THE PARABLES OF A SAMOAN DIVINE

An Analysis of Samoan Texts of the 1860's

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts
at the Australian National University.

February 1987
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Acknowledgements

As one of the first two graduates in Samoan Studies from the University of Samoa in 1983, I was asked by the University to carry out research into the Penisimani Manuscripts at the Australian National University. Realizing the importance of this project for the future of Samoan Studies I accepted the proposal with enthusiasm despite my other commitments as a journalist with The Samoa Times. Therefore, I am deeply grateful to those officials of the University for guiding me in this direction. In particular, I acknowledge my profound indebtedness to Dr. Derek Freeman, Founding Professor of Anthropology at the University of Samoa and Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, for his unrelenting efforts to assist in establishing myself at the Australian National University. But that is not all. For Professor Freeman, during my first two years at the Australian National University (1984-5), helped to initiate me into the mysteries of anthropological science and kept me straight on the path of Samoan Studies. He also undertook a fatherly interest in me and my family during our whole stay in Australia. As for the thesis itself, I wish to thank Dr. N. Gunson of the Department of History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, for helping me locate useful historical sources; Rev. D. Inglis, whom I knew as a former missionary to Samoa, for making available to me his valuable manuscript on Samoan religious syncretism; Priv. Doz. Dr. Ulrike Mosel of the Institut Fur Sprachwissen-Universitat, Koln, West Germany, for her assistance in the translation of some difficult passages; and Professors Anthony Forge and Derek Freeman for their valuable suggestions and criticisms during the early phases of the thesis. Last but not least, I wish to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. James Weiner, for his patience, understanding and devotion during the course of this research. His brilliant insights, helpful criticisms and extensive knowledge of textual criticism and mythology have contributed immensely to the theoretical foundations of this thesis. Finally, I thank my family for putting up with the long and unusual hours I maintained at the Australian National University. To all these outstanding people and others I extend my most sincere appreciation and deepest gratitude for their help and encouragement as I sought my way through the strange, demanding and secret pathways of meaning.
Abstract

The aim of this thesis is the interpretation and analysis of religious parables written by a Samoan pastor of the London Missionary Society in the early 1860's. The approach adopted is essentially a hermeneutic one involving linguistic analysis at three different levels: semiotic (word), semantic (sentence) and text (hermeneutic). Ultimately, hermeneutics concerns the "reference" of the text or the world that the text reveals. The texts being considered here are labelled as tales, parables and words but I refer to them collectively as Parables because they are narratives which convey Christian teachings in allegorical form. Chapter 1 provides a theoretical discussion of hermeneutics and linguistic analysis as well as some biographical facts about the texts' author, Penisimani, and the history of his writings. Chapters 2 and 3 give a historical background to traditional Samoan culture and the introduction of Christianity to Samoa. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 contain examples of Penisimani's parables with explanatory introductions and commentaries. The final chapter is devoted to a detailed analysis of the structure of the Parables and the way in which this structure contributes to the overall meaning of the texts, which is what I call the author's world view or ideology. This overall meaning constitutes the doxa of the texts. This may be construed as the most important meaning of the texts, from the author's point of view, but it is a meaning which is made possible only by the contributions rendered by the other parts of the texts. The task of the analyst is to examine and relate these parts to each other; that of the reader to consume the message of the Parables, unthinkingly as it were.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the interpretation and analysis of Samoan texts written in the 1860's by a Samoan pastor of the London Missionary Society named Penisimani. These texts are believed to be the oldest surviving texts written by a Samoan and are, therefore, of interest both from a historical and anthropological point of view: historical because the texts provide a link to the history of ideas in the Samoa of the 1860's, anthropological insofar as the same relate to a discourse about Samoan culture.

The historical and anthropological concerns of the thesis are reflected in its structure. Thus, the second and third chapters may be described as historical reconstructions of Samoan society before the arrival of Christianity and of the initial process of Christianisation in the 1830's. But strictly speaking the basic theoretical orientation is of a hermeneutical nature. That is to say, the primary focus of the thesis is on the interpretation of meaning in its widest sense. This process of unfolding the meaning or layers of meaning is to be understood, in the first place, in terms of Max Weber's concept of verstehen or understanding the elements of subjective meaning, in this particular instance, of the texts; or in terms of Geertz's notion of "thick description" or the elaborate search for the meaning of social action as construed subjectively by social actors (Geertz, 1973:5-6). Secondly, it is to be understood in terms of the reference of the texts, that is, what the texts refer to as a whole. These "extra meanings", as Fowler calls them (1986:69f), are generated by the peculiarities of textual structure in both their syntagmatic and paradigmatic arrangements. Both of these approaches to the interpretation of meaning, considered as a totality of the texts, are encompassed by hermeneutics.
1.1. The Nature of Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is a specific methodology, a set of rules in fact, which governs the interpretation of texts (Dilthey, 1976: 107; Luckmann, 1981: 219; Ricoeur, 1971: 529). The body of rules which now form the science of hermeneutics have their foundation in Christian biblical exegesis of the Middle Ages. With the emergence of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment in Europe these rules underwent considerable improvement in the hands of scholars such as Flacius, Bellarmine and Semler (Dilthey, 1976: 110). Semler liberated biblical exegesis from the narrow confines and tyranny of church dogma by emphasising the use of linguistics and history in textual interpretation. But it is really Schleiermacher who is today generally regarded as the chief founder of modern hermeneutics.

By the time Schleiermacher arrived on the scene, the body of rules which comprise hermeneutics had largely been formed. These rules, the product of "the philological virtuosity of many centuries", governed the functions of interpretation dealing with the grammatical, historical, aesthetic-rhetorical and factual exegesis (Dilthey, 1976: 111-2). Schleiermacher's major contribution beyond these rules lay in his analysis of understanding or more specifically in the nature of understanding as derived directly from the text itself. Moreover, Schleiermacher introduced the concept which has come to be known as the hermeneutical circle whereby the meaning of the whole text may be derived from the meaning of its parts and vice versa. But the circle does not end there: it is repeated "in the relationship of the individual work to the disposition and development of its author, and once again in the relationship of the individual work to its literary genre" (Dilthey, 1976: 115). This, however, for Schleiermacher is not the ultimate end of the process of understanding. This, in fact, is never completed and all understanding is thus relative. Gadamer expresses Schleiermacher's point of view in terms of an objective and a subjective element. The former belongs to the history of the text, the latter, "as a manifestation of a creative moment", to the "author's inner life. Full understanding can take place only within this objective and subjective whole" (Gadamer, 1976: 117-8).

This emphasis on the text in the hermeneutic tradition arises from the nature of the text itself. Ricoeur, for instance, in distinguishing between speech and written discourse¹, says that written discourse fixes or inscribes the noema (meaning) of the

¹Discourse is defined as event (in speech or writing) as distinguished from language as system.
speech event with ease but finds it problematic to project the latter's illocutionary (way of speaking, eg gestures) and perlocutionary (effect of the speech, eg fear) aspects (Ricoeur, 1971: 531-3). While written discourse thus overcomes the problem of time posed by speech discourse, it nevertheless fails to adequately cope with the realities of the manner and effect of speech. A second basic distinction is that the identification of the speaker and his meaning is fairly straightforward in speech but this is not so in written discourse. As Ricoeur puts it, the author's intention and the meaning of the text cease to coincide.

"This dissociation of the verbal meaning of the text and the mental intention is really at stake in the inscription of discourse... What the text says now matters more than what the author meant to say, and every exegesis unfolds its procedures within the circumference of a meaning that has broken its moorings to the psychology of its author" (Ricoeur, 1971: 534-5).

A third basic distinction is the way speech and written discourses refer to the world or a world. In speech, says Ricoeur, the referred-to world is that situation which is common to the interlocutors and which can be demonstrated ostensively in the here and now. That of written discourse, on the other hand, is "the ensemble of references opened up by the texts" (Ibid, p. 536). Finally, while speech is addressed to someone in the speech situation, written discourse is addressed to whoever is able to read. What this reveals about written discourse is that, as Heidegger will have it, "what we understand first... is not another person, but a project, that is, the outline of a new being-in-the-world" and that only writing "in freeing itself, not only from its author, but from the narrowness of the dialogical situation, reveals this destination of discourse as projecting a world" (Ricoeur, 1971: 536).

1.2. Historical Distance and Interpretation

An interesting aspect of hermeneutics is the relationship between history and interpretation. Is the meaning of a text to be arrived at only by projecting oneself into the text's historical moment? The historicist and romantic traditions would reply in the affirmative. But the hermeneutics inspired chiefly by Heidegger no longer views historical distance as an obstacle to interpretation. In fact this school sees in such distance a distinct advantage because it promotes a more dispassionate attitude to interpretation (because not involved in the historical issues of the moment) and the opportunity is offered to eliminate "sources of error" and to utilise "new sources of understanding" (Gadamer, 1976: 123-4). History is no longer perceived as consisting of
isolated events in time but as a continuing process that ever merges with the present. And it follows that interpretation is an ever-renewable project wherein new meanings are given to the old. As Gadamer says, "Every age has to understand a transmitted text in its own way..." (Ibid, p. 121). This merging of the past and the present is what Gadamer calls "effective-history" and understanding is essentially "an effective-historical situation" (Ibid, p. 125). Because, in a certain sense, history is abolished in this new hermeneutics and subsumed under "the one great horizon that moves from within and, beyond the frontiers of the present" (Ibid, p. 130-1), there is never any perfect understanding of a text, never an end to the hermeneutic quest, even in the relative sense conceived by Schleiermacher.

1.3. Explanation and Understanding

If hermeneutics is about understanding (verstehen) the meaning of texts what is the nature of explanation (erklären) in it? Dilthey was perplexed by this question because explanation for him was the methodological model provided by the natural sciences. In Ricoeur's view, Dilthey's dilemma arises from a mistaken notion. There is no need to transfer the methodology of the natural sciences to a social science such as hermeneutics because the facts applicable to the two sciences differ in nature. In textual interpretation, for instance, one deals with signs and "It is within the same sphere of signs that the process of objectification takes place and gives rise to explanatory procedures" (Ricoeur, 1971: 546-7).

Interpretation involves making hypotheses about meanings and their relative order of significance. There are no rules for making such hypotheses, Ricoeur insists, but only, as Hirsch says, methods for validating them (Ibid, p. 547-8). These methods "are closer to a logic of probability than to a logic of empirical verification" and validation is thus seen as "an argumentative discipline comparable to the juridical procedures of legal interpretation. It is a logic of uncertainty and of qualitative probability" (Ibid, p. 549). Such validation constitutes for Ricoeur a scientific knowledge of the text. From this perspective textual interpretation shifts from making good guesses at the meaning of the text, both in its parts and as a whole, to achieve understanding (verstehen) to validating those guesses (erklären). Where verification or falsifiability, as Karl Popper will have it, is the essence of the scientific approach in the natural sciences, validation is the essence of the hermeneutical approach, as Ricoeur maintains. With the use of validation, "It is always possible to argue for or against an interpretation, to confront interpretations, to arbitrate between them, and to seek for an agreement, even if this agreement remains beyond our reach" (Ricoeur, 1971: 550).
Textual interpretation can also involve movement in the opposite direction: from explanation to interpretation. In this respect, the model which Ricoeur presents is that of structuralism, for example, that of Levi-Strauss in his analysis of myth. Here, the analysis precedes and to a considerable degree determines the interpretation. Any ostensive reference to the world is suspended and we are locked into "a closed system of signs" resulting in a state of suspense (Ricoeur, 1971: 554). But this state of affairs is only temporary for in the end meaning is restored "at a higher level of radicality". This is because structural analysis leads us from a "surface-semantics" to a "depth-semantics, that of the boundary situations which constitute the ultimate 'referent' of the [text]" (Ibid, p. 556-7). To paraphrase Ricoeur, surface-semantics refers to analysis or explanation, depth-semantics to the meaning of the text and to the world that it discloses. Structural analysis as an objective method counterbalances the subjective tendency in interpretation and points with forcefulness to the way we should regard a text.

The kinds of theoretical issues which Geertz deals with are, in many respects, similar to those confronting hermeneutics. His semiotic approach to the interpretation of culture, the reading of signs, is essentially the same as that of hermeneutics: the decipherment of linguistic signs to determine meaning. He is also concerned with the problem of validating interpretations. He says, for instance,

"The besetting sin of interpretive approaches to anything... is that they tend to resist, or to be permitted to resist, conceptual articulation and thus to escape systematic modes of assessment. You either grasp an interpretation or you do not... Imprisoned in the immediacy of its own detail, it is presented as self-validating...."

(Geertz, 1973: 24).

This will not do, says Geertz, though he admits that there are difficulties in trying to express as a formula "the conceptual structure of a cultural interpretation" (Ibid, p. 24-5). At the same time, he perceives the inherently dialectical nature of the relationship between theory and interpretation. This is due to the fact that the former needs to stay "closer to the ground" while the latter tends to "imaginative abstraction" (Ibid, p. 24-5). The resulting tension, in Geertz's view, is "both necessarily great and essentially irremovable" (Ibid, p. 24-5). And it has resulted today in the unique way that cultural theory operates. Cultural analysis, for instance, "breaks up into a disconnected yet coherent sequence of bolder and bolder sorties... Every serious cultural analysis starts from a sheer beginning and ends where it manages to get before exhausting its intellectual impulses" (Ibid, p. 24-5). The role of theory, says Geertz, is
to provide the vocabulary with which symbolic action can express itself. And, like hermeneutic interpretation, cultural analysis never ends.

1.4. Application of Hermeneutics

In the preceding pages, I have stated the basic theoretical basis of this project as being essentially hermeneutic or, in other words, concerned with the interpretation of meaning, in its widest sense, of Penisimani's texts. I have also provided a brief background of the historical development of hermeneutics as a social science. I now explain in more detail how I am applying hermeneutic theory in this thesis.

In a broad sense, I examine the parts of Penisimani's parables in relation to the whole and the whole in relation to the parts (the hermeneutic paradigm). The parts consist of the meaning of individual words and sentences. These parts, in turn, form a coherent whole which is the level of the text and the fusion of the meanings of words and sentences contribute to the reference or total meaning of the text. The latter in turn may be decomposed into its constituent parts.

The parable is a unique kind of text because in essence it is composed, for the sake of analysis, of two separate but conjoined texts. The first is used only as an illustration for the second: the real message projected by the total text (i.e. the parable) is not that of the first text but that of the second. A parable is, therefore, a story which "says one thing and means another. It destroys the normal expectation we have about language, that our words 'mean what they say'" (Fletcher, 1964: 2-3). A parable also involves "shifts of topic" (Fowler, 1986: 69), as the examples from Penisimani illustrate, but these are not random shifts but controlled.

I also view Penisimani's texts from a socio-historical perspective. By this I mean that in interpreting the meanings of the cultural myths, et cetera, which form part of the parables, I seek to interpret them as I think the Samoans of Penisimani's time (1800-1860's) understood them. This is not to deny the objective reality of texts as texts in both their semantic and structural properties. But, as Fowler says, "a semiotic assessment in relation to cultural factors is required" (1986: 169) and these factors include history, social structure and ideology. Thus, the objective model of literary form needs to be supplemented by a genuine socio-historical perspective.

Finally, I employ a form of structural analysis to bring out further meanings in
the texts, and the model I use is Barthes's study of myth (1973). I have chosen this study because it is both comprehensive and economical. It is comprehensive in that it is capable of explaining much. For example, the model is able to explain the relationship between traditional narratives, on the one hand, and Christianity on the other. It demonstrates how this relationship results in the formation and promotion of ideology, which is the message conveyed by the parables. It enables us to see the parts in the whole and vice versa and also how this transformation from one to the other is accomplished. The model is also economical in that it achieves its complex role through means that are relatively simple. For instance, the basic unit in the model is a semiotic one: the word. Words normally have a literal meaning. However, they also have figurative meanings, that is, they "stand for" something other than their lexical meanings. When this happens, as in Penisimani's parables, the meaning of the entire sentence and text is radically altered with important consequences on meaning.

This figurative usage of words is another name for metaphor. In the tradition of rhetoric (art of persuasion) the word (or trope) is regarded as the unit of reference of metaphor. That is to say, the analysis of metaphor is traditionally centred on the trope, considered as a word which both displaces and extends meaning. This leads to difficulties, observes Ricoeur (1977: 44), particularly because metaphor does not exist alone as a single word but only in relation to parts of a sentence or, as he puts it, as "a phenomenon of predication, an unusual attribution precisely at the sentence-level of discourse..." (Ibid, p. 44). Metaphor represents, therefore, a dynamic use of language which serves to predicate a subject. Thus a trope, in not only transmuting the identity of a word, ipso facto also changes the identity of the sentence and text. The fact that metaphor's "most intimate and ultimate abode, is neither the name, nor the sentence, nor even discourse, but the copula of the verb to be" (Ricoeur, 1977: 7) does not alter the fact for the copula serves both to identify and to predicate.

