

TAPUAI

Samoan Worship

Fanaafi Aiono - Le Tagaloa

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FOREWORD

It is with humility and deep joy, that I write this brief preface to **Tapuai – Samoan Worship** by Fanaafi Aiono-Le Tagaloa.

In the protocol of the *alofisa*, I pour a libation to God our Maker for the grace and courage that has made it possible for the author, to proffer to academia and all who would read - the innermost of our being, our *mauli*.

As well, it is with pride of pro-creation that my *mauli* reaches out to God in supplication and intercession, that Fanaafi, our youngest, may be acceptable as the *magalafu* wherein the light of flaming fire votives illuminate the glory of the Creator God, the *Mataisau*, in the beauty of the created universe.

Tapuai – Samoan Worship, one of the dissertation requirements for a double honours degree at the University of Otago is here published without any addition or alterations.

Finally, it is meaningful and *onomea*, that it should be printed by Malua Press, the first "Printing House" in the South Seas of the London Missionary Society.

Ia seese mai ia lou sa, Fanaafi o Faamalama o Tapuaiga a Sapapalii... i tuagalu...aua ua pe le matagi – taoto...maui peau o le sami, ona o le mana- alofa-tunoa o le Atua.



Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa
Peresitene
Le Iunivesite o le Amosa o Savavau
Maugatui – o – Faleata
Novema, 2003.

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this work to Noa Tavita, Ariel Fanaafi Aimiti, Lea Birgit Fanaafi and Pitapola Matua o Faiva – the next generation.

Malo le tapuai! Faafetai le tapuai!

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INTRODUCTION

Samoa is the native name of the group of volcanic islands in Central Polynesia which a Frenchman Bougainville called the Navigator's Islands. The Samoan archipelago consists of fifteen islands, nine of these islands now make up the Independent State of Samoa and the other six are an American Territory. The Samoan archipelago lies in the Central Pacific Ocean 2,896 kilometres north east of Auckland.¹

The Protestant churches started sending out missions to the Pacific Islands from Europe and New England in the 1790s, "deploying both man-on-the-street volunteers and whole families. First in the Field was a body called the London Missionary Society."² The London Missionary Society "began their campaign in the South Pacific with the landing of a first contingent in Tahiti in 1797."³ This same missionary society has been credited with the arrival of Christianity and its acceptance in Samoa in 1830. The takeover of Christianity in Samoa was absolute. This is not surprising considering the attitude of some of the early missionaries, for example William Ellis, a missionary to Tahiti whose "hostility to

¹ *Ultimate Pocket World Factfile*, 1998, London, p. 226.

² Tom Hiney, *On the Missionary Trail*, London, 2000, p. xi.

³ Christopher Herbert, *Culture and Anomie: Ethnographic Imagination in Nineteenth Century*, Chicago, 1991, p. 158.

traditional culture was emphatic. In his role as Christian missionary he [made] no scruple of saying, his sole task was to convert the natives and utterly to reform their pathological condition of life."⁴ It is interesting that despite this concerted determination on the part of missionaries such as Ellis, places like Tahiti, the Cook Islands, New Zealand, Hawaii, still have remnants of old practices associated with worship along indigenous lines whereas these are non-existent in Samoa. In these other Polynesian islands there is still talk of Io, Pele, Tangaroa, Taaroa, Rangi, Papa, Tumatauenga and many others. This is not the case in Samoa. If any similar names or ideas are mentioned they are relegated to the realm of fairy tales, said to be stories of the Samoan fantasia - *Savavau*, and not acknowledged as the beliefs of our people before the arrival of the new faith - Christianity.

Nevertheless there is an incident, the *fono ma aitu*, which will be discussed in the second chapter, that may suggest that although much is lost there still exists in the Samoan mindset a lingering sense of the past ways. In the particular incident considered it seems that in a difficult situation a reversion and an acknowledgment of past ways as a solution occurs. It was as if the new tools could not fix the problem so a tool, which once worked in such a situation,

⁴ Ibid., p.166.

was dusted off and reused. It may have been an example of lip service, a mere going through the motions and yet it serves as an indication that although the practices and beliefs of old Samoa are no longer pursued, they are still there and still have value. This makes it all the more important that we seize the remnants, because as with all things that linger, they will only stay for a while and then, disappear.

The extent of the success of the London Missionary Society is seen today in the fact that being Samoan is stereotypically associated with being Christian, religious, churchgoing or all of the above. So much so that when I mentioned 'Samoan Worship' as my topic to one Samoan they asked, "Are you looking at church practices?" When I said, "No, pre-Christian worship", the response was, "Do you really want to delve into that?" To which my answer is, "Yes"! Change, I believe does not, make one's past any less a part of oneself. Understanding who you are, your culture, your language, and your people is realizing your heritage and your identity as a unique individual.

Perhaps this research into the old Samoans' worldview and thus their epistemology addresses an area that some may not consider to be true history. Since a spiritual worldview permeates contemporary Samoan culture, just as it did that of my ancestors, I consider this

dissertation to be, in part, intellectual and religious history. I have used historical methodology, including oral tradition to attempt to reconstruct an aspect of past events, in this case a retrieval of certain religious practices and their place in the worldview of pre-Christian Samoans. I try to show how some of these practices of worship have been modified and how one has been almost lost since the advent of Christianity.

The search for relevant primary sources has taken me from my homeland, Samoa to England as well as New Zealand. This search has shown me much negative evidence. In the records of the London Missionary Society for example, there was very little, if any, mention of what I have written about and this is telling of how much has been lost. I have attempted also to interrogate the reliability of the surviving relevant written sources as well as their recorders and narrators. As well, I have drawn on cognate Polynesian concepts and the knowledge of experts on the Samoan language to elucidate the subtleties of word meaning within the context of usage and translate these for the non-Samoan reader. Thus I have tried to communicate the findings of my research in an accessible manner acceptable to the academy. In both content and method then, I contend that this small start on what is undoubtedly a much larger field is a valid aspect of Samoan history.

Scant as sources are on pre-Christian worship in Samoa, much credit is owed to missionaries who did at least record some of the practices and traditions of old Samoa. John Williams, a well-known missionary to the South Pacific and Samoa in particular had laid out a "program of ethnographic research based in the unique efficacy of total cultural immersion, on verbatim quotation of informants and on linguistic competence as the sine qua non of fieldwork."⁵ Although Williams is seen by some as a "megalomaniac...presiding over the methodical suppression of the ancient traditions of the Samoan islands of Savaii and Upolu, personally dictating which customs might be allowed to continue at least temporarily and which must be legally banned at once," his writings and that of other missionaries are really all we have to work with. Without these records, my task would be utterly and absolutely impossible.⁶

Therefore, this dissertation does not seek to "bash" missionaries nor does it seek to praise them. The fact of the matter is the new religion replaced the old. That is why the aim of this paper is simply: a first step in gathering from the various disparate sources, any information that will enable a retrieval, incomplete, as it may be, of the essence of **Tapuai - Samoan Worship**. I also wanted as a Samoan, to write about Samoans, not as an exercise in positive

⁵ Ibid., p. 164.

⁶ Ibid., p.157.

discrimination or idealised action but as a legitimate, belated responsibility of a Samoan student of History.

CHAPTER ONE

Solo o le Va - Samoan Cosmogony

The object of this first chapter is to establish at the outset a picture of the Samoan worldview. How the Samoan saw his/her environment. In doing this, I hope to answer the first of many identity-defining questions: How did it all begin? Where do I come from? Why am I here? Who am I? The Bible, the code of new faith that replaced the beliefs of old Samoa begins with origins. This paper begins also with origins, with foundations, with the birth of the core beliefs that would weave their way through the life of the Samoan and be expressed in the forms of worship this paper will later discuss.

The Samoan world-view is encompassed in a very small word: *Va*. This paper begins with cosmogonic accounts because they establish and explicitly express the *Va*. What is the *Va*? For such a small word it is incredible just how difficult it is to fully capture its meaning, let alone try to articulate it in a foreign tongue. *Va* is first of all, the relationship between the Creator and the created. It is this *Va* that is expressed in the imperative, directing the created - person to make a spiritual connection with the Creator in the act of *Tapuai!* - **Worship!** Between Creator and created and between all of

creation is the *Va*. It governs all things and holds all things together. The *Va* did not cease with the arrival of Christianity. It continues to pervade Samoan life and living even today among all Samoans in Samoa or residing elsewhere. *Va* is relationship, connection, affiliation, boundaries, difference, separation, space, distance, responsibility, obligation, state of being, position, standing, and so much more. The cosmogonic accounts show the *Va* between the creator and the created, between the created and other creation.

There are many different cosmogonic accounts. I came across six in my readings. According to Professor Roland B. Dixon there are two types of cosmogonic accounts - the evolutionary or genealogical and the creative: The evolutionary type being the type of account where for example Flaming fire and Flaring fire begot Clay and so on and so forth; the creative type involving a super-human being creating the universe, the world and all that is in it by word or deed.⁷ The cosmogonic accounts of Samoa are mainly of the creative type but in my readings I have come across an example of the evolutionary or genealogical type. Below is an example of this genealogical type, which is atypical of the cosmogonic accounts of Samoa. The Samoan version given is from C. Stuebel, A. Kramer and Brother Herman's collection. These collections were made in the late

nineteenth century and early twentieth century. C. Stuebel wrote the Samoan text. The publication of some of their collective research also provides an English translation by Brother Herman, but, as he did not translate the names in the genealogy of the Earth and People, I sought an alternative translation that would do this as I felt it was important in understanding the account.

Although this account is atypical according to Professor Dixon I believe it is only atypical in style, but not in sentiment. The belief of the existence or the establishment of *Va* is still evident. In fact it is made more explicit through the use of a genealogical analogy that emphasizes the importance and essential nature of the *Va* between Creator and created and among creation itself. Its value is likened to the *Va* between kin. The fact this genealogical style is only used with regard to the creation of living things other than humans shows the differentiated status among creation common to all creation accounts across the globe.

O LE TUPUGA O ELEELE MA TAGATA

O le tane ma le fafine, o le igoa o le tane o
Afimusaesae, o le fafine o Mutalali. Na fanau
le tama o Papaele. Na usu Papaele ia

⁷ Roland B. Dixon, *The Mythology of All Races in Thirteen Volumes: Oceanic, Volume 9*, New York, 1964, p.18.

Papasosolo, fanau le tama o Papanofo. Na usu ia Papanofo ia Papatu fanau le tama o Fatutu. Na usu ia Fatutu ia Maataanoa fanau le tama o Tapufiti. Na usu ia Tapufiti ia Mutia fanau le tama o Mauutoga. Na usu ia Mauutoga ia Sefa, e leai se tama. Na usu ia Sefa ia Vaofali, e leai se tama. Na usu Vaofali ia Taataa fanau le tama o Mautofu. Na usu Mautofu ia Tavai fanau ia Toi. Na usu ia Toi ia Fuafua fanau ia Masame. Na usu ia Masame ia Mamala fanau ia Mamalava. Na usu ia Mamalava ia Malili, e leai se tama. Na usu ia Malili ia Tapuna fanau ia Vaololoa.⁸

THE ANCESTOR OF EARTH AND MAN

The male, Afimusaesae (flaming fire) and female, Mutalali, (flaring fire, like the burning of dry coconut leaf or paper). They had a son – Papaele (or clay). Clay and Spreading clay and the son was Papanofo (the rock that sits). Papanofo was married by Papatu

⁸ *Tala o le Vavau: The Myths and Legends of old Samoa*, Adapted from the Collections of C. Stuebel, A. Kramer and Brother Herman, Auckland, 1995, p.3.

(an upstanding Rock) and the issue was Fatutu (standing stone – fatu:stone, tu:standing). Fatutu married Maataanoa (stone-rolling one) the son was Tapufili (unmoving). Tapufili married Mutia (grass) and the son was Mauutoga (the creeper – wandering Jew). Mauutoga married Sefa, but there was no issue. Then Sefa (a type of grass) married Vaofali (tall grass). Vaofali married Taataa (a type of straggly grass) and the issue was Mautofu (a tough plant/shrub like the Ilima) still in the ‘grass area’. Mautofu married Tavai (a tree) and the issue was Toi (a tree) Toi married Fuafua (a tree whose wood is soft and buoyant) and the issue was Masame (a tree like Poumuli). Masame married Mamala (a tree) and the issue was Mamalava (a beautiful hardwood). Mamalava married Malili (a tree) and there was no issue. Malili then married Tapuna (a parasitic plant) then there was Vaololoa (the “Forest”).⁹

The records missionaries and ethnographers have left us were relayed to them as oral accounts memorized and retold from generation to generation. Therefore needless to say versions and

⁹ Translation made on request by Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloo, August 2001.

interpretations vary from informant to informant, village to village, even island to island and therefore subject to vigorous debate.¹⁰ The authenticity and validity of an account is always to be questioned because the issue of bias can never be overlooked. In relation to the issue of authenticity of accounts the *Va* features again: In this case the *Va* between the researcher and the Samoan subject and the different *Va* the Samoan subject has been reared in, immersed in and has knowledge of. The giving and receiving of information is closely dictated by observance of the *Va*. Information will not be given in breach of the *Va* or if the researcher breaches or violates the *Va*.

This is expressed in the sensitivity that surrounds the *fesili* or the question in Samoan culture. This is seen in the Samoan's hesitancy to reveal the traditions or the knowledge of the people. For this reason it may take prolonged periods of time before an account will be given, for it will only be revealed in the strictest of confidence and in relationships of trust and respect, where the established *Va* is recognised and respected. It is almost a case of, if it was retrieved easily it was most likely inaccurate, a mere diversionary tactic. To be successful in the extraction of any information from a Samoan an understanding of this is essential. Before looking at the various

cosmogonic accounts I believe it is important to elaborate on the *fesili*.¹¹

The concept of *fesili* or question to the Samoans is so delicate compared to the practice of the European that it has often been mistaken by outside researchers as an inability to answer the simplest questions truthfully and is noted as a general discomfort on being questioned. The truth however is not that they can not answer questions truthfully but that the line of questioning or the method of information extraction carried out through questions by outsiders, usually Europeans, is uncomfortable for the Samoans. This leads to their reluctance in responding or making up a story, any story, to appease the interrogator and divert their attention. One such example is found in the long-standing debate on Margaret Mead's research among adolescent Samoan girls. She questioned Samoan girls on a matter that is taboo among Samoans themselves and did not appreciate the delicate nature of the *fesili*. If she had, she would have severely questioned the ease with which she obtained her information, especially information of such a sensitive nature. Many academics have commented on how she was hoaxed, perhaps she

¹⁰ Stuebel, Kramer and Herman, p.xi.

