie hingoa,' unpublished paper, (Fourth Tongan History Conference, Auckland, May 1990) and personal communication.
35 Neich, Material Culture of Western Samoa, p. 31.
36 Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, p. 277. See also pp. 275-281. When counting the number of threads in a fabric it is standard practice to give the measurement in inches (Personal communication from Belynda Norrish, a professional pattern-maker, June 1994).
37 Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, p. 319.
Traditionally 'ie tōga were measured in handspans called aga ('tip of thumb to the tip of the ring finger'). However as each person's hand is of a different size this method of measurement provides only an approximate indication of size. The average measurements of the three main types of 'ie tōga in ascending order are as follows. Most numerous are the lālaga ('ordinary grade') with some smaller and some larger than the average 1.5 metres by 1.8 metres (Figs. 24, 25, 30). 'Ie lelei ('good quality') range from 1.5 metres by 2.0 metres to 1.8 metres by 3.0 metres (Fig 33). The largest of all are the 'ie tāua or 'ie sili ('excellent quality') which measure from 1.5 metres by 2.0 metres to 1.8 metres by 4 metres (Fig. 31).

The most expensive and prestigious feathers with which 'ie tōga are decorated are the brightly coloured green, blue and red feathers from the Sega Vao ('Blue-crowned Lory') and the Segasega Mau'u ('Cardinal Honeyeater'). An 'ie 'ula is an 'ie tōga with more than one row of red feathers. In 1930 Buck observed that the red feathers usually came from Fijian parrakeets. Nowadays because of the great scarcity of suitable indigenous birds 'ie tōga are decorated with dyed chicken feathers or tufts of brightly coloured wool.

In the last few decades the world-wide growth in the population of Samoans has resulted in a greatly increased demand for 'ie tōga. Today in New Zealand hundreds of 'ie tōga may be required for the ceremonial activities surrounding a death, marriage, malaga ('travelling party') or the dedication of a new church. In order to meet the demand, some 'ie tōga, all of which are manufactured in the

38"A relatively coarse kind of fine mat", Milner, Samoan Dictionary, p. 96.
39The difference between an 'ie tāua and an 'ie sili is a matter of language usage.
40Vini australis. "Early examples of 'fine mats' on exhibit at the Jean P. Haydon Museum in Pago Pago were made with these feathers" (Corey and Shirley Muse, The Birds and Birdlore of Samoa: A Manu ma Ala'aga o Manu o Samoa, [Washington: Pioneer Press, Walla Walla, 1982], p. 98).
41Myzomela cardinalis nigriventris. (Muse, The Birds and Birdlore of Samoa, p. 134).
42Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, p. 256.
islands, are now being made in a few days with as little as five wefts to the inch. Because of the difficulty and complexity involved in producing quality mats, and more recently the disruption in pandanus supplies resulting from the Cyclones Ofa and Val, there has developed a tendency to stress size as a measure of quality instead of the fineness of the weft.

Many thousands of 'ie tōga travel between Samoa and New Zealand each year. In 1990 after the disastrous effects of Cyclone Ofa, some New Zealand Samoans were concerned that 'ie tōga also be included in containers carrying essential food and equipment to the islands. It was their wish that family stocks be replenished especially for impending weddings, funerals and church openings.

Some functional uses of 'ie tōga

The 'ie tōga, the most precious cultural possession of a Samoan, is used in a number of different ways, and for many it continues to play a significant role as the Samoan standard of value. Thus its value is sometimes explained as a form of currency. Buck records how 'ie tōga, through their value as property, formed the principal medium of payment for canoes, tattooing, the building of houses and various other services.

No important function or activity in olden times could take place without the passing of fine mats . . . Everything was valued in terms of fine mats and all objects of any value, even pigs, had their relative value based on the value unit of the fine mat.

Even today, after a person has been tattooed, the tufuga tā tatau ('tattoo artist') is paid in food, money and 'ie tōga, one of which must be of very good quality.

Although at one level the 'ie tōga is still regarded as an essential part of the payment, it is probably more common for it to be regarded either as an exchange

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43 Not only as quoted in Neich above, but also by Samoans.
44 Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, p. 319.
item or a gift. Bradd Shore identifies two types of exchange formats and discusses their social significance for the individuals and communities involved.\textsuperscript{45}

The first comprises two different but complementary kinds of goods. When these are exchanged in a ritualistic ceremonial manner the result is a carefully balanced reciprocity which stabilizes relations between the parties involved.

For example, when two families are united through marriage, the traditional gifts which the bridegroom's family present to the bride's family are grouped under the name of 'oloa. These include food, tools, canoes and houses. Today the main exchange gift is money which represents the male wealth of the family and can be regarded as a bride price. Its value lies in its economic usefulness.

By contrast the bride's family presents the man's family with 'ie tōga which are collectively called toga and represent the female wealth of the family in the nature of a dowry. Their intrinsic value comes from the labour invested in their manufacture and their decorative purpose. Buck thought that the name 'ie tōga was derived from the bride's tōga:

The bride's family supplied an equivalent value in fine mats distinguished by the term tonga [sic]. Hence the derivation of the name of the fine mat, 'ie tonga [sic], and we get the fine mat constituting tonga (valuable property).\textsuperscript{46}

Later it shall be shown how the name 'ie tōga is also connected with the islands of Tonga.

A second form of gift-giving consists of the more competitive, and at times, aggressively game-like exchanges of money, food and 'ie tōga. In these status-

\textsuperscript{45}For his analysis of (1) the ritualized asymmetrical exchanges which unite and stabilize complementary relationships as evidenced in the formal gift exchanges, and (2) the competitive and relatively unstable effects of symmetrical exchanges, see Bradd Shore, Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 203-208.
\textsuperscript{46}Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, p. 317.
seeking situations, there is also a tendency for conflicts to erupt if people feel that the reciprocal gift is not equal to the one given.

This type of gift-giving includes the obligatory donations to one's family at the time of funerals, weddings, entitlement ceremonies and other life crises which are often referred to colloquially as *fa'alavelave*. The exact details of the formally presented money, *'ie tōga* and food are recorded with great care as it is expected that each contribution will be publicly acknowledged later by the presentation of a reciprocal gift of equal value.

**Different categories of *'ie tōga* used in presentations**

*‘ie tōga* as gifts are also divided into three different categories for presentations. The usual gift for an *ali‘i* is the *‘ie tāua*. (*Tāua* means 'important'.) Nowadays this is also given to a *faife‘au*. In Samoa, the presentation of the *‘ie tāua* for a chief is by a public display out on the *malae* ('open space in the middle of a village') or inside the *fale* where the ceremony is taking place. The gift for the village *faife‘au* is never displayed publicly but is rolled up and presented to him at his house by a representative of the family or village. However, in New Zealand this has changed. The gifts for the *faife‘au* are now openly displayed before the public at a function in the church hall. Then again after the *faife‘au* has conducted a service for a special occasion such as a birthday, the family might send an *‘ie tōga* together with the gifts of food and money to the minister at his house.

Another very appropriate term for *‘ie tāua*, especially those belonging to paramount chiefs is *‘ie fa‘atupu* ('royal mat of the king'). The *‘ie fa‘atupu* are kept by the paramount *tupu* ('kings') of Samoa such as Malietoa, Mataafa, Tui Manu‘a, Tuimaleali‘ifano, Tupua, and other paramount chiefs of Samoa.

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47 *Fa‘alavelave* means 'entanglement'. It is a somewhat imprecise colloquial term for any occasion which costs Samoans a lot of money and wealth.
48 This name is derived from *fa‘a* ('to make') and *tupu* ('king').
A tōfā is a special gift for a particular person acknowledging his or her dignified presence, or for some other specified reason. The kind of 'ie tōga required ranges from 'ie lelei to 'ie tēua and depends upon the status of the person being honoured. (The term tōfā is honorific and denotes high rank - usually of a tulāfale. Sometimes there is no difference between a tōfā and a tāua except in the terminology used.)

A lafo is the 'ie tōga which is presented as an acknowledgement for a speech or for honouring the presence of special people at a gathering. Sometimes during an exchange of gifts certain individual chiefs (usually of low rank) like the tulāfale, are rewarded with one, two or more lālaga. (Then again some tulāfale titles rank equally with ali'i titles and their holders are always acknowledged on a parity with the ali'i.)

At functions such as funerals and weddings, the tulāfale conduct a fa'atau ('debate') among themselves as to who should give a speech of welcome or thanks (Fig. 55). It is customary for the family, village or church organization concerned to acknowledge publicly the presence of all the orators involved in the fa'atau. Each one is rewarded with a lafo in the form of a lālaga while the tulāfale who wins the debate, and thus has the honour of making the final speech, is given more 'ie tōga than his fellow protagonists. Samoans believe that the status of the occasion is greatly enhanced by the number of contestants at the fa'atau; and the debate is often very entertaining. Today, especially in New Zealand, money is often given instead of 'ie tōga.

The ceremonial presentation of 'ie tōga

Before any function involving the presentation of 'ie tōga, time is spent sorting and grading the mats. The occasion could be a family wedding or funeral, a saofā'i ('ceremony for the installation of a matai'), a church malaga visiting from
Samoa in order to raise funds,\textsuperscript{49} a so'o ('sports and cultural tournament')\textsuperscript{50} or a fa'aaulufalega ('opening of a new church'). Whatever the event, hundreds, even thousands, of dollars and 'ie tōga can be exchanged when families, villages, groups and churches come together.\textsuperscript{51}

The ceremonial presentation of 'ie tōga always involves two groups of people. I shall call the visitors, guests or people to be honoured Group A while the hosts, the local people or the village are Group B. Both groups sit facing each other. Let us suppose that the gifts of 'ie tōga are going to be presented by Group B to Group A.

The Group B tulāfale, with his to'oto'o and fue, steps up to the front of his group to present his oration which will conclude with the distribution of the 'ie tōga (Fig. 31).\textsuperscript{52} During his speech he names, according to their hierarchical ranking, each of the important matai and people in Group A as the 'ie tōga are taken across to them. But first the 'ie tōga, depending on its size, is displayed by one or two women who parade it around the space between the two groups. While this is happening the orator tells everyone about the reason why this particular 'ie tōga has been taken out of their stock to be presented on this special day.

While the public display is going on, members of Group A show their happiness and admiration of the beauty of the displayed 'ie tōga by calling out such phrases as: "sāō, fa'alālelelei" ('Let there be silence at the display of well


\textsuperscript{50}In New Zealand, Samoan students conduct an inter-university so'o during the August holidays.

\textsuperscript{51}A church dedication may raise several hundred thousand dollars over a weekend; a fundraising malaga may raise thirty to fifty thousand dollars and a funeral over twenty thousand dollars or more.

\textsuperscript{52}There are public occasions when a woman tulāfale speaks on behalf of the important women present. For example when a woman doctor who also holds a tulāfale title accompanied the doctors' wives to New Zealand on a fund raising malaga in 1989. But it is usual for the tulāfale, as in the present example, to be men.
sunned [seasoned] mats'), "'ua mālie pule" ("You have dealt to us well"), and "'ua mālō le fa'aaloalo" ("Congratulations on your show of respect").

On receiving the 'ie tōga, the recipient matai or faife'au in Group A formally accepts the gift by raising the 'ie tōga to his or her head (Fig. 50). His or her appreciation is also expressed through uttering such phrases as "Malo le pule" ("Well done your gifting") and "Ua ja'afetai le 'fa'aaloalo" ("Thank you for your respect"). At the same time one or two women from Group A place themselves in front of, or slightly to one side of the matai (Figs. 39 and 49). The women then receive the 'ie tōga and fold it and any others following this one, into a neat pile.

While an 'ie tōga is being presented to the matai, a woman (who should be the wife of an orator) and who is either related to the high chief, or from the same village, calls out a chant. This chant is called a sula. The status of the chief's gift is heightened by her sula and later she will be rewarded by the high chief concerned with a lafo of one or more lalaga. On most occasions in her chant, the woman calls on the Samoan deities of the past for their blessing. Then she invokes traditional metaphors of the chiefly status of the giver of the gift. She also calls on the sacred bonds between archetypal figures of Samoan oral history to bear witness to this act of generosity by the host.

The following example of a sula which praises 'ie tōga is taken from Krämer:

53 Acknowledgement of the gift normally stops just short of contact with the head. As well as 'ie tōga other gifts including flowers or money, and the awarding of certificates, diplomas and degrees are all raised to the head in a gesture of formal acceptance by a Samoan.

54 Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u gives other heartfelt exclamations and expressions of sincere gratitude upon the reception of an 'ie tōga as: "Fa'cxanā" (All things submit and give way in its presence), "Fa'alalelelei" (Whatever is beauty in other things, the Fine Mat will surpass), "Malie-ō" (An overwhelming joy of joys) and "Malie Pule-to" (Evidence the depth of the donor's generosity). Katina (Cardinal) Pio Taofinu'u, "The Significance of the Fine Mat in Samoan Life" from O le'Ava o se Pelefoeta: The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy in Faasamoa Pea, Vol. 1, (Pago Pago: Community College of American Samoa, May 1974), p. 20.

55 Augustin Krämer, The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular
Ole Pesē Sula Toga

'Ua malie le pule i manā
'Ua malie le la'i Toivā
'Ua malie le suavasele
Lau pule ua tōi tetele
'Ua 'ou sapaia fa'atua 'ele'ele
Sa tutuli taliga sa lē ma fa'alogo.
Manu e 'ua taufai 'olo
Ai le fotu 'ai mai a le tausala ma le poolo.
Isa! ta lē sa'a'ia
Isa! ta lē sapaia!
Isa! ta lē gautia!

Ua vale le taeao o manaia.
Ia le malō lenā; e lē se malō leaga,
'O le malō mafanafana
'O le malō sau'a'ia, e lē se malō tāua,
'O le malō mai anamua.
'O le malō 'ie tāua
Sa tauvā i ai Pule ma Tumua,
Ma Ita'au ma Alataua;
'A'ua tō mai lau pule 'aumai 'ou fa'amanūa
Fa'amanū le aualuma,
Fa'amanū na le tauua
Afu ai ita le tufanua,
'Ae pulou si ota matua.

The Song About Praising The Fine Mats

You distribute admirably
Fair is the westwind blowing from Toivā,
It is very good that the rain is slowing down somewhat.
Your kindness has provided many (mats).
I shall caress them like a sea swallow.
Deaf was my ear, and for joy I could not hear

The loud twitter of the birds
At the approaching of the high chief's daughter and her retinue.
Fie, I don't want to get involved with her!
Fie, I don't want to caress her!
Fie, I will not give in!
Useless is the manaia's morning
For this government; for it is not bad,
  It is a wealthy government.
A well established one, not bellicose,
An old established government
For the finest, the best mat
Fought Pule and Tumua,
And Itu'au and Alataua;
Your kindness gave it to me, blessed be you for it!
  Hail to the aualuma,
  Hail to your servants;
I cover myself, the common man,
I cover up my parents.

The Group A ali'i sili does not give the "thank you" speech. His or her tulafale (one of the deacons of the church usually speaks on behalf of the faife'au) symbolically lifts the donor of the gift to the highest echelon of Samoan status positions through the stilted oratory that emanates from his rich store of metaphors. This is expected of the orator representing the receiver of 'ie tōga because it is his duty to reciprocate (at least in the terms of status-building) by praising the generous gift given as well as the individuals concerned.

It is customary for the Group B orator (speaking on behalf of the donors of the gifts) to interrupt the speech of thanks and praise by his counterpart from the receiving side, by self-effacingly saying that there is really no need for extra praise for them, as the gifts given were merely a token of their affection. (This is factually not true because these 'ie tōga are supposed to be the best.)

By tradition, this is the signal to the Group A orator (of the recipients) that the speech has been accepted, and that it is time to end his oration. He might attempt to

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56 High chief from ali'i ('lord, chief') and sili ('high, best').
say that he has not yet thanked his hosts enough by asking for a little more forbearance from them. He feels that he has not really achieved his goal in giving enough praise for the gifts. At this juncture, the host tulafale is obliged to tell his counterpart that if he continues his speech, it will be interpreted as a mark of their (the recipients') dissatisfaction with the gifts. At this point, the recipient orator (with traditional "enacted" humility) begs for forgiveness and calls on God to bless the host and all those gathered. He formally ends the speech by holding his staff horizontally in front of himself. As a mark of respect, the donor tulafale presents his counterpart with a tōfā gift of 'ie tōga.

At the conclusion of the speeches of presentation, when the participants are about to depart, it is customary for one of the young men in the group to perform the folafola, that is, to loudly and publicly announce the gifts in a manner which attracts the notice of everyone. It further draws attention to the fact that one's own chief has been honoured with gifts, as well as acknowledging one's thanks to the chiefs and people who paid the respect.

The delegated person stands a few feet away from his group (usually outside of the fale or hall) and in a voice of rising tones he calls out to the four corners of Samoa to listen to him declaring the magnificence of the gifts from the tupu ('kings') of Samoa, its paramount chiefs and orators (from the host side). At the end of his loud pronouncement he calls out the individual names of the deities, tupu, prominent orators of that village, the church congregation and so forth. For example: "Malietoa e, Malietoa e" (the name of the Head of State), "Tamasoali'i e, Tamasoali'i e" (a high chief's title) and "Fa'afetai le Fa'aaloalo" ('Thank you for your respect').

Some scenarios for the ceremonial presentation of 'ie tōga

It is quite common for the ceremonial presentation of 'ie tōga to last one to
two, or even more hours. Some of the scenarios for their presentation are as follows.

When a church fundraising *malage* from Samoa is hosted by a New Zealand congregation they may be welcomed into the host congregation with a kava ceremony held in the church hall. Following the ceremony the guests may present hundreds of ‘ie tōga to their hosts. The visitors will be billeted in the homes of the host congregation for several days and on the final evening of their stay, after a church service, celebratory meal and entertainment - perhaps in the form of a dance - a further exchange of gifts takes place. Traditionally, this is often referred to as an ‘aiavā ('farewell feast and presentation of gifts'). First the hosts give lengths of material to be distributed among the *malaga* and thousands of dollars of money, all of which are publicly displayed (Fig. 38). Then the departing guests again respond by presenting to the hosts more ‘ie tōga (Fig. 39).

In response to a death, many family, village and church members support the family concerned with gifts of ‘ie tōga and donations of money. These are brought by small groups of people and with due ceremony they are presented and accepted by the bereaved family. In New Zealand it is quite common for a tent (fitted with electric lights and heaters, and lined with *siapo* and sleeping mats) to be erected in the garden of the home of the deceased (Fig. 42). Once all the donations have been received, and this may not be until two or three in the morning on the day of the funeral, the *matai* of the family can begin the selection process of sorting and allocating the ‘ie tōga (Figs. 43 and 44). These will be distributed as gifts to the donors after the reception and feast which will follow the funeral service and burial.

‘ie tōga which are publicly presented after the funeral form part of two types of presentation. One is a *sua* ('a combination of goods given to honour an individual person') and the other is a *tu‘uga* ('a portion of food for a group of people').

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57 For an exposition of the seven types of food presentations with a theological interpretation:
These two presentations are usually conducted quite separately from each other. However, in some New Zealand Samoan churches there has been a modification of a number of customary practices in order to accommodate the needs of the Samoan community in the local environment.

Originally a *sua* was the special meal given to honour an *ali‘i*. Buck describes this ceremonial meal as a *sua ta‘i*. The whole meal is called a *sua* while the term *ta‘i* describes the manner in which it is presented:

Four bearers bring in a drinking nut,\(^{58}\) *talo taisi* [sic],\(^{59}\) a fowl, and a roasted pig in that order. The bearer of the drinking nut has a piece of bark cloth *siapo* girded round his waist. The chief sits cross-legged before his proper wall post. The bearer as he nears him, sits down on the floor before and sideways towards him. He then passes the drinking nut sideways to the floor before the chief. He removes the *siapo* and hands that over also. The others follow in succession bearing the food on platters which are laid before the chief from the sideways sitting position.\(^{60}\)

By extension a *sua* is also the prestigious group of gifts which are ceremonially presented to visitors on arrival to show that they are recognised and that tradition continues to be honoured. But there is also something of an anomaly connected with the time a *sua* is given. A *sua* is sometimes presented at the end of a guest’s stay and yet symbolically it is a token that all the needs of the visitor will be provided for. Not to go formally through the ritualistic process is a great insult and embarrassment.

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*sua* (‘formal presentation of food to honoured guests’), *si‘ilaulau* (‘the presentation of food for a banquet’), *tautauga* (‘feast at night’), *laulautasi* or *ava taeao* (‘feast for the daylight hours’), *amoulu* (‘a bigger feast than the laulautasi’), *taalolo* (‘the village or district royal presentation of gifts’) and the *‘aiavā* (‘farewell feast’) see Cardinal Pio Taofinu‘u, *The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy*, 1973.

\(^{58}\) A drinking nut (a coconut from which the fluid provides a refreshing beverage) is also called a *sua*.

\(^{59}\) *Ta‘isi* is the most prestigious way to cook taro or yams. They are wrapped in leaves and baked in an *umu* (‘stone ground oven’).

\(^{60}\) Hiroa, *Samoan Material Culture*, p. 140. For ‘Food Customs’ see pp. 140-146.
The traditional gifts of a *sua*, in order of presentation, are a punctured drinking coconut with a coconut rib stuck in the opening, cooked taro and chicken. These are presented on plaited oblong platters or trays. The bearer of the coconut is girded with *siaipo* which is handed over as described above. Next a large piece of *siaipo* is displayed and presented followed by the 'ie tōga one of which will be of excellent quality. The final gift formerly was a live pig although today the pig is cooked. Through these items it can be seen that all the needs of the visitor are provided for - drink and food ready for immediate consumption, *siaipo* for clothing, and the larger goods to honour the guest with prestigious wealth. But most significant of all is the fact that unless the 'ie tōga is included the whole thing becomes a farce and has no meaning.

This is further confirmed by the substitutions which, in recent years, have been made in the *sua* goods. The *momono* ('stopper') in the opening of the coconut has been replaced by a dollar note which the recipient often hands to his or her *tulafale* who immediately drinks the coconut or soft drink and pockets the money. Moreover, the actual coconut can be substituted by a bottle of soft drink with money stuck into its opening. Since New Zealand replaced one and two dollar notes with coins, the smallest paper currency which can be used is a five dollar note. Sometimes ten or twenty dollar notes are used.

A packet of biscuits can be used instead of the *taro* and a tin of fish or corned beef can take the place of the cooked chicken. It is now quite usual for the presenter of the drink to have several metres of material trailing behind as he or she walks across to present the drink. Then the material is released from his or her waist and passed to the guest. Next the 'ie tōga are paraded but, and this is very important, they are absolutely essential and can not be substituted. The final gift, the pig is often replaced by a keg of beef.
Now to return to the scenario of the presentation of 'ie tōga after a New Zealand funeral. First, individual honoured guests - the faife'au, matai and other dignitaries (Fig. 49), are presented with a sua which consists mainly of the substitutions described above plus an additional gift in the form of an envelope containing money. It is also important to note that in New Zealand it is now customary for the 'ie tōga of the faife'au to be publicly displayed. (In Samoa the gifts are taken to the house of the faife'au and are not paraded before the community.)

The second type of ceremonial presentation is a tu'uga from the bereaved family to the congregation of the deceased and other churches and groups which have honoured them through the presentations of gifts. As a communal gift, the goods will be redistributed among the group at a later time. First the 'ie tōga are presented. These will include two or three large 'ie lelei followed by the smaller lālaga. Often the lālaga are presented in groups of ten. There is no cultural significance attached to this number and it is used merely as a means to assist with the counting of the 'ie tōga. At large receptions the 'ie tōga may be presented in bundles of ten already wrapped in sheets of plastic (Fig. 37). In this instance the 'ie tōga are owned collectively by the congregation and are often stored in a central location. Then the group will be presented with tins of cabin biscuits, cans of beef or fish, and kegs of beef or the quartered carcasses of beef (Figs. 50 and 51).

Finally when the guests have left, family members return to the family home for a final distribution of money and 'ie tōga among themselves.

Today 'ie tōga are also used as prizes at a fa'aaulufalega ('opening of a church'). Although it is not regarded as a competition, several hundred 'ie tōga may be awarded to the congregations which give the top three monetary donations in the tusigāigoa ('writing of names') and the pōpese ('a performance of original

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61 For example, the Women's Fellowship, the autalavou, the Sunday School and so forth.
songs which tell the story of the building of the church'). It must be remembered that a tusigāigoa is not regarded as a competition although prizes are often given. By contrast a pōpese is often regarded as a competition (Figs. 33-35).

Other terminology connected with 'ie tōga

Sometimes the 'ie tōga is referred to by the following names.

An expression used frequently by orators is Mea Sina a Samoa ('The prestigious things of Samoa'). The exact translation of sina is 'white' but in this context it means 'best' or 'prestigious'. Orators also use the allegorical term Toga Sā ('Sacred Toga') to elevate the status of those who presented the gift.

During a wedding or a funeral ceremony, the term mālō is used in a colloquial way. Although not usually used during a formal speech, one tulāfale may want to ask another matai of his family "How many 'ie tōga are there"? by saying, "E fia le mālō"? ("How many the mālō"?) or an equivalent expression.

'Oloa is a common colloquial term meaning 'wealth' and it is sometimes used in conjunction with mālō. It is used by relatives, friends and anybody else. Sometimes people inquire of the amount (number) of the 'oloa meaning "how many ('wealth') 'ie tōga have been involved"? But probably the most common colloquial word of all to be used for the fine mat is the abbreviated form of 'ie.

Some special 'ie tōga are also distinguished by having an individual name. Krämer names the six best known Mats of State from the early period, the 'ie o le mālō as Lagava'a ('plaited on board boat'), Moeiuaniu, Leafumauga, Fa'aoti i Salani ('Finished at Salani'), Gogotāgi ('Gulls cried') and Tamaletoloa ('The wild duck loves her young very much'). Buck names two famous 'ie tōga as

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62 See Chapter 10: "Sacred Space - Samoan Church Buildings in New Zealand".
Lauao-o-Tuiatua ('The hair of Tui Atua, [the paramount chief of the district of Atua]') and the previously mentioned Fa'auma-i-tuavao ('Ending in the Bush').

The practice is fairly common and it is a matter of personal choice. But it is important to note that those belonging to ali'i (no matter what the name) are of prestigious value.

Today, the names of living people are sometimes written on to 'ie tōga with a ball-point or felt-tip pen. These are not the names of the 'ie tōga, but simply labels given by the people who are distributing them at a function to expedite the instant recognition of the hierarchy of gifts. An equivalent would be the writing of people's names on paper currency. Some people now prefer to write on masking tape and not deface the 'ie tōga.

Some possible reasons for the high status of 'ie tōga

Of course one can only speculate as to how and why the 'ie tōga has become such a prestigious gift and status symbol. Buck proposes that the desire to decorate and distinguish people of rank for state occasions acted as a contributing stimulus to the development of the 'ie tōga as a prestigious garment. It has already been noted that 'ie tōga are worn during ceremonies by tautō, manāia and newly created title holders.

Nevertheless, it has great significance in that Samoans always regard a monetary gift, even that of $2,000, as culturally insufficient unless it is accompanied by an 'ie tōga. The fine mat provides the link between the gift and the honour of the giver. It also acknowledges the honour of the recipient. Similarly, it does not matter what fine things are said about a person, unless the words are "covered" by the presentation of an 'ie tōga the speech is regarded as

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"empty" and without substance. And, even in the actual presentation of a number of ordinary *'ie tōga* which are often displayed in groups of ten, the *lālaga* have to be covered by either an *'ie lelei* or an *'ie tāua*. Something of a higher status gives meaning to something of a lower status and the use of the *'ie tōga* continually provides an enhancement of low level cultural transactions. Then again, the very best is given to those holding the highest positions, which both acknowledges and reinforces their status in the hierarchy.

Samoans have other priceless commodities beside the *'ie tōga*. For example, the *tīfa-i-moana* ('colourful deep sea shells'), *penina* ('pearls'), whale's teeth, boar's tusks and very fine *siapo* ('tapa bark cloth'). However, as the sea treasures are difficult to obtain they are very exclusively owned. By contrast *siapo*, which traditionally could be worn by all people, is too common. As a result the *'ie tōga* may have become the most favoured article of exchange and reverence for some of the following reasons.

The *'ie tōga* is available to everyone and the components are easily accessible. Its manufacture involves the skill and local expertise of its creator who could personally identify herself with her product. The creative instinct required for prestigious mat-making or weaving tends to invoke a more intensive spiritual and physical involvement of the womenfolk in the village. This is usually manifested in the high status of the *fale lālaga* ('weaving house') in the village. It is also a centre for community crafts, informal social education, story-telling among the weavers, singing, folk tales, gossip, laughter and the socialization of younger women and girls.

Since women spend long hours weaving, the length of time taken (months and sometimes years) and the richness of the surrounding culture as manifested in the many forms described above, all contribute to the prestige and spiritual value of the product. It is very important to realize that Polynesian etiquettes stress the factors
of effort, the length of time involved and the skills used in producing a product.

Although, hierarchically, it is the high chief who owns the 'ie tōga tāua, it is his faletua ('wife of the high chief') who looks after and cares for it. In recalling the role of important and skilled women in its manufacture, the links between 'ie tōga and the female gender is further reinforced in Samoan tradition. Guarding precious 'ie tōga is as sacred a duty as guarding the virtues of a young tāupōu.

The spiritual significance of the 'ie tōga could also be attributed to its function as the very special and prestigious cultural artifact through which Samoans show their respect at the highest level of their hierarchical society. The coffin of a dead person for instance is covered with an 'ie tōga (Fig. 40). In association with the Old Testament concept of talo mua ('first fruits')66 an 'ie tōga may be offered as a gift to the faife’au or brought forward with the offertory to the priest in the Roman Catholic celebration of the Eucharist. The Catholic church also sometimes uses the concept of the ifoga ('ceremonial request for forgiveness') in its service. It is appropriate now to recall the origin of this rite.

The mythical history of the 'ie tōga

It is common for the different Samoan islands, districts or villages to have their own versions of mythical stories. The following is an abbreviated version of one example of the mythical history of the 'ie tōga.67

In the Manu'a village of Fitiuta there lived a couple with a very beautiful daughter called Futa. She spent much time weaving a fine mat. The god Tagaloa wanted her hand in marriage but as she found him very loathsome she took up her mat, jumped into the sea and swam to Tutuila where she continued weaving her mat.

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66 Talo('taro') and mua ('first').
67 'History of the Fine Mat' in Faasamoa Pea, Vol. 1, (Pago Pago: Community College of American Samoa, May 1974), pp. 14-19. (No details are given of the book from which the history was taken.) For another version see Su'apa'ia, Samoa: The Polynesian Paradise, p. 49.
Futa married chief Fe'aloalo of Utumea and had a daughter named Maofa. Futa gave her mat to Maofa. The mat continued to be passed on from mother to daughter for another five generations until Tau'olo inherited the *fala-o-Futa* ('woven mat of Futa') from her mother.

One night while torch-fishing in the lagoon, Tau'olo and the two men Leatoi’a and Leagoia were kidnapped by Lautivogia, the brother of Tuitoga ('the King of Tonga'), and his travelling party. Tau'olo was carrying the *fala-o-Futa* under her arm and so the mat travelled with her to Tonga. When Tuitoga saw the beautiful Tau'olo he wanted to make her his queen but already his brother Lautivogia had taken her as his wife and she was pregnant. In his frustration and anger the King became ill.

Lautivogia ordered the two Samoan men to prepare food for Tuitoga but he refused all their meals out of his desire for Tau'olo. Lautivogia grew very fearful:

Then Lautivogia sat and pondered what else he could do to appease his brother. He ordered the Samoans to dig a deep hole. When the hole was dug, Lautivogia took leave of his wife with these words, "I am going to die. If the Tuitonga [sic] should inquire after me, don't tell him what has happened to me. Don't allow anyone to give him information about me." He then ordered Leatoi’a and Leagogia to break off a piece of the anchor stick of his boat and plant it in the grave. Then he cast himself upon the stake and died. The two Samoans filled the grave and buried him.68

The unsuccessful search for the missing Lautivogia extended to the Samoan island of Upolu. Eventually the Tongan King ordered the ovens to be lit and that the Samoans be committed to the flames.

The hour came for the Samoans to be conveyed to the fiery pit. Tau'olo then took her mat and, spreading it out so that it covered the three of them, walked with her companions toward the king. When Tuitoga saw the mat, he sent for his concubines and inquired whether they had a mat

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68 "History of the Fine Mat" in *Faasamoa Pea*, pp. 16, 18.
more valuable than Tau'olo's. The concubines came with their mats, but there was none to compare with that of the Samoan lady.

The king of Tonga then said, "The Samoans shall live." Ever since that time, the Fala-o-Futa (Futa's mat) has been known as the "Pulou ole Ola" (The shelter of Life). It is also called "Tasi-ae-afe" (Only one, but worth a thousand), because all the Tongan mats were not equal in value to this single Samoan mat.

The three Samoans then returned to their own country with the mat. Ever since that time the fine Samoan mats have been called "ie toga" or Tongan mats.69

**Symbolic elements in the myth**

From this story it is possible to learn several things. Firstly, Samoan *ie tōga* can be regarded as sacred, for their life-saving property originated in the sacred primal time of myth. This was a time when gods were in direct contact with humans who also had supernatural powers. The creator god Tagaloa was so impressed by Futa that he wanted her as his wife. However, she demonstrated a defiance and a freedom of choice by swimming across the sea to Tutuila.

Eliade says that symbols are capable of expressing the theological "truths" of transcendence and freedom. In primal religions, symbols and myths relating to "magical flight" and "celestial ascent" are used to signify spiritual experiences. In symbolic language "flight" into an "outside" world translates as the acquisition of higher intelligence, and the comprehension of secret things or metaphysical truths.70 In Samoan mythology it would appear that superhuman feats of swimming between islands across the ocean fulfills the same symbolic role.

It is possible that in Samoan folklore and legends, the "outside" world of Tonga (and Fiji) represents the unknown, mystery, danger, romantic allusions, exquisite-ness and so forth.71 Such a vision parallels the way in which Europeans have

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69 "History of the Fine Mat" in *Faasamo Pea*, p. 18.
regarded the Orient as dangerous, exotic and mysterious. At the same time the foreign is often highly regarded when compared with the local.

Much of the fabric of Samoan culture is made up of these elements which are transmitted through the *fāgogo* ('a tale intermingled with song and told at night'), local gossip, and the powerful allegories propounded by the ever innovative *tulāfale*. So, to enhance the power of local oratory and the symbolism emphasized by these village image-makers, the "distant" allusions are exemplified and reinforced. Whether there is any truth in them or not is not as important as the effect of the imagery and symbolism they want their listeners to accept.

Secondly, by naming the direct descent line of each generation of women who cared for the mat, the sacred origins of the mat and Tau'olo are confirmed.

Thirdly, the story contains an excellent example of the contradictory aspects which can come together in a religious symbol. The circumstances regarding Lautivogia's death when he cast himself upon the stick to which he anchored his boat, contain an opposition of symbolic images. When Lautivogia kidnapped Tau'olo they crossed the ocean from Samoa to Tonga in a boat. As well as symbolizing adventure, exploration and the setting out on the sea of life, boats can also symbolize crossing the waters of death. For Lautivogia his journey with Tau'olo eventually resulted in his death. Later however when Tau'olo and her Samoan companions returned to Samoa they took with them on their journey the *Pulou ole Ola* ('The shelter of Life').

The fact that the return journey to Samoa is in a north-east direction is coincidental in this story, but in symbolic terms a journey eastward towards the rising sun is the direction of life, while the resting place of deceased spirits is always in the west with the setting sun. This is also in keeping with the common

71 Samoan folklore seems to centre mainly on only two distant countries - Tonga and Fiji.
practice among Samoan Christians of burying their dead facing the east in anticipation of the Second Coming of Christ from that direction.

Anchors (as represented by the anchor stick to which Lautivogia secured his boat) symbolize hope, steadfastness, stability, tranquility, security and good luck. But like the boat in this story, the symbolic meaning of the anchor is reversed. The significance of this is that paradoxical symbols contain within themselves, contradictory aspects of ultimate reality.

Fourthly, one of the most important features of all is that through this story it is known that not only has the 'ie tōga existed since the primordial time of gods and ancestors giving it a sacred history, but that it is a symbol of transcendence. When an 'ie tōga is placed over an offending person's head it has the power to save his or her life through a method of atonement called an ifoga. (Offences include murder, manslaughter, accidental death and serious insults.) But because of the hierarchical structure of Samoan society an apology must be made not only by the guilty person but also by high status people representing the family of the offender. Shore defines an ifoga as the:

Ceremonial humiliation in which chiefs representing the group of one who has seriously offended another group make amends by sitting outside the house of the offended group with fine mats over their heads.72

In the story, the voluntary death of Lautivogia resulted in the near execution of the three Samoans. But upon seeing Futa's mat covering their heads Tuitoga allowed their lives to be saved. The king's reason for their salvation was the extraordinary quality of the mat. One of its names was Tasi-ae-afe ('Only one, but worth a thousand'). However, in the act of covering their heads, the mat also acted as a life saving shield or a veil which is confirmed by its name Pulou ole Ola ('The

72 Shore, Sala'ilua, p. 318.
Shelter of Life).

Ngan-Woo says that during an ifoga:

The offender is required to cover himself with fine mats. He will then kneel and humble himself before the house of the wronged family. This will take place before sunrise in the company of the matai and the male members of his family . . .

The fine mats that covered the offender and his aiga as a sign of shame and humility, are presented to the aggrieved family as a token of penance. Once they have been accepted the plea of forgiveness is considered as granted. The orator or the minister chosen to speak on behalf of the offending family will deliver to the aggrieved party a plea based upon Christian teachings and faaSamoa [sic] practice in order to obtain forgiveness. Reference would be made to the Christian principle that, just as Christ forgave those who crucified him, faaSamoa should practise the same forgiveness. The aggrieved family will at first respond with insulting and taunting words, in an attempt to humiliate the confessors. The faaleleiga ['the goal of reconciliation'] would follow, with the presentation of fine mats to the injured family. The latter reciprocates with food.73

The Christian principle of atonement and forgiveness resulting from the voluntary death of Jesus on the cross, is doubly powerful in this situation for when Lautivogia gave his life, he too set in motion a series of events from which was symbolically created the traditional Samoan method of reconciliation. Today, when an injured 'aiga accepts the 'ie tōga, the classical spiritual heritage of Samoans becomes blended with the central images of Christianity: Christ's supreme sacrifice and the principles of brotherly love and forgiveness.74 In other words, it can be argued that the 'ie tōga is a sacred symbol, not only because of its sacred origin


74 "Brotherly" love may have sexist overtones in contemporary Western culture, but Samoan traditions also embrace the traditional (pre-feminist) meaning of brotherly love. The view of the Judaeo-Christian background in the Bible is similar to the patrilineal background of fa'a-Samoa. Moreover, a woman's closest kinship link is with her brother who will always act as her protector. Manifestations of the brother-sister avoidance relationship is here acknowledged. This does not conflict with the overall phenomenon.
but also because of its symbolic function in ceremonies of mitigation, resulting in the prevention of blood feuds, by acting as "a blood payment". This leads to the restoration of peaceful relations within the Samoan community. In this way, the 'ie tōga is also a symbol of transcendence, for the circumstances in which it is used sometimes point to a closer understanding of the Christian teachings of justification by faith.

A further insight can be gained from a comment made by the late Rev. Dr Bert Williams Tofaeono who focused the topic of his doctoral thesis in Divinity on justification by faith and its relationship to the ifōga:

It takes a lot of faith in the final outcome of reconciliation to sit representing the guilty party in the early hours before dawn outside the injured family's home.

Fifthly, because Futa had the ability to weave a fine mat of extraordinary quality it could be assumed that in some way she is connected with the moon. In many traditions weaving is associated with lunar goddesses:

It was lunar goddesses who either invented the profession of weaving (like the Egyptian divinity Neith), or were famous for their ability to weave (Athene punished Arachne, for daring to rival her, by turning her into a spider), or weave a garment of cosmic proportions (like Proserpine and Harmonia), and so on. It was believed in medieval Europe that Holda was patroness of weavers, and we see beyond this figure to the chthonian and lunar nature of the divinities of fertility and death.

Some of the Polynesian folklore about the "woman in the moon", involves the legendary Sina (Hina or Ina), who is either weaving a fine mat or beating tapa-cloth in the moon as part of her punishment for violating village protocol or annoying the Gods. The symbolic connections between the moon and weaving will be further

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75Shore, Sala'ilua, p. 20.
76Personal communication, June 1984.
77Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, p. 180.
discussed in the next section.

Finally, although it must again be regarded as coincidental, when Futa fled from the attentions of the sky god Tagaloa by swimming from Manu'a to Tutuila, the westward direction of her flight connects her with ritual disappearance and physical death. (Pulotu, the final abode of the spirits of pre-contact Samoans, is located to the west of the island of Savai'i.) This motif is further extended by the later disappearance of Tau'olo and her two companions from their loved ones. Eventually, like a new moon, they reappear with the sacred fine mat of Futa as the reason for their safe return.

Another significant feature of this myth is, that it contains the three stages found in typical rites of transition as defined by Arnold van Gennep in his classic work *The Rites of Passage.* The three stages: separation, transition, and reincorporation are found in the ceremonies which mark the crossing of territorial boundaries (taking part in a *malaga*), the important transitions of status in the life of a person (birth, marriage, funerals, the title bestowal ceremony for a chief, and the *ifoga*), formal cultural initiations (tattooing and the installation of a *täupōu*) and training in special religious knowledge (for example, years of study at theological college culminating in the eventual ordination into a religious ministry).

The rite of separation can be likened to death for the individual concerned; who is no longer able to return to his or her former status. Next, the liminal stage of transition becomes a state of marginality for the subject, whether it is the offender in an *ifoga*, a person (male or female) being tattooed, or when a dying person is approaching a life of spiritual eternity. Now, the person is in a cut-off state of powerlessness, perhaps symbolically hidden, but always regarded as different, special or even sacred. The key aspect is that "the person is divorced from the past

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but not yet incorporated into the future. Eventually with a feeling of relief, happiness or anticipation, the person is reincorporated back into society. Within the context of *fa'a-Samoa*, the occasion is marked by feasting, speeches and the public presentation of *'ie tōga*.

**The moon, time and weaving symbolism**

Because the *'ie tōga* is created through an interweaving of fibres, and additionally plays the functional role of symbolically weaving together different Samoan families or groups through ceremonial exchanges, it can therefore be regarded as a universal symbol of the creative spirit and life force, for through its weaving symbolism it is linked to the lunar structures of birth, death and regeneration.

In *Patterns of Comparative Religion*, Eliade reminds us of the difficulty, found by people living within a Western religious framework, of accepting hierophanies as other legitimate forms and manifestations of the sacred:

To the Western mind, which almost automatically relates all ideas of the sacred, of religion, and even of magic to certain historical forms of Judaeo-Christian religious life, alien hierophanies must appear largely as aberrations. The difficulty is even greater when it comes to considering a symbol as a manifestation of the sacred, thinking of the season, the rhythm or the fullness of forms (any and every form) as so many modes of the sacred.

In other words, in order to be able to discuss the *'ie tōga*, as a hierophany expressing one modality of the sacred, one must be prepared to make the necessary mind shift and


\[81\] Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, pp. 10-11.
everywhere, in every area of psychological, economic, spiritual and social life.\textsuperscript{82}

From time immemorial, humans have connected their experiences of the passing of time, death and regeneration with the monthly cycles of the moon and the endless return of the seasons and life cycles. The moon is usually represented as the feminine power with the sun as the masculine counterpart. However, among the exceptions, as in Oceanic and Maori symbolism the moon is the male fertilizing principle.\textsuperscript{83} Cooper says:

Whether male or female the moon is universally symbolic of the rhythm of cyclic time and universal becoming. The birth, death and resurrection phases of the moon symbolize immortality and eternity, perpetual renewal and enlightenment.\textsuperscript{84}

Eliade also says that the moon is

\ldots a body which waxes, wanes and disappears, a body whose existence is subject to the universal law of becoming, of birth and death. The moon, like man, has a career involving tragedy, for its failing, like man's, ends in death. For three nights the starry sky is without a moon. But this "death" is followed by a rebirth: the "new moon".\textsuperscript{85}

The fact that the moon's disappearance is never final and that each month after three days it will be reborn as a tiny crescent which will continue to grow, mature and yet again fade away, is of tremendous significance for the human consciousness. It is this experience which reinforces the belief that death cannot be the final fate for humans, and that there must be a future rebirth in some altered state. Thus it is that

\textsuperscript{82}Eliade, \textit{Patterns in Comparative Religion}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{84}Cooper, \textit{An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols}, pp. 106-107.
\textsuperscript{85}Eliade, \textit{Patterns in Comparative Religion}, p. 154.
This perpetual return to its beginnings, and this ever-recurring cycle makes the moon the heavenly body above all others concerned with the rhythms of life.86

As stated earlier, a hierophany is an act of manifestation of the sacred. To aid with the identification of sacred symbols associated with the moon Eliade explains:

If you want to express the multiplicity of lunar hierophanies in a single formula, you may say that they reveal life repeating itself rhythmically. [Moreover] symbols which get their meaning from the moon are at the same time the moon. [In other words] a sacred thing, whatever its form and substance, is sacred because it reveals and shares in ultimate reality.87

To expand on this Eliade says:

Every religious object is always an "incarnation" of something: of the sacred. It incarnates it by the quality of its being . . . or by its form . . . or by a hierophany (a certain place, a certain stone, etc. becomes sacred; a certain object is "sanctified" or "consecrated" by a ritual, or by contact with another sacred object or person, and so on).88

In this way it can be seen that the quality of regeneration is incarnated in the moon. One form which symbolizes both creation and the perpetual renewal of life is the universal symbol of weaving. Cirlot says that weaving which is prehistoric in origin represents:

. . . basically creation and life, and particularly the latter in so far as it denotes accumulation and multiplication or growth.89

Thus it is that, within the context of fa'a-Samoa weaving in the form of the 'ie tōga becomes "sanctified" as an "incarnation" of regeneration. This happens

86Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, p. 154.
87Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, pp. 157-8.
88Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, p. 158.
through its use in the ceremonial rituals connected with the rhythms of the Samoan life cycle. Just as the modern clock relentlessly ticks the passing of time, in a more fluid way the flow of Samoan time can be perceived as being marked by a series of presentations and exchanges of 'ie tōga. The pulse beat at the heart of fa'a-Samoa is the endless comings together and partings of the Samoan people. (The next chapter will explore the Samoan concept of Time.)

The symbolic connection between 'ie tōga and time was also made when the word lāgaga, the colloquial form of lalaga ('to weave'), was used in the title of the book Lagaga: A short History of Western Samoa:

We have entitled this book "Lagaga" because like the mat being woven, Samoan history continues to be made.90

Other symbols associated with the moon and weaving include threads, woven fabrics, mantles and veils. All goddesses of Fate and Time are spinners and weavers:

The weaver is also the Cosmic Spider and the thread of the Great Weaver is the umbilical cord which attaches man to his creator and his own destiny and by which he is woven into the world pattern and fabric.91

In other words the thread of life and human destiny is a microcosmic reflection of the macrocosmic thread which binds the universe together and from which all is woven.92

As a woven fabric the thread becomes not only a "web of life" which can creatively bind and increase through the blending together of the different elements in weaving but also it denotes

91 Cooper, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols, p. 190.
92 See Cooper, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols, p. 170.
the mystic apprehension of the world of phenomena as a kind of veil which hides the true and the profound from sight.93

More importantly, within the Samoan context, the 'ie tōga also becomes a mantle which offers shelter and protection for the offender in the ifoga. Cooper says that a mantle not only provides

Shelter and protection for mankind, but also concealment, mystery, power and a particular role. Wearing a ritual mantle symbolizes transformation.94

With the lifting of the 'ie tōga from the offender and its acceptance by the harmed party, a transformation takes place through the ifoga. Not only is the fracture between two parties healed with the reintegration of the two groups but the offender is completely forgiven. The acceptance of reconciliation is finally marked by the injured party providing the offenders with a meal. The following names recorded by Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u also indicate the symbolic significance of the 'ie tōga: O le ie o le ola ('Fine Mat of Life'), O le ie o le leleiaga ('The Fine Mat of Reconciliation'), O le ie tafi mala ('The Clearing Away of Miseries that Enshroud Us') and Mālō ('Victory').95

In all the themes of the moon which are revealed by the lunar hierophanies (fertility, periodic regeneration, time, destiny, and change), the dominant idea is the rhythm of cyclic changes and periodic returnings. It is also this constant quality of "becoming" which facilitates the uniting forces found in the ifoga and other rituals of fa'a-Samoan. Eliade says:

This myth of reintegration is to be found almost everywhere in the history of religion in an infinity of variations - and fundamentally it is an expression of the thirst to abolish dualism, endless returnings and fragmentary existences.96

93Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p. 44.
94Cooper, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols, p. 104.
95Taofinu'u, "The Significance of the Fine Mat in Samoan Life" in Faasamoa Pea, p. 22.
There now follows a review the circumstances which exist when the 'ie tōga is used symbolically to mark the covenants of the Samoan life cycle and other occasions of special significance.

The symbolic use of 'ie tōga in association with the covenants of the human life cycle

Earlier in this chapter I described how the 'ie tōga is used for payments, exchanges and gifts. There is, however, another way in which it is of even greater symbolic importance, for the 'ie tōga is closely connected to sacred covenants made within the Samoan community. Moreover, the term feagaiga, as well as meaning 'agreement', 'contract', 'treaty', 'covenant' and 'testament' is also the polite Samoan word for faife'au and Roman Catholic catechists. This particular term is now more commonly used to refer to ministers as its meaning is more prestigious than the word faife'au, the meaning of which originates from the words fai 'to make' and fe'au 'work' or 'serve'.