That, then, is what I regard as meaning in a broad sense. But it is also possible to "totalise" my concept of meaning, that is to say, to reduce it to an organising principle. This is possible by regarding the thesis as an attempt to explain how meaning is "obviated" at one level and extended in another. The theme of "obviating" or hindering alternative interpretations of meaning is well illustrated in a recent article by Dr J. Weiner (1986) wherein, referring to myth, he describes the tendency in structural analysis "to isolate one interpretation at the expense of others". Citing recent works by Jackson (1982), Young (1983) and his own researches among the Foi of Papua New Guinea, Weiner demonstrates how other meanings of myth are rendered
possible through the particularising effects of subjective interpretations by diviners, magicians and myth-tellers.

1.5. The Problem of Meaning

A major problem in the search for meaning is the fact that the meaning of a word, sentence or text is not always as self-evident as one would like it to be. As an example, Aristotle's law of identity states that a thing is always what it is and cannot be anything else. Thus $A = A$; $A$ is always $A$, it cannot be a $B$, $C$ or a $D$. A motor car is always a motor car, it cannot be a horse, a skyscraper or anything else. Yet, in some contexts of language a literal interpretation of words, sentences or text does not make sense. For example, in the metaphorical use of language one finds a direct contradiction to the law of identity, for an $A$ no longer equals an $A$ but a $B$, $C$ or a $D$. Under the law of identity a man is always a man and can never be anything else. But as metaphor, a man can be a lion, an eagle or a crow. How does this come about?

One of the principle methods for the distortion of language is the use of figurative language of which metaphor is a prime example. As a subject, metaphor has been exhaustively studied throughout history by eminent scholars such as Aristotle, Quintilian, Peter Ramus, Coleridge, I.A. Richards, Max Black, Monroe Beardsley, Paul Ricoeur and others. The divergencies of opinion on the nature and functions of metaphor are indicative of the complexity of the subject and I do not wish to enter into this controversy. Suffice it to say that I agree with Angus Fletcher who said that "Figurative language is not understood at the present time in any final way" (1964:11). I shall, however, utilise some insights from the study of metaphor in a brief look at the problem.

The word "metaphor" comes from the Greek words *meta* meaning over and *pherein* to carry. Metaphor thus means to carry over. Metaphor, Hawkes says,

referred to a particular set of linguistic processes whereby aspects of one object are 'carried over' or transferred to another object, so that the second object is spoken of as if it were the first

(1972:1).

Ricoeur defines metaphor as "a trope of resemblance" which both displaces and extends the meaning of words (1977:3). These qualities of the metaphor to displace a literal
meaning (a man is a man) and to extend it by providing another meaning (a man is a lion) appear to be generally held by theorists on metaphor. But in extending the meaning of a word, some scholars have adopted the traditional Aristotelian view that metaphor distorts meaning, despite any other useful functions (decorative, for instance) it may have. This was the extreme view of Peter Rasmus and the Puritans who wanted to see metaphor abolished (Hawkes, 1972: 25ff). In contrast, the Romantics saw metaphor as a normal use of language (i.e. it is a part of language) and stressed its vital function "as an expression of the faculty of the imagination" (Ibid, p. 34). The English poets Wordsworth and Coleridge championed this view. Hawkes' conclusion is that there are two fundamental views of metaphor: the classical view "which sees metaphor as 'detachable' from language; a device that may be imported into language in order to achieve specific, pre-judged effects" and the romantic view which sees metaphor "as inseparable from a language which is 'vitaly metaphorical'..." (1972:90).

Now in Penisimani's texts, there is a preponderant use of metaphor which in turn leads to a high level of complexity. How is the meaning of his metaphorical statements to be interpreted? Are they to be taken as pre-packaged meanings (and, therefore, distortions of literal meaning) or are they normal functionings of language which heighten our perception of reality in the romantic sense? My analysis (in chapter 7) tends to integrate both views. In essence, this integration is the result of what Ricoeur calls the "tension" between tenor and vehicle, literal and figurative interpretation, identity and difference (1977: 247). One way of expressing this is that metaphor exists as a result of the diametrically opposed demands of the literal and figurative meanings not just on the level of the word but also on the levels of the predicate (sentence) and text (sentences placed in a coherent order).

The law of identity can also be applied on a broader basis to the general contents of a text. Problems of meaning often arise because the meanings of words and sentences do not always correspond to their dictionary definitions but are intelligible only when viewed within the context of their use and within the context of other non-linguistic factors (Fowler, 1986: 169). This, perhaps, is another restatement of the principle of the hermeneutic circle. Certainly, as I shall show, that while not specifically alluded to, texts also convey broader meanings such as the ideology or world-view of an author.

The complexity of meaning thus often results in that distinctive style of hermeneutic writing where the explication of the full meaning of a text is suspended until the end. This arises from the need to focus attention on parts of the text
through which the meaning of the whole is made apparent. I have, for instance, in chapters 4, 5 and 6 devoted my attention predominantly to the interpretation of Samoan cultural elements in the texts, with the appropriate introductions. The absence of any substantial commentary on Christian beliefs and practices is due largely to the fact that such can only be completely intelligible after the analysis of textual structure in chapter 7. Implied in this approach is the recognition of the fact that words, sentences and texts are not as "innocent" (to use an expression of Barthes) as they appear and, therefore, cannot be viewed together on a single plane of analysis but must instead be differentiated according to their respective functions. Hence, the peculiar shape of the presentation of the work. However, following the analysis in chapter 7, the true role of the Christian message of the texts becomes clearer.

1.6. The Hymn Book

We first hear about Penisimani in connection with the publication of a controversial hymn book, to which Penisimani contributed the music and words, by the Religious Tract Society, London, in 1847. The hymn book was called *Hymns For Reconciliation With The True God, Composed by a Samoan*. The words of the hymns were arranged according to traditional conceptions of Samoan poetry and the music according to the old pagan religious tunes of the Samoans. They became so popular that the official hierarchy of the London Missionary Society (LMS) became alarmed and immediately took action to collect and destroy all the copies of the hymn book. The missionaries feared that the singing of the hymns would revive the memory of the old pagan practices and displace the regular church hymns composed in the English manner.

Rev George Pratt, who engineered the hymn book project, in a letter dated September 5, 1846, explained his reasons for the project to a former colleague, Rev William Day. In it he said,

I have been examining Samoan poetical compositions, and much pleased was I in my researches. One thing however it led me to despise our hymns as utterly mean and not to be compared with Samoan productions as to poetry, rhyme etc. The idea struck me perhaps a poet could composed [sic] a viiga [hymn] to God after the same fashion as their own viiga. I found out that a teacher at Amoa - Bensimani - of our lotu [religion] was a noted poet - to him I applied - He soon sent me five...

But even as early as that, Pratt was already beginning to feel the opposition of his other colleagues to his hymn project. In the same letter he says, "But O the noise, the war of letters that this has raised - innovation, mixing sacred with profane, etc - and upu faamatau foi - ia aoaaina - ia tulla na le sunako!! [intimidating words also - let him be reproved - let him be banished from the synagogue]". Pratt caved in to the pressure promising to stop the singing of the hymns at public worship (but not in classes, schools, et cetera) until further official consultation. But the fate of the hymn books had already been foreordained for in 1847 they were collected and destroyed. Only two copies of this hymn book now exist, both at the Mitchell Library, Sydney. One of these was donated by Rev George Brown, the Methodist missionary who arrived in Samoa October 30, 1860.

It is evident that the suppression of the hymn book disappointed Pratt, who subsequently played the leading role in the translation of the Samoan bible and in the compilation of a Samoan dictionary which bears his name. But even more disappointed was the author and composer of the hymns Penisimani who, according to both Pratt and Brown, was a widely-acclaimed Samoan poet. In later years when he heard of this incident, Brown "was amazed and shocked" and in sympathy drew closer to Penisimani "as a result of the tragedy" (Fletcher, 1944: 111). Like Pratt, Brown felt that the suppression of the hymn book was unwise and that the LMS missionaries had gone too far.

From a literary viewpoint, the hymn book incident was a blessing in disguise for it prompted the Methodist Brown to form a close personal friendship with Penisimani from both humane and Christian motives. Brown undoubtedly felt that Penisimani had been badly treated by the LMS missionaries. And he must also have sensed in Penisimani a kind of genius not merely because of the latter's profound knowledge of Samoan custom and tradition but also because of his demonstrated literary skills. Brown described Penisimani as "one of the most intelligent Samoans" he had ever known and that "he was well known all over the group as a native poet whose songs were eagerly sought after by the people" (George Brown Papers (GBP), p. 7). In no time, Penisimani became a mentor to Brown in his study of the Samoan language and culture. The result of this platonic relationship was the Penisimani manuscripts contained in the George Brown Papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Details about Penisimani's early life are rather sketchy. That he was a poet and a pastor of the LMS church is well documented because both Pratt and Brown attest
to this. In his correspondence to Rev Day mentioned earlier, Pratt refers to Bensimani [sic] as an LMS teacher (a'oa'o) at Amoa, a district on the northeast side of Savai'i island, Western Samoa. In his papers, Brown refers to Penisimani as "a Pastor, or Native Teacher" of the London Missionary Society and that he lived several miles (GBP, p. 7) from where Brown was based on the south coast of Savai'i.

Given that Penisimani was already a mission teacher by 1846, it is reasonable to suppose that he was alive, perhaps in his late teens or early twenties, when the first European missionaries, John Williams and Charles Barff, arrived in Samoa in 1830. His writings are thus an important source of information about the culture of Samoa at the time of contact with Europeans which may truly be said to have formally begun in 1830. And Penisimani stands at the crossroads of two cultural traditions, Samoan and European Christianity. This bi-culturalism certainly comes out in his texts. There is no record as to when he became a Christian or a mission teacher but it is very likely that he was an early Christian covert and he may possibly have even witnessed the arrival of Williams and Barff in 1830. It is not likely that he was a graduate of the LMS theological college at Malua as this institution for the training of Samoan pastors, teachers and missionaries was established only on September 24, 1844, and the course of instruction there, from the beginning, lasted four years. So he was most probably one of those many early mission teachers who were personally trained and tested by the European missionaries themselves. According to Brown, apart from the European missionaries, Penisimani had "no intercourse with any other white man" (GBP, p. 7).

1.7. The Penisimani Manuscripts

The Penisimani manuscripts refer to the original writings of Penisimani which now form part of the George Brown Papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (Microfilm No. CY Reel 181). They were written at the request and primarily for the benefit of the Rev George Brown and have been described by Fletcher as probably the most valuable possession in Dr Brown's library (Fletcher, 1944: 111). As Brown explains, this was how the manuscripts came to be written:

Peni (Ben) as we called him, not only helped me in any difficulties which I had with the Samoan language, but, at my suggestion, he wrote down at his leisure, any songs, proverbs, stories, riddles, etc., of which he had any knowledge. From time to time, sometimes at intervals of several months, he brought me what he had written, and I gave him a present and more paper... During the course of four or five years this collection grew to about 600 pages of closely written matter
Fletcher, Brown's biographer, states that Brown had suggested to Peninismani "to make a note of every word of unusual range, and of every bit of folk lore, that occurred to him or that he had met in his intercourse with fellow Samoans" (1944: 111). The result is the Peninismani manuscripts numbering many pages of closely written material which were later bound into a single volume and donated by Brown for safekeeping in the Mitchell Library.

The George Brown Papers refer to two small volumes of bound manuscripts. Both leaves and covers of the volumes show signs of extreme age. Fortunately, the contents of both volumes are now available in microfilm (CY Reel 181). This makes possible a much better reading of the texts besides other benefits. In the microfilm version of these two volumes there are 700 pages. The first volume (pp 20-481 of the microfilm) contains the writings of Peninismani with an introduction plus some translations by Brown (pp 7-19 of microfilm). Brown says Peninismani contributed about 600 pages in all but only 462 pages can be accounted for in the volume at the Mitchell Library. The whereabouts of the other 130-odd pages is not known. The second volume contains translations of some of Peninismani's folktales, songs and other writings. Except for pages 653 and 655, the rest of the pages, from p. 488 to 700 in the microfilm version, are in handwriting different from Peninismani's. It is evident that this second volume represents a collection of working papers prepared principally by Brown. Some of the translations in this volume have been credited to Sam Wilson, a former LMS missionary who first went to Samoa in 1835 to prepare the way for the arrival of the 1836 LMS missionaries. This volume also contains marks and notations made probably by Pratt while compiling words for his Samoan dictionary. Fortunately no such distracting marks were made in Peninismani's originals.

Peninismani's writings contain approximately 264 pages of special vocabulary, 105 pages of folktales in prose, 92 pages of folktales in poetry, 21 pages of parables, 14 pages of metaphors, 11 pages of songs, four pages of proverbs and four pages of riddles (or guessing games). These represent some 515 pages altogether compared with 462 in the original but this discrepancy is explained by the fact that some of the pages included in the 515 are not whole pages but only sections of a page in which a particular subject appears.

3The page numbers I quote in the thesis are based on the pagination sequence of this microfilm.
The second volume contains 105 pages of translations of various writings by Penisimani, 28 pages of songs of praise (vi’i) and the rest of the pages on miscellaneous matters (eg history of Samoan leaders) and comprise in all some 212 pages.

As far as the thesis is concerned the first volume is the focal point of interest since the writings in it, except for the introduction and a few translations, all belong to Penisimani. The second volume consists mostly of translations by the missionaries. As for other original works in it, especially the various types of Samoan songs (eg vi’i, lagisolo, muliau, mualeva, fitti, talalo, fatu), their source is not stated but Penisimani is probably the source because (1) the first vi’i, to Tosimaea, is credited to Penisimani and (2) in the microfilm version Penisimani’s name is mentioned in the general heading to the second volume. The compilers of the George Brown Papers evidently intended that the two volumes should be linked together and this suggests that Penisimani is the common source.

Just when Penisimani wrote his manuscripts cannot be stated with certainty. However it is possible to estimate the time from a statement by Brown that Penisimani wrote the manuscripts "in his own home nearly fifty years ago, far away from any white man, and with no instructions from me except that he was to write any stories, proverbs, riddles, or beliefs of his people as he remembered them from time to time" (Brown, 1910: 361-2). The book in which this statement appeared, Melanesians and Polynesians, was first published in 1910. Take away 50 years from that and one arrives at 1860, the year of Brown’s arrival in Samoa, where he was to serve for 15 years as a Methodist missionary. Since Brown stated that it took Penisimani four or five years to write his manuscripts (GBP, pp. 7-8), it is fair to say that the manuscripts were probably completed by 1864. They were also probably written during those times when Penisimani was free from his pastoral duties which included his presiding over Sunday services, bible classes, schools for the teaching of reading and writing, church meetings, religious ceremonies such as those for births and funerals, and so on.

The transcription⁴ of Penisimani’s texts from the microfilm version posed several problems. The ink on some of the pages was so faded that the words were hardly

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⁴By transcription, I mean the transcription of the entire contents of the microfilm version (CY Reel 181) of the Penisimani manuscripts now held at the Mitchell Library, Sydney.
legible and others completely illegible. This problem, however, was resolved through a growing familiarity with Penisimani's literary style, acquired over many hours of transcription, and through the barely visible impressions left on the paper by Penisimani's pen. Another problem was the ambiguity in Penisimani's inscription of the letters "a" and "o". These marks were practically identical and while, in some instances, it was possible to determine the correct letter from the context often it could not be done because the words were new (at least to me). These problems, however, have not seriously affected the accuracy of the transcription. It is indeed fortunate that the manuscripts have been put into microfilm because it would otherwise have been extremely difficult to transcribe from the original volume due to the tight nature of Penisimani's writing, obviously an attempt to economise on the use of paper. The microfilm enables the transcriber to enlarge the size of the words, sentences, paragraphs, et cetera, and makes his task easier.

In the area of translation, I have strived to provide as literal a translation as possible unless such would tend to confuse the meaning. Hence, the lack of a smooth flow of the English translation in some parts. One of the main reasons why this method has been adopted is the need to preserve Penisimani's literary style. An added feature of the translations is the provision of quotation marks for statements attributed to different characters in the texts. They assist in removing any ambiguities about who is speaking.