¹¹ Information regarding the *fesili* comes from experiential knowledge, personal communication with my parents over several years and a specific interview with Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa, 20 April 2001.

was.¹² But an understanding of the difficulty of the concept of the *fesili* would have shown her that open comments on private matters, such as a girl's sexuality, are unlikely to be easily talked about among Samoans, let alone to an outsider. Margaret Mead violated the *Va*. Out of politeness and almost as a reflex action humor, jokes and boasting were used a distancing tool, re-establishing or asserting the *Va*.

Samoans will not blankly refuse to give information or answer questions because the Samoan philosophy is *E agatonu manua i le fesili*. *Agatonu* means the proper practice or attitude, which leads to correct and just behavior. The saying means that justice or correct action can only be reached through questions. Another expression which does not use the word *fesili*, but refers to the ability to speak and verbalize one's thoughts as an aristocratic trait. *O le aga a le tamaalii le fetalai*. Literally, the nature or essence of aristocratic behaviour is the ability to speak. The idea these sayings express is that Samoans value the right to speak and do not have an inability when it comes to speaking or answering questions. The reluctance, misinterpreted as an incapacity to answer or a tendency to lie, comes from the outsider not knowing how to ask the questions because

they are ignorant of the vast difference between the way outsiders and Samoans view the *fesili* and a lack of understanding of the *Va*.

One will be judged by the way one poses questions. The situation will be considered, the questioner will be scrutinized, especially in the words they issue, their tone and the subject matter they are questioning about. If one has the patience to do this and knows enough of the Samoan culture and mentality they will obtain the correct information. There are too many researchers who are lead down the garden path, as it were, for not being sensitive to the art of questioning in the Samoan milieu. At the base of the issue of questioning or posing the *fesili*, is the right of the Samoan to speak. This right is as basic to the Samoan as the right to breathe and live. Therefore Samoan philosophy commands that one select one's words and the appropriate situations every time one opens one's mouth whether to declare, inform or interrogate.

It would seem that this paper has taken a lengthy digression, elaborating on the *fesili*. This is to elucidate the underlying reasons for the Samoans' reluctance to divulge information. This fact relates directly to the issue of the validity of the records we have on practices or any other issues concerning old Samoa. The delicate nature of the *fesili* is because of the pervasive, all encompassing, and underpinning importance of the *Va* to the Samoans. The *Va*

¹² M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: a study of adolescence and sex in primitive societies*, Harmondsworth, England, 1943; D. Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa: the making and unmaking of an anthropological myth*, Harmondsworth, England, 1984.

dictates when they can and can not exercise their right to speak and how to exercise that right. The *Va* traces back to the beginning of all things. Samoans believe that their God created Samoa, and they as Samoans were created specifically to inhabit these islands. The centrality of the *Va* and the consequential sensitivity surrounding *fesili* therefore means that if the missionaries and researchers did not breach the *Va* they would receive information. Such information would be as accurate as possible. If the *Va* is violated then trips down the garden path are guaranteed.

In light of the centrality of the *Va* to the Samoan worldview this chapter will focus on the account which I believe is the most authentic account - the *Solo o le Va*. Its title acknowledges the importance of the *Va* and how to the Samoan, creation is the establishment or the account of the various *Va*, first and foremost between the Creator and the created. According to Rev. Thomas Powell, the extended Story of Creation no longer exists, it has been forgotten.¹³ Powell reported that the existing *Solo o le Va*, is made up of *lagisoifua* - or proofs put into shorter poems by the *Fatuaiupu* of the *Faleula* of Samoa, the keepers of the language, wisdom and *Tofa-manino* of Samoa. The *Solo o le Va* is not merely an account of

¹³ Rev. Thomas Powell went to the Samoan group in 1844 and returned to England around about 1885. As a missionary he was settled on the island of Tutuila, but had also under his charge the island of Tau in the Manua group. He was a very competent speaker of the Samoan language and trusted by the

how it all came to be. It is an epic of who Samoans are. It establishes their identity in relation to their Creator and in relation to their unique individually assigned environment and world - Samoa - the "sacred center."

In any analysis of the *Solo o le Va* I will use extensively the unpublished findings of Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa's forty years of research in this area which I have had access to through personal correspondence, interviews and conversations. Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa is a Professor of Samoan, Language and Culture at Le Amosa o Savavau: Iunivesite Samoa, which is Samoa's first university that teaches all its courses in the Samoan language. She is the current President of Le Amosa o Savavau: Iunivesite Samoa. She is also a lecturer at Piula - the Methodist Theological College in Samoa. She studied at Ardmore Teachers College, the University of New Zealand and the University of London. She holds a doctorate in applied linguistics and was one of the first Pacific Islanders to hold a doctorate. She was the first Samoan Director of Education for the Government Schools and later was also the Director of Education for the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa's Schools. She was a Member of Parliament from 1985-1988. She holds the high *matai* title of 'Aiono' from Aana. She has taught for

people of Manua. See Dr. J. Fraser, *Introduction to Some folk-songs and myths from Samoa 1891-1893*, Read before the Royal Society of N.S.W., Sydney, November 5 1890, pp.195-196.

over forty years and has dedicated her life to the maintaining and the teaching of the Samoan language and culture at all levels in the education system of Samoa. Her expertise has taken her around the world and has resulted in the publication of several of the papers presented overseas. She is well respected by Samoans within and outside Samoa and also by her peers as knowledgeable, reputable and reliable in all things Samoan. She is also my mother.

In the preface to the account in John Fraser's *Some Folk Songs and Myths from Samoa* the editor's note states:

I am thoroughly convinced that this Story of Creation is genuine, and in no degree colored by filtrations from Europe. When Mr. Pratt¹⁴ went to Manua in 1839, there were only two white men on the island, and these were so brutish in mind and body, that a dog seemed as likely to know and communicate the Mosaic account of Creation as they were. These men were despised by all, and even if they had possessed either the power or the inclination to talk about Creation, the natives would not have cared to listen

¹⁴ Rev. George Pratt was a London Missionary Society Missionary in Samoa for more than forty years in the mid to late 1800s. He was an accomplished Samoan speaker and possessed remarkable knowledge of other Polynesian dialects, not to mention Hebrew and Arabic. He compiled a Samoan

to tales from such as they, much less adopt these tales as part of their cosmogony. And there were no Samoan Bibles then, nor could any of the natives read English. Then again, I have the Samoan text in Mr. Powell's own handwriting, and on it a declaration that it was given to him by an old official of Tau. Any one who knows the natives will find it impossible to believe that such men of honor as Fofu and Tauanuu were, occupying, as they did, so exalted positions in the islands, would allow their sacred records to be corrupted by intermixture from abroad, or would recite them as genuine, when they knew them to be corrupt. In the islands, such a thing would be considered a disgrace to all.

Any one, who attentively examines the poem, will see that it has the whole cast of genuineness and nationality, and that its very thoughts are Samoan. The style is quite unlike prose; it has the abruptness and figurativeness of poetry, and of ancient poetry too; for there are words and expressions in it, which even Pratt, who knows Samoan better than the

Dictionary and also constructed a Samoan Grammar. See J.E. Newell, *Preface to the Fourth Edition of Pratt's Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, 1862, (Reprint) 1977.

Samoans themselves, found it hard to understand and explain, except from the context and the composition of the words...¹⁵

There is a note prefixed to the original Samoan of this poem where Powell says, that he received it from Fofu, an old chief of Tau, on December 28, 1870. He had met him at Ofu, another island in the Manua group.¹⁶ It is clear that when the *Va* was acknowledged and respected the account was finally revealed. I have chosen this account, following the logic of the editor's note, because it is perhaps the most genuine of all the accounts. One other cosmogonic account speaks of the preeminence of Manua among the Samoan islands as the eldest, the first-born in the archipelago. "Then Tagaloa gave his parting command thus; 'always show respect to Manua; if any one does not, he will be overtaken by calamity; but let each one do as he likes with his own lands.'" ¹⁷ Even today Manua has this sense of being ancient and more spiritual than the rest of Samoa, a sense of sacredness and even mysticism. I have no

¹⁵ John Fraser, *Some Folksongs and Myths from Samoa*, Sydney, 1890, p.206. Photocopy from the late Logonaitaga Dr. Derek Freeman, Professor Emeritus, Australian National University sent to Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa and in turn sent to me.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.207.

¹⁷ Pacific Island Studies 101 Class Readings (1997). A paper once offered through the Department of Theology at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Source unknown. Author thought to be Rev. Thomas Powell.

hesitation in giving Manua and their creation account the respect as commanded.¹⁸

The *Solo o le Va* is the epic narrative, which tells the story of creation in the Samoan language. The title means the Poem of Creation. The physical *Va*, the spatial relationship, cannot be measured, for God, *Le Tagaloa* dwelled in the Tenth Heaven, and the Ten Heavens cannot be seen. It was supposed to "roll" freely in the *Va-nimonimo* of space beyond human eyesight. *Le Tagaloa* created the Ten Heavens. The Creator spoke and the heavens were wrought. The creative *Sau o le Ola* - breath of life - brought the dwelling of the Creator-God, to be.

Foa le lagi!

Le lagi tua tasi.

Too i le teve,

Tee i lagi

Mau, mau, mau i le masoa.

(Create)

Let there be the heaven

¹⁸ There are other accounts of creation which can be found in: R. B. Dixon, *The Mythology of All Races - Oceania - Volume 9*, New York, 1964; Thomas Heath, 'Navigators Islands - Tradition as to the origin of man', in a letter with the short paper enclosed to Earl Fitzwilliam, July 30 1840, CWM

The first heaven
 Prop it with the *teve* (giant hogweed)
 Raise it sky high
 Fasten, fasten, fasten with the *masoa*! (wild
 starch or glue.)

This was the 'imperative' that created nine of the heavens. For the tenth, the fourth line was not repeated, instead it was declared that this would be the end of the heavens:

Foa le lagi!
 Le lagi tuasefulu
 Too i le teve
 Muta ai lagi
 Mau, mau, mau i le masoa.

The second creation was the 'peopling' of the nine heavens with *Sa Tagaloa*. Every heaven was made to be inhabited-*aina* by *Sa Tagaloa*. The Creator God dwelled in the Tenth Heaven where the 'malae o le Totoa - malae o le manino' or the empyreal, was. *Le Tagaloa* assigned *Sa Tagaloa* to the specific *lagi*-heavens. For

example, the ninth heaven was given to the *Tamaitai*¹⁹ or the *Feagaiga* of *Sa Tagaloa*; the eighth heaven was where the *Tufuga* and specialist builders were.

The Creator God had a Messenger named *Tagaloa Savali*. He was empowered to take the form of the bird *Tuliotagaloa*. Thomas Powell, a missionary whose circuit included Tutuila and Manua described (circa 1839-1840s) the *Tuliotagaloa*, or *Le Tagaloa*'s messenger, as being a member of the Genus *Numenius*, (the curlew) about the size of a *fiaui* or turtle dove and migratory, spending only part of the year in Samoa. Powell described the *Tuliotagaloa* as a most handsome bird with bright canary yellow feathers on its breast and neck, merging into white; while the wings and head and the rest of the body was glossy black. The missionary compared *Tuliotagaloa* or *Tuli* to Noah's toro, the messenger that returned with the olive branch, after the deluge. *Tagaloa Savali* or *Tuliotagaloa* was asked by *Le Tagaloa*, to go and see whether there were other *lagi* in space, and to report.

¹⁹ *Tamaitai* or *Feagaiga* is the name given to all the females of the *aiga* or family. In Samoan culture male and female is not so important, the relationship of brother and sister is much more important. Therefore all the female heirs of the *matai* title of an *aiga* are the sisters and all the male heirs are brothers. The *tamaitai* or *feagaiga* is the healer, the priestess, the peacemaker, the maker of wealth, and the keeper of the oral traditions of her *aiga*. The term *feagaiga* means covenant and refers specifically to the covenant between the brother and the sister of which the sister the *feagaiga* is the embodiment. This *feagaiga* establishes one aspect of the *Va* between the brother and the sister and also establishes their complementing responsibilities or *nafa*.

There was another *lagi*, one, which descended from *Fee*. *Fee*'s descendants had multiplied prolifically into two families - *Sa Vai* (water) and *Sa Afi* (fire). Relations between *Sa Vai* and *Sa Afi* deteriorated and they fought a mighty battle. *Sa Afi* was vanquished, and the 'World of the *Fee*' was plunged into darkness and watery waste. The originator or *Fee* retreated to the realm below the sea, known to this day as *Sa le Fee*. The aftermath of the battle between *Sa Afi* and *Sa Vai*, was the watery waste that *Le Tagaloa*'s messenger, came upon. There was no land, no rock, upon the face of the waters and only utter darkness.

O le Solo o le Va

Le upu a le Tuli, o le ata lea o Tagaloa-savali, ia Tagaloa-faatutupu-nuu.

The word of Tuli, which is the emblem of Tagaloa-the-messenger, to Tagaloa-the-creator of -lands.

Galu lolo, ma galu fatioo,
 Galu tau, ma galu fefatiai: -
 O le auau peau ma le sologa peau,
 Na ona faafua ae le fati: -
 Peau taoto, peau taalolo,

Peau malie, peau lagatonu,
 Peau alilia, peau laaia,
 Peau fatia, peau taulia,
 Peau tautala, peau lagavaa,
 Peau tagata, peau a sifo mai gagae,
 O lona soa le auautataa.