In a Samoan's life there are significant events which are related to the life cycle and special relationships within the community. At these times sacred bonds in the form of covenants are symbolically created or dissolved by the presentation of special 'ie tōga. In this way the 'ie tōga represents the very life force which binds an individual to his or her family, weaves families together and re-establishes a person's place in the community. The 'ie tōga is also the welcoming gift at inaugurations and the parting gift at farewells.

In connection with the following ceremonies it is timely to recall that although the name 'ie tōga is usually translated as 'fine mat', the 'ie tōga is not a mat, but a prestigious article of clothing. Buck categorized it as a garment. Kipeni Su'apa'ia goes even further and calls it a "sacred ceremonial robe":

96Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, p. 184-5.
98Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, p. 275.
The term "fine mat" is not an accurate English translation for the word *le-Toga*, the most valued possession of the royal families of Samoa. It fails to describe the true value of the sacred ceremonial robe as the Samoans see it. *Le-Toga* is never used as a mat; it never was and it will never be.\(^9\)

It has already been stated that the *'ie tōga* is worn by people of special status - the *tāupōu*, *mānaia*, and a *matai* for his or her installation. But when Su'apa'ia calls it a "sacred ceremonial robe", this also infers that when a high status *'ie tōga* is presented, the *'ie tōga* symbolizes in a very personal way, the rank of the person in the sense of him or her "wearing" an official, state, sacred or divine vestment. In yet another way the *'ie tōga* can be seen to symbolically represent transcendence.

The most important events in the Samoan life-cycle focus on marriage, birth and death. As already mentioned above, a *fa'aipoipoga* (‘wedding’)\(^1\) links together two extended families through the exchange of *toga* and *'oloa*. Over the years since the time of the bride's birth, her mother weaves a special *'ie tōga*. Then, at the time of her marriage the daughter's *'ie tōga* is presented to the bridegroom's family as a special mark of the marriage vows which were made in the Christian wedding ceremony. In other words, this *'ie tōga* symbolizes the covenant of marriage which unites the two families and the new relationship and obligations of the bride within her husband's family.

Subsequently, with the birth of each child, there is a ceremony called *fa'a-failelegā-tama* ('the visiting of the baby after birth'). This presentation of *'ie tōga* between the family of the woman and that of her husband is made in the name of

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10. Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u recalls the origin of *tausama'aga*, the polite word for wedding feast. "The bride and bridegroom and most of their relatives anoint themselves with Samoan Oil called "Sama" or "Lega", from whence we derive the name of this ceremony". See Taofinu'u, "The Significance of the Fine Mat in Samoan Life" in *Faasamoa Pea*, p. 20.
the new child. The covenant of the marriage is also reaffirmed through the birth of the baby.

In the course of a Samoan's life there can be a number of other significant events which change the status of an individual. A saofa'i is the ceremony at which a matai is bestowed with the honour and authority of a family title. Among the formalities involved in the acceptance of a title is the o'o i le nu'u ('presentation to the village'). Then the new chief presents 'ie tōga to other title holders. Similarly, a newly elected member of Parliament is expected to return sometime after the elections, to thank his or her village with gifts including 'ie tōga. In the same way New Zealand title holders, upon returning to Samoa, make presentations to the village from where their titles originate.

Sometimes after being banished or ostracized by the village for wrong doing, a person might be reinvited back to the village. During the fa'aeaga e le nu'u ('the reinstatement by the village ceremony') the person concerned is expected to feed and present 'ie tōga to his or her village.

The ifoga, another example of reconciliation and the restoration of status was discussed earlier in this chapter. In former times firewood and fire (another universal symbol of transformation, purification, renewal of life and the unseen energy in existence),\textsuperscript{101} were carried and presented with the 'ie tōga.\textsuperscript{102} Alternatively, Moyle has suggested, it could be argued that the fire and firewood symbolise the aggrieved party's theoretical entitlement to kill and bake the offender, a traditional ultimate punishment. It is, after all, a powerful insult to say to any Samoan "I'm going to make an oven for you." Moreover, the ifoga is more an act of self-abasement, which does not carry within itself any impetus for reconciliation: any reconciliation must be initiated by the other party.\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{101}Cooper, \textit{An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols}, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{102}Taofinu'u, "The Significance of the Fine Mat in Samoan Life" in \textit{Faasamo Pea}, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{103}Moyle, personal communication, March 1995.
During an 'āmiga ('inauguration')\textsuperscript{104} of a new minister and his wife to service as a village faife'au, the 'ie tōga lelei which is presented is called the 'ie o le osigāfeagaiga ('ie of the covenant'). But, just as a covenant can be symbolically sealed with an 'ie tōga, the covenant can also be symbolically re-opened with an 'ie tōga.

The tatalaga o le feagaiga ('dissolution of a covenant')\textsuperscript{105} is a presentation of an 'ie tōga sili to a chief, a village or a group when a deal or covenant is over.

When a faife'au leaves or retires from his 'aulotu ('congregation') a special 'ie tāua is presented to him by the village. It is called an 'ie o le māvaega ('the fine mat of the parting or farewell').\textsuperscript{106} The faife'au also reciprocates in kind. In other kinds of farewells, for example, the parting between a chief and his wife, friends, couples, villages, a malaga and funerals, the same kind of exchanges take place. The terminology is the same although local variations occur depending on the nature of the occasion and the orators or spokespersons involved.

On the occasion of a man's death, the māvaega in the form of an 'ie tōga tāua or an 'ie tōga sili is presented by the widow's family to the family of the husband. This can represent a parting gift between the woman and her husband. It is also an appropriate sacred object for the atonement of any sins or wrong doing by the woman against the husband or members of his family. But most significantly, the 'ie tōga of the māvaega also symbolizes the formal ending of duties and responsibilities which used to be carried out by the woman during the marriage. Should she choose to, she is now free to dissociate herself from these duties.

For instance, if during the life of the couple, the man is a very high ranking chief, his wife will automatically be a very prominent falettua. She will be a leader

\textsuperscript{104}From 'a'ami 'to send for' and -ga noun form.
\textsuperscript{105}From tatala 'to unfold, undo, open out'.
\textsuperscript{106}Māvaega is short for fa'amāvaega ('farewell' or 'parting').
among the family women, or even among all the women in the village - or sometimes in New Zealand, the women in the church. But in the case of her husband's death, her brother, father or a high chief from her family will arrive at her husband's family with a māvaega in the form of an 'ie tōga tāua. From that moment onward, she can please herself in what she does in terms of the usual ties of responsibility and obligations that she used to carry out while her husband was alive. However, despite the symbolic severance performed by the māvaega, most widows remain with their children in the family of their husbands, especially if the children are adults and bearing responsibilities themselves.

It should also be noted that the exact nature of the ceremony also depends upon the choice of words and the emphasis stressed by the orator performing the public presentation of gifts. For example, when the orator acknowledges the widow's resumption of her own ties with her family, the brother-sister covenant will be stressed if the brother is the most senior or high ranking person in his family who is still alive. On the other hand, if her father is still alive, then the oratory might stress the father-daughter covenant instead.

**The churches and the 'ie tōga**

Today, the attitude of the Samoan churches regarding the use of 'ie tōga embraces a continuum of behaviours. At one extreme the Jehovah's Witnesses have absolutely nothing to do with the practices of fa'a-Samoan or, for that matter, any other cultural activities favoured by the country in which the members reside. At the other extreme, the Roman Catholic Church is the only denomination thus far to actively incorporate the use of 'ie tōga and its symbolism into a church service.

Of the other churches along the continuum, the Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist denominations are closest to the Catholics, for, although in New Zealand 'ie tōga are not used in their services except as attractive decorations on special Sundays such as White Sunday, weddings and funerals, these churches do
approve of the practices of fa'a-Samoa. If a congregation accepts the use of 'ie tōga, it also means that the people embrace the hierarchies connected with the bestowing of titles upon family members. Often these structures carry over into the church's organization.

Next along the continuum away from the practices of fa'a-Samoa, are the Assemblies of God. The focus of this church is very much upon the spiritual development of the individual, rather than the grandeur and competitiveness found within the larger status-building practices found in Samoan churches. The pastors, sympathetic to the hardships faced by their members living in times of high unemployment, coupled with doctrinal beliefs, do not make great demands for finance on their people. As a result it would appear that the hierarchical challenges associated with the use of 'ie tōga are not embraced by the members of these congregations. For them, the experience of transcendence is known not through the activities of fa'a-Samoa, but through a charismatic type of personal religious experience. Although to an outside observer, the Samoan speaking congregations are clearly very Samoan in their behaviour, the depths of fa'a-Samoa appear to have been greatly modified for they do not sit comfortably within the practical and spiritual aspirations of the Assemblies of God.

Two other denominations in New Zealand which have large Samoan congregations are The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) and the Seventh-day Adventists. Both these churches, with their strong international focuses and hierarchies, tacitly reject the use of 'ie tōga and some of the practices of fa'a-Samoa. Philosophically the acceptance of a matai title is not encouraged (although in practice a large number of elders are title holders) for it puts the individual into a state of conflict as to whether his or her loyalties lie first with the church or the obligations connected with fa'a-Samoa. Moreover, it is impossible for a matai to function ceremonially without the use of 'ie tōga. At the same time, both the Mormons and the Adventists are extremely respectful in their relationships
with family members belonging to other denominations and are correspondingly sympathetic of the use of 'ie tōga by others.

For those churches which do allow the use of 'ie tōga limitations have been placed on their presentation. With the exception of the Catholic Church, consequent upon the influence of Cardinal Pio over the last twenty years, it is strictly tabooed to display or present 'ie tōga on a Sunday. People carrying 'ie tōga from one place to another are supposed to wrap them with paper, cloth or some other covering, for Sunday is God's Holy Day.

Older New Zealand Samoans recall that when they were children growing up in the islands thirty or forty years ago, both the faife'au and the church tended to be somewhat guarded or non-committal in their dealings with the congregation when it came to the role of the 'ie tōga. This was probably due to a number of reasons. It had been the old Christian practice as set down by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society and Methodist church to dissociate "native" rituals (practices of the pre-contact pagans) from the Christian practices. Another factor was an inherent fear of offending the hierarchy of the churches (Congregational, Catholic and Methodist) whose administration and centre of power was overseas. Thirdly, the village faife'au did not want to violate local village protocol and traditions by not paying attention to age-old traditions involving the use of 'ie tōga.

Even today, in Samoa, when a faife'au or his wife dies, 'ie tōga are not presented. (Until recent years this has also been the practice in New Zealand but today such practices appear to be changing in the migrant environment [Figs. 52-55].) An expression associated with the death of a minister is: "E leai ni lagi o faife'au", which translates as "There are no sky rituals for the minister".

The Samoan ritual for the presentation of gifts and 'ie tōga marking the passing away of a high chief is called lagi (which literally means 'sky'). Some people still
believe that death is the result of supernatural forces from the sky (the abode of the sky god *Tagaloa-a-lagi*) removing the life force from the chief concerned. The *lagi* ritual therefore could be regarded not only as a mark of great respect to the dead chief and his family, but also as a form of symbolic atonement for his earthly wanderings and any short-comings in his dealing with his village while he was alive.

However, it is in the Catholic church, with its intention of trying to spiritualize the Samoan culture, that the greatest developments have taken place concerning the symbolic use of *'ie tōga*, *'ula* ('lei, garland or necklace'), traditional dress, and the *to'oto'o* and *fue* of an orator.

On one level these artefacts act merely as visual representations. For example, a kava bowl may be included among the painted or embroidered emblems on the stole of the priest (or *faife'a'u*). However, it is most unlikely that the bread and wine of the Mass would ever be replaced with *taro* and *kava* for, as already discussed in an earlier chapter, the symbolic imagery of *The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy* is also both metaphorical and allegorical. Cardinal Pio does not suggest that actual substitutions be made.

In some churches a *to'oto'o* and *fue* may be incorporated into the construction of a pulpit as a visual representation (Fig. 13). However, there is a considerable difference between having the symbols painted or carved into the decorations of a church and actually using them. For example, when the person who is preaching is given a *to'oto'o* and *fue*, these attributes of an orator gives the person a cultural as well as a religious right to speak.

Once the actual symbolic properties, and not just representations of them, are introduced into the liturgy, the priest and congregation also become involved in a symbolic language of gesture. At this point a whole range of other emotions can
become activated in an individual as the symbols also contain other quite subtle implications and conflicts.

The *sulufaga* ('refuge') is the feast day when a Samoan Catholic community comes together to honour their selected patron saint.\(^{107}\) At the morning service the community provides the choir and offertory for the celebration of the Eucharist which is then followed by a traditional feast. There are two ways in which *'ie tōga* are used within the Mass. One way is as an *ifoga*. The other way is as a *sua*.

The concept of an *'ie tōga* as a symbol of atonement is used at the beginning of the liturgy, for, members of the community through their sinfulness, have broken their partnership with God. One member is selected to do the *ifoga* in front of the Lord. Wearing an *'ie tōga* over his or her head the person walks to the front of the church. The priest, as the representative of God's family accepts this expression of the community's desire for reconciliation by taking the *'ie tōga* off the symbolic "offender" and laying it on the altar. The Sacrifice of the Mass is then offered on top of the *'ie tōga* on the altar.

In order to preserve the cultural significance of the symbolism of atonement, the *ifoga* is only done on special days, for the Catholic church does not wish for the meaning of the symbolism to become mundane by using it too frequently. However, some of the older members do not like it at all for they say that "you only do that when there is a *toto masa'a*": "Only when blood has been spilt so you seek atonement".

More commonly in New Zealand, when the community takes the offertory up to the priest, an *'ie tōga* is among the gifts which are formally presented to God. The priest places the *'ie tōga* on the altar. After the service he takes the *'ie tōga* home and at a later date it will either be recycled or sold to raise funds for the church or

\(^{107}\)“Community” is the term used for a group of Samoans attached to a Catholic parish. Similar groups in the Methodist church are called "fellowships".
other worthwhile church projects.

Sometimes an 'ie tōga is returned to the community, but there is a shift in meaning if it is taken back. Nevertheless, when there is a scarcity of a particular item, it may be returned. For example, a kava stick belonging to a Methodist congregation and which is regularly used in the formal presentation to guest preachers after the Sunday to'ona'i, was seen to be clearly marked with the words "Please return to Fale Sā".

Generally speaking, the Catholic church has encouraged the use of Samoan symbols. It is quite common for the priest and special guests to be presented with an 'ula made of flowers to wear inside the church during a feast day service. One Protestant matai remembered

The first time I went to a Catholic church and they put an 'ula around my neck I was horrified. I really found it very difficult to go into the church with it on. But now if I go to a special function and I'm not given one I am a little disappointed. I now like it.

As the bearers of the offertory procession go forward, one will put an 'ula around the neck of the priest, some will give him the 'ie tōga, others carry the monetary donations and yet others may carry boxes of fruit and vegetables for the priest's use or for distribution to the needy.

The symbolism can become complicated by ambiguity depending upon how a gesture is interpreted. Should the priest wear the 'ula during the time of the Eucharistic prayer or not? Some priests do and some do not.

If the 'ula is worn, it could be seen as a cultural gesture of respect for the Samoan Catholic community. Then again, should the priest remove the 'ula, his prayer could be identified with the making of a Samoan speech. For, when the tulāfale, who eventually wins the debate among the contending orators, removes
his 'ula and speaks without it, he is offering a gesture of respect to the people who have given him the authority to speak as well as those whom he will be addressing.

When such gestures are used in a church service much depends on when or whether the priest takes off or puts on the 'ula and it must be appreciated that denominational interpretations may differ from cultural interpretations.

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to use Mircea Eliade's framework of religious symbols in order to explore the symbolic relationships surrounding 'ie tōga and Samoan society, and thus to gain a deeper understanding of the structure of symbols. So, can the 'ie tōga be regarded as a sacred symbol?

The 'ie tōga does reveal vital structures of the Samoan world. One is the hierarchical nature of Samoan society. As well as representing the practical currency of exchange, and the core standard by which things are valued, the 'ie tōga also acts as a manifestation of the sacred for it gives meaning to words and can save a person's life through an ifoga. Just as a speech must be covered by the gift of an 'ie tōga, so too should a larger 'ie lelei or 'ie tāua cover a number of smaller lālaga. In this way, through their public display and presentation, and in association with appropriate oratory, the 'ie tōga reveals the structure of the Samoan social hierarchy.

Totality is another structure which is revealed. Through the exchanges of 'ie tōga a sense of order, unity and integration is constantly reinforced among individuals and various groups within the Samoan community.

The 'ie tōga is also endowed with sacred meanings as it refers to the very essence of Being. Through its weaving symbolism and lunar structure, together with its hierarchical use, the 'ie tōga reveals the supernatural values of regeneration
and transcendence. Moreover, its sacred role becomes visible when it is symbolically used to legitimatize the sealing and opening of covenants at the very heart of the Samoan life cycle. In other words, the 'ie tōga, in a cultural and ceremonial way, symbolizes the life thread of all individuals and collectively binds them to their society. In this way it can be understood that the 'ie tōga is not venerated as a cult object, but is revered because of the sacred values and meanings with which it is endowed.

Another quality found in symbols is their multivalence. The same symbol may appear in complementary and adjacent realms of human life. Thus the 'ie tōga is presented at the celebration of a birth or marriage, is part of the gifts donated on the receiving of a tattoo or title, or can be used to cover a coffin. Simultaneously it holds the values of humility and forgiveness, atonement and reconciliation. It is valued for its age, size and fineness but it is also held in readiness as a form of everyday currency. It symbolically reinforces the unity of the family, village, church and nation as a medium of social interaction while at the same time discloses a person's destiny as that individual becomes integrated to his or her world.

An implication of this multivalent richness is, that religious symbols also bring actual opposites together in paradoxical situations which may also point to contradictory aspects of ultimate reality. It is publicly displayed and yet it is also hidden away for it is treasured and therefore needs to be guarded. There is also a confusion of meanings between an 'ie tōga decorating an office wall as a symbol of Samoanness or being hidden away like money in a wallet. The 'ie tōga is used to mark birth and death. It is the symbol of happy unions, rejoicings and celebrations as well as mournings, sorrows, and sad partings. It is a medium for social interaction and emotional outlet. It marks the hierarchy of status and authority within a family which brings about consensus and agreement among the members. And, within a larger arena, the exchange of 'ie tōga creates a great weaving together of the life force within the community.
At the cosmological level Eliade's view would be in sympathy with the notion that the 'ie tōga becomes the "Woven Cosmic Mantle" which symbolizes the regeneration, movement and fusion of forms in the centrality, totality and transcendence of ultimate reality.

The anthropocosmic level is the realm which symbolically unites the world of Christians to their vision of the future and an eternal life through divine salvation. Probably the most important feature of this level is that this is the region of transformation. It is here that the human experience of the hierarchies associated with the 'ie tōga undergoes a symbolic transformation into the religious experience of transcendence. In the same way, the steady social pulse of the exchange of woven mats and the endless comings together and partings of the Samoan people undergoes a symbolic transformation into the anticipated religious experience of the resurrection of humankind by Christ on the Last Day. For, aside from other spiritual considerations, the sure knowledge of eternal regeneration has been experienced and believed through the symbolism of weaving and its relationship with the cyclic return of the moon.

On the anthropological level, Eliade's schema embraces the reality of the world much in the same way as the Samoans when they experience it in association with their use of 'ie tōga. This is the world of physical birth and death, and the transformation of status through such life experiences as marriage, chiefly entitlement, ifōga and widowhood. For many who undergo tattooing, for instance, their experience parallels the ritual death and mystical rebirth as experienced in the initiation ceremonies of other societies.

This emphasis on lived experience of the world leads to the final feature which Eliade considers important when studying symbols. This is their existential value; for it is the lived existential dimension which marks off and distinguishes symbols from concepts. The 'ie tōga enables Samoans to maintain contact with the
profound sources of life. The exemplary role of women in this connection is worthy of note in that they give birth to and nurture the young. They play a key role in the life of their families and guard the dead during a wake. But they are also the manufacturers and keepers of 'ie tōga. The close association of these with the life cycle roles of women is undoubtedly instrumental in the 'ie tōga symbolizing the spiritual as lived.

For the student of symbolism, the 'ie tōga also reveals a hidden ritualistic aspect of the time dimension (besides the cyclic regeneration of the passages of life) which unites the past with the future. In the public display of the 'ie tōga, one is often reminded of its mythical origin. The contemporary processions of 'ie tōga recall the Tongan women who brought their fine mats before Tuitoga. The King's judgement is continually re-enacted as each gathering of Samoans assesses the quality of the 'ie tōga which is being presented.

In all these ways the 'ie tōga symbolizes the interdependence between the world of humans and the cosmic realms. Thus it can be seen that the symbolic value of the 'ie tōga lies in the power which is centred in it, what it reveals of the sacred, and the reality that it manifests.

Using Eliade's framework of religious symbols has proved to be a most useful method to apply to the study of an everyday object - the 'ie tōga - which is available to all Samoans. The process of uncovering the symbolism has "exploded" (in the sense of opening up) the 'ie tōga, thereby disclosing dimensions which are not normally known through immediate experience. The symbolic values of the 'ie tōga are repeated in multiple and varied contexts. To "live" the symbol and to decipher its messages opens up the human creative imagination which allows one access to the universal. The conclusion from this must be that the 'ie tōga is a sacred symbol.
FIGURE 22: Foreground - Soundly sleeping children, covered by a white sheet, lie on a sleeping mat. Note the red woollen fringe on the mat which in turn covers the coarser floor mat woven from coconut leaves. Rear - The adults appraise and select 'ie tōga for a presentation.

FIGURE 23: A matai dressed in a purple velvet puletasi ('best style of woman's dress consisting of a long wrap around skirt with matching top') covered by an 'ie tōga, receives the first cup of kava at her saofa'i, the ceremony of her inauguration into a new ali'i title.
FIGURE 24 (above) and FIGURE 25 (below): A display of 'ie tōga lālaga crossing a malae ('open ground of the village') before their presentation by the newly installed ali'i.
FIGURE 26: The table used to sign the wedding register is draped with an 'ie tōga while the chairs for the bride and groom are covered with Tongan mats called kie tonga.

FIGURE 27: The Glen Eden PIPC church decorated for White Sunday 1989. The pulpit is draped with Tongan fine mats while the front walls are covered with Tongan tapa cloth. 'ie tōga can be seen to the far left of the illustration.
FIGURE 28 (above): A young woman, her skin glistening with oil, is dressed in ceremonial regalia of an ‘ie tōga and tuiga (‘headdress’), leads a church group into a stadium during the pōpe, for the presentation of ‘ie tōga and money celebrating the fa’aulufalega (‘church opening’) of the Hamilton, CCCS, 1991.

FIGURE 29 (above right): A choir conductor wears a lavalava decorated with $5, $10, $20, $50 and $100 notes over his traditional dress of lavalava and feather kilt.

FIGURE 30: Following their "tāupōu", a congregation parades the ‘ie tōga which they are gifting as part of the fundraising at the time of an opening of a new church.
FIGURE 31: A visiting church choir is seated facing the representatives of the host church (Fig. 32). Before them stands their tulafale who is dressed in siapo. As he makes his oration he holds his to'oto'o in his right hand with his fue resting on his right shoulder. Beside him sits the "taupou" - a role which is often filled by the daughter of the faife'au. Behind them is displayed an 'ie tāua.

FIGURE 32: Elders from the host church (Hamilton CCCS) sit opposite the entrance. The conductor from Fig. 29 has presented the la valava which is covered with money and moves to take his place at the front of his choir. The women from the host church are dressed in blue and white puletasi. One can be seen handing the la valava to the recorders of donations seated behind the table. Under the table are some of the 'ie tōga which have already been gifted.
FIGURE 33: Women from the host church display 'ie tāua and 'ie lelei which are to be presented as prizes to the winning church choirs in the pōpese competition. The Hamilton church’s tulafale can be seen standing at the centre of the picture.

FIGURE 34: Women from the host church carry bundles of 'ie tōga which are being presented as prizes in the choir competition.

FIGURE 35: These three piles (the rear pile in the centre is somewhat obscured), contain a total of thirteen hundred 'ie tōga. They were awarded, together with the banners depicting the new church, to Newton PIPC, in recognition of their large monetary donation in the tusigāigoa and their winning choir performance.
FIGURE 36: On the day following the pōpese the church opening takes place and is followed by a feast, entertainment and speeches. The host church also presents 'ie tōga as a further acknowledgement of the generosity of their guests. Here an 'ie tāua is paraded before its presentation.

FIGURE 37: More bundles of 'ie tōga, some wrapped in plastic, are presented by the women of the host church who are now uniformly dressed in gingham mu'umu'u ('the Mother Hubbard style of dress inherited from the early European missionaries' wives').
FIGURE 38: On the final night of the visit of a church *malaga* from Samoa, the hosts, (closest to the camera), paraded across their decorated church hall displaying in their right hands $100 notes which they are presenting to their guests. On the floor in the centre of the hall is a large pile of lengths of material which will be distributed among the visitors or *aumalaga*.

FIGURE 39: The guests, lead by their *tulafale*, are presenting an *'ie tāua* to the hosts. In the foreground, a woman dressed in pink, is kneeling on the floor folding an *'ie tōga* which has been presented to the host church. The pile of materials given to the *malaga* has now been moved to the right of the picture.
FIGURE 40: A coffin draped with an 'ie tōga at the beginning of the funeral service. The deceased lies under the white material to the left of the coffin. The service was held in a house as the village church had been demolished in preparation of building a new church.

FIGURE 41: In an Auckland home, at one end of the lounge which is draped with white curtains and 'ie tōga, the father of the family rests in his coffin. An embroidered mat lies on the floor before the coffin while a photograph of the deceased and his family is prominently displayed. Samoans show no hesitation in displaying photographs of living family members with the deceased. Older female relations and friends stay with the body all the time, and in the evenings they sing hymns and say prayers before sleeping in the same room.
FIGURE 42: The scene inside a tent erected in an Auckland garden for the duration of the funeral activities. At the far end, sits the widow accompanied by senior family members to the left. The swirling ‘ie tōga are being folded after their presentation by the people standing to the right.

FIGURE 43: This photograph was taken at 4 am. after all the donations had been received. The family are in the process of sorting and selecting the ‘ie tōga in readiness for their redistribution to the donors of gifts after the reception and feast which will follow the funeral service and burial later in the day.
FIGURE 44: Some of the money which had been gifted to the family of the deceased.

FIGURE 45: Before the commencement of the funeral service and at the time of burial, it is the custom for the representatives of many groups (women's fellowship, 'autalavou, choir etc.) to drape the coffin with lengths of lacy material.

This practice is of recent origin but it is symbolic of the way friends and relatives want to express their Christian love for the deceased. The white materials used symbolize the purity of Christ's love for the deceased.

Note: these white materials are considered inferior to 'ie tōga and therefore cannot be regarded as substitutes. Their best explanation is in Christian terms as per above.
FIGURE 46: An 'ie tāua which earlier had decorated the room in which the deceased had lain is included as part of the grave environment for the deceased.

FIGURE 47: The coffin together with all the white lace coverings are finally wrapped in a very large piece of siapo as an expression of the family's love and tremendous respect for their departed one.
FIGURE 48: After the feast which follows a burial, senior members of the bereaved family sit in readiness for the presentation of their gifts to those who have honoured them with their presence as well as donations.

FIGURE 49: The presentation of a *sua* to one of the *faife'au*. A woman sits on the floor before the table ready to receive the *'ie tōga* which will follow the presentation of the bottle of drink and length of material.
FIGURE 50: Some of the tins of cabin biscuits and quarters of beef which have been presented as a *tu'uga* to the deceased's congregation. An envelope containing money is in the process of being raised to the receiver's head (right of centre) in the polite gesture of acceptance.

FIGURE 51: Some of the *'ie tōga* which have been given beside the *tu'uga* to the congregation. These *'ie tōga* are referred to as *lafo*.
FIGURE 52: The coffin of the Rev. Setu Solomona, F.T. is covered with many layers of decorated materials during his funeral service.

FIGURE 53: The pall bearers prepare to carry their fa'ie'au from the church. In the foreground, right, can be seen garlanded photographs of the deceased.
FIGURE 54: High on the shoulders of the pall bearers, the *faife'au* is carried from his church.

FIGURE 55: After the feast in the church hall, following the burial of the *faife'au*, two *tulafale* can be seen engaged in the *fa'atau* ('debate') for the honour to present the oration to the guests. Behind, on the stage, are boxes of cabin biscuits and a part of the total collection of the *'ie tōga* which will be presented.
CHAPTER 8

THE PAPĀLAGI HAVE NO TIME BUT SAMOANS HAVE PLENTY

The observation of Samoans' relationship with time is important for the study of their religious experience. Sam Gill says that

... we may appreciate temporal orientation as symbolic of the way a people understand the nature of human existence.¹

Gill elucidates further:

As a fundamental means of orientation for all human beings, time is basic to world view and religious thought. Temporal orientations are not commonly made explicit as concepts, but they are implicit in one's way of life, in language, and in religious practices. This requires our exposition and translation of what we can observe of time in culture. Temporal perspectives are revealed in time reckoning related to ecological and occupational concerns as well as the conventions of social structure. Time perspectives are revealed in the way history is recounted and in mythology and ritual.²

However Gill warns:

So drenched are we with our own uniquely modern sense of time that we may find other views of time almost beyond our comprehension.³

Roderic Lacey also says that researchers

... need to have a healthy respect for the nuances and complexity of

³Gill, "Time", p. 759.
time, memory, and history in cultures other than our own literate Western tradition.  

Today, in order to gain a good quality of life by Western material standards, Samoans living in New Zealand, like everybody else, are subject to the "cult of punctuality". At the same time, many Samoan activities are bound to the rhythms of "Samoan time".

So, what is "Samoan time"? What are some of its characteristics, and how do Samoans experience time? What significance does time have for Samoans? How do they measure time? What are some of the implicit manifestations of "Samoan time"? Is time sacred to Samoans?

This chapter traces the journey of discovery which I took in order to gain a better understanding of the Samoan perception of time.

**First awareness of a different attitude to time**

The following are some examples of incidents which initiated my awareness that the Samoan experience of time is different from my own.

While in Samoa in 1984, I seemed to spend much time accompanying my hostess to the airport to meet or farewell different people. Each time this took several hours. We always left early and then waited around for one or two hours for a plane to arrive or depart. From my point of view it seemed "an awful waste of time". Often I thought that my time would be better spent in the thesis room of the public library.

In the villages there is a daily curfew at about 6 p.m. All activities stop and families gather together for prayers.  

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5The commencement of the curfew is often announced when the faite'au sends someone to
Both in Samoa and New Zealand one is sometimes left with the impression that some Samoans never sleep, at least not at the same hours that most European New Zealanders sleep. For example, in a Samoan house the phone will ring at any time of the day or night. A friend may knock at the door at two or three o'clock in the morning to drop off some food. When travelling with a *malaga* there will be a continual stream of people using a tap or shower from as early as three or four o'clock. Others will still be up talking and playing *suipi* ('sweepie').

### Theories of time

In an attempt to reconcile experiences such as these with my perspective and understanding of time, I turned to the theories of time. Again to quote from Gill:

> The language we use to describe and interpret various concepts of time is limited. In Western languages words related to time are usually nouns, and time is spoken of as a thing. We have few words which refer directly to the experience of time and have to resort to spatial imageries to refer to the most characteristic aspect of our experience of time, that is, its motion.

In scholarship there has been an acceptance that the geometric forms of the circle and the straight line are used as metaphors for time. Time is depicted as either

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6 A card game.

On one occasion while staying with a Samoan family in Auckland, I spent the night with some European friends. Upon returning to my Samoan hosts at 8 a.m., I was told to go to bed. Obviously they assumed that my friends and I would have literally stayed up all night talking.

Each year the Western Samoan Independence Day celebrations are held on the 1 June. Many people travel to Apia. Many schools and organizations march to Mulinu'u for the flag raising ceremony. In 1984 as we drove through the town at 6 a.m. we passed the procession marching in the dark. For the first hour my photos were taken with flashlight. Finally the procession was complete and then everyone sat around for an hour or so waiting for the the arrival of the Head of State and the scheduled commencement of the official programme at 9 a.m.

7 Gill, "Time", p. 761.
cyclical, in the repeatable and renewable sense of Eastern religions and primitive
cultures, or linear, as in Western religions where history has a starting point and
constantly moves towards an eschatological goal.8

The Samoan story of creation

In Chapter 4, the story of the origin of Samoa9 was introduced with reference
to the legitimization of Samoan hierarchy. As a creation myth, the story is closely
associated with space and time. In particular, the spatial and temporal dimensions
are embraced by the great god Tagaloa whose name is formed by the words taga
('free from restriction, cannot be restrained or bound') and loa ('continuous, long
or far off; continuous as in time').10 Samoans are also directly connected with the
sacred beginnings through genealogies which trace the origins of families back to
the ancient time of myths and legends.

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8The following literature which has been consulted, covers different approaches to time and its
association with religious thought and practices: J. Barr, "Biblical Words for Time" in Studies in
Biblical Theology, Vol. XXXIII, (Naperville, Ill: Alec R. Allenson, 1962); S. G. F. Brandon,
History, Time and Deity: A Historical and Comparative Study of the Conception of Time and
Religious Thought and Practice, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press and
Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1965); Mircea Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return, (London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955); Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and The Profane: The Nature of
Religion, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959); Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis:
Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East, (New York: W. N. Norton and Co. Inc.,
1989); G. van der Leeuw, "Primordial Time and Final Time" in Man and Time: Papers from the
350; Louis Massignon, "Time in Islamic Thought" in Man and Time: Papers from the Eranos
1969); Paul W. Pruyser, Chapter VI "Emotional Processes in Religion" in A Dynamic
Charles Puech, "Gnosis and Time" in Man and Time: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks, Joseph
and the Powerhouse" (1953) in Literature and the Sixth Sense, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin,
1969), pp. 203-215; Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory,
(Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1982).

9John Fraser, "The Samoan Story of Creation" in Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 1,
(1892), pp. 164-189; Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel (eds), Lagaga: A Short History of
Western Samoa, (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987), pp. 2-10.

Measuring time

In Polynesia, time is usually accorded a ritualistic treatment in the ceremonial style and address of an individual, village or district. Samoans tend to mark off the chronological time span by the use of names, as heard in the *fa'alupega* of a speech. A *fa'alupega* is a public acknowledgement of the genealogy of those present. It is the honorific way of addressing visitors and hosts. It is a mandatory part of a speech and appears in either the *tūvaoga* ('introduction') or *pa'ia* ('dignity') sections, and always precedes the *taeao*('morning') section.\(^{11}\)

Many children are given names which celebrate special events. In this way personal names can have a mnemonic function in the oral culture. For example, one well known Samoan rugby player is called Apollo.\(^{12}\) In keeping with Samoan custom, it is most likely that he was born on the day of the launching of one of the Apollo moon craft of the American space programme. The next chapter is devoted entirely to the religious significance of Samoan names.

Botanical observations provide another way of measuring time. Some Samoans follow the practice of fasting. The fast may be offered to God to reinforce a pledge, or for the benefit of family members. Usually the fast is broken at noon. In Samoa, a child may be sent outside to see if the *tamole* flower is open.\(^{13}\) If it is, then they know that it is noon, and that they may eat.\(^{14}\)

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\(^{11}\)See Tatupu Fa’afeitei Mata’afa Tu’i, *Lāungz* [sic]: *Samoan Oratory*, (Suva and Apia: University of the South Pacific and the National University of Samoa, 1987).

\(^{12}\)A person specializing in the study of religions could be forgiven for thinking: "Apollo, the messenger of the Gods. What an appropriate name for a speedy football hero".

\(^{13}\)*Tamole*, Name given to two prostrate succulent weeds, (i) (*Pilea* sp.) the artillery plant, and (ii) (*Portulaca* sp.) purblane, (Milner, *Samoan Dictionary*, p. 240).

\(^{14}\)One older woman with whom I have stayed in Auckland, still follows the habit of her father and fasts until noon on Sundays. The Rev. Māaval Alefai’o’s (PIPC) mother fasts one day a week to give him strength for his ministry. As already mentioned in Chapter 5, the parents of a SDA pastor have fasted every Friday until the evening meal as part of their sacred duty of dedication of their son to the work of Christ.
Similarly, the observation of many natural elements can provide necessary information for an accurate prediction of the arrival of an annual event, such as, the phenomenon of the rising of the *palolo*. *Palolo* belong to the polychaetes group of segmented worms\textsuperscript{15} which live in the substrata of the fringing reefs. Each year, about nine days after the full moon in October,\textsuperscript{16} at between three and four o'clock in the morning,\textsuperscript{17} the nutritionally rich reproductive segments of millions of these sea-worms break off. The 120 mm long sections of headless worms then writhe, twist and gyrate their way up and onto the surface of the lagoons.\textsuperscript{18}

It is generally believed in certain areas of the island of Savai'i that when people observe the various manifestations of natural rhythms in the environment, the rising of the *palolo* is imminent. Certain species of trees flower and bloom in the bush. Often there is a spell of heavy rain prior to the full moon in October. This affects the salinity and temperature of the water. About the same time, the tides also behave in certain ways characteristic of this time of year and are usually fairly calm. *'Ama'ama*\textsuperscript{19} crabs tend to come out in great numbers at about that time, and show themselves in certain locations. If, a few days prior to palolo-rise, there suddenly appears in the lagoon large numbers of *sesema*,\textsuperscript{20} it is regarded as a very good sign.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{15}Samoans regard the dark green-blue *palolo* as a great delicacy and liken it to caviar. *Palolo* are baked in banana leaves and they command a very prestigious position on the *laulau* or food-mat during meal times. (I would liken its taste to a cross between paua and anchovies.)

\textsuperscript{16}A second rise may occur if the conditions are favourable.

\textsuperscript{17}It is usually at a time when the moon is close to setting but there is enough light so that the people who have stayed up all night are able to go out into the water to collect the worms.


\textsuperscript{19}Large yellow rock crab (*Grapsus* sp.), (Milner, *Samoan Dictionary*, p. 18).

\textsuperscript{20}A little dark-blue fish, similar to whitebait.

\textsuperscript{21}Information supplied to Afioga Le Mamea Sefu'ufa I. Ioane of the Pacific Islanders' Educational Resource Centre, Auckland, by Mrs Pa'aloto Tepõ Ioane, a retired school teacher from the village of Pu'apu'a, Savai'i.
Prophecy

While daily or seasonal predictions can be made from the observation of natural phenomena, prophecy tends to be associated with the realm of the gods.

Christians view time as:

... a continuous succession of moments in which the events of human life are bent toward the future in order to meet their fulfillment [sic]. Christian history is given its meaning in its future expectation or potentiality. Yet the most distinctive aspect of the Christian view of time is that it is centered on CHRIST, as is reflected in the practice of dating the events of history from his birth. This was the ultimate example of God's intervention in history.22

Meleisea describes the typical Samoan perspective on history as:

The division of time into Before Christ (BC) and the Year of Our Lord (AD) began for us in 1830 with the arrival of the Gospel. We divide our history into the pouliuli, the time of darkness, and the malamalama, the time of enlightenment [sic].23

In Chapter 6: Religious Symbolism, I discuss the allegorical symbolism of The Kava Ceremony is a Prophecy. Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u exposes how the ‘ava ceremony, the heart of Samoan culture, prophetically presents a structure which can be directly related to the Roman Catholic sacraments. In this way, the old pre-contact practice is assimilated legitimately into the sacred centre of Christianity. In other words, a ritual from the time of darkness has become encapsulated in the time of enlightenment, thus allowing the cyclical time of primal religion to be reconciled with the linear thrust of Christian time.

22Gill, "Time", p. 760.
23Malama Meleisea, "Ideology in Pacific Studies: A Personal View" in Class and Culture in the South Pacific, Antony Hooper, Steve Britton, Ron Crocombe, Judith Huntsman, Cluny Macpherson (eds), (Suva; Auckland: Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific and Centre for Pacific Studies of the University of Auckland, 1987), p. 144.
Many Samoans see the arrival of Christianity as the fulfilment of a vālo'aga ('prophecy') made by the war goddess Nāfanua. This line of thought parallels early Christian interpretations of the incarnation of Jesus, as foretold by Old Testament prophets.

The story of the birth of Nāfanua is also of significance for it demonstrates that even before the arrival of Christianity, Samoans were already familiar with the fulfilment of prophetic pronouncements.

Nāfanua's mother, Tilafaiga, was a daughter of Ulufanuasese'e. Ulufanuasese'e was the brother of the half-man, half-eel Saveasi'uleo, who lived in the sea. Saveasi'uleo ate all his siblings until confronted by Ulufanuasese'e:

"Curse you! We are indeed unfortunate brothers that you would want to catch me in order to eat me."

Saveasi'uleo was mortally ashamed and so he said:

"Ua lelei, sau ia lou uso e, o le a ta mavae i le Onetai nei, o le a e nofo i Samoa nei, ae o le a ou alu i Pulotu ou te nofo mai ai, ae o le a ta fetaui lava i i'u o gafa."\(^{25}\)

"You have indeed made me ashamed, my brother. Therefore, I will leave you and we will part at the tideline. You will live here in Samoa while I go back to Pulotu\(^{26}\) but we will meet at the ends of our genealogy.\(^{27}\)"

\(^{24}\) Others also must have been struck by the similarity between Saveasi'uleo and child devouring Cronos in Greek mythology, or King Kamsa, the uncle of the Hindu god Krishna, who killed all Krishna's siblings as soon as they were born. This feature of universality could be expected to be of particular interest to students of world religions.

\(^{25}\) Gatoloaifa'ana Peseta S. Siō, Tapasā o Folauga i Aso Afā: *Compass of Sailing in Storm*, (Apia, Western Samoa: U.S.P. Centre, Western Samoa, p. 103.

\(^{26}\) The residence of the gods and the final dwelling place of the spirits of the dead and is situated beyond the most western point of Savai'i.

\(^{27}\) Siō, *Compass of Sailing in Storm*, p. 110.
This farewell (which is called a māvaega), has the title: O le Māvaega na i le Onetai ('The Covenant or Will at the Tideline'). This refers to the brothers' conversation at the water's edge.

So, how was this prophecy fulfilled?

Ulufanuasese'e took a wife who bore twin daughters called Taemā and Tilafaigā. Legend recounts the many travels of the girls. Eventually, Taemā returned to Savai'i while Tilafaigā swam on to Pulotu:

Tilafaiga reached Pulotu and she was then taken to wife by the brother of her father, Saveasiuleo. They had a child and [sic] which was a clot of blood. Tilafaiga took the bloodclot and buried it in the earth. Saveasiuleo asked, "Where is the bloodclot?" Tilafaiga replied, "It is hidden in the earth." The bloodclot grew into a magnificent girl and so she was named Nanaifanua or Hidden in the Earth. The name was later shortened to Nafanua. Saveasiuleo and Tilafaiga had another girl which they called Sualefanua. The Will at Onetai [the tideline] thus came to pass. Saveasiuleo and Ulufanuasese'e had indeed met again at the end or tail of their family.

The importance of this example, and many other māvaega, is that before the arrival of Christianity, Samoans were already used to prophetic words being fulfilled.

It is now appropriate to continue with the story of the vālo'aga of Nāfanua, and its significance, especially for Samoans of Congregational persuasion.

From Pulotu, the goddess Nāfanua heard the sighing of her folk, the people of Falealupo, who had been defeated and were living in slavery. Armed with four war
clubs from her father, Nāfanua gathered a force from western Savai'i and drove out the enemy, who were further shamed when they discovered that they had been defeated by a woman. The lady warrior Nāfanua returned to Falealupu in triumph, and lived on the mountain ridge behind the village. Word spread to the rest of Samoa that Nāfanua had established her mālō ('government'). Chiefs from all over the land travelled there to pay homage. Those from Leulumoega lifted her house and moved it to the malae at Falealupu. Later, as the chiefs from Leulumoega prepared to leave, she told them to watch for the day when she would arrive at Leulumoega to establish the new government.

One day she set sail for Leulumoega . . . On her way back to Savai'i, she passed Manono where she met a chief who was fishing. He took her and her companions to Faleū and showed them hospitality. To reward him, Nāfanua set the first post (seat of authority) of her government on Manono at Faleū and Utuaniani [sic]. From that occasion came the name of the high chief of Manono, Lei'ataua, 'The Important Fish'. The title commemorates the fish caught by Lei'ataua and given to Nāfanua for her meal . . .

Later,

When Mālietoa Fitisemanu arrived at Faleālupu to ask for his share of the government, Nāfanua apologised that the 'head' of the government had been given to Leulumoega and only a 'tail' was left. Nāfanua urged Mālietoa to accept it and to wait for a 'head' to come from the heavens. Mālietoa Fitisemanu accepted. He was succeeded by Gātuitasina, who was succeeded by Mālietoa Vainu'upō, who accepted the arrival of John Williams as the fulfilment of Nāfanua's prophecy. (Today Mālietoa is the Head of State of Western Sāmoa, and this is also believed to fulfil Nāfanua's prophecy).

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31 The term literally means 'winning side', 'ruling party' or 'conquerors'. It is translated here as 'government' but refers to the conquerors given power by Nafanua (Meleisea, Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa, p. 57).

32 Leulumoega was later to become the site of the LMS printing press, a further means of distributing the words of the gospel.

33 Two malae on the island of Manono.

34 Meleisea, Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa, p. 57

35 Meleisea, Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa, pp. 57-8.
Thus it is that with the arrival of John Williams and other LMS missionaries, and the conversion of the Samoans to Christianity, the Christian God became acknowledged as head of the mālō.

The appearance of the first European boats from over the horizon led to the new foreigners being equated as papālagi, that is as 'sky bursters' or 'from heaven'. However, the complexity of the symbolism multiplies, for the fish is one of the great early symbols for Christ. Nāfanua had instructed Malietoa Fitisemanu to wait for the 'head' to come from the heavens. Because of her father being half-fish, and also the use of fish imagery in the Lei'ataua title, it is possible that Nāfanua could be using fish symbolism in the head, body and tail references to the establishment of her mālō. If this is so, then the revelation that the fish is also an important symbol of Christ, must provide a double reinforcement for believing in the fulfilment of the vālo'aga of Nāfanua.

When John Williams arrived in 1830, Malietoa Vaiinu'upo had already been the Tafa'ifā of Samoa\textsuperscript{36} for two years. Chapter 4 on hierarchy mentions: "since the death in 1841 of the last Tafa'ifā, Malietoa Vaiinu'upo (Tavita, 'David'), there have been no others". Siō recounts:

He was the last Tafaifa of Samoa because when he died, he had been baptised as a Christian and as thus he committed Samoa to the Head of the Malo who was provided from heaven.\textsuperscript{37}

From his death bed, when all were present, the king presented his final will:

"I thank you Tumua\textsuperscript{38} for heeding my summons, and you shall bear

\textsuperscript{36} The person holding the four papa ('kingly titles') of Tuiatua, Tuiaana, Tamasoalii and Natoaitle [sic] (Siō, Compass of Sailing in Storm, p. 139).

\textsuperscript{37} Siō, Compass of Sailing in Storm, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{38} The name of two of the directing or ruling villages on Upolu, (Luflufi and Leulumoega) and Safotu on Savai'i (G. Pratt, Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language, [The London Missionary Society, 3rd ed., 1893], p. 328). Honorific title held by the orators of Luflufi and Leulumoega in Upolu. One of those orators has the right to make the first speech when there is a
testimony to my will that I leave with you. When I die, the kingship will die with me. But I leave with you a kingship that is greater and mightier. Your king is God in heaven and from henceforth you shall attend to the spreading of the Christian Gospel in Samoa. That is my will and it is for you to abide by it.39

Thus it is that from the māvaega of Malietoa Vaiinu'upō, the Christian church and the ministers of religion have received their place of power and authority at the top of the hierarchy.

Taeao o Samoa - The important morning(s) of Samoa

Christians look toward the parousia40 in the form of Christ's Second Coming. However, in spite of the linear thrust, Christian imagery constantly turns back upon itself:

But in the Christian view, the Christ who is to come has already come. This identification of the end of time with its center point is the most distinctive characteristic of Christian history.41

It is possible to draw a parallel between this Christian view of the end time with its constant reference to its center point, and Samoan oratory which describes the arrival of the Good News as the taeao ('morning[s]').

In Samoan speech protocols, all significant events are supposed to happen in the morning, for this is regarded as the most important part of the day.

When orators begin their welcome speeches, it is customary for them to stress the significance of the occasion by linking it immediately, through allegorical allusions, to the famous dates or taeao (as they are popularly called), in the history

39Si6, Compass of Sailing in Storm, p. 140.
40The time when all the apparent failures and mistakes of history will be repaired or overcome by the Messiah.
of Samoa. For example - the taeao of the first 'ava ceremony, or the taeao when the legendary woman Futa completed weaving her 'ie tōga.

Thus the orators in a church or village gathering find it appropriate to remind their audiences of some of the most memorable taeao in their history. Moreover, the more taeao they can recite, the better is the quality of their speeches and the mana of the occasion is also enhanced. That is, the host church or village concerned acquires the mamalu ('dignity') and the pa'i'a ('majesty') it deserves.