As for the Samoan copy, the transcription is intended as a faithful reproduction of the original. This means all the mistakes, spelling and otherwise, of Penisimani are recorded. This applies also to his punctuation. It is essentially an unedited version. However, the selections for inclusion in this thesis (see appendices) have been mildly edited. But such editing has been limited to words obviously mispelt and to some punctuation to facilitate the reading of some texts. The editing is so slight that it scarcely affects the original.

In reading Penisimani's manuscripts, it is useful to bear in mind that originally they were written partly to aid Brown in his study of the subtleties of the Samoan language and culture. Thus throughout the texts, there are often references to Brown. For example, a frequent message to Brown is for the latter to provide a Christian analogy for a Samoan folktale Penisimani had written down. There is also a request to Brown (p. 449) to keep hidden the identity of certain young men who were preparing to go off to war (probably as a protection against reprisals from the opposition). And
on page 461 Penisimani instructs Brown about the correct forms of address for various chiefs of Satupaitea, the district where Brown lived. He even provides Brown with a list of obscene words in the language to enable Brown to detect or avoid these words. At the same time as the above, the texts themselves form an objectivity which can be considered apart from the existential situation of the author.

The manuscripts can be regarded as important from several perspectives. First, they are the result of the mature thought and outlook of a Samoan described by Brown as "one of the most intelligent Samoans" he had ever known, "a man who was universally respected for his good character and intelligence, and for the knowledge which he possessed of Samoan manners and customs and folk-lore" (Brown, 1910: 361-2). Second, they provide us with a valuable insight into Samoan traditional culture and to Christian religious thinking at the time, especially at the level of the conjunction of cultural and Christian religious belief. Third, they are a valuable source of linguistic data. The manuscripts, for instance, were the source for 500 new words compiled by Rev George Pratt for the third edition (1892) of his Samoan dictionary (GBP, p. 8). And this was at a time when Pratt, who had already served 40 years as a missionary in Samoa, felt he had already "mastered the language and got down to its last word" (Fletcher, 1944: 111). Finally, the manuscripts are important as being the oldest known surviving manuscripts written by a Samoan (apart, of course, from the 1846 hymns that were also written by Penisimani).

Since the manuscripts were deposited in the Mitchell Library, presumably shortly after Brown's death in Sydney, April 7, 1917, they remained largely unknown to the general public. But during a visit to the Mitchell Library shortly after World War II, Dr D. Freeman, currently Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, was referred to the manuscripts, almost as if by accident, by a library assistant, who was apparently quite unaware of the manuscripts' importance. It was in this manner that interest in the manuscripts was revived in academic circles and led directly to my coming to Australia to study them.
1.8. The Thesis

As I stated in the beginning, the purpose of the thesis is the interpretation and analysis of select texts from Penisimani's writings using a hermeneutic approach. These texts have not been selected at random but with a certain end in mind. By this I mean I have selected a certain kind of text (a genre) from the many kinds available (eg myths, riddles, histories) and this action in turn has been determined by the predominance of this genre in Penisimani's writings. I am speaking about the Christian parable. Most of Penisimani's texts are about the traditional beliefs and practices of the Samoans elements of which are given a second-order signification to explain Christian themes resulting in a kind of Christian parable whose structural principle calls for explanation. The extensive use of this form of writing by Penisimani has led me to the conclusion that it is representative of Penisimani's thinking and, therefore, deserving of study and analysis. Questions immediately come to mind. But they all seem to boil down to the question of signification. First it is necessary to understand the meaning of the content of the individual parables. This entails an encounter with Samoan history and hence the background on traditional Samoan society in Chapter 2 plus the historical perspectives provided in the commentaries at the end of the texts. It also involves a confrontation with the history of early Christian missionary efforts in Samoa and hence the background to this provided in Chapter 3. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are devoted to the interpretation of the texts themselves. Despite the fact that they are all parables, I have used, as a method to distinguish between them, Penisimani's own subject classifications. Thus in Chapter 4, I consider his tala or folktales, in Chapter 5 his fa'ataoto or parables and in Chapter 6 his upu or words. Explanatory commentaries focussing on the main ideas of the traditional narratives are given at the end of each text. In the final chapter, I analyse in detail the structure of Penisimani's parables, the ideology that they convey and the relationship between this ideology and the Christian practice of Penisimani's time and after. The flow of the thesis, therefore, moves from the attempt to understand meaning to explanation, from verstehen to erklären, from an examination of the parts to the whole parable.
Chapter 2

Traditional Samoan Society

The Samoan islands (formerly the Navigators' Group) lie on an east-west axis in the South Pacific Ocean between latitude 13 and 15 degrees south and longitude 168 and 173 degrees west. The eastern part of the group, now administered by the United States as an unincorporated territory, comprises Rose Island, an uninhabited atoll, the Manu'a group of islands comprising Ta'u, Olosega and Ofu (with a total land area of 20 square miles), Tutuila and Aunu'u (50 square miles). The western part, politically independent since 1962, comprises the islands of Upolu (430 square miles), Manono and Apolima (1.5 square miles) and Savai'i (700 square miles). Samoans are Polynesians.

European discovery of the group is attributed to the Dutch navigator, Jacob Roggeveen who, while leading a fleet on a voyage of discovery and trade on behalf of the Dutch West India Co. arrived off the Manu'a islands on June 14, 1722 (Masterman, 1934:23). The next day, the expedition sighted Tutuila, Upolu and Savai'i but apart from a brisk trade at sea with Samoans in Manu'a, no landing was made.

The next recorded visitor to Samoa was the French navigator, Bougainville, who arrived off the coast of Ta'u on May 3, 1768. He also sighted Tutuila and Upolu and, like Roggeveen, while conducting a brisk trade with Samoans at Manu'a, made no attempt to land. After witnessing the skilful way the Samoans handled their canoes, he gave to the group the appellation of the Navigators' Islands, the name by which Samoa was known for much of the nineteenth century.

La Perouse, the French explorer, was the next European to visit Samoa, in 1787, and the men from his expedition who landed at Manu'a on December 9, 1787, are believed to have been the first Europeans to set foot on Samoan soil. Another landing was made shortly afterwards at the village of Asu in Tutuila for the purpose of obtaining water and here, as a result of an alleged insult to a Samoan chief, the watering party was attacked, leading to the death of Commander de Langle, the
philosopher and naturalist De Lamanon and ten others of the French party as well as about 30 Samoans. This incident which became widely known to voyagers gave to the Samoans a reputation for bellicosity. As a result, European ships tended to by-pass Samoa and this substantially isolated Samoa from European influence for several decades (Cf. Gilson, 1970: 67).

Still, a few European vessels did visit Samoa after La Perouse. The Pandora, under the command of Captain Edwards, visited the group in 1791 in search of the "Bounty" mutineers. On the south-east coast of Upolu, Samoan warriors in canoes attacked the Pandora’s tender which made a narrow escape. Captain Bass visited Tutuila in 1802 "to trade for fruit and vegetables" for the Botany Bay colony in Australia (Gilson, 1970: 67). The trading vessel John Bull is said to have visited Savai‘i in 1823

...and the lay keeper recorded in the ship’s log that there were some vessels from New South Wales there also. That same year or early the following year an American whaler "Maro" under Captain May also called at that same island

(Ingis, undated manuscript, p. 39).

In April 1824 the Russian navigator, Kotzebue, visited Samoa and conducted a brief trade with Samoans off the island of Manono.

Before the arrival of the European missionaries in 1830, whaling ships visited the group primarily to obtain water and provisions in return for iron goods such as nails, hatchets and blue beads. But these transactions were conducted mainly at sea. The few Europeans who lived among Samoans were generally those who had drifted from other islands such as Tonga, shipwrecked and runaway sailors and escaped convicts from the penal settlements in Australia. Their number must have been small at first, from the first known European settler in Samoa encountered by Bass in 1802 to perhaps about a dozen by 1830. These people, as Gilson describes them, were "mainly of the refugee

3 An Englishman, suspected of being an escaped convict, who had drifted from Tonga to Samoa. In 1802 he told Bass he had already been in Samoa seven years, was married with children and had no desire to return to England. (See Letter from "Oceanus" Naval Chronicle, Vol 31, pp 380-382, March 19, 1814; also footnote #12 in Gilson, 1970:67).
classes" and were "from the poor and illiterate, and often the dissolute and violent" (1970:68). However, because their value as technical experts and warriors was very high, by the Samoan standards of the time, they were amply rewarded by being accorded the best food, women and a life of comparative ease.

There is no evidence that any of them seriously affected the course of Samoan politics, or acquired any land, or for that matter, that the introduction of a few firearms caused any change in the system of warfare prior to the 1840s (Gilson, 1970:68).

Samoan beliefs concerning the origin of the universe are contained in a number of myths, some of which were recorded by London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries such as T. Powell and G. Pratt. Those collected by Powell were translated and later read before the Royal Society of New South Wales, the Polynesian Society of New Zealand and the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science4 (Brown, 1908:358). These origin myths vary in details but the chief characters remain essentially the same. A short version of these is given by Penisimani (see George Brown Papers (GBP), p. 110f). In this, the tuli, a bird (of the species charadrius fulvus)5 of Tagaloa-lagi, the Samoan "high god", flies down from the heavens to search for land6. Finding only endless water, the tuli returns in frustration to Tagaloa-lagi but is told to take a rock and throw it into the deep. Having done so, land emerged, and from it vegetation, the vine (creeper) and grass grew. From the vine grew worms and from the worms the first two human beings were formed. Penisimani says that to show that the earth belongs to the tuli, the Samoans of old used to point to the fact that many parts of the body were named after the tuli. For example, the Samoan word for elbow is tuli-lima, for knee tuli-vae, for side of the belly tuli-manava.

The Samoans saw life as a constant struggle for existence between the forces or the entities of nature in the mineral, vegetable, animal and human worlds. Thus the earth and the rocks fought and the earth was victorious; the vines overcame the trees;

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4John Fraser of Sydney played a key role in arranging for many of these myths and legends to be published in official journals and publications.
5A daughter in other versions.
6Penisimani uses the words "saili nu'u" which mean more than just searching for physical land. These can perhaps be more correctly translated as searching for an earthly domain or kingdom (to rule over).
the birds and fishes fought and eventually the birds won. In the human world, this unremitting struggle was to be seen in the conflict between opposing parties intent on obtaining dominance (malo). The traditional Samoan world, therefore, was one in which oppositions between forces and entities and the overcoming of one by the other were perceived as part of the order of things.

In the beginning, the Samoans believed, the sky was much closer to the earth than it is now. So close were they "that men could not walk upright" and "the inhabitants of the earth" were able "to exchange visits with those in heaven" (Brown in GBP, p. 17). This proximity between the sky (of which the Samoans distinguished many different layers, from the one closest to the earth to infinity) and the earth was due to the belief that the sky fell down onto the earth and was caught by the teve, (an acrid plant, *amorphophallus*) and the *tuise* (a weed). In those days, according to a myth (Penisimani in GBP, p. 136f), a party consisting of eight humans were able to go up to the abode of the Sa Tagaloa (family of Tagaloa-lagi) in the sky and there defeat the heavenly progeny in a series of ingenious games (Cf. Turner, 1884:105-7). The Samoans believed that as the teve and the *tuise* grew, the sky was pushed up to where it is now.

According to the cosmological beliefs of the Samoans, the universe consisted of only the Sa Tagaloa, the heavenly beings, their descendants on earth, the Samoans, and those neighbours of whom the Samoans were already aware such as the Fijians, Tongans, Tokelauans and several other peoples. Thus it was that the first European visitors "created a profound astonishment, were looked upon with awe, and received with divine honours" (Stair, 1897:23). The Samoans thought they had burst through the skies and called them *papalagi* (or sky-bursters)

...for, said they, these people have either burst through the clouds with their ship; or else, lifting them up, they have passed beneath, and come to visit us

(Ibid, p. 24)

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7Cf. Brown, GBP, p. 17f.

8Stair also gives another meaning for the origin of the word "papalagi" saying this refers to the sound made by the firing of a ship's guns. *Pa* means to explode and *lagi* means heaven. Thus when the sailing ship's guns are fired, the heavens explode with the noise. He is personally inclined to this view.
As the horizon formed for the ancient Samoans the limits of their world, in their view what came to Samoa must have burst through the sky (Cf. Turner, 1884:199). Moreover, they reasoned that if only the gods resided in the skies the white men had to be gods. And it was largely because of this belief that the early European visitors to Samoa were accorded so much reverence (though this was to be only temporary). Stair summarises this attitude well:

It was generally felt that it [visiting ship] must be an arrival from the spirit-land, and that it would be well to propitiate the gods supposed to be on board by offerings of food. Such were speedily placed along the beach, in the shape of O le Matini, or offerings to the gods, and petitions offered, praying the supposed spiritual visitors to be satisfied with the offerings presented; but, if they had come to take away men for food or sacrifice, that they would mercifully spare them, and go further to other settlements, where the population was greater

(Stair, 1897:23f)\(^9\).

The basic unit of the Samoan kinship system was the extended family called the aiga\(^10\). This usually comprised the father, mother, children and other relatives, including affines. The father might be a chief (matai) or an untitled person (taule'ale'a). Several of these extended families living close together in a village formed a collectivity called the 'au'aiga. The 'au'aiga was generally under the care of a supreme chief. Several of these 'au'aiga formed a village (nu'u). Villages, in turn, combined to form a sub-district and several sub-districts comprised a district (itumalo). Throughout the centuries there has been extensive intermarriage between the 'au'aiga of a village, between nu'u and between itumalo so that the average Samoan today has many roots, as an old Samoan saying goes.

There is as yet no consensus among anthropologists about the rules of descent applicable in Samoa. Sahlins, for instance, holds that descent in Samoa is patrilineal.

\(^9\)The Samoan conception of European visitors as spirits or deities conforms to Samoan traditional beliefs. Spirits, the Samoans believed, frequently travelled about on land and sea and it was customary for such food offerings, called the Matini to be placed on the beaches for the nourishment of the spirits (which were regarded as eating the essence only of the food). This practice, they believed, served to ward off the vengeance of the spirits if proper respect was not shown to them (Stair, 1897:235).

\(^10\)Gilson also refers to this as a "basic economic unit...which generally comprises an extended rather than elementary family, a corporate group that would appear to have had, in the nineteenth century, an average membership of between eight and twelve persons" (1970:15).
Mead, Ember, Weston, Schoeffel and others say it is bilateral, while other students of Polynesian societies, notably Firth and Freeman, regard the Samoan system of descent as optative with a marked patrilineal emphasis. According to Firth, in Polynesian societies such as Samoa the question of affiliation with a particular kin group is frequently a matter of choice but male descendants are generally favoured with regard to the inheritance of land and succession to titles. Brown is of the opinion that the principle of descent operating in ancient Samoa was agnatic though there were traces of a more ancient system of uterine descent (Brown, 1910:39, 96, 260). It appears, however, both from the record and existing practice that except for the highest titles in the land (such as the four so-called royal titles) the rule of descent tends to be optative with a pro-patrilineal bias. Individuals choose to affiliate with a particular patrilineal or matrilineal kin group according to their particular needs and circumstances. But the choice necessarily leads to a strengthening of social ties with one kin group and weakening of the same with regard to others. Theoretically one's rights and obligations towards one's other kin groups are not lost but merely weakened through lack of use and can be claimed at any time.

The *feagaiga* institution, of which much has already been written about by anthropologists and other writers on Samoa (for example: Gilson, 1970; Schoeffel, 1979; Fa’afouina, 1980; Shore, 1982), embodies most clearly the Samoan conceptions about descent. It involves rules and rights governing relationships between brother and sister and their descendants. In its most simplified form, between any two siblings of opposite sex, the brother and his descendants, in a bilateral sense, are called the *tama tane* while the sister and all her descendants, also bilateral, are called the *tama fafine*. The *feagaiga* institution, in effect, divides Samoan society into moieties based on the natural divisions of sex and becomes the means of facilitating cultural arrangements. Thus if two persons trace their ancestry to a common individual they can validly infer that in a particular kin group they exercise equal rights. If they find that one is descended from a man and another from his sister, they conclude that though they are of the same blood, their rights are different as I shall presently demonstrate. Today, just as in pre-Christian times, every man's sister is his *feagaiga*. Extended families, minor and major lineages also have their *feagaiga*. *Feagaiga* relationships are indeed complex for they crisscross Samoan society but they are not really difficult to understand when the right question is asked: how do I stand vis-a-vis another person if there is a *feagaiga* relationship between us? The rules governing behaviour between brother and sister are strict:
A man was especially careful not to expose his person before his sister or her children, and he would be very careful not to use any indelicate word in their presence, such as "the loins", a word which he would not scruple to use before other women

(Brown, 1910:41f).