Tagaloa e, taumuli ai,
 Tagaloa fiamalolo;
 E mapu i lagi Tuli mai vasa;
 Ta lilia i peau a lalo.

Rollers flooding, rollers dashing,
 Rollers fighting, rollers clashing: -
 The sweep of the waters and the extension of
 the waves,
 Surging high, but breaking not: -
 Waves reclining; waves dispersing;
 Waves agreeable; waves that cross not;
 Waves frightsome; waves leaping over;
 Waves roaring; waves upheaving;
 The peopled waves; waves from east to west,
 Whose companion is the wandering current.

O Tagaloa, who sittest at the helm [of affairs],
 Tagaloa's [bird] desires to rest;
 Tuli from the ocean must rest in the heavens;
 These waves below affright my breast.²⁰

The messenger reported the watery waste to *Le Tagaloa*. While *Tagaloasavali* was surveying the watery waste he grew weary and sighed or pleaded to the heavens for help for he was giddy or dizzy from the swell below. He was crying out for a place to rest upon. *Le Tagaloa* heard the messenger's prayer. He reasoned and he thought, and gazed upon the surface of the waters, *na feliuai lona finagalo, ma taulai ona fofoga i le fogavai*, and the upstanding rock, the *papatu* emerged. To the *papatu* he commanded: "Divide and multiply!" and the *papatu* divided and produced the different types of *papa* - with which the land and islands were created. The *lagi* (sky) and *lalolagi* (world - literally, that which is beneath the sky, skies or heavens) were made. The *lagi* had to be lifted sky high to allow the life giving light to reach earth.

Fea le nuu na luai tupu?
 Manua-tele na muai tupu.
 Se papa le tai le a oo atu;

²⁰ Fraser, *Some Folksongs*, p.207.

Ma le masina e solo manao;
 O le La se tupua le fano;

E tupu le vai, tupu le tai, tupu le lagi.

Ifo Tagaloa e asiasi;
 Tagi i sisifo, tagi i sasae;

Na tutulu i le fia tulai.

Tupu Savaii ma Mauga-loa,
 Tupu Fiti ma le atu Toga atoa;
 Tupu Savaii; a e muli,
 Le atu Toga, ma le atu Fiti,
 Atoa ma le atu nuu e iti;
 Ma Malae-Alamisi,
 Samata-i-uta ma Samata-i-tai:
 Le nofoa o Tagaloa ma lona taatuga.
 O Manua na luai gafoa -
 O le mapusaga o Tagaloa -
 A e muli le atunuu atoa.

Tumau i lou atu mauga, taalolo;
 Tumau, Tagaloa, i mauga o Manua,

A e lele i lou atululuga:
 E fuafua ma faatatau,
 Le va i nuu po ua tutusa.
 E levaleva le vasa ma savili;
 E lilia Tagaloa ia peau alili;
 Tagi i lagi sina iliili:
 Upolu, sina fatu laititi,
 Tutuila, sina maa lagsigisi,
 Nuu faao e a sisii:
 E mapusaga i ai alii,
 Tagaloa e ai faafeii.

Where is the land which first upsprang?
 Great Manua first uprose.
 Beats on [Manua's] rock his well-loved
 waves;
 on it the Moon's desired light looks down;
 The Sun, like statue, changeless found,
 [Darts his refulgent beams around;]
 The waters in their place appear;
 The sea, too, occupies its sphere;
 The heaven ascends, the sky is clear.
 To visit [the scene] Tagaloa comes down;

To the west, to the east, his wailing cry he sends;

A strong desire to have a place whereon to stand

Possesses him; [he bids the lands arise.]

Savaii with its high mountain then sprang up,

And upsprang Fiti and the Tongan group;

Arose Savaii; and afterwards,

The Tongan group and the group of Fiti,

Together with the group of small lands;

With the home of the Alamisi [the two

Samatas Arose]

Samata-inland and Samata by the sea:

The seats of Tagaloa, and his footstool.

But great Manua first grew up -

The resting place of Tagaloa

After that, all other groups of islands.

Abide in thy mountains, these visit and rest;

Abide, Tagaloa, on Manua's high crest,

But fly now and then to thy group in the west;

To measure and compare the space

Which lies between, from place to place.

The ocean between is long and breezy;

Terrific waves affright Tagaloa;
 'Oh for a little coral strand!' thus to heaven he
 cries:
 Upolu, a very small bit of rock,
 And Tutuila, a little stony land,
 Are isles that thereupon immediately arise;
 Where chiefs in the aftertimes may find a
 place of rest;
 And gods, tho' pinched for room, have many
 a feast.²¹

When the peopling of the *lalolagi* (below the heavens) was planned
 the *Fuetagata* (person vine) or *Fuesa* (sacred creeper) was put on
 earth. After some time, the *Fuesa* rotted and produced 'wrigglers'.
 Once again the messenger reported that the sacred *Fuetagata* was
 with child. But life, such as it was reported by *Tuliotagaloa*, the
 offspring of the sacred human vine were faceless and merely
 wriggled in the heat of the sun.

Na faaifo ai le Fue-tagata,

²¹ Ibid., pp. 208-209.

E faatagataina ai Tutuila,
 Ma Upolu, ma Atua, ma Aana,
 Atoa ma Le Tuamasaga.
 Ona gaoi fua o tino, e le aala,
 E leai ni fatumanava.
 Logologo Tagaloa i luga,
 Ua isi tama a le Fue-sa,
 Na ona gaoi i le la;
 E le vaea, e le lima;
 E le ulua, e le fofoga,
 E leai ni fatumanava!

And hither came from heaven the peopling
 vine,
 Which gave Tutuila its inhabitants,
 And to Atua and Aana, with Le Tuamasaga in
 Upolu.
 [Forth from the vine they come,]
 The bodies only move, they have no breath,
 Nor heart's pulsation.
 The god-like Tagaloa learns [in heaven
 above],
 The sacred vine to gender life has now begun,
 But that its offspring only wriggle in the sun;

No legs, no arms they have;
No head, no face,
Nor heart's pulsation!²²

Le Tagaloa instructed his messenger to wait below, and he will come and in "words -imprinted- on- the-body" - *Fetalaiga tuutitino*, *Tuliotagaloa* would mark the features and parts of the human body, while the Creator God directs, or *faasino*.

Ifoifo Tagaloa i sisifo,
I fetalaiga e tuu titino:
Fua o le Fue ni nai ilo,
E totoni au faasinosino;
Outou loto na momoli ifo;
Ia pouli outou tino;
Ia malama outou mata,
E tali ai Tagaloa,
A e pe a maui ifo e savalivali.

Tagaloa then, descending to the west,
Speaks but the word and it is done:

²² Ibid., p.209.

'These fruits, the product of the vine are
worms,
But them I fashion into member'd forms;
To each of you from above I now impart a
will
Opacity must be the portion of your bodies
still;
Your faces, they must shine, [I so ordain,]
That they may Tagaloa entertain,
When he comes down to walk this earth
again.²³

Finally, when the features and parts of the human body were drawn by *Tuliotagaloa*, according to instructions, the Creator brought down the *Fatumanava* which Powell incorrectly translates as heart's pulsation. A more accurate translation is - the godly attributes. These were placed in the creation which came to life as the human - *le tagata*. The person lives, the likeness of God - *Ola! Le tagata, foliga i le Atua! Le Tagaloa* also pronounced the blessing, which has survived to our times, upon the created life:

Ia pouli outou tino,

²³ Ibid., p.210.

Ia malamalama outou mata
E tali ai Le Tagaloa
pe a mau i fo.

Let your bodies be as the night,
Let your eyes be bright,
Let ye await the god
When he happens by.

I have not given the entire text of the *Solo o le Va*. I thought it appropriate to stop here as we have established who created Samoa and the Samoan which, I believe, are the necessary components for our purposes. The rest of the *Solo* re-emphasizes Manua's prestigious position. The next chapter will look specifically at the inner person of the Samoan, which was created with the bringing down and placing within the life-form of the *Fatumanava*. But before we launch into that issue, let us consider the above account and how it helps establish the picture we sought to paint at the beginning of this chapter on the Samoan world-view. How it all began? Where it all came from? How it all happened? Who the Samoans worship?

From the account we see that the Samoans believe that in the beginning, to borrow a well-known phrase, there were only the

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waters, thrashing and crashing about. *Tagaloa-savali* also known as the *Tuli* or *Tuliotagaloa*, the messenger was sent to survey that which was occurring here, below. The account records *Tuli's* report. In his weariness he called out to *Le Tagaloa* - (**The Tagaloa** among the many *Tagaloa* who peopled the ten heavens) - for a place upon which to repose and thus Manua was created - the firstborn of the Samoan archipelago stated in the account as "The resting place of *Tagaloa*." After Manua, Savaii was created and then Upolu and the other smaller islands.

After the creation of the lands the *Fue-tagata* was brought down. *Fue* is the word for any vine or creeper but it was the *Fue-sa/Fue-tagata* - the sacred creeper or the person-vine that was sent down. When this vine or creeper had rotted the report of *Tuli* to *Tagaloaalagi* was that the *Fue-sa* had young with no legs or arms or heads or faces, no features, they merely wriggled in the sun, or in the sunlight. Then *Tagaloa* descended and spoke, instructing *Tuli* to imprint that which he was specifically directing and the creatures had form and members but no *Fatumanava*. These *Le Tagaloa* gave and the creatures lived - human beings that then peopled the islands of Samoa, from Manua in the east to Savaii, the western most point.

When the 'wrigglers in the heat of the sun' were given human form, and they became *Tagataola* the latter beings included male and

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female. In other words, the *Solo o le Va*, did not produce the woman from Adam's rib, rather, it established the essence for perpetuation and completeness of life- that of having male and female as complementary to each other. Samoan philosophy - *E atoa lio a le masina* - complete like the encircled full moon, insisted from the beginning that we view the world as a whole - that is holistic, not dualistic or polaristic. In the modern world's divisiveness, which stems from taking either/or, the emphasis of the *Solo o le Va*, that life needs *both* male and female in all spheres of creation if the world is to have peace and prosperity, is fresh and reassuring in its simple reality.

The *Solo o le Va* recounts the *Va* that emanates from the Creator - *Le Tagaloa*, *Le Tagaloa Matua*, *Tagaloaalagi* who through the *Sau o le Ola* created the ten heavens, and peopled it with *Sa Tagaloa*. *Le Tagaloa* then created the *lagi* and *lalolagi* with Samoa and Samoan *tagataola* to inhabit it. All creation maintained the *Solo o le Va*, was done through the spoken word of God through which the *Sau o le Ola* - the breath of life, was manifested. Because of this all creation has the *Sau o le Ola* of the Creator in it. This is why the *Va* is observed among and within creation or between the created. This is not because Samoans are animists as is sometimes the mistaken interpretation. The pre-eminence of the *tagata* in creation is because the Creator gave to the *tagata* exclusively the *Fatumanava* - the

godly attributes. This is why the *tagata* is the only part of creation that is instructed by the imperative to ***Tapuai! To Worship!*** - To make the spiritual connection with *Le Tagaloa* in observance of the *Va* between the created and the Creator. This, as said in the beginning of this paper, is the focus of this dissertation to recapture the essence of the Samoan *tapuaiga* and show exactly how this spiritual connection was carried out, to whom it was made, and for what reasons.

CHAPTER TWO

Ola, Aitu, Maui - The inner person

In the previous chapter by looking at the *Solo o le Va* and how at the core of the Samoan world-view is the *Va*, we saw how the act of worship - *tapuai* is an expression of the *Va* between the *tagata* and their Creator. According to the *Solo o le Va*, the young of the *Fue-sa* were faceless, feature-less, and had no members. They were of indistinct form and merely wriggled in the light of the sun. They had no *Fatumanava*. Thomas Powell translated this word as a heart's pulsation. This is a literal translation of the first part of the word *fatu* which means heart, stone or seed and the word *manava* which means stomach or to breathe, in this case Rev. Thomas Powell has used the word pulsate. Without the *Fatumanava*, the life forms still had life. But after *Tuliotagaloa* marked these according to *Le Tagaloa's* instructions, they had limbs and features. However, it was only when they received the *Fatumanava*, that they then became humans. They received their personhood, their inner-beings. Through these godly attributes they became *tagataola* - living persons.

This second chapter will look at what these attributes are - the *Fatumanava* that make up the inner person of the Samoan - the

essence of the Samoan. The reason we are looking at this is because the imperative *Tapuai!* commands that the Samoan make spiritual connection with their God - *Le Tagaloa*. This spiritual connection is made or stems from the inner person. It is from this place that the Samoan makes the *tapuaiga* or carries out the imperative to *Tapuai* - to worship!

Along with the five senses are the *Fatumanava*. With these attributes or vehicles the person can learn, and become aware of their being, their life, and their world. The senses are the vehicles to the physical world, the *Fatumanava* makes up the inner or unseen person of the living Samoan person - the spiritual so to speak. The inner person of the Samoan is divided into three parts: the *ola*, the *aitu* and the *mauli*. We will consider each of these divisions consecutively.

Ola focuses on the physiological or the biological side of the person. *Ola* is therefore being able to breathe or being alive. It is interesting that it is part of the inner person especially as the inner person is often seen as the spiritual or the unseen whereas being able to breathe is a much more physical manifestation. The reason why the Samoans have identified it as part of the inner person is because they see life or the breath of life and breathing as a mystery. No one knows where it comes from and where it goes. One thing is for sure

is that when *ola* is present the person is living - *tagataola* and when it is absent the person is dead - *tagataoti*. Then there is the even more perplexing case of people where *ola* ceases and then somehow *ola* returns. Seeing as it came back - where did it go? Because of this it is concluded that the presence and absence of *ola* is in the realm of the 'super'. This is why it holds a place in the unseen, inner person of the *tagataola*.