Since the arrival of Christianity there are also the "taeao of salvation" which recall the mornings of the arrival of the LMS, the Methodist and Roman Catholic missionaries. (Although the LMS missionary John Williams first set foot on Samoan soil at about nine o'clock in the evening, the importance of the occasion is symbolically carried in the word taeao.) These gospel mornings were named after some geographical place, or the village malaefo no of the chiefs who first received the LMS, Methodist and Roman Catholic missionaries:

42The taeao at Saua (a beach near Fitiuta village, Manu'a). This taeao recalls the first 'ava (kava) ceremony in Samoa, in which the participants were Tagaloa and Pava (Tu'i, Lāunga [sic], p. 10).
43The taeao at Malaeolemu (the malaefo no of Tula village, Tutuila) Tu'i, Lāunga [sic], p. 10. See also Appendix Four: Taeao - ('morning[s]') important events in Samoa's history).
45('An open space in the village where public meetings are held and an area of high social importance') Tu'i, Lāunga [sic], p. 10.
46The "Taeao i Mātānīa-Feaga'ii ma le Ata" refers to The Morning of the Arrival of the Gospel at the malae of Sāpapāli'i Village in Savai'i; the occasion when the Rev. John Williams was favourably received by Māle'eta'oa Vaimu'upō.
47The "Taeao na i Faleū ma Utuagiagi" ('The Morning at Faleū and Utuagiagi') honours the 1835 arrival of the Wesleyan missionary Rev. Peter Turner and some Tongan teachers at the village of Faleū on the island of Manono. Utuagiagi is the name of the small beach where they first landed. The Methodist church also has connections with the vālo'aga of Nafanua, for Lei'ataua Putetele, the mātai who first received the Lotu Toga ('Tongan Church, that is, Methodists') carried the same title, Lei'ataua ('The Important Fish'), as that conferred on the chief who had fed Nafanua on her return from Leulumoega.
48The taeao at Malaeola and Gafuaga (the malaefo no of, respectively, Lealatele and Patamea villages, Savai'i). An important taeao in the history of the Roman Catholic church, celebrating the arrival in 1845 of priests at Lealatele village, and their acceptance by the chief Tuala Tai'opo (Tu'i, Lāunga [sic], p. 10).
Although ancient historical *taeao* of Samoa abound, the church or gospel variety are now frequently used, because they are regarded as the *taeao* of salvation, of Samoa's first real dawn and daylight; the days of factionalism, petty rivalry and darkness are over. The frequency of use of the gospel *taeao* indicates the importance of this particular form; ancient *taeao* are at present mentioned ever infrequently.49

The most significant aspects of this concept of "Important Mornings" are their ready incorporation as powerful religious symbols in Samoan oratory, and their high status in the hierarchy of allegorical symbols in the conceptual framework of the *fa'a*-Samoa.

Finally, the orators, after acknowledging all the historically and religiously important mornings, turn to the occasion of the moment, and address it as "the most important morning of all these mornings".50 This is yet another way in which the present converges with the mythical times of creation, and the time of the foundation of Christianity in Samoa. Moreover, when the most important happenings of the past are brought into the present, they give strength to, and raise the status of the function which is now taking place.51

**The marking off of sacred times**

Samoans often distinguish sacred times and their associated activities, by the observance of *tapu* (*tapui*) ('taboo') or prohibitions. A prime example is the evening curfew for family devotions (see footnote 5). Other examples are mentioned in Chapter 5 on sacrifice. These include the correct behaviour in the village while the *fono* is meeting, or the church conference is in session.

49Tu'i, Lāunga [sic], p. 10.
50Even if a function takes place in the afternoon or evening, the occasion is still symbolically spoken of as "this morning".
51See also Appendix Seven: *Pese mo Hamilton* - Song for Hamilton.
Church foundation stones

In Chapter 6: Religious Symbolism, I discuss the concepts surrounding the laying of the *ma'afa'avae* ('foundation stone) in a Samoan church. The ceremony is an important occasion for it symbolizes the fact that the church is literally being built on top of those people whose names are buried underground. By this symbolic burial in the foundations of the church, these people are taking an active part in its creation story. In keeping with the Christian temporal view of the "identification of the end of time with its center point", the Samoan tradition of foundation stones can be viewed as a microcosmic experience for the church-goers who continue to feel an association with the founders of the church.

A calendar of events and daily timetables

While researching this dissertation, I wrote "Christianity: Pacific Island Traditions" in *Religions of New Zealanders*. This chapter contains an outline of the annual calendar of events and festivals, and the weekly and Sunday timetables of Samoan churches.

Annual activities include friendly games and sports competitions between churches at New Year, Easter dramas and church camps, a special service for Mother's Day in May, and mid-winter Sunday School examinations. There is a yearly rotation of inter-church competitions of choir singing, Samoan culture and Bible plays. The climax for the children is White Sunday in October. The year concludes with rehearsals and fundraising performances in preparation for the

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52. The spatial relationships involving the foundation stone are developed in Chapter 10: Sacred Space - Samoan Church Buildings in New Zealand.
54. One minister expressed to me the bafflement of himself and his congregation. When demolishing a *papălagi* church (in preparation for building a new Samoan church), they searched the area beneath the sanctuary. However, they found no foundation stone, nor information about the original congregation who built the church.
festival of Christmas, and possibly a church *malaga* to another part of New Zealand or even Samoa.

Many Samoans commit a considerable amount of their time to weekly and monthly meetings, and a rotation of associated special services, through their involvement in a number of church groups. These include for instance Christian Endeavour, women's fellowship, the 'autalavou, ('youth group') bible class, practices for competitions, the raising of funds, and participating at the opening of new churches. There is also an often heavy involvement in community and family weddings and deaths.

Some people attend two services on Sundays, and few are the occasions when a service is not followed by a meeting of some committee of elders, or a choir practice.

A continuing awareness of a different attitude to time

The above sections of this chapter demonstrate a number of approaches which can be used in order to gain some understanding of Samoan time. However, as my research progressed, I found that I continued to be puzzled by differences between the European and Samoan attitudes to time.

Although "Samoan time" is often perceived by outsiders (and some Westernized Samoans) as the late arrival of people for a meeting, ceremony or function, it also seems to involve a considerable amount of waiting around for the commencement of an activity,\(^6\) or the arrival or departure of a bus, boat or plane.\(^7\) Then again, one sometimes wonders just how long a plane or bus will hold its departure while Samoans say good-bye to all the people who have come to wish them farewell.\(^8\)

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\(^6\) Some functions cannot commence until certain people of high status are present.

\(^7\) On one occasion my hostess and I caught a bus for Faleolo Airport, only to end up back at the depot an hour later before finally heading for the airport. On another occasion we rose at 3.30 a.m. to catch a bus that left at 4.30 a.m. for the ferry to Savai'i which was due to sail at 6 a.m. We finally sailed at 3 p.m.
It is also quite common for people to arrive one to two hours early for any of the above activities. Yet people often leave before the conclusion of a function.

Non-Samoans, unfamiliar with the traditions of Pacific Islanders, consider some church services to be very, very long in duration. A White Sunday service may last three, four, or five hours, and not conclude until after three o’clock in the afternoon. A family service, held the night before a funeral service, may also last for a similar length of time. After the feast for a wedding, funeral or church opening; the ceremonial speeches of presentation of 'ie tōga and other gifts, normally last two to three hours.

Some recent researchers are certainly advantaged by developing a genuine sense of patience. Claudia Forsyth, when discussing her own Ph.D. studies, recounted to me of how she had waited on a street corner in Apia, every morning for nearly two weeks, until someone picked her up and took her to meet a tattooist whom she wished to interview.58

From these few observations it is possible to conclude that Europeans and Samoans have different perceptions as to how long an event should last.59 It also appears that "Samoan time" often involves a duration which is outside the conventions of Western-time keeping. In responding to the demands and appropriate requirements of fa'a-Samoa, the Samoans take as long as necessary for their rituals to be performed, for, ritual time is sacred time, and as such, it is marked off from everyday profane time.

Joan Metge and Patricia Kinloch explain the Polynesian way of ordering time thus:

58 She perceived this behaviour not as rudeness, but as a testing of her sincerity toward Samoan culture. Moreover, she was quite sure that someone checked her out each day and finally decided that she was worthy to meet the tattooist (personal conversation, July 1984).
59 Today, some fa'ite'au, who appreciate the complexities of living in urban New Zealand, prefer to keep the length of their services in line with European churches.
Maoris and Samoans divide up their world in a rather different way. In ordering their own affairs, they emphasise progress through a sequence of events as more important than the clock, stretching time to accommodate events instead of squeezing events into time limits. They are much less concerned to 'save time', less worried about 'wasting' it. Their gatherings begin when people have gathered and end when their purpose is achieved.\(^\text{60}\)

This attitude is also associated with the concept of time as public property, rather than a dimension which belongs to the individual and therefore is of private value. Communal time, as experienced similarly among Australian aboriginal people, commands obedience from the members of society who may be "summoned for one purpose or another".\(^\text{61}\)

Once time becomes private property, it can be "saved". Individual time demands punctuality, and is associated with self-discipline. Moreover, it gains the added Western value of being associated with change, which is synonymous with the idea of progress. At the same time, it is possible to charge other individuals or situations with "wasting one's time", for "the European model of temporal duration ignores the possibility of variability in the flow [of time]".\(^\text{62}\)

In the Samoan language, the word *fiu* ('to be tired of, bored with') denotes a feeling of tediousness, in the sense that one becomes weary of repetition, or the lack of variation in a performance, song, or speech. However, if a task is perceived as tiresomely long, people may still enjoy their work by joining with others to chat, sing songs and tell stories.


Boredom associated with a lack of activity is not complained about. There is no Samoan word for boredom, as in the sense that people feel bored because they are filling in time, or sitting around with nothing to do. While waiting for transport, for instance, there are always other people to talk with, things to watch, or time to rest and sleep. On the other hand, two people sitting together may not talk, but their silence is part of their communication.63

The papālagi have no time

An insight into the traditional Samoan attitude to time can be gained from the speeches of the very famous orator, Chief Tuiavi'i of Tiavea. Early in the twentieth century, Chief Tuiavi'i travelled to Europe. Upon his return to Samoa, he wrote down some of his impressions of Europeans. These speeches were collected by the German ethnographer Erich Scheurmann and first appeared in German in the early nineteen twenties. The book, The Papalagi: Speeches by Tuiavi'i of Tiavea, A Samoan Chief,64 provides a rare glimpse not only of one Samoan's reactions to, and assessment of European culture, but also of his own perception of time. The following extracts are taken from the chapter entitled: "The Papalagi Have No Time".65

[The Papalagi] have a passion for something that you cannot grasp but still exists, time. They take it very serious [sic] and tell all kinds of foolish things about it. Though there never will be more time between sunrise and sundown, for them this does not suffice.

63 In fact politeness towards each other is often demonstrated by each person not talking too much. A talkative person is sometimes referred to as tautalaso'o ('talking too much') and is frowned upon.

64 Erich Scheurmann (ed.), The Papalagi: Speeches by Tuiavi'i of Tiavea A Samoan Chief, (Amsterdam: Real Free Press (Foundation), 1976). The Samoan speeches were collected and translated into German by Erich Scheurmann. The German edition first appeared in the early nineteen twenties, followed in 1929 by a Dutch language publication. The 1976 English language edition closely follows the 1929 Dutch language edition (Publishers' note). The speeches cover such topics as clothing ("How the papalagi cover their flesh or their numerous loincloths and mats"), pp. 1-4; housing ("Stone crates, stone islands, fissures and the things in between"), pp. 5-8; money ("The round metal and the heavy paper"), pp. 9-12; and material possessions ("The papalagi are poor because of their many things"), pp. 13-16).

65 Scheurmann (ed.), The Papalagi: Speeches by Tuiavi'i of Tiavea A Samoan Chief, pp. 17-20. For the complete text of this chapter, see Appendix Three: The Papalagi Have No Time.
The Papalagi are never satisfied with their time and they blame the Great Spirit for not giving them more of it. Yes, they slander God and his great wisdom by dividing every new day into a complex pattern, by cutting it up into pieces, the way we cut up the inside of a coconut with our machete. Every part has its name. They are called, seconds, minutes or hours.

When in a European town, a certain part of the time has passed, a frightening clamoring and din breaks out. When that time noise sounds the Papalagi complain: "Terrible another hour gone!" And then, as a rule, they pull a somber face, like somebody that has to live with a great tragedy. Very puzzling because immediately after, a new hour starts.

I've never been able to understand that, but I think it must be a disease. Complaints that are common with white people are, time vanishes like smoke, or time is running out and give me just a little more time.

The Papalagi often give each other time and no gift is more appreciated than that - then he discovers that he doesn't feel like doing it at that particular time, or that he is too tired from his joyless labor.

There are Papalagi who say that they never have time. They walk around stunned as if taken over by an aitu and wherever they show up, they work up disasters, because they have lost their time.

Because the Papalagi are always scared stiff of losing their time, not only the men, but also the women and even the very small kids; they all know exactly how many times the sun and the moon have risen since the day that they saw the big light for the first time.

Very often I noticed that people felt they had to feel ashamed about me, because when asked for my age I would start laughing and did not know it. But you have to know your own age. Then I would be silent and think, it's better for me not to know.

How old are you, means, how many moons have you lived? and when a great many moons have passed they say, "Now I have to die soon!" Then they grow silent and sad and indeed die after a short period.
But time is a quiet and peace-loving thing, that loves to rest and lie on its mat undisturbed. The Papalagi have not understood time and therefore they mistreat it with their barbarous practices...

We know that we will certainly reach our goals in time and that the Great Spirit will call us when he feels it is our time, even if we don't know the number of moons spent. We must free the duped Papalagi from his delusions and give him back the time. Let us take away their small, round time-machines, smash them and tell them that there is more time between sunrise and sunset than an ordinary man could spend.

In May 1992 the PIPC faife‘au, together with their wives and families, held their annual retreat at Tirohanga, near Dunedin. Conference business was scheduled for every day. However, after supper on the second last evening, the group decided to finish discussions then and there. So, from 11 p.m. until 3 a.m., in another two sessions, the conference programme was concluded. As a result, the final day was entirely free and spent in the relaxation of a golf tournament or a bus tour.

It is hard to imagine a papalagi church conference working through until this time in the morning. But for Samoans who sit up all night playing suipi, preparing for a church opening, or packing for a journey, such behaviour is regarded as normal. In all these instances the wisdom of Chief Tuiavii is still appropriate: "Let us take away the time-machines of the papalagi, for there is more time between sunrise and sunset than an ordinary man could spend".

The continuing search for an understanding of Samoan time

As my study of Samoan time continued, I considered the rites of passage in the Samoan life cycle. This line of research resulted in the exposition and analysis of ‘ie tōga as presented in the previous chapter.

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66 Samoan, Cook Island and Niuean ministers.
Because human consciousness is aware of the three temporal categories of past, present, and future, the experience of time teaches the individual that he or she is mortal. Stimulated by S. G. F. Brandon's statement that the way people bury their dead gives a good indication as to what a society believes, I pursued further the events surrounding Samoan deaths.

Accordingly, I searched newspapers, visited cemeteries, attended funerals, grieved with families over the loss of loved ones, and shared in the traumas caused by the sudden, unexpected deaths of relatives and friends.

The remainder of this chapter now traces the sacred times inherent in the events surrounding the death of a Samoan; from the preparation for death by the dying person and his or her family, until the final ceremonies long after the burial. These are important for this study because they incorporate a long span of time, and are in themselves, sacred symbols.

Māvaega ('farewell wish' or 'the will of a dying person')

The section on prophecy, above, includes the māvaega or parting wish of Saveasi'uleo to his brother Ulufanua'sese'e. In Chapter 6, Religious Symbols, I discuss the consequences for Lupe and Sina when the māvaega of their father was not obeyed. Many myths, legends and matai titles contain examples of famous partings which are still used by Samoan orators today.

The māvaega, which is made during the fa'amāvaega, is usually the last speech of farewell of a dying person. It contains specific instructions or personal wishes and is like an exhortation or benediction. The māvaega is very important, not only in the Samoan tradition, but also in many other island traditions. The various classes of farewells include māvaega between a village and a chief, a

faife'au and a village, a family and its chief, a parent and child, a husband and wife, and siblings.

Samoans were quick to recognize similarities between māvaega and farewells recorded in the Bible. Formal partings between groups of people are acknowledged in the ceremonial speeches of the orator. For example, after the feast celebrating the opening and dedication of the Pacific Island Presbyterian Church, North Dunedin on Saturday, 16 May 1992, the orator used the Māvaega na i le "Fale-Punaoa"; the farewell spoken by the warrior Manusamo to his sister Tautipagofie:

"Sau ia iū e alu ma manū
Ae ou nofo ma manū
O manū ta te mavae a'i
O manū fo'i ta te toe fealoa'i ai."

"Go in peace
Peace stay with me
We part in peace
May we meet again in peace."

Because Samoans discern the similarity between the sentiments of this māvaega and the words of farewell between Jonathan and David, guests feel a stronger sense of blessing for their own departure:

Then Jonathan said to David, 'Go in peace. And as regards the oath that both of us have sworn in the name of Yahweh, may Yahweh be witness between you and me, between your descendants and mine for ever.' (I Sam. 20:42-3).

When given by a person approaching death, the māvaega also involves the passing on of the knowledge, wisdom and power from the elders throughout the generations.

One matai explained:

Just before an elder chief dies he would send for the person he wants to inherit his chiefdom. It could be a favourite nephew or the eldest son. Everybody else will be put aside and this person will come forward.

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68See the conclusion of Chapter 9: The Religious Symbolism Connected With Personal Names of Samoan, and Appendix Six: The Story of Manusamo.
I know that in the Tuvaluan tradition, (I have been told by my brothers and sisters), the young man is brought to the death bed of the elderly chief. He will be made to sit up. He brings the face of the young man closer to his face and then he blows air into his face. That is a symbolic way of saying, I have now given you all the wisdom that I have had. I have heard that from my Tokelauan friends and from my Tuvaluan friends.

But in the Samoan tradition the elderly person speaks over his death bed to whoever he wants to leave the words. It might be a few words. He will just say, "Son, I give you the power now and the wisdom for the handling of the family. Also my blessing." Now that is the most important thing - the blessing.

Similarly, should a group of Samoans present gifts of food (or other goods) to the faife'au, they will be greatly pleased when they hear their faife'au not only thank them for their gifts but also give them his blessing.

**Fa'amanuiaga: ('the blessing')**

Often, in close association with the fa'amāvaega are the fa'amanuiaga ('the blessings'). These are very important, and involve partings between relatives, friends, groups; and especially a person approaching death and his or her loved ones.

The fa'amanuiaga ('the blessings') may be bestowed in close association with a fa'amāvaega ('the last statement or testament') connected with the approach of death. In some instances, the fa'amanuiaga may be imparted days, or even weeks, before death. Yet, on other occasions, they are given in the dying moments.

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69 These were born in the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) while their parents were serving there as missionaries.
71 The word *manuia* means 'blessed'; hence a fa'amānuia is 'a blessing'. Fa'amānuia are given on special occasions such as the approach of death, marriage of a couple, partings of relatives and friends, preparation for an examination or sporting venture, or other private and social activities where well wishers confer their blessing on a person or a group of people.
Samoans believe that the *fa'amanuiaga* originated before the advent of Christianity. They are an integral part of their way of life.

These last words convey to the receiver the *fa'amoemoega*\(^7^2\) ('hopes for the future') from the person who is about to die. It is a sacred blessing which passes on to the recipient the vitality and spiritual essence of a person's life and experience. The surviving people, who, for many years have served the head of the family who is about to depart, receive a blessing which carries with it the power and authority of the *matai*’s rule.

A blessing from an old person, or one's father and mother as aforementioned, gives both a spiritual and a psychological boost to a young man or woman. They know that from the time they receive it, they will be wiser and better people. Others will respect them because their future actions (and other fortuitous events in their lives) will have the blessing of their forebears. The following words were recounted to me as a typical example of a *fa'amanuiaga*:

Son, these are last words. Son, look after your mother, look after your brothers and your sisters and the family. Be fair to everybody. I want you to take the rein now, take all our land and distribute it to members of the family in a fair manner. Be wise (and if he is a Christian), and always seek God's guidance. You have my blessing.\(^7^3\)

Usually after that the elderly person dies.

It also appears that for Samoans, this is a psychic experience with a much deeper psychological meaning than that experienced by most Europeans upon hearing a blessing. It is connected with the energy of the spiritual life force which is being passed on. It is an energizing force which can motivate people. It was explained as follows:

\(^7^2\) *Fa'amoemoega* ('trust, hope, aspiration for the future'). It is derived from the word *fa'amoemoe* ('to entrust, to hope for [something in the future]').

\(^7^3\) Conversation with Afioga Le Mamea S. I. Ioane, June 1992.
For Polynesians there is a strong belief in the energizing force which emanates from the one who gives the blessing to the recipient. That is, to whoever receives the *fa'amauaga* in a *fa'amāvaega*. That is why we always want to be around at the death bed of our parents. That is why people will drop everything and go to Samoa to attend the funeral of a loved one. Not because they are selfish to get this blessing but because it is soul-inspiring to hear it for the last time. It is almost similar to the instinct which causes migratory fish to travel hundreds of miles of ocean to re-visit the beach where they were born during the spawning season.

It is sacred. It is like the passing on of life and experience. It is a magical thing - more or less a psychic and spiritual thing. The "old man" is about to go and he now passes it on to his chosen successor. This is a continuum. The cycle is just completed; but rather than visualizing it as circular, it is probably better to think of it as an ever growing spiral. It is like passing on the torch - the Olympic flame. The "old man" is still alive. He is simply lighting the torch now. He probably has a few days or a few months left, but that fire, that energy, that blessing, that psychic experience is now in the air. The one who is dying is usually at peace because he has done everything. The responsibility is no longer his. He is at peace with everyone, and usually after that, the members of the family will come and each one will receive his or her blessing.74

**Death notices**

It is the practice of Samoans to publish numerous, and often lengthy death notices. Moreover, as they tend to name all of the natural and adopted relations of the deceased, as well as those related by marriage, this is a very graphic way of recording the genealogies of the extended families.75

75Death notices in the *New Zealand Herald* for June and July, 1971-1976 were studied, together with a random selection from 1990-92. The winter months were selected because of the tendency for a greater number of people to die at that time of the year. In some instances there may be between twenty to thirty separate notices for an individual Samoan.

Multiple death notices appear to have been common among the Polynesian and Yugoslavian communities during the first years of the '70s. I have been unable to establish if the Yugoslavians influenced the Polynesians (or vice versa), or if both groups already followed the practice of inserting numerous death notices before coming into contact in New Zealand.

However, when comparing the death notices of July 1973 with those of July 1974 there also appears to be a growing adoption of multiple death notices among other *papālagi*.
Many notices reveal a deep faith in the after life with passages such as: "Peace be with you always till we meet again"; "The end is the beginning is the end. May thy soul rest in peace", and "The grace of the Lord endureth forever. Peace be with you till we meet again".

All notices contain messages of love for the dead person. Quite often too, something of the religious faith of the deceased and his or her inspirational and exemplary life for the family and community are revealed in the apostrophic content of the death notices. The following examples are from the New Zealand Herald, 10-13 April 1991.

Dad, your hard working, humble and loving example will remain an influence on us for ever. Don't worry about mum, we kids will look after her the way you taught us. Missing and loving you now and always.

Dad, you have been my mentor and leading light. If I aspire to even half the deeds you have done, then surely I will be a very happy man . . . We will always have you and keep you in our hearts. Cool down, Dad, Mum's OK with us.

If only we can learn to love as selflessly as you, Dad. You gave us your life willingly but never expected anything in return. While you were alive you tried hard to show us the things that really matter in life. You were right, Dad. Your words were always simple, dad, but they only disguised your true wisdom. You knew the truth. You will always be an inspiration and a loving example to us of how to live in this hard world. Your humble strength, so simple but so strong, will remain with us for ever. Don't worry about Mum, we will take care of her, as you did. Love is the main thing. Make hay while the sun shines. The mystery man will always be there for us. We love you and miss you badly, Dad. Thank you so much for your life, our life and your love.

On Easter Sunday, April 3, 1988, you were the first of our group to go down to the River Jordan just so you could be baptised where Our Lord was baptised 2000 years ago. Now again you, Fred, are the first to go to Our Lord and say, I, too, have been baptised in the River Jordan.
You will always be among us in mind and spirit. Inserted by the 20 Polynesian visitors to the Holy Land during Easter, 1988.

**Maliu - the death process**

All Samoans, as indeed all Polynesians, express a great desire to die at home. It is also commonly believed by Samoans that the *agāga* ('soul') leaves the body through the breath at the point of death.

Death is a very sacred time in Samoan society. At the actual time of death, the family tries to be present. They want to see death. They interpret signs or gasps from the dying person as expressions of wishes. A person who grants a last wish will be blessed.

The English language appears to lack a single word which can convey the meaning of the Samoan word *maliu*. *Maliu* means more than 'a funeral', or 'to die'. Rather it covers the whole process concerning death. This includes the passing away of a person and the aforementioned *fa'amāvaega* and *fa'amaniaga*; a number of *leo* ('different church choirs conducting services at the home of the deceased'); the *faigālotu* ('family service'), the *toe sāuniga* ('last service'), the *falelauasiga* ('burial ceremony'), and the "last events of the day" (feast, speeches, distribution of food, money, *'ie tōga* and other gifts) which conclude the ceremonial procedures.

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76 Many of the older generation still wish to return to the islands to die. However, as more of their children settle in New Zealand, and their grandchildren are born here, more grandparents now accept dying in New Zealand among their family. When someone dear to the family dies at home the experience in cherished as all Samoans want everyone in their family to die at home. For instance, people will say: "This is the room where Mum died" and the room becomes more blessed because she died there.


79 Literally 'to make the prayers'.

80 The service equivalent to the European funeral service.

81 See Pesio, "Samoan Customs Relating to Death and Dying", pp. 22-25.
In both New Zealand and the islands, the dead person is laid in the main room of the house (Figs 40-41) and lovingly cared for by close female relatives. He or she is surrounded by the 'āiga who provide food and other support systems during the vigil which often lasts several days. This allows the bereaved time to travel from overseas or other parts of the country. In the islands, because of the heat, it is customary for the funeral and burial to take place within a day or so of death. A prompt burial is also a legal requirement, for health reasons.

The family matai receive the guests and mourners who call to pay their respects, and ceremonially present gifts of 'ie tōga and money. Families are always deeply moved by the messages of condolence, floral tributes and the love and generosity of friends.

In New Zealand, there has evolved the practice of paying tribute to the dead at a family service on the evening before the day of the funeral. The body is usually conveyed to the church for the service, and then taken home again for the final night. A family service may last from two to five hours. This is a time when testimonies are presented from members of the immediate family, and people are

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82Chapter 7: 'le Tōga as a Sacred Symbol, describes the ceremonial rituals surrounding the death of a Samoan.
83The English term "family service" is more commonly used than its Samoan form (e.g., sāuniga fa'a-le-'āiga).
84As always there are exceptions. A family may choose to hold a public family service at an undertaker's chapel prior to the funeral service, followed by a private family service at the home of one of the family matai on the evening before the funeral.

A survey of Samoan death notices in New Zealand Herald (June-August, 1971-75) reveals both the practice and use of the name 'family service'. Some examples: departing service PIC Otara, 6 p.m. tonight, flown back to Western Samoa tomorrow Saturday; family service 7 p.m., funeral following day, St Johns Ponsonby (Methodist); family service 7 p.m. Friday, funeral Saturday 11 a.m., Newton PIC (July 1971); family service 7 p.m. undertakers chapel, funeral PIC Newton 12.30 p.m. following day (June 1972); family service 7.30 p.m. CCCS Grey Lynn, funeral 11 a.m. following day (July 1972); family service undertakers chapel 7 p.m., interment Western Samoa (July 1975). From April 1991, a typical contemporary example: family service 7 p.m., Mass 11 a.m. the following day at St Joseph's Catholic Church, Great North Road, Grey Lynn, burial at Waikumete Cemetery followed by "Nafanua Hall, Rosebank Road, Avondale for the last events of the day".
moved to tears and laughter by the many reminiscences. A number of local Samoan churches from other denominations often attend and conduct their own sections of worship, prayers and hymns.\footnote{At a very large family service, the different church groups will be rostered to take part at certain times. When they have completed their contribution they may move on to the church hall for supper provided by the family of the deceased or the host church. This also allows room in the church for another group to be seated. Sometimes a death notice will include the message: "All denominations who wish to participate phone _ _ ".}

In many ways, the family service appears to be of greater importance than the actual funeral service. It has proved to be both practical, popular and appropriate, for it fulfills the needs of the Samoan immigrant population, who, faced with the time restrictions of Western society, find it difficult to take leave from work or school. This is because family services occur in the evening.

In Samoa, there is no equivalent service to the family service. However, the deceased and the grieving family are visited by different village congregations who arrive with their faife'au. Each church group visits as a leo ('guard, watch over'). They sing a wake of hymns with the family members, read selections from the Bible, and offer prayers and words of comfort to the relatives. Essentially, it is a choir from a church organization. The various denominations bring their own organ, and each leo is like another church service. There can be three, four or more groups depending on the status of the deceased, and they can continue to arrive all through the night. Similar leo are also held in New Zealand.

Before the last service, all the dead person's immediate family arrive at the house to kiss the cheek or forehead of the body and say their last good-byes before the coffin is finally closed.\footnote{The coffin is sometimes opened again for any late arrivals.} The undertaker then takes the deceased to the church for the funeral service which usually lasts from one to two hours. From there the body is taken to the cemetery.
The burial ceremony, which is called a *falelauasiga*, takes its name from the practice of covering a grave with a small traditional structure, the roof of which is spread with the very scented flowers and leaves of the *asi* tree. It is usual for nearly everybody to attend the burial. The coffin is often lowered into the ground on a bed of *siapo* and *'ie tōga*. The *faife'au* says a short prayer and reads the committal. The last sorrowful moments are expressed as tributes of flowers and earth are thrown into the grave. At this time, the gathered crowd sings a moving Samoan farewell song such as:

\[
\begin{align*}
    Tālofa, uso e, tōfāina 'oe! & \quad \text{Beloved, [Brother, Sister], goodbye to you!} \\
    'Ua sau le űupō e māolō; & \quad \text{The time (of night) has come for rest} \\
    E ala 'oe pe'a māvae le pō. & \quad \text{You will awake when night is gone.} \\
    Tōfā! Tōfā! Tōfā! & \quad \text{Goodbye! Goodbye! Goodbye!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
    Ni pōpōtu'u 'ea o lou nei folau, & \quad \text{Must you stay the night without sailing,} \\
    Fā'īta ua le māe'a au fe'au & \quad \text{As if you haven't finished your task} \\
    'O lou matai o lo'o ua vala'au. & \quad \text{Your matai is calling.} \\
    Tōfā! Tōfā! Tōfā! & \quad \text{Goodbye! Goodbye! Goodbye!}
\end{align*}
\]

In New Zealand, male family members occasionally fill in the grave, preferring not to leave this work to the local grave-digger. In doing so, they are fulfilling their traditional role as a last tribute to their loved one.

**Samoan graves**

Most Polynesians regard cremation as a very strange idea and view the burning of a body as similar to a second judgement. Moreover, not only does it deny the

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87 Sandal-wood, (Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, p. 76). In Samoa, many graves, in the form of raised concrete tombs, are covered by small *fales* built in permanent materials. These provides shelter from the weather and one often sees people sitting or lying on these graves.

88 One or two close female relatives - especially the mother, wife, daughter or grand-daughter of the deceased, may appear to be greatly distressed and close to a state of collapse at this point in the proceedings. When there are continued loud lamentations and wailings, the *faife'au* may slightly delay the burial commitment for it is believed to be important not to hurry the bereaved at this moment. People call out such things as "Oh my Father, why did you not let me die and you live". These actions are all regarded as being part of paying tribute to the dead person.
mourners the satisfaction gained from the act of burying the body, but it also prevents them receiving further comfort from visiting their loved ones and continuing to care for the grave site. The behaviour of Samoans towards their dead, constantly reaffirms a very strong belief in life after death, and the continued existence of the human soul.

Although there are public cemeteries in Samoa, many people are still buried only a few metres away from their houses. Traditionally, the alignment of the head is to the east, for sunrise is the most important time of the day and symbolizes new life.\(^89\) When a person is buried on family land, the surviving family members are also reinforcing their own right to be there.\(^90\)

Stair records that families expressed great anxiety should one of their members die a violent death:

\[
\ldots\text{lest the disembodied spirit should haunt its former abode. To obviate this, a woman proceeded immediately to the spot where the death occurred, if within reach, and spreading a piece of \textit{siapo} upon the ground, waited until an ant or some other insect crawled upon the cloth, which was then carefully gathered up, and, with the insect, buried with the corpse. The insect was supposed to have received the spirit of the dead, and no further fear was felt respecting its reappearance . . .}^91
\]

The continuation of the practice of burial by proxy, was confirmed in 1983 by a Samoan student at Knox Theological Hall, Dunedin. While visiting his village in Samoa in 1981, a family member had drowned in the river and his body was not recovered. \textit{Siapo} was spread out by the river. The crab which crawled onto the \textit{siapo} was regarded as embodying the spirit of the drowned person. The funeral

\(^{89}\)As always there are exceptions. A family may place its deceased with their heads towards the house.

\(^{90}\)This is connected with inheritance and is related to the ownership of the land. It is also related to power within families. Sometimes there may be some contentious matters between different factions of the same family. They will try to claim ownership of the land by saying "our great aunt or grandmother [etc.] is buried there, so we are the ones that have the right to this land".

service was conducted over the crab wrapped in the *siapo* which was later buried.\footnote{Discussion during "Polynesian Studies" lecture, Knox College, Dunedin, 15 April 1983.}

A ceremony called the *Liu Tōfaga*\footnote{*Liu* means 'to change' while *tōfaga* in this instance refers to 'the final abode or sleeping place' of the dead rather than the actual sleeping (or death) of a person.} ('the changing of the resting place of someone') is performed should a family move the remains of a person. This could be because he or she is buried in a temporary grave, the family is moving and wishes to take their loved one with them or for some other important reason. It is also quite common for a person to be reburied with their spouse.\footnote{People speak of the emotions they experience upon digging up a parent and washing the bones in readiness for reburial. At one funeral I witnessed in Savai'i, the exhumed bones of the husband (who had died ten years earlier) were wrapped in white cloth and placed in the coffin by his wife's head. After her coffin was placed in the concrete lined grave beside the house, the remains of the man's coffin were placed around the new coffin. They were then covered with *'ie tōga* and sleeping mats. After the grave had been filled with earth, it was resealed by cementing into place a number of concrete slabs.}

In Samoan culture, it is not acceptable to bury one *matai* in the same plot as another *matai*. This is because of the status of the titles. For example, one family would have liked to bury their father with his father. However, the father's title belonged to his wife's family, while the grandfather's title was from the paternal line. Both families would have been insulted if the two men had been buried together. The final solution was to bury the father beside the grandfather.\footnote{Conversation, Rev. Ned Ripley, 8 April 1983.}

During the early decades of Samoan migration to New Zealand, few Samoans were buried in New Zealand cemeteries.\footnote{Between 1990 through 1993, I visited the following cemeteries: Auckland area - Mangere Public Cemetery, Waikumete Cemetery; Tokoroa Cemetery; Wellington area - Whenua Tapu Cemetery, Taita Lawn Cemetery, Makara Cemetery, Karori Cemetery; Linwood Memorial Park, Christchurch; Green Park Cemetery, Dunedin.} One reason is that most of the new settlers were young men and women. The other reason is that many of those who
FIGURE 55 a: The tomb of Sister Mary Agnes de l'Eucharistie, Mapuifagalele, Vailele, Western Samoa. The photograph (left) shows the position of the tomb in relation to the sea, while the photograph (right) illustrates its proximity to the nursing home and hospital.

FIGURE 55 b: Another view of the tomb of Sister Mary Agnes de l'Eucharistie.
died were repatriated back to the islands for burial, as evidenced in death notices from 1971-1975.

Samoans treat their dead as if they are alive. They do not want them to be lonely and uncared for in a strange country. For example, upon the news of her son's death, a mother in the islands would cry: "My son, my son. I don't want him there with no one to look after him. Bring my son back". The family would do everything to satisfy their mother's wish. With the return of his body there would be a feeling of peace in the family, for they know that their dead one is secure once he is with their relatives who will look after him.

In Samoa, the graves of very important people are marked by a series of stone tiers, or tombs constructed above the ground. One such tomb (Figs 55 a, 55 b), is at Mapuifagalele, the Little Sisters of the Poor nursing home and hospital, at Vailele, Western Samoa. The tomb is situated between the hospital and the sea and contains the remains of Sister Mary Agnes de l'Eucharistie, the founder of the hospital, who died in 1972 as a result of an attack by a deranged man. Above the ground, the tomb is formed in the shape of a large, raised wooden coffin. Over it stands a roof supported by six poles. The rafters and sides of the tomb are draped with shell necklaces. Placed on the concrete around the tomb are a number of wooden stools for people to sit on. However, what is not revealed is that the actual coffin is buried in a tomb below this structure. It is about two metres deep with steps leading to the carpeted floor. Easy chairs and pot plants were also included in the tomb. The sister's head was placed at the sea end so that she can look at the hospital.

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97The chapel and carvings are described in Chapter 6: Religious Symbolism.
98Information on a plaque on the tomb reads: Sr Mary Agnes de l'Eucharistie, Mary Agnes Strange, Professed 8.12.53, Tragically Wounded 14.9.72, Aged 38 years, Died 2.10.72.
99The carvings are by Timu Tua.
100Information supplied by Mr Maurice Fenn. June 1984.
FIGURE 55 c: Whenua Tapu Cemetery: two headstones covered with black plastic which is secured with tape in preparation for the unveiling ceremony. As the photograph was taken in January 1991, Christmas decorations in the form of tinsel and coloured balls are still evident.

FIGURE 55 d: Taita Lawn Cemetery: two recent graves. The grave (left) has been raked level and the plot is clearly defined by an edging of small stones. Two red and white crosses, artificial flowers and a wreath mark the head end, with more flowers at the foot of the grave. The grave (right) is that of a recent burial and shows a prolific covering of bright artificial flowers.
In Samoa, many graves which are close to houses are protected by shelters in the form of small *fale*(s). At Christmas time, coloured lights may be installed over these buildings. At other times such as Easter or Independence, families tidy up the graves and decorate them with fresh flowers, and plant new shrubs. The idea of the decoration of a grave is very ancient and the practice is continued on Samoan graves in New Zealand cemeteries (see Fig. 55 c).

In New Zealand each cemetery has its own unique character. Everywhere, the graves of Pacific Islanders are easily identified by the shell necklaces which decorate the headstones, and the often prolific displays of artificial flowers.

Soon after the burial, the family attends to the ground above the grave so that not only is their plot is easily recognized but they are also satisfied that they are caring for their loved one (Fig. 55 d). Within the first year it is common for a small family ceremony to be held for the unveiling of the headstone. Once the headstone is erected it is covered with a black plastic material and securely bound until the day of unveiling (Fig. 55 c).

The *faife'au* is called upon to conduct the service at the cemetery. The Christian beliefs of the family and the deceased are reaffirmed, the stone is blessed, a short prayer is offered and the family retire for a small feast together.

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101 In Samoa, it is a common sight to see people sitting or sleeping on such graves.

102 One eye-catching form of decoration is created from fresh flowers placed along the ribs of coconut leaves. The ends are stuck into a stump of a banana tree which in turn is placed in the ground or attached to a building.

103 This is partly due to the design and the orientation of the cemetery within the landscape, but they also display a certain character and uniqueness due to other trends. For example, many of the headstones at Taita Lawn Cemetery feature a photograph of the deceased with his or her spouse, who may still be alive. During the last few years at Makara Cemetery, Wellington, there has been a growing tendency among Europeans to include symbols of the deceased's occupation or hobbies. For example, a pen and paper for a journalist, carpenter's tools for a builder, or lawn bowls for a bowler.

104 Because it is not a traditional custom, there is as yet no distinctive Samoan phrase for the unveiling of a headstone. The practice has only been adopted during the last 15-20 years by some families who have chosen to concrete the whole grave, or build a concrete and stone headstone. (Comment from Afioga Anae Sianaua Ostler, December 1994.)

105 Family members often travel from other centres, or even Samoa for this occasion.
The headstones of Samoans (and other Pacific Islanders) are usually covered with religious inscriptions, religious figures, a photograph and details of the deceased, and the names of the close relatives.

The following is a description of a typical Samoan headstone: The black headstone is in the form of an open book. The lettering and the page edges are white. The inscriptions run across both pages of the book. In the upper centre, a coloured photograph of the deceased appears in an oval frame, which is edged on both sides by a green branch and three yellow flowers. The two outer vertical panels of the headstone contain white figurines. To the right stands Jesus, His hands framing His sacred heart, while in the left hand panel is a standing figure of a compassionate Mary.

On the front the wording is in English. Included among the personal details are the names of the deceased's husband, her children and their spouses, the grandchildren, and the following expressions of Christian faith:

"I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE, WHOEVER BELIEVES IN ME WILL LIVE, EVEN THOUGH HE DIES; AND WHOEVER LIVES AND BELIEVES IN ME WILL NEVER DIE."

MAY THE SOUL OF OUR FAITHFUL DEPARTED THROUGH THE MERCY OF GOD, REST IN PEACE.

On the reverse of the headstone, at the right, appears an identical figure of Jesus as seen on the front, while to the left is an open book before a white cross. The reverse inscription reads:

"AUĒ! UA MALILIU TOA, UA MAUMAU AI AU'UPEGA
O LE TAU'A" 2 SAMUELU M.1.F.27.
O MATOU ALOFA'AGA MO OE _ _ _ LĒ SA PELE I

106 It belongs to a woman who died in 1982 at the age of fifty-five, and is from Whenua Tapu ('Sacred Land') Cemetery, north of Porirua.

107 The use of Mary, the Sacred Heart of Jesus, or the words "Rest In Peace" on a Samoan headstone, does not necessarily indicate that the deceased was a Roman Catholic.
Here again is further proof of the Samoan belief in the resurrection and an unwavering faith in God.

Headstones also exhibit expressions of deep grief. The following passage is a typical outpouring of the love a family feels for their departed one:

IF TEARS COULD BUILD A STAIRWAY AND MEMORIES BUILD A LANE,
WE WOULD ALL WALK THE STAIRWAY TO HEAVEN
AND BRING YOU BACK AGAIN.

A third theme among the inscriptions is an admonition from the dead person to the family. Here the deceased warns them in a firm but gentle manner:

"IA'OUTOU LOTO TETELE 'AUA O LO'O OLA, UA IA KERISO LEA".
("You should be brave because my life is with Christ")

Samoan spirituality is very deeply rooted in paying one's respects at the grave of one's ancestors, especially one's parents and grandparents. This is linked to the fa'amauilia ('blessing') from someone who was dear to them, and to their family integrity and respect. The act of visiting the grave is symbolic of all these aspects

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108("How are the mighty fallen and the weapons of war perished" II Samuel 1:27
Our treasured love for you _ _ _ whom we loved so much within our "hearts".
[You] will never be forgotten in our minds especially the (loving) relationship with the children. Your faith in God and His work remained unchanged until the end of your life. Blessed is the servant, who, when his/her master cometh finds him/her working (as expected) Matthew 24:46. Honoured by Rev. & Mrs _ _ _ _ _ _ brother, sister, friend [and you knew through the gospel].)
for Samoans never quite give up their people for dead. Further evidence for this can be seen when an annual birthday card, together with a personal message for the deceased, continues to be attached to the headstone many years after the loved one's passing. In other instances, photographs of babies who were born since a grandparent's death may be taped to the headstone.

Samoans find it a genuine experience, but one which is hard to define. The father of one former Manu Samoa player explained it thus:

Many Samoans from New Zealand cannot go to their village in Samoa without visiting the family graves to pay their respects. They want to share their news with their dead ones. They know the family stories of their forebears and by bringing one's parents or grandparents up to date with one's successes and challenges it is more or less an asking for a blessing from those people as well.

Again, prayer is a psychic experience. Like the warriors of old, who, before a battle, went to the old men of the tribe to get their blessing, the rugby players get psyched up to a point where they believe there is that presence, that power.\textsuperscript{109} Prayer is a Christian thing, but to Samoans, it is more of a psychic thing which mediates and gives that top-up, that heightened feeling, and after that, we are very confident, very aggressive in the way we do things because of that energy.

And so during the night of the family \textit{lotu}, which normally takes place before any trip, any \textit{malaga}, event, exam or playing a test match, it is almost instinctive that we don't go anywhere the last night, for in that family gathering, the blessing which comes from the \textit{fa'amanuiaga} given by the father and mother must not be missed. This experience is also linked to that which took place in the family grave yard.\textsuperscript{110}

The final ceremony which marks the ending of the death process is called \textit{Tatālaga o le Fa'anoanoaga} ('lifting the veil of sadness'). This religious service usually takes place one year after the death and is for the ending of the grief of the

\textsuperscript{109}He was referring to the fact that he knew of at least two of the New Zealand based members of Manu Samoa who had made a special visit to their parents' and grandparents' graves while in Samoa prior to their departure for Europe in 1991.

\textsuperscript{110}Conversation with Afioga Le Mamea S. I. Ioane, June 1992.
immediate family. From this time the surviving spouse is free to marry again should he or she so desire.

Conclusions

From these observations of the multifarious ways in which the Samoans perceive and react to time, within a culture that is still deeply rooted in the oral traditions of Polynesia, and despite recent international influences, it is possible to draw a number of conclusions concerning their religious experience.

Samoans, either collectively or individually, throughout their daily lives perform roles which are useful in the reckoning of time. This occurs for instance, in the recounting of the genealogies in *afa'alupega*, in the endowment of the *matai* titles, and in the mnemonic function of numerous personal names (see the next chapter) which provide an exact marking of the historical events which have occurred within living memory. As living symbols of time, Samoans are thus closely connected with, and are also physical witnesses to, the sacred aspects of their history.

In a variety of situations, the distant past is constantly invoked in order to authenticate, as well as to provide a safe social and spiritual anchorage, for the present. For example, the cyclical time of primal religion merges with the linear thrust of Christian time through Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u's analysis of the *'ava* ceremony, as well as in the people's understanding of the fulfilment of the prophetic words of Nāfanua through the arrival of Christianity.

Future orientation in time is also in evidence. Everyday Samoan life consists of a never-ending series of projects, for people are always planning some activity. It may be the building of a new church and the hundreds of activities which that involves, a *malaga* to the islands, a choir competition, or a surprise birthday party.
Almost without exception, this results in the ceremonial welcoming of people, and prayers of thanksgiving for God's presence and blessing of the function.

Among the most significant symbols of temporal orientation are the "mornings". In oratory, the *taeao* symbolize new life and new beginnings. Again, at every important function, through the *taeao*, the mythic time of the orators forms a mutual convergence with the present as embodied in the Christian blessings requested for the occasion. In this way, the Samoan past constantly gives stability to the present. This in turn reinforces and maintains the cultural practices and religious beliefs of the people, while guiding them into the future. The ceremonial presentations associated with oratory also include powerful symbols of time, for crossing the time continuum are the thousands of *'ie tōga* which weave together generations of Samoans.

It would appear that, for Samoans, the present is never experienced as empty. People do not become bored through having nothing to do. Rather, time is full of content, even silence being regarded as having positive qualities.

But, whatever the occasion, the happy joining of people is always followed by partings. In the social occasions associated with farewells and blessings (and every trip to the airport to say good-bye), there is an inner compulsion which goes far deeper than just showing affection and respect. At these times, Samoans are re-enacting not only the great *māvaega* of the orators' speeches, myths and legends, but also the great partings of the Bible. Yet again, the temporal dimension becomes transformed into sacred time. The Samoans are living within sacred time which claims from everyday profane time, what is necessary to complete the farewells and partings, or any other aspect of the *fa'a-Samoa*.

The most important components of all the partings are the *māvaega* and *fa'amanuiaga* bestowed by a dying person. Here is a deeply religious experience
for all concerned as it is inextricably linked to the life force, responsibilities, wishes and blessings which are being passed on to the remaining family members. For Samoans, a parent's māvaega is still of great importance years later, and will be referred to with such reassuring words as:

"This good thing has happened to us now because before our Dad died, he gave us his blessing..."

Samoans have little trouble in reconciling the traditional knowledge of the continuing presence of the dead with the Christian expectation of the resurrection of the body and eternal life. In a similar way, Samoans move with ease between the cyclical and linear time frames as they re-enact the sacred times of their history and the blessed time of Christian salvation.

The combination of these factors allows for an even deeper insight into yet another dimension of Samoan religious experience, which is that time is experienced simultaneously as both cyclical and linear, through the emotional and spiritual experience of the constant ebb and flow of the comings together and partings. This is the rhythmic pulse beat of the culture; and between the meetings and partings, there is always enough time. Each day the sun comes up, recalling the great heroic mornings of the past as well as the new mornings of salvation when Christianity arrived. With each new morning, creation starts anew for today is the most important day. This is the pulse of the culture - the life force of fa'a-Samoan and the key to Samoan religious experience.
CHAPTER 9

THE RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM CONNECTED WITH THE PERSONAL NAMES OF SAMOANS

In the previous chapter I sought not only to demonstrate the various ways in which Samoans measure and understand time, but also to reveal something of the sacredness of the māvaega. In this chapter, another aspect of Samoan time is to be explored by studying the personal names of Samoans, for these are interwoven with the temporal concepts of their oral tradition. Samoan names can act as recording devices through which the culture and significant events are recorded and passed on. In other words names can be used to mark off chronological time, transmit historical information, enhance the identity of an individual, perpetuate the continuity of families, as well as transfer knowledge along posterity lines. They are also a means of reinforcing belief in communal or personal sacred symbols within Samoan society.