The sister observed similar proprieties towards her brother.

In matters of succession, the tama tane generally inherited the family lands and chiefly (matal) titles. Land and title usually went together, and represented power or authority (pule). "The Samoans... in olden days, always contended that the tama faine had no right to pule, that is, to rule over or dispose of land" (Brown, 1910:41f)\(^\text{11}\). But if descent rules favoured tama tane in succession to what Schoeffel describes as "secular" authority (1979:300) they also entitled tama faine to certain forms of "moral" authority, especially of veto in family councils. As Brown puts it,

The privileges and powers of the sister and the sister's children in the family in Samoa were very great. They were looked upon as sacred persons, hence their name Tamasa (sacred child or person). Their curse was especially dreaded, as it was supposed to cause barrenness in a woman or the death of children in the family

(1910:41f).

In the family councils, the moral authority of the tama faine served to counterbalance the secular authority of the tama tane, and misfortune was believed to befall the tama tane who failed to heed the serious advice of the tama faine. In matters of ritual (whether at the family, village or district level), the tama faine were given first place of honour. In funerary rituals, for instance, tama faine exercised a key role. Thus,

Only a sister or sister's child had the privilege of sitting at the head of the grave and breaking the bottle of scented oil to pour over the uncovered face of the dead man

(Brown, 1910:41f).

On every occasion, especially ritual ones, the tama faine were given the highest forms of respect and might demand any valuable property from the tama tane. In fact, the tama tane were obliged by custom to provide for both the social and material needs of the tama faine (Cf. Fa'afouina, 1980:15).

\(^{11}\text{Cf. Gilson, 1970:30 and Marsack, 1961:11.}\)
Because succession to land and titles generally favoured males, it is hardly surprising that post-marital residence in traditional Samoan society was predominantly patri-virilocal. That is to say, male descendants generally remained on the family estates while their sisters joined their husbands upon marriage, thus establishing kinship links and political alliances. Except for high chiefs, the ordinary man usually spent the first few years of married life with his wife's family until the first child was born when he brought his wife and child to his natal family. During this period, the man was not regarded as a member of his wife's family. He was "only a stranger, and had no voice in any deliberations, and the same applied to the woman in the husband's family" (Brown, 1910:123). When a man died, his brother might marry the widow (Turner, 1884:98) but if she was not retained in this manner she was required to return to her own kin (Brown, 1910:43).

Elaborate ceremonies (usually exchanges of gifts between the families of the wife and husband) were associated with pregnancy and the birth of a child (Stair, 1897:176f). During the first seven years of life, children were generally under the care of their mothers. After this, the process of role specialisation became more evident as young boys began to attach themselves more to their fathers, and young girls to their mothers. By about the age of 14 - 16, the children of both sexes were considered ready for participation in adult life and certain rites of passage were observed. For a girl,

As the age of maturity approached, her friends collected property, and on a given day invited all the women of the tribe to a feast, when the property was distributed, and the damsel proclaimed a full-grown woman

(Pritchard, 1866:142). For a young man, the rite de passage consisted of the tattooing operation (tatau) which caused great pain and was associated with various forms of Samoan dancing and other practices which were frowned upon by the early missionaries. Following his induction into adult status, the young man became a taule'ale'a or untitled man and a

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12 See Williams, 1984:257f.
13 Also compare Turner, 1884:91.
14 Turner, for instance, says, "The waste of time, revelling, and immorality connected with the custom [of tattooing] have led us to discountenance it; and it is, to a considerable extent, given up" (1861:183). In fact, Samoan tattooing continues to be a widespread practice.
member of the *aumaga* (group of untitled men) whose function was to serve the *matai* (chiefs) and the village in various capacities but particularly in village agriculture and warfare. A *taule'ale'a*’s ambition was to succeed to his family’s *matai* titles, make useful alliances by marriage, have many children and die with dignity. A young woman, in turn, coveted a suitable marriage beneficial both to her family and herself.

Polygamy was extensively practised in ancient Samoa and was due to several factors: (1) the need by the *tulafale* (spokesmen for the class of chiefs called *ali'i*) to gain property such as *'ie toga* (fine mats) and *siapo* (traditional cloth); (2) the need by the chiefs to forge new political alliances which would be useful in times of war; and (3) the need for physical labour. Except for rare historical exceptions among the highest chiefs, the conventions forbade marriage between known kin. Thus Turner (1884:92) notes that considerable care was taken to prevent any union between near relatives. Brown also says that there were no exogamous classes, "the only restriction being against the marriage of relatives" (1910:123).

2.1. Political Organisation

The struggle for status and power may be said to have characterised the political system of Samoan traditional society. Since power determined to a large extent the status hierarchy\(^\text{15}\) I shall deal mostly with the question of power which, according to Weber, is typically the ability of individuals, groups (such as political parties) and of the state (or government) to impose their will on others, for instance, in matters of policy. Although Weber’s concept of power may not apply in its entirety to the Samoan traditional situation, the basic notion of overcoming obstacles in implementing policy does.

Both legend and written records attest to this constant vying for power between individual chiefs, villages, districts and islands, and it may be accurately stated that in traditional Samoan society the quest for power was of predominant importance especially as wealth and status were also closely associated with it. In ancient Samoa, furthermore there was a hierarchical structure of power. A chief was generally the head of an extended family. If there were several such families forming a group of extended families (*aualiga*) then usually one of them was the recognised leader of the

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\(^{15}\)The victor in a war, for instance, took over the highest titles of his defeated opponents.
group. Each chief was a member of the village council (fono) which exercised legislative, executive and judicial functions and whose decisions were normally based on consensus. In effect, the village council was the government of the village and for most intents and purposes was the political institution with which the ancient Samoans were most concerned in everyday life. If meetings were called at the sub-district, district or national levels (the latter being the most rare) the village sent representatives to them, usually the higher-ranked or more powerful chiefs. From this, it is evident that a kind of political organisation existed ranging from the lowest to the highest level. Thus,

The system of government was local, so far as regards the several villages, but there was also a federation of the villages into districts, of which one of the principal villages was considered to be the head and the ruling town

(Brown, 1910:286). The chiefs were, as a general rule, elected to office by the members of a descent group called the aiga potopoto which possessed the title. While consanguinal connection was an important criterion for election as well as tama tane status, ability, merit and past tautua (service to a previous titleholder) were also taken into account. The rules of seniority and primogeniture in title succession were observed especially when brothers and eldest sons pressed their claims but they were not always applied for there was much room in Samoan society for the venturesome and the talented to achieve high social office (Cf. Brown, 1910:288, 314). Generally speaking, there were two main classes of chiefs: the ali'i and the tulafale. The ali'i were the superior class of chiefs, not only with regard to Samoan notions of class and status, but also with regard to political power. They occupied the apex of the social organisation of Samoa and their persons were sacred (paia). Because of their sacred nature, they did not ordinarily speak for themselves in ritual situations. This was done for them by the lesser class of chiefs, the tulafale, known variously as orators, spokesmen for the

16 As a comparison, the usoali'i (brother chiefs) is a group of three chiefs one of whom is considered the senior and is called the sa'o.

17 Also compare Turner, 1884:173; Hale, 1968:29; Stair, 1897:76, 84.

18 "Title" here refers to an honorific name which is owned by a descent group. In assuming such a title, a man becomes a chief (matai) and takes over all the rights, privileges and obligations of that title as recognised by Samoan society. When a chief dies, the title reverts to the descent group which then bestows it again.

19 Tulafale are also known as failauga, fatpule and faleupolu.
chiefs, executive chiefs, or landholders (Cf. Shore, 1982:241f). There was also, as now, a class of chiefs called the *tulafale-ali'i* who, whenever they chose, could act either as *ali'i* or as *tulafale*. Both the chiefs and the orators were ranked in a system of power so that in every village or district council there existed a hierarchical order legitimised by tradition and practice. Usually, one or two *ali'i* were recognised as the supreme authority in a village or district with the executive chiefs nominally under them but very often a rival power to that of the *ali'i* in the community (as in Salailua, Shore:1980). Brown, for instance, says:

Next to the chiefs were the councillors (tulafales or faipule), and they generally exercised greater power than the chiefs.

(1910:285f).

On the national level, the Samoan polity, though homogeneous in language, culture and traditions, was for practical purposes divided into two sections: on the one hand, the Manu'a group, on the other, Tutuila, Upolu, Manono and Savai'i. Though there was much communication between the islands of Samoa in the old days, Manu'a tended to conduct its own political affairs independently of the rest of Samoa. Distance from the western islands might have had something to do with it, but more likely it was due to the ancient tradition that the rest of Samoa was descended from Manu'a, where the Tui Manu'a, the direct descendant of the god Tagaloa, reigned supreme. In the west, national politics centred around the continuous struggle to form a centralised government under a monarch known as the *tafa'ifa*. The *tafa'ifa* is simply the holder of the four highest titles in the western isles, namely, the *Tui A'ana*, paramount chief of A'ana district; the *Tui Atua*, paramount chief of Atua district; the *Tamasoali'i* and *Gatoaitele*, the highest titles of Tuamasaga district in political alliance with Manono and Savai'i islands. Salamasina is generally credited as being the first *tafa'ifa* circa 1500 A.D. and Malietoa Vainu'upo, who received the European missionaries in 1830, as the last (Cf. Gilson, 1970:58f).

The contention between the different political factions for supremacy and, therefore, the establishment of the *malo* or national government characterised the

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20 This is not necessarily true if the *tulafale* were acting according to the wishes of the chiefs.

21 This word refers not to a nation state but to the Samoans as a single racial group.
ancient politics of Samoa right up to the partition by Western powers (Germany and United States) in 1900. The victors, usually after a bloody conflict, became the malo and the losers the vaival (Cf. Williams, 1984:239; Hale, 1968:29f) who were compelled to pay tribute to the malo by way of food provisions, goods (oloa) such as fine mats, siapo (native cloth), canoes, and women. They were also subjected to various forms of humiliation (such as being forced to climb a coconut tree feet first), exploitation and oppression (Cf. Pritchard, 1866:52). If they rebelled and overthrew the malo, they then succeeded to national power and behaved as the previous government had done (Cf. Turner, 1861:290f). This settling of political differences by war, and the keeping of opposition factions in subjection resulted in frequent periods of instability and lack of a truly centralised form of government (Cf. Turner, 1861:291f).

Broadly speaking, in traditional Samoan society, the Samoans were divided into three general categories: one, the ordinary, untitled, village people called tagata nu'iu (literally, village people); two, the chiefs, both ali'i and tulafale; three, the holders of the highest district titles called the ao and papa including the tafaifa titles. The average chief (matai) was the elected representative of the members of a descent group, the aiga in its widest sense; the leader of the village council of chiefs generally inherited his position; the leader of a sub-district or district council of chiefs, if not an inherited position, was at least an appointee of his brother chiefs. Such leadership was usually associated with rank in the social hierarchy. But generally matai councils, at whatever level, functioned very much on a democratic basis (Hale, 1968:29; Turner, 1884:173). Theoretically, the electors of matai could remove the latter, including the highest chiefs, for gross misconduct or other serious reason (Cf. Hale, 1968:28) and this was occasionally done and titleholders expelled from their villages or even banished overseas.

2.2. Economic Organisation

In ancient Samoa, the aiga or extended family was the basic unit of economic production. Within it, the matai made the more important economic decisions relating to the welfare of the family. Economic production was geared primarily to the needs of subsistence and to enable the aiga to meet its social obligations with regard to its own important undertakings (such as the construction of a canoe or house for the matai) or with regard to its other obligations towards other kin groups (as in marriages), the village or district. The motivation for profit per se was largely absent but extra food was sometimes grown and material goods accumulated for a specific purpose. A division
of labour existed: women did lighter work in and around the house and the men did the heavier work as in the plantations (Cf. Shore, 1982:225f; also Williams, 1984:222f). The main food items grown were bananas, taro, ta' amu, yams, arrowroot, sugar cane, breadfruit and coconuts. Protein needs were supplied by the consumption of pigs, chicken, pigeons, fish and sometimes snakes. A variety of fruit such as the vi, mangoes, oranges, pawpaws were also plentiful (Cf. Williams, 1984:80f; Wilkes, 1852:162; Stair, 1897:122).

Milestones in an individual's life, especially where chiefs are concerned, such as birth, marriage and death, were occasions which required much expenditure in wealth and, therefore, much of Samoan economic activity was centred around these events. That is to say, the kinship groups were organised so as to be able to fulfil their social obligations for the traditional ceremonies connected with them. The burden for meeting these obligations was borne not by one individual but by the group as a whole. Typically, at a family gathering, the matai would apportion the amounts and kinds of food and/or material goods the individual members or units of the kinship group were expected to contribute to the fa'alavelave (an important event which requires the participation of the kinship group). Birth, marriage and death were all events during which much traditional wealth was exchanged. In marriage, for instance, a basic part of the ceremony was the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and the bridaegroom. The bride's relatives gave toga (i.e. fine mats and siapo) to the bridegroom's relatives who reciprocated by giving oloa (food, canoes and other material goods) to the bride's aiga (Stair, 1897:173; Turner, 1861:186f; cf. Turner, 1884:82; Brown, 1910:44f). Where the chiefs were concerned, marriage could be a very expensive affair: "I was shown a young woman for whom her husband gave three hundred hogs & either four or five hundred siapo's & mats" (Williams, 1984:257).

The construction of houses and canoes for the chiefs severely taxed the economic resources of kinship groups. This was due to the fact that the tufuga (skilled tradesmen) demanded massive compensation for their services in the form of food, fine mats, siapo and other goods. The owner of the new house or canoe could not dispense with the services of these tufuga once the work was begun because guild rules forbade any tufuga to complete the work begun by another. Were it not for the collective effort of the kinship group in contributing to the payment of the tufuga, the matai would find it extremely difficult to meet construction costs. Stair lists five separate payments for the construction of a canoe, not including the support of the tufuga and their families during the time of the work (1897:150) and four for the construction of a house (1897:156f).
The custom of the *malaga* played a vital role in economic organisation. Briefly, the *malaga* was a custom whereby village chiefs and their followers left their village in the care of the aged and a few others and travelled around the other villages where they were accommodated and entertained for several days in each village, before returning to their own homes three to six months later. The purpose of these organised expeditions was generally economic. Thus Williams says that the "object of these journeys [sic] is to collect siapo and mats which is the currency of the country" (1984:251). That is to say, the travelling party desired *toga* (fine mats and *siapo*) in return for *oloa*, food and material goods which they presented to their hosts. Another function of the *malaga* is well put by Wilkes:

> The reasons they have for taking these journeys are various; thus, when there is a scarcity of food in one part, or a failure of the crops, they are in the habit of making a *fa'ata'amilo*, or circuit, around a portion of these islands, so that by the time they return, their own taro has grown, and the bread-fruit season come around. They are now in their turn prepared to afford the same hospitality and accommodation to others.

(Wilkes, 1852:202; cf. Stair, 1897:129f)

Generally speaking, except where the needs of status demanded sacrifices, economic life was a relatively simple affair. An old native of Tutuila reflected the situation well when he told Wilkes, in reply to a question, that a Samoan was in a comfortable position "when he has a good house; a well-made visiting canoe; a neat, handy, large, and well-formed woman for a wife; a taro-patch, with a good fence; cocoa-nut and breadfruit trees, with a reasonable number of pigs" (Wilkes, 1852:162).

2.3. Religious Organisation

The ancient Samoan conception of religion may be said to fall within Tylor's definition of religion as a belief in spiritual beings (in Lessa and Vogt [eds] 1979:11). These spiritual beings were considered as powerful, superhuman entities which were able to affect men's destinies. Hence, they needed to be propitiated through regular worship, prayers and offerings. The ancient Samoans did have a high god, Tagaloa-lagi, the creator of the Samoan cosmos (Brown, 1910:228) but there were also

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22Penisimani also makes many interesting references to these journeys in the George Brown Papers (GBP).
numerous other gods with whom the Samoans formed a more intimate connection. To these gods or spiritual beings the Samoans prayed for prosperity, health, protection, victory in war and revenge against those who had insulted them. These gods were incarnated in various forms of animals, birds, fish and various inanimate objects. These objects were not themselves the gods (aitu) but merely the forms or ata as Brown calls them (1910:227) of the incarnated spirits. In comparison, Tagaloa-lagi, as high god, did not have a visible incarnation although as a local god in a few villages he was considered incarnate in the moon, a bird (snipe), a large wooden bowl and a hollow stone (Turner, 1884:52f). In mythology, Tagaloa-lagi was called the creator of lands, visitor of lands, abandoner of lands (Brown, 1910:227; Turner, 1884:52f). He was also known as "the progenitor of the other gods and mankind" (Stair, 1897:212).