The *aitu* is rather problematic because of missionary interpretations or misinterpretations and the power of the written word. The published academic word has branded in the minds of all readers including Samoans, that *aitu* has and can only have one meaning and this is the meaning which has been noted in missionary writings. Of course this can be attributed to the fact that the whole aim of the missionary endeavor was to remove from the language and culture any or all traces of any heathen, pagan or dark practices of the indigenous people. This is often the accusation leveled at missionaries in such cases concerning the disappearance of words from native languages. So much so that when this explanation is raised one is a bit wary and thinks here we go again - blaming it all on the missionaries. I believe though in the case of *aitu* that it is a justified accusation. If one reads anything about *aitu* and its

definitions the source is always a Western missionary - George Turner, John Williams and any others.²⁴

The white man introduced the idea that *aitu* is a phenomenon that comes into existence when the body dies, when *ola* ceases. In other words *aitu* is part of a dead person not a living person as this chapter states. *Aitu* has been defined by the white missionary as a ghost, a spirit or a demon and sometimes even a god of some description. The *aitu* like the *mauli* which we will look at later does not die, however, when the Samoan person dies - it stays around.

The *aitu* is the creative and cheeky part of the inner being of the person. There is a Samoan art form and genre known as the *faleaitu*. This is not about dead bodies or a house of dead spirits, which it would literally translate as if we use the missionary definition of *aitu*. Instead, it is a very witty, expressive art form that is comedy in the ancient Greek meaning of comedy. It is a very wise and telling way of expressing something that is often not comical at all. There is a lot of satire, irony, humor and sarcasm involved in it. Through this genre one can air matters that are taboo and people receive it or take it because the medium releases the tension and defuses the

²⁴ This is an example from Rev. George Turner's writings. "At birth a Samoan was supposed to be taken under the care of some god, or *aitu* as it was called...[they] were supposed to appear in some visible incarnation, and the thing in which his god was in the habit of appearing was to the Samoan

potential offensive or sensitive situations or issues it raises. The meaning of the word *fale* in the word *faleaitu* is not a literal house but more an institution or system. In other words it is the show of *aitu* - a collective of very mischievous, cheeky entertainers yet also social commentators.

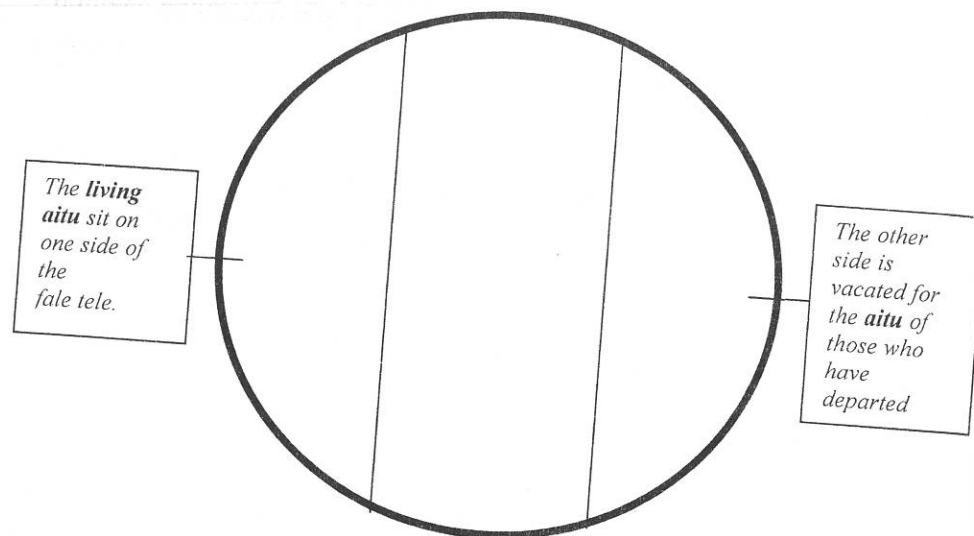
Where does the *aitu* reside and what does it look like? No one knows which part of the body it occupies but this is not surprising as no one really can say where the inner person of a person actually lies. One thing though that is quite definite among the Samoans is that the *aitu* is not a ghost or the spirit of the dead. The *aitu* is part of the living person and continues to exist when the body dies. The *aitu* has a form. Every person's *aitu* is said to look exactly like that person - complete to what they are wearing or not wearing at any particular time. This is evidenced by something, which often occurs. There are times when you walk along and you see someone and recognize him or her. Then, about five or ten minutes later you see the exact same person in a totally different location. Usually one is startled and wonders, didn't I just see them back there a few minutes ago and here they are in a totally different place. To such a question Samoans would usually reply or comment that it was perhaps that

person's *aitu* that you had seen on one of the two occasions - which one is any one's guess!

An expression that confirms the cheeky characteristics of the *aitu* is in the use of the word *mitu*, which is the shortened form of *aitu* often, used to describe someone full of verve, life, cheekiness, pizzazz, style, and flamboyance. You definitely do not use it to say they look like a ghost, dead or spooky.

There is another occurrence, which helps to describe this part of the inner person of the Samoan. *Fono ma aitu* is very specific kind of meeting. This shows the fact that the *aitu* does not die with the body and is also acknowledged as part of the living person. *Fono* is the word for meeting. Literally translated the *Fono ma aitu* is a meeting between the *aitu* of those where *ola* has ceased and those where *ola* is still present. Such meetings are only called if something very serious has occurred that would bring trouble to the village and where those who are alive feel they can not handle on their own. The meeting is held in the meeting house which will usually be one of the *fale tele* in the village.

and object of veneration..." G. Turner, *Samoa a hundred years ago and long before: A study of a Polynesian society before the advent of European influence*, 1884, (Reprint), Auckland, 1983, p.17.



The living
aitu sit on
one side of
the
fale tele.

The other
side is
vacated for
the *aitu* of
those who
have
departed

How they communicate is a mystery.

Figure One: FONO MA AITU. The house in which this would occur is the *fale tele*, which is the roundhouse and is the house where meetings or *fono* take place. This house is separate from the sleeping house and the cooking house.

Fono ma aitu continued after the arrival of Christianity. One occurred as recently as the early 1970s. This was when a *matai* who held a very high ranking title died.²⁵ What was so serious about his death that warranted a *fono ma aitu*? What had happened was that this *matai* had been exiled by the *fono a matai* - the council of chiefs. The sentence into exile was carried out so quietly that not many people knew about it. Because he had been exiled, when he died nothing was done to honor him despite the fact that he held a very high-ranking *matai* title in the *nuu* and in fact Samoa as a whole. The meeting therefore was held to reinstate him into the circle of *matai*. The *fono ma aitu* was held the night he was brought home for burial. Through the *fono ma aitu* he was reinstated and therefore died as a *matai* and received all the honors due a *matai* of his standing upon death. Because he was recognised as a *matai* again, he had a *lagi*. This ceremony is where the inner personhood of the being enters the realm where all dead *matai* go. *Lagi* are specific to *matai-alii* - high chiefs. The belief is that through this ritual the dead body touches the soil - *fanua* and *eleele*. This must occur before it can continue the journey to *Pulotu* - the underworld. According to Samoan beliefs - the *aitu* chooses whether to go with the body on its journey to *Pulotu*. The *Lualoto o Alii* is said to be one of the entrances to *Pulotu*. There however is the belief that there

²⁵ Specific titles and place names have been omitted for reasons of privacy and respect for those concerned.

is a *ala oo* - a seemingly endless way that does reach its destination, which stretches from Manua, the Matasaua - where the sun rises all the way to Falealupo - the western most point of Samoa where the *Lualoto o Alii* is said to be situated. Apparently all along this long *ala oo* are other smaller tributaries that join it.

Traditionally Samoans were not buried in coffins. The body was bundled up in tapa and mats and placed in their grave. Sometimes timber from the breadfruit tree was shaped like a canoe and the body was placed in this before being buried. This is called a *vaa ulu*. *Ulu* means breadfruit and *vaa* means vessel. The dead were also said to travel to *Pulotu* by *vaa loa* - long boat or vessel or *vaa pulu* - a small vessel made of the coconut husk - *pulu*. Because these were small it was perhaps more likely that the *aitu* or *mauli* used them in their travels.

The *Mauli* has no form or features unlike the *aitu*, which looks exactly like you when you are alive. What it looks like when you are dead is unknown. The *mauli* is more challenging than the *aitu*. Although the *aitu* has a different meaning and connotation associated with it because of missionary writings at least the word still exists in the Samoan language and people have an understanding of it, erroneous as it may be. The *mauli*, on the other hand, still exists in the language in certain expressions, but the

meaning is lost on the people. Those who use the expressions are very few and more likely to be of the older generation or young people who have a lot to do with the older generation and have heard them use the expressions. The missionaries in place of the word *mauli* have used the word *loto* - the heart of a person in the figurative sense; the seat of the will or emotions wherever that is!

One such expression which refers to the *mauli* is: *tai segia se mauli*. This is often used as a reprimand when one makes sudden noises that startles a sleeping person. The word *mauli* was used in early translations of the Bible in the passage in the New Testament where the disciples were startled to see Jesus who they thought was a ghost walking towards them on the Sea of Galilee. - *Ua segia o latou mauli* - their *mauli* were snatched.

Very little is known about what the *mauli* looks like and no one knows which part of body it inhabits. It seems, however, to be a very active and important factor in people's dreaming. Apparently it is supposed to be able to leave the body when the person is asleep. Which is why one should not startle a sleeping person lest their *mauli* does not return before they awake. If this occurs then it is said that their *mauli* is snatched - *segia*. If the *mauli*, as with the *aitu*, is affected in any way the person is said to be a *tagata vale* - a sick person - mentally, emotionally and psychologically.

The closest equivalent in the English language to *mauli* is the psyche. It is a major part of the intellectual life of the person. Where Freud's psyche has three divisions: the ego, super ego and id, the *mauli* of the Samoan has seven parts or divisions.

- *Iloilo* - the ability to reason, the intellect.
- *Masalo* - the ability to divine, foresee, or predict. An expression of this is in *iite* - a sort of inkling that is often accompanied by a tingling feeling or a sense of apprehension and/or anticipation that something is going to happen. Another manifestation of this is in certain types of dreams called *lia* or *faalepo* - warning dreams, premonitions, visions, or nightmares.
- *Finagalo* - the ability to make promulgations. This was ceded to the God of Christianity. Samoans do not speak of holding a personal *finagalo*. They may refer to the *finagalo* of another in a situation of respect acknowledging that the final say or word is that person's *finagalo*. But you will never hear a Samoan say today that they were exercising their own *finagalo*.
- *Mana* - grace and/or power. Samoans do not speak of personal *mana* anymore for this was given to the God of Christianity. He alone holds all *mana* - power and grace.
- *Sau* - breath of life. This comes through the spoken word. For this reason, Samoans put even greater emphasis on the need to

choose one's words carefully and to speak only in appropriate circumstances and in appropriate tones. For they recognize the power of words to create and to destroy. They are the breath of life manifested and such must be handled with great care, consideration and caution.

- *Manao* - feelings, emotions and desires. These show the deepest yearnings of the human being - humanity manifested at its best and at its most base.
- *Mafaufau* - the ability to remember, memories and memory itself.

The most important function of the *mauli* is *Tapuai*! The imperative - to Worship! To *Tapuai* is to make the spiritual connection with God for another person or for a situation. Very rarely does one *tapuai* for oneself. This is because the assumption is that as I *tapuai* for another person and their situation, someone else carries out the same act for me and my situation. This is why when someone congratulates you for an accomplishment or an achievement your response is, if you are truly Samoan: *malo le tapuai* - thanking them and acknowledging the fact that your success is due to their carrying out the act of *tapuai*. It is often very obvious when they did not *tapuai*. Certain uneasiness creeps across their face and expresses itself in their demeanor! In simple terms, *Tapuai* is the worship of God for the good of someone else.

It is very difficult to *tapuai* properly because it is done in total silence. You do not eat or drink until the result or resolution of the situation you *tapuai* for occurs. The idea is that you direct your *mauli* to God for a good outcome for those and that you *tapuai* for. This is why there is a Samoan expression that: *e le sili le tai i le tapuai*. Which says that those who go out to 'do battle' are no more important than the person performing the worship on your behalf or for your success. This acknowledges the difficulty in the observance of the *tapuai* and how the outcome of the situation is heavily dependent on the *tapuaiga* - the act of *tapuai*.²⁶

For something so important as the *mauli* I was surprised that there is not much information on it. I decided to look at other Polynesian languages and cultures to see if there is any information there that would illuminate more on the *mauli*. I decided the first place to check would be in dictionaries. This was harder than it seemed and not as rewarding as it was hoped. The Tongan dictionary I consulted had *Mauli* but its only meaning was the Tonganisation of *Maori*.²⁷ The Tahitian dictionary was very small, very incomplete, very old and it did not have *mauli* or *mauri* or any other variation.²⁸ In a

²⁶ Information concerning the *ola*, *aitu* and *mauli* are again from experiential knowledge, personal communication over several years with my parents and other elders in my *aiga*, conversations within my *aiga*, and a specific interview with Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa, 24 July 2001.

²⁷ C. Maxwell Churchward, *Tongan-English English-Tongan Dictionary*, Tonga, 1959, pp. 347, 704.

²⁸ Leonard Clairmont, *Tahitian-English English-Tahitian Dictionary*, California, 1958, p.9.

Rotuman dictionary I found the word *mauri*. It stated that it meant to be alive, life, to be working as with a clock or an engine or to be lighted as with a fire or a lamp.²⁹

In a Tuvaluan lexicon however I found the word *mauli* defined as the soul. It also noted that the word is obsolete except in the expression - *e poi toko mauli* - it surprised the soul out of me.³⁰ This is similar to the Samoan expression - *ua segia le mauli* - I had a fright, my blood ran cold which George Milner uses in his Samoan dictionary as an example for the use of the word *mauli* which he defines as the seat of the emotions.³¹ Milner's dictionary was first published in 1966. Milner was not a missionary and was commissioned by the Western Samoan and American Samoan Governments to compile a new dictionary to supplement or replace Rev. George Pratt's 1862 dictionary. An interesting fact to note is that the word *mauli* is not found in Pratt's dictionary. This is not surprising if one knows that the most important function of the *mauli* is to *tapuai*! No Christian missionary in their right mind would leave a record of something so essential to the faith and

²⁹ www.yourdictionary.com, *Churchward's Online Rotuman-English Dictionary*. The Hawaiian word *mauli* has a similar meaning to the Rotuman. It can mean life, heart, or seat of life. See M.K. Pukui, and S.H. Herbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, Honolulu, 1986, p.242.