Method of research

For many years now and upon meeting a Samoan for the first time, I have often been told the meaning of the person's name together with an explanation as to why he or she has such a name. The name may be that of a place, and to assist my recall of such an unfamiliar name, I have usually been told the English equivalent. For example, a little girl called Mangaia was named after the island of Mangaia in the Cooks Group in honour of a great aunt who had lived there. Similarly, a little boy was called Fa'afetai-Ueligitone ('Thankyou Wellington') by his parents as a mark of gratitude to the people of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Wellington, who had cared for the family while his father was a student and his mother was carrying him. The name Vaifou, vai ('water') and fou ('new') was
given to a child who was born when the water was put on in Sale‘imoa village many years ago, and Vasiti (short for university) is a young woman whose name recalls the fact that her father was a student when she was born. Poutolu and Poufa are two sisters whose names indicate the positions of two of the posts in a fale-pou ('post'), tolu ('three') and fā ('four'). Hence the names Poutolu and Poufa mean Third Post and Fourth Post respectively. Not only do posts hold up the roof but they also show the status of the chief who sits in front of a post during the fono.¹

Originally, I did not deliberately seek the meaning of names. Neither did I regard names as a form of symbolism. But, over the years the meanings of Samoan names have imposed themselves upon me and soon it became obvious that each member of a family knows why they have such names and the meaning and background behind their given names. As many names also appeared to be of religious significance, I decided to inquire further into the symbolism connected with Samoan names. My research developed through the following stages.

Firstly, a number of Samoan people were most generous in discussing with me the names of their immediate families and other associates.² Initially I refrained from researching the history of English personal names as I wanted the Samoan names to reveal their own categories. An early breakthrough was made when it was established that there were at least twelve different categories into which one could place Samoan names.³

¹For ceremonial seating positions see Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck), Samoan Material Culture, Bernice P Bishop Museum, Bulletin 75, (Honolulu, Hawaii: The Museum, 1930), pp. 96-97. For the stranger's post - the fourth post on the front, see pp. 146-147.

²I particularly wish to acknowledge the help I have received from Rev. Ned Ripley, the late Rev. Setu Solomona, Rev. Mose Atimalala, Rev. Feiloaigamatausala Taule'ale'a'sumai, Pastor Paul Siope, Le Mamea T. S. Ioane, Pula T. L. Vaifou Faraimo, Taule'ale'a'sumai Fa'asiiu, Paulo and Dora Koria, Aroma Mauigoa, Fonofili Toomata, Carmel Peteru and especially Samaota Apevai Fauolo who first helped me identify the different categories into which one could place Samoan names.

³Initially I did not know the terminology used by onomastics ('the scientific study of names') or even if such a discipline existed.
Next, because of the strong family connections which exist between New Zealand Samoans and those living in the islands, Australia, and the United States, I sought information on the historical development of both English and American names. As a result I have found that nearly every one of the Samoan categories parallels practices which can be found in the historical development of English and American names, while one or two categories appear to have a nomenclature unique to the Pacific islands. The final phase of this research involved further discussions with some of my Samoan teachers regarding my conclusions and the different categories of Samoan names.

**Personal names**

Today it is generally accepted that it is preferable to describe people’s names as their given, personal, birth, forename, or first and middle names, rather than as their Christian names. Hindus, Jews and Moslems do not usually have Christian names. Also from an historical point of view it took many centuries for Christian names to become widespread and adopted into general use in Christian countries. In fact many so-called Christian names have no Christian connection at all:

Conversion to Christianity made little difference in this respect, for though the church has always favoured the use of the names of saints and deprecated purely heathen names, and was partly able to enforce its preference in the later Middle Ages, it seems not to have taken any strong line in earlier times. Heathens seem mostly to have retained their

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old names on baptism, though sometimes they were given a new one in its place.⁵

Until recently the current practice among European New Zealanders when naming their children has been to select them from a name-pool of about one thousand English personal names. Books are sold containing alphabetical lists of male and female names together with information concerning the culture of origin and the meaning of the name. People may favour names which already belong to other members of their family - a parent's or grandparent's name, or a sibling's name is given to a niece or nephew. Personal names flow in and out of fashion. The name of a sport or pop star, a movie actor or a television character may suddenly gain favour. Or parents may simply like the sound of a name. Likewise, a favourite name may be abandoned when it is realized that the initials of the child would suggest something unpleasant.⁶

If one is born to Roman Catholic parents, then a Christian saint's name such as Patrick, Thomas, Peter, Paul, Mary, Catherine, Brigid or Theresa is usually included among the child's names.

One thing has become obvious. The selection of names follows trends and at the end of the twentieth century, especially in English speaking countries which come under the influence of the United States of America, the present fashion is to use uniquely original names.⁷

**Surnames**

Today the term surname is generally taken to mean the name which has been adopted by a family and is used to designate their family name. It is also the hereditary name of the family. The adoption of English surnames commenced at

⁶For example W. C. or V. D.
⁷Names appear to be invented from many eclectic influences and include the use of imaginative spelling. At present it is proving impossible to catalogue the explosion of newly coined names in the United States.
the beginning of the eleventh century - the process being completed by the end of
the sixteenth century. However, even today European surnames continue to
change. In the last half century Samoans too have adopted the use of surnames.

Each Samoan extended family is collectively known by a name (usually the
same name as its senior title). However, in order to indicate which family or which
individuals belong to it, two additions are made to the name. One is that the prefix
sā (as a particle of speech) is placed before the name. The other is that the final
vowel is lengthened. For example, o le 'āiga o Sā Taule'ale'ausumaĩ means 'the
family of Taule'ale'ausumai'. The final macron, which is derived from the poetic
oratory of the tulāfale, does not change the meaning but gives the required
emphasis to orally mark out the family.

The family is also identified by a number of other primary and secondary titles,
some of which are bestowed on family members who become ali'i ('high chiefs')
while others are given the corresponding tulāfale ('orator') title which is associated
with the ali'i title.

As Samoans have always known their family names it has not been necessary
for them to include a surname along with their personal names. Moyle says:

It is one of the responsibilities of the family head (matai) to know his
genealogy and be able to recite it when required. The genealogies
contain far more than family histories: embedded in them are the
justification and precedents of the conferral of matai titles, and the
rights to ceremonial privileges and ownership of land.

According to Samoan nomenclature, one takes one's father's forename
as one's own surname.

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8In the same way the ancient Hebrews knew the name of the tribe to which they belonged and
did not find it necessary to attach it to their personal name.
p. 133. See also C. C. Marsack, *Samoan Medley*, (London: Robert Hale Ltd, 1961),
pp. 100-107.
C. C. Marsack who was appointed Chief Justice of Western Samoa in 1947 also says:

In Western Samoa the officers of the Government are determined that every person should have a Christian name and a surname, and so they take the child's given name as a Christian name and the father's name as the surname.  

Because the Samoan custom of naming is different from the English system, confusion has arisen outside Samoa over the choice of surnames by Samoans. In former times all Samoans received one name shortly after birth. Each family also bestows titles on chosen members. When this happens the title replaces the birth name. However, should more than one person hold the same title, the birth name may be also used so as to distinguish between different people with the same title. A person can hold several titles from different branches of the family, in which case the highest ranking title is placed first, followed by lesser titles and finally the birth name. Today the family surname may also be added although this is not necessarily always the case.

When a Samoan takes up a title, he or she has two options - either to change the family name to that of the new title or to maintain the status quo. Experience has shown that the following tendencies exist. Following tradition, villagers who receive titles tend to convert their surname or family names to the title, while those whose family names are from the following groups tend not to be affected at all: teachers, faife'au, medical people, part-Europeans, part-Chinese, other professionals, well-to-do traders and business people.

10 Marsack, Samoan Medley, p. 103.
11 Marsack believes that the splitting of a title between different people was "the brainwave of a European named Griffin, who was an officer of the L.M.S. Mission before he became Secretary of Native Affairs. When a dispute between two candidates for a vacant title was reported to him, he turned, as a good preacher should do, to the Bible for inspiration. His eye lit upon the story of the judgement of Solomon, and he decided to apply the principle to the matter before him. "Let the title be cut in two," he said, "and let each aspirant have half of it." Possibly to his surprise, the suggestion was received with noisy approval, and both contestants returned to their village bearing the title in question." Marsack, Samoan Medley, pp. 100-101.
For example (using hypothetical names), a family could be descended from a faife'ai called Amosa. The family name is therefore Amosa. A son of Amosa called Feleti migrates to New Zealand. Later he returns to Samoa and is given the title Tuisamoa. Because Amosa was a famous and prestigious faife'ai, the new Tuisamoa will most likely retain his family name of Amosa. In his village he will be generally referred to as Tuisamoa Feleti, and sometimes as Tuisamoa Feleti Amosa.

Should he be created an ali'i the word Afioga ('honourable') will be placed before the title. However, should his title belong to the Malietoa family the word Susuga will replace the word Afioga. (Susuga is also the polite terminology with which to address a faife'ai.) On the other hand, should his title be that of a tulafale, this would be indicated by addressing him as Tōfā Tuisamoa Feleti. The word suafa is commonly used in reference to a title. Thus the answer to the question "O ai e suafa ia Tuisamoa"? ('"Who is the person named Tuisamoa"?') will be: Afioga Tuisamoa Feleti Amosa, - the name by which he will also be known in his church in New Zealand.

Then again should Tuisamoa Feleti Amosa become a Catholic priest or a faife'ai in the Methodist or Congregational churches, he would not use the title. Nevertheless once given, the title is not taken away; although the title holder may choose to give the title to another person. In this instance the title would be left in abeyance with the given and the family names coming into prominence. He would become Reverend Feleti Amosa.

On the other hand, the title holder, on having accepted the new calling could, at this point, relinquish his or her title through the ceremony called fa'auī le ʻula - in which the title in question is bestowed on some other person. Should Tuisamoa Feleti become an Assemblies of God pastor, he would still be able to use his title and take part in the village fono, although some pastors in this position have taken
the title as their surname. Then again, should the Reverend Feleti Amosa resign or leave the church (which would be most unlikely), he could easily return to the community with his previously endowed title.

Many Samoans who have emigrated to New Zealand have taken their father's personal name as their surname. This could have been the result of the practice among many villagers of registering their children under the father's first name at the time of birth. That is to say, the father's given name is the new child's surname. On the other hand should the father be a matai, then the child in question will be registered under the matai title of the father. This can sometimes cause problems once the Samoans move away from their homeland, for unless they become title holders or are regular visitors back to their village, without the identification of a key family name, it can become somewhat difficult for them to make claims on their family rights. Some first and second generation settlers in New Zealand continue to face this dilemma with officialdom (Tax Dept, Social Welfare, Immigration etc.), and they have to struggle their way through the bureaucratic processes here to make the required changes.

A feature of a bureaucratic system is its expectation that people conform. One Samoan administrator in Wellington commented:

In order to ease the job of monolingual officials, they give Samoans pālagi names such as "Sussie" when they cannot pronounce "Saasaa". This causes social problems when trying to locate a person in a factory for family emergencies.

Although people in Samoa understand these conventions, such practices can baffle and stretch the patience of administrators in New Zealand. It is the officials who are often confused because some Samoans (as well as other Pacific Islanders) have rather unusual personal names, and perhaps for some reason the forename has been changed several times. In other instances two siblings may have the same name. (I personally know of two cases.) This practice is not unique to the Pacific
for it was also common in England during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. A fifteenth century bequest reads "to Isabel and Isabel my daughters." 12

Before continuing it must also be stressed that because of the creativity and a desire for individuality among humans, there are always exceptions to be found in the different categories of Samoan names.

**Titles**

The most important Samoan names are the titles or *suafa*, and, as already discussed in Chapter 4 on hierarchy, the rankings of the titles are recorded in the *fa'alupega*.

Some titles are very ancient and the accounts of their creation have faded in the mists of time. The origin of others are historically based and nationally known. Samoan titles also have a sacred quality because of their link with deities in the past. The following story of the origin of the *tulafale* title of Taule'ale'ausumai, from the village of Safune, Savai'i, was chosen because it demonstrates how a village and its associated titles are connected with the God Tagaloa. This is the story as told by Tofa Taule'ale'ausumai Fa'asi'u:

> Tagaloamana 13 was in heaven when he saw Sinalaua, the wife of a man called Funefeai. Fune was his name and *feai* means fierce and savage. Tagaloamana wanted her so much that he offered to Funefeai anything from among all his things in heaven. And for allowing Sinalaua to go to heaven to be Tagaloamana's wife, Funefeai asked to be king. Thus the title of Tagaloa from Tagaloa in heaven was put on Funefeai. He was the first to use the title and thus Tagaloa Funefeai became the first king of Safune. 14

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13 The addition of *mana* ('power') to the name Tagaloa further enhances this god as a powerful, compelling, supernatural being.
14 Note the prefix sa is added to the name of Fune to create the name of the village Safune - meaning 'the abode of Fune'.

Tagaloa Funefeai took another woman as wife and from them started the *gafa* ['lineage, genealogy'] of the kings of Samoa. *Ua so'o ai 'aiga* ('all families [of Samoa] are now included'). All high people come from Tagaloa's *gafa*. The people have grown from one man. The *gafa* still comes from the first king. In this way there are Tagaloa titles in many villages because [they are descended from] all his children. But the people of each village have built up their own story.

When Tagaloa Funefeai left, the people of Safune looked in the village of Lalomalava for another suitable man for the Tagaloa title. (*Māmālava* is the name of a big tree and Lalomalava is Prime Minister Tofilau's village.) There they found a man named Tumanuvao and he was the first man to have the title of Tagaloa put on him after Tagaloa Funefeai. Thus he became Tagaloa Tumanuvao.

But the people of Safune didn't know that he was a savage man. Everyday he ate a human. Every day he had a person from some family for his lunch. Today this family. Another day someone from another family for his lunch. He ate people. He was more savage than Funefeai. The Safune people were very scared of him and the people thought that soon he will have eaten all the people in Safune.

So, early one morning they had a meeting to discuss what they should do about this man because he had nearly finished all the people of the village. And, that morning, while they were having their meeting, they saw a young man come early from where he slept in the night. One of the men of the meeting said, "Who's that young man who came early in the morning"? His name was Leiluafogaga.

The meeting said to call him to come and all the *matai* told him what they were meeting for. They asked if he could do anything about Tagaloa [Tumanuvao]. The man Leiluafogaga said "yes" but that he wouldn't kill Tagaloa [Tumanuvao] because he was a king. He said that he would find some way to take the king away from Safune.

Leiluafogaga built a boat with bamboo and went to catch Tagaloa [Tumanuvao]. When he was asleep he tied his feet and hands and put him in the boat and pushed the boat out past the reef. Tagaloa [Tumanuvao] was still alive and Leiluafogaga didn't want to kill him.

Tagaloa [Tumanuvao] floated away and maybe some people were put in the boat with him. The boat finally arrived at the village of
Falelatai in Upolu. A Falelatai family found him on the shore and made him king. (Incidentally, David Lange's title of Tagaloa is from Falelatai.)

So Safune put the title Taule'ale'a'usumai on Leiluafogaga. Taule'ale'a means a young untitled man and usumai refers to the one who came early in the morning. And to this day the village of Safune has no ali'i called Tagaloa. All the titled people are tulafale. O le Tagaloa lava tulafale a Safune i taoa ('The Safune tulafale are Tagaloa themselves'), in other words, their tulafale are as high ranked as Tagaloa himself.

Four villages in the same district (Safune i taoa, Safune i sili, Safune i vaiafa'i and Safune i vaisala) have their own Tagaloa [title], but Falesafune "killed" the name of Tagaloa for the real name of Safune was Faletagaloa.

Today the village is divided by a big river. In one part which is called Lefagaoali'i, all the matai are ali'i while in the other part which is called Safune, there are no ali'i, only tulafale.

I shall now trace the history of the different names by which Taule'ale'a'usumai Fa'asi'u has been known during his lifetime.

In 1928, when he was born, his father Peniamina (Benjamin) already held the Taule'ale'a'usumai title. The new baby was baptized Tianimo o le Tagaloa. This name referred to the place where Tagaloa, the first king of Samoa had lived - a high land that was very hard to see. Following Samoan custom the father's name (in this case his title) became the baby's surname. Thus Taule'ale'a'usumai Fa'asi'u was called Tianimo (it is very common for Samoans to abbreviate names) Taule'ale'a'usumai until he was about eighteen years old when he moved to live in Pu'apu'a while he attended Tuasivi College.

At this time Tianimo decided to change his birth name to Fa'asi'u'uoamoa in recognition of the new phase in his life. The new name was created from the words
si'u ('tip, extremity') and Amoa which is the name of the northern most section of
the village of Pu'apu'a. Again an abbreviated form, namely Fa'asi'u was used.

In 1954 when he moved to New Zealand, Fa'asi'u found it prudent to adopt a
name which could be easily pronounced in the papālagi work situation. Thus he
became known as Ben (which had been his father's birth name) Taule'ale'a by his
workmates.

Before his death in 1950 Fa'asi'u's father had put the Taule'ale'ausumai title on
a family member called Taulauniu. Some time later the family also put the
Taule'ale'ausumai title on Pe'a, an older brother of Fa'asi'u. About ten years later
a third person, Lamese was created Taule'ale'ausumai.

In 1969 Fa'asi'u was given the tulāfale title of Leiluafogaga from his father's
family. This is the same name as the original young man who came early one
morning and later rid the village of Tagaloa [Tumanuvao]. From this point in time
Fa'asi'u was known as Leiluafogaga Fa'asi'u. Then in 1981, because of the
continuing spread of family members both in Samoa and overseas, the family in its
wisdom created eleven more people (including Leiluafogaga Fa'asi'u), Taule'ale'au-
sumai. Of the fourteen title holders, four remain in the village of Safune, three
reside in Apia, five live in Auckland and two are in Wellington. Thus it is that the
baby boy who was baptized Tianimo o le Tagaloa is now legally called
Taule'ale'ausumai Fa'asi'u.

Earlier in this section it was suggested that Samoan titles have a sacred quality
because of their connection with traditional deities. Today there is also a strong
body of belief among Samoans which accepts that matai titles are God-sent. In
other words, the Christian God, through the love of Christ Jesus has sanctioned
matai titles. Their holders are now believed to have the power to govern and guide
families according to the will of God. In their prayers too, Samoans thank God for maintaining the hierarchy. This is further reflected in their political belief.

In accepting the premise that only matai should be elected to parliament, the Samoans once again reaffirm their Christian belief in the symbolic role of the matai as an agent of God within each family and in the Christian community. Thus the symbolism of the matai is now an accepted Christian perception. In the hierarchy of social roles the matai as the head of the family thus parallels the faife'eau as the leader of the congregation. Both hold positions ordained by God and in many instances the matai play a major role in the execution of the dictates of the church and its day to day activities.

Virtues like obedience, service without murmuring, cooperation and loyalty are some of the practised "musts" in the general matrix of the social fibre of Samoan society today, in terms of the relationship between people and their matai. For instance a title must not be sworn at for that would violate its sacredness. This is because all Samoans belong to their 'ai'iga and when a matai wears the title, he or she represents the whole family and the sanctity of the family's title.

For further elucidation let us return to the hypothetical case of Tuisamoa Feleti Amosa. Suppose that another man called Pita was deeply offended by Tuisamoa and wished to reciprocate in kind. As etiquette requires that the title (of Tuisamoa) must not be belittled, Pita, as the injured party, first asks to be excused in order to protect himself from the wrath of the Tuisamoa extended family to whom the title belongs. Thus Pita will say something like: "Tulou lava le suafa Tuisamoa".

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15 Malama Meleisea says that only recently has universal suffrage replaced matai suffrage, while since 1962 the Parliament of Western Samoa has consisted of "about 96% matai and the rest is made up of two members of partially non-Samoan heritiage who are legally outside the Samoan political system, and who represent individual voters like themselves". Malama Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration, (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific, 1987), pp. 226-7. See also J. W. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 326-7, 376-7, 388-90.
"With due respect to the Tuisamoa title') I am not addressing Tuisamoa now, but I am addressing Feleti . . ." In this way Pita feels that he has been able to distance the Tuisamoa title from the immediate situation and any indignities that might go the way of Feleti as a result of Pita's own retaliatory responses to the offence given.

Similarly, if a Samoan should crack a joke at another person, he or she will have to make sure that the title has been addressed first with the appropriate "Tulou le pa'ia o le suafa" . . . ("I defer to the dignity [hallowed] of the title but . . .") However, there are "above board" jokes which can be made without offence being taken. As always, it depends on the occasion and who is present. The different degrees of sacredness associated with Samoan names have been summarized in Figure 56.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Degree of Sacredness</th>
<th>Terms Applied</th>
<th>Violation Through Insult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matai Title</td>
<td>High (Sacred)</td>
<td>Pa'ia ('hallowed')</td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Name &amp; Surname</td>
<td>Quite High</td>
<td>Mamalu</td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given Name (Common Name)</td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Lautele ('common')</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lowly</td>
<td></td>
<td>Common</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 56: The social (honorific) scale of the hierarchy of Samoan names.

Prior to independence in 1962, titles were by custom male oriented; or in accordance to the 'aiga and village constitution. However since then, changes in
the social, economic and political attitudes have caused an acceleration in the number (though still not many) of women matai titleholders. Consequently, the only way of telling whether the holder of a title is a man or a woman is by the use of the person's given name alongside the title. For instance the names Namulau'ulu Sina and Namulau'ulu Sione indicate that the title Namulau'ulu is held by a woman and a man as the latter names are recognized as being female and male respectively.

People named after other people

Although there are always exceptions in the following categories of Samoan names, most of the types of names described below are still quite prevalent. It is also becoming more common for New Zealand-born Samoans to be given both a Samoan and an English name. Although some Samoan names are without gender, a girl baby will be named after other females and a baby boy after other males. Nevertheless, it is possible for unconnected people of opposite sexes to bear the same name.

A new baby may be named by his or her parents, but it is also acceptable for other family members, and especially a grandparent, to name the child. Generally speaking, the first-born daughter or son may be named after a parent or grandparent on the father's side of the family while the second born daughter and son may honour the mother's family. It is also very common for children born later to be named after relations. As already mentioned earlier, siblings can have the same name, the younger one's name sometimes being prefixed by the word "Little". Should a child die, a later sibling may be given the same name in memory of the sister or brother who died before they were born. Then again there may be the opposite reaction. The name of the dead child may be regarded as "a really unlucky name".

Another very popular source of names is the family's faife'au and his family, while other names are Samoanized versions of missionaries' and ministers' names.
Examples include Misi ('missionary'), Misi Oka ('Rev. Hogg'), Misi Uaita ('Rev. Whyte'), Perema ('Rev. Brame'), Peretiso ('Bradshaw'), Koria ('Collier'), Neli ('Ned') and Misi Taunese ('Miss Downes').

Well known people are also the inspiration for the choice of names. Earlier this century one family named their daughters after famous queens - Josephine (Napoleon's Empress), Elena (Helen of Troy) and Juliana (of the Netherlands). More recently names such as Reagan (after the American President) have been given. Here too can be included well known names from myths (Sina, Nafanua, Si'uleo, and Pulotu), legends (Lancelot, Galahad, Bedevere, Guinevere) and literature (twin boys were called Ben and Hur after the Lewis Wallace novel of the same name while another father was inspired by the novel *Ivanhoe* to call his son Ivan).

**Names created from other names**

Samoans have always enjoyed creating names, and innovative and imaginative names are much admired and appreciated. Techniques include making an anagram from all the letters in the parents' names (Viellani was created from the names Lale and Vini), or using some letters from the parents' names and repeating a letter to form a word (Vania from Lale and Vini). Sometimes a number of syllables from two names are combined to make an attractive new name. For example Uesifili and Susana called their son Uesiliana (an appropriate name for a Methodist child). Another couple reversed the letters in both their names and combined them to form the name Eciladen for their daughter. In many instances Samoans regard names as a fitting memorial for the existence of family members and friends.

One granddaughter was named K. T. F. (pronounced Katifa, as in the Samoan alphabet) in honour of her grandfather Kenape Tu'u'u Faleto'ese, while other children have names created from initials belonging to several people. For example the name Parvaisa was formed from the first letters of the names Paulo, Aroma,
Viliamu, Ailani, Iutisone, Saniva and Afereti.16 Samoans think such children are fortunate for they are then closely linked to many people.

**Names marking the parent’s occupation**

As well as the parent’s occupation, this group also includes names reflecting the hobbies, loves and aspirations of the parents at the time of the birth of their child.

Samoans like to honour their line of work in their children’s names. It is very common for the daughter of a doctor or nurse to be named Florence after the famous nineteenth century nurse Florence Nightingale, and sometimes a daughter is named after the nurse who assisted at her birth. The names Asiasia’oga (‘school inspector’) and Fa’atonu ‘Director’ (of Education) come from the field of education. Two further examples of the use of initials are found in the names of two brothers whose father was serving on the associated committee at the time of their births. One name, K. F. E., stands for Komiti (‘committee’) Fe’au (‘purposes’) Ese’eše (‘general’), that is, the General Purposes Committee while the other name, K. A., stands for Komiti (‘committee’) A’oga (‘school’).

Many names are transliterations of English words. Okenaisa’s mother was the organiser of the Girl’s Brigade at the time of her birth.

Sometimes a theme will run through the names of a family. One lover of music included the names of the composers Bach, Beethoven and Handel among the names of his sons. Another family gave their children names based on musical terms - Koroseta (‘crotchet’), Semi (‘seri’), Kuava (‘quaver’), Menime (‘minim’) and Perive (‘breve’). Yet another family has honoured their interest in science through three generations with the names Okesene (‘oxygen’), Naitorosene (‘nitrogen’), Neone (‘neon’), Sioutu or Co₂ (‘carbon dioxide’), Karaponi (‘carbon’), Okesaita (‘oxide’) and Aseta (‘acid’).

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16 All former Malua students studying at Otago University including the faife’au.
Samoans have often chosen such names because they think that they sound nice and they are impressed with the novelty, creativeness and originality of the name in relation to the parent's occupation. But New Zealand Samoans are now beginning to appreciate the fact that names such as Vim, Ajax, Benson and Hedges, which are admired for their sound or inventiveness in the village situation, are curiosities in the New Zealand environment.

In other cases feelings of deep emotion are embodied in a name. Shield was born on 14 September 1985. In 1991 his father told me:

I remember the day we [Auckland] took the Ranfurly Shield off Canterbury and we are still holding it. It is something to remember. I will never forget when my wife was in labour and I was sitting there watching the football on the TV and she delivered the baby at 11 o'clock at night but before midnight on the same day.

Other names reflect occupations connected with Christianity. The name Fa'amatalaupu which means 'telling the story or the word' celebrates the fact that this boy's father was working as a translator and interpreter for a missionary working on the Samoan Bible. One baby of a faife'au was called Malologa ('having a rest') as the birth coincided with the parents' three months leave after six years service in the ministry. In another case, evangelical parents gradually created a very strong statement concerning their devotion to Christianity through the names of the five children - Alofa ('love') Ile ('the') Lautusi ('book') Ole ('of') Salamo ('psalms').

**Place names of religious significance**

Closely associated with the above category of occupations, are the names of the schools of preparation and the theological college through which young Samoan men have passed as they prepared for a life as a minister in the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. Such names as Fa'amasani, Leulumoega and Fa'amalua each acknowledge the years of education and training at A'oga
Fa'amasani ('School of Induction'), followed by Leulumoega Fou, the 'new' school adjacent to Malua, and finally the Malua Theological College. Because of the years of disciplined training required, the majority of theological students are married and many babies have been born at these educational institutions. Similar names are also found which are associated with Piula ('Beulah') - the Methodist Theological College, Leva'ula where the Methodist high school is located, the girls' school of Avoka, which is also the site of the Methodist President's House, and the CCCS girls' school of Papauta.

Sometimes through names such as Iupeli ('jubilee') and Senetenari ('centenary') which celebrated fifty and one hundred years of Christianity in Samoa respectively, children were given a double connection between the historical event and particular buildings of the same name at Malua. In this way too, as in so many other instances a person's name also symbolizes the time dimension.

Over the years, Samoans have taken a very active part as missionaries to other parts of the Pacific and their children's names bear witness to this. For example, a daughter born to missionaries in the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) was called Elise, while a son was named Vaitupu, after another island in the Tuvaluan group. Two brothers in another family were given the Papua New Guinean names of Vilirupa and Aroma. Samoans are proud of their forebears' good record as overseas missionaries in Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Vanuatu and so forth. Some of them died there. So family members with such place names are also symbols of these lost relatives who died in the service of Christianity. Moreover, as well as the missionaries adopting foreign children, most missionaries' children also have adoptive parents in the islands of their birth. In this way the family links between the different island groups, forged through the Christian teachings, continue on through the next generations.
Children named after events and other chronological markers

The tendency to name people after events is typical throughout Polynesia. Some events are of national importance while others are of local significance for a village or just a small group of people.

FIGURE 57: A poster for the Auckland newspaper The New Zealand Herald, 16 December 1991, which recounted the story of a baby born in a Western Samoan church during the height of Cyclone Val.

When Western Samoan gained independence in 1962, names such as Mālōfou ('new government') and Mālōtutu'atasi ('government stands on its own') appeared. The launching of the Russian sputnik and other space craft stimulated such names
FIGURE 58: Tauinaola Tautalafua with her daughter Val Church Tautalafua who was born in this church on the island of Apolima, Western Samoa, during Cyclone Val. (Picture DAVID WHITE, The New Zealand Herald, Monday, December 16, 1991, p. 1.)
as Satelite and Apolo. Afatele ('hurricane big') records the terrifying experiences of the 1889 cyclone,\textsuperscript{17} while the naming of a baby who was born in the shelter of a church building during Cyclone Val in 1991, made news headlines (Figs 57 and 58).

A girl called Ekiumeni (from the Greek Oekumene and the symbol of the World Council of churches), was born at the time the movement of the WCC was being introduced to the Samoan fellowship at Malua. Other children's names recall important meetings which their parents attended - Koneferenisi ('conference'), Fonotele ('annual church conference'), Mafutaga ('fellowship or big gathering'). On a more personal level there are such names as Fa'ai'uaso, which refers to the last days or final year in training, Fa'au'uuga ('graduation') and Toetu'ua from toe ('repeating') and tu'ua ('left'), that is, about to leave a place after visiting it, to return home.

Even the season of a child's birth can be remembered through the name of flowers, such as Gardenia (Nia) and Orchid, which were blooming at the time.

The importance of names as chronological markers and mnemonic devices in an oral culture is well demonstrated through all the above examples. In this way, the naming of a person has an important bearing on the history of Samoans, for the Pacific concept of history does not involve the writing down of a series of events. Rather, Pacific Islanders often think of history not in broad terms, but centre on a particular person or a singular event. People may ask: "When was the water put on in the village"? "Ah, when Vaifou was born". Or, "When was the last cyclone"? "When Val Church was born".

\textsuperscript{17}This was the great hurricane which caused the sinking of German and American warships in Apia Harbour. It is always referred to as the Afatele ('The Great Hurricane'). See Robert Mackenzie Watson, History of Samoa.,(Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1918), pp. 84-92.
In Chapter 5: Symbols of Sacrifice, when I gave the example of the willingness of Polulualigaga to sacrifice himself in order to stop the cannibalism of his father Malietoa Faiga, some time was spent discussing the meaning of the expression Tafaata fasia. The significance of this example is that when a girl was given the name of Tafaatafasia, a whole portion of history was focused in her name. In particular, her name symbolizes and perpetuates the history of her family, for by the very mention of it, the history is kept alive.

In a similar way, even within the short history of Samoan migration to New Zealand, a place of former employment may no longer be a reality. Nevertheless the memory of its existence is carried on in the name of a person. For example, Uesifili was born in Samoa while his father was already preparing the way for his family's arrival in Auckland by working as a freezing worker at West Field.

Names based on Biblical concepts and other associated ideas

Another source of names, which Samoans use in order to show their deep affection for their christian faith (beside the afore mentioned names honouring the faife'au and his family), is found in biblical concepts and other features associated with Christianity. From Hebrew come the names Periti (Berith - 'covenant') and Keseta ([H]Chesed - 'grace, mercy, favour, kindness'), while Greek is the origin Karisi (Charis - 'grace'), Soteria (Soteria - 'salvation, soteriological'), Eirenei (Eirene - [Irene] 'peace') and Uios (Huios - 'son').

Names created from English words include Iukarisi ('Eucharist'), Sagato ('saint'), Maturo ('martyr'), Perofeta ('prophet'), Aposetolo ('apostle'), Monike ('monk'), Talosaga ('prayer') Fa'afouina ('renewal'), Polesesio ('procession') and Vi'iga ('praises').
Then there are names like Eseta ('Esther'), Esera ('Ezra'), Iosua ('Joshua'), Ieriko ('Jericho'), and Kanana Fou ('New Canaan'), the name of the Congregational theological college in American Samoa.

**Christian names revealing denominational affiliations**

Many English Christian names have been Samoanized. Uesili ('Wesley'), Uesiliana ('Wesleyan') and Palauni (after Rev. Brown the missionary) are Methodist names. Matalena ('Madeleine'), Penitito ('Benedict'), Sanele ('Chanel') and Farani ('Francis') are favoured by Catholics. Certain spellings also distinguish denominations. Sione ('John') is Methodist while Ioane is Congregational, but it is more common for the distinctions to be made between the Catholic and Protestant spellings. Catholic names use the letter 'l' while Protestant names use 'r' and Catholic names tend to end in 'o' while Protestant names end in 'a'. In the following examples the Catholic spellings are given first: Malia and Maria ('Mary'), Iosefo and Iosefa ('Joseph'), Pesamino and Peniamina ('Benjamin'), Petelo and Peteru or Pita ('Peter'), Kalameli and Kalamelu ('Carmel') and Mikaele and Mika ('Michael').

**Names of religious significance for Samoan members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints**

Names, and especially those of ancestors, hold a special significance for Mormons. The searching out of genealogical details is one of the duties Mormons are required to do. Part of a missionary's work is also to find the names of all the members' ancestors so that those who have already passed on may receive the Gospel. Then the names are put through to the Temple so that proxy work in the form of baptism and temple marriage can be done for them either by their descendents or by Temple missionaries. Brian Colless says:

> The Mormon practice of baptism on behalf of the dead (see I Corinthians 15:29) ... [aims] to offer salvation through vicarious

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18 See Appendix Five for information concerning the tracing of Samoan ancestors.
baptism to everyone who has ever lived on earth, and that is why Mormons are such ardent compilers of genealogies.  

Two names which honour the founders of the Church are Iosefa after Joseph Smith the founding prophet and Oliva which acknowledges Oliver Cowdery who helped Joseph Smith in the translation of *The Book of Mormon* from the golden plates.

The following are other popular Mormon names which have been taken from *The Book of Mormon*. Iareto ('Jared'), was the founder of Jaredites. A man called the Brother of Jared and described as: "a large and mighty man highly favoured of the Lord", was the first Jaredite prophet. The brothers left the Tower of Babel and after praying to the Lord their language was not confounded. The Brother of Jared built the barges in which they sailed to the promised land.

Iakopo ('Jacob') (c. 1800 B.C.) was not only the name of the father of the twelve tribes of Israel but also the son of Lehi (c. 599 B.C.). (The Book of Jacob is the third book in *The Book of Mormon.*) Another son, Nifae ('Nephi') (c. 600 B.C.), was a great prophet and founder of the Nephites. (There are four Books of Nephi in *The Book of Mormon.*) Sarai ('Sariah') (c. 600 B.C.), one of the few women named in *The Book of Mormon*, was the wife of Lehi and accompanied him from Jerusalem when he led his followers to the promised land in the western hemisphere. Many Mormon women are named Sarai. Peniamina ('Benjamin') (c. 120 B.C.), was a Nephite prophet-king.

Alema ('Alma') (c. 173-91 B.C.), was a Nephite prophet and founder of the Church. (The Book of Alma is the ninth book in *The Book of Mormon*.) Helamana ('Helaman') (c.74 B.C.), Alma's grandson was also a prophet and the

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20The Book of Ether 1:34.
21In 1991 bishop of the Vaea Second Ward was named Bishop Alema Masame.
military commander who was entrusted with the twenty-four plates of the Jaredites. Helaman also preserved Urim and Thummim, the seer stones which aided Joseph Smith in translating the plates. (The Book of Helaman is the tenth book in The Book of Mormon.) Korianatuma ('Coriantumr') was an apostate Nephite and commander of Lamanite forces (c. 51 B.C.).

*The Book of Mormon* is claimed to have been written by many ancient prophets in the spirit of prophecy and revelation. Their words, written on gold plates, were quoted and abridged by the Nephite prophet-historian named Mamona ('Mormon') (c. A.D. 333), after whom *The Book of Mormon* is named.

The last of the Nephites was Mormon's son, Moronae ('Moroni') (c. A.D. 421), who finished the record of his father and continued the history of the Jaredites. He also recorded the ordinances and church discipline which were sealed and hid as plates in the hill Cumorah. On September 21, 1823, Moroni, as a glorified, resurrected being, appeared to the Prophet Joseph Smith and instructed him concerning the ancient plates and how to translate them into English. (The Book of Moroni is the last and fifteenth book in *The Book of Mormon.*)

The first Samoan ethnic ward to be formed in the Auckland (NZ) Harbour Stake was called Liahona Ward, after the compass given to Lehi when they left Jerusalem:

And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord spake unto my father by night, and commanded him that on the morrow he should take his journey into the wilderness. And it came to pass that as my father arose in the morning, and went forth to the tent door, to his great astonishment he beheld upon the ground a round ball of curious workmanship; and it was of fine brass. And within the ball were two spindles; and one pointed the way whither we should go into the wilderness.22

And it came to pass that I, Nephi, beheld the pointers which were in the ball, that they did work according to the faith and diligence and heed which we did give unto them.23

However, when they were crossing the ocean to the Americas and Nephi was bound by his brothers, the Liahona would not work until Nephi was released. Because of this the Liahona is seen as an excellent model for faithfulness and diligence. (In 1947 the Mormons built a school named Liahona College near Nuku'alofa, Tonga.)

Finally, the Samoan origins of ward members are acknowledged in the names of the two Samoan Wards in the Mt Roskill Stake. Vaea First Ward, (formerly Vaea East) and Vaea Second Ward (formerly Vaea West), have been named after Mt Vaea behind Apia.

Names associated with change

Samoan personal names can be changed for a number of reasons. Sē'ese was the first child to be born alive after several pregnancies. His name, which means sē ('lost') and 'ese ('different') acknowledges the fact that somehow, instead of taking the same path as the previous babies who were born dead, he became lost and found a different way.

A dying person may change the name of a relation in order to influence the choice of the career he or she will pursue. For example, one sister, as she approached death, gave her brother a Biblical name and expressed the wish that he become a faifé'au, something which he later did.

In another instance, when a very sick child recovered after an operation, her grandmother gave her a new name which expressed their gratefulness and thanks to God. In this case several words are joined together to form the name

231 Nephi 16:28.
Olioli ileatauia so'uma which literally means Olioli ('sing praises') i le ('to') atua ('god') i aso ('day') uma ('every'). As is commonly found, the name was abbreviated to Olioli which in this case also means 'joyful'. Moreover, it is a word which is used mainly in speech-making or when talking about God and singing praises to God.

**Igoa Fa'apalo:**

This final category involves the concept of *gao* ('something which brings shame to someone') and includes the giving of a derogatory name in order to *fa'amasiasi* ('put to shame') some other person. In cases where amiable resolutions between individuals or families in conflict are impossible, this kind of retributive response where one's own children are assigned names intended as an insult for others, is a well known phenomenon. Conflicts might arise out of an affair between a man and a woman which has turned sour, disagreement between the families of a married couple, or a long standing village feud between one leading family and another. In many cases the protagonists in such a drama are linked either through biological lineage or have other social connections.

Thus a baby born into either side of the conflict may even be given a swear name in order to "get back" at the other side. Some names have survived from pre-Christian times and the offending name may be transmitted as a surname. As it is very embarrassing to be called by such a name, people will change their names when they grow older. Today, the *fa'afe'au* may refuse to baptize a baby for whom its parents have chosen an unsavoury name.

Names are created from coarse words referring to the waste matter of dogs, cows and chickens, the skin of chickens or cats or the smell of pigs. The name Fa'atulituli from *tulituli* ('deaf') carries a message such as: "Those people are deaf.

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24 Igoa ('name') and *fa'apalo* ('to belittle').
They are a very disobedient people. They don't want to listen. They block their ears. We are trying to tell them this good thing but they are stubborn”.

Perhaps an illegitimate baby has been born. The child may be used as a means of expressing anger towards the father through such a name as Simeamativa - from si ('a'), mea ('thing') and mativa ('poor'). In other words the family of the mother are informing everyone that the father comes from a poor family.

The other aspect of this category is the name which gives a message telling people to stop gossiping and to mind their own business. Such names can be quite complicated with symbolic references, perhaps to the royal family, or a pool in which people may wash but into which it is forbidden to jump. In other instances the message may be gradually transmitted, and not necessarily in a chronological order, through the names of all the children in the family. Unlike the former unpleasant examples, these names may unite families as they form a combined front with a message such as: "Stop your words because jumping anywhere at the village pool is forbidden". In other words, "Stop making those claims about us".

Conclusions

In this chapter the topic of Samoan personal names has been introduced by identifying and allocating the names to a number of different categories. However, it would also appear that a temporal theme runs through these groups of names linking Samoans to their family, their community and the wider time scale. In this way many personal names act as sacred symbols of time and place within the microcosm of the individual's own spiritual and experiential existence, and are therefore of tremendous significance to Samoans.

Over and over again, I have shown how chronological time has been marked out by personal names, for it is a device of an oral culture to provide living reminders. Through the witness of living people, the culture and all its rich
practices and anecdotes are passed on to posterity. The supernatural feats of divine beings are recalled in the chiefly titles, the names of heroes and places which are given to people. Decades later, adults called Ofa and Val will prove that the natural phenomena of the 1990-1991 cyclones was a reality. Maligi's ('marines') existence reminds us of the human-made calamity of the Second World War. Viola's name stands for the colour purple which was the symbol of the Mau political movement and their struggle for self government, while Pelepisite ('Plebiscite') reminds one of the people's unanimous vote to establish the Independent State of Western Samoa.

As previously mentioned, these people are also living reminders that things have changed, and that former joys and sufferings really did happen. In other words, Samoan names are a social mechanism for the informal recording of information and the preservation of knowledge. They are also mnemonic devices to aid memory and keep the sacred history of the family, community and nation alive.

When children are named after relatives and friends, their names continue the infinite duration of the Samoan family line by marking a certain span in the life cycle of the family. But names are also sacred in the sense that the individual is sacred. Matai titles are hierarchically placed above all other names because they are considered sacred (Sā ['out of bounds'] or pa'ia ['hallowed'])\(^{25}\). This is why, as previously mentioned, Samoans avoid a direct affront or insult to a title, seeking instead an alternative means of voicing any displeasure with its holder. Individuals and their families also regard their given names as mamalu ('dignified'). They were not given lightly and often only after a fair amount of consideration (and sometimes debate) by their parents and loved ones. Not only that, but the names people have are living symbols of their own subculture at home and are indicative of the total experience of the people to whom the bearer belongs.

\(^{25}\)The Holy Bible is called O le Tusi Pa'ia.
At social functions people wait to hear the titles or *fa'alupega* ('honorific references to original and family connections') mentioned by the orators, for then they know the identity of the people present. (Similarly at a wedding, the names of the bridal party reveal the origins of the participants.) They know who their parents are, they know where they come from, and they know who their family is in Samoa. And, partly because of these public identifications, Samoans are expected to behave in a manner which is worthy of the *suafa* ('titles') or *fa'alupega* they carry. The consequences extend far beyond the individual, for each member of the Samoan family, like the title holders (and ministers), is responsible to the family and to God who has sanctioned their existence.

But names, like all other symbols, display paradoxical connotations among their characteristics ranging from the sacred (*Faiilagi* ['gone to heaven']) to the profane (*Anuilagi* ['spit at the sky' - blasphemy]), the sublime (*Manuia* ['blessed person']) to the ridiculous (*Meaola* ['beast']) or from deep love (*Alofa* ['love']) to remorseless hatred (*Itagia* ['unloved, detested, hateful']). Not only do Samoan names portray a sacred quality which should not be violated, and sometimes the message carried by the name glorifies God, but they can also act as symbols of revenge and spitefulness when they are deliberately created or manipulated to transmit an insulting message.

Religious connections abound in Samoan names as they convey the faith, aspirations and denominations of the bearers together with the proud continuance of the name of an ancestor who was a famous minister, missionary, doctor or village chief.

Finally, names are a living phenomenon which are treasured as a vital part of the continuum of symbolism of Samoan life. In 1991, when the Western Samoan rugby team was preparing for the World Cup competition, they asked Salamasina to give their national team a name. She gave them the name *Manu*...
Samoan after the hero Manusamoa who, is associated with the district of Falealili. By granting the team such a name, this great woman was not only giving the players a name associated with her family, but also providing them with a heroic model of cunning and fortitude.

The act of the rugby team in asking Salamasina for a name was, according to oral traditions, quite symbolic, for it conjures up visions of Malietoa Vainu'upo's approach to the Goddess Nafanua for a grant of power to establish his rule in Samoa. But Nafanua had told him: "Tali i lagi se ao o lou Mālō", meaning "Await on Heaven for your kingdom". Thus when in 1830 the Reverend John Williams made his landfall at Sapapālī'i (Malietoa's village in the island of Savai'i), bringing the Tala Lelei ('Good News') of the Christian Gospel, many Samoans believed that Nafanua's prophecy had been fulfilled, as the new Christian God had set up his church in Sapapālī'i.

In the case of Salamasina, Samoans both loved and revered her as a symbol of a saintly person and a model of Christian life to be emulated. In yet another way it can be seen how through the rich symbolism associated with the giving of names, Samoans continue to experience their oral tradition in action. Moreover, much of the history that is being transmitted and recalled by the names is sacred.

26 Susuga To'ōa Salamasina Malietoa was the older sister of the Head of State, Susuga Le Tapa'aufa'asisina Malietoa Tanumafili II. She died in Auckland on 7 June 1991, her 80th birthday.
27 See Appendix Six for The Story of Manusamoa and the rugby chant The Manu.
CHAPTER TEN

SACRED SPACE: SAMOAN CHURCH BUILDINGS IN NEW ZEALAND

This chapter examines sacred space as revealed by Samoan church buildings in New Zealand,¹ and draws together such themes as orientation, the establishment of a sacred centre, the ordering of space, and the religious function of sacred space. These are important features which enable meaningful space, constructed for religious purposes, to be differentiated from profane, non-sacred space.

In order to discuss the Samoan concept of a church, it is necessary to first define the features mentioned above. Next, the process of building a church, from the laying of the foundation stone to the sanctification and dedication of the completed church, is described by using examples from around the country. Following this are other examples of churches which act as visual metaphors for Samoan culture in New Zealand. The majority of churches discussed belong to the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. However, many features such as floor plans, seating, sanctuary areas and decor are also to be found in the Samoan Methodist and Presbyterian churches. A few examples from other denominations conclude the chapter.

Orientation, a sacred centre, the ordering of space and the religious function of sacred space

Because of the relatively recent arrival of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand, most Samoans living in this country are closely tied to the experience of being strangers settling in unknown territory. In such situations, identity is closely bound

¹The direction of my research, during the first visit to the church buildings, was usually guided by the questionnaire recorded as Appendix Nine: Church And Sacred Space Features Questionnaire.
to the speedy establishment of a sacred centre in which people can worship, and from which they can orientate themselves for the creation of a new environment. Mircea Eliade says:

... to settle in a territory, to build a dwelling, demand a vital decision for both the whole community and the individual. For what is involved is undertaking the creation of the world that one has chosen to inhabit. Hence it is necessary to imitate the work of the gods, the cosmogony.²

Eliade and Lawrence Sullivan also say that

Symbols of space and its order most clearly illustrate the religious act of orientation, that is, the fundamental process of situating human life in the world. Orientation is the conscious act of defining and assuming proper position in space. Fixing the human place in existence in a significant way is a religious act when it orients a human being toward the sacred.³

For the majority of Samoans, an extremely important element of their settlement in New Zealand has been the establishment of their own churches. In other words, the primary symbol of Samoan space for each religious group is its church buildings. Thus, in the creation of a new world in which to live, the churches provide not only a geographical centre but also an existential centre from which the community and the individual can orientate themselves.

Just as the first missionaries established Christian churches in the islands, Samoans too continue to re-enact the establishment of Christianity in a new land—and so, even if they are unaware of it, a founding creation story continues to be repeated. Similarly, the model of Christ's suffering and self sacrifice on the cross

continues to motivate congregations as they take on the burden of providing the money, time and labour to build and pay for church buildings.

First and foremost, a sacred place is a defined space which is different from other spaces. Joel Brereton describes a sacred area thus:

A sacred place focuses attention on the forms, objects, and actions in it and reveals them as bearers of religious meaning. These symbols describe the fundamental constituents of reality as a religious community perceives them, defines a life in accordance with that view, and provides a means of access between the human world and divine realities.4

Later in this chapter, it will be demonstrated how the placement of furniture in the sanctuary of a church symbolically links the Samoan *imago mundi* ('image of the world') with the *axis mundi* ('world axis'). Through this ordering of space the earthly life of humans becomes centred within the transcendent realm of divinity.