The Samoan gods were divided into several categories such as, personal gods, family gods, village gods, district gods and national gods (Stair, 1897:212ff; Brown, 1910:245; Pritchard, 1866:106). An individual thus generally worshipped not one but at least four or more gods.

The personal god was acquired by the individual at birth. As Turner explains,

At his birth a Samoan was supposed to be taken under the care of some god, or aitu, as it was called. The help of several of these gods was probably invoked in succession on the occasion, and the one who happened to be addressed just as the child was born was fixed on as the child's god for life (Turner, 1884:17; cf. Pritchard, 1866:140). The personal god might be incarnated "in some animal, bird, fish or plant" (Turner, 1884:17; cf. Pritchard, 1866:107). Whatever the form of the personal deity, it was treated with the utmost reverence and might never be killed or eaten by the devotee

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23 As Wilkes puts it, the Samoans "acknowledged one great god, whom they call Tangaloa-lagi, but pay less worship to him than to their war-gods, Tamafaiga, Sinleo [sic], and Onafanua [Nafanua, the famed war-goddess and head of the pagan government of Samoa before the coming of Christianity]" (1852:190).

24 This does not rule out the possibility that an individual might be possessed by this high god.

25 These were usually war gods.

26 Typical prayer at birth said by the father of the woman giving birth: "O Moso, be propitious; let this my daughter be preserved alive! Be compassionate to us; save my daughter, and we will do anything you wish as our redemptive price" (Turner, 1861:174).
(though others might do so) "or dire consequences would follow" (Turner, 1884:17). In fact, these and other taboos applied equally to all one's gods.

Worship of the family god was generally conducted just before evening meals when the family head implored the god's "protection from war, punishment, disease, and death" (Pritchard, 1866:108). Referring to these family gods, Stair says:

One family supposed their god to possess a shark; another, some bird or a stone; and another, a reptile

At certain times, the family provided a feast in honour of their god when "a bowl of ava...was solemnly and slowly poured on the ground as a propitiatory drink-offering" (Pritchard, 1866:108).

All the residents of a village were regarded as the "personal property" of the village god who, in the "larger towns, had a sacred grove in the neighbourhood, as well as a temple, dedicated to his service" (Pritchard, 1866:110). In the smaller towns, the village guest house served as temple. Usually special priests served these village gods which were generally incarnated in birds. These priests appointed the feast days for the gods and generally acted as their spokesmen.

The district gods "presided over the various political divisions of the islands" (Pritchard, 1866:11) and were generally identified with the war gods. Since war was a frequent and important aspect of Samoan political life, these deities assumed great significance. Stair observes that while these gods were the object of much reverence:

Still, it often happened that if the gods were not propitious to their suppliants, torrents of abuse were heaped upon them; but, as a rule, the chosen deities were much dreaded

These were incarnated in objects such as birds, fish, rainbow and meteors (Pritchard, 1866:111) and their feast days were elaborate affairs.

The national gods were not incarnated in any visible form (unless also regarded

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27These temples were not elaborate buildings but often small replicas of Samoan traditional houses which functioned more as shrines than for accommodating huge numbers of worshippers.
as local gods) and were composed of two classes (Pritchard, 1866:111f): the original deities of the Samoans (such as the high god Tagaloa-lagi, and his assistants, who created the cosmos and man); and the deified spirits of great men "whose past deeds won the gratitude and the worship of posterity" (Ibid, pp 111f). Among the latter were Mafui'e (god of earthquakes), Moso (the man eater), Sepo (the child destroyer), Le Sa (god of agriculture), Tiiti'i (who stole fire from Mafui'e), Losi (who brought taro from the heavens) and Le Fe'e, an ancient war god.

Both classes were equally reverenced and feared. Each god was supreme in his especial sphere or faculty, and all held more or less communion with each other, and were the themes of the national mythology and legends (Pritchard, 1866:111f).

Stair distinguishes four kinds of spirit deities. He calls the divine creators such as Tagaloa-lagi atua; deified mortals as tupua28; the descendants of the atua as aitu; and the lowest class of spirits, such as "ghosts and apparitions" as sauaili and which were often of a mischievous disposition (1897:211f). Brown thinks that many of the gods may have been originally dead ancestors the memory of whom has been lost (1910:245).

Williams, in his 1832 Journal, tells of how the other Polynesian peoples, such as the Rarotongans and the Tahitians regarded the Samoans as a godless people (1984:264f). He himself subscribed to this view when he observed that the Samoans...

have no Maraes no temples neither have they any idols. Not having either idols, temples Maraes or Sacred Places of any description of course they have not the religious rites, ceremonies, sacrifices & feasts that existed at Tahiti Rarotonga & the other Islands

(Ibid, p. 264)29.

The truth is that the pagan Samoans were a highly religious people if by religion we mean belief in and propitiation of superhuman beings. Freeman devotes a whole chapter in his book attesting to this (Freeman, 1983: 174-190). The records of the early resident missionaries and visitors to Samoa leave no doubt that not only did the Samoans have many gods who were assiduously worshipped but that they also had

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28 This provides strong evidence of ancestral worship in Samoan society.
29 This is not to deny that Williams recognised that the Samoans had "gods many & lords many" (Williams, 1984:265) whom they appeared to worship by mouth only.
idols (eg *tupua* or images of deceased ancestors), sacred groves, temples, rituals and ceremonies, offerings and prayers. True, the Samoan *malae* (village centre) was used primarily for political gatherings and discourse but it was also used for the celebration of the feasts of the great district war gods. The viewpoint that the Samoans were a godless people cannot be sustained in the light of this evidence, and Williams can be excused for his views on the ground that his 1830 and 1832 visits were only of a short duration and most of his information about Samoan religion and society came from his Tahitian teachers.

Still, it is true that Samoan religion was not as institutionalised or centralised as say, Tahitian or Hawaiian religion and this was perhaps due to the more centralised nature of the political systems in those island groups. In Samoa, there was never any strong centralised government with the result that political affairs and religious customs were conducted mostly at the local village or district level. There were signs that Manono, the *malo* (ruling power) in 1830, was attempting to set up a strong centralised government under Tamafaiga but the latter's assassination put a stop to that. When the new political leader Malietoa Vainu'upo embraced Christianity, it spelt the end of the traditional religion.

As I have noted, the Samoan gods were worshipped during family evening prayers as well as at great village or district feasts. But there were also more permanent structures dedicated to their worship consisting of temples called *fale aitu* or *malumalu o le aitu* and/or sacred groves. Some gods (*aitu*) were also known to frequent certain areas and these were also regarded as sacred. According to Stair, some kind of temple was to be found in every village. These temples or *malumalu* were usually...

...in the principal *malae* of the village, surrounded with a low fence, and were built of similar materials to those used in ordinary dwellings. They were almost always placed on *fanua-tanu* [raised platforms of earth or rocks]...

(Stair, 1897:226).

Within these temples were kept certain ritual objects such as drums, conch shells and the three sacred stones described by Murray (1876:172). When communication with the god was desired, the god was said to become incarnate in these objects and hence the great care taken of them by the *taulaitu* (priests).

Communication with the gods was conducted through the *taulaitu*. There were
different kinds of taulaitu, the most common being the chiefs (matai), both ali'i and tulafale, in their capacity as family heads. The ali'i, according to Hale (1968) may have been the original priests of Samoa who later surrendered most of their priestly functions to the other classes of taulaitu so that they could concentrate more on political and administrative affairs. Other classes of taulaitu were the priests of the war gods, keepers of the war gods (the visible objects in which they incarnated) and prophets or sorcerers. Of these the priests of the war gods were regarded as the most important (Brown, 1910:228) while the sorcerers were generally feared. These spirit mediums were called taulaitu because they were regarded as the aitu, meaning anchor, of the aitu (gods).

That the taulaitu were called the anchors of the gods was due to the general belief that in communicating with the gods the taulaitu were possessed by them. While in a state of possession the aitu made their wishes known through the taulaitu. Describing this phenomenon, Williams says:

The first symptom is a violent muscular agitation with which the person is suddenly seized. It generally commences in one of his breasts. This will be greatly agitated while the other parts of his body yield to the agitating influence of the gods & the inspired person shakes most dreadfully and becomes frantic. Whatever he says or does while in this state is looked upon not as the act of the man but of the god... At length the man is worn out with fatigue becomes quiet lies down & sleeps & awakes as if unconscious of any thing having happened to him


The taulaitu exercised immense influence over the Samoans in their capacity as the spokesmen for the superhumans upon whom the Samoans believed their welfare depended (Brown, 1910:228; Pritchard, 1866:110; Stair, 1897:222, 225).

Prayers and offerings were made to the gods and their feast days, at a set time of the year, or fixed randomly by the taulaitu, were lavishly celebrated with grand feasting, dancing and games often lasting many days. The offerings were principally cooked food (Turner, 1884:20). Stair notes that:

Offerings of food and property were made to the different aitu themselves, as well as to their representatives, the priesthood, or taula-aitu. Sometimes these were used by the priests, but many of them were allowed to decay in the spirit-houses, no one presuming to appropriate so sacred an article to their own private use

(1897:235; cf. Wilkes, 1852:192; Pritchard, 1866:110, 121f).
When A'ana district honoured its war god, Le Fe'e, in May, the religious ceremonies were accompanied by "club and sham fights, boxing and wrestling-matches, dances, and the usual revels and obscenities, which followed each other in quick succession during the days the feast lasted" (Stair, 1897:137).

There is little information as to whether the Samoans believed in the pre-existence of the soul but they did believe "in a soul or disembodied spirit, which they called the anganga" (Turner, 1884:16), from aga, to come or to go. The ethereal nature of the soul is indicated by its ability to come and go, as in visions, dreams and death. Hence, aitu were also so called because they were agaga, albeit superior kinds, which were able to roam about in the world at will. Hence the cause of much superstition amongst the Samoans concerning the presence of spirits seemingly everywhere. Misfortune and disease generally, even death, were attributed not to natural causes but to the displeasure of some aitu. Thus a large part of the pagan Samoan religion consisted of attempts to appease the gods by means of supplication, sacrifice, offerings, atonement and so on. Of course if a god was displeased, then its priest would have to be consulted for the reason and what was needed to be done to avert the god’s anger. At death, the agaga was supposed to go to the Samoan after-world. This consisted of Pulotu, where the souls of the matai and war heroes went, and Sa-le-fe'e where the souls of the ordinary people (tagata nu'u) went. The after-world, it appears, was merely the continuation in another dimension of the Samoan status hierarchy. The mythology concerning existence after death serves as an illustration of how myths, purporting to be of divine origin and hence sacred and inviolable, tend to reinforce Samoan notions of the status quo (Cf. Stair, 1897:217).

The Samoans believed that at death, the souls of the departed left for the Samoan after-world which lay somewhere to the west. Thus, the journey of the souls was always in a westerly direction, overland and across the straits separating the various islands. The last important stopping place was Le fatu osoafia on the western end of Upolu where the souls dived into the sea for the last leg of the journey over Savai'i (Stair, 1897:219; Brown, 1910:220; Hale, 1968:27; Pritchard, 1866:401). The entrance to the after-world was called Le Fafa and was "a large hole in the reef at the extreme end of the island" of Savai'i (Brown, 1910:220). According to Penisimani, a coconut tree planted by one Leosia grew at the Fafa

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30 The people of Manu'a apparently have a different version of this journey.
(purportedly to cover the entrance) and that if a soul, in trying to gain entrance hit
the coconut tree, it returned to physical life. Otherwise it continued to the after-world
(GBP, p. 165).

The Fafa contained two sub-entrances: one was called O le Luә-loto-o-Ati'i
through which the souls of chiefs passed on to Pulotu, the Samoan paradise; the other
O le Luә-loto-o-taufanua through which the tagata nu'u passed to Salefe'e, also
known as Le nu'u-o-nonono, "the Samoan Tartarus, or dread place of punishment" (Stair,
1897:217; cf. Brown, 1910:221). Pulotu was the residence of many of the Samoan gods
with Savea Siuleo at their head while Salefe'e was the equivalent of the underworld,
the residence of the lesser deities and people of no account in the status hierarchy.
The exact locations of these places is not certain (Brown, 1910:221) but since the
Samoans believed that their gods resided in the sky, on earth and under the earth it is
probably fair to say in the light of the evidence that the high god Tagaloa-lagi and
his assistants resided in the sky, the other major deities on the earth, that is to say, at
Pulotu (Hale, 1968:27) while the lesser gods resided in the underworld region of
Salefe'e, a region associated with volcanoes. And from these places, the Samoans
believed the aitu came to haunt the world of men.

The evidence, as Freeman (1983:179f) and others have pointed out, clearly shows
the Samoans to have been a deeply religious people. Their whole lives, from birth to
death, were dominated by their religious beliefs and practices which in turn were
closely linked with other aspects, social, economic and political, of Samoan culture.
When Williams and Barff arrived in Samoa in 1830, the Samoan pagan religious
system was a thriving reality. Samoan traditional social organisation was substantially
intact and the stage was set for the meeting of two religious systems and two alien
cultures.
Chapter 3
The Coming of the Missionaries

The London Missionary Society (LMS) or the Missionary Society, as it was called originally, was a product of the Evangelical Movement in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century (Lovett, 1899:B2; Gunson, 1978:2). It was a time of "political and social upheaval" (Lovett, 1899:4) which gave birth to the religious revival led by George Whitefield and John Wesley, and many philanthropic and reformist movements in England and elsewhere.

Evangelism and Revivalism both refer to a system of religious belief, the central emphasis of which was the need for spiritual rebirth. According to Evangelical doctrine, man must recognise the inherent nature of his sinfulness, the danger of everlasting damnation in hell and of the need to atone for his sins through recognition of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Added to this was "an emphasis on the propagation of the Bible" (Gunson, 1978:2), the need to spread the revealed truth of God, as contained in the Christian bible, to others.

Evangelicalism was not restricted to a single religious denomination, though it is true it was usually associated with the Methodist movement led by John and Charles Wesley and their associate George Whitefield. It was inter-denominational but was distinguishable from the regular churches because of its emphasis on salvation by faith, truth as revealed in the bible and a compulsion, most readily seen in the evangelising and humanitarian activities of the Methodists, to spread the gospel. The doctrine of Evangelicalism was clearly Protestant but it also carried a definite imprint of Puritanism. The term "Puritanism" was not applied to the movement because of opposition from "the Evangelicals of the Church of England and by the various Methodist 'connexions'... However, in most respects, Evangelical doctrine is essentially Puritan doctrine" (Gunson, 1978:2). As a movement, Evangelicalism in England and America in the 18th century was not new because its basic tenets were already developed by the movements associated with Cocceianism in late 17th century Holland,
Pietism and Moravianism, the last of which strongly influenced John Wesley. Within the 18th century movement itself, there were two "schools of Revival" which, while maintaining the same basic beliefs, "placed a different emphasis on the Christian life" (Ibid, p. 48). Thus while Wesleyan Evangelicals "in preaching the doctrine of 'entire sanctification', urged holiness of life above all other things", the Calvinistic Evangelicals "in preaching the allied but slightly different doctrine of 'the perseverance of the saints', stressed entire dependence on the gift of grace" (Ibid, p. 48). What is significant here, however, is that the London Missionary Society was formed and organised by Evangelicals for the spreading of the gospel to foreign lands and that the missionaries sent by the LMS to the South Seas were those imbued with the doctrines and spirit of Evangelicalism which they tried to communicate to those they regarded as heathen.

3.1. Formation of the LMS

European discovery and explorations in the South Seas during the 18th century (eg by Wallis, Cook and others) evoked considerable European interest in the area. There was, however, as Gunson points out, a prevailing opinion in England

"...that the 'noble savage' was sufficient unto himself, and would be spoilt by any kind of change. It was only in the newly stimulated Evangelical circles, both within and without the established Church of England, that any concern was shown for the 'perishing heathen'

(1978:12).

Among the Evangelicals who demonstrated a great desire for the establishment of a South Seas mission was Rev Thomas Haweis, chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. He played a major role, both morally and financially, in the formation of the Missionary Society (Ibid, p. 12) and was the man chiefly responsible for the adoption of Polynesia as the society's first mission field (Lovett, 1899:26).