³⁰ Niko Besnier, *Tuvaluan Lexicon*, 1981, p.164. Samoan missionaries in fact evangelized the Tuvaluans so there is a possibility that the phrase concerning the *mauli* was borrowed from the Samoans. However it is unlikely that the Samoan missionaries would introduce a word or concept that was out of favor with the European missionaries. It is possible that the Tuvaluans themselves had the same concept in their own culture. Further linguistic research beyond the scope of this dissertation is required here.

beliefs they were seeking to replace. One must be careful not to generalize because there were missionaries who meticulously recorded information, even if it was contrary to their worldview. Perhaps Pratt felt the word was obsolete and therefore did not need to be recorded.

The most comprehensive information on the *mauli* or in this case the *mauri* in the Polynesian languages that I looked at is in the Maori language and its culture. For Maori, *Mauri* is a special power possessed by Io which makes it possible for everything to move and live in accordance with the conditions and limits of its existence. Everything has a *mauri* including, people, fish, animals, birds, forests, land seas, and rivers; the *mauri* is that power which permits these living things to exist within their own realm and sphere. No one can control their *mauri* or life essence."³² According to Elsdon Best "The *mauri* of man is apparently his physical life principle..."³³ "The *mauri* or the *mauri ora* of a person may be termed the soul in one sense in as much as it represents the vital spark, the spiritual, intellectual, and even the physical well being of the *genus homos*."³⁴

According to Maori, "the *mauri* is *te hau ora* (living breath) imparted at birth by the sneeze when the new-born child first responds to its new environment. It contains the personhood of the individual ... It is this that holds the person's *mana*. Should one's *mana* be violated, the *mauri* can be destroyed or lost and death must ensue for there is no longer a *hau ora*..."³⁵ The *mauri* ceases to exist upon the death of the body, unlike the soul which Western beliefs say travels on to the spirit world.³⁶ This is because "when a person is born, the gods bind the two parts body and spirit of his being together. Only the *mauri* or power of Io can join them...when the person dies the *mauri* is no longer able to bind those parts together and thereby give life - and the spiritual and physical parts of the person's being are separated."³⁷ "Although not linked to any particular organ, the human *mauri* was identified as 'that which moves within us, as in sudden fright!'"³⁸

It is not the seat of emotions although it is to some extent affected by fears...The *mauri* is a protective principle because it represents the gods and the *tapu* pertaining to them. We would be inclined to term it the divine spirit in man; it is the immaterial shrine or

³¹ George B. Milner, *Samoan-English English Samoan Dictionary*, New York, 1966, p.141.
³² Cleve Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Maori Culture*, Auckland, 1991, p.83.
³³ Elsdon Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology Part two*, Hong Kong, 1995, p.46.
³⁴ Peter Gathercole, 'Hau, Mauri and Utu: A Re-examination', *Mankind*, 11(3) (1978), p.335.

³⁵ James Irwin, *An Introduction to Maori Religion*, South Australia, 1984, p.21

³⁶ Best, *Maori Religion*, p.32.

³⁷ Barlow, *Tikanga*, p.83.

³⁸ F. Allan Hanson and Louise Hanson, *Counterpoint in Maori Culture*, Melbourne, 1983, p.62.

the abiding place of *mana* or power of the gods in man, hence it is essentially *tapu*.³⁹

When a child has passed through the ceremony of the *tohi* (birth rites) his *mauri* is sent for safekeeping to Rehua, in the eighth heaven, but nonetheless if anything should startle man or woman it is said to be an *oho mauri* an expression equivalent to our saying that one's heart has jumped into one's mouth.⁴⁰

Such is the immaterial *mauri*, but there is also a material *mauri* pertaining to man, forests, land villages ... this may be described as a protective talisman, a material emblem of the gods that possesses great protective powers, as also does the immaterial *mauri* of man.⁴¹

An intact *mauri* of the immaterial sort, indeed, was necessary to the well being of anything, and that fact explains the significance of the material *mauri*.⁴² The material *mauri* refers to the physical object in which *atua* are thought to be lodged. *Atua* has been translated as

³⁹ Best, *Maori Religion*, p.47.

⁴⁰ Gathercole, 'Hau', p.338.

⁴¹ Best, *Maori Religion*, p.46.

⁴² Hanson, *Counterpoint*, p.62.

gods - some contemporary Maori believe that they were not gods but ancestors of great *mana*. As the Maori belief is that when ancestors die they stay close by to protect and aid their descendants, the material *mauri* helps the ancestors to locate their descendants.⁴³

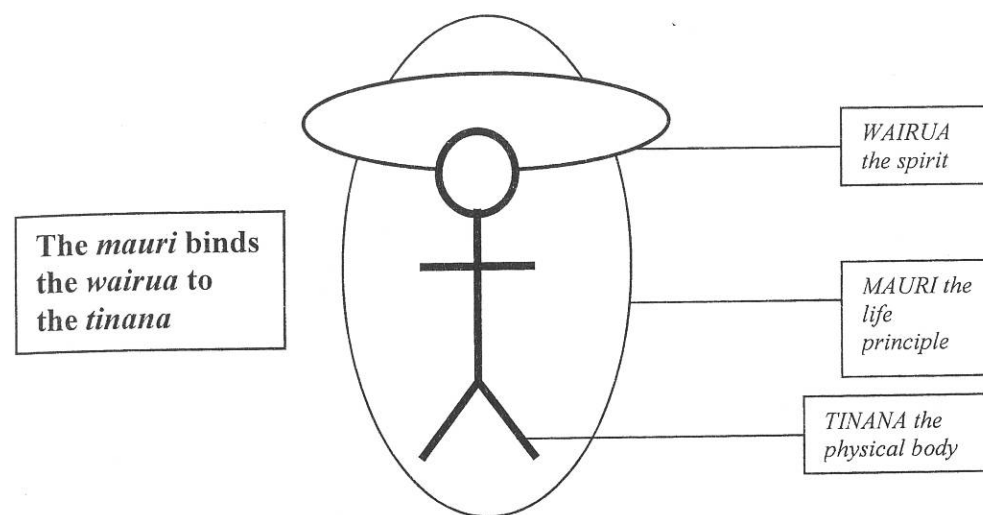


Figure Two: Pictorial representation of relationship between the *mauri*, *wairua* and *tinana*.

From this exploration one can see similarities within Polynesian languages and the Maori culture in particular with regard to the *mauli* or the *mauri*. It refers to and is in fact essential for life and living. It is in the realm of the unseen - a life principle or the soul as seen in the Tuvaluan language and also in the Maori. The Maori

⁴³ Jim Williams, Pukenga, lecturer, School of Maori Studies, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, pers. com., 5 September 2001. The diagram was drawn for me by Jim Williams as an

mauri, however, is also physical as well as 'spiritual' for want of a better word. In these ways the sentiment or meaning the word holds is similar across the languages.

There are also some more specific parallels between the Samoan *mauli* and the Maori *mauri*. One of the most significant for our purposes is Elsdon Best's comment that the *mauri* is the immaterial shrine of the gods, the divine spirit in man.⁴⁴ This is similar to the fact that the *mauli* is part of the godly attributes - the *Fatumanava* brought by *Le Tagaloa* -the Creator and placed in the person. For this reason it logically follows that the *mauli* makes the spiritual connection with God in the act of *tapuai* -worship, as it is so to speak the immaterial shrine of the Creator. Another interesting parallel was expressed by James Irwin when he stated that the *mauri* holds the person's *mana*. As referred to earlier, one of the seven divisions of the Samoan *mauli* is *mana*. For Maori, the *mauri* is *tapu* because of the fact the *mana* or power gifted by the gods rests there. This I believe was also the case for the Samoan *mauli* - a place where their God-given *mana* resided and was invoked. The difference, however, is in the fact that no Samoan speaks of personal *mana* anymore for it has been attributed to the God of Christianity. This is, I believe, logical and in accordance with

illustration to aid our discussion on the *mauri*.

⁴⁴ Best, *Maori Religion*, p.47.

Christian beliefs because now, "it is no longer I that lives but Christ who lives in me."⁴⁵ The person has no personal power but has the same power that raised Christ from the dead residing in him or her. This is another expression of how absolute the takeover of Christianity was in Samoa. The transfer occurred upon the acceptance of Christianity in 1830 and since then no Samoan has spoken of their own *mana*.

There are however also differences between the Samoan *mauli* and the *mauri* of the Maori. One difference is in the fact that in the Maori belief the *mauri* does not travel. Instead, it is the *wairua* that travels in dreams or through other ways that detach it from the *tinana* or the physical body. It is the *wairua* that must return to the body before the person is awakened. Another difference is in the fact that Maori *mauri* ceases to exist upon the end of the *hau ora*. The Samoan *mauli* survives the end of *ola*. The *mauli* and *aitu* are free to go to *Pulotu* or not, or to travel there and return. This belief of the Samoans is like that of the Maori, that their ancestors never leave them but stay around to aid and protect the living even though the *wairua* makes the journey to *Reinga* and beyond, upon the death of the body.

⁴⁵ Galatians 2:20, *The Holy Bible*, New International Version, Michigan, 1992.

Perhaps the most interesting similarity I found is the existence of the expression referring to one being startled and it affecting the *mauri* or *mauli*. This is the only evidence of *mauli* in the Samoan context today yet the exact same expression or sentiment is found in the Tuvaluan language and also in the Maori language and situation. It is an encouraging find because it shows that the *mauli* can be rediscovered and reinstated into the language and culture of the Samoans. This essential part of Samoan worship can be retrieved and hopefully re-acknowledged.

When Christianity arrived in Samoa it was embraced wholeheartedly. I believe this is because so many facets of the new faith found parallels within the Samoans own beliefs. They believed in one great God. He was unseen and was in all places for the name *Le Tagaloa* means Boundless Freedom. The teachers of the faith were given a highly respected place within the social organisation of the Samoans. They were given a status similar to that of the *tamaitai* - the female heirs of the *matai*. They were placed in this group because it was observed that the Christian teachers carried out the responsibilities or *nafa* normally carried out by the *tamaitai* or the *feagaiga* - the covenant. The *tamaitai* was the peacemaker, she was the healer, the teacher, the keeper of the knowledge of the family, and she was also the priestess who resided over the private worship if the *matai* of the family was not present. The Christian teachers,

missionaries and later the pastors were given the title of *faa-feagaiga* - one who is like a *feagaiga*. It was from this privileged position that I believe the faith took root and became firmly established in Samoa. If it was not for this fact I do not believe its acceptance would have been so absolute. Added to this was the fact that so many of the attributes which the Samoan once claimed to hold personally and individually were assigned to or attributed to the God of the new faith. These included: *finagalo*, *mana*, *sau* even *masalo*. Today only Jehovah's *finagalo* is spoken of. He alone has and owns all *mana*. He alone has the *sau o le ola*. He alone knows all things so that the only time *masalo* is used by the ordinary Samoan today is to speak of a possibility, a 'maybe' or a suspicion. Because of this, the inner person of the Samoan has been greatly affected. The *mauli* has lost over half of its components. Added to this is the fact that the *aitu* has such a narrow and negative meaning. The result is, the Samoan's *tagatalilo*, their inner person has been decimated and along with it, the value and the immense power of the *tapuaiga* - the act of Samoan worship. The gaping hole left by the decimation of the Samoan inner person has been filled with the ideas regarding the inner person entailed in the Christian faith. This is again another reason for the success of the Christian faith in Samoa. Because, although the inner person was attacked so violently the introduction of the Holy Spirit, whereby God Himself dwells within the believer restored wholeness although the definer

and definition had altered as personal *mana*, *sau* and *finagalo* was given to the new God. I do not believe maintaining the concepts of *ola*, *aitu* and *mauli* would have harmed the new faith. It is however, understandable that when one is trying to introduce something new and to change the old, anything harking back to the past would be too dangerous and too tempting to have hanging around. Perhaps this is a good time to attempt a retrieval of Samoan worship. The Christian faith is established, so people will not feel threatened and Samoans can rediscover a lost part of their heritage and identity.

Tapuai recognises the *Va* established between the Creator and created through creation, which we saw in the first chapter when *Le Tagaloa* placed the *Fatumanava* in the created Samoan human beings. *Tapuaiga*, is the making of a spiritual connection from the inner person, specifically the *mauli*, to God, for situations concerning the Samoan *tagataola*. The next chapter will look at expressions of this *tapuaiga*.

CHAPTER THREE

Faamalama, Alofisa - Forms of Worship

This chapter will look at forms of Samoan worship. These two examples will show two different situations where the Samoan will make a spiritual connection from their *mauli* to their God in observing the *tapuaiga*. The first example is a private form of worship and the second is a public form. The participants are different in the different forms due to the purpose of the *tapuaiga*.

My being Samoan has made this dissertation a very interesting and difficult task. As a Samoan I can see things that an outsider would not appreciate, yet this strength can also be a weakness if it makes me blind to the wider picture. While I am conscious of this the difficulty lies particularly in the fact that the subject matter of this dissertation is so central to being Samoan and therefore so central to my own personal identity as an individual and a member of an *aiga*.

This is even more the case with regard to the first form of worship this chapter will consider. I have to admit that this is the reason or should I say the catalyst for my desire to look at Samoan worship in more detail: To note down something that hopefully will be taken further in the future to retrieve what we can of that which has been

lost. This would in turn paint a better and fuller picture of the Samoan worldview and Samoan epistemology.

Although I have not been on this planet for very long, I have noticed one of the first things a child learns to write is their name. I was no different; I learnt how to write my seven-letter name and had no idea what it meant. In 1991, I found out that my seven-letter name was only part of my name. My first name was in fact a thirty-six-letter sentence.