The establishment of sacred space provides the focus for the ultimate context of a culture. The Samoan churches also embrace the traditional functions of sacred space. Firstly, through its religious symbolism, the church is a place for communication with and about God. Secondly, it is a locus for divine power, which can transform human life and which also embraces the major transitions in a person's life: baptism, marriage and death. Thirdly, the traditional Samoan churches provide a visual metaphor of a religious (and hierarchical) world, for the ordering of space and the ordering of human life is a natural connection.5

Identifying a Samoan church

During the months of May to August in 1991, I lived in Auckland. On the first Sunday, as I drove from Grey Lynn to Sandringham, I passed a triangular-shaped church (Fig. 59). Although there was nobody outside the church my immediate

5For a fuller discussion see Brereton, "Sacred Space", pp. 528-532.
reaction was - "this is a Samoan Congregational church or at least it is a church belonging to some Pacific Island group - perhaps Tongans."^{6}

What was it about this building that made me feel so sure that it was probably a Samoan church?

Firstly, although its appearance was unique, it reminded me of some other building. Secondly, it is built on a difficult piece of land which suggested that it

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^{6}The significance of saying that there was nobody outside the church is, that if it was a Pacific Island church, and there were people outside it, then most likely some, if not nearly all of the women would be dressed in white clothes and wearing white hats.
had probably been bought at a reasonable price. Thirdly, there is plenty of carpark space. Fourthly, the large building appeared to have the church built above the hall. Fifthly, it has a very large cross on top of the roof. Sixthly, the building looked to be quite new. Most Samoan church building has taken place during the last decade. Seventhly, I was immediately captured by the soaring roof, the sweeping steps, the ramp to the right and the beige coloured balustrades. Finally, the architecture suggested that no expense had been spared by the congregation. It seemed to be an imaginative building which projected a vision of hope in the future, and expressed the Samoan love for religion, the church, and above all a great love of God.

My initial classification proved to be correct for the church is the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, Kingsland, Auckland.

The Samoan concept of a church

The most important component of any Samoan church is the congregation. When the first Samoans arrived in New Zealand they usually attended European churches where other Samoan families already worshipped. But eventually two or three families would express a desire to have a Samoan church of their own. They wanted to be able to worship in their own language and in a way which they identified with the village church of their homeland. The following process still
happens today, as it is a feature of Samoan religious behaviour in New Zealand to continue to establish new churches.

Firstly, a small group will hold services in their own homes and as their numbers grow they may rent a hall (see Fig. 103). If they are lucky they will be able to find a man who has already trained at one of the theological colleges to be their minister. The choice of the minister is very important for his personality, reputation and leadership will attract more people to the congregation.

Sometimes the potential minister already lives in the district and owns his own house. In other cases the fledgling congregation, to show their sincerity in supporting the new minister will provide a house for him and his family.

This scenario pictures a young congregation with a minister living in his own or the church's house, meeting in rented or borrowed church buildings. For most papālagi this would constitute a church. But this is not so with a Samoan congregation.

Samoans want to own the church buildings. They desire to build a beautiful church of their own. In fact they will not be at peace until it is paid off - the land, the church and hall, and the minister's house. This requires a wide vision, an enormous commitment and for most a lot of hardship and personal sacrifice. People have been known to mortgage their houses to build a church. But it is possible and a number of congregations have already proved it to be so. On the other hand, some congregations have found themselves in serious financial trouble.

11 Figure 103 shows the small Samoan-Tokelauan Assemblies of God church in Dunedin holding White Sunday in a suburban hall.
12 Moreover a Samoan congregation is proud to have a financially well supported minister (house, furniture, cars, a surplus of food, fine mats, and money).
Acquiring the church buildings

Eventually a congregation acquires a church of its own. Sometimes, as in the case of the Dunedin CCCS (Fig. 60), a small church which formerly belonged to another denomination becomes their first permanent home.\(^{13}\) However, as the number of church families grows, larger premises are required. Several options may be considered, and suitable properties or building sites are sought.

In 1991 Dunedin CCCS realized their assets\(^{14}\) and bought, from the Catholic Church, a complex of school buildings in South Dunedin (Fig. 61). Although their ultimate aim is to build a church, for the moment the congregation decided upon a more realistic alternative.

Of prime importance was the size of the land. Not only was there room to build a new minister’s house (completed in 1991) but the concrete playground provided a ready-made carpark.\(^{15}\) St Patrick’s Hall, which was renamed EFKS Hall, needed only a coat of paint to be fully operational.\(^{16}\)

The lower floor of the classroom block underwent major alterations. The internal walls were removed and after renovations the enlarged room was opened as the present church in September 1991. The upstairs classrooms are used as Sunday school rooms, meeting rooms and sleeping rooms which can accommodate a large number of visitors. Showers and extra toilets were built at the rear of the building.

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\(^{13}\) The Dunedin congregation was formed in 1973. This church was bought in 1979.

\(^{14}\) They sold their manse in St Clair and the small church on the main street in South Dunedin. Much to their bemusement, the new owner asked the minister to desanctify the church before it was turned into a medical centre.

\(^{15}\) This is quite a consideration, for to create a new carpark which meets city council regulations for drainage, etc. will cost at least $50,000.

\(^{16}\) As Housie was already played each week in St Patrick’s Hall the congregation took over its operation, thus giving the church an extra weekly income.
The former school dental clinic is now the minister's office. On the property there is also an old wooden villa which provides accommodation for a number of people, many of whom worked on the alterations under the supervision of skilled church members.17

One of the churches under construction in 1991 was the CCCS church in Hamilton (Figs. 62 and 69). The rounded roof at the front of the church above the sanctuary echoes the shape of a Samoan *fa'ale*.18 This concept was further extended by the incorporation of rounded posts to support the verandah. Figures 63 and 70 show the inside of the building looking towards the rear. Built as one structure, the front half accommodates the church while the back portion is the hall. By opening the connecting doors the whole area can be utilized as one space for large gatherings.19

**The foundation stone**

In the section headed 'Religious Symbols' in Chapter 6, I discussed the symbolic significance of foundation stones in Samoan churches. As mentioned earlier, the laying of the foundation stone is a very important ceremony and includes many visitors, celebrations and a round of fund raising. The names of the members

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17 Sometime in the future, the congregation plans to pull down this old house at the front and on the land running from the street to the minister's house at the rear of the property, they dream of building a new church.

18 *Fa'ale* is a Samoan house, building or shelter. The two basic shapes of *fa'ale* are the circle as found in a *fa'ale* talimalo ('meeting house') and the oblong building with semi-circular ends called an *afolau* (house serving as the main dwelling place for the family'). A traditional construction consists of a stone platform and a superstructure of wooden posts spread evenly around the foundations, and beams and rafters which are lashed together by sinnet. The thatched roof is created from coconut, sugar cane or sago palm leaves. More recent innovations include concrete floors and pillars, and corrugated iron roofs held together with nails. Each post in the circular *fa'ale* bears a functional and a symbolic role. For instance, at a *fono*, each *matai* occupies a particular space in front of a post commensurate with his or her title and relative status in the village. Thus the physical seating of the *matai* reflects both visually and symbolically before the eyes of the public the nature of the *pule* ('power') and the existing hierarchy of the village. A similar arrangement also exists for the *afolau* or the oval-type of *fa'ale*.

19 The overall length of the building is approximately 50 metres (163 feet), its width is 12 metres (39 feet) and the height is 8.5 metres (28 feet).
of the congregation are inscribed on paper or "in the book." This is then sealed in a bottle which is set in the concrete of the foundations. It is a highly symbolic act for the church is physically built on these people.

Before the completion of the church in Hamilton, the site of its foundation stone was visible in the different colour of concrete, and marked by a wooden peg is set in the floor (Fig. 64). This indicated the exact position of the pulpit and ensured that the communion table would be placed directly above the foundation stone. (Figure 65 details where the foundation stone and the peg are set in the concrete. For a view of the final position of the pulpit and communion table see Figures 71-72.)

The Fa'aulufalega - The Opening of a Church

In New Zealand the fa'aulufalega ('opening of a church') ceremony21 is usually arranged to take place on a Saturday. Anywhere from ten to twenty churches and their choirs22 may accept the invitation to attend. Although the main purpose is celebrating the successful completion and dedication of the church, it is equally important that the church be debt-free if possible by the end of the weekend. Relatives and friends of the congregation of the new church support their 'āiga(s) with gifts of money and 'ie tōga called si'ialofa ('gift of love').23

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20 Other details such as the village of their birth, the date of their arrival in New Zealand, when they joined this church, and maybe information about their families are often included.

21 Originally the word for the official opening of a house, malae or church was umusāga. An umu is a collection of food in an oven and sā means sacred. The ga on the end of a Samoan word changes it to its noun form. Hence umusāga means the sacred feast marking the opening of a newly built fale or church. (Hére the word sacred refers to the Samoan concept of mamalu meaning a solemn occasion.) Today however church openings are termed fa'aulufalega. The causative prefix fa'a at the front of a word indicates 'to do something',ulu 'to enter' and fale 'house'. Therefore fa'aulufalega literally means the entry of a big house (a church).

22 More often than not a Samoan church choir consists of nearly all the adults of the congregation, especially in the smaller churches.

23 Si'i ('to lift, to support'), alofa ('love'). The money donated by the choirs and those invited to the opening goes into the general pool for paying church accounts. The host congregation relies of their families and friends for 'ie tōga and money to help organize the pōpese.
Another means of raising funds is for the number of church choirs to compete in a pōpese (‘a night of singing’) which is often programmed for the Friday before the opening. (Not all fa'aualufalega have a pōpese.) In a fa'aualufalega pōpese, the competing choirs are not expected to donate 'ie tōga but they are expected to donate money.

The churches compete for the honour, and the prizes awarded for being the congregation which brings the largest donations of money (and in some cases 'ie tōga) and to win the competition for performing original songs which tell the story of the building of the church. Other congregations will simply bring donations of money. These are usually very formally presented by ceremonially dressed tulafale, "tāupōu" and mōnaia, and other accompanying church members (See Figs 28-32). Each church is allotted a section of seating around the hall. The faife'au and senior chiefs watch from their prestigious positions in front of the spectators.

When a church accepts the invitation to compete in the pōpese, months of preparation can be involved. The new church usually sends the guest choirs general information concerning the various stages of building their church. Then the most skillful songwriters and composers set to work to write the songs and

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24 A large pōpese may start as early as 8 a.m. and continue late into the evening.
25 See the section 'Some Methods of Fundraising' in Chapter 4: Symbols of Sacrifice. Prizes in the form of 'ie tōga are often awarded to the top three donations of money. It would appear that donors are not always motivated by the "urgings of the spirit" to give but rather by the rewards for giving the biggest gift. In some instances the 'ie tōga for the top prize may be displayed on a wall for all to see. In this way the spectators also gain an idea of its relative monetary value in dollars. Earlier fundraising activities not related to the fa'aualufalega include one or two tusigāigoa (writing of names), levies on each church family and a tausala ('a modern form of fundraising based on the idea of a young maiden performing a dance while friends and relative donate money').
26 A tusigāigoa is not regarded as a competition although prizes are often given to the groups which give the most money (see Footnote 21). Most church openings also involve the gifting of 'ie tōga either as donations, prizes or as an acknowledgement of the gifts of donors. See Chapter 7 on the 'ie tōga as a sacred symbol.
27 When New Zealand churches participate in ceremonial occasions, the role of tāupōu is usually played by the daughter or granddaughter of the faife'au.
music for the competition. Next the choir, led by its conductor and musicians spends many evenings rehearsing to perfection the words, music and actions which will be part of their final performance. Time is also spent on the careful preparation of the choir's uniform.

Song competitions are judged according to a number of criteria. For example, at the Hamilton Pōpese in 1991, marks were allocated as follows: entry 10, uniform 15, conductor 10, words 30, and music and tune 35. On this occasion the Newton PIPC choir presented the winning performance (Figs. 66-68).

As each performance lasts for twenty to thirty minutes, and each choir tells the same basic story in its own innovative way, by the end of the day the audience is well grounded in all the details of the building of the new church.

In order for non-Samoan speakers to gain some understanding of the richness of the contents of this form of Samoan oral tradition, I have included the Newton PIPC's Samoan text (with an English translation) as Appendix Seven: Pese mo Hamilitone - Song for Hamilton. The significance of songs such as these is that their presentation is often a "one-off" performance. The script is usually not circulated except for the business of learning the words. Moreover, if the text is recorded it is as a video of the performance, rather than in written form. At the same time, it should be appreciated that the following example is only one of numerous such oral creations in any given year.29

28 A little stealth and cunning may be used by the songwriters to find incidents which they can include in the song; incidents which the host church may not wish to be public knowledge. For example, anecdotes about the infights among leaders, who quarrelled with who, the sacking of the treasurer because he embezzled the funds, or when the faife'au nearly resigned. It is events such these which provide great laughter and add to the general mirth and humour of the occasion. In Samoan oral traditions, such socially accepted and popular vehicles of cultural narration as songs, help to provide ameliorating escape routes for internal pressures which have been building up among church (or village) members during a project. Now, the congregation in question can sit back and laugh at themselves. All the antagonisms, ill feelings and irritations disappear as they see the fun.

29 Other examples of the presentation of original songs which narrate the activity of the
Song for Hamilton

The Newton PIPC's _Song For Hamilton_ is divided into several sections. The first part humbly addresses, praises and thanks the dignified presence and sacredness of God for His everlasting love and the gift of life. The importance of "this morning" is enhanced by many references to distinguished Samoan families and leading church dignities. The first part concludes:

But the best morning [is when] the EFKS flag is raised,
The Church of the Risen Christ is to be sanctified.  

The second section reports on the work. This covers the cost of the land, fund-raising, problems encountered along the way, lawyers, banks, applications, and the choice of the builder. The next section details different ways of finding money for the project and ends with the reminder that "Nothing is impossible - when you put your trust in God."

participants include the annual so'o between the universities, cultural contests or festivals between the high schools and colleges, church competitions, fiafia entertainments by visiting groups and one-off occasions such as the 1992 launching at Nafanua Hall, Avondale, Auckland, of Tupua Tamasese's book _la Faagaganaina Oe E Le Atua Fetala_i: O Nisi O Langa Ma Tatalo ('Let the Speaking God Empower You To Speak: Some of the Speeches and Prayers'), (Western Samoa: Commercial Printers Ltd, 1989).

\[30\] The _taeao_ ('mornings') are discussed in Chapter 8: The _Papālagi_ Have No Time But Samoans Have Plenty, and detailed in Appendix Four: _Taeao_ - (morning[s]: important events in Samoa's history).

\[31\] The Hamilton church is named _'O le Malumalu o le Kerisotofetu_ ('The Church of the Risen Christ'). In Figure 71 the name is seen written on the wall of the sanctuary. Church halls are often given distinctive and symbolic names. The Hamilton church hall is called Samoana. The _faie'au_ explained the choice of name thus. "Samoana [poetic] means anything relating to fa'a-Samoan, and its choice for the name of the hall is a way of appreciating the Samoan people's acceptance of Christianity as their government. The name Samoana was also selected for two other reasons. Firstly, not only is it an attractive sounding word but it is an easy word for _plilagi_ to say. The significance of this reasoning is that as the congregation hopes to hire their facilities to European groups in Hamilton it seemed prudent to have a name they can pronounce and which at the same time tells all that it is the Samoans' Church Hall. Secondly, it is concept used in a hymn which is now accepted at the national hymn. It is becoming interdenominational in usage and parallels God Defend New Zealand as New Zealand's national song." Rev. Mose Atimalala, 5 July 1991, (Hymn number 277 in _Pacific Islanders' Church Hymnary_, [Auckland: P. I. C. Printery, 1981], p. 114.) See the concluding passage of "The Evening" after Chapter 11: Conclusions.
The first song in the fourth section not only describes the completed church but points out features of symbolic significance. For example, the rounded *fale*-shaped front roof connects the congregation with the Samoan nation's commitment to God.

Seen from the road - Like a long [Samoan] house [viewed] from the end
The porch - magnificent - Samoan house styled its body
That's the sign - Samoa for God - God for Samoa.\(^{32}\)

The second song in this section addresses the minister, his wife and other church members as the true heirs of Manusamoa\(^{33}\) before continuing to marvel at other physical features of the building. Then gifts, ranging from the carpenters' electric saws, church furniture, and the stained-glass cross in the modified steeple, are listed, together with the names of their donors. The final section ends with a traditional farewell *māvaega* in which the guests promise to cherish the love of their hosts.

When a time comes to say goodbye
I remember in my heart the farewell of the King of Fiji and the King of Manu'a
King Manu'a, [Goodbye], Goodbye - Farewell.
Your love will not be kept outwardly - in case it is damped
King Manu'a [Goodbye Farewell] Because of your love
I will keep it between my heart and my lungs.

The Friday function concludes with the announcement of the largest donations in the *si'ialofa* and the judges decisions regarding the *Pōpese* performances. Then the prizes are awarded to the winning churches (Figs. 33-35).\(^{34}\)

\(^{32}\) An incorporation of the Motto of Western Samoa.
\(^{33}\) See Appendix Six: The Story of Manusamoa.
\(^{34}\) Before the activities take place the hosts will have already allocated the 'ie tōga which are to be given as first, second and third prizes in recognition of the largest donations. The winners of each may receive six or seven hundred 'ie tōga. (See Figure 35). Once all the donations are received, the host church can begin the selection process of sorting the newly donated 'ie tōga. These will be distributed as gifts to the donors on the next day after the feast which follows the church dedication.
The Fa'aulufalega continued

On Saturday, the main events are the official opening and dedication service of the church (Fig. 71), the feast and the presentation of 'ie tōga to heads of church groups, dignitaries and special guests (Figs. 36-37). There might also be a special recall of one or more of the choirs.35

Sunday is usually reserved for the home congregation's families and their friends and relatives. There might be a to'ona'i in the church hall which is usually attended by the faife'au and the members of his congregation.36

The Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, Newtown, Wellington

In 1975, when the Rev. Risate Ete, F.T. became the faife'au of the congregation of the Wellington CCCS, he brought with him "a long-term dream of building a church in true Samoan style."37 Over the years the congregation had used three different buildings belonging to other churches in Wellington.38 The congregational meeting showed a very good response to this idea and gave their full approval to the idea of building a new church.39

35 The top choir is usually invited to participate in the fiafia activities of Saturday's opening by repeating their winning performance. (I have seen a winning choir bring a different uniform to wear on the second day - in anticipation of their winning.)
36 This is very much a family affair with no presentation of 'ie tōga.
37 By this he meant a fale-style building (see Footnote 17 above) which would symbolize the Samoan origins of the worshippers but which was also in keeping with the recommendations presented in "O le Fale-Sa i Samoa," in Tapua'i Atu i le Agaga ma le Faamaoni. See Committee of Elders of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Tapua'i Atu i le Agaga ma le Faamaoni: O le Tusi mo e o le a Ta'ita'i i Sauniga Lotu. ('Worship God with Honesty: The [hand] book for those who are to lead the service'). David G. Bowen (ed.), (Malua, Western Samoa: Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, 1967, 1978), pp. 33-39.
38 In 1965 the Samoan congregation shared the Vivian Street building with the Assemblies of God. In 1975 they used the Anglican Chinese Mission in Taranaki Street for one year. Then in 1976 the congregation moved to Cambridge Terrace and shared the building with the Congregational Church.
39 Rev. Ete chaired a small committee consisting a secretary, a treasurer, one lay preacher, one deacon and two women both of whom are the wives of deacons.
First, they bought a factory site at 130 Owen Street and purchased four houses on four sections from the same company. They also had to buy another house in the middle of the site. Building started at the beginning of 1983 and the church and hall (Fig. 73) were completed and dedicated at Labour Weekend, October 1984.

The two buildings are situated at the western end of the section. Between the street and the buildings is a large carpark. To the right, on higher ground is the church. It can be approached either by a flight of steps which rise from the carpark to the front doors, or from the left by a sweeping driveway which allows motor access to both buildings. The hall at the left is joined to the church by rooms and a covered corridor. The main floor of the hall is on the same level as the church but beneath the hall is a lower level of rooms.

Both buildings are *fale*-shaped with the rounded ends lying at the west and east. Of remarkable note is the design of the roofs. These brown tiled elongated domes soar into the sky. The ridge between the two rounded ends of the hall roof is capped by a long narrow skylight which is raised about a metre above the level of the ridge. The roof of the church has a similar structure but at the western end above the sanctuary rises a black cupola surmounted by a white cross. The eight pairs of windows of the cupola allow natural light to fall on the sanctuary below.

Inside both the church (Fig. 74) and the hall the internal structure of the roof is awe inspiring. Of similar construction, the white pine boards gently curve inwards as they rise between the soaring beams which support the roof. Like ten strong ribs at each end, the beams meet together at the top of the rounded ends of the buildings.

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40 The architect was Chris Kay of Gabites, Porter and Partners.
41 With a thirty year mortgage, and at a cost of $1,500,000, Rev. Ete expected the church to be paid for in six years, that is, by June 1991. A special offering for the church building is given every first Sunday in the month. At times various groups also raise money. For example on a special Samoan occasion each family presents a *tausala* with someone from the family as *tāupōu* dancing a *siva*. In the *tusigāiga* each family rame presents an item (Interview 2 March 1991).
Further support is given by four more beams, two on each side, which rise to join the centre point in the roof. One is clearly reminded of the *fale* rafters in the construction of the roofs of these buildings.

Below the eaves on the outside of both buildings, the fawn wooden walls are regularly broken by recessed areas containing floor to ceiling windows or glass doors. In these areas, in line with the outside walls, like *fale* posts, stand squared off brown posts supporting the roofs. At the top of most of the walls are pairs of smaller windows.

The front doors at the eastern end of the church open into a foyer, and then another set of double doors allow access to the main body of the church. To the right of the foyer is a "crying room" (*creche*) while to the left is a room for the secretary and treasurer.42 Both these rooms have glass windows looking into the back of the church and are fitted with speakers so that those in the rooms can hear the service.

On both sides at the back of the church, staircases lead the way to an upstairs gallery which extends forward over about a third of the downstairs seating. Two large blocks of pews with a centre aisle fill the body of the church.43 Both buildings have a seating capacity for between three hundred and fifty, and four hundred people.

42 Upon arrival at church the people give their weekly donations to the treasurer. By the provision of this room the treasurer can attend to the accounts and have the weekly financial report ready to present to the congregation at the end of the service. The amounts given by each family are read out. (The windows of these rooms can be seen behind the stairs to the gallery in Fig. 76.)

43 Sometimes a church may vary the position of the pews in order to create either a central aisle or two sides aisles. The older, traditional CCCS arrangement of pews has been chosen by the Hamilton CCCS. This church is entered from the rear which is reached via an internal passage running along the left side of the building (when viewed from the street). Inside, halfway towards the front of the church the central aisle changes into an aisle running at right angles across the church. This in turn changes into two side aisles which run forward to the front of the church. The choir sits in the middle block of seats facing the front of the church. The women sit in front of the men. See Figs 70-71.
The view from the upstairs gallery (Fig. 75) shows at the western end, a tall white screen which forms the back wall to the sanctuary, which is reached by three steps rising from the floor of the church. The pulpit has been positioned to the left at the front.\footnote{The traditional placement of the pulpit in the LMS churches was at the centre back of the sanctuary. Today, although the general policy is to place the pulpit to one side, their eventual positioning seems to depend on the personal preference of the minister and congregation. As a result they can be found either at the side or the centre. Examples of churches with central pulpits: the CCCAS Henderson, CCCS New Lynn, CCCS Kingsland, Manurewa AOG, Glen Eden PIPC, Otara Methodist (Samoan Conference) and St Johns, Ponsonby (New Zealand Methodist Conference) - all Auckland; and CCCS Hamilton. Some churches with pulpits placed to the side: Newton PIPC, CCCS Sandringham, Grey Lynn AOG, Otara Methodist (New Zealand Conference) - all Auckland; CCCS Porirua, Porirua PIPC, CCCS Wellington, CCCS Dunedin.} To the right is the lectern and further right against the rear wall is the font. Towards the back half of the sanctuary is the communion table.\footnote{There is a small plaque under the communion table which includes the church's emblem (Fig. 79) and reads EKALESIA FA'APOTOPOTOGA KERISIANO I SAMOA UELIGITONE, NIU SILA. Mo le Vi'iiga o le ATUA ua ta'uina ifo ai lelei MA'A FA'A'VAE ia Aperila 16 1983 e R. Ete. F.T. (Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, Wellington, New Zealand. For the glory [praise] of God. This foundation stone has been laid on April 16 1983 by R. Ete, F.T.).} Behind it is a large chair. Flanking it against the rear wall are six chairs, three on each side. At the front right of the church are a piano and the organ.

At Sunday services the front seven to eight pews to the left of the central aisle are filled with the Sunday school children while the to the right the first six pews are occupied by the choir. The High Commissioner for Samoa and any visiting dignitaries sit in the pew immediately behind the choir. The rest of the congregation is free to sit anywhere. This is the normal arrangement in this church.

Other Samoan churches may also adopt this arrangement but there may also be variations such as the aforementioned pulpit, or the position of the organ. In some churches the women sit in a group according to their hierarchical status (highest at the front) while their husbands and other men are ranked behind them. Young couples with small children not in Sunday school usually sit at the back of the congregation.
Decoration details and special Samoan features

Two principles which guided the form and decoration of this church were articulated by the faife'au:

In New Zealand, the communal life which Samoans are used to is only found in the church. In worship, the actual church buildings must incorporate the beliefs and customs of the people who are worshipping God.46

Four large vertical brown, black and white siapo patterned panels are painted on the rear wall of the sanctuary (Fig. 75). Rev. Ete further explained:

These patterns are meant so that the people can worship God in their own culture and their own language. But, they must also incorporate Christian symbols.

Running around the body of the church just above window height is a repeating brown and white siapo-type pattern (Fig. 77 and Fig. 75 extreme left). Within a trefoil shape are three interlocking circles each of which contains a nine pointed brown star. The three circles are held together at the centre by three leaf shapes. Again I quote Rev. Ete:

The pattern is to remind one of the Trinity of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. At the same time it enhances the Samoan perspective of the building.

The focal item at the front of the church is a large wooden empty cross which stands before deep blue curtains (Fig. 75). The timber of the cross has been left in its natural circular tree form and the knots along the trunk line are clearly visible. This is a satisfying use of symbolism for the cross is also called the tree and here in this church it is literally depicted as such.

Made from the Samoan hardwood poumuli, the trees were especially brought from Samoa.47 Rev. Ete and his wife went to his village, Lalomalava, in Savai'i,

and personally picked the two trees from which the cross is made. He went on to say:

I wanted the natural beauty - the naturalness of the wood to be seen.
We cannot be truly Samoan without something Samoan being placed in
the building to remind us that we are from Samoa.

Before the cross stands the communion table. Across the front of it is carved
the phrase: 'IA FAI LENEI MA FA'AMANATUGA IA TE A'U ('Do this is remembrance
of me').

Red and blue are the two colours which are featured in the church. The carpet
on the steps and floor of the sanctuary is a deep red. The doors are the same red
(Fig. 76). The rest of the carpets are blue. All cushions, both on the seats and
across the backs of the pews are a lighter blue. The chairs in the sanctuary are also
covered in blue fabric while the drapes behind the cross are made of dark royal blue
material. The choice of red and blue is of symbolic importance. Rev. Ete
explained:

Red symbolizes the blood of Christ and the honour given to Christ in
the sanctuary. Blue is the colour of the ocean and also represents the
world we travel as travellers on the sea of the world. Also it is a literal
reminder that we are ocean people.

Gifts

In many churches gifts are given in the form of furniture, carpets, doors, the
cross, clocks, the organ and so forth. Little plaques are often attached naming the
family who donated them. However, the presentation of gifts to the Wellington
CCCS at the time of its dedication was strongly discouraged. The minister did not
want the people competing to present things. Rather he wanted them to feel that it
all belonged to everyone. However there were exceptions.

47 Poumalii is famous as the wood from which fale rafters are made.
48 A carved text on the communion table is another regular feature which is found in Samoan
churches.
The flags of Samoa and New Zealand "flanking the Christian flag of the Cross," (Fig. 75)\textsuperscript{49} and the well known portrait of Jesus, the "Head of Christ" by Salman (Fig. 76) were presented by High Commissioner Afioga Lupematasila Aumua Ioane. Malua Theological College presented two sets of pulpit and lectern falls. One pair are in the form of small 'ie tōga (Fig. 78). The other pair features a white cross on siapo cloth (Fig. 75) and symbolizes Jesus Christ as the King of Samoa.\textsuperscript{50} Two other pulpit falls were made by women of the congregation (Figs 80 and 81).

Some features found in other churches

On the hill overlooking Porirua is the Ketesemane (Gethsemane) Church of the CCCS (Fig. 82).\textsuperscript{51} The low buildings include the hall (left) and the church. On the crest of the hill stands a large white cross which is illuminated at night. To the right of the church stands the typical house of a faife'au; two storeyed with six to eight bedrooms and large living rooms which can cater for many people.

In keeping with the name of the church the colour purple, which is associated with Easter, is used for the carpet, the velvet curtains and in the stained glass windows. The pulpit, which incorporates the fue and to'oto'o of a tulafale, was discussed in Chapter 6: Religious Symbolism. (See Fig. 13 for view of pulpit and carpet.)

A beautiful feature of this church is the two floor-to-ceiling stained-glass windows which are placed on either side of the sanctuary. The window on the right (Fig. 84) incorporates the CCCS emblem (Fig. 79) of a cross standing in a

\textsuperscript{49}For another example see Fig. 5. These flags were also presented by the High Commissioner at the time of the dedication and opening of the Dunedin CCCS.

\textsuperscript{50}"O le satauro tuufua i luma o le siapo Samoa ua folafola mai ua fai Jesu Keriso ma Tupu o Samoa" ("The bare cross in front of the Samoan tapa portrays Jesus Christ as being made King of Samoa"), Committee of Elders of the CCCS, Tapua'i Atu i le Agaga ma le Faamaoni, p. 39. See also pp. 37-39.

\textsuperscript{51}The foundation stone of was laid in 1990. I was informed that the land was very cheap (only a few thousand dollars) but the church had to put in the power and drainage.
boat. By adding a sail to the stained-glass boat it probably represents John Williams ship "The Messenger of Peace," and the arrival of the Gospel in Samoa in 1830. Above the large, predominantly purple cross three white birds of the Holy Trinity rise against a blue sky.

The other window (Fig. 83) depicts the Risen Christ and the Congregational church within a New Zealand setting. Jesus with arms out stretched rises above a local landscape. Below are the hills and inlets of the the coastline around Porirua Harbour. In the lower left corner is a stylized tree while at the bottom right is a map of New Zealand. In the swirling lines behind the figure of Christ is a suggestion of the letters Chi Rho.

Quite a number of Samoan churches have individualized names. *Mo Le Atua Ua Iloa* ('For the Known God') is the name of the Henderson Congregational church (now associated with the Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa - CCCAS). The name is prominently displayed in the glass windows above the two sets of doors at the rear of the church (Fig. 86) and on two of a number of banners which hang in *E Manuele Hall* ('Immanuel Hall'), (Fig. 85). These illustrations of the church and hall were created by the youth.

In a view of the inside of the church (Fig. 87) again can be seen a large cross and a raised platform three steps high which stretches across the front. Many of the churches have beautiful light fittings including chandeliers (See also Fig. 54).

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52 Two of the banners which were presented at the time of the opening of the Hamilton CCCS can be seen in Fig. 35. These banners which were gifted to the church were presented as part of the prize to the winning church. Another banner can be seen at the rear of the hall in Fig. 70.
53 In 1994, a large raised extension was in place across the front of this church. This was utilized by combined presentations of dramas and songs by the youth from the Henderson CCCAS and Glen Eden PIPC churches.
54 Unfortunately for some churches, some of the larger chandeliers have fallen down as the fittings have succumbed to moisture and metal fatigue.
Below the cross is a very large pulpit which can seat seven people (Fig. 88). This means that at special services such as the big combined Family Services which are held on the evening prior to a funeral, seven ministers can sit together on an equal level in the pulpit.

Another feature of note in this church is the specially woven *siapo* patterned carpet (Fig. 90).

Many of the church halls are used nearly every evening of the week for meetings, study groups, games (cards, indoor bowls, table tennis, volleyball), youth activities and rehearsals for cultural contests or the opening of churches. Other uses include receptions for weddings or funerals and birthdays. Some are also well utilized during the day with activities for older members, access programmes and a number of the ministers' wives conduct Samoan language preschools like that at Henderson CCCAS (Fig. 89).

So far in this chapter I have presented examples of Samoanization from Congregational churches. However, the incorporation of Samoan features has also been the concern of some PIPC churches.

The architecture of the Newtown PIPC church55 (Fig. 99) uses the curved shape of the side roofs and brown vertical strips between the windows which are set in light grey walls to suggest the Pacific Island origin of most of the congregation. Of special significance are the decorations on the exposed metal girders inside the church which support the roof (Fig. 100). Three different patterns have been created from sennit56 wound around the lower beams of the dark brown girders.

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55 Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, Pacific Islanders' Parish, Newtown, Wellington.
56 *Sennit; sinnet* is made by beating the husks of coconuts. The fibres are joined together by rolling them on the thighs and then braiding them into a variety of cordage.
Both Newtown PIPC and St Paul’s Trinity Pacific (Presbyterian Church of New Zealand) Christchurch (Figs. 101-102) have also made a definite statement of their Samoanness by using rounded brown wooden posts to support the covered walkways connecting their halls with church offices.

Seasonal decorations

A visual highlight in many churches is the seasonal adornments created for special services. The following examples are taken from the Dunedin CCCS.

The little Dunedin church (Fig. 60) seen on Palm Sunday 1991 (Fig. 91) shows a permanent feature on the front wall of a large red cross standing in front of a golden disk. At the centre where the two beams of the cross meet is an open book. Across the pages are written the words: *Ole Tusi Ole Ola* (*The Book Of Life*). The lower text on the wall reads: *Ua ou manumalo i le Lalolagi, Ioane 16-33*. The church handbook informs:

> The Cross in front of the circle [stands for] - the King of the whole world. We have used this symbol as we remember the coming of Jesus Christ into the world, and his resurrection from the dead, to give life to those who trust him.\(^{57}\)

For this Palm Sunday, apple green material was draped from the pulpit, the communion table, lectern and across the panelling on the front wall. Fern fronds represented the palm branches and the words *OSANA OSANA OSANA* were written in leaves along the side walls.

The women, under the leadership of the wife of the faife’au, the late Mrs Diana Ng Shiu, when talking about the church decorations for Good Friday 1991 (Figs. 92-93) told me:

> We tried to decorate the church in the same manner as the chapel at

\(^{57}\)Committee of Elders of the CCCS, *Taupūatī Atu i le Agaga ma le Faamaoni*, p. 38; Fig. 3, p. 37 (translation by Afioga Le Mamea S. Ioane).
Malua Theological College would be decorated.

Many hours were spent creating the pulpit fall and the cloth for the communion table from hundreds of leaves. Rows and rows of very dark maroon and purple copper beech and prunus leaves were pasted onto material. The overall effect of the drapery was reminiscent of a feather cloak.

The pulpit fall featured a cross surrounded by a wreath of small pink-green-blue hydrangea flowers, while across the front of the communion table in hydrangea florets were written the words: UA FAI LENEI MO OE ('This is done for you'). The panelling behind the communion table was further decorated by stems of trees including hawthorn, prunus, elderberries, jasmine and yarrow flowers. Small bunches of these flowers were also placed on little shelves along the sides of the church. To the right was a white cross which the Sunday School used in their little play about the crucifixion (Fig. 94). For the service many people wore black clothing.

The presentation of the church for Resurrection (Easter) Sunday 1991 (Fig. 95) includes another example of the Catholic picture "The Sacred Heart of Jesus" being used in a Samoan protestant church. 58

White (or Children's) Sunday is traditionally held on the first Sunday in October. The dominant colour is white with touches of red. White symbolizes the purity of the church and the flesh of Jesus, while red is for the blood of the Saviour. On this day the Sunday School classes present songs and Biblical items. Not only this but each family also offers a programme of religious songs, memorized texts and even mini plays. (Figure 96 shows the Dunedin CCCS 1988 White Sunday.)

58I have even seen them in houses belonging to Samoan Seventh-day Adventists and Mormons. Why? Samoans still do not appreciate the denominational differences of western Christian art. For them the only concern is to take yet another opportunity to show their love for God.
The children were dressed in new clothes. The girls' dresses were often covered in masses of frills, laces and ribbons while the boys wore white shirts and trousers or lavalava. Many of the children had headbands of white flowers. The girls also had a single red flower or bow pinned to their dresses while the boys' ties were red.

On this particular occasion, red and white streamers were draped across the church and woven mats were spread on the floor. Hanging over the first window on the right (Fig. 96 extreme right) is a large banner of the Crucifixion. This was dedicated during the service in memory of a beloved child who had died during that year.

Another important day on the CCCS church calendar is John Williams Sunday which is celebrated on the 1 September. In 1991 the pulpit fall and the cloth for the communion table were created from green leaves (Fig. 97).

The final example from this church is taken from the Family Service for Mrs Diana Ng Shiu which was conducted in the new church building on the evening before her funeral in 1992. Placed at the front of the church, the arrangements incorporated white birds (representing the eternal life of the soul) among the dead branches and dried leaves of a tree (Fig. 98).

**Other examples**

In this chapter I have featured church buildings of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa (and two examples from the Presbyterian Church). The last six illustrations are from four other denominations.

The Dunedin Samoan-Tokelauan Assemblies of God congregation used a hired hall (Fig. 103) in 1992 for they were still too small a group to acquire their own property. The White Sunday service was followed by a to'ona'i in the same hall.
On this occasion the pastor and his family actively waited upon the tables with the food and drinks. In this way they demonstrated the role of faife’au (literally 'to serve', 'to wait on') as the servants of both God and the congregation.

In the Assembly of God (Fig. 104), faife’au, Pastor Va'ai Veve, leads his congregation in prayer in their modestly proportioned church in Manurewa. In this instance, the only decor clue as to the Samoannness of the congregation is the prominently displayed wall hanging of Jesus praying in the Garden of Gethsemane. Samoan Assemblies of God tend to build their churches according to the financial capabilities of their congregation and in many instances the pastor is self-supporting.

The design and decor of the final three examples of churches remains true to the international character of these churches, and offers no hint as to the ethnic origins of their congregations.

In 1991, eight adult Sabbath School classes were held inside the Ponsonby Seventh-day Adventist Church in Auckland (Figs 105 and 106). The studies were conducted in Samoan, Cook Island Maori and English. Many Samoan churches have clocks hung in prominent positions. Here, too, a clock can be seen in both photographs. However, the notice board to the right of the clock at the front of the church (Fig. 105) displays not the hymn numbers but the time of the commencement of the Sabbath, and reads: "Sunset 5.35; next week 5.41."

All chapels of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are very similar in appearance (Fig. 107) although their sizes vary according to whether they serve a ward or are attached to a stake headquarters.59 The front end of a Mormon chapel is raised to the height of four or five steps. At the center is the pulpit. Directly behind this facing the congregation are the seats for the First and Second

59 The facilities may be used by two wards which alternate between morning and afternoon services each year. Should this happen separate offices are provided for the bishops.
Counselors and the Bishop. The main speakers for the day may also sit here. Behind these, in larger chapels than the one shown in Fig. 107, there may be a series of rising seats for the choir or other groups taking part in the meeting. To one side is the piano while to the other is the organ. The Ward Clerk (secretary) sits near the organ and takes notes throughout the meeting (service). Nearby sits the Music Director (conductor). The sacrament table is at floor level at the left hand side of the congregation. The chapel seating, where the congregation sits is family units, is divided by two side aisles into three sections. The chapels do not display a cross and are devoid of all decoration except for floral arrangements as are the churches of Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses' Kingdom Halls.

It is typical for the buildings of a Jehovah's Witnesses' Kingdom Hall (Fig. 108) to be utilized by two congregations. At the rear of a Kingdom Hall (not illustrated) is an open servery for the display of the latest literature which is purchased by the Witnesses for their own use and in their pioneering work in the community.

**Conclusions**

In this chapter I have presented church buildings as the focus of sacred space in the religious lives of Samoans in New Zealand. The establishment of a permanent worship centre in the suburban landscape is extremely important for immigrants in a new land. Not only does it help maintain their cultural identity but it also assists in the ordering of people's lives and their daily orientation in a somewhat strange secular environment.

Following Eliade's insight, one can say that through undertaking to build a church, a Samoan congregation becomes involved in the creation of the world which they have chosen to inhabit.\textsuperscript{61} In such a sacrificial commitment they are

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\textsuperscript{60}During my time of observation in LDS chapels a variety of people conducted the singing.

\textsuperscript{61}Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane*, p. 51.
symbolically re-enacting the "creation" activities of the first missionaries as well as continuing the well established tradition of taking responsibility for the spiritual well being of their own people.

Not only is the church building a focal point of orientation within the community, but there is also a symbolic significance in the spatial order within the building. In particular, this is seen in the placement of the foundation stone beneath the communion table which in turn is positioned beneath the highest point in the roof. This arrangement embraces the extremely powerful symbolism of an *axis mundi* ('world axis') for the earthly world of Samoans is vertically linked through the focus of the most sacred ritual of Christianity, namely the table from which Holy Communion is served, to the heavenly realms of God the Father. At the same time, the horizontal arrangement of people within the church often reflects and reinforces the hierarchical order of Samoan society - the *imago mundi* ('world image'). With the placement of the *faife‘au* behind the communion table the horizontal and vertical dimensions are joined physically and symbolically in the sacrament of Holy Communion.

In some churches, the homeland and the adopted country are symbolically acknowledged through the display of the flags of Western Samoan and New Zealand on either side of the cross. In this way the combined visual symbols of the "old" and "new" worlds reconfirm for New Zealand Samoans a life which is centred on the transcendent realm of the Risen Christ.

Some churches have been quite deliberate in the use of traditional design elements to acknowledge the positive values of the Samoan background of their congregation. These include the incorporation of *siapo* patterns, the use of cultural attributes such as a *to‘oto‘o* and *fue*, or simply the colour blue as a reference to the Pacific origin of the people.
Finally, the completed church with its spatial and visual symbols represents the love, devotion and sacrifice which Samoans make as part of their daily commitment to their religion and their progression through this world towards salvation and eternal life.

FIGURE 61: The former Roman Catholic St Patrick's School and Hall buildings which became the CCCS Church and EFKS Hall, Dunedin, March 1991.

FIGURE 63 (right): Interior view of CCCS, Hamilton, looking towards the rear and showing how the church and hall are combined under the same roof.
FIGURE 64 (right): Rev. Mose Atimalala inside the Hamilton CCCS church during its construction. The small square of lighter coloured concrete at his feet indicates the site of the church’s foundation stone.

FIGURE 65 (below): Detail of the site of the Hamilton church’s foundation stone.
FIGURE 66: The Newton (Auckland) PIPC choir, led by their "taupou", enters the Hamilton stadium to present gifts of 'ie toga, money and song during the pōpese for the opening of the CCCS church in December 1991.

FIGURES 67 (centre); 68 (lower): The Newton PIPC choir during their winning performance in the pōpese at Hamilton. Note the $10 note in each person's hair. The words of their presentation are recorded in Appendix 7: Pese mo Hamilitone.
FIGURE 69: *Ole Malumalu o le Kerisotoetu* ('The Church of the Risen Christ'), CCCS, Hamilton at the time of its dedication and opening, December 1991. (Compare with Fig. 62).

FIGURE 70: Interior of the completed *Ole Malumalu o le Kerisotoetu* ('The Church of the Risen Christ'), CCCS, Hamilton, looking from the church towards the hall at the rear of the building. (Compare with Fig. 63).

Note the aisle layout. The front of the church has two sides aisles while there is one central aisle for the back half of the church. (See also Fig. 71).
FIGURE 71: Rev. Mose Atimalala conducts the choir sitting in the centre front of the church during the opening of Ole Malumalu o le Kerisotoetu (‘The Church of the Risen Christ’), CCCS, Hamilton, December 1991. Note the name of the church written on the front wall. The central aisle changes into a cross aisle behind the choir seats, which in turn then runs forward as two aisles to form three rows of pews at the front of the church.

FIGURE 72: The communion table is placed before the pulpit and directly above the foundation stone. The front of the table is decorated with a coloured glass medallion which is illuminated from behind, and displays a cross and the letters EFKS.
FIGURE 73: The Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, Newtown, Wellington.

FIGURE 74: Interior of the CCCS, Newtown, Wellington. The photograph is taken from the upstairs gallery and shows the internal structure of the roof.
FIGURE 75: Interior of the CCCS, Newtown, Wellington. The photograph is taken from the upstairs gallery and shows the sanctuary.

FIGURE 76: Interior of the CCCS, Newtown, Wellington, looking towards the upstairs gallery and entrance doors.
FIGURE 77: The trefoil tapa pattern which runs around the walls, CCCS, Newtown, Wellington.

FIGURE 78: 'Le toga pulpit fall, CCCS, Newtown, Wellington.
FIGURE 79 (above): The emblem of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa featuring a Christian cross rising from a boat.

FIGURE 80 (right): A pulpit fall made of red and white shells featuring a cross standing in a boat. This fall is used at Easter as the red symbolizes the blood, suffering and sacrifice of Jesus while the white represents the purity of Christ.

FIGURE 81: Pulpit fall, Newtown, CCCS church. This one features a white shell cross with a background created from green-brown stones. It is used at Pentecost.
FIGURE 82: On the hill above Porirua is the CCCS Ketesemane ('Gethsemane') Church and hall (left of centre), and two storeyed minister's house (right of centre).

FIGURE 83: CCCS, Porirua. Left window shows Christ rising above a local coastline. There is a map of New Zealand in the lower right corner.

FIGURE 84: CCCS, Porirua, right window. Three white birds representing the Holy Trinity rise above a purple cross which stands in a sailing boat.
FIGURE 85: An example of the posters and banners created by the youth which depict the *Mo le Atua ua Iloa* ('For the Known God') Church and *E Manuele Hall* ('Immanuel Hall') of the CCCS, Henderson.

FIGURE 86: The name of the church on the glass windows above the entrance doors into the Henderson CCCS church.
FIGURE 87 (right): Interior view of the Henderson CCCS church. Note the wide pulpit behind the communion table.

FIGURE 88 (below): The pulpit which can seat seven people.
FIGURE 89: Mrs Ruta Peteru conducts the Samoan language pre-school in the church hall. The children are dressed in their uniforms of red tops and trousers.

FIGURE 90: The *siapo* patterned carpet in the CCCS, Henderson.
FIGURE 91 (above): The CCCS, Dunedin, decorated for Palm Sunday, 1991. The red cross in front of a gold circle represents Jesus as King of the whole world. The words on the open book read *Ole Tusi ole Ola.* The lower text says *Ua ou Manumalo ile lalolagi, Ioane 16-33.*

FIGURE 92 (right): The CCCS, Dunedin, pulpit fall for Good Friday, 1991. It features a cross surrounded by a wreath of small pink-green-blue hydrangea flowers set against a background of dark maroon and purple flowers.
FIGURE 93 (above): The CCCS, Dunedin, Good Friday, 1991. The communion table cloth, created from rows and rows of individual copper beech and prunus leaves pasted onto material, features the phrase *Ua fai lenei mo oe* ('This is done for you').

FIGURE 94 (right): The CCCS, Dunedin, Good Friday, 1991. Fa'afetai Koria as Jesus in the Sunday School presentation.
FIGURE 95: The CCCS, Dunedin, Resurrection Sunday, 1991. Now the church is draped with white and red material and features a picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

FIGURE 96: The CCCS, Dunedin, White Sunday (first Sunday in October), 1988. The Koria family presents their item of song and texts. Woven mats cover the floor. The colours of red (blood) and white (purity) dominate the streamers, flowers and children's clothing. Note the large banner hanging over the window at the right.
FIGURE 97: The CCCS, EFKS Hall, Dunedin, John Williams Sunday, 1 September, 1991.

FIGURE 98 (right): The CCCS, Dunedin, Family Service for Mrs Diana Ng Shiu, 1992. Part of the decorations featuring white birds among the branches.
FIGURE 99: Newtown PIPC and Nokise House (right), Wellington. The character of Pacific Island buildings is captured by the curved shape of the side roofs and the brown vertical strips between the windows. These echo the fale posts used to support the verandah outside Nokise House.

FIGURE 100: Interior of Newtown PIPC, Wellington. One of the three different patterns formed from sennit wound around the lower beams of the dark brown girders which support the roof inside the church.
FIGURE 101 (right): St Paul's Trinity Pacific, (Presbyterian Church of New Zealand), Christchurch. Detail of the under side of the verandah roof connecting the offices with the hall.

FIGURE 102 (left): St Paul's Trinity Pacific, Christchurch. The roof of the verandah connecting the offices with the hall is supported by fale posts.

FIGURES 105 and 106: Ponsonby Seventh-day Adventist Church, Auckland, 1991, showing how the adults in the congregation are divided into the different language groups for Saturday morning Sabbath School.
FIGURE 107: The interior of the Surrey Crescent Chapel of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Grey Lynn, Auckland.

FIGURE 108: The interior of the Jehovah’s Witnesses’ Kingdom Hall, adjacent to the New Zealand Branch Headquarters, Manurewa, Auckland.
CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

This dissertation demonstrates that phenomenology of religion continues to provide a valuable framework of themes which can be used in order to gain an insight into, and a better understanding of, the religious experience of Samoans in New Zealand.

As recent immigrants to New Zealand, the Samoans' world view and religious beliefs have been formulated through a combination of influences. One is the intercultural adaptation of the traditional fa'a-Samoa. A second is Christianity. This may range from a form of Christianity which was inherited from the nineteenth century European missionaries of the established churches, to the now rapidly expanding religious movements of the twentieth century. A third factor is the process of acculturation which people are required to make in order to live and work in a westernized, English-speaking environment.