The formation of the society did not take place suddenly but was the result of protracted discussions, prayer meetings and inspiration on the part of Evangelical ministers from various religious denominations in England. Lovett provides a detailed account of such meetings from that of Mr Bogue, Mr Steven and Mr Hey at the Tabernacle, "often in after days called 'the cradle of the Missionary Society'" (Ibid, p. 5) to the formal meetings for the establishment of the society in London on September 22, 23 and 24, 1795. The society, composed of members from various religious denominations, was essentially non-denominational though strongly evangelical in spirit. It was an autonomous body (with officers and directors) dedicated to the spread of the
gospel and largely depended for its existence on the voluntary contributions of individuals and organisations (and later of the new Christian converts themselves) (ibid, pp 77-88). Tahiti was decided upon as the society's first mission field and on September 24, 1796, the "Duff", purchased by the society, left England for Tahiti with 30 missionaries on board. This first group established three missions in 1797 at Matavai in Tahiti, at Tongatapu in Tonga and at Tahuata in the Marquesas but the Tongan and Marquesan missions were short-lived (Gunson, 1978:12). The Tahitian mission, after many years of trials and tribulations, finally succeeded in establishing Christianity in Tahiti which thereafter served as the centre of the society's work of evangelisation in the South Pacific. From this centre, John Williams was to carry the gospel to the Hervey Islands (Cooks), Samoa and the New Hebrides in later years.

3.2. The Society's Missionaries

Of the 30 missionaries sent on the "Duff" in 1796, only four, James Fleet Cover, John Eyre, John Jefferson and Thomas Lewis, were ordained ministers and among the rest were many "handicraftsmen and tradesmen", sometimes called mechanics in those days, taken in "the belief that the natives would speedily see the value of European civilization, and be glad to learn trades" (Lovett, 1899:127). The fact that only four of the missionaries were ordained and that most of them were mechanics is indicative of general policies at the time: One, that religious inspiration and dedication, rather than theological training only, should be emphasised as a basic qualification for missionaries. Two, mechanical skills should also be emphasised because of the need to spread civilisation, besides the gospel, to the heathen. In fact, the two objectives were not seen as separate but combined as one: to evangelise was to introduce civilisation and to introduce civilisation was to evangelise. The only problem appeared to be which should be done first.

The policies which guided the society's first missionary effort to the South Seas did not represent a unanimous feeling among the society's directors. In the matter of missionary training, for instance, Gunson says

The Calvinistic Methodist directors of the LMS, like their Wesleyan counterparts, placed much more emphasis on qualifications in zeal and piety. The Puritan tradition, on the other hand, emphasized the value of learning, and it was the Independent and Presbyterian directors who urged the need for a systematized education of missionaries. This was one of the issues behind the clash of personalities of the Methodist and monarchical Dr Haweis and the Dissenting and republican Dr Bogue
As it was, in the early years of the society, the views of Dr Haweis and his supporters prevailed. Personal qualities such as zeal and piety and skills in the mechanical arts deemed useful for civilising the heathen were given prominence (Lovett, 1899:46f). Most of the theological training of the first missionaries was received on board the "Duff" and until the institution for missionary trainees under Dr Bogue was opened at Gosport, near Portsmouth, in 1801, missionary training was done by individual clergymen of the society in their home parishes (Gunson, 1978:64f; cf. Lovett, 1899:56)^4.

The view that missionaries were carrying civilisation to the heathen was generally accepted within the society. As Gunson says,

In Evangelical mission policy it was taken for granted that civilisation was necessary. The prevailing attitude was that the natives would be either civilized or destroyed

(1978:269).

There was division, however, within the society on the best method of introducing civilisation which, according to the missionaries, consisted of "the entire social system of the Anglo-Saxons" (Ibid, p. 272). The prevailing view at first was that the work of civilising the heathen should be given priority as it was also considered that the achievement of this objective would facilitate the spreading of the gospel. Hence the importance placed on the need for missionaries of the 'godly mechanic' type. The opposite view, espoused by Dr Bogue and his supporters, emphasised the spreading of the gospel first and European civilisation second and hence the priority it gave to adequate theological training^5. The subsequent events in Tahiti, including mass defections of missionaries and the moral lapses of some, proved to be the turning point of the society's policies (Ibid, pp 64f). The views of the Puritan faction gradually gained ground. A theological college for missionary students, under Dr Bogue's supervision, was opened at Gosport in 1801. While secular knowledge was taught, emphasis was given to biblical studies (Gunson, 1978:66) while practical skills were acquired elsewhere. The spreading of the gospel was given priority over the spreading of civilisation. The concept of the 'godly mechanics' gave way to that of the 'social doctrine of the cross', which was:

...the belief that the preaching of Christ crucified, ipso facto, would effect the transformation of primitive society to civilized society; the belief that social progress was inextricably bound up with the message of the atonement.
By 1836, the social doctrine of the cross had become the official policy of the society. Other denominations (eg the Wesleyans) had started their own missionary organisations and the LMS gradually came to be dominated by the Congregationalists.

3.3. Early Christian Influences

John Williams and Charles Barff, in 1830, were not the first to deliver the message of Christianity to the Samoans. The honour belongs elsewhere, to three principal sources.

In 1829, a group of natives from Raivavae Is., Society Islands, were blown off course while returning to their island from Tubuai and drifted to Rose Island, whence they were picked up and carried by a passing vessel to Manu'a. There the Christians in the party built a small chapel for worship and attempted to convert the Manu'ans to Christianity. But, according to Williams (1984:100) they managed only one convert.

Also in the same year, Christianity of a Methodist kind had reached Manono, principally through Samoans who had come into contact with Wesleyanism in Tonga and through Tongan Methodists visiting Samoa (Gunson, 1978:17; Gilson, 1970:68). Saiva'ala, a Samoan who had been to Tonga in 1828, became a convert to Methodism and after his return established two small churches at Tafua and Salelologa, Savai'i. However, this influence extended to only a few families (Inglis, p. 280-282).

Finally, the millenarian movement known as the Siovili Cult was another important early source of a form of Christianity in Samoa. Siovili, a native of the village of Eva, Upolu, and a Samoan chief, Teoneula, are said to have gone to Tonga and Tahiti in the mid-1820's on the trading vessel of Captain Samuel Henry, son of an LMS missionary in Tahiti, apparently as a crew member. In Tahiti, Siovili might have come under the influence of the Mamaia movement, which opposed the orthodox teachings of the LMS missionaries in religious matters and actively supported reactionary elements in Tahitian political affairs. After his stint as a seaman and having acquired some knowledge of the white man's world Siovili returned to Samoa and began his cult at Eva, "early in 1830 - some months before any missionary had set foot on Samoan soil..." (Freeman, 1959:189). From there the cult "spread rapidly through Upolu, and then to Savai'i and Tutuila, drawing many thousands to its ranks,
and surviving - on the island of Upolu - despite strong opposition, for more than thirty years" (Ibid, p. 189). In essence, the Siovili cult was a cultural and religious movement which combined elements of Christian belief and practice with those of traditional Samoan culture and religion resulting in a form of religious syncretism which had mass appeal. For many years it was a serious rival to the LMS.

Another early source of Christianity in Samoa, debased in form, was the work of deserting or shipwrecked seamen. The most outstanding among these was a white man by the name of Norval or Salima, as the Samoans called him, who introduced an elementary form of Christianity to Tutuila. His origins are rather obscure but he was highly regarded by both Williams in 1832 and A.W. Murray in 1836. Williams first learned of Salima when he called at Tutuila on the "Messenger of Peace" in 1832. There he met an Englishman, William Gray, who told him that "there was a young man called Salima who had been very diligent in 'turning the people religion'". That he had turned two or three hundred..." (Williams, 1984:104). According to Gray, Salima would not accept presents from the Tutuilans nor accept more than one wife.

Murray acknowledges the missionaries' debt to Salima for the preliminary work that he had done. Salima, he said,

...was not a truly religious man, as he led an immoral life; but he taught the natives some truth, and was instrumental, in some measure, in preparing the way for us. He induced a number of the people to renounce heathenism and become nominally Christian

(Murray, 1876:34).

Among Salima's more important converts were the High Chief Mauga and his son, Pomare, of Pago Pago, who received the Murrays and Barnden in 1836. Before he left Tutuila just before the arrival of the first LMS missionaries in 1836, Salima told his followers to welcome the missionaries and this perhaps explains why they were enthusiastically received by the nominal Christians of Tutuila in 1836 and subsequently. Other white men living in Samoa at the time also formed so-called "sailor religions" but none compared to Salima's reputation. Murray says that some aspects of Salima and his doings formed "a striking exception to the conduct and influence of the class to which he belonged - the class of outcasts..." (1876:34; see also Gunson, 1978:169 and Williams, 1984:110f).

The sailor religions, however, appear to be a phenomenon which blossomed only after Williams's first visit to Samoa in 1830. As Malietoa insisted on keeping the
native teachers left by Williams with him, other Samoan chiefs turned to resident sailors and beachcombers to teach them the new Christian religion and this naturally led to the proliferation of such establishments in the years from 1830 to 1836. It is probable, however, that before 1830, some of these white men might have taught some elements of Christian belief to the Samoans but the record on this score is scarce.

Except for the orthodox Wesleyanism associated with the early Christianity in Manono and parts of Savai'i, as well as the orthodox Evangelicalism introduced into Manu'a by the Raivavae drifters, the other early forms of Christianity introduced by deserting and shipwrecked sailors and by Siovili were generally of a heterodox nature. Siovilism and Salima-ism, especially, gained hundreds of adherents. But all in all, the influence of these Christian movements extended to only a very small part of the total Samoan population, estimated to be about 33,000 in 1830. The Wesleyan movement centred at Manono (also the seat of government) formed the core of Wesleyanism which later struggled for supremacy in the Samoan group with the LMS. Siovilism gradually lost support partly because of the disappointment associated with the non-fulfilment of some of its more extreme promises (such as the return of Jesus Christ and the establishment of an earthly paradise), while the sailor religions speedily lost influence with the firm establishment of the LMS missionaries in 1836. When Williams and Barff arrived in 1830 with their eight native teachers (mainly from Tahiti), only a very small number of Samoans had any knowledge of the Christian religion.

3.4. John Williams

The Samoan islands were originally slated by the LMS for evangelisation as early as 1798. Four missionaries (later increased to five) were assigned to carry the gospel to Samoa. But the "Duff", on its second voyage to the South Seas and carrying the missionaries for Samoa, was captured by the French (then at war with England) early in 1799 and so the mission plans for Samoa were temporarily shelved (Moyle in Moyle (ed), 1984:8; Lovett, 1899:60f). Even on his historic 1830 voyage, Williams had originally intended to take the gospel first to the New Hebrides and Fiji islands. Given an unfavourable report of conditions in those islands by the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga, Williams changed his plans and proceeded instead to Samoa (Williams, 1984:47f).

If Henry Nott symbolised sheer faith and determination, factors which contributed
greatly to the success of the LMS mission in Tahiti, John Williams symbolised evangelical zeal for further extension of the gospel to other island groups such as the Hervey Islands, Samoa and New Hebrides (Lovett, 1899:238). Born in London, on June 29, 1796, Williams later trained as a blacksmith. In 1814, he experienced a form of religious rebirth, the turning point of his life, offered himself to the LMS as a missionary and was ordained September 30, 1816, at the age of 20 (Ibid, pp 239f). He arrived at Eimeo, Society Islands, November 17, 1817, where he (and his wife) stayed several months before moving to Huahine June 18, 1818, to help start a permanent mission (Ibid, p. 243). At the request of Tamatoa, Williams and Threlkeld went to Raiatea September 11, 1818, to set up another permanent mission, and it was from here that Williams planned and embarked on his voyages of evangelisation to other island groups.

In 1821, Williams placed two Tahitian teachers, Papeiha and Vahapata, at Aitutaki under the care of the chief Tamatoa. But he was still determined to visit the neighbouring islands. On his 1823 voyage, therefore, Williams opened the way for the gospel at the islands of Atiu, Mitiaro and Mauke, and discovered Rarotonga where he placed Papeiha, in rather difficult circumstances. However, within 12 months "the whole island was led to renounce idolatry" (Ibid, p. 262). Except for Mangaia, the mission work pioneered by Williams in the Hervey group had by 1825 become an outstanding success. While on a visit to Rarotonga in 1827, Williams built a ship to take him back to Raiatea. The vessel, named Messenger of Peace, was 60 ft long, 18 ft wide and weighed 75 tons, and was to be used extensively for mission travel. In 1830,

Preparations were at once begun for the long-desired cruise among the heathen islands lying still further to the west than the Hervey group, and on May 24, 1830, the Messenger of Peace sailed from Raiatea with Mr. Williams and Mr. Barff on board (Lovett, 1899:282).

This was the voyage that was to take Williams and Barff to Samoa and which was to open Samoa up to Christianity and to European influence.
3.5. Missionaries in Samoa

John Williams and Charles Barff (from Huahine) were the first European missionaries to visit Samoa. Having decided against a Melanesian mission, at least temporarily, the two proceeded to Samoa in the Messenger of Peace arriving off Savai'i, July 15, 1830. It was another week, however, before the two missionaries landed at the village of Sapapali'i and to be welcomed by the country's new political leader, Malietoa Vainu'upo.

At this first meeting, Williams and Barff hoped to acquire some sort of rapport concerning the purpose of the visit which was to bring the Christian religion to Samoa. They told Malietoa they wanted to leave behind some "native teachers...to teach himself and his people the knowledge of the true God" as well as to read and write and that if the teachers were listened to that missionaries from England would be sent to carry on more effectually what the natives might commence (Williams, 1984:73f). They also sought material support and protection for the teachers.

To the missionaries' entreaties, Malietoa's reply was positive. He said he was "exceedingly glad" to see the missionaries and that he would "take care of the natives we had brought and also give them the large house in which we were assembled to worship in and allow any of his people who might wish to be taught the lotu or Praying system" (Ibid, p. 74).

Gifts were exchanged to seal the agreement. Malietoa presented fine mats and siapo to the missionaries and later upwards of twenty pigs, a quantity of vegetables, some sinnet and two or three pieces of turtle shell (Ibid, p. 75). The missionaries reciprocated by giving Malietoa axes, hatchets, chisels, knives, beads, other goods and a gun which to him was worth all the rest (Ibid, p. 74).

This verbal agreement whereby the native teachers taught the gospel, reading and writing and in turn were protected by the local authorities may have been the origin of the present feagaiga relationship existing between a pastor and his congregation in Samoa. Under the feagaiga relationship, comparable to that existing between ali'i and tulafale and tama tane and tama fafine, the congregation provides material support (mainly through means of presentations of food, provision of shelter, monetary donations) and physical protection for the pastor in return for the spiritual guidance and services of the latter who is, moreover, expected to be non-partisan and non-political.
The concept of the religious *feagaliga* was further reinforced six years later with the arrival in Samoa of the first resident European missionaries - Mills, Heath, Hardie, Murray, Barnden and a little later, Macdonald. On June 11, 1836, the missionaries held their first important meeting with the Samoan chiefs. As in 1830, they told the chiefs that they had come as teachers of religion and their "first and great business would be to instruct them in matters pertaining to that, and that everything else would be strictly subordinated to that" (Murray, 1876:22). The missionaries also made it explicitly clear that they "could take no part in their wars" and that in the event of such they "could be no partisans, but would only act the part of mediators, and be the friends alike of all parties" (Ibid, pp 22f). The chiefs assented to the missionaries' conditions. These two meetings of 1830 and 1836 between the missionaries and the chiefs provided the guidelines that were to control secular and religious relationships from 1830 to the present.

3.6. The Native Teachers

The visit by Williams and Barff to Samoa in 1830 may be regarded as a major turning point in the history of Samoa for it marked the onset of the decline of certain aspects of the old Samoan culture and animistic religion. It also marked the ushering in of a new age, for closely following the missionaries came warships from England, United States, France and later Germany; whaling, trading and other ships in their hundreds; merchants, consuls and adventurers such as Bully Hayes and Colonel Steinberger. Davidson, for instance, commenting on the missionaries' arrival in 1830, said:

This event marked the end of an age. No longer would relationships between Samoans be judged solely in terms of indigenous tradition or the issues of Samoan politics be resolved completely within the framework of the ancient political structure. From this time the beliefs, the knowledge and the industrial achievements of the Western world increasingly influenced Samoan thought and action, and the men who were the principal agents of their introduction - missionaries, settlers, and representatives of Western governments - became increasingly important participants in Samoan life

(1967:31).

The opening up of Samoa to mission activity and trade no doubt was greatly abetted by Williams's own narratives about his voyages to Samoa published in England. The prejudice, imposed by the massacre of La Perouse's men, was finally lifted.