Fanaafi o faamalama o tapuaiga a Sapapalii - I was named after my mother who in turn was named after one of our ancestors. She too did not know what her name meant until she went to London to study in the late 1950s. This is her story and in a way also my story. I know it may come across as almost narcissistic to look at something in history that is so closely linked to oneself. But I believe it brings history to life and links the past to the present in the hope that it may live on into the future. The fact it is personal merely gives it an identifiable face.

It was in December 1958 that I met the late Miss Fletcher, librarian of the Central World Mission Library in Livingstone House, London. She very kindly took me to the basement and showed me the

sea chests, which contained unpublished papers of the London Missionary Society, missionaries and workers from the different parts of the world.

Miss Fletcher indicated the rows of chests and said that one or two of them would have papers on Samoa. She said, that she'd no hope of cataloguing them, because it's a big task, as well as the fact that she wouldn't have the knowledge of the native languages.

I feel even now, that I was divinely guided that wintry afternoon; for the very first lid I raised contained papers on Samoa and about the third paper I took out was a page from a school exercise book, and hand written on it in copper plate script was the title "*O Faamalama, o le tapuaiga faapaupau*." - The *Faamalama* - the heathenish worship. The writer didn't sign his name, but it was clear that he was Samoan.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Microfilm: M655 - London Missionary Society - South Seas, Odds, Box 15-16, The Newell Papers, reel 164.

I looked among the papers again and came across the draft of a paper in English describing this form of worship. The article was one by Rev. James Edward Newell. The sea chest contained the Newell Papers and Diaries.

According to Newell, this worship/*tapuaiga* placed importance on the lighting of the fire until the flames shoot up and lit up the whole house; this was referred to as *fanaafi o faamalama*.

The setting of the worship was inside the *fale tele* or the roundhouse. The *fale tele* had one, two or three center pillars. In front of the pillars was the *magalafu*, a stone lined shallow hollow where the fire is placed and was never allowed to go out completely.

The *Fanaafi o Faamalama* was observed twice a day; in the early morning, approximately five o'clock by the *palagi* watch and in the evening when the fires are blown - *ula afi*. This is when the ashes are blown and allows the embers/coals to come alive. When the dry tinders are thrown on them, flames would flare

illuminating the house and the worshippers - this was the sacrifice or fire votive to God.

Newell's article stressed the fact that Samoans went about bare bodied. But he reported that at this worship the priest/priestess raised his/her right hand for the *vala* or the thick mulberry bark cloth with which he/she wrapped him/herself. The person who led the worship of fire votives was either the *matai* or in the *matai's* absence, the *tamaitai matua* or the *feagaiga* of the *aiga*.

Newell included in his draft four of the prayers that were usually said during the *Fanaafi o Faamalama*. When the fire would flame the priest/priestess would say:

*O le Fanaafi o Faamalama mo lau Afio, le Atua
Ia apepelea i matou i lou agalelei*

This is a fire votive for you our God
May you wrap us, cloak us in your goodness and
kindness

Again the fire flamed -

*O le Fanaafi o Faamalama mo lau Afio, le Atua
Ua se atua ma lau afio lo matou agamasesei*

This is a fire votive to you our God
Our erring, wrongful, defiant ways are blatant before
you.

Again the fire flamed -

*O le Fanaafi o Faamalama mo lau Afio, le Atua
Ia taiesea i nuu le aina atua folau, e latou te aumaia
mai ma mala*

This is a fire votive to you our God
Direct those 'gods' of the seas – seafarers, to
uninhabited lands for they bear sickness and curses.

The fourth prayer, which Newell recorded, made me
weep -

*O le Fanaafi o Faamalama mo lau Afio, le Atua
Ia aafu i matou i le ie lautele o lou alofa...*

This is fire votive to you our God
Cover us, hide us in the broad mantle of your love.

I wept because this was the part of the *afiafi* or evening prayers that my mother used to say. I wept because it conjured up the image and the voice of my mother (who died when I was nearly eight years old) who had brought us up to respect the *afiafi* of the evening prayers. I wept because, I had all this time thought this prayer was something that the missionaries taught her.

I wept because the description of *fanaafi o faamalama* recorded by Newell is the direct contrast of the *afiafi*, where the prayers were said in complete darkness. After the *afiafi* the lights were turned on or the fire lit as this was when the bible would be read, hymns sung and prayers said aloud.

Another reason for my emotional reaction was the discovery of the meaning of the two words: *fanaafi* and *faamalama*. One was my name and the other I only knew as the Samoan word for the window of a

palagi house as Samoan houses did not have windows.

Faamalama was one of the words, like the expression - *segia le mauili*, that I had searched semantically for its place in the words introduced by the missionaries of the new religion. I was unable to get any other meaning for *faamalama* other than window of the *palagi* house: the figurative use of window as in Window to the East was not used. It had puzzled and frustrated me to have a word - a very Samoan word that was applied only to the window of a foreign form of dwelling.

My excitement with the realization that *faamalama* is related to the worship of the old times, made the meaning of:

Tini, tini, tini o!

Maumau o mea faamalama

A tiai e le malo

Which had been interpreted by Rev. George Pratt as a poem in which the lovers of darkness decried the

(possible) loss of their pleasures (*Mea faamalama* was interpreted as pleasures) clear and understandable. Understandable in terms of a view I have that among the first parts of Samoan cosmogony that came under the onslaught of Christianity, was the worship of old Samoa.

It was also interesting to realize that Newell was describing *Fanaafi o Faamalama* as a specific form of family worship while Pratt interpreted *mea faamalama* as pleasures.

Since I was reading for my post graduate work in an area quite separate from *tapuaiga*, all I did that wintry afternoon, was to make a note of the existence of the unsigned paper and Newell's article.

But I was encouraged to look for evidence of pre-Christian worship in practices of so called modern and Christian Samoans.

Because of the *magalafu* and its complete disappearance as part of the *fale tele*, I pursued the use of fire generally and specifically with the work of

the house building guild.⁴⁷ Here I observed that a fire is lit inside the foundation of the new *fale*, and is carefully re-lit daily. I asked several *tufuga* - master builders concerning the meaning of this fire and was answered with a shrug or a careless answer like, it is for burning the rubbish, or this was an old Samoan way of curing the wood! The latter reason is unbelievable because it is not a huge or smoky fire. Finally the impression was given that the fire eventually becomes the fire that never goes out, until the *fale* is old and falls apart.

Last year I asked a certain house building guild and master to build a *fale tele* for the heirs of *Aiono Suamataia* in *Pouniu*. The skill of the *tufuga* has produced a beautiful *fale* and I asked him to put in a *magalafu*. He said he would but did not do so. I mention this here because he was one of the *tufuga* who mentioned the fire that does not go out, and who spoke of the symbolic meaning of the three central posts but he made an oblong shaped hollow for the

⁴⁷ The *magalafu* is described by Rev. George Turner in G. Turner, *Samoa a hundred years ago and long before: A study of a Polynesian Society before the advent of European influence*, Auckland, 1983, pp.156-157.

magalafu. Obviously he did not know what a *magalafu* looked like, he knew the symbolism, the importance but did not know what the thing actually looked like.

This is another example of the total success of those early missionaries and merchants who were responsible for bringing the new form of worship and for stamping out the old.

As already inferred, *Fanaafi o faamalama* is no longer observed but a remnant of it is in the early morning prayers families still observe. This however is also dying out especially as the government run radio station broadcasts a fifteen-minute early morning devotion at six o'clock. The *Fanaafi o Faamalama* has been substituted by the evening prayers which pastors and villagers observe strictly. In many villages a curfew is observed for the duration of these evening prayers.

Another remnant of *Fanaafi o Faamalama* is in the attitude of awe that the average Samoan worshippers show when they have family prayers.

I recall as a child, that my father, who had been sitting around with just his *lavalava*, would call for a shirt or something with which to cover his bare shoulders, before leading the family in prayer. This was a practice and action that we have come to expect, anticipate and take for granted in the start of the family prayers...but it became more meaningful after reading Newell's article that afternoon in the basement of Livingstone House, London.

I have gone into some detail regarding the family worship of pre-Christian Samoa, for it is important to realize that worship or *tapuaiga* of Samoa, included this exclusive and private offering of fire votives. Elsewhere general and public worship began with the *alofisa*, the *ava* sacrifice, and ended with the *anapogi*.

In the *anapogi*, the worshippers fast in silence, and remain within the *fale tele* for the duration of whatever reason that required the *tapuaiga* -or the spiritual connection between the *mauli* and God.

For example in the *tapuaiga o le umuti* - This is the worship carried out when the fishers are out fishing for sharks. As this undertaking is obviously dangerous, the shark-fishers prepare well in advance and with care. When everything is ready, the fishers of shark and the *matai* would gather in one of the *fale tele*, all the blinds would be pulled down except the blinds between two posts in the front of the house.

The *umuti* would begin with the *alofisa*, to be followed by a meal, after which the fishers would depart and the *matai* would observe the *tapuaiga*, in silence; in being still, in remaining in the house, until the fishers of sharks return.

Speaking whether in prayer or conversing is quite prohibited in the observance of the *tapuaiga* which is why the prayer noted by Newell in the *Fanaafi o Faamalama* seem to be a departure and yet also shows the uniqueness of the fire votives of yester times.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Interview with Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa, 23 April 2001. Some of the information concerning *Fanaafi o Faamalama* can be found in a collection of articles and conference papers by Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa, in *O Motugaafa*, Apia, Samoa, 1996, pp.27-29.

As stated in the first chapter, the imperative to *tapuai* - worship, is the expression of the *Va* between the *tagataola* and their Creator - *Le Tagaloa*. This is the case in the private family form of worship of the *Fanaafi o Faamalama* where fire votives are offered to God for the various concerns of the family or *aiga*.⁴⁹ The *Fanaafi o Faamalama* is also an expression of the various *Va* within the *aiga*. This is why the *matai* the head of the family offers the *Fanaafi o Faamalama* and in the absence of the *matai* another *Va* is recognised in that the *tamaitai matua* of the *aiga* takes the worship. This acknowledges her place and role in the *aiga*. This role of the *tamaitai* or the *feagaiga* as the priestess that was given to the Christian *faiifeau* - pastor which as said earlier earned him the title of *faafeagaiga* - like the *feagaiga* or the *tamaitai*.

Earlier on this year I visited the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, which now houses the Centre for World Mission archives which, were once in Livingstone House. I was in search of the note written in copper plate script which my mother came across more than thirty years ago and I first heard of in 1991 when I finally learnt the rest of my name and also its meaning. Much to my disappointment after wading through boxes and boxes of archival material and straining over the microfiche collection I did not find

⁴⁹ *Aiga* is not a nuclear family it is more what is called an extended family. So when the ceremony is referred to as private family worship it is private with regard to the rest of the village but will include

the note or the article referred to above. I managed, however, to get hold of the microfilms of the collection from the Alexander Turnbull Library and I was delighted to find the document written in beautiful copper plate script. Unfortunately Newell's article on *Fanaafi o Faamalama* was not on microfilm. What surprised me was how many of the originals are missing. There were so many more documents on microfilm than that which I read in the archives earlier this year. Some of the information has perhaps been lost in the shift and one can not rule out the possibility of information sprouting legs and walking out! Since then I have been trying to find any other reference to *Fanaafi o Faamalama* in any other sources. I have not been able to locate any other information concerning it except for an interesting note of an occurrence by a British Consul to Fiji in 1857 and acting consul for Samoa in 1856-1858 - W.T. Pritchard which, could be an observation of the *Faamalama*.

What I found interesting about Pritchard's account is how he associated religion with what he calls 'cookery'.

The Samoans have two meals a day, the first at about eleven a.m. and the second in the dusk of the evening. The former meal is taken by the different members of the family as they drop in from their

various avocations - fishing, planting, building, or whatever it might be. At the latter meal, the whole family assembled and eats together, each individual having his or her share on a breadfruit or banana leaf. Before any one began to eat, the head of the family, pouring a portion of his ava on the ground "said grace" after the following manner: -

This is your ava, O ye our gods.
Remember this our family. Let our
number increase. Let us all live in
health. Let us all grow strong. We are
your people, O ye our gods. Then give
us food to eat. Let there be plenty, and
make our plantations to flourish and
all things good to eat. Ye also, gods of
war! This is ava for you. Make strong,
make brave, make numerous the
people of this our land. Ye also the
gods that sail the sea! This is your
ava. Pass this our land, and sail unto
another land.

Ava was always taken before, and never after eating. When there was no ava prepared for the evening meal, the head of the family prayed by the light of the fire. In every house there is a fireplace in the centre. Before beginning to eat, the fire was made to blaze up well, and the patriarch began, addressing first the family god, and then the whole host of gods;

-

This is light for you, O our gods
great and small. For you all we make
this our evening light. Look upon this
our family. Avert punishment and
disease. Look upon our poverty and
weakness. Let food be plentiful. Let
the gods of war be favorable to us.
Let the gods that sail the sea pass our
land and take away their disease with
them.⁵⁰

Pritchard does not call the prayers by light *Faamalama* but this may be what he is referring to. The difficulty I find with this account is

⁵⁰ W.T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences or Life in the South Pacific Islands*, 1866, (Reprint), Auckland, 1985, pp. 123-124.

how the two forms of *tapuaiga*: the *ava/alofisa* and the *faamalama* have been reduced to what he calls "saying grace". He has taken away the significance and distinction between the two forms of worship, a private one and a public one and lumped them together into two small slots to bless the food before the family partakes of it. The impossibility of mixing the two forms and minimizing it to "saying grace" (not that saying grace is insignificant) will be shown when we look at the second form of worship: the *ava/alofisa* and its origins. In this way it will be shown that its importance and value means it should not and can not be relegated to a minor position and in fact associating it with cookery would in fact be an act of sacrilege.

The piece by W. T. Pritchard seems to echo or is echoed by Rev. George Turner who, like Pritchard, places the description of what looks like the *Faamalama* and the drinking of *ava* as part of the meals the Samoans had.