Because symbols are the means of expressing and thereby interpreting experience, this research is centred on selected theoretical structures of symbolism. In particular, the analysis focuses on the functions, features and relationships of symbols as defined by Eliade, Dillistone, Geertz and Slater.

Religious symbols are especially important for they link humans to the sacred, the transcendent, and the ultimate spiritual goal of life. In other words, religious symbols enable people to envisage and thus experience the ultimate reality of God and salvation. Religions also operate through clusters of symbols which are energized by universal symbols.
Much of the sacredness of Samoan life, both in the formal Christian religious practices, and identifiable in the often perceived notions of the secular rituals of fa'a-Samoan, is revealed through the clusters of secondary symbols which support the different manifestations of the hierarchy as a primary symbol. This in turn is invigorated by the all pervasive and inherent qualities of the universal symbols of regeneration and eternal life.

In this study, it has become evident that for Samoans, the hierarchy is a very important symbol. Symbols appear to be part of a tripartite relationship when they act as the connecting element which joins two different entities. For instance, one concrete entity such as the hierarchy of a Samoan church or 'āiga stands for the more abstract and generalized entity of Samoan salvation. In fact it appears that for Samoans the hierarchy, as a major religious symbol, performs as an activating image for the motivation and future orientation of people.

Moreover, by living and participating in the hierarchy of society and the church, Samoans are satisfied that, through their actions and personal sacrifices in this life, they are realizing the means to a transcendent future. Through the hierarchy, the Samoan ethos is synthesized. This is in keeping with Geertz’s view of humans’ response to the function of religious or sacred symbols:

- the tone, character and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood - and their world-view - the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order.1

This research identifies hierarchy as a key symbol of Samoan transcendence. At the same time, it is possible to recognize clusters of secondary symbols which reinforce its prominence. Two instances are the ranking and status of Samoans as

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expounded by the orators in the fa'alupega and reinforced in the order in which people are served during an 'ava ceremony, and the exchange of gifts which must be carried out commensurate with the statuses of both participating parties.

The spatial dimension also plays an integral role in hierarchical symbolism. For example, through the foundation stone of a church, the members not only re-enact the process of creation but also become incorporated with the vertical thrust of the axis mundi which symbolically links heaven and earth. In some churches a visual image of the status of the members of the congregation is created from their ranked seating positions. Similarly, the posts in a fale clearly define the hierarchical order of the matai at a fono. Even in death, when the orientation of a grave is towards the east, a Samoan becomes symbolically united with the universal natural symbols of sunrise, rebirth and the most important time of each day.

Symbols connected with the Samoan experience of time continually weave together the symbols connected with hierarchy. This is especially true of the 'ie tōga which is also a primary manifestation of the orientation of material culture toward the service and maintenance of the hierarchy. As Peter Slater says:

... symbols are typically cultural rather than natural objects. Their meaning has to be found in the context of the myths and ritual in which they have their primary use.²

Chapter 7 demonstrates that by applying Eliade's framework of religious symbols, the ie tōga is a sacred symbol. Samoans are careful to classify the rituals involving its use as part of their secular world. Nevertheless, because of its multivalent nature, there exists a continuum of attitudes in the churches (from adoption to discouragement or complete rejection), towards the use of ie tōga.

When the perceptions of a group of people change, a primary symbol may be replaced. This is another reason why some churches actively discourage the *fa'a-Samoan*, for they believe that in contemporary New Zealand the financial demands made on their people are too great.

Chapter 5 describes the mythological origins of certain plants and animals, and their association with festal and oblationary sacrifice. What is significant about these symbols is, that they provide models for the Samoan ideal of obedience and self-discipline, and the making of personal sacrifices for one's church and family.

The act of praying is an important component of the religious experience of Samoans, for in spite of the Christian theology of grace, they continue to feel a need to invite God to be present, and that His blessings will be bestowed on them according to their obedience to Him, and their actions in this life. Viewing this attitude, it is possible to discern a strong similarity between the way Samoans serve their church today and the lifelong service a Samoan gives to his or her family and *matai*. Talking to God in prayer is a reality just as common as talking to one's parents who have passed away, for both are linked to the nature of Samoan blessings. One young man put it this way:

*We are the children of God and God rewards us. Our sacrifice [financial] to the church, our loyalty and service to the church and minister [as God's representative], and also the minister's service and loyalty to God - all these things have parallels with the sacrifice within the family. As one serves the *matai*, it is done with a sense of service and loyalty. And one is rewarded for service and loyalty with the blessing of the elders and *matai*."

Symbols which have their origins in natural phenomena have a strong ability to survive through many centuries (even millennia), as well as crossing cultural and religious boundaries. This suggests that they may have the same universal core of meaning, even a common underlying life force. Their prominence may wax and
wane, but as symbols have a capacity for adaptation, they often become reformed, revitalized or even emblazoned in some new form. This is why the same combinations of symbols, which initially appear to be quite different, continue to play a dominant role in the stories and rituals of widely different societies.

The classic examples which continue to motivate Samoans, and provide a rationale to their world view, include the aforementioned models of sacrifice together with the Christian image of the sacrificial death of Jesus on the cross, and His promise of a final resurrection and eternal life.

Likewise, the combination of "woman" (Sina who is also associated with the moon and fertility), "snake" (in the form of Tuna the eel), "water" (for Samoans the sea and its abundance) and the "tree of life" (the coconut) are universal symbols of regeneration. A similar group symbolizing atonement, restoration and rebirth is also found in the complexity of symbolic actions, orations and perceptions connected with the ie tōga.

This demonstrates further key features of symbols. The symbolic universe created by the ie tōga, not only reveals numerous aspects of the Samoan hierarchy but it also points to something which is more transcendent in the form of reconciliation, restoration of lost honour, unity, a sense of order and regeneration. Here too, it is possible to see how sacred symbols form a mutual interdependence with the mundane experiences of human existence and the cosmic order.

Symbols are neither rational nor irrational. As such they tend to spontaneously communicate through the semantics of literal meanings, as well as through the opaqueness and often subconscious intricacies of the non-literal and the nonrational. Once these principles are understood, it is possible to appreciate the continuing prevalence in New Zealand of so many of the traditions of the fa'a-Samoa. This too is in keeping with Eliade's statement:
Every symbol tends to identify with itself as many things, situations and modes of existence as it can.3

Religious symbols bring together paradoxical situations and contradictory aspects of ultimate reality. This is particularly evident when ie tōga are used to legitimize both the sealing and opening of feagaiga ('covenants'), and the welcoming ceremonies and māvaega ('farewells') at the heart of the Samoan cycle of life.

The evocative and mysterious ambiguity of symbols finds validity in their power to relate different worlds of experience. Religious symbols bridge the gap between the private, imaginative microcosm of the individual and the public world of the community.

Samoans continue to take all the time that is necessary to perform their traditional rituals. In this way it is possible to visualize an evolutionary process whereby the traditional and modern experiences of Samoans undergo a metamorphosis through the cyclical and linear symbols of time. Through this link, a two-way communication flows between the profane and the sacred, and again between the living and the dead. Because of the multi-valent quality of the symbols, Samoans can also hold two differing attitudes towards their dead (treating them as if they are still alive, and expecting the advent of Christian resurrection) without any apparent internal conflict.

Finally, by identifying and interpreting the very many different symbolic manifestations of Samoan hierarchy, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the religious experience of Samoans in New Zealand. Through the symbols of time and especially the ie tōga there is an ever dynamic and pulsating thread of life which binds Samoans together. But even more importantly, to "live" a symbol and

to fully understand its messages, opens up the creative imagination of humans and allows them access to the universal, for:

Religious symbols are those which synthesize and integrate 'the world as lived and the world as imagined' and they serve to produce and strengthen religious conviction.⁴

THE EVENING

By 7.30 p.m. the E.F.K.S HALL of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Dunedin is nearly full. Delicious smells from food in the kitchen greet the members of the audience who continue to arrive throughout the evening. Immediately to the left of the entrance door, at a table, sit the folk who are recording the donations of money and the amounts raised by each item in the evening programme.

The invitation in English reads:

We cordially invite you to a Samoan variety concert performed by the Women's Fellowship (MAFUTAGA A TINA) . . .

The objective behind this venture is to raise funds to carry out some of our long term projects. It is also hoped that this evening will provide an opportunity to meet with friends and people from the community.

The concert programme comprises of traditional songs, dances, drama, skits, Samoan "pop" music, etc. A "heavy" supper will be served afterwards . . .

The evening, which is presented entirely in the Samoan language, commenced about 6.30 pm with a Malua student pray to God to bless this function, followed by welcoming speeches from the secretary and chairperson of the Women's Fellowship. Then as promised, for the next three hours the mothers of the church treat the audience of men, women, youth, and many children and toddlers, to a feast of items. These include actions songs, love songs, pop songs, a fan dance and a traditional Samoan slap dance, hilariously funny skits miming weight lifting and a sports special, and the highlight of the first part of the

As a result of the sudden death in 1992 of the previous minister's wife, the church, at this period in time, was without a minister.
programme - a Samoan fashion show. Accompanied by the band on the floor of the hall, a number of women individually move to the center of the stage, each dancing with refinement and beauty, dressed in exquisitely innovative costumes created from leaves, other materials and ie tōga.

Associated with the items is a competitive element. Plates are placed on the stage and members of the audience indicate their personal support for certain individuals and the extent of their enjoyment for each performance by walking forward to put money in a plate. The money is counted after each item and the amounts are announced at a later stage in the function.

Interspersed throughout the programme are a number of soa which provide an opportunity for the groups from other Samoan churches in the city to show their friendship and support in the fundraising. At these times people from each church dance on the floor in front of the stage. Later, the money their dance earns is also announced. Then the first part of the concert concludes with the dancing of the traditional taualuga. On this occasion a Samoan woman minister of the Presbyterian Church leads her numerous supporters.

For the second part of the programme the women present an hour long play called The Arrival of the Gospel in Samoa. Through the depiction of the 1830 conversion to Christianity of the first Samoans by the LMS missionary John Williams, the audience enjoys the retelling of the foundation story of the Congregational Church.

Within minutes of the conclusion of the play at about 11 p.m., all the seats are rearranged around the sides of the hall. Before long the guests, in order of seniority, are served individual plates of food containing pieces of fatty pork, boiled mutton, crumbed chicken, chop suey, sweet and sour pork, omelette, potato salad, coleslaw and boiled bananas covered in coconut cream. Grace is sung and people
relax and chat with friends until finally, the president of the Women's Fellowship makes a speech of thanks.

A Maori visitor gives a speech of thanks on behalf of his family and says how much they appreciate being able to share in and learn about the cultural activities of other people. Then the audience listens to the competing round of speeches among the representatives of the different Samoan groups for the honour to make the final speech of reply. This is made by a woman from one of the Presbyterian churches.

As always at Samoan functions, as the evening draws to a close the people's thoughts turn to God. For the benefit of the Europeans present, another student from Malua addresses them in English and announces that the evening has raised over $6,000. He then continues:

May God bless you in all you have given to our Church. May God be with you as you journey home.

Then he turns to God and prays:

So'o se mea e i ai lou Agaga lo matou Tama e, e i ai foi le fiafia ma le filemu. Ua f'apena lo matou lagona i lenei po. Ua avea lo matou mafuta fa'atasi, atoa ma mea ua va'ava'ai ma fa'alogo ai ma auala e fa'aaloaina ai o matou olaga i le fiafia ma le filemu e afua mai ia te Oe.

Fa'amanuia mai i lenei aoasia. Pe a ta'ape e malolo, ia e malutia le soifua i ala uma o le a uia. Taunu'u saogalemu i aiga, fa'afoi atu le viiga i lou suafa. Ona o Iesu ua metou tatalo ai. Amene.

Wherever your Spirit is O God, there is joy and peace. That is what we feel tonight as we gather to share and participate in this performance. Through what we have seen, heard and shared, with our friends, we have been enriched, grant peace and joy that comes from you alone. Bless this gathering as we go our different ways. Grant that we may have a safe journey home and a good night's rest. Through Jesus' name we pray. Amen.6

6Prayer and translation contributed by Dr Paulo Koria.
United in God and culturally reassured the audience stands and sings the first verse and refrain from the hymn which has come to be regarded as the national hymn of Samoa.

*Lota nuu ua ou fanau ai,*  
My country which I was born into  

*Ua lelei oe i le vasa e.*  
You have been good in the [expansive] ocean  

*Ua e maua mai luga*  
You have received from above  

*O le tofi aoga!*  
A useful designation, duty.

*Samoana, ala mai,*  
Samoa [poetic], awaken  

*Fai ai nei le fa'afetai,*  
To do [prepare] your thanksgiving  

*I le pule ia maua ai*  
To 'God' who gave [let you have]  

*O lou nuu i le Vasa e.*  
Your country in the ocean.  

Finally, the evening concludes with the Benediction:

*Ia tumau mai i o matou luga ma luga o lau fanau uma i le lalolagi le manuia ma le filemu o Oe le Atua lo matou Tama, le Alofa Silisili ese o Jesu lo matou Ali'i ma le Fa'aola. Mafuta pea i matou ma lou Agaga Pa'ia, nei seia o'o i le fa'avavau lava. Amene.*

May the grace and peace of God the Father, the love of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be upon us and all peoples everywhere, now and forever. Amen.  

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8Benediction and translation provided by Dr Paulo Koria.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

SINA AND THE EEL

Sina ran away from Falealupo because she was scared of Tuna the eel. The eel had been taken from the water and put in a bowl when it was small. When it grew up Sina put it in the lake - the lagoon. When Sina went to swim the eel always came to her. Sina was scared of the eel and ran away from Falealupo. She ran on land and the eel followed her in the water.

When she arrived at Safune she rested there with a family at Safune. In the morning of the next day she didn't know that the eel had followed her. She went to wash her face and hands in Matavai. This is a fresh water lake with the villages of Matavai, Safune and Lefagaoalii around it. Siliafai is the name of the fresh water area; the river dividing Safune and Matavai.

When Sina washed her face, she looked at the water and she saw the eel there. She swore. "Pupula mai ou mata lou alelo?" "Why do you stare at me you hideous villain?" She swore at the eel because now she knew that the eel had followed her from Falealupo to Safune. And it is from these swear words that the name, Mataolealelo, was created for the fresh water spring.

Sina left Matavai and ran inland to where Vaipouli is. She ran through the bush and not on the main road. She rested on a stone because it's a long walk. (Remember she went through the bush.) And she saw that the eel Tuna still follows her in the bush. She named that land where she sat on the stone Sologa. She decided to go to Ava'o.

At Ava'o she saw a boat anchored near the pastor - the minister's place and she escaped in that boat to Apia. When she got into the boat she decided to marry someone on that boat; (a European boat) someone of the crew. She thought that

1 As told to me by Tofa Taule'ale'a'sumai Fa'asi'u, 29 August 1989, Auckland.
2 The lake is called Vaitūloto.
3 Pupula (to perceive, to look) is not a polite term and is used in a confrontational manner in combination with alelo (tonsils) as a swear word. Sina is indicating that she thinks that the eel is a hideous, ugly, contemptible thing; worse than just a villain.
would stop the eel following her. They were not married in the European way but in the Samoan way of avaga, - just run away together, elopement. And Sina named the reef of Avao, Puleavaga - from pule ("her own decision") and avaga ("to go with a man") - because she decided to go with a crewman.

When they left Avao, the boat sailed to Apia and Sina thought, "maybe the eel won't be able to come to Apia for it's a very long way." When the boat arrived at Apia, Sina went onto the land. She landed at Matautu, near Vaisigano. She named that first part of the land Taumeasina (the first part of the land Sina arrived).

Sina saw that still the eel had followed her boat. Tuna knew where Sina went and when Sina saw the eel, the eel just spoke a few words to Sina. "Ua ou iloa ua ele alofa ia te a'u". ("I know you don't love me.") And then Tuna's farewell words, (Tuna's māvaega).

"Sina, come and cut [off] my head and you go and plant it in front of your house. If any tree will grow up from there - [through] its fruit - we will meet everyday." (The coconut has the face of the eel). "If you drink my fruit we will meet there. My mouth, my nose, my eyes. We will meet there every time."

And that's a true story.

(Taule'ale'a then explained that he always uses this story for the Sunday School children.)

It shows that Tuna's love is blind, for the eel never gives up no matter where Sina runs. It is a very good story for the ministers when they preach. And they can put in it that Christ's love follows the people all the time just as Tuna's love followed Sina.

The village buried the eel except for its head which was planted in front of the house of Sina. Sina didn't kill the eel but ordered the people to.

* * * * *

4 I think that Tōfia Taule'ale'a'sumai Fa'asi'u added "near Vaisigano" because he knew that I had lived there in 1984. Moreover, he had woven elements of traditional folklore into his own version of modern mythology in order to provide his audience with a sense of safe anchorage in the new allegory.
Other versions of this story explain that Sina ran away from Savai'i to the village of Afega\(^5\) in 'Upolu where her relatives lived.\(^6\)

When the men of that village saw the Tuna chasing Sina, the men came out with machetes to kill the Tuna. Before the Tuna died he gave his *māvaega* to Sina:

"Please cut my head and bury it near your *fale* so that in the future you will kiss me every time you see my face."

Tuna's will was carried out by Sina. Seven years later a tree grew near Sina's *fale*. The village people had forgotten the Tuna. It turned out to be a coconut tree with fruits which provide a good meal for Sina. Thus, every time Sina drinks the juice of the (coco)nut she kisses the Tuna, for its head is the coconut with its face (eyes, nose and mouth) clearly marked on the (coco)nut (fruit).

When Tuna's mouth is pierced the juice can be sucked from this part of the fruit. Have a good look at a coconut fruit: - you can see Tuna's face.

\(^5\) Afega gets its name from the story of Sina and the Eel. *Afe* ("call in") refers to Sina calling on this village for help.  
\(^6\) The additional material was provided by Afioga Anae Sianaua Ostler of Wellington, September 1994.
APPENDIX TWO

LUPE AND SINA - A LOVE STORY WITH CANNIBALS

by Paul Simei-Barton

First presented at the Maidment Art Centre by Pacific Theatre, Auckland, in December 1991 with the following cast:

TULAFALE, talking chief or orator, in full ceremonial dress, a story teller or narrator. Andrew Iosefa
LUPE, son of a chief, able to turn into a pigeon Sefa Enari
SINA, Lupe's sister, daughter of a chief, a courageous, resourceful character Mesepa Eruera
PARENTS OF LUPE AND SINA,
TIGILAU, a fisherman who becomes Sina's husband Faifua Junior Amiga
TAUSANI, Sina's and Tigilau's child Brian Manusaute
TAGATA, a fisherman and friend of Tigilau Andrew Iosefa
CHIEF OLOSEGA, the chief of Tigilau's village
TAULAITU, spirit priest or spirit medium from Tigilau's village

A fearsome character, but does not possess any special powers. Uses cunning and trickery Wanjiku Kiarii
MANU, a famous warrior from Tigilau's village Shimpal Lelisi
FO'ISIA, a notorious cannibal who lives in the forest near Tigilau's village Ula Muliaumasealii
ASO, the cannibal's cook Brian Manusaute
PO, the cannibal's servant Sefa Enari
FLYING FOXES, athletic characters with a cheeky sense of humour
TASI, Aruna Po-Ching
LUA, Billie Rewiri
TOLU, Marisher Stowers
CHORUS (Villagers, Cannibal's victims, Pigeons)

FIRE DANCER

SCENE I

Darkness. Lights come up to reveal cast performing sasa. Tulafale enters and begins chanting.

TULAFALE. O le ali'i o Tupaufanua na usu ia Sulumauga, le afafine o Manale Tagoloa; fa'ae'e le gafa o Lu. O le ali'i lea o Lu fa'ato'a maua ai le igoa o Samoa.

O Lu sa fai lana sa moa i Uafato, le nu'u o Fagaloa i Upolu. Sa i ai ana auana e leoleoina lana lafu moa. Sa le 'aina se moa e se tasi. Ona o ifo ai lea Sa-Tagaloalagi mai le atu sasa'e, latou gaoi moa o le sa-moa a Lu. Ona ita tele ai lea o Lu; sii loa le taua ia Sa-Tagaloalagi. Ona fasia lava lea o Satagoloalagi e Lu se'ia o'o lava i le lagi tuaiva.

Ona tu mai lea o Tagaloa ma fai atu ia Lu, "Lu e, silasila ifo ia ia Satagaloalagi lena lo ua ta'atia. Ia e alofa; ia ola Sa-Tagaloalagi. A o le fea lava lenei tulituliloa? O lenei, o le a o'o lava i le lagi tuasefulu, ile mea o i ai le Malae totoa, e sa ai taua. Ia e alofa; foi ia lou to'aama'i, ae o le a avatu lo'u afafine o Lagituava na te togiolaina Sa-Tagaloalagi."

(Sasa stops)

Ona malie lea o Lu ma fai atu, "Ua lelei; o le a ola Sa-Tagaloalagi, a e faigata ia te a'u." Ona usu lea o Lu ia Lagituava; fa'ae'e le gafa o le tama. Ona ia fa'aigoa ai lea o le tama ia Samoa, e manatua ai le sa-moa a Lu.

(Cast sing Samoa)

Samoa e lo'u atunu'u pele
Ille loto e
E mitamita lo'u agaga ia te oe
O vaitafe lemu ma le sami
E i'ila
E atagia mai i le masina.

O atu motu fa'asolosolo
E lafoina o latou ata
Ou te folaulau ai vaifuloto
Ma ou lagilagi pese
Ma ou fa'alofo ile tausani
O manulele.
TULAFALE. O le tala i le alugaali'i ma la la fanau. O le igoa o le tama o Lupe.

(Cast sing Lupe)
La'u Lupe ua lele
Lele ile vaomaoa
Talofae i la'u pele
La'u pele ua leiloa.

Ta'aga e a teine
O lo ua gasolo mai
O o'u mata e tilotilo
E te le o sau ai.

TULAFALE. Ma le teine o Sina

(Cast sing Sina oe)
Sina ! oe
Sina ! oe
Ua ou sau nei fai mai o Sina
Avatu ose moa
E fai ai le 'eleiga
A mea foi lo'u matou va'a
Sau mai Papa
Lele i moa.

TULAFALE. Before your eyes will now unfold an ancient legend that was often told in the islands of Samoa. The story of Lupe, the pigeon .... (Cast - Lupe Oe) and his sister Sina - who takes her name from the woman in the moon .... (Cast - Sina Oe) It is a story of Pride .... Anger.... Jealousy.... Gluttony.... and Love.... You will see Birth.... Youth.... Marriage.... and Old Age.
Behold the parents of Lupe and Sina They have reached the end of life's journey. As they prepare to die, they call their children to their side.

MOTHER. Lupe, Sina, sau sau ia, come to Papa. We must leave you now, but before we go, you must listen to Papa. He has something to tell you. Listen carefully.

FATHER. Lupe, you must look after your sister now. Make sure she eats one.... two.... meals every day.

MOTHER. Mmm, look at her, she's too skinny.

FATHER. You must cook for her every day two meals.... no.... no..... Three meals

MOTHER. Three meals - she's too skinny.
FATHER. Yes, three meals, Lupe, twice a day....

(Villagers have been listening in on the conversation, voicing their opinions and arguing amongst themselves.)

VILLAGERS. One meal a day is enough.... no two... no no three.... three, yes three.... One has always been enough for me.... Ah, look at you, you're skinny.... You need three meals, three meals a day.... etc.

MOTHER. Lupe, are you listening to Papa?

FATHER. Lupe, cook for Sina.... Two.... Three meals a day.

MOTHER. Listen to Papa, he knows what is best. Three cooked meals. Sina, you hear. You must promise me to do as Papa says. And don't you be cheeky to Lupe, He is your brother, you do what he tells you.

FATHER. Three cooked meals everyday.... Three meals.... Three....

(The parents lie down and die. Lupe and Sina begin wailing. The villagers bring tapa, cover the bodies and carry them off stage in procession. as the procession leaves, mourners detach themselves and begin to fan the cooking fire. Soon all the villagers are working to prepare food. Lupe and Sina enter and seat themselves centre stage. Immediately food is brought to them on mats.)

TULAFALE. Every day the villagers toil in the hot sun. Three times a day the cooking fires are lit and food is served.

(Lupe is eating continuously. Sina sits fanning herself.)

LUPE. Sina, why are you not eating? The food is good, mmmm kalo, povi masima, mmmmmm

SINA. I'm not hungry, it's too hot to ea:

LUPE. Nonsense, you must eat! It's good!

SINA. I said I'm not hungry. I've already had one meal today.

LUPE. Sina you must eat three times a day. Remember what Papa told us.... it was his dying wish.... make you nice and strong.

SINA. I'm not hungry! Leave me alone!

LUPE. Sina, the people have been working all day to prepare the food. Is this how you show your gratitude? Now eat!

SINA. I don't want to get fat like the other women in the village.

LUPE. Sina Kapugi, the people are looking. That is no way for the daughter of a chief to talk.

(The villagers have stopped work and are listening to the argument and starting to join in.)

VILLAGERS. Did you hear that Sina?.... Look at her, the spoilt brat. Who does she think she is?.... Ah, leave her alone. I'm sick of lighting these bloody fires.... But she promised her parents.... So what?.... Look at her, three meals a day she promised.... Who does she think she is.... Sasa, she promised her parents on their death bed and now look.... etc.
LUPE. Sina, you will eat the food in front of you. Every last scrap.
SINA. Oh yeah, so I'll be fat like the rest of them?
LUPE. Sina, you are embarrassing me, now shut your cheeky mouth and eat.
SINA. Make me!
LUPE. You spoilt brat, you are a disgrace to your family. Now eat! Eat! Eat!

(Supe forces Sina to eat. The villagers begin chanting)
VILLAGERS. Eat! Eat! Eat! Eat!
SINA. No, leave me alone. leave me alone, leave me alone.

(Sina pushes Lupe. Lupe hits her, then walks away in a rage. Villagers leave, pigeons enter, and Lupe transforms himself into a pigeon. Lupe flies away and Sina attempts to follow. Eventually Sina finds herself alone. She collapses and falls asleep.)

SCENE II

Tigilau and Tagata enter throwing their fishing nets. They are singing a comedy version of "There are plenty of fish in the sea". Tagata throws his net over Tigilau.

TAGATA. Hey Tigilau, you've scared all the fish away!
TIGILAU. What do you mean?
TAGATA. (Holding his nose) You know what. You dropped your guts.
Whew, smells like.... um.... pigeon shit.
TIGILAU. It's not me, but something smells strange. Well, what were you eating last night?
TAGATA. Don't try and blame me. (He follows his nose to Sina) Look, a monster.
TIGILAU. What is it?
TAGATA. I told you, it's a monster. Don't touch it. (He throws his net over Sina.) Come, we should get Taulaita, He'll know what to do.
TIGILAU. Oh, what do you want to get that old fool for? He wouldn't know a monster if one bit him on the bum.
TAGATA. Hey, don't fool around! This could be dangerous. Come on, let's go!
TIGILAU. Look, I'm not running to that old quack. You want him, you get him.
TAGATA. All right. But don't touch that thing, and it it moves, run for your life.
TIGILAU. (To audience) do you think this is a monster? An ogre?
(Tigilau cautiously approaches Sina and lifts the net from her face. He immediately falls in love.)
TIGILAU. Oh such beauty!
TAULAITU. Don't touch that thing! I smell a rat, something foul has washed up on our shore. Last night when the moon was eclipsed, did I not predict that evil would befall this village?

TAGATA. It's true, it's true!

TAULAITU. Some of you laughed at me then, but now you see. This strange catch will bring disaster to our village. Beware, this smells like an ogre to me.

TIGILAU. Nonsense, this is not ogre.

TAULAITU. Silence, there is one way to tell for sure. Tagata, awaken this beast. If it is human it will be alarmed and cry out with fright but if it remains silent and calm, then beware, for that is a sure sign that an evil ogre has reached our peaceful shore, Tagata.

(Tagata prods Sina. She awakens calmly and gazes into Tigilau's eyes, softly repeating Lupe's name.)

TAULAITU. Ah ha, I was right! This is an ogre come to torment us. Quickly, we must fetch Manu to destroy the beast.

TIGILAU. No, this is no monster. Look into her eyes. Can't you see the love light that glows softly... like moonbeams dancing... on the water....

TAULAITU. Oh, pardon me! I didn't know you were an expert in these matters. You dare to question the wisdom of your priest. You fool! The ogre has already entrapped you with sorcery. Quickly before it's too late. You must never look into the eyes of an ogre, that is how they enslave their victims. Get away before it's too late.

TIGILAU. Nonsense, I will not leave. She needs our help.... washed up here on a foreign shore.

TAULAITU. Come quickly Tagata, the ogre's magic has enchanted your friend. Come away, Manu will dispatch this beast. We'll cast her stinking carcass into the murky depths from whence she came.

(Taulaitu leaves with Tagata)

TIGILAU. Take no notice of that old fool. She stumbled out of the forest many years ago and now she thinks she rules our village. I am Tigilau - your servant - What noble name does grace your royal presence?

SINA. I am Sina, though I am not worthy of my name. I have disgraced my family and now I am abandoned.

TIGILAU. Forget the past, we will build a new life... together.

(Sina and Tigilau begin a slow siva as a love song is sung. Just as they are about to embrace, Taulaitu and the villagers enter noisily.)
TAULAITU. Tigilau - get away from it. The ogre has bewitched you. Stand aside, her spell will be broken when Manu's spear pierces her rotten carcass.

TIGILAU. Stop your quacking, you stupid old duck! Can't you see this is no ogre. She is Sina from .... Tell them where your village is.

SINA. I came in search of my brother, Lupe. I did not....

TAULAITU. Silence, Ogre. Although you have assumed a pleasing shape, I can see the evil that lurks beneath your disguise. You came to enslave these people. And I see Tigilau is already your love slave. Stand aside, Tigilau! The demon must die. Manu, our champion. Manu Samoa!

VILLAGERS. Yea.... Manu, Manu, Yea, kill her Manu.... Manu, Manu, Manu, Samoa... etc.

TIGILAU. You'll have to kill me first.

TAULAITU. So be it. We shall have some sport.

(Taulaitu taunts Tigilau and then throws him a spear.)

VILLAGERS. Manu, Manu, kill her! Kill the Ogre!

VILLAGER 1. Manu - We'll celebrate your victory tonight. You can be my wild thing.

(Manu dances a challenge to Tigilau who responds reluctantly. They begin to fight. At first Manu has the better of it. But Tigilau disarms Manu and is about to kill him.)

SINA. Tigilau, let him live. We have no quarrel with this man.

(Tigilau helps Manu to his feet.)

VILLAGER 1. Ah, finish him off, the worthless wimp!

MANU. But, but, I tripped, it wasn't my fault!

VILLAGER 1. Get away, you chook. I thought you were a real man, but you're just like all the rest.

TAULAITU. Tigilau, stay away from us. You are under her power. We will have no ogre in our village. Stay away from us.

TIGILAU. Quack, Quack, Quack. Why should we come to your gloomy village? All I desire is here on this beach. Begone, quack, quack, quack.

(Taulaitu and the villagers begin to withdraw.)

TAULAITU. I warn you, Tigilau, never again shall you set foot in our village.

CHIEF OLOSEGA. Taulaitu, you forget yourself. Only the chief may pass sentence of banishment.

TAULAITU. Forgive me, Olosega, but we are all in mortal danger from this demon.
SCENE III

_Tigilau and Sina are left alone on stage._

SINA. Tigilau, you saved my life.

TIGILAU. Stay here with me on this beach. I cannot offer you much, but I swear I will love you always.

SINA. My heart still yearns for my brother, Lupe, but I fear he has abandoned me for ever. Perhaps I could build a new life here. But your people hate me and now they have turned against you. I must leave.

TIGILAU. Ah, don't worry about them. They are under the sway of the old crook, Taulaitu. They will come around - Look, here comes one already.

(Tagata comes and approaches cautiously.)

Hey, Tagata, you better be careful. The ogre might eat you. (laughs)

TAGATA. I'm not scared, a 'ea sole.

TIGILAU. Be careful, she might put a spell on you. Hey, Sina, do you think you can cast a spell that will make this lazy oaf work. We must build ourselves a fale.

SINA. Well, let me see. Ah, yes:

_Silver moonbeams that pierce the night_  
_Build us a fale,  
_And make sure they do it right._

TIGILAU. Come on, Tagata, we better get to work. You don't want to mess with that magic. It's powerful stuff, a 'ea sole.

TAGATA. I'm not scared.

(Tigilau and Tagata begin building the supports for the house. Sina works on thatching the roof. While she works, she sings parts of the love song that was heard earlier. While they are working screams are heard and Fo'isia is briefly seen chasing a child across the back of the stage.)

SINA. Tigilau, what was that?

TIGILAU. Don't worry. You are safe here on the beach. But promise me you will never wander into the forest. There are some fearsome creatures that live in these parts.

TAGATA. Mmm, monsters... real ones.

TIGILAU. Nothing our ogre can't handle, eh Sina?

(They continue building the house. The roof is lifted into position.)

Malo - looks like your magic really does work.

SINA. Malo lava sole.

TAGATA. True... not bad for a couple of fishermen.
TIGILAU. Come. Let's celebrate.  
(They enter the fale.)

TULAFALE. Sina and Tigilau find happiness  
Living simply by the sea  
Now praise the Lord  
For unto them a child, is born.

SINA. Tigilau, it's a boy! Oh, such joy. If only my brother were here.  
(Pigeons dance on stage.)

Look. The pigeons have come to greet our child. We shall name him Tausani.  
The sweet chorus of birds singing to greet the dawn.  
(Sina sings 'Tausani ma manu'. She gives the child to Tigilau who moves silently towards the audience.)

TIGILAU. Oh, such woe. Such innocence. Born into a world so cruel.  
(He returns the child to Sina who enters the fale.)

How could I bring forth this child, knowing what fate awaits him. Fo'isia must be licking her lips in anticipation.

TAGATA. Don't despair. It may not happen. Most of the villagers have forgotten you are living here.  
(The villagers enter led by Chief Olosega and Taulaitu.)

TIGILAU. So you have come.

OLOSEGA. Yes, we have come, Tigilau.

TIGILAU. So soon. You had to come so soon.

OLOSEGA. Fo'isia must eat, Tigilau. She is never satisfied.

TIGILAU. No! Not my child.

OLOSEGA. It is the law, Tigilau. Every mother here has lost a child.

TIGILAU. I do not belong to your village. I cannot walk on your malae.

OLOSEGA. Who owns this beach, Tigilau? I let you live here. My priest tells me your wife is an ogre. But still I let you live here. You are not above the law.

TIGILAU. No. (softly)

OLOSEGA. The law is cruel, Tigilau. But without it the village would not survive.  
(Tigilau silently takes the child from Sina and passes him to Taulaitu. The villagers leave quickly with Taulaitu leading the procession.)

SINA. Tigilau, where are they taking our child?

TIGILAU. To Fo'isia. . . . It is the law of our village.

SINA. When will we see him? Who is Fo'isia? . . . . Tigilau, answer me!

TIGILAU. Fo'isia is the cannibal queen. . . . Every village on these shores must pay tribute to her gluttony. . . . It is the law. . . . Every first born child shall be sacrificed so the village may survive.
SINA. Our child is to be eaten! By a cannibal queen! It cannot be! Tell me it is not true. Answer me, Tigilau.

(Tigilau weeps silently.)

SINA. I will not accept such a law. This is not law, it is tyranny. Come, we must rescue our child.

TIGILAU. It only we could. If only we could. Fo'isia has the strength of forty men. She has destroyed whole villages in her rage. . . . There is one slim hope. . . . I will offer myself in exchange for Tausani.

SINA. That will never work. I will lose both a husband and a son. But we shall defeat this cannibal Queen. Creatures that possess such strength are seldom blessed with a human brain. We will outsmart the cannibal. Our child was not born to feed this beast. Come, I have a plan.

(They leave.)

TULAFALE. (Wearing sun glasses) Perhaps all this talk of cannibals has left you feeling like a bit to eat. Well, now I invite you to leave your seat, And find yourself a hearty treat, When you return with you bellies full, We shall see What will become of Tigilau, Sina and Tausani.

(Interval)

SCENE IV

ASO. Allo.

PO. Allo.

ASO. It's on with the show.

PO. This is Aso.

ASO. And this is Po.

PO. We serve a fearsome Master.

ASO. A legend in this land.

PO. The cannibal Queen.

ASO. Fo'isia

PO. Children tremble when they hear her name.

ASO. And all of you had best beware.

PO. For when our Master does appear.

ASO. She may feel like something to eat.

PO. And pluck a child from his seat.

ASO. Then you'll join our victims here.
PO. We keep them in the pigpen.
ASO. Where they await.
PO. A most delicious fate.

(Laughter)
ASO. In the culinary arts, we do excel.
PO. For our Master is most particular about her diet.
ASO. Pork is far too fatty.
PO. Vegetables make her sick.
ASO. Fruit has too much fibre.
PO. And fish has too much salt.
ASO. But there is one food she craves.
PO. She can never get enough.
ASO. It's polyunsaturated.
PO. Vitamin rich.
ASO. Non-fattening
PO. Cholesterol free.
ASO. The perfect balanced diet.
PO. With no artificial additives.
ASO. Readily available.
PO. Always fresh.
ASO. The delicious succulent flavour.
PO. Of cooked human flesh.

(Laughter - The victims in the pigpen groan and wail)
ASO. Baked or grilled.
PO. Lightly fried.
ASO. Roasted on a spit.
PO. The buttocks make a splendid casserole.
ASO. The arms for shishkebabs.
PO. Fingers and toes as hors-d'oeuvres.
ASO. Ribs for the barbecue.
PO. But there is one portion.
ASO. Our Master loves more than most.
PO. The human liver.
ASO. Finely diced, sautéed.
PO. And served on toast.

(Fo'isia enters, grunting vigorously. She surveys the audience, licking her lips and instructs Aso and Po to bring a few people up on stage and put them in the pigpen. Taulaitu enters with Tausani.)
TAULAITU. Master, I have fresh meat for your larder.
(Fo'isia sniffs the baby and grunts.)
FO'ISIA. Too skinny - Put the baby in the pen and feed him three meals a day.
Now begone - tell the women I need more children!
(Taulaitu leaves. Aso and Po put Tausani in the pigpen.)

TIGILAU. Allo.
ASO. Who goes there?
PO. Who dares!
TIGILAU. I am Tigilau, come to greet Fo'isia.
ASO. Come to greet Fo'isia?
PO. Do you know the fate of any one who enters here?
TIGILAU. Of course. Throughout the land who has not heard of the voracious appetite of Fo'isia. But I too am a cannibal of some renown. Is the name Tigilau not known in this town?
FO'ISIA. Come to beg left-overs from my larder?
TIGILAU. My dear lady, I would not presume. But for you Fo'isia, I have a challenge.
(Fo'isia grunts)
TIGILAU. Tell me, what is the sweetest meat at a cannibal feast.
FO'ISIA. The liver.
TIGILAU. How true. How true. A woman after my own heart, our tastes are in accord. But did you know, Fo'isia, my dear, that a cannibal can eat his own liver?
(Fo'isia grunts)
TIGILAU. It's true, it's true. I've done it many times. For once digested, the liver will reappear ready for the next feast.
(Fo'isia grunts)
TIGILAU. And you shall find that each time the liver is eaten, the flavour becomes more sweet. But I must warn you such feasting is not for the faint of heart. You must cut a slit just here and wrench the liver from inside. Allow me to demonstrate.
(Tigilau offers to cut out Fo'isia's liver.)
FO'ISIA. Hmm, let me taste your liver: first.
TIGILAU. Of course, of course, forgive me. I forget my manners.
(Tigilau pretends to cut out his liver. He offers it to Fo'isia who devours it hungrily.)
TIGILAU. You will agree the flavour is most sweet.
FO'ISIA. Hmm. I've never tasted meat so sweet.
TIGILAU. And now perhaps you'll be so kind as to offer me a taste of yours, which I'm sure will have a most exquisite flavour.
(Fo'isia pulls out her liver and dies as she attempts to eat it. Tigilau releases the victims while Aso and Po eat the remains of the liver and drag Fo'isia off the stage. All exit.)

SCENE V

Taulaitu and Manu enter.

Taulaitu. What has happened here? Aso! Po! Where is Fo'isia?
Aso. Gone.
Po. Dead.
Aso. Killed by her own greed.
Po. She was tricked.
Aso. A cannibal calling himself Tigilau.
Po. Persuaded her to eat her own liver.
Taulaitu. Tigilau! That cunning rat. I'll warrant that Sina was behind this mischief. What have you done with the Queen's body?
(Aso and Po rub their stomachs.)
Aso. No point in wasting fresh meat.
Po. Even if she was tough as a coconut husk.
Taulaitu. Ah! You mongrel dogs, get out of my sight!
(Aso and Po exit.)

Manu, we must act before it's too late. Tigilau and Sina must die, else all is lost.

Manu. I will not fight. They spared my life. For shame I cannot fight them.
Taulaitu. Fool! Do you think I would ask you to fight after your last display.

No, we shall catch them when they are sleeping and plunge our spears into their hearts before they can awake.

Manu. You cowardly lizard! I'll have no part in your evil plots.

Taulaitu. Manu, you must do as I say. With Tigilau and Sina gone, the village will be ours. Olosega grows old, he is not long for this world, and you, Manu, shall be the new chief. Together we will rule the village and spread our rule throughout the land.

(Maniacal laughter.)

Come, Manu, your destiny awaits you.

Manu. You're mad, you've drunk too much 'ava. Makes you stupid in the head.
(Manu walks away.)

Taulaitu. Manu, You must obey me.

Manu. Forget it, old hag. Find some other fool to do your dirty work.
(He turns and walks away. Taulaitu strangles Manu with a string.)

TAULAITU. Ah, The village women were right. A worthless wimp. And yet his wretched carcass might serve my purpose.

(Taulaitu drags Manu's body off-stage.)

SCENE VI

Villagers are preparing for the evening meal. Food is served to Chief Olosega. The sound of a conch shell is heard. Olosega waves the food away. The victims from the pig-pen burst on stage followed by Tigilau, Sina and Tausani.

VILLAGERS. The cannibal queen is dead. . . . Fo'isia is dead. . . . Tigilau has tricked the cannibal queen. . . . etc.

(The victims perform the Fa'ataupati, with Tigilau taking the lead. The villagers respond, placing leis on Tigilau and Sina and performing an energetic Siva.)

(Taulaitu enters, dragging the body of Manu. The dancing stops.)

TAULAITU. Behold, your champion!

Manu, the fearless one!
Is this a time for dancing? . . . Shame on you. . . .
It was Manu who defended your homes. . . . Our enemies would tremble when they heard his name
Manu, the pride of Samoa. . . .
Is this how you honour his memory?

(Villagers begin weeping.)

Hold back your tears!
This is not the time for wailing, for Manu's murderer still lives.
She sits amongst us here.

(Villagers gasp.)

Manu was not slain in battle. . . . No, he was killed by sorcery! . . .
A spirit from the depths of the ocean was summoned to dispatch our champion. See the marks of the shark's teeth. . . .
Ask yourselves, who has the power to summon creatures from the depths?
Who came to us from out of the sea?
Who has brought misfortune and discord to our village?
Sina, the witch. The Ogre from the sea. Seize her!!

TIGILAU. Lies, lies, lies! Taulaitu speaks with the forked tongue of a lizard.
Sina had no quarrel with Manu. Olosega, my chief, do you not remember that Sina once begged me to spare Manu's life?
You are all indebted to Sina. She devised the plan to kill Fo'isia! Why do you believe this lizard? Taulaitu! I see no evidence of sorcery. All I see is an old trickster and the body of a great warrior.

TAULAITU. See how the Ogre's love slave leaps to her defence. You cannot save her this time, Tigilau. The Ogre must burn!

(The villagers begin arguing amongst themselves, with many calling for Sina's death.)

OLOSEGA. Silence! There will be no burning. Taulaitu, you make grave accusations. But I must see some evidence of sorcery before I condemn this woman. ... Tigilau, leave us now. We must bury our dead.

(Tigilau, Sina and Tausani leave.)

TAULAITU. You shall have your proof, Olosega. You shall have your proof. Mark my words, there will be proof enough. Let us hope your hesitation does not cost us another life. Sina can strike at any time.

(Manu's body is carried off in procession. All leave.)

SCENE VII

Tigilau, Sina and Tausani are asleep in the fale. Taulaitu enters and lays a trail of dead fish, leading from the sea to Sina's sleeping mat. Sunrise. Taulaitu enters, leading villagers.

TAULAITU. Look! Look! Look with your own eyes. See where the trail leads, from the depths of the ocean to the sleeping place of the Ogre. The spirits of the deep yearn to join their mistress, Sina, the witch. . . .

Here is your proof, Olosega. You must condemn her. . . .

None of us are safe from her sorcery!

VILLAGERS. Kill her, kill her, the witch! Burn the demon!

(Tigilau and Sina awake and come out of the fale.)

TAULAITU. Seize her, seize her. Bind her tightly. Be careful, don't look at her eyes. she will enslave you with her sorcery.

TIGILAU. Stop, don't listen to him. Fools, you are all deceived by his cunning.

Olosega, surely you do not believe the lies of this madman.

TAULAITU. The fish do not lie, Tigilau. They lead us to the Ogre.

VILLAGERS. Kill her. . . . Kill her. . . . Burn the witch!

TIGILAU. Olosega, stop this madness! Sina is not a witch! She is not an ogre, she is woman.

OLOSEGA. The people shall decide.

VILLAGERS. Kill her! . . . Burn the witch! . . . Kill the ogre! . . .

Sina, the demon!
OLOSEGA. Tigilau, Manu is dead. We see a trail of death leading to Sina’s mat. You cannot blame the people for being afraid. I wash my hands of this. Do what you will.

VILLAGERS. Kill her, burn her. . . . Burn, burn. Kill her! . . .

TAULAITU. Take her deep into the forest. She draws her powers from the ocean. Put her amongst the trees. She will be powerless, there, the flames will devour her and purify our village. Tigilau and the child may live, but bind them securely. Come. . . . this is the dawning of a new era!

SCENE VIII

Taulaitu in a ceremonial mask leads a procession dragging Sina into the forest. She is tied to a tree.

TAULAITU. Sina, the Ogre, you are condemned to burn

Prepare to die. . . .

Let us depart

We must leave her to her fate. . . .

(Taulaitu summons the fire dancer. The villagers all leave. Flying foxes appear on trapezes. The fire-dancer moves closer to Sina.)

LUÁ. Who’s that man down there?

TASI. What man?

TOLU. That man there!

TASI. I dunno, but he’s got nice buns.

LUÁ. He’s hot!

TASI. He’s on fire.

LUÁ. Show off.

TASI. He can light my fire.

ALL. Fire!!

TOLU. He’s burning down a tree.

TASI. What tree, where?

LUÁ. That tree, there.

ALL. Our tree!

We are the guardians of the forest. Let’s put out his flame.

(The flying foxes come off their trapezes and chase the fire dancer off the stage.)

TASI. Did he run!

LUÁ. Did he run!

TOLU. Of course he ran.
TASI. That wasn't a man!
LUA. That was a mouse!
TOLU. That'll teach him to mess with our house.
ALL. We are the foxes that are never seen
     We are the ones that keep Samoa green.
SINA. Lupe, Lupe, Lupe!
TASI. Lupe?
LUA. Who?
TOLU. And who are you?
SINA. Help me, I must find my brother, Lupe!
TASI. Help you?
LUA. Why?
TOLU. Oh, don't cry!
TASI. You've got yourself in a fine mess!
LUA. Look, you've spoilt your dress (laughter)
SINA. Oh Lupe, why did you leave me?
TOLU. Lupe?
TASI. Lupe?
LUA. Who is this Lupe cat?
ALL. (to audience) Do you know where Lupe can be found?
     (Lupe appears on a trapeze.)
TASI. I ain't seen no Lupe around.
LUA. Not in our part of town.
ALL. Do you know where Lupe can be found? (to audience.)
     (Lupe descends and gets off the trapeze.)
TASI. Well, hullo.
LUA. I suppose you must be. . . .
TOLU. Mr. Lupe.
     (Lupe de-transforms and moves towards Sina.)
TASI. Sisters, I think it's time for us to split.
LUA. Yeah, this look like the soppy bit.
TOLU. Well, I just hope Mr. Lupe does the right thing.
     (The foxes climb on to their trapezes and disappear.)
ALL. We are the foxes who fly through the air.
TASI. And any more fire-bugs had best beware.
     (Lupe unties Sina.)
SINA. Lupe, forgive me.
LUPE. Sina, forgive me.
     (Lupe and Sina embrace.)
SCENE IX

*The villagers are eating huge quantities of food. Lupe and Sina enter with Tigilau and Tausani following.*

VILLAGERS. Lupe. . . . Sina. . . . They have returned. Praise the Lord. Lupe, where have you been? . . . . etc.

LUPE. Oh, we have stories to tell, stories that will make your flesh tremble. Stories of Anger, Pride, Jealousy, Gluttony and Love Stories too. We have so many stories to tell, stories that will be told to generations not yet born.

VILLAGERS. Tell us, tell us, tell us your stories. . . . Tell us everything that happened.

LUPE. You people have grown fat since I've been gone.

VILLAGERS. Yes, we have honoured your parents' memory. . . . Every day we light the fires and cook three meals. . . . Three meals every day. . . . rain or shine.

LUPE. No more. . . . No more gluttony. It is time to change our ways. Look you have grown lazy as well as fat. Now, greet our new aiga, Tigilau and Tausani.