The real work of planting the seeds of Christianity fell to the lot of the eight
native teachers brought by Williams and Barff. To them is due the chief credit for the first mission successes in Samoa. Six of the teachers - Moia, Boti, Tutaori, Umia, Arue and Taihaere - were from the Society Islands, and two - Rake and Tuava - were from Aitutaki, Cook Islands. The role of these teachers, employed as missionaries by the LMS since 1820, was two-fold: first, to try to break down heathen practices such as polygamy, idolatry and human sacrifice (where it was practised); two, to preach the gospel. Later, they were to be replaced by European missionaries (Gunson, 1978:320f). This was the pattern followed in Samoa, a pattern that had already been adopted with significant success by the LMS in the Society and Hervey Islands.

The teachers initially were placed under the care of Malietoa and his brother in Savai'i from where they set out to evangelise. From July, 1830, until Williams's return in October, 1832, their work included: organising family prayers in the evenings (Williams, 1984:115); conducting services on the Sabbath (Ibid, p. 116); the construction of chapels; inducing intending converts to kill and cook the physical representations of their aitu followed by a religious service and a grand feast (Ibid, pp 127f); encouraging the Samoans "to lay off their dress of leaves and wear cloth" (Ibid, pp 116, 231); and generally to preach the gospel and Christian morality. Williams advised the teachers in 1832

...that those dances which were manifestly obscene such as dancing naked, singing their filthy songs & such like they should advise the Chiefs who became Christians to prohibit in their settlements

(Ibid, p. 142).

Also they were "not to notice" the time-consuming games and pastimes of the Samoans and to be tolerant of polygamy (Ibid, p. 142). These were, however, regarded as only temporary measures until the new religion had taken firmer root.

In Savai'i the teachers were able to report to Williams on October 20, 1832,

...that in the two large Islands of Upolu & Savai [sic] that about Thirty villages had embraced Christianity. That very many were waiting our arrival before they became Christians doubting whether we should ever come again or no

(Williams, 1984:115).

And indeed Williams's second arrival proved the occasion for more mass conversions (Ibid, pp 154, 170). In general, these conversions were nominal only. The establishment of official churches and bodies of communicants was to be the work of the six missionaries who were to come in 1836. Williams himself was jubilant:
Thus the word runs & is glorified. Now is the time for Missionaries to come. The field indeed is literally ripe

(Ibid, p. 154).

The evangelisation of Manono island, the leading district of the mālo (government) of the Samoan islands, was begun by visiting teachers from Sapapali'i. In 1832, Williams brought a Rarotongan teacher, Teava, and placed him there.

At Tutuila, Evangelical Christianity had already been introduced in 1832 by natives of Tutuila who had been converted by the LMS teachers in Savai'i while visiting that island (Williams, 1984:107-8). The main centre of Christianity was Leone and nearby areas. Teava from Manono was to take the gospel to Tutuila in 1836 just before the arrival of Murray and Barnden to open missions at Pago Pago and Leone.

In Manu'a, apart from the Raivavae Christians, Williams found only one convert in 1832. By that time, the Manu'ans had already heard about the spread of the lotu (new religion) on Savai'i and Upolu (Ibid, p. 100). It was not until 1837 that the first major attempt to evangelise Manu'a was launched. Tutuilan teachers organised by Murray and led by Raki were joined by Teava, Uea and three Upolu teachers on an expedition to Manu'a in November, 1837. They managed to convert 300 people (Murray, 1876:72f). Other teachers followed for, according to John Jackson, shortly before he was kidnapped by natives of Manu'a early in 1840, two Rarotongan missionaries, Anamia and Anenia, had been landed at Manu'a "from a missionary vessel" and that they "soon mustered a great many converts" (in Erskine, 1967:415). On January 20, 1840, Heath and Buchanan paid the first visit to Manu'a by white missionaries assigned to Samoa (Murray, 1876:140).

By the late 1830's, Christianity had taken root in the Samoan islands10. From that time onwards religious and social development in Samoa had a complex history marked by the intense rivalry for adherents and influence between the LMS, Methodist and Catholic churches, the seemingly interminable civil wars for political hegemony and the involvement of Germany, Great Britain and the U.S.A. in Samoan affairs.
3.7. Reasons for Evangelical Success

The rapid success of the evangelising work of the LMS in Samoa can be attributed to several factors though there can be differences of opinion as to which were the more important. Taken together, however, they have a compelling logic.

As stated before, the way for the Evangelical missionaries had been prepared, to a limited degree, by the 'heretical' and other forms of Christianity introduced by the sailors, castaways and Wesleyan converts from Tonga. That is to say, the seeds of Christianity were already planted in Samoa before 1830. While this fact is a contributing cause, it is not a sufficient one to explain the phenomenon of mass conversions to Christianity which followed Williams's first visit in 1830.

A major contributing factor was the favourable stance taken by the new leader of the Samoan government, Malietoa Vainu'uupo, towards the Christian religion (Cf. Williams, 1984:70f; Davidson, 1967:33). But why was Malietoa apparently so keen to welcome Williams and Barff in 1830? In the absence of any firm evidence as to Malietoa's motives for accepting Christianity, I provide the following only as a background to Malietoa's momentous decision.

When Williams and Barff arrived in 1830, Samoa was embroiled in an extremely cruel and destructive civil war following the assassination of Tamafaiga of Manono, the head of the Samoan government at the time. Malietoa had assumed command of the allied forces bent on revenging the "tyrant's" death but his position as successor to Tamafaiga was not yet stable. Prior to Tamafaiga's death he had belonged to the vaivai party because some years prior to the arrival of the missionaries, political factions headed by Tamafaiga and his father, on the one hand, and Malietoa, on the other, had fought for political dominance. Malietoa's faction had been defeated but because of his consanguinal ties to Manono (Malietoa was tama fafine to Manono: cf. Davidson, 1967:33 and Gilson, 1970:71) Malietoa had been leniently treated by the victors.

Malietoa's insecurity in his new position as nominal leader of the malo stemmed mainly from the threat that Manono as a power broker presented and this fact is amply recorded in Williams's narratives (Williams, 1984:137f, 162) but I shall not go into this in detail. Suffice it to say that there was a subtle power struggle going on between the main factions within the malo headed by Manono, on the one hand, and Malietoa, on the other. But being the holder of one of the most important titles in
Samoa, Malietoa held a certain advantage over his political opponents. At the time of the missionaries' arrival, Malietoa was in the process of consolidating his claims to power. Tamafaiga had symbolised the old culture and traditional religion of Samoa. He had been not merely a *tafa'ifa* (king), through the right of military conquest, he had also been an extremely effective war leader, *taulaitu* (priest) and seer and, at the close of his life, was even being regarded as a deity (Cf. Williams, 1984:129f and Gilson, 1970:71). It can be surmised that Malietoa was probably looking for new symbols for his *malo*, and what better symbol than the newly arrived religion of the Europeans?

Added to this need for symbols of legitimacy was the possibility that Malietoa had placed his credence in a prophecy by the war goddess, Nafanua. Tradition states that Malietoa had visited the shrine of the goddess at Falealupo seeking her assistance in his search for political power. It is said, however, that Nafanua (speaking probably through the medium of one of her priests such as Tupa'i) expressed her regret because Malietoa had arrived too late and she had already given her favours to others. But Nafanua is said to have told Malietoa that his kingdom would come from heaven. When the Christian missionaries arrived in 1830 it is possible that Malietoa treated the event as the fulfilment of Nafanua's promise. Certainly it is so regarded by many people in Samoa today.

Yet another ancient Samoan prophecy is said to have heralded the arrival of the Christian missionaries. According to Rev John Marriott, at the celebration of the Malua Theological College jubilee in Upolu, September 24, 1895, an old man who, when only 20 years of age, was present when Williams and Barff landed in 1830, told the story of how a *taulaitu* at Manu'a told several chiefs from Upolu that a "kingdom of peace and goodwill" would soon be set up in Samoa.

Both Nafanua's and the *taulaitu's* prophecies are important from the point of view that the Samoans, at least those of pagan times, placed great faith in such utterances especially when made by priests of the old religion. The prophecies themselves do not bring about the prophesied events but they predispose people to accept such events as being "foreordained" and, therefore, accept them more willingly than otherwise would have been the case. Nafanua's prophecy to Malietoa might have predisposed him to accept the Christian religion but there were also other reasons for Christianity's success in Samoa.

Lovett attributes the success of Williams and Barff to the influence of Fauea (a
kinsman of Malietoa who travelled with the missionaries from Tonga) and the timely
death of Tamafaiga\textsuperscript{13}. Inglis (p. 280) also seems to agree with Lovett's views which
are, indeed, regarded as orthodox these days. That Fauea played a vital part in
persuading Malietoa to accept Christianity cannot be denied but I do not think that it
sufficiently explains Malietoa's acceptance of Christianity. Fauea had probably made
more explicit to Malietoa what was already evident in his mind (i.e. the advantages of
the new religion). The opportune moment for the arrival of the missionaries (due to
the death of the pagan Tamafaiga) also cannot be denied but it is possible to
overemphasise this especially as Tamafaiga had probably already known about
Christianity through his contact with the Tongans who frequently visited Manono,
such as the Tongan chief reported by Kotzebue\textsuperscript{14}. There is no record of Tamafaiga's
trying to suppress the earlier Christian movements (Cf. Gilson, 1970:71-2) nor of any
Samoan intolerance of them (Moyle in Moyle (ed), 1984:10).

The Samoans' desire for the material goods of the Europeans was also an
important factor in the acceptance of Christianity. The advantages of these goods were
many: European axes could do in minutes what stone adzes did in many days or
weeks and guns revolutionised warfare. Fauea, for instance, told his fellowmen that
the countries which had accepted Christianity were being visited by ships bringing an
abundance of property and that

They [the Europeans] are clothed from their head down to their feet and
we are naked. They have got large ships and we have only got these little
canoes. On hearing Faueas [sic] speech they all exclaimed it would be good to
lotu [become Christians] too

(Williams, 1984:68).

On another occasion, while a \textit{fono} (meeting) was being held to decide if a settlement
should accept Christianity, a high chief expressed the opinion that the many useful and
beautiful possessions of the Europeans were due to their god and that if the Samoans
accepted Christianity they would also get similar goods (Ibid, p. 237)\textsuperscript{15}.

Another motive for the acceptance of Christianity was also the desire for new
knowledge introduced by the missionaries in the form of reading and writing skills
and which Inglis has aptly described as the "Literate Revolution" (p. 307).

People now, to some extent, were disappointed with their own tradition, not
that they wished to drop it and forget it, but rather that it was not wide
enough for the new awakening within them

(Inglis, p. 312).
The literate revolution extended literacy in Samoa, helped counter heathen or heretical customs and welded a community close together (Ibid, p. 311). Indeed the arts of reading and writing were regarded almost as magical ones. Williams himself tells how in 1832 "the Samoans flocked to the native teachers of the London Missionary Society to learn the mysterious arts of reading and writing" (Freeman, 1959: 193). Perhaps in addition to the desire for new knowledge was the belief that the acquisition of literacy was somehow related to the acquisition of European goods.

Williams offers various explanations for the Samoans' acceptance of the gospel (Williams, 1984:281) but these had little to do with the merits of the Christian message. As he put it,

It is not to be supposed that the motive by which they are actuated in their desire is a conviction of the excellence of the Gospel. They must first obtain a knowledge of the principles of the Gospel before their desire can arise from a conviction of its supreme excellence

(Ibid, p.281).

All these factors contributed to the successful introduction of Christianity in Samoa. The mass conversions effected by Williams, Barff and the native teachers from the Society and Cook islands had further repercussions on the rest of the population. Because the balance of power was affected by so many people turning to Christianity, more mass conversions followed (Ibid, p. 281). Whenever a chief became Christian his followers usually joined him and in this way whole families and villages were converted. And it all started from the initial decision by Malietoa to welcome the LMS missionaries. Perhaps Malietoa saw the inevitability of European involvement in Samoan affairs and tried to turn the situation of 1830 to his own advantage. The missionaries, for their part, wanted not just to Christianise Samoa but also to 'civilise' it. The motives and the acts of both parties resulted in the establishment of a new era for Samoa, one in which Christian and European influences were strongly entrenched.

3.8. Aftermath

The conversion of all of Samoa took many years and it was a work in which the Methodists joined in 1835 and the Catholics in 1845. But it was the London Missionary Society which established the momentum in 1830 and which followed it up with the arrival of the first resident missionaries in 1836.

By 1840, the LMS had managed to cover Upolu, Savai'i and Tutuila with a
network of mission stations, each occupied by a missionary from which "he itinerated and sought to evangelise the different villages and groups..." (Lovett, 1899:379). It was a period of great achievement for the LMS. The pattern described by Lovett was maintained: the missionaries, assisted by their native teachers, now mostly Samoan, preached, converted, conducted biblical classes and elementary schools, held regular church services, performed baptisms and funeral services and supervised the construction of chapels.

The introduction of the LMS mission press in 1839 proved to be a major step forward in the advancement of literacy, and the opening of the Malua Theological College in 1845 ensured a regular supply of qualified teachers and missionaries. The work of translating the bible into Samoan was begun "in 1835 by George Platt and Samuel Wilson, the latter preparing a version of the Gospel of Matthew" (Ibid, p. 384). The translation work was continued by the 1836 group of missionaries and later arrivals among whom George Pratt's name stands out (Ibid, pp 388f).

As the Society and Hervey islands contributed so effectively to the evangelisation of Samoa, so was Samoa to play a leading role in the evangelisation of the rest of Polynesia and Melanesia. In consonance with plans already made by Williams (whose martyrdom at Eromanga in 1839 reinforced the zeal of the Evangelical missionaries), Samoa became the missionary centre for spreading the gospel to the islands further west, including Niue, Rotuma, Gilbert and Ellice islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia and Papua New Guinea.

By 1860, according to the Methodist missionary, George Brown, "most of the people were professing Christians" but in the remoter areas "heathen practices and dances" were still carried on (Brown, 1908:35). He also mentions seeing the only remaining "heathen temple" in Samoa, a sacred tree at the village of Salelavalu, Savai'i, kept by an "old chief... and several of his family... the only professed heathens on Savaii" (Ibid, p. 35). The letters of the LMS missionaries during this period showed that their primary concern in religious matters was now the intense competition for religious adherents offered by Methodism and Catholicism. Christianity had indeed become the dominant religious ideology in Samoa. In the area of commerce, Samoa had emerged, after the bloody civil wars of 1847-1851 and 1853-185617 as "the greatest trading centre of the Pacific Islands" (Morrell, 1960: 210) due largely to the establishment in Apia (now the capital of Western Samoa) in 1857 of the headquarters of the world-renowned German trading firm of J.C. Godeffroy and Son. The increasing
number of foreign residents had led the United States, Britain and Germany to appoint consuls to represent their interests in Samoa.

The year 1860 was also the year in which Brown arrived in Samoa and in which he met and engaged the LMS teacher, Penisimani, to write the texts which are the subject of this thesis. In the next three chapters, I present a selection of some of these texts.
Chapter 4

The Folktales of Penisimani

In this chapter, I examine a selection of the folktales (tala) of Penisimani within a particular context. By this I mean that most of the commentaries I provide at the end of each parable will concern the traditional beliefs and practices of the Samoans mentioned in the parts of the parables dealing with folktales. There is comparatively little commentary on the Christian message as this meaning becomes clearer only after the analysis of the parable as a mode of discourse which I provide in chapter 7. While it is true that the Christian message in each parable is largely self-explanatory and can be considered as an aspect of the basic evangelical theology referred to in chapter 3, nevertheless the relationship between folktale and Christian message is a complex one and it is, therefore, necessary to deal with only one part of the parables in these commentaries as well as in those for chapters 5 and 6.