The Samoans had a meal about 11 A.M., and their principal meal in the evening...The head of the family, in taking his cup of 'ava at the commencement of the evening meal, would pour out a little of it on the ground, as a drink-offering to the gods, and, all being silent, he would utter aloud the following prayer: -

Here is 'ava for you, O gods! Look kindly towards this family; let it prosper and increase; and let all be kept in health. Let our plantations be productive; let fruit grow; and may there be an abundance of food for us, your creatures.

Here is 'ava for you, our war gods! Let there be a strong and numerous people for you in this land.

Here is 'ava for you, O sailing gods! Do not come on shore at this place; but be pleased to depart along the shore to some other land.

It was also very common to pray with an offering of "flaming fire," just before the evening meal. Calling upon some one to blow up the fire and make it blaze, and begging all to be silent, a senior member of the family would pray aloud as follows: -

This light is for you, O king and gods superior and inferior! If any of you are

forgotten do not be angry, this light is for you all. Be propitious to this family; give life to all; and may your presence be prosperity. Let our children be blessed and multiplied. Remove far from us fines and sicknesses. Regard our poverty; and send us food to eat, and cloth to keep us warm. Drive away sailing gods, lest they come close and cause disease and death. Protect this family by your presence, and may health and long life be given to us all.⁵¹

It seems that one of these two authors received the information from the other one. Both Pritchard and Turner were in Samoa at the same time (1840s - 1850s), Pritchard's father was British Consul in Samoa before he took over, and lived in Samoa from 1848, and Turner was commissioned to the New Hebrides in 1840 and was in Samoa by 1844.⁵²

⁵¹ G. Turner, *Samoa a hundred years ago*, pp. 115-116.

commissioned to the New Hebrides in 1840 and was in Samoa by 1844.⁵²

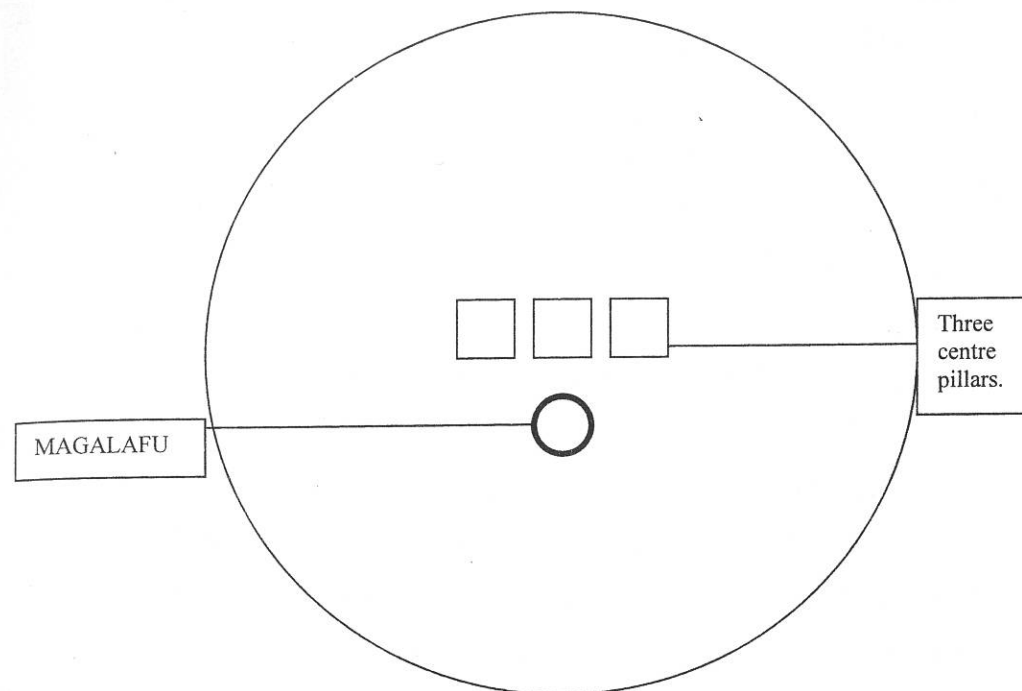


Figure Three: *Fanaafi o Faamalama*: This is carried out again in the *fale tele* which is propped up in the centre by three and sometimes one pillar depending on the size of the house. This is the only house, which has a *magalafu*. The *magalafu* is not for cooking.

The second form of worship this chapter will address is the *alofisa* or what is commonly known today as the *ava* ceremony. An older

⁵² G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia: Missionary Life, Travels and Researches the Islands of the Pacific*, 1861, (Reprint) Auckland, 1984, pp.1, 124.

term referring to the *ava* is *lea*. I will use these terms interchangeably.⁵³ Today in Samoa the *alofisa* is seen as purely a ceremony by most people, a mere ritual. Its meaning and significance as a specific form of worship has been lost on the people, especially the younger generation. Its survival after the acceptance of Christianity I believe has been due to the fact that its importance as worship has been lost or removed. Aiding this is the fact that in the part of the *alofisa* that particularly referred to the God of Samoa has been replaced in the minds of Samoans as a reference, a sacrifice or a plea to the God of Christianity.

The ceremony is performed on many occasions. Again as was the case with *Fanaafi o Faamalama* it is an expression of the *Va* between the *tagataola* and their Creator. In the *ava* ceremony the participants beseech the presence and blessing of God on the situation for which the ceremony is being performed. I will look first at the origins of the *ava* ceremony and then look at its form, which is still observed today.⁵⁴

⁵³ *Ava* refers to the plant, the root, the juice, and the ceremony. This should be kept in mind as it may cause some confusion.

⁵⁴ The information concerning the *alofisa* comes from experiential knowledge also personal communication over several years with my parents and my *aiga*. The information can be found in a German publication for a display at a Museum in Frankfurt. It was translated into German from an article written by Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa in 1998. The same information was also revised and published for an Interdenominational Women's World Prayer Day held on the 2 March 2001, *Frauen aller Konfessionen laden ein Weltgebetstag*. Edited by Petra Heilig. Published by the German World Prayer Day Committee.

In the beginning the ceremony of the *lea/ava* was exclusive to *Le Tagaloa* the God of Samoa. One day *Le Tagaloa* came down to Earth from the tenth heaven, his dwelling place because he wanted to eat some *manini* - a small and extremely tasty fish. After his meal he sent for the *leaalagi* - the *lea* of the ten heavens. The *leaalagi*, a plant, the *piper methysticum* grew in the ten heavens, which *Le Tagaloa* created before this world was made.⁵⁵ The *leaalagi* was exclusive to *Le Tagaloa*. It was brought down because he requested it. When it was brought down to earth apparently it became fierce and man-eating. The story has it that the only way to overcome the savage plant was to beat its branches with a wooden club while the person beating laughs loud and derisively. The branches of the *piper methysticum* are called *ata*, which means to laugh. These *ata* when dried in the sun are called *tugase* or *ava*.

Pava, one of *Sa Tagaloa*, served *Le Tagaloa* in the sacred ceremony. Being an exclusive ceremony, no one other than *Pava* was permitted to be present. *Pava's* young son however broke the *tapu* and rushed in and was struck in two by *Le Tagaloa*. *Pava* pleaded for his son's life. *Le Tagaloa* then instructed *Pava* to put the two halves of his dead son together and to place him just in front of the *laulau/tanoa* - the bowl in which the *lea* is mixed. *Pava* did as

⁵⁵ F. N. Fastier, 'Abstract of a paper presented by Joseph P. Buckley, Angelo R. Furguile, Maureen J. O'Hara: Pharmacology of Kava', *Journal of Polynesian Society*, Shorter Communications, 76, 1,

he was instructed, then he sat and observed *Le Tagaloa's* actions. First of all, *Le Tagaloa* clapped his hands in a staccato rhythm. He then poured the *lea* where the two parts of the dead boy's body joined. He then in a loud voice exclaimed, *Ola!* - Live! *Pava's* son sat up, alive again.

The name given to the ritualistic *lea* ceremony of *Le Tagaloa* is *alofisa*. *Alofi* is the coming together and *sa* means sacred or forbidden. No one knows the recorded day, time, year or generation when this event took place but it is the point at which the exclusive ceremony of *Le Tagaloa*, the God of Samoa became an inclusive one. Since the incident with *Pava's* son, *matai* now come together and participate in the *ava* ceremony. Because it is only *matai* who participate in the *ava* ceremony it is still exclusive in a sense. Yet, because *matai* are representatives of all the heirs who are connected to each *matai* title, in effect everyone is represented and partakes in the *ava* ceremony.

The *ava* ceremony became the responsibility of the *aumaga* - the group of untitled male heirs of the *matai* in the *nuu* - village.⁵⁶ The ancient ritual of the *alofisa* always used the green, freshly uprooted

(1967), pp.101-102.

⁵⁶ *Nuu* - this word is translated loosely as village but it specifically refers to the *matai* or chiefs. It is not a term that describes only a physical location like the word village in the English language it can mean that, but more importantly it refers to the collective - the *matai* of that area or place.

lea. The plant was divided among the *aumaga* to chew for the word literally means the team that chews the bolus of *ava* or *maga*. The rootlets and the corm of the *lea* is chewed by the *aumaga*. This is then mixed with water and the juice is squeezed out using a special strainer called the *fau*. Today when an important *matai* title is bestowed, a green *lea* plant is presented in front of the house where the title bestowal takes place. The green *lea*, known as the *ava ati* is distributed but the *ava* ceremony for the title bestowal itself will use the dried *lea*, which has been beaten to a powder and not chewed.

Everyone in the *aumaga* was tattooed. By going through the painful process of being tattooed one was initiated and qualified to enter the *aumaga* who then had the right to prepare and serve in the *alofisa* as well as in the house of the *matai*. The term *taulealea*, which refers to the tattooed, young, male warrior, comes from one function of the *aumaga*, which is squeezing out the juice of the *lea*.⁵⁷ From the special strainer the *fau*, came the word for the special charm that the Samoans look for in a male, that of being *tauagafau*. The *fau* and is made from the bark of the wild hibiscus plant. It is gentle on the hands and yet strong like the charm desired of a Samoan male - *tauagafau*.

⁵⁷ *Tau* - shortened form of *tatau* - meaning to squeeze, appropriate and also refers to the traditional tattoo of a male. *Tau* also means to battle or fight or participate in warfare.

The *ava usu* or *usu* is the name given to the *ava* ceremony, which usually takes place whenever the *matai* of the *nuu* welcome, or farewell visitors and guests. The *usu* is part of the ancient worship of Samoa, the *alofisa*, which is still practiced today. Basically it is the coming together to worship and acknowledge the *mana* of God that gives life and enables man to implement and develop his plans. The Samoans believe that man can achieve nothing without the *mana* of God. There is a Samoan saying - *e tausoa mea uma*. This literally means that for everything you do, it must be done with another - in a pair. In the act of worship or *tapuaiga* a Samoan acknowledges that the one with whom they will do all things with, who will aid them and partner them in an endeavor, is God.

As with the *Fanaafi o Faamalama*, the expression of the *Va* first and foremost between the Creator and the *tagataola* leads to the recognition of the *Va* among and between the people. This is seen where the *ava usu* occurs as part of the *alofisa* or *ava* ceremony. The example that follows is the form the *ava usu* and the *alofisa* takes in the village of *Fasitoo*, which is my mother's village and therefore my village also. The form is similar to what takes place across Samoa but there may be slight variations depending on the traditions or conventions of that particular village.

The following would occur if for example, *Aiono* (a high chief of *Fasitoo*) has guests in the village. The *matai* decide to perform the *usu*. They would select the house of a particular *matai* where they would gather and consult before going to *Aiono's* house, each bringing a *tugase* or *ava* - the sun dried branch of the *ava*. Here the *Va* that is acknowledged is that between the *matai* of *Fasitoo* and *Aiono*, the *Va* between *Aiono* and *Aiono's* guests and the *Va* between the *matai* of *Fasitoo* and the visitors.

It may seem subjective to use an example from my own village. This is because in Samoan culture you do not speak on behalf of someone else or about someone else's village and the way they do things. This would be seen as rude, presumptuous and basically speaking about something you have no right to speak about and therefore no knowledge to speak of either. So if one speaks about something they use their own situation as an example because that is presumed to be something you can speak about and should know something about as it concerns you and your personal connections. In such a context you may exercise your right to speak and can in fact speak with some authority.

In the Samoan culture, people are not introduced, particularly in the protocol of the *usu*. For both the visitors and the *usu* names and identities are recognised by the positions in the house where the

matai sit. In the protocol of *Fasitoo* for example, the *Aiono* sits at one end or *tala* of the house. The orators or *Falefitu* and *Fasitoo* of *Aiono's aiga*, sit in the front. The visitors would seat themselves similarly. The leader of their delegation would sit at the opposite *tala* to *Aiono*, and the orators sit at the front alongside the *Falefitu* and *Fasitoo*. When the other *matai* of *Fasitoo* who met earlier, arrive to carry out the *usu*, everyone already in the house can be identified by the place in which they sit.

After the greetings between the *matai* already in the house, the visitors and the *matai* who have come to carry out the *usu*, an orator would then call for the collection of the *tugase* brought by the *matai* of the *usu*. A mat is taken around to collect all the *tugase* from the *matai*. The mat with all the *tugase* is taken to the orator who had called for the collection of the *tugase*. He is called the *sufi ava*. The *sufi ava* then instructs that the mat of *tugase* be taken to the orator of the visiting *matai*. Protocol demands that the giver understates whereas the receiver of course praises the *tugase* to high heaven. Therefore the *sufi ava* apologizes for the poor quality of the *ava*, excusing the village and the barrenness of the land even if the mat is heaped with *tugase*.

The visitors' orator receives the mat and he should be able to recognize the different types of *tugase* or *ava*, know their names as

well as the genealogy and history of the *leaalagi*. This is essential to the correctness of the part he has to perform in the ceremony. After praising the *ava* the orator will then distribute the *ava* or *pule-ava*.