(The villagers put leis on Tigilau and dancing begins. The head-dress on the taupou is placed on Sina and she performs the tauauluga. The villagers move into sasa formation. Taulaitu is lowered in a basket. Tulafale stands.)

TULAFALE. E amata mai i lenei aso ua tasi le umu e fai, ua le toe fai ni umu se tolu. O le mea fo'i lea ua tasi ai le umu a Samoa e fai i nei ona po. That, my friends, is the story of Lupe and Sina, and that is the reason why even today, in the islands of Samoa the cooking fires are lit only once a day. Because of this custom, the people are strong and healthy and seldom overweight. But here in our new island home, Aotearoa, things are different. The cooking fires burn all day and all night long at Pizza Hut, Kentucky Fried, MacDonalds. . . . Georgie Pie. . . . Uncle's. . . . And our people are suffering, growing fat and dying before their time.

So it you want to live a long and healthy life; if you want to win the world cup; remember the story of Lupe and Sina. Look to the wisdom of your ancestors.

Tofa soifua.
APPENDIX THREE

THE PAPALAGI HAVE NO TIME

The Papalagi adore the round metal and the heavy paper, it gives them much pleasure to put the juices from dead fruit and the meat from pigs, steers and other terrible animals inside their stomachs. But they also have a passion for something that you cannot grasp but still exists, time. They take it very serious [sic] and tell all kinds of foolish things about it. Though there never will be more time between sunrise and sundown, for them this does not suffice. . .

The Papalagi are never satisfied with their time and they blame the Great Spirit for not giving them more of it. Yes, they slander God and his great wisdom by dividing every new day into a complex pattern, by cutting it up into pieces, the way we cut up the inside of a coconut with our machete. Every part has its name. They are called, seconds, minutes or hours. The second is smaller than the minute and the minute is smaller than the hour. But all of them strung together form one hour. To make up one hour, you need sixty minutes and many, very many seconds.

This is an incredibly confusing story, of which I haven’t grasped the fine points myself yet, as it is hard for me to ponder this nonsense longer than necessary. But the Papalagi attach much weight to it. Men, women and even children too small to walk, wear a small, flat, round machine inside their loincloths, tied to a heavy metal chain hanging around the neck, or around the wrist; a machine that tells them the time. Reading it is not an easy thing. It is taught to the children by pressing the machine to their ears, to awaken their curiosity.

Those machines are so light that you can lift them with two fingers and they carry an engine inside their bellies, just like the big ships you all know. There are also big time-machines, standing inside their huts, or hanging from a high house so as to be better visible. Now when part of the time has passed, it is indicated by two small fingers on the face of the machine and at the same time it cries out and a ghost strikes the iron in her insides. When in a European town, a certain part of the time has passed, a frightening clamoring and din breaks out.

Erich Scheurmann (ed.), The Papalagi: Speeches by Tuiavi'i of Tiavea A Samoan Chief, (Amsterdam: Real Free Press (Foundation), 1976), pp. 17-20. These speeches were collected and translated into German by Erich Scheurmann. The German edition first appeared in the early nineteen twenties followed, in 1929, by a Dutch language publication. The 1976 English language edition closely follows the 1929 Dutch language edition (Publisher’s note).
When that time noise sounds the Papalagi complain: "Terrible another hour gone!" And then, as a rule, they pull a somber face, like somebody that has to live with a great tragedy. Very puzzling because immediately after, a new hour starts.

I've never been able to understand that, but I think it must be a disease. Complaints that are common with white people are, time vanishes like smoke, or time is running out and give me just a little more time.

I said it is probably some kind of disease; because when the white man feels like doing something, when for instance his heart yearns to go walking in the sun or to go sail a boat on the river, or to make love to his friend, he usually spoils his own fun by being unable to avoid the thought that there is no time for fun. The time is there all right, but he seems unable to find it. He will mention a thousand things that take away his time, grumpy and sputtering he sticks to a job that he doesn't feel like doing, that brings him no pleasure and into which nobody forced him but he himself. And when he suddenly discovers that he does have time or when others give him time - the Papalagi often give each other time and no gift is more appreciated than that - then he discovers that he doesn't feel like doing it at that particular time, or that he is too tired from his joyless labor. And he is always determined to do those things tomorrow, for which he had no time today.

There are Papalagi who say that they never have time. They walk around stunned as if taken over by an aitu and wherever they show up, they work up disasters, because they have lost their time. Being possessed is a terrible disease that no medicine man can cure and a disease that contaminates many others, rendering them deeply unhappy.

Because the papalagi are always scared stiff of losing their time, not only the men, but also the women and even the very small kids; they all know exactly how many times the sun and the moon have risen since the day that they saw the big light for the first time. Yes, it plays such an important role in their lives, that they celebrate it at regular intervals with flowers and feasts. Very often I noticed that people felt they had to feel ashamed about me, because when asked for my age I would start laughing and did not know it. But you have to know your own age. Then I would be silent and think, it's better for me not to know.

How old are you, means, how many moons have you lived? Counting and probing this way is full of dangers, because that way it was discovered how many moons people usually live. Now all those people keep that in mind and when a great many moons have passed they say, "Now I have to die soon!" Then they grow silent and sad and indeed die after a short period.
In Europe there are only a few people that have time really. Perhaps even no one at all. That's why those people run through life like a thrown stone. Almost all of them keep their eyes glued to the ground when they walk and they swing their arms to make better pace. When somebody stops them, they shout angrily, "Why do you stop me, I've no time, better make good use of your own time!" It seems that they think a fast walking man braver than one who walks slowly.

Once I saw a man's head almost explode, saw his eyes roll around and his gullet stretch wide open like a dying fish, becoming red and green in the face and flailing around his hands and feet, just because his servant arrived one breath later than he had promised he would. That breath was supposed to be a considerable loss, that could never be made up again. The servant had to leave the hut, the Papalagi chased him away and called him names. "This is the limit, because you have stolen much time from me already. A man who doesn't honor time isn't worth that time!"

Another time I saw a Papalagi who had time and never complained about his time, but the man was poor, dirty and despised. People walked around him in a big circle and nobody gave him any attention. I didn't understand that, because his step was slow and steady and his eyes were quiet and friendly. When I asked him how that came about, he hung his head and said sadly: "I've never been able to use my time well, that's why I am a poor and despised clod now". That man had time, but happy he wasn't.

With all their strength and all their thoughts, the Papalagi try to make time as fat as they can. They use water and fire, storm and lightning from heaven to hold up time. They put iron wheels under their feet and give wings to their words, just to gain time. And what is all that work and trouble good for?

What do the Papalagi do with their time? I've never quite found out, though judging from their words and gestures one would think they were personally invited to a big fono by the Great Spirit himself.

I think time slips from their grasps like a snake slipping out of a wet hand, only because they always try to hang on to it. He won't let time come to him, but runs after it with his hands outstretched. He doesn't afford himself the time to stretch out in the sun. They always want to keep it within arms reach and devote songs to it and stories. But time is a quiet and peace-loving thing, that loves to rest and lie on its mat undisturbed. The Papalagi have not understood time and therefore they mistreat it with their barbarous practices.
Oh my beloved brothers, we never complained about time, we lived it the way it was, never did we run after it or cut it into slices. Never did it give us worry or grief. If there is one amongst you, who has no time; let him speak up! We have time in abundance, we are always satisfied with the time we have, we don't ask for more time than there is and we always have time enough. We know that we will certainly reach our goals in time and that the Great Spirit will call us when he feels it is our time, even if we don't know the number of moons spent. We must free the duped Papalagi from his delusions and give him back the time. Let us take away their small, round time-machines, smash them and tell them that there is more time between sunrise and sunset than an ordinary man could spend.
APPENDIX FOUR

TAEAO - ('MORNING[S]': IMPORTANT EVENTS IN SAMOA'S HISTORY)\(^9\)

...Samoa has many such *taeao*, each with its own origin. Additionally, each village has its own *taeao*, to be remembered in its history. The *taeao* section is particularly important in a welcome speech. Many *taeao* for Samoa as a whole relate to the spilling of blood in wars. Others relate to happiness, sadness, fishing at sea and working in the bush. Additionally, there are *taeao* of the arrival of the gospel, when missionaries began converting Samoans to Christianity. Although ancient historical *taeao* of Samoa abound, the church or gospel variety are now frequently used, because they are regarded as the *taeao* of salvation, of Samoa's first real dawn and daylight; the days of factionalism, petty rivalry and darkness are over. The frequency of use of the gospel *taeao* indicates the importance of this particular form; ancient *taeao* are at present mentioned ever infrequently. The following is a list of the Christian and ancient *taeao*; some are now used only rarely.

1. The *taeao* at Mātānīu Feagaimaleata (the name of the malaefono at Sāpapāli'i village, Savai'i).
   This is the *taeao* of the London Missionary Society Church (now the Congregational Church) in Samoa, celebrating the arrival in 1830 of the missionaries John Williams and Charles Barff at Sāpapāli'i, and subsequent acceptance by Chief Malietoa Vaiinūpō. The *taeao* is referred to frequently in oratory.

2. The *taeao* at Faleū and Utuagiagi (the name of two of the malaefono of Manono).
   This *taeao* is important in the history of the Samoan Methodist church, celebrating the arrival in 1835 at the island of Manono of the first Methodist missionary (Peter Turner) and his subsequent acceptance by Chief Lei'ataua Putetele. This *taeao*, like the first, is frequently referred to in oratory.

\(^9\)Tatupu Fa'afetai Mata'afa Tu'i, Lāunga (sic) Samoan Oratory, (Suva and Apia: University of the South Pacific and the National University of Samoa, 1987), pp. 9-12.
3. The taeao at Malaeola and Gafuaga (the malaefono of, respectively, Lealatele and Patamea villages, Savai'i).
An important taeao in the history of the Roman Catholic church, celebrating the arrival in 1845 of the priests at Lealatele village, and their acceptance by the chief Tuala Talipope. This taeao is also in frequent use.

4. The taeao at Saua (a beach near Fitiuta village, Manu'a).
This taeao recalls the first 'ava (kava) ceremony in Samoa, in which the participants were Tagaloa and Pava. The gruesome circumstances (see Herman 1955:4) also serve to remind people that heathenism and days of darkness have now passed. Most speeches refer to this taeao.

5. The taeao at Samana (a site in Satupa'itea village, Savai'i).
This taeao celebrates the occasion when the boy Sālevao stopped crying (see Schultz 1953: 69). Despite all efforts, including mass singing and dancing, Sālevao kept crying. When he finally did stop, legend has it that all the skulls in Savai'i began to roll about.

6. The taeao at Namō [or Gamo] (a site in Solosolo village, 'Upolu).
This taeao relates to a traditional fishing expedition. It is commonly referred to when orators try to draw comparisons between the old and modern styles of fishing. Some informants suggested that the reference is to a legendary incident occurring at Solosolo village, 'Upolu, when the sisters Tilafaiga and Taema ate the local people after they had refused to assist them (see Schultz 1953: 108).

7. The taeao at Malaeolemū (the malaefono of Tula village, Tutuila).
This celebrates the occasion when, at a place called Fagasā, the legendary woman Futa completed weaving her fine mat, said by Tula villagers to be the first in Samoa.

8. The taeao at Mālōtūmau (one malaefono in Faga'itua village, Tutuila).
The reference here is to the defeat of the war party of the ruler I'amafana at the hands of Le'iato Tafilele of Faga'itua village. Samoan orators, particular those from Tutuila, also refer to this occasion, using the names of Faga'itua's other two malaefono, as 'the taeao at Fatulegae'e and Utumoea'au'.

9. The taeao at Malaeletele (the malaefono of Ta'u village, Manu'a).
This refers to the reign of Tuimanu'a Li'atama and his shining red house, the Fale'ula. Orators from American Samoa say that this taeao marked the division into districts of the whole of Samoa.
10. The taeao at Gagamoe (the malaefono of Pagopago village, Tutuila). This taeao marked United States’ control of what is now American Samoa.

11. The taeao at Moamoa (the malaefono of Falefa village, 'Upolu). This celebrates the occasion when Leatiogie, son of Fe'epō, won his club-fight against Levaogogo, son of Leutelei'ite of Falefa village (see Schultz 1953: 64). This taeao is frequently used in speeches.

12. The taeao at the Tide. This recounts the covenant between the legendary brothers Saveasi'uleo and Ulu fanuasese'e, under the terms of which one travelled to the west to live, the other to the east. The brothers also covenanted that they would not meet again personally, but through their children. The event gave rise to the proverbial saying, 'Uafeiloa'i i i'u gafa 'ae le 'o ulu o gafa - They meet at the tail of the pedigree rather than at the head.

13. The taeao at Lalogāfu'afu'a and Mulini'u (the malaefono of Lufilufi village, 'Upolu, and the residence of Tuiatua, respectively). This taeao relates to the covenant between Lufilufi village and the country as a whole, with which the brothers Fonoti and Tole'afoa made peace with each other. On the same occasion, Lufilufi rewarded Le'iato of Tutuila for his services in war, and recognised him as an ally of Tūmua. This taeao is usually included in installation speeches.

14. The taeao at Ma'auga and Nu'uausala (the malaefono of Leulumoega village, 'Upolu, and the residence of Tuia'ana, respectively). On this occasion, Salamasina was installed at Leulumoega as Samoa's first queen, having obtained the four supreme titles of Tuiatua, Tuia'ana, Gato'aitele and Vaetamasoāli'i. On the same occasion, Leulumoega village conferred the title of the 'House of Ten' upon Tutuila.

15. The taeao at Malie and Vaito'elau (a village on 'Upolu, and the malaefono of Afega village, 'Upolu, respectively). On this occasion, Mālietoa Savea Na Fa'alogi 'I Ai Sāmoa 'Ātoa made important allocations, including the political divisions of Tūmua, Pule, 'Itū'au, Alataua, 'Āigailetai and Va'aofonotī.
APPENDIX FIVE

TRACING SAMOAN ANCESTORS

The following information concerning the tracing of Samoan ancestors was supplied by the Family History Centre (Genealogy Library) of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 147 Pah Road, Royal Oak, Auckland, Phone (09) 659-669.

Samoan Research

1. Family Genealogies  a. Some on film and available from The Research Bureau, Temple View, Hamilton.
   b. *Die Samoa Inseln* 2 Vols. by Dr A. Kramer.

2. School Registers  1830 on.

3. Church Records  1830 on, Mission Libraries, local libraries etc.

4. Probate Records  Western Samoa, 1870 on, Registrar, Supreme Court, Apia.
   American Samoa, 1900 on, Clerk of the High Court, Court House Building, Pago Pago, American Samoa, 96920.

5. Civil Registration  Western Samoa, 1870 on, Registrar, Supreme Court, Apia.
   American Samoa, 1900 on, Registrar of Vital Statistics, Pago Pago, American Samoa, 96920.

6. Land and Title Court Records  Western Samoa, 1893 on, Lands and Title Court, Apia.
   American Samoa, 1900 on, Territory Registrar, Court House Building, Pago Pago, American Samoa, 96920.

7. Land Claims  As for 6.


10. Newspapers  Western Samoa, 1901 on, Births, marriages and deaths etc. American Samoa, 1964 on, Births, marriages and deaths etc.
Papers for Western Samoa available at Nelson Memorial Library, Apia. At the National Archives in Wellington, New Zealand, records of the British Consul in Samoa, 1889-99 contain registers of births and deaths in Samoa. The records of the German Consul 1879-99 includes papers about the registration of births, deaths and marriages and for a later period there are files of the German Colonial Administration with inheritance and guardianship cases which could benefit researchers.
APPENDIX SIX

THE STORY OF MANUSAMOA

Manusamoa from Falealili was a hero who was involved in the well known wars of Malietoa against Savai'i. Manusamoa asked his sister Tautipagofie to travel to Savai'i, to the village of Iva/Salelava.uuta to marry the hero Tautualevao, for Manusamoa thought that such an alliance would strengthen him in future preparations for war.

As Manusamoa and his sister parted they said good-bye with words which are very important words of farewell in the history of Samoa. They are still used by orators and they are known as the Māvaega na i le "Fale-Punaoa". Their parting can be likened to the words of farewell between Jonathan and David.

Jonathan made a pact with David to love him as his own soul; Once again Jonathan swore the solemn oath to David because he loved him as his own soul.

Then Jonathan said to David, 'Go in peace. And as regards the oath that both of us have sworn in the name of Yahweh, may Yahweh be witness between you and me, between your descendants and mine for ever.'

Manusamoa said to Tautipagofie

Sau ia ina e alu ma manu
Ae ou nofo ma manu
O manu ta te māvae a'i
O manu fo'i ta te toe feiloa'i ai.

"Go in peace,
Peace stay with me
We part in peace
May we meet again in peace."

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10 In May 1992, while at the ministers' retreat of the Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church at Tirohanga, Dunedin, the Rev Leuatea Siō told the story of Manusamoa after whom the Western Samoan Rugby team had been named by Salamasina.
11 I Samuel 18:3.
12 I Samuel 20:17.
After Tautipagofie had gone to Savai'i, Manusamoam followed her but when he arrived at the village he found only women and children in the village. There were no men for they were all in the bush cutting down a tree from which to make their weapons for the war — warring clubs. But they cut the tree down without first trimming off the branches.

Manusamoam asked "Tofi ma lau?" In other words: "why are you splitting the trees without first trimming off the branches"? And that is the expression which began the Tofilau title. Manusamoam requested that they give him some wood for a club but they said that there was only the vaetofiga - the soft part left. He replied that "that will be all right", and so his war club was fashioned from the vaetofiga of the tree.

Tautipagofie's husband, the hero Tautualevao lived in the bush and only occasionally came to the village. Manusamoam did not go to the bush to see him. Before he left Manusamoam said to his sister,

"Your husband is going to lead a very big fleet to fight Malietoa. Be sure that you tell Tautualevao that if he really loves you, he will put you in the bow of his canoe. Cover yourself with an 'ie sina. Instruct him to tie a red band of siapo around his head and tell him that if he really loves you he will never take it off."

Manusamoam returned to Upolu and the people kept a continuous lookout, day and night, across the strait towards Savai'i. One day the news came that a fleet was approaching Upolu. All the warriors of Malietoa gathered to fight.

There was no sand on the beaches where the canoes landed. It was a rough part of the shoreline and not easy for the canoes in the water. Manusamoam did not immediately engage in battle but sat with his club, watching and not wasting his strength. (His club was the club made from the softer wood, the vaetofiga part of the tree from Iva.)

Finally he saw the canoe containing his sister and her husband. He went straight to the canoe and made to assist Tautualevao from the canoe. But instead as he hopped out Manusamoam killed him with one blow. Next he cut off the left foot of Tautualevao. Then he ran with the foot and hid under the high chair of Malietoa.

14 Mat of a very pale colour made of faupata ('hibiscus') or lau'ie('pandanus fibres').
15 Bark cloth or tapa made from paper mulberry.
Other warriors found the body of Tautualevao. They cut off his head and brought it to Malietoa. From under the chair Manusamo called out,

\[ \textit{O a oe ea po'oa a'u?} \quad \text{Is it yours or mine?} \]

Malietoa asked, "Who said that?"

He was told that it was Manusamo, the chap from Falealili. Manusamo then said to Malietoa, "Ask those warriors who brought the head to go and find where the left foot is."

Of course when they returned to the body they found that the left foot was missing. Manusamo then showed all the foot and everyone knew that he was the person who had slain Tautualevao.

In acknowledgement of his heroism Malietoa said

\[ \textit{Se ua ta fia Falealili fua lava!} \quad \text{How I would like/love to be a Falealili boy!} \]

\[ * * * * * \]
THE MANU\textsuperscript{16}

by Anitele'a Aiolupo (fullback)

\textit{Manu Hee e!! Le Manu Samoa e}
\textit{la manu [malu] ona fai o le faiva}
\textit{Manu Hee e!! Le Manu Samoa e}
\textit{la manu [malu] ona fai o le faiva}
\textit{Le manu Samoa lenei ua sau}
\textit{O ai nisi manu o'i le ataulaulau?}
\textit{Ua ou sau nei ma le mea atoa}
\textit{O lo'ulu malosi ua atoatoa}
\textit{la e fa'atafa ma e soso'ese}
\textit{Leaga o lenei manu e uiga 'ese}
\textit{Le manu Samoa}
\textit{Le manu Samoa}
\textit{Le manu Samoa e o mai Samoa Hee!!}

Manu Hee e!! The Manu Samoa eh.
Let your fishing (game) be in peace
Manu Hee e!! The Manu Samoa eh
Let your fishing (game) be in peace.
The Manu Samoa here it comes
Are there any manu in the wide world?
I have now come with the whole thing (come in strength)
My strength is complete (great)
You move aside and get away
Because this manu is fearsome (awesome)
The Manu Samoa
The Manu Samoa
The Manu Samoa which comes from Samoa Hee e!!

\textsuperscript{16}From the \textit{Tautua}, Samoa College, Apia, Western Samoa, 1991. The chant which has been made famous by Manu Samoa, the Western Samoan rugby team, was also performed by Samoan supporters of boxer Jimmy "Thunder" Peau before his world title heavy weight fight at Townsville, Australia, July 1993.
APPENDIX SEVEN

PESE MO HAMILITONE

O o'u te mau'i fa'atulou atu i le paia o le aofia - ah - ah - ah
Talana'i ane ia ou paia - se'i mua vi'i o le Atua - ah - ah - ah.
'Aua lava ne'i ia te'i matou - (matou le Atua e)
A ia tu'una atu le vi'iiga (le vi'iiga)
Fa'ane'eina lou suafa (pa'ia). Lou alofa (tunoa)
Ua maua ai (le soifua) Le mamalu ua aofia i lenei aso manaia - a - a.
Tatou viia, - Fa'afetai i le Tama.

Ua fa'atauata nei o le la ma le masina
I ou paia Samoa mai Saua e o'o i Agalega.
Malie o le a ou le autalaina (aua e faigata)
Ou sa'ua o se i'a iiviivia (e iiviivia)
A o ou fa'alupega ua tasi ai nei (ai nei le fa'afitiga)
Ua ao uma ia i mamalu o le Atua (o le Atua).

Ua pa'ia ma mamalu lenei aso (i le afio mai) o aiga ma tama,
Tama fo'i ma o latou aiga. Tumua ma Pule Itu'au fa'apea ma Alataua,
O Aiga i le Tai ma le To'o o le Fua Fa'apea Sua ma le Vaifanua
O Fofo ma Aitulagi. Itu'au ma Aataua, Fa'atui ma le Ma'upu tasi
To'oto'o o le Fale'ula ma Tama a le Manu'a Tele.

Ua pa'ia atili lenei aso (le susu mai) o sui mamalu o le Fono Tele,
Komiti Fa'atonu, le 'Au Toeaina, Le Auaigaaluaega, 'Auaigaepase ma Val'aaulia
Komiti o pule i le aso, Pa'ia ma Mamalu o le 'Aulotu, E.F.K.S. i Hamilitone,
Tamali'i ma Faleupolu o le a le aulia lava i se tala ma sa'u upu.

Afio i lagi pei o le Fetalaiga, ia Tui A'ana, Tama a le Lagi,
Ae Se'i ou vili, Tonu ia o le i'i a maina. Le pa'ia o lau fa'afegaiga -
Mose Atimalala ma le faletua, ao i ai ou fa'alupega, lou i'o - i - fofoa.
Afio Uso ali'i ma Gafa, alo o Malietoa. Mamalu mai Sa Taga ma upu ia Fuata
Aiga o Mavaega Sa Tuala ma le Taulagi, Mamalu o e Faletolu ma Fuafale,
Pa'ia, Alalagafa ma La La Nofo a tulafale - Tauaga esese ia Falealili.
Afio Tuitele o le Fa'atui o le Motu, Susu Faivae, o le malu o le fale,
Susu Ma'upu fa'apea Avegalio, mamalu mai oulua olo ma Le'o.so.

E tu manu ae lili'a, aua sau silasila. E le tusa ita nei ma le pa'ia, Samoa ua aofia. A sala le gagana. Alofa lafo i fogava'a
O taea o Sua Samana ma le aso na Tumua.
Ou te le alo tamala iai Samoa i ou taeao na.
A'o Mataniu feagai ma le Ata o Malaeola ma Gafuaga.
O Faleu fo'i ma Utuagiagi ua utu ai le Toto Masa'a
A'o o le taeao ua silisili lava. Sisi o le fua a le E.F.K.S.
Malumalu o le Kerito Toetu o le a Fa'apaiaina.

Tala o le Galuega

(1) Le fanua muamua sa iai - ua le feagai
Liuliu loa o le tofa - se'i toe saili se fanua
Talia le fefa'atauaua - ia fesu'ia'i o fanua
Totoe o se tau aitalafu - e luafulu iva afe tala - a
Le feagaiga ua osia - se'i tautuana - a - a
Fa'afetai lea ua talia - le luafulu lima tausaga
Le Ekalesia alo laia - galulue ma le fiafia
Le Mokei lea ia fa'amama E lua tausaga ma masina na taumafai ai.
Ia fu'auma - (Aso luafulu fa) Ia Iulai - (i le tausaga) - Tasi iva valu fa.

(2) Ua fai pea Su'ega - tupe ma lafolafoga
O le naunau ia faia - le Falesa ma le Maota
E le'i atoa o se tausaga - selau ma le tolu afe ua maua
Tasi moemoe o le finagalo - galuega ia amata a
O fa'aftauili ua sau - o si ou naunau
Le Falesa e le fa'ataga - i vaega nu'u fa'apitoa
E tolu tautosaga na taumafai ai - i Loia ma Pule o le a'ai
Fa'afetai lea ua matu'u mai - Le ata ua aumai - Se paga ua le feagai
Faife'au ua leai - (se maota e nofo ai)
Le fale lea sa i ai - (ma nonofo uma ai ) - lea o le a talai.

(3) Luafulu tolu o Setema - le iva sefulu o le tautosaga
Le galuega ia amata - va'ai loa o se loia -a - a - a
Fuimaono ua faigata - aua e mamao tele o luga
O le lafo fa'atu - (o Viliamu) E loia tonu - (i lona nu'u)
O le ata e tu'u fa'ataasi le Hall - fa'apea ma le Falesa
Talosaga i le Faletupe - ia nono mai o se vaega
Tolu selau afe - (tala ua maua) - O tupe a le Aulotu - (tau fa'alava)
Le malumalu ma le Hall - Fa'apea fo'i potu aoga.
(4) Ua talia le Talosaga - totogi i le luafulu lima tausaga
E na o le selau afe tala - le sao a le Ekalesia
Lima selau ono sefulu afe - le tau o le galuega
A'o Bill Pawley - (o le ali'i) O le Kamuta - (ua filifilia)
O naia ana tama faigaluega - e na o le to'alua
Le Aulotu e galulue uma - le tupe ia tu'u mama
O naia Konekalate - (sa masani ai) Kamuta Samoa - (na manatu i ai)
Malu o le vai - ona pau ua ou lima vaivai.

Ala o Sa'lliga Tupe

(1) Sa'iliga tupe ua faia -
O Tama fo'i fa'apea ma Tina
O latou e lolotu i le Aso Sa
O Taleni fa'apea Tausala

(2) O Housie i Vaiaso ta'itasi
Liliu ane loa i Mafutaga
Fa'apea foi ma le Autalavou
Si Aulotu e toalaititi

(3) Vivii lemu a'e o lo'u Agaga -
Si ou Ausage fa'atauvaa i lau amataga
Sa'e punou i le ao ma le po -
Lea ua talia -
O ai na iloa nei mea sa lilo -
Le igoa pele Samoa -
Le a se itiiti o si ou Tino -
O 'oe na e taia le Papa -
Ta-la-la-la- E moni e moni lavai
Nothing is impossible - when you put your trust in God -
E leai se le mafai - pe a talitonu i le Atua Ah.

O se Maimoaga i lau Galuega

(1) Oi - sei vaai - lou Falesa la e tu mai
A e tu mamo - ua pei o se fale Talimalo
E iloa atu i le ala - pei o se Afolau lona tala
Le Fa'apaologa oka oka - Maota Samoa lona tino mai
Fa'ailoga lena - Samoa mo le Atua - le Atua mo Samoa a
Vaai i le itu agavale - ia fa'aeteete lou ulufale
Ua fa'apena le fa'ailoga - le loto maualalo ia o'otia
Ma ia maua le Alofa Tunoa - o le Atua le Tama.

(2) Manaia lou Falesa - ulufale sei silasila
Tagai atu i le tulaga - le Vaega e le Tapuaiga
E leai ni fa'amalama - o le aafefe le fa'ailoga
O le iai i le mea lilo - ua fa'ataasi ai ma le Tama
Malamalama - Lana Afioga Folafola - mai luga o le Pulela'a - a
Fa'ailoga o le taumafai - le tala lelei ia ola ai
Autalavou na le Aoga Aso Sa - o potu ua pipii mai i le Falesa
Le fa'ailoga ia ao'ao uma - o Amio ia mama.

(3) Sei maimoa atu - Malumalu o le Kersio Toetu
Le Manumalo Jesu - i le oti ma le Tu'ugaminau
O lou Falesa lena - lona suafa ua atoa
Ao a tatou agasala - ua magalo ona leaga
O lou maota - ua igoa o Samoaana - e fa'amanaatu i tagata a
Fa'amalo i le tala lelei - le Fa'atupu a Samoa
'Atoa foi ma le au'auna - ia Jesu le Malamalama
Samoa manatua lou soifua - e fa'avae i le Atua.

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Mose ma Safaiva 'amuia oulua - Tua i le vao ola i nai matua
I so'o se mea - lena e saofa'i mai Iose Patea
Le 'au pai uta, 'au fai tofa, 'Anamaitu, 'Ape ma Leota.
Fa'amatuainu, Lealali ma Asenati le tina
Tafaimalo 'ua lauiloa - e Sulimoni ia o Manusamo
Le Toa lena no male le mai ai o Malietoa - ta Fia Falealili fua lava
'Aulelei tele o lenei Falesa - ua maualuga ai o se Vi'iga mo le Atua.

Ua lele mea uma - ua lelei mea uma.
Usi maia le fa'afofoga - i nisi tala o le galuega
"Ioe." O ona ivivi uma - na faigata ona 'ave i luga
"Na o le itula." E fa'aaoga ai le masini - a'o le malosi o tagata - a
Fa'asa'osa'o - fa'atulaga sa'o - taofi mau - va'ai oe i pa'u i lalo
Ae sa fa'atonu i Aukilani - lima lua afe tala sa fa'ataua'i.
"Ioe." Vaai i le faitoto'a - e veluva ai le Hall ma le Falesa
"Ua fausia." Fausia i le laupapa - mai le Aumauga o Pirongia - a
Tolu selau - le numeru - tagata e ofi i le Falesa.
A'o le Hall - ua fa'atatau - ia ofi ai o le fitu selau
Fa'asolo atu lau faitoto'a - o'i ua ova se fale a lapo'a
O le Satauro - lea i luga - ma fa'amanama e lua e fa'afeaoina.

Tagai atu loa i le Ka Paka - le atu moli e so'o ai le lotoa
Ua numa tasi oe Mose - i so'o se mea
E fa moli i luma e tafa'a - e otometi lona fa'aogaina
Fa'atoa ola i se agasala matuia
Le Ekalesia o maia - se'i fiafia ma talisapaia
Lau galuega ua tu mai - Tatou Vii-a - le Atua - Fa'afetai.

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(1) E ofo lo'u loto i le matalasi - fa'atinoga o lou alofa
Matua fa'aleagaga ma le fanau - fo'ai mai o le Pulela'a
'A'o le laulau Fa'amanaetuga fa'apea fo'i ona totoga 'uma
O le alofa lena 'o Tafa'ilamo - ma Sina ma le Aiga
'A'o Kapeta 'uma ma laino - mai Tina ia o le Aulotu
Le Ti'akono Toeaina - o i le Pulela'a Nofoa e tolu
'A'o le Aiga o Sa Milo - le Tulaga o le Tusi Pa'ia lena
O Fa'atele leo - o Lealali ma Fofoga Leilua.

(2) Luga'e o le la'o'ai - le Chandelier tino 'ese e tasi
Fa'atinu a'i le alofa o le fanau - a Leota ma Tili'ilagi
Tina Matua 'o Asenati - 'Anamaitu ma le Aiga'
O le pusao tioata e teu ai - 'o Mea Pa'ia o le Tapuaiga
Fa'amatuainu Se'ula - o uaea uma o le eletise
'A'o 'Ape ma Aoto'a Su'a - ili uila uma o le Falesa
O le Satauro Tioata tele - lo'o tu mai le falealuga
O Safaiva ia - ma faiaga - A'oga Aso Sa.
Fa'amalo atu Keilani - fa'apea fo'i ma Se'eefano
Tana ia o le Ekalesia - le fua fanua ma le fai moli
Fai fua lava nei mea uma - ae le lilo i le Silafaga Ati
Na te tauia - Sautuaselau - mai le Lagi.

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Le uto o lo ua tini o
O mai laia tatou fa'asao
O lenei o lo ua taunu'u lau
O la'u fa'afiafa - o le a fa'aiu
Oi ua tele pea upu i manu - ae leai o ni upu i mala
O vi'i o lo ta matai - ua matiatilila uma i agaga
Malie ai lou finagalo - o lo'u sei lea ua lafo atu
E le so'o lo'u titi - lo ta pale fo'i ua le 'a'u
A o'o i se itu aso ta te fa'atofa
E manatua i si o'u loto le fa'atofa a Tui Fiti ia Tui Manu'a
Tui Manu'a (Tofa) Tofa, Soifua
O lou alofa e le teuina i fafo - nei sautia
Tui Manu'a (Tofa Soifua) 'Aua o le alofa lena
O le a teu mau i le va - o lo'u fatu ma lo'u mama.

SONG FOR HAMILTON

I firstly bow to the dignified presence (majesty) of all present
Let your dignified presence rest - whilst I first praise God
May it not be to us - (us dear God)
But give praise (praise)
Praise your holy name. Your everlasting love
That we have found (life). The dignity of all present this wonderful day.
Let us praise - and thank the Father.

The sun and the moon reflect each other's (light)
In your dignity Samoa from Saua to Agalega
Be satisfied that I will not explain it (because it is difficult)
Your sacredness is like a fish with many bones
Your genealogy (or honorifics) is one without doubt
All majesty and dignity are confined to God (to God).

This day is dignified and majestic (for the coming) of families and sons.
Sons and their family. Tumua and Pale, Itu'ai and also Alataua.

18 This proverb implies that it is not fitting to try and acknowledge in detail the majesty and the great feats of someone - especially the person or persons honoured for fear of leaving out important details. Then again, a great person needs not be praised in detail as he or she is above praise.
19 Samoa is referred to as having been made up of four distinguished families. Each of these families, tama (sons) is represented by one of the four prominent titles: Malietoa, Tupua, Mata'afa and Tuimaleali'i'ifano.
20 A reference to the 'Upolu villages of Lufilufi and Leulumoega. This name and the following are the ceremonial form of address used for the chief districts of Samoa as a whole. To enhance the status of the occasion, the names of specific districts, are referred to in honorifics.
21 Designating the six ruling villages on Savai'i.
The family in Tai\textsuperscript{24} and To'o o le Fua, Fa'apеа, Sua and Vaifanua
Fofo and Aitulagi\textsuperscript{25}, Itu'au and Aлатаua, Fa'atu'i\textsuperscript{26} and Ma'upu
To'oto'o o le Fale'ula and Tama a le Manu'a Tele.\textsuperscript{27}

This day is more dignified (for the coming) dignity of representatives of the
Church Assembly Advisory Committee, the senior ministers, ministers, choirs and
invited guests, the controlling committee for the day's events, the dignity of the
Congregation of EFKS in Hamilton
Chiefs and orators will not be touched by my word(s).

Ascend to heaven, as referred to by the King of A'ana, the Son of the Sky.
But I will spin the \textit{iji}\textsuperscript{28} (of Maina). The dignity of your minister
Mose Atimalala and wife, (totality of your honorifics), the apple of my eye.
Sit through the majesty of brothers, of chiefs and their families, the Sons of
Malietoa.
The dignity of Sa Taga and the words of Fuata.
The families of "promise" Sa Taulа and the Tualagi, the dignity of the Faletolu and
its branches.
The dignity of relatives and the majesty of talking chiefs. Tauaga eseese ia
Falealili.\textsuperscript{29}
The dignified presence of Tuitele, Fa'atui of the Island, the dignified presence of
Faivae in the security of the house.
The dignified presence of Ma'upu and the majesty of (you two with) Leoso.

Birds stand but quiver (with likelihood of falling) because you are
watching for I am not equal to your dignity.
Samoans who have gathered - if my language errs, please love us
(forgive us) and cast our misdeed at the mooring of the fleet.\textsuperscript{30}
The mornings at Sauа,\textsuperscript{31} Samana\textsuperscript{32} and Tumua

\textsuperscript{22}Faleata village, 'Upolу.
\textsuperscript{23}Safata village, 'Upolу.
\textsuperscript{24}The Sea Family (the villages of Manono and Apolima islands).
\textsuperscript{25}Sua, Vaifanua, Fofo and Itulagi are all districts of Tutuila island.
\textsuperscript{26}The founders of the villages of Manu'a.
\textsuperscript{27}The orators and sons of the king of the island of Manu'a.
\textsuperscript{28}An \textit{iji} is part of a shell of a nut which is used for making spinning tops.
\textsuperscript{29}The different branches of the district of Falealili.
\textsuperscript{30}Into the deep ocean.
\textsuperscript{31}The \textit{taeao} (morning) at Sauа (a beach near Fitiuta village, Manu'a) recalls the first \textit{ava}
ceremony in Samoa. Tatupu Fa'afetai Mata'a Fa'i Tu, \textit{Launga} (sic) \textit{Samoan Oratory}. (Suva and
Apia: University of the South Pacific and the National University of Samoa, 1987), p. 10.
I do not enter into violation thereof Samoa of your mornings 
But that in Mataniu of the Cast Shadow,\textsuperscript{32} of Malaeola and Gafuaga\textsuperscript{34} 
Also Faleu and Utuagiagi\textsuperscript{35} have stopped the shedding of blood.\textsuperscript{36} 
But the best morning (is when) the EFKS flag is raised, 
The Church of the Risen Christ is to be sanctified.

\textbf{Report on the Work (Project)}

(1) The previous land - was not appropriate 
Another way was sought - another land was sought 
Exchange of land accepted - re-purchasing of land 
Amount owing - twenty-nine thousand dollars. 
The agreement was reached - remember though 
Thanking it was accepted - twenty-five years. 
Church get ready - work with joy 
The mortgage must be paid off - Two years and some months time for it to be paid. 
To finish it (24th day) in July - (the year) 1984.

(2) Fund-raising and offerings continued 
(Because we are) determined to do it - the church and house 
Before a whole year ended - one hundred and three thousand (dollars) was raised. 
Only one accord - the work should be started 
Problems emerged - you were determined though. 
The Church (building) was not permitted - in particular locations

\textsuperscript{32}The \textit{taeo} at Samana (a site in Satupa'itea village, Savai'i) which celebrates the occasion when the boy Salevao stopped crying. \textit{Tu'i, Launga (sic) Samoan Oratory}, pp. 10-11.

\textsuperscript{33}The \textit{taeo} at Mataniu Feagaimaleata (the name of the \textit{malaefono} at Sapapali'i village, Savai'i). This is the \textit{taeo} of the London Missionary Society Church (now the Congregational Church) in Samoa, celebrating the arrival in 1830 of the missionaries John Williams and Charles Barff at Sapapali', and subsequent acceptance by Chief Malietoa Vainiupo. \textit{Tu'i, Launga (sic) Samoan Oratory}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{34}The \textit{taeo} at Malaeola and Gafuaga the \textit{malaefono} of, respectively Lealatele and Patamea villages, Savai'i). An important \textit{taeo} in the history of the Roman Catholic church, celebrating the arrival in 1845 of priests at Lealatele village and their acceptance by the chief Tuala Talipope. \textit{Tu'i, Launga (sic) Samoan Oratory}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{35}The \textit{taeo} at Faleu and Utuagiagi (the name of two of the \textit{malaefono} of Manono). This \textit{taeo} is important in the history of the Samoan Methodist church celebrating the arrival in 1835 at the island of Manono of the first Methodist missionary (Peter Turner) and his subsequent acceptance by Chief Lei'ataua Putetele. \textit{Tu'i, Launga (sic) Samoan Oratory}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{36}This refers to the peace that resulted from the arrival of Christianity in Samoa. Samoans had been fighting some of its bloodiest battles just before the arrival of John Williams and the other missionaries in 1830. All these statements refer to Samoan honorific verbosity or distinguished oratory of Western and Eastern Samoa. All refer to the dignity of their representatives among the gathering.
Three years it took to clear it - with lawyers and city councillors
It was good (thanks) permission was granted - a drawing was made.
But it was unsatisfactory
There was no house for the minister to live in
The old house where he lived was going to be taken apart.

(3) The 23rd of September - 1990
The work to being - lawyer sought
Fuimaono was difficult to find - he was too far away
A suggestion (Viliamu) The right lawyer lived in the area
The plan is to build the Hall and the Church together.37
Application to the Bank - withdraw more
Three hundred thousand (dollars) raised - congregation's money
The Church and the Hall - and also the school rooms.

(4) The application is accepted - pay in twenty-five years
Just one hundred thousand dollars - given by the Church.
Five hundred and sixty thousand - the cost of the project.
But Bill Pawley - the carpenter - was chosen
His helpers were two
The congregation all work for the money to be paid off
The contract - Samoan carpenter sought
Coolness of the water - for help in my weakness38

Ways of Finding Money

(1) Fund raising (money) took place
Fathers and Mothers
Those who worshipped on Sunday
Talent quests and dancing (traditional)

Groups were divided
Two offerings in the month
Each offered two dollars
Name registration and also stalls.

(2) Housie every week
Then each group was turned to
Also the Youth Group
The Congregation is small

No luck in the show
Choir and the Sunday School
Especially the Women's Fellowship
One hundred and twenty including children.

37 The church and hall run on the same axis under a single roof and are separated by sliding doors.
38 We are sorry, this is all our weak hands could bring. It refers to the smallness of the gift they have brought with them. (In actual fact the Newton PIPC church gift of $24,800 was the largest gift brought by any visiting church).
(3) My soul praises peacefully
Your simple beginnings
You worked day and night
Hence it is answered
Who knew these mysteries
The treasured name of Samoa
Though your body is small
You smashed mountain rocks
Truly, truly, Pili Kalama said
"Nothing is impossible - when you put your trust in God
Nothing is impossible - when you put your trust in God."

When I hear your story
Asking in you prayer
Mose you have overcome all
You have now written a story
Flying like a white bird
Your achievements are great
The Church now stands

A Look at Your Project

(1) Hey - look - your Church is standing
If you look from a distance - it looks like a hotel
Seen from the road - Like a long (Samoan) house (viewed) from the end
The porch - magnificent (groovie) 39 - Samoan house styled its body
That's the sign - Samoa for God - God for Samoa 40
Look to the left side - enter carefully
The sign also like that - one should have humility
And also have Grace of God the Father.

(2) Beautiful is your Church - enter and look
Look at its location/placing - parts of worship
There are no windows - at the eaves are the symbols
of He who is in a secret place, one who is with the Father.
The Light - Preaching of His word from up in the pulpit
Sign of endeavour - the good news of life
For Youth and Sunday School - the rooms attached to the Church
The paramount sign - pure ways

(3) Look over - Church of the Risen Christ
Victorious Jesus - over death and grave 41
That's your church - its name is complete
But our sins - are forgiven because
Your house - is named Samoana - as a memorial to the people

39 Oka, oka is a colloquial expression with exclamation and emphasis.
40 Motto of Western Samoa.
41 Refers to Christian salvation through Jesus Christ. It is becoming a popular cultural slogan.
Congratulations in the Good News\textsuperscript{42} -  
The highest honour Samoa could give\textsuperscript{43}  
And also for the servant\textsuperscript{44} - Jesus the Light.  
Samoa remember your life - is founded upon God.  

\*

Mose and Safaiva blessed are you - Depended upon parents\textsuperscript{45}  
Dependable in anything - There sits Jose Patea  
Those who work, those who plan, 'Anamaitau, 'Ape and Leota.  
Fa'amatuainu, Lealali and Asenati the Mother,  
Tafaimalo all know - true heirs of Manusamoa  
The warrior that Malietoa spoke of - and I want to be part of that too.  
This Church is beautiful - God's praise be of the Highest.  

All is good - All is good  
Lend us your ears - to other stories of the work  
"Yes." All its rafters were hard to put up.  
"Just an hour" for the use of the machine - but the strength of the people\textsuperscript{46}  
Straighten - place straight - hold still/firm - watch out you don't fall down  
It was ordered in Auckland - fifty-two thousand dollars it cost.  
"Yes" Look at the door - divides the Hall and the Church  
"It's built" Built with wood - from the people of Pirongia  
Three hundred people fit into the Church  
The Hall - designed to fit seven hundred  
The doors came - the house was too big  
The Cross - up there - and two windows shades it.\textsuperscript{47}  

\textsuperscript{42}Tala lelei is the "Good News". It refers to the spreading of the story of salvation through Jesus Christ throughout (the world) the Pacific Islands.  
\textsuperscript{43}Fa'atupu in this sense refers to the bestowal of the highest chiefly attributes to the Christian God.  
\textsuperscript{44}The minister of the new church, Rev Mose Atimalala and his service to Jesus Christ.  
\textsuperscript{45}Vao ola interprets as rich forest (the source of food). Tua i le vao ola i nai matua the rich source of sustenance from the elders (of the church).  
\textsuperscript{46}Possibly a crane, but the phrase "the strength of the people" means that much of the work was done by human hands.  
\textsuperscript{47}There is a raised area set in the roof high above the sanctuary. The sides facing east and west are made up of two windows of green glass. Each window displays a red glass cross.
Look now to the carpark - all the lamps that cover the grounds
Mose you are Number One - in everything
Four (security) lights in the front - automatically operated
Come on with a crime
Congregation come - be happy and embrace
Your work now stands - Let’s praise God - Thanks.

*****

(1) My heart marvels at its magnificence - realizing your love
Spiritual parents and children - offering of the pulpit
The Sacrament table is also fully paid
This is the love of Tafa’imalo - and Sina and family
The carpet and vinyl - from the Mothers of the Church
The Senior Deacon - the three chairs in the pulpit
The Family of Milo - the lectern for the Bible
Loud speakers - from Lealali and Fofoga Leilua.

(2) Above the communion table - the chandelier with many parts
Realized with the love of the children of Leota and Tili’ilagi
Senior Mother Asenati - 'Ananaitu and Family
The glass cabinet to store - the holy things of worship
Fa’amatuainu Se’ula - the utensils (heaters) for electricity
From ‘Ape and Aoto’a Su’a electric saws for the Church
The glass cross - placed up on the top
It is from Safaiva and the teachers of the Sunday School
Congratulations Keilani and also Setefano
Fathers of the Church - land developer and electrician
All these things are done - but seen all by He who knows all
He rewards - one hundredfold - from heaven

*****
The Reaching of the Goal

Let us be one
All is well
My entertainment is now finished.

There are many words about peace - but none about tragedy
The praises of our Chief - are at the top of our souls (thoughts)
Peace be unto you - my flower\textsuperscript{48} is now cast forward
My skirt\textsuperscript{49} is too small - my garland too is not big enough.\textsuperscript{50}

When a time comes to say goodbye
I remember in my heart the farewell of the King of Fiji and
the King of Manu'a
King Manu'a, (Goodbye), Goodbye - Farewell.
Your love will not be kept outwardly - in case it is damped
King Manu'a (Goodbye Farewell) Because of your love
I will keep it between my heart and my lungs.

\textsuperscript{48}\textit{Sei}, a flower worn on the ear. Instead of a flower each performer wore a ten dollar note on his or her ear. At this point in the song the money was thrown onto the floor as an extra donation. This action was repeated the following day when as winning choir they again presented their song after the feast. See Figures 67 and 68.

\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Titi}, a skirt made of fibers, paper or flax and worn by entertainers.

\textsuperscript{50}The symbolism of these phrases highlights the feelings of inadequacy of the visitors (The PIPC Church of Newton) in not giving a big enough gift to help the Hamilton Church with the project.
APPENDIX EIGHT

THE HIERARCHY OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY (the Prophet and two Counselors)\(^51\)


FIRST QUORUM OF THE SEVENTY
(Up to seventy men called for life)

SECOND QUORUM OF THE SEVENTY
(Up to seventy men called for five years)

THE PRESIDING BISHOPRIC
(The Presiding Bishop and two counselors)

AREA PRESIDENCIES
Each Area Presidency is made up of three men from either of the Quorums of the Seventy.

MELCHIZEDEK PRIESTHOOD
High Priests Patriarchs
The Seventy Elders

AARONIC PRIESTHOOD
Priests Teachers
Elders Deacons

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

STAKES Stake Presidencies\(^52\)
WARDS Bishoprics/Branch Pres.

MISSIONS Mission Presidencies
DISTRICTS District Presidencies
BRANCHES Branch Presidencies

GENERAL AUXILIARY OFFICERS\(^53\)

SUNDAY SCHOOL - RELIEF SOCIETY - YOUNG MEN - YOUNG WOMEN - PRIMARY
(all LDS attend) (women 18 & over) (12-18 years) (12-18 years) (children)
Two Counselors Two Counselors Two Counselors Two Counselors Two Couns.

TABLE 1: The Hierarchy of the LDS Church

\(^{51}\)The First Presidency, Quorum of the Twelve, the Seventies and the Presiding Bishopric are all classed as General Authorities (GAs).

\(^{52}\)Stake Presidents report directly to the Area Presidency. District Presidents report to the Mission President who reports to the Area Presidency.

\(^{53}\)This same pattern of a president and two counselors follows to the Stake level and then to the Ward/Branch level, within each of these auxiliary organizations. Training and encouragement are given from the General level at Church headquarters to stakes which in turn instruct the Wards/Branches.
Latter-day Saints believe that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the restoration of the original Church which Jesus Christ established during his mortal ministry. Because of the apostacy from the original gospel and the subsequent removal of the priesthood from the earth following the death of the Apostles, this necessitated a complete restoration rather than a reformation.

The restoration began in 1820 when God the Father and Jesus Christ appeared in a vision to the 14-year-old Joseph Smith in response to his earnest prayer to know which church he should join. Joseph was told to join no existing church, and in this and ensuing events he was instructed by heavenly beings regarding his mission in restoring the true gospel to earth.

Latter-day Saints believe that on 15 May 1829, the resurrected John the Baptist conferred the Aaronic Priesthood on Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery. The following month, three heavenly messengers, Peter, James and John, the apostles of old, conferred the Melchizedek Priesthood on them and ordained them to the Holy Apostleship. Following the restoration of the priesthood, the church was organized on 6 April 1830. The Church was named by the Lord, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It bears the name of his original church; the term "Latter-day" distinguishes the Church today from the early organization, and "Saints" is the original biblical term simply meaning ‘faithful of the Church’. The Lord continues to lead his church through revelation and his wisdom has continued to inspire the succeeding prophets of the First Presidency.

As part of the restoration the prophet Joseph Smith was divinely directed to translate ancient scriptures including the Book of Mormon, the latter being from ancient metal plates. These recorded the history of some early settlers of the American continents and how Jesus Christ revealed himself to them after his Resurrection.

Mormons teach that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a theocracy. That is, it is governed by the Lord and all directives travels from the top in a downward direction. Below the Lord Jesus Christ are the General Authorities

54 The main Mormon scriptures are:
The Book of Mormon, a record from groups of Israelites who lived in ancient America.
The Holy Bible, (King James Version, OT and NT) a record from the Jews.
The Doctrine and Covenants, a compilation of revelations on many subjects pertaining to the Church received by Joseph Smith and a few other prophets.
The Pearl of Great Price which contains the Book of Moses, the Book of Abraham and other translations from papyri, and writings of Joseph Smith.
(GAs). The First Presidency consists of the divinely inspired Prophet and two Counselors.\textsuperscript{55} Next comes the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles who as a body are equal in authority to the First Presidency. Below this level are the First Quorum of the Seventy who are called for life and the Second Quorum of Seventy who are called for five years service. Another level of the GAs consists of The Presiding Bishopric. "This body holds jurisdiction over the duties of the other bishops in the Church, and of all activities and organisations pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood."\textsuperscript{56} As church policy is well established only matters of a serious or unusual nature or questions on church policy are directed as far up as the Seventies, Apostles or First Presidency. Most of the decisions are made on a local level, in counsel with each other, and with the help of the Lord.

The world is divided into areas.\textsuperscript{57} The Apostles and the Seventy are assigned to these. Australia, New Zealand, Samoa and other Pacific islands are in the Pacific Area. Over this stands the Area Presidency consisting of the President and two Counselors who are based in Sydney.

New Zealand is divided into regions: North Auckland, Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington and Christchurch. In New Zealand there are three Regional Representatives who are, on behalf of the Area Presidency, responsible for training stake and district presidents in their region.

Today (1994) there are eight stakes in the Auckland regions - Kaikohe, Harbour, Henderson, Mt Roskill, Panmure, Tamaki, Manukau, Manurewa, plus one district - Northland. A stake is overseen by the Stake Presidency: the President and two Counselors; and twelve High Councilors.\textsuperscript{58} A stake is made up of a number of wards, each presided over by a bishop and two counselors.

In 1991 Mt Roskill Stake was composed of eleven wards: Third Ward, Eighth Ward, Eighteenth Ward, Panmure Ward, Glen Innes Ward, Saineha First Ward and

\textsuperscript{55}The day the prophet dies the First Presidency is dissolved; the Quorum of the Twelve, as a body, then governs the church until the new president is called. Historically, the president of the Quorum of the Twelve has always become the new president of the church. The basis of every unit in the Church is that of a president or a bishop plus two counselors." (Clerks are not members of the presidency.) The auxiliary organizations (which are "aids and helps to the priesthood") also follow the structure of a president and two counselors.

\textsuperscript{56}James E. Talmage, \textit{Articles of Faith}. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter­day Saints, 1987), p. 211.

\textsuperscript{57}According to the Ensign the total number of members worldwide was 9,000,000 in November 1994, of which 83,352 were New Zealand members.

\textsuperscript{58}The spelling of Councilors in this instance is correct.
Saineha Second Ward (Tongan wards), Vaea First Ward and Vaea Second Ward (Samoan wards) Wesley Ward and a newly formed ward. However, today it has only seven wards due to a new stake (Panmure Stake) being formed in 1994 from part of the Mt Roskill Stake and part of the Tamaki Stake. This division was due to growth in the Church. Today in the Mt Roskill Stake are: Auckland 3rd Ward, Auckland 8th Ward, Auckland 18th Ward, Onehunga Ward, Saineha 2nd (Tongan) Ward, Vaea 2nd (Samoan) Ward and Wesley Ward.

There are branches under the districts and they are under the Mission President. Missions are separate from stakes. But there are also branches in the stakes. Branches are small units that are not big enough to be wards. Even smaller than that are the Home Sunday Schools. For example, Great Barrier Island has a branch while Waiheke Island has a Home Sunday School. The branches have Branch Presidents who are comparable to bishops in their sphere of activity. Wards meet in chapels and if two or three wards use the same buildings they will meet at different times on Sundays. Separate office facilities are provided for the bishops.

The Apostles and Area Presidencies instruct the stake and mission presidents. They are also responsible for the programme of missionary work. There are about 350 missionaries working in New Zealand in 1994. Men are called for two years while women serve for eighteen months.

There are two descent lines in the church. The *ecclesiastical* line is the spiritual line descending from the First Presidency through to the Bishops. This looks after the spiritual and physical welfare of every individual. The staff or *temporal* line looks after all the physical facilities and supplies of the church. People working on building programmes or teaching in church schools and colleges are paid as are those with positions in the Regional Offices, and the workers in seminaries and institutes. Building custodians are paid. Those holding positions such as those of bishops, presidents, teachers, organists, clerks and missionaries are unpaid; likewise those running the Family History Centres (genealogical libraries) are unpaid.

There are no promotional positions. People serve in positions to which they are called until they are released or called to other positions. Somebody might want to make a decision, but he cannot have his way just because he feels like it. It has 59

59I deliberately use the male prepositions here as I did not hear inclusive language used by Mormons in this context. Although some denominations have been trying to give the priesthood to women, the LDS Church believes that the priesthood is a male's responsibility. Men and women are equal in the eyes of God and of the church; their roles, however, are complementary. Women are able to serve extensively in the church and are eligible for all necessary blessings.
to be within the policies and the laws because it is not a democratic society. The Church is led by the Lord himself and the individual is taught to be obedient and disciplined to the unity of the whole.

**Samoan Wards in New Zealand**

In the Auckland region there are over two thousand Samoan members. Originally Pacific Islanders worshipped in English-speaking integrated wards. However in Samoa, services are conducted in Samoan and a few years ago Samoan-speakers in New Zealand requested that they be able to worship in their mother tongue. In September 1994 there were thirteen Samoan language wards in New Zealand.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Harbour Stake</th>
<th>Liahona Ward</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henderson Stake</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manukau Stake</td>
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<td>Manukau Stake</td>
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<td>Manurewa Stake</td>
<td>Alema Ward</td>
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<td>Mt Roskill Stake</td>
<td>Vaea 2nd Ward</td>
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<td>Panmure Stake</td>
<td>Vaea 1st Ward</td>
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<td>Tamaki Stake</td>
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<td>Wymondley Ward</td>
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<td>Upper Hutt Stake</td>
<td>Hutt Valley Ward</td>
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<td>Wellington Stake</td>
<td>Ascot Park Ward</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christchurch Stake</td>
<td>Wainoni Branch.</td>
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</tbody>
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**Sunday Programme**

This lasts three hours and is divided into three sections: Sacrament Meeting; Sunday School; and then Priesthood, Relief Society, Young Women and Primary.

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60 The six Samoan units in Auckland would have over 2,000 members. However, as there are also many Samoans attending non-Samoan units, and as the Church does not keep statistics on race, it is not possible to say what proportion of Auckland church members are Samoan.

61 If the ward meets on a Sunday morning then they use the church facilities from 9 am until noon. Another ward may then have their meetings from 1-4 pm. The following year the two wards exchange the meeting times.
Sacrament Meeting

The front end of a Mormon chapel is raised to the height of four or five steps. At the center is the pulpit. Directly behind this facing the congregation, between the First and Second Counselors sits the Bishop. The main speakers for the day may also sit here. Behind them are a series of rising seats for the choir or other groups taking part in the meeting. To one side is the piano while to the other is the organ. The Ward Clerk sits near the organ and takes notes throughout the meeting. Nearby sits the Music Director. The sacrament table is at floor level at the left hand side of the congregation. The sacrament bread and water are covered with a white cloth. Behind it sit two young men who have at least priest status. The chapel seating is divided by two side aisles into three sections. The congregation sits in family units. (Not all LDS chapels are set out exactly in this way but this is quite typical.)

Order of Service

Prelude music.
Opening hymn. All hymns are sung from a seated position. A man or woman conducts the congregational singing from the front. The people usually sing from their own hymn books.62

A prayer is delivered by a member of the congregation from the pulpit. The Bishop announces such things as who was baptised the day before.63 Their names are presented for the sustaining vote from the congregation. The congregation raises their right hands in consent.

Sacrament hymn. During the singing of this hymn two young men prepare the sacrament bread. They break it up with their hands. The bread is blessed. One young man kneels and offers a prayer while the other stands. The small trays of bread are then handed to several young males of the Aaronic Priesthood who distribute it to the congregation. Each person takes a piece and eats it straight away.

In a similar manner the water is blessed and handed out. The water is drunk from small plastic cups which are then dropped into the central part of the tray before the next person receives their water. The young men take their bread and water last before returning to sit with their families. This part of the meeting is conducted in silent reverence.

The speakers for the day present their talks. Often speakers end with a testimony that they know that Jesus Christ is the head of the Church, that the Gospel of the Latter-day Saints is the true gospel, that the Bible and the Book of Mormon are true, that Joseph Smith was a true prophet and they thank God for his love,

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63People can be baptised on any day but Saturday is usually a more convenient day.
and for the love of their parents and families and for other sustaining members of the Church.

The Bishop then makes closing remarks.

Closing hymn.

The benediction is said from the pulpit by a member of the congregation.

Church announcements.

**Sunday School**

Sunday School follows almost immediately. Members go to various age-related classes which commence with prayer. There are many classes including Gospel Doctrine for the older people, a young marrieds class, and a full range of classes for youth, primary school and pre-school children, and a nursery for the babies. Another study group is run for non-members and new members. In an ethnic ward the older people conduct their class in their mother tongue as do one of the two groups for 18-30 year olds, but the rest of the classes are in English. Sometimes a twelve week teacher development course runs for teachers.

The lessons are sent from the headquarters in Salt Lake City and are correlated worldwide so that everyone in the entire Church studies the same topic each week. A full coverage of the scriptures is rotated through a four year cycle.

**Priesthood, Relief Society, Young Women and Primary**

Those in attendance meet in either of the above groups for the final hour. (NB the priesthood is not an auxiliary.) Each organization has its own presidency: a president and two counselors plus a secretary, organist, music director and teachers. After an opening exercise they separate into classes to follow instruction and lessons appropriate to the individuals age, status and level of spiritual understanding.

Mormons believe that the priesthood is the authority delegated to man to act in the name of the Lord (to perform the necessary ordinances, to administer the church and) to bless the lives of their families and others. There are two priesthoods: the Aaronic and the Melchizedek. In ascending order, the deacons, teachers and priests belong to the Aaronic Priesthood. These are usually made up of the young men under the age of eighteen. Above them are the elders, the seventy and the high priests of the Melchizedek Priesthood.

The women make up the Relief Society while the Young Women consist of three groups for the twelve through seventeen year olds. The children's auxiliary,
called the Primary, caters for the three to eleven year olds and is divided into several groups including the nursery.

**Religious Education**

As well as the Church College of New Zealand (3rd-7th form High School) at Temple View near Hamilton, the Mormon Church runs a religious education programme under the The Church Education Systems (CES) Co-ordinator. In each ward a seminary caters for high school students and they meet with their teacher, every morning, Monday to Friday after 6 am for one hour before High School. The daily programme includes a hymn, a prayer, familiarity with scriptural texts, the daily lesson and a closing prayer.

School leavers are encouraged to carry on with Institute. This is a weekly class based either at different Campuses: (polytechnic, university, the College of Education) or at an Institute Building or local meeting house. Experience has shown that the principles, values and discipline learnt through regularly attending these classes is of great value to the young people and helps strengthen them as they prepare to face the conflicts, problems, peer pressure and temptations of the modern world.

The Church teaches its members that education is a really important and continual thing. As with all facets of life, direction is found in the scriptures.

*Doctrine and Covenants*, 88: 77-80.

77. And I give unto you a commandment that you shall teach one another the doctrine of the kingdom.

78. Teach ye diligently and my grace shall attend you, that you may be instructed more perfectly in theory, in principle, in doctrine, in the law of the Gospel, in all things that pertain unto the Kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand;

79. Of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad: the wars and the perplexities of the nations, and the judgements which are on the land; and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms - 80. That ye may be prepared in all things when I shall send you again to magnify the calling whereunto I have called you, and the mission with which I have commissioned you.

**Welfare Programme**

The main aims of the Church's welfare programme are personal and family preparedness through literacy and education; social, emotional and spiritual
strength; career development; physical health; financial and resource management; and home production and storage. Members are asked not only to store a one year supply of food but also other essentials such as clothing, for short and long time emergencies. There is a handbook called *Essentials of Home Production and Storage* (1978). The programme deals not only with the spiritual but also with social and practical matters. One woman said to me:

It's hard, a real discipline to do the programme but it is like the scriptures say - those that hear and do it are the ones who are better off when disaster comes. Those who are obedient to it will reap the reward when it comes to hard times, they will find out.

Priesthood members are assigned to visit certain families each month, and any difficulties are reported that back to the bishop. The Relief Society also provides visiting teachers who in twos visit their Church sisters and report to the bishop if help is needed in the form of food, clothing, or other temporal or spiritual needs.

Family Home Evening

Every Monday evening is set aside for the family. Single people are advised to join together to form their own Family Home Evening groups. The Church provides a resource book which contains such things as: counselling and talking to your children, parent interviews, reading the scriptures together, enjoying playing together, family prayers, and lessons and activities where one can talk about building a strong family; to teach family members to come together. This is also an opportunity to discuss any problems and the welfare of the family.
APPENDIX NINE

CHURCH AND SACRED SPACE FEATURES QUESTIONNAIRE

18 March 1991

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University of Otago
PO Box 56
DUNEDIN

One of the main aims of this survey is to examine the variety of Samoan church buildings in New Zealand. What features are being adopted to give the churches a particular Samoan flavour? What are the trends? How is this enhancing the congregation's experience of worship?

Name of church and associated buildings
Is there a church notice board and letter head.
Name of church
Address
Name of Hall/House
Minister
Time of services

History
What is the background of this congregation?

buildings: hired given
adapted built

When was this church and hall built and dedicated?
Who made the decisions about buying or building a church?
What was the general response of the congregation?
Is the church paid for?
What were some of the main fund raising activities?
Overall form and style of the buildings

Floor plan
Relate the churches to living activities, worship, people.
placement of sanctuary
pulpit
lectern
font
crying room

Seating arrangements
capacity in church, room
choir
youth
visitors
special

Music
musical instruments
organ
guitars

How is the church building used
What sort of services
wedding
conferences

Who hires the buildings?
What activities take place during the week?
pre-schools
creches
functions for elderly
meeting place for others

Does the space purposively allow for large groups for choirs and pageants to assemble in the sanctuary area, children's days.
What room is there for processions?
Liturgy - order
How is communion served?
elders or deacons? how many?
special occasions - ordination and induction services.
White/Children’s Sunday
choirs and contests?
baptisms - how often and when?

Decoration details and special Samoan features:
colour scheme lights
carpets windows
pulpit and lectern falls wall decorations tapa ‘ie tōga sinnet
Bible texts on communion table rafters
banners flowers
clocks organ
special gifts in memory of people plaques

Minister’s gown
Monograms and decorations on minister’s stoles

What clothing do people generally wear to church?
Are there any changing trends?
Hats?
Does the choir have a uniform or gowns
Does the women’s fellowship have blazers, a uniform
The autalavou

Monogram on church crockery Church letterhead

Presents to the church
What presents have been given to the church
Do they relate to the person’s occupation, aspirations etc.
Is there a special personal reason for a family wishing to donate a particular item?
What is the motivation?
GLOSSARY OF SAMOAN TERMS

'āiavā: A farewell feast followed by the presentation of gifts. This social function is usually put on as a farewell for a visiting group of people.

'āiga: Family, extended family, descent group or kinship in all its dimensions.

aitu: Spirit, ghost, a supernatural being.

ao: The top-most title in a hierarchy of Samoan chiefly titles. e.g. Ao o fa'alupega - the paramount title on which all the honorific address and honour due to a group of matai titles rest.

a'oa'o: Theological student, (pre-faife'au); term applied to pre-ordained ministers or faife'au without a parish.

'aulotu: Congregation.

'aulalavou: Group of young people of both sexes. This is usually associated with church organizations.

Afioga: Honorific term of address recognising the honour of a high chief. It comes before the chief's title. (See also Susuga).

agāga: Soul, spirit.

ali'i: One of the two orders of matai, a 'high chief' as opposed to a 'talking chief' or orator. It is also a polite word for men - gentleman, gentlemen.

aloali'i: Son of a paramount chief. Son of a tupu or king.

āmio tatau: Correct behaviour.

āmio ta'uleleia: Praiseworthy behaviour.

The glossary is based on the dictionaries of Milner (1966) and Pratt (1893) and supplemented with additional information from Afioga Le Mamea Sefulu Ioane. It is also acknowledged that contemporary Samoan usage does differ from the way certain words are presented here. The order of words follows the Samoan alphabet: a e i o u f g l m n p s t v h k r.
ämio taupulea: Self-regulated behaviour, controlled behaviour.

'amiga: Ceremony marking the acceptance by a church minister (or faife'au) of a request by a congregation (or village) for him to be their faife'au. The procedures might also involve the formal inauguration of the faife'au into his new parish.

'anae: Mullet.

atua: God.

'ava: Kava (piper methisticum). Special ceremony welcoming guests. In such a ceremony the powdered root of the kava plant is mixed with water and taken by people participating in the collective welcome.

i'aeva: Species of ocean mullet with a ring of red around the mouth and traditionally associated with the village of Pu'apu'a, Savai'i, where it spawns.

'ie: Cloth, finely plaited or woven fabric. Abbreviated form of 'ie tōga.

'ie o le osigāfeagaiga: 'Ie tōga of the covenant between a village (congregation) and their church minister or faife'au.

'ie o le māvaega: The fine mat of the parting or farewell.

'ie 'ula: An 'ie tōga which is decorated with one or more rows of red feathers.

'ie fa'atupu: Royal fine mat of the king.

'ie lelei: 'Ie tōga of good quality.

'ie sili or 'ie tōga sili: 'Ie tōga of excellent quality.

'ie tāua or 'ie tōga tāua: 'Ie tōga of excellent quality. See 'ie sili.

'ie tōga: Samoan 'fine mat'.

tifoga: Ceremony of contrition aimed at achieving reconciliation between contending parties.
inaga: Name of the fry of a small fish found in certain coastal areas of Samoa.

igaga: colloquial version of inaga.

o'o i le nu'u: Presentation of food and other gifts including 'ie tōga to the village.

'ofu o le fatu: Pig's heart wrapped with banana leaves and baked in an umu.

'oloa: Wealth including food, tools, canoes, houses, money and artifacts. Also a quantity of 'ie tōga or Samoan fine mats. The term is sometimes used in conjunction with mālō, when referring to a collection of 'ie tōga in an exchange of gifts at a traditional Samoan ceremony.

oti: The term used to refer to the death of an ordinary person.

'ula: Necklace. A garland of flowers, red pandanus fruit or other decorative materials.

umu: Samoan ground oven created from hot stones on which food is baked (or steamed) and covered with leaves from broad-leaved plants such as those of the taro family, banana, breadfruit and others.

usita'i: Obey.

usufono: Polite term used to refer to the death of a tulafale. It also means attending a fono ('meeting' or 'conference').

fa'aaloalo: Politeness, respectful behaviour. Gift acknowledging the high status of a person.

fa'aeaga e le nu'u: Ceremony marking the reinstatement of a banished person by the village.

fa'aiopoipoaga: A formal wedding, marriage celebration requiring the redistribution of property.

fa'aulufalega: The ceremony marking the opening of a new or renovated building.

fa'a-failelegi-tama: Ceremony in which the family of a married woman who has given birth to a baby visits the newly-born child at the home of the father, where the couple and the baby reside. The ceremony involves an exchange of gifts between the two families.
fa'ālavelave: Colloquial term which is usually applied to occasions or events in the life of Samoans, where people are expected by custom to expend material wealth or services. Such events include weddings, funerals, celebratory social functions and community projects.

fa'alupega: The honorific greetings or polite reference to a chief, family or village. The traditional names and origin of a person. A formal expression of recognition or greeting associated with a matai title. Each village and district has a set of fa'alupega which act as a constitution by expressing the rank of each title.

fa'amauiga: Blessing.

fa'amāvae: Farewell.

fa'amāvaega: A farewell (noun); a last statement or testament.

fa'amata'u: To frighten.

fa'amoemoega: Trust, hope, aspiration for the future. It is derived from the word fa'amoemoe ('to entrust, to hope for [something in the future]')

fa'a-Samoan: The Samoan way of life, Samoan Custom, Samoan traditions.

fa'ataua: Debate by tulafale or orators to determine the speaker at a gathering of Samoans.

faife'au: Priest, pastor, minister of religion.

faife'au toea'ina: Elder minister. Mos: senior pastor in a pulega ('administrative district') both in age and service.

faigālotu: Family religious service. An evening service which is held for a dead person prior to the funeral service. Literally 'to make the prayers'. Religious service.

fāgogo: Samoan folklore. A type of story told mostly at night, privately, inside individual homes.

fale: A house, building or shelter.

falelauasiga: Burial ceremony.
fale lālaga: House where 'ie tōga and other mats are woven.

fale sā: Church (building).

faletua: The wife of an ali'i, also a polite usage for any married woman.

feagaiga: Agreement or covenant. Polite term applied to pastors, priests and religious ministers. It also refers to the covenant between the minister and his congregation.

fiafia: Happy; entertainment where singing and dancing take place. State of being happy.

fiu: To be tired of or bored with something, in the sense that one becomes weary of repetition or a lack of variation.

fofō: To massage; traditional healer or masseur. The polite word for fofō is taulāsea.

folafola: To announce publicly (the gifts presented to guests) or any other matter worthy of public attention.

fono: Council; meeting.

fono tele: Annual general meeting of the Christian Congregational Church of Samoan (CCCS, formerly LMS). A large meeting.

fue: Ceremonial "fly swish" ('whisk') worn over the shoulder by Samoan tulafale or orator and made from coconut fibres lashed to a short wooden handle with braided sennit.

gafa: Family linkage through marriage.

lafo: Gift in the form of an 'ie tōga, money or goods presented to a person as an expression of friendship, good will or even payment for services or favours rendered.

lāgaga: A colloquial form of the word lālaga ('weave').

lagi: ('sky'). The abode of Tagaloaalagi, the creator deity. The Samoan ritual for the presentation of gifts and 'ie tōga marking the death of an ali'i.
lālaga: To plait or weave. The technique of finger weaving and by extension weaving of a loom or knitting. Common 'ie tōga of quality lower than 'ie sili or 'ie fa'atupu.

lavalava: A length of cloth wrapped around the lower half of the body, extending to the knees, and secured at the waist.

leo: (to guard') The different church choirs conducting services at the home of a deceased person in order to support the family members who sit in guard of the deceased.

liu tōfaga: The ceremony which is performed should a family wish to move the remains of a person.

lotu: A religious service sometimes consisting mainly of a prayer or prayers, bible reading and hymns. Smaller versions of this model are common.

ma'afa'avae: Foundation stone.

ma'a sālafa: 'Smooth' flat stone. Metaphor used in speeches to acknowledge one's pleasure at his or her warm reception. "Ua ou nofo i luga o le ma'a sālafa". ("I sit on the flat stone") meaning, 'Thank you for receiving me well, I feel greatly honoured'.

ma'i: Sick, sickness.

ma'i aitu: Illness due to ghosts or evil spirits.

malae: Open space within a village where traditional ceremonies, social activities and public meetings are held. It is an area of high social importance.

malaga: Journey. Colloquial term referring to a group of people on a journey ('aumalaga).

mālalamalama: The time of enlightenment. To be civilized as after the adoption of Christianity.

maliega: Agreement.

maliu: Polite term for death. The whole process concerning death.
mālō: Term applied to a collection of fine mats. Colloquial term used in referring
to 'ie tōga. e.g. "E fia le mālō?" ("How many fine mats are there?").
Government, the conquerors who were given the power to govern by
Nafanua.

mana: Supernatural power, exceptional power possessed by someone.

mānaia: Son of an ali'i and leader of young men.

manini: Species of small tropical seawater fish. Reference denoting the
insignificance of a person.

Manu Samoa: Name of Western Samoa's national rugby team.

masiofo: Wife of a tupu ('king') or a paramount chief.

matai: The traditional leader and representative of an 'āiga who holds a title
bestowed by that 'āiga; custodian of land and property of that 'āiga. A
chief. There are two orders of matai: ali'i ('high chief') and tulafale
('talking chief' or 'orator').

māvaega: Death wish, will, farewell, command or promise (usually by a person
of authority at the approach of a parting or even death). A fine mat
presented to honour the departure or death of a loved person.

mu'umu'u: Mother Hubbard style of dress inherited from the early European
missionaries' wives.

pa'ia: Hallowed, sacred, holy. e.g. "ua pa'ia le asō ona o lō outou āfiofio mai".
("The day is hallowed because of your presence").

palolo: A seafood delicacy belonging to the polychaetes group of segmented
worms which live in the substrata of the fringing reefs.

pāpā: General term applied to titles of high chiefs indicating their prominent
position in the hierarchy of such leaders.

papālagi: European, white person. Commonly used in the simplified form of
pālagi.

pēnina: Pearl.
pōuliuli: The time of darkness, heathen, unenlightened.

pōpese: Night of singing. Nowadays, the pōpese is adopted by churches and cultural organizations as a concept to assist in fundraising and friendly competition among participating choirs. Money raised by New Zealand-based churches during a pōpese could reach as much as $100,000 or more on the day.

pule: Authority, power. "Le pule a ali'i ma tulafale". ("The authority of chiefs and orators").

puleaoao: Supreme authority. Term usually applied to God's omnipotence.

pulesili: Manager, director, big boss.

puletasi: Best style of woman's dress consisting of a long wrap around skirt with matching top.

sā: Out of bounds, sacred, forbidden.

saofa'i: The traditional ceremony at which a matai or taupou is bestowed with the honour and authority of a family title.

siapo: Traditional Samoan cloth (tapa) made from the beaten bark of the paper mulberry shrub. The white bark cloth is painted with natural dyes obtained from native trees, thus showing the characteristic black and brown colours.

si'ialofa: Gift of love.

so'o: Friendship bond between two villages, church congregations or groups of people. Usually, such friendship bonds are based on a common interest in sport, cultural entertainment or competitions in skills or expertise.

sua (sua ta'i): Ceremonial presentation to a chief of a baked pig with the accompaniments of a drinking coconut, cooked chicken, taro, siapo and 'ie tōga. In New Zealand, substitutes are used for the food items mentioned above, and even money is used to represent a whole sua.
sula: A chant recited by a woman (usually the wife of a leading orator of the village concerned) in appreciation of gifts of 'ie tōga. The sula or sula tōga describes the mana, high status and generosity of the people whose gift has been received by her own high chief.

sulufaga: (refuge'). The feast day on which a Samoan Catholic community comes together to honour its selected patron.

Susuga: Honorable term of address recognizing the honour and dignity of certain paramount chiefs. However, the term is also used to refer politely to such people of status as church ministers, government officials, individuals and even persons of unknown rank. (See also Afioga).

taeao: Morning, tomorrow. In oratory, it refers to a memorable occasion such as the arrival of the first missionaries. The Taeao o Samoa are the Important Mornings of Samoa.

taualuga: ('Roof of a house') The finale of a siva ('traditional Samoan dance') or performance in which the highest ranking person present is invited to take the central role.

taulāitu: Spirit medium.

tāulaga: A gift or offering given to a holy cause.

taumafa: Food consumed at feasts.

tāupōu: Daughter or female relative of a high chief who carries the traditional tāupōu title of the family. This title enables her to participate and be publicly recognised at important Samoan functions.

tausala: A beautiful young maiden. A form of modern Samoan fundraising based on the idea of a young maiden performing a siva ('dance') while friends and relatives donate money to a cause such as the building of a church, school or community project.

tausi: Respectful term referring to the wife of an orator.

tautua: Service to family, village, country or one's church.
tafa'ifā: ('the four in one'). The term indicating that the pāpā ('highest titles') of Tuiatua, Tuia'ana, Gatolo'aitele and Tamasoli'i are collectively held by one person.

tālentī: Talent.

tama-a-āiga: ('sons of the families'). Since the late nineteenth century, the term has been used to refer to the paramount titles of the four national descent groups. The four titles are Malietoa, Tupua, Mata'afa and Tuimaleali'i'ifano.

tānoa āva: Kava bowl.

tapu; tapui: ('taboo'). Sacred, to make sacred, to place under restriction.

tapua'aiga: Sacred service or an act of worship to God. Worshipful behaviour of the one who stays behind.

tatau: Tattooing.

tatalaga o le fa'anoanoaga: ('lifting the veil of sadness'). The final ceremony which marks the ending of the death process.

tatalaga o le feagaiga: Dissolution of a covenant.

toe sāuniga: Last service. The service equivalent to the European funeral service.

tifa-i-moana: Colourful deep-sea shell used for decorative purposes.

tōfā: A special gift of an 'ie tōga (ranging from 'ie lelei to 'ie taua) for a particular person acknowledging his or her dignified presence or for some other special reason.

tōfā: Good-bye.

tōfā soifua: Good-bye let live.

tōga: Colloquial and collective name used when one refers to 'ie tōga.

tōga sā: Sacred tōga.
toea'ina: Shortened form of the term Faife'au Toea'ina (F.T.) or elder minister in the CCCS and PIPC churches. Old man. A term of endearment and respect.

to'ona'i: Main Sunday meal eaten after the morning church service.

to'oto'o: A long wooden staff held by an orator during the delivery of ceremonial speeches. A walking stick.

tu'uga: A special gift of food presented to persons of high status during a feast.

tu'umalō: Polite term used to refer to the death of an ali'i or very prominent person.

tufuga tā tatau: Tattooist.

tulafale: Talking chief or orator.

tūlaga: Rank, position.

tupu: King.

tusigāigoa: Form of Samoan fundraising involving the writing down of peoples' names and their donations to a church project. Recently, the practice has also been used by groups outside the church for fundraising.

vālo'aga: Prophecy; from vavalo ('prophesy').
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Buck, Peter H. *see* Hiroa, Te Rangi.


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Faletose, K. T. *O le Tala Fa'asolopito o le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S.): A History of the Samoan Church (L.M.S.)*. Malua, Western Samoa: 1959.


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McKenzie, A. *Samoan Customs Etc.* No details. [Possibly Education Department, Western Samoa for distribution to school teachers, 1950s.]


Stair, John B. *Old Samoa or Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1897.


A LISTING OF ACTIVITIES

WESTERN SAMOA 1984; CONFERENCES; INTERVIEWS AND CONSULTATIONS; CHURCH VISITS AND ACTIVITIES; CEMETERIES VISITED

Western Samoa, 25 May-18 July 1984
Mulivai Catholic Cathedral, Apia, Mass accompanied by Mr Maurice Fenn, 9 a.m. 27 May 1984.
Mapuifagalele, (Little Sisters' of the Poor hospital and home for the elderly) with Mr Maurice Fenn, 27 May 1984.
CCCS Vaisigano, Faleālili Street, Apia, church service, 3 p.m. 27 May 1984.
Vaisigano School staff hosting a malaga of nurses from Pago Pago, 31 May - 2 June 1984. The nurses were competing in the Independence Celebrations kirikiti ('cricket') contest. Hosting included meeting and farwelling the malaga at Faleolo Airport, and other formal activities
Independence Celebrations, 1-2 June 1984: parade to Mulinu'u and flag raising ceremony; cultural performance Apia Park; fautasi ('boat') races Apia Harbour; cricket contest Reclaimed Area; prize giving Reclaimed Area. Interpreters of activities: Afioga Pula Vaifou and Mr Maurice Fenn.
Salelāvaluuta, Savai'i, 3-6 June 1984: daily evening services in home of Methodist minister, the Rev. Lalomilo Tausā as the church building was being pulled down in preparation for rebuilding; (I attended a tusigāigoa fundraising meeting, chaired by the Rev. Mose Samani, for the new Salelāvaluuta church in Auckland, 2 October 1982); funeral of Fa'atasiga in her home, 4 June 1984; visit to John Williams memorial, Sapapālī'i, hospital at Tuasivi and Pu'apu'a, 5 June 1984. Hosts Lalouli Pi and Miriama Lalouli Pi, guide Poutolu Su'a.
Mapuifagalele (to photograph and study sculptures), 9 June 1984.
CCCS Vaisigano, Faleālili Street, Apia, Sunday church service, 9 a.m. and later to Sale'imoa, 10 June 1984.
Niue Island, 12-19 June 1984. Purpose: to widen background on the influence of Samoan Christianity in Niue; the Rev. Afele Paea, minister of the Congregation Christian Church of Niue; and to observe first hand, a new religious movement - The Church of Jesus Christ, Seventh-day. Hosts and interpreters Mr Morris and Mrs Ofa Tafatu.

Kanana Fou, Theological College of the Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa, 22-27 June 1984. Host and consultant the principal, the Rev. Dr Bert Tofaeono. Activities included church services and cultural performances by participants and guests at the annual church conference. Survey of church buildings and material at the Jean P Haydon Museum. Guide, Mr Larry Tofaeono.

Farewell evening for the Apia Bowling Club team before their departure to the World Lawn Bowling Championships in Scotland, 29 June 1984.

Saofa'i installation of Afioga Laufili Vaifou Faraimo to the ali'i title of Pula at Sale'imoa, 30 June 1984. Interpreter, Afa.

Apia Protestant Church (est 1849, services in the English language), Sunday morning service, 1 July 1984.

To Faleolo airport to farewell Samoan bowling team leaving for the world championships, 2 July 1984.

Methodist students' graduation ceremony, Piula Theological College, feast etc., 8 a.m. - 2 p.m. 6 July 1984.

CCCS Sale'imoa, Sunday morning service, 8 July 1984.

Dr Claudia Forsyth and Lalolagi Heini Forsyth, discussion on research in general and tattooing, 11, 17 July 1984.

Twentieth Anniversary celebrations of the independent Conference of the Methodist Church in Samoa. (Accommodation at Avoka Girls' School, Faleula, 12-15 July 1984.)

Friday, 13 July 1984: 9 a.m. Welcome Service for visitors, Memorial Church, Avoka; 1.30 p.m. Entertainment by Church Schools, Avoka; 6.30 p.m. Memorial Service for the arrival of missionaries, 8 p.m. Drama depicting the Arrival of the Missionaries presented by Piula Theological College, Levaula College.

Saturday, 14 July 1984: 6 a.m. procession assembled at Sogi and Vaisigano. (Schools and Youth Groups); 7.30 a.m. march to Reclaimed Area; 8.30 a.m. arrival of Head of State - His Highness Hon. Malietoa Tanumafili 11 for the unveiling of memorial stone on Reclaimed Area opposite Wesley Church, Matafele; 9.30 a.m. Service in Reclaimed Area Building, followed by speeches, entertainment - marching and bands; 12.30 - 7 p.m. feasting, presentation of a Sua, entertainment by many village churches, Levaula College.
Sunday 15 July 1984: 8.30 a.m. official opening of Conference, and Holy Communion Service, Wesley Church, Matafele.

Conferences

*National Samoan Students Conference (So'o)*. Organised by the Samoan Students Association, University of Otago, Dunedin, 24-30 August 1987, (I acted as a co-judge in the English language debate competition.) and 29 August-1 September 1991.

*Samoan History Conference*. Organised by Galumalemana Alfred Hunkin, the Pacific Language Division of Victoria University, Wellington, 10 February 1990.


*South Pacific Musical Tribute*, (Series of lectures, history, music, composers, teaching methods). Organised by Pacific Islanders' Centre, Dunedin, 30 September-5 October 1990.


Interviews

Since 1991 most interviews were recorded. Relevant sections have been transcribed. On a number of occasions telephone follow up has been used for additional information and the review of details. Those people who have given considerable help over the years are noted by the span of years during which assistance was given.


Amituana'i, S'iaula. Development Division of the Methodist Centre of New Zealand, October 1982.


Bennett, Enid. Lecturer, St Johns Theological College, Auckland, 18 May 1990.


Davidson, Alan. Lecturer, St Johns Theological College, Auckland, 18 May 1990.

Domney, Ken. Regional Representative, LDS, 6, 7 August 1991.


Evile, Maligi. QSM, Minister, CCCS, Kingsland, Auckland, 7 August 1991.


Fatialofa, Tu'i. Minister, former chaplain at National Women's Hospital, assistant minister PIPC Newton, Auckland, 18 August 1991, 4 May 1993.


Forno, Ray and Lil. SDA, Ponsonby Church, Auckland, 3 August 1991.

Fruean, George. LDS, Missionary Preparation Director and former Bishop, 8 August 1991.


Greenfield, Dot. SDA, Samoan Church, Christchurch, host and guide, September 1991.


Ieriko, Paulo. Methodist minister, St John's Methodist Church, Ponsonby, 21 May 1991.


Irwin, James. Presbyterian minister and former Dean of Maori and Polynesian Studies, Knox Theological Hall, Dunedin; Ohope, 5-7 September 1989.


Maea, Emily. Minister's wife and lawyer, Knox Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, 7 July 1991.

Manase, Ulu. Musician and choir leader, PIPC, Newton, Auckland, 4 October 1990.

Marsters, Irene. Teacher at Auckland Seventh-day Adventist High School, with husband Tere, host and guide, Ponsonby SDA Church, Auckland, 3, 10 August 1991.


Mika, Salāfai. Methodist minister, Concord Union Parish, Dunedin, 23 March 1990; St Pauls Methodist Church, Otara, 23 May 1991.


Palelei Vaialae and Masina. High Chief, SDA, Host sand guides, Papatoetoe Church, Auckland, 17 August 1991.


Saleupolu, Aso. Chairman of the Samoan Advisory Council to the New Zealand
Sørensen, Karl. JP, Lay preacher and very senior member of SDA, Ponsonby Church, Auckland, 3, 16 August 1991.
Stehlin, Edmund. MBE, Order of Tiafau (Western Samoa), Former Vice-Consul, Western Samoan Consulate General, Auckland and very senior member of SDA, New Lynn, Auckland, 29 November 1991.
Tagaloa Tautiaga. High Chief and Methodist elder, St John's Methodist Church, Ponsonby, 23 May 1991.
Toleafoa, Alex. Presbyterian minister, St James Church, Auckland, 8 August 1991.


Tuisano, Pailate. Pastor, Samoan-Tokelauan AOG, Dunedin, 16, 17 October 1991


Church Visits and Other Activities

Prior to 1989 experience in Samoan Churches had been limited to the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, Dunedin and the Presbyterian Pacific Islanders' Community attached to First Church. The main focus had been special services such as White Sunday, Easter services, John Williams Sunday, funerals, weddings, birthdays, and fund raising activities.

1989

St Martins Pacific Islanders Presbyterian Church, Grey Lynn, Auckland: Farewell service and dinner for students returning to Otago University at home of the Rev. Setu and Mrs Aliki Solomona, 27 August 1989; PIPC choir contest, Nafanua Hall, Avondale, 2 September 1989; Fathers' Day service, 3 September 1989; Activities connected with the autalavou and the hosting of the malaga from Lepā, Western Samoa: Kava Ceremony, fiafia, farewell service, feast, entertainment, gifts and speeches, 9-12 September 1989; Children's Sunday (White Sunday) 22 October 1989.

Fund raising ball to assist the doctors' wives malaga from Western Samoa; Nafanua Hall, Avondale, 16 September 1989.

University of Otago Graduation Ceremony followed by a church service for the graduates at St Stephens, PIPC, North Dunedin, December 1989.
1990

Dunedin Tongan Fellowship, Sunday service, South Dunedin Methodist Church, 2-5 p.m. 25 February 1990.

_Fakamē_, Oamaru Union Parish, Oamaru, 6 May 1990.

To Hamilton with *Fourth Tongan History Conference*, 18-19 May 1990.

Hamilton Pacific Islanders' social, with different local island groups participating in demonstrations of their cultural ceremonies, 18 May; visit to reception centre of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' Temple, Hamilton; and Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia, 19 May 1990.

Samoan Students cultural performance, Marama Hall, 11 July 1990

Samoan Students' Association Ball, Dunedin, 3 August 1990.

Maori and Pacific Island Students' Association (MAPESA) special service, Opoho Presbyterian Church, 28 September 1990.

Banquet and cultural night marking the conclusion of the Pacific Island Musical Tribute workshops, 5 October 1990.

Valedictory Service, Knox Theological College, 7 October 1990.

White Sunday, St Martins PIPC, Glen Eden, Auckland, 21 October, 1990.

University of Otago Graduation Ceremony followed by a church service for the graduates at First Church, 8 December 1990.

1991

Church visits listed below were initially conducted in association with the questionnaire: *Church/Sacred Space Features* (Appendix Seven). Visits for other purposes are also noted.


PIPC, Porirua, 5 March 1991.

CCCS, Porirua, 5 March 1991.


CCCS, Dunedin, (Good Friday service), 29 March 1991.

CCCS, Dunedin, (Easter Sunday service, and desanctification of church at request of new owners as building to become a medical centre), 31 March 1991.

CCCS, Dunedin, (first service in EFKS Hall and to'ona'i), 7 March 1991.

St John's Methodist Church, Ponsonby, (Sunday service), 19 May 1991.

Otara Methodist Church, 23 May 1991.

St John's Methodist Church, Ponsonby, 23 May 1991.
Assemblies of God Church, Manurewa, (morning and evening services), 26 May 1991; (mid-week prayer meeting) 30 May 1991.

Festival of comedy and culture, *Peace in Unity and Diversity*, Sponsored by MASPAC’s Performing Arts Committee, ASB Stadium, 1 June 1991.

St John’s Methodist Church, Ponsonby, (Communion service), 2 June 1991.


Avondale Union Church, 7 June 1991, (English language service, followed by Samoan language service), 9 June 1991.


Pitt Street Methodist Church and women’s drop in centre, *Take a Break*, Pitt Street, Auckland, 6 June 1991.

Samoan Methodist Church, (Samoan Conference) Otara, 11 June 1991, (morning service and *to’ona’i*), 16 June 1991.

Methodist Church, Mangere, Samoan evening prayer meeting, 12 June 1991.


CCCS Henderson, prayer meeting at home of Mr and Mrs Leilua, Glen Eden, 19 June 1991.


Wedding, CCCS Sandringham, reception Manhattan, Mt Roskill, 22 June 1991.

Mangere Central Methodist Church, Bader Drive, Mangere, English language service, 10am, Sunday, 30 June 1991.

Wesley Methodist Church, Kolmar Rd, Papatoetoe, 12 noon - 2.30 p.m. Sunday, 30 June 1991. Combined Samoan language service and Holy Communion for Samoan Methodist Fellowships from Papatoetoe, Otara, Mangere Central and Mangere East. Followed by lunch in church hall.

CCCS, Frankton, Hamilton, - visited new church building (opening planned for 14 December 1991. and lunch with builders. 10.30 a.m. - 1.30 p.m. 5 July 1991.


LDS Chapel, 147 Pah Road, Royal Oak, Auckland, (Vaea Second Ward), morning service, 9 a.m. - 12 noon, 14 July 1991.

LDS Chapel, Pah Road, (Vaea First Ward), afternoon service, 1 p.m. - 4 p.m. 14 July 1991.

LDS Seminary Class for high school students conducted by Olepa Endemann at her home, 6.30-7.30 a.m. 19 July 1991.

Visited the Family History Centre (Genealogy Library) of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 147 Pah Road, Royal Oak, Auckland, 19 July 1991. Guide - Olepa Endemann.
PIPC, Newton, Auckland, English language service, 11 a.m. 28 July 1991.

Samoan Women's Fellowship, PIPC, Newton, monthly church service, meeting and meal, 6.30 - 10.30 p.m. 30 July 1991.

Seventh-day Adventist Church, Ponsonby, Auckland, 3 August 1991: 9.30 a.m. Sabbath School, 11 a.m. Divine Service, Sabbath Dinner at Tere and Irene Masters, 3 p.m. Adventist Youth - address on Worship Seminar in America by The SDA New Zealand President, Pastor Lionel Smith and the Church Ministries leader, Pastor Rein Muhlberg.

St James Presbyterian Church, Beresford Street, Auckland. (First home for Pacific Island Congregational religion in Auckland.) Holy communion service, baptism and light lunch, 10.30 a.m. - 1 p.m. 4 August 1991. Joint ministry team: the Revs D. and E. Mansill and the Rev. Alex Toleafoa.

Study Group, led by Pastor Bob Bolst, Ponsonby Seventh-day Adventist Church, 7 - 9 p.m. 6 August 1991.


Cornerstone, SDA, North Shore, 10 a.m. - 2 p.m. 10 August 1991.

Adventist Youth, SDA, Ponsonby, Auckland, 3 p.m. 10 August 1991. Service conducted by students and teacher from Asdah, the Seven-day Adventist High School (Palmerston North) on public relations exercise for the school.

CCCS, Kingsland, Auckland, 11 a.m. 11 August 1991.

Service and celebrations for young woman's twenty-first birthday and twins' sixtieth birthday, Grey Lynn, 12.30 p.m. 11 August 1991.

LDS Surrey Crescent Chapel, Grey Lynn, 12 August 1991.

SDA, Papatoetoe, Auckland, 9.30 a.m. Sabbath School, 11 a.m. Divine Service, 3 p.m. Adventist Youth, 5 p.m. choir practice. Hosts and interpreters: Palelei Vaialae and Masina Palelei, and Iosefa and Lemau Tesese.

Sulufaga (Saint's Day), Henderson Roman Catholic Church, Lavelle Rd, Henderson, and feast, 10.30 - 3 p.m.

Seventh-day Adventist Bookshop, Manukau City, 19 August 1991.


Samoan Seventh-day Adventist Church, Christchurch, Sabbath service, 21 September 1991.

St Pauls Trinity Pacific, Christchurch, Sunday 11 a.m. 22 September 1991. Preacher, The Very Rev Kenape Falatoese QSO.


Samoan-Tokelauan AOG, White Sunday service and 'onala'i, Coronation Hall, Maori Hill Dunedin, 13 October 1991.
Samoan-Tokelauan AOG, mid-week prayer service, Anglican Church, Brockville, Dunedin, 17 October 1991.


Guides - Earwaker family, Dunedin.

Funeral, St Martins PIPC, Glen Eden, 23 November 1991.

Samoan AOG, Grey Lynn, Auckland: 9 a.m. Sunday School, 11 a.m. Service, followed by to'ona'i, 24 November 1991.

Watchtower Branch Office, Manurewa (Jehovah's Witnesses New Zealand Headquarters), Hosts Charles and July Pritchard, 10 a.m. - 4.15 p.m. 25 November, 1991.


LDS Women's Relief Society, final function for year and display of handwork, Vaea Second Ward, Pah Rd, Auckland, 6 - 9.30 p.m. 28 November 1991.

Wedding, St John's Methodist Church, Ponsonby, 10 a.m. - 5 p.m. 30 November 1991.

LDS, Mt Roskill Stake Seminary Graduation, Pah Rd Chapel, 7 p.m. 30 November 1991.

Combined end of year service, all Auckland Samoan AOG Churches, AOG Church, Takapuna, 2.30 - 5.30 p.m. 1 December 1991.


Knox Presbyterian Church, 10 a.m. 14 December 1991, preacher the Rev. Elama Maea.

CCCS, Hamilton, 11.15 a.m. 14 December 1991, preacher, the Rev. Oka Fauolo, principal of Malua Theological College, and to'ona'i.


PIPC, Newton, Auckland, Licensing of Stephen Tema and Abera Abera, 7 p.m. 17 December 1991.

1992

Family services, funeral of Vaealiki Tekiu, Christchurch, 5-12 February 1992.

Dedication and opening of PIPC, Dunedin North, 16 May 1992.

Family services, funeral of Diana Ng Shiu, CCCS, Dunedin, 1-4 November 1992.
1993
Women's Fellowship (*Mafugaga a Tina*) fundraising variety concert, CCCS, Dunedin, 3 September 1991.

**Cemeteries Visited**