4.1. Tala As Myths

Tala in Samoan means a story or a tale. Some are based partly on a historical event of which accurate knowledge is no longer available. But they are to a great extent myths, not in the sense that they give false information, as myths are sometimes understood, but that they convey the deeper meanings and values of Samoan society. In other words, tala represent special forms of narrative in which cultural knowledge, including beliefs and values, are transmitted to succeeding generations of Samoans. As national myths (in contrast with purely local myths) they are generally widely known and as the knowledge, usually in symbolic form, that they contain represents traditional wisdom, the truthfulness or otherwise of such knowledge is scarcely turned into an issue by Samoans. Any serious criticism of a tala would probably evoke the response that it was just a tale. In reality, however, tala are more than just tales as Samoans understand them for they reflect a system of traditional values and beliefs in symbolic form. In such form, they take on a richer meaning and leave a more lasting impression in their minds.
The nature of Samoan tala thus closely resembles that of myth as defined by Malinowski. "Myth," he said, "is not merely a story told but a reality lived", an event which happened in "primeval times" and continues "to influence the world and human destinies" (1954:100). It is a social charter which legitimises today's activities (Ibid, p. 108). In contrast Tylor considered myth as a childlike mode of explanation about the universe and concluded that myths characterised an early stage of man's development (Tylor, 1929:274, 278, 283-4). In other words, myth is a form of explanation but wrong and confused as to the nature of cause and effect, a view common among the anthropologists of Tylor and Frazer's generation (Cf. Leach, 1982:220). And Levy-Bruhl explains myth as the product of a prelogical mentality characterised by mystic participations in which the laws of logic are contradicted (1926:369-370). Malinowski rejects both these views. For him myth "is not a savage speculation about origins of things" (1954:83-4) and, we might add, not the result of mystic participations either, but "fulfills in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man..." (1954:101). Likewise Malinowski also rejects the view of the German school of mythology that myth is a product of primitive man's attempt to explain natural phenomena (Malinowski, 1954:96) as well as the view of the historical school of mythology which regarded myth as grounded in true historical happenings. Hocart, a leading exponent of this school, for example, maintains that myths and miracles are "reliable history" (Hocart, 1973:25). The historical basis of myth is only part of the truth (Malinowski, 1954:97-8) and, as Leach puts it, myth also validates social beliefs, practices and institutions (1982:144-5).

In many respects, the views of the British anthropologists, such as Firth and Leach, are similar to Malinowski's. For instance, to Firth the "mythology of a group perpetuates traditions which express the way in which society represents man and the world; the myths form a moral system and a cosmology as well as a history" (1967:284). To Leach, the "state of how things are, as evidenced by who has rights over what and over whom, is justified by 'myth', that is to say by tales about the past which have a sacred or religious quality..." (1982:144-5). Myths thus both validate and transmit traditional knowledge.

I shall consider only one more theorist: Levi-Strauss. According to Levi-Strauss, noted for his structural study of myth, myth does transmit knowledge but it does not succeed to the same extent as science "in giving man more material power over the environment. However, it gives man, very importantly, the illusion that he can
understand the universe and that he does understand the universe. It is, of course, only an illusion" (1978:17). The message of a myth is not at all obvious, according to Levi-Strauss. It must be sought for in the structure of the myth itself, in the relationships between its units and in their mediation. As he puts it, myths "use a structure to produce what is itself an object consisting of a set of events (for all myths tell a story)" (1966:25-6). In myth, meaning is not to be found in isolated elements but in the way these are combined (1963:210). I shall not go further into Levi-Strauss’s method of analysing myths. Suffice it to say that in my analyses and comments on Penisimani’s tala (and other writings) I shall view them, generally speaking, as devices for legitimising the social order and for transmitting traditional knowledge, in much the same way that Malinowski, Firth and Leach regarded myths. In stating this, I do not wish to give the impression that this is the "only" or "correct" way of looking at myth but merely to point out that this is the perspective of myth that many Samoans have. Myth, in Samoa, is often cited in law courts and elsewhere, as a kind of corroborative evidence of a chief or a social group’s prerogatives. This perspective, I believe, aids us in our understanding of Penisimani’s writings. In the main, I shall try to focus on explaining some of the key ideas relating to Samoan traditional thought in the texts.

4.2. Penisimani’s Writings

The tala and other selections from Penisimani may be described as allegories whereby traditional elements such as myths are reinterpreted, mainly through analogical reasoning, to provide a Christian religious meaning. The significance of this method is, as hinted at earlier, to provide a signifying environment which Samoans could easily comprehend and identify with namely, the environment of traditional culture. The use of allegory and analogy in Christian practice is nothing new and was certainly much in vogue in nineteenth century Christianity in Samoa, as it is still today. What is unique, however, in Penisimani’s example, is his use of materials from pagan Samoan culture. This factor alone could have earned him the disapproval and perhaps the condemnation of some of his missionary superiors, as the incident of the hymn book seems to suggest. However, far from trying to glorify a pagan past, Penisimani’s object was really to help usher in the new age of Samoan Christianity. A closer scrutiny of the texts (see chapter 7) reveals that the meaning of the traditional narratives is, in the end, obviated by the use of metaphor and that the narratives serve only to promote Penisimani’s Christian ideology.
The tales included are about a chief who banished his people because they violated a taboo (Village of Leape), a virgin abducted by a chief (Sinalalama), the polygamous marriage of the sun (Sinaleavi), the marital aspirations of the daughter of a high god (Tagaloa-lagi), an important event in Samoan history (Morning at Saua), the entrance to the Samoan Hades (Coconut Tree of Leosia) and a stratagem to end a war (Tuveve and Satele). The main criteria I have adopted in selecting these tales are: they must have a Christian religious component; they must have something interesting to say about Samoan traditional culture; and of reasonable length. The selection thus does not do full justice to the breadth and variety of Penisimani's tales of which I have counted sixty in the manuscripts, comprising over 105 pages of the original, of which thirty-five have a Christian religious component and twenty-five have none. This is but a sample only.

T1: The Village of Leape

"The story of the people of Leape who ate the prohibited fish, the eel. The people ate it in secret without telling their chief Malaesala. The chief, however, knew about it because of the bright appearance of the people's ti leaf girdles as if they had been oiled. Malaesala became angry and banished the villagers causing them great hardship. Application of this. What is the prohibited fish? It is the laws of God, together with sins committed but not hidden in the sight of God. Don't do things in secret before Malaesala the God of heaven. Do not break the laws, this being absolutely forbidden. Behold Leape in distress having eaten the forbidden fish. People who sin will experience a like calamity for violating the laws of God" (GBP, p. 20).

In traditional Samoa, certain food items, frequently fish, were set apart for the consumption of certain high chiefs and were thus prohibited (tapui) to the rest of the population. Such food were said to be tapu and ordinary villagers (tagata nu'u), who ate such food and were discovered, faced severe penalties which often entailed the destruction of their personal property such as houses, plantations, pigs, chicken and other valuables, as well as, worst of all, banishment from the village. In this folktale, the chief Malaesala discovers the violation of the food tapu by the village people and punishes them in accordance with custom. Because of its political overtones, the custom persisted well into the nineteenth century in Western Samoa and into the

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1 A similar incident is mentioned in Kramer (1902).
twentieth century in American Samoa. 

Penisimani’s analogy is an appropriate one for just as Samoans had laws and methods of punishment for their violation so did Christianity. In this form the newly converted Samoans would have had little difficulty in understanding the meaning of Christian doctrine.

T2: Sinalalama

"Sinalalama was the daughter of Ga’oga’oaletai. She lived at the bottom of the deep sea whence she used to set out to fish with torches. Afterwards she returned to her undersea home through an entrance in the reef. Manu’a, in devising a trick to capture Sinalalama, placed a fishing net in the path of the girl. Later Manu’a found the girl entangled in the net. Behold Sina caught in the net. Applications of the tale. Who is Manu’a? The devil. What the net? His tricks. Who is Sinalalama? We. As a net has many meshes so does the devil have many tricks. Sinalalama, you are the church, pastors and teachers. Let the night fishing shine brightly. Watch the net lest we be ensnared because the devil has laid traps for Sina who is the church. Pray that the night fishing shines continuously to cast light on the darkness, the abode of the devil. Sinalalama, let your night fishing shine, give priority to reading the bible, pray ceaselessly, believe in Jesus. Lift up his name in front of all peoples, that all may understand, that all may be aware of the devil’s net lest anyone be ensnared. Let the night fishing of good conduct shine as this kind is pleasing to God. Mat v:16. Sina, watch the night fishing, that the eyes of the devil and the envious be blinded” (GBP, 37-8).

The important element in this tale is the high social value which the Samoans placed on bridal innocence and virginity. Sinalalama symbolises maidenly innocence, purity and virginity while Manu’a symbolises manliness and worldly experience. Sinalalama’s innocence is depicted by her secluded life-style: she lives in an undersea cave, moves about only at night and knows no other being except her parent, Ga’oga’oaletai. Manu’a’s worldly experience is portrayed by his cunning in laying the trap for Sinalalama in an attempt to make her his wife. The resulting marriage of Manu’a, the chief, and Sinalalama, the virgin (taoupou) is an ideal type of marriage in

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2 The United States Naval Administration banned the custom (Gray, 1960).
cultural terms since a chief is expected (at least in pagan Samoa) to marry a taupou (Cf. Freeman, 1983:226-253). In structural terms, Manu'a represents this-worldliness or experience and Sinalalama other-worldliness or innocence. These qualities are mediated by marriage, which elevates the status of both characters and accomplishes a socially desirable end. In pre-Christian Samoa, elaborate ceremonies which included costly exchanges of property and the public defloration, known as the faamasel'au, of the taupou, were important features of such marriages. The tale transmits these social values in symbolic form such as through the use of contrasting ideas (eg chief and virgin, primeval ignorance and worldly experience, living on land and living at sea).

From a Christian viewpoint the custom of the faamasel'au was clearly pagan and had to be destroyed. In this the missionaries largely succeeded although an incidence of this custom has been reported in Western Samoa as late as the 1950's, an indication of the strength of custom. It is evident that in pagan Samoa, the tale carried no negative connotations but in this reinterpretation by Penisimani it serves a different purpose. The theme is no longer the ideal Samoan marriage but the need to beware the traps of the devil. This Christian concept of the devil was a new one to the Samoans as they did not have a concept of a single spirit (aitu) which symbolised all forms of evil, especially evil in the Christian sense. Rather, the Samoans had many types of mischievous spirits and they were mischievous not so much from a moral point of view, as Christians conceived of it, as from a purely pragmatic point of view: Samoan evil spirits caused illness and death. Where pagan Samoans sought to placate their evil spirits through prayers, sacrifices and offerings, Christians sought to resist the devil's temptations to break God's laws. The concept of the devil, therefore, is an introduced one and this is also evident from Penisimani's use of the word "tiapoLo" to translate the English word "devil". "TiapoLo" is a derivative of the French diable, itself a derivative of a Greek word (Milner, 1966:263). Another Samoan word for the devil is "tevolo", a derivative of the English word "devil". Tamafaiga, the Samoan pagan leader mentioned in Chapter 3, is commonly referred to by the early missionaries and their converts as the tevolo, the devil. To be fair to Tamafaiga, he lived and acted according to the traditional Samoan notions of power, rank and religion prevalent in his time and any notions of a Christian morality were probably absolutely foreign to him. The

3The bride and her relatives (aiga) gave fine mats and cloth, collectively called toga, to the groom's relatives and received from the latter in exchange houses, canoes, food and moveable goods, collectively called oloa.
portrayal of him as the devil no doubt served as a useful method by which to rally
support to the new Christian cause headed by a new Christian leader, Malietoa
Vainu'upo. If Tamafaiga represented all that was pagan and immoral (from the
missionary point of view) in Samoan life, if he represented darkness and ignorance of
the laws of civilisation, then Christianity represented the opposite: light (*malamalama*),
Christian morality and civilisation. This is the picture that we get from the writings
of the early missionaries to Samoa.

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Samoan notions of morality
differed considerably from those of Christianity. Traditional Samoan concepts of
morality consisted mainly of ideas about fulfilling one's social obligations (especially the
idea of being a generous host). Such concepts are closer to those associated with the
notion of personage (*kamo*) among the New Caledonians (Leenhardt, 1979:26, 153) or of
personhood (*morgoye*) among the African Kuranko (Jackson, 1982:15). There is no
Samoan equivalent of these terms. The closest would be the Samoan words "aga" and
"amio", and which are now the centre of an anthropological controversy involving the
American anthropologist Bradd Shore, on the one hand, and Australian anthropologist
Derek Freeman, on the other. Christian morality pertained essentially to the observance
of the Ten Commandments and Christian dogma as revealed in the bible and by the
Christian church.

T3: The Sun And Sinaleavi

"The story of the marriage of the Sun and Sinaleavi, the daughter of
Moemoetinoga. The marriage had already lasted for some time but behold the Sun also
desired Sinaavi, the sister of Sinaleavi. The Sun said to Sinaleavi, "Sina, what do
you think? I want to go to your younger sister." Sinaleavi replied, "Very well but
be quick to return to me." So the Sun goes to Sinaavi. Behold, the Sun would not
return because he desired Sinaavi. Sinaleavi sent many messages to the Sun to return
but without avail. She then sought the assistance of her father, Moemoetinoga, for a
way to get the Sun to return to her. Thus did the Sun return to Sinaleavi and spent
the night with her. Behold, Sinaleavi planned to send a message to her father that
very night saying, "Dear father, my desire is for this night. Prolong the night that it
be peaceful because it is my only night. Let not the daylight come too early lest the
Sun leave me too soon for Sinaavi. That is why you should prolong the night that it
be gentle because my desire is the Sun." Perhaps it was done as she wished. Finally
the Sun went to Sinaavi and lived with her permanently while Sinaleavi was forsaken. Applications of the story. Who is the Sun? The Holy Spirit and pastors. Who is Moemoetinoga? It is God. Who is Sinaleavi? Those who first received the path of life and the church but who had fallen behind and living in darkness again22. But who is Sinaavi? Those who received the word of God last and pagan countries. Friends, woe to us if we be like Sinaleavi lest the Sun runs away, yes, lest the Holy Spirit leaves us because of our evil ways. Behold, Sina cried to her father to prolong the night so that it would be gentle for her alone. Let us likewise pray to God, our loving Father, to extend the light, signifying his word and great love for us, as this is good" (GBP, p. 129-130).

Polygamy was extensively practised in pagan Samoa, especially among the chiefs who found in this custom an effective means of forming a number of important political alliances. It was also a means of obtaining fine mats ('le toga) to pay for the services of their orators (tulafale) and it is not surprising, therefore, that often it was the orators who took the initiative in urging their chiefs (ali'i) to enter into many marital arrangements. Marriage to sisters was commonplace and probably for the same reasons as elsewhere, especially the minimising of rivalry between wives. In the tale, the fact that the two sisters do not share equally in the favours of their husband does not detract from the legitimacy of the social institution of polygamy. Sinaavi wins the husband's favours but it is Sinaleavi who gains our admiration and respect for she is depicted as the model wife, ever patient, understanding and submissive to the idiosyncracies of her husband. At the level of symbolism, the sun represents the male creative power and the two sisters the female fertilising power; the former represents "nature superior" and the latter "nature inferior" (Handy, 1927:227). The presence of symbolism in the tale leads one to suspect that the tale is more than just an account about polygamy and the sun's marriage to the two sisters and that alternative interpretations are possible. One possible interpretation, for instance, is that the tale is an allegorical reference to the action of the sun in mediating between the contrasts of night (Sinaleavi) and day (Sinaavi). The sun disappears at night (the sun abandons Sinaleavi) and appears only during daytime (the sun lives permanently with Sinaavi). Sinaleavi and Sinaavi are, therefore, different aspects of the same thing: time. When these two interpretations are combined (the Sun's plural marriage and the action of the physical sun), we have yet a deeper interpretation. The sun's appearance during the day and its non-appearance at night constitute a phenomenon of nature. The significance of this natural activity is then transferred by analogy to the level of
culture and thereby, I suspect, serves to legitimise social institutions such as polygamy. Where in essence there is only a comparison, the symbolic relationship between the activity of the physical sun and the social order can easily be mistaken as a natural one.

T4: Fish of Tagaloa-lagi

"The fish of Tagaloa-lagi and his daughter. They looked down below and saw the chief at work wearing a red garment. He worked thus every day. Then Tagaloa-lagi's daughter said, "Dear father, that is my husband I desire to go to." Tagaloa-lagi replied, "Very well. But let Uafa'afuamanava and Uale accompany you below lest you be late and the chief has finished working." Then they went down. Behold it began to rain and the chief removed his red garment lest it got wet, hid it somewhere and then wore his leaf girdle. The chief looked and there was the lady. The lady asked, "Sir, is it you who was working here?" He replied yes as, by then, the lady was beginning to think this could not have been the man she saw as he was ugly. The man she had seen before was handsome because of his red garment which had been removed because of the rain. Thus the lady's difficulty in identifying the man with the red garment who had been so handsome because of it and so ugly without it. We will apply the tale. Who is the lady? It is the Holy Spirit. Who was the chief who worked below? It is we. What is the red garment? It is our faith in Jesus. Behold, the lady returned to heaven because the chief was ugly