Before the orator even begins to praise the *ava* and then distribute them he must excuse himself or apologize for the fact he has to speak. The first *tugase* in the distribution is given to the *laulau/tanoa* where the *lea* that has been beaten into a powder has been mixed for the *alofisa*. The next will be given to the certain *matai* in the visiting group. The orator for the visitors keeps the rest for them.

The *faatau* by the village *matai* follows the distribution of the *tugase* by the visitors' orator. In the *faatau* the orators negotiate for the right to make the speech. The *faatau* can be protracted. Usually the group of village *matai* had decided before they came to worship and *tapuai* through the *usu* as to who would speak.

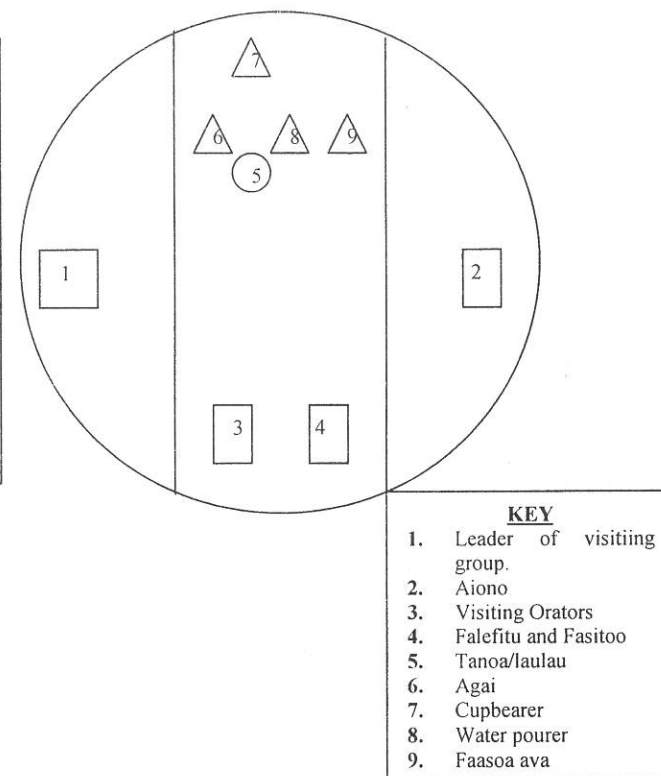
As soon as the orator from the *usu* begins his speech, the *taulealea* at the *ava* bowl - the *laulau/tanoa* starts mixing and straining the *ava*. The *papalagi* in the nineteenth century changed this when they made girls mix the *ava*. There are however still villages where the *ava* continues to be mixed by a member of the *aumaga*. An orator of the visiting group gives the second speech after a second

faatau. After this speech the announcement of the cups commences.

The *ava* bowl or the *laulau/tanoa* is placed in the *talatua*, which is the back of the house, directly opposite the orators of the visiting group and the orators of the *usu*. To the right hand side of the bowl, sits the person who pours the water into the bowl. Next to him sits the person who will announce that the *ava* has been mixed, he also starts the staccato clapping or *tapati*. This person is called the *faasoa ava*. He must be knowledgeable in the traditions and protocols of the *ava* ceremony as he is the one who orders the presentation of the various cups of *ava* and must know the names of the different cups which is dependent on the title held by each *matai*. Not all *matai* titles have names for their cups.⁵⁸ If the *faasoa ava* makes a wrong move the *usu* could end in ruins, instead of worship it could become a source of strife and unrest. To the left of the bowl is the *agai* of the *tanoa*. He sits there throughout the whole ceremony and does nothing. They have to be present and do have a purpose although they do not actually do anything. Perhaps the best way to describe their role is one of balancing. *Agai* literally means to face the other one.

⁵⁸ Earlier when the visitors' orator distributed the *tugase*, it would have been only to the *matai* in the visiting group whose cups have names.

Figure Four: Where people sit in the *fale tele* during the *alofisa/ava usu*. Although the *magalafu* and the pillars are not represented they are still there as it is the same house in which the *Fanaafi o Faamalama* would be observed. The parties at either end of the house, the *tala* can sit at either end as long as they sit at the *tala* while the orators sit at the front of the house and the *laulau/tanoa* is at the back of the house. In the olden days all the *fale tele* were situated around the *malae* or the green.



The *faasoa ava* when he starts the clapping calls for someone to intrude into the sacred presence - *tulai se soli alofi*. This person is the cupbearer. The first and last cups are the important ones. In between these two, the orators, especially the ones who played a part in the ceremony receive their cups. Before each *matai* drinks, he pours a libation and an appropriate prayer is said. The drinker ends his prayer with either *soifua* - live or *manuia* - good fortune. Everyone in the ceremony will reply *manuia* or *soifua* depending on which word the drinker used. If they said *manuia* the others would say *soifua* and vice versa. The last cup that is drunk

concludes the *ava* ceremony. The visiting and the village *matai* then eat together - the food provided for this purpose is called the *fono o le ava*.

I believe that the above occurrence is what W. T. Pritchard confused and contracted to reach the conclusion that the *ava* ceremony, the *alofisa* was "saying grace" before the people partook of the *fono o le ava* - the feast! This is an understandable conclusion but it still nonetheless a very Eurocentric, superficial and naive view of an extremely important and sacred event. As for mixing the *Fanaafi o Faamalama* with the *alofisa*, this is rather confusing. Because the *ava* ceremony is a form of worship that *matai* as a collective participate in, it is unlikely that it would feature in the family worship where not everyone is a *matai* and therefore they can not all participate in it.

The rituals of the *leaalagi* or the *ava* are symbolic of life. The juice is life giving as demonstrated when *Le Tagaloa* poured it upon *Pava's* dead son. The juice of the *leaalagi* is not intoxicating, but has a claming effect. The drinking of *ava* has always been ritualistic and ceremonial. The juice of the *lea* consecrates which is why the *alofisa* is conducted at title bestowals for new *matai*. For the same reason the *alofisa* is observed at the dedication -*umusaga* of a new *fale* or house, the consecration of a newly finished boat -*tuu i tai le*

sa, the consecration of the weapons of war - *ava felafoai*, at the completion of a tattoo - *luuga*, at a marriage or *nunu avaga*, at births, deaths and when burial places are changed. A cup is also offered at the *tapuaiga* for any dangerous endeavor people are on for example the *umuti* referred to earlier in this chapter.

The *alofisa* was the rites of God. The *ava* ceremony has become the ritual of worship for the *matai*. The Samoans in observing the *tapuaiga* or worship through the sacrifice of the juice of the *lea* or *ava* believe that their inner selves, their *mauli* specifically are making the spiritual connection with God so that he would be gracious and extend his *mana* to those who are facing dangerous situations, sickness, misfortunes and perplexing circumstances. Every movement of the *ava* ceremony has meaning and significance. The symbolism of the ceremony is complex, its semantics extremely deep, and its language most poetic and full of imagery.

Traditions say that only the God; *Le Tagaloa* possessed a *tanoa/laulau*. It was round, had three legs and was said to have been made by *Sa Tagaloa* of the eighth heaven. The *matai* when the ceremony ceased to be exclusive were said to have used large leaves like *taro* or *taamu* leaves in lieu of the wooden *tanoa*. The *lio* or the circle is very significant because it is the tangible shape of the

Samoan philosophy and view of life, which is as said earlier - *e atoa lio*, a *le masina*, round or circular like the encircled full moon. In other words it is a holistic worldview. This is reflected in the roundness of the *ava* bowl and the *ava* cup. The cups used these days are made out of coconut shell; the ones in olden times were made of wood. The water for mixing the *ava* is collected in *tauluavai* or water containers made from a really large type of coconut, the *niu vai*. There were two containers. Sadly, today buckets have replaced them.

When the announcer indicates that the *lea* is ready and calls for the *solu alofi* or the cupbearer he also starts the staccato clapping. This was the first action of *Le Tagaloa* when he decided to give life back to *Pava's* son. The clapping in the *ava* is not an applause or recognition. The staccato clapping underscores the fact that life and death is in the hands of God. This responsibility has been delegated to *matai*.

The libation and prayer is the most significant of the *lea* ceremony because this is the offering or the sacrifices presented with the prayer or *pule*. In the exclusive *alofisa*, which was violated by *Pava's* son, *Le Tagaloa* poured the *sua lea* - the juice of the *lea* as a healing balm on the broken body. Today the *sua lea* is poured by the *matai* as libation and sacrifice. In the exclusive ceremony it was *Le*

Tagaloa who commanded the dead to live - *ola!* Today a *matai* ends his *pule* with *soifua* or *manuia*, which is a plea to God for life and prosperity.

In the *Fanaafi o Faamalama* the *mauli* makes the spiritual connection for the welfare of the individual *aiga* within the *nuu*. In the *alofisa* the *mauli* makes the spiritual connection for that which the *matai* have gathered for. Whether it be to bless visitors as they arrive or leave, to protect the fishers of shark while they are away, to bless a marriage, or birth, or to celebrate and consecrate newly built houses, newly constructed boats or newly crafted weapons. In all these matters concerning the Samoans' daily life the imperative to *tapuai* - to worship, is observed through the fire votives, the taking of the cup of *ava*, the fasting or the *anapogi*, the waiting in silence.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation is a first step in trying to retrieve what has been lost of Samoan worship, *tapuai* or Samoan *tapuaiga*. Central to Samoan worship are two main concepts: the *Va* and the Samoan philosophy that *e atoa lio a le masina* - a holistic philosophy.

For this reason this dissertation has tried to express this holistic approach. We began with the Samoan worldview. The establishment of the *Va* between *Le Tagaloa* the creator and the *tagataola* the created living human being. We then looked closely at the created Samoan human beings and the connection between them and their Creator, which is where the imperative to worship, to *tapuai* springs. This *tapuaiga* - the making of a spiritual connection from one's *mauli* to God for whatever situation besets the *tagataola* is the act of worship of the Creator. In the third chapter we considered actual forms of worship that again expressed the *Va* and the holistic nature of Samoan philosophy and culture that seeks the partnership or presence of God in all that they do. Without God's blessing and presence any endeavor will fail. The calling upon God is in fact seeking that God make all things complete and whole.

The tangible representation of the holistic nature of Samoan philosophy is in the fact that the *fale tele* in which both the *alofisa*

and *Fanaafi o Faamalama* are carried out are round. The *tanoa/laulau* is round and the cup used to distribute the *ava* is round. The fact every big event and perplexing concern is brought before God in the *tapuaiga* whether through fire as in *Fanaafi o Faamalama* or through the *sua lea* - the life giving juice of the *ava*, the underlying idea and belief is the same. This belief is that in the beginning God created all things. Life and death is in God's hands as was seen in the story about the sacred ceremony held between *Le Tagaloa* and *Pava*. It was God who placed within the *tagataola* the *Fatumanava*: the *ola*, *aitu* and the *mauli* - godly attributes, *Le Tagaloa's* attributes. In response to this the *tagataola* brings worship and all that which concerns the *tagataola* good and bad back to God - the source of life itself.

In doing so we come full circle. Samoa and the Samoan was created by God, recorded in the *Solo o le Va*. In the Samoan, God placed his attributes that enabled them to be a *tagataola*, fully able to live in the specific, unique environment created for the Samoan. In response, the *tagataola* brings worship to God, makes the connection from their *mauli* to God beseeching him for his presence, blessing and guidance and acknowledging that in him all things are made complete. *E atoa lio a le masina* is attained in the observance of the imperative to **Tapuai!** - To **Worship!** This act an expression of the *Va* established from the beginning of time.

GLOSSARY

aiga	family, usually the extended family
aitu	mischievous and creative part of the inner person, looks exactly like the person
alofisa	the <i>ava</i> ceremony
atoa lio a le masina	- round like the encircled full moon
atua	god
aumaga	untitled male heirs of the <i>matai</i>
ava	plant: piper methysticum, ceremonial drink made from the corm of the plant, the ceremony which is a form of worship
faasoa ava	one who distributes the <i>tugase</i> in the <i>ava usu</i>
faleaitu	a very witty, expressive art form that is comedy in the ancient Greek meaning of comedy
faleula o fatu'aiupu	- keepers of the language, traditions, wisdom and <i>tofamanino</i> of the Samoans
fale tele	the round house
fatumanava	godly attributes
fau	strainer used in the mixing of the <i>ava</i> made from the bark of the wild hibiscus
faafeagaiga	like a <i>feagaiga</i> , name given to pastors
feagaiga	see <i>tamaitai</i>
fesili	question
fono ma aitu	meeting of <i>aitu</i>
fono o le ava	food eaten after the <i>ava</i> ceremony
lagi	sky, heaven, worlds
lagisoifua	proofs
lalolagi	world, beneath the skies
laulau/tanoa	wooden bowl in which the <i>ava</i> is mixed
magalafu	hearth in the <i>fale tele</i>
malae	open space around which the <i>fale tele</i> of the village are situated

mana	power, grace
matai	chief
mauli	psyche
nafa	responsibilities
nuu	the <i>matai</i> of an area, village
ola	life
sau	breath
tagata	person
tagataola	living person
tagataoti	dead person
tagatalilo	inner person
tagatavale	a sick person - mentally, emotionally or psychologically
tamaitai/feagaiga	- all the unmarried female heirs of the <i>matai</i>
tanoa	see <i>laulau</i>
tapuai	imperative meaning to worship. <i>tapuaiga</i> - noun
tatau	tattoo of the Samoan male - a rite of passage, to squeeze, appropriate
tauagafau	charm expected of a Samoan male, strong but gentle.
tau	to battle or fight
taulua vai	containers in which the water for the <i>ava</i> is kept.
tautu ava	cup bearer in the <i>ava</i> ceremony
tofamanino	philosophy
tufuga	master of a certain skill or trade e.g. master builder
tugase	dried branches of the <i>ava</i>
umuti	<i>tapuaiga</i> carried out while the fishers of shark are on a fishing trip
va	space, relationship, connection, separation, dissension
va-nimonimo	space, beyond what the eye can see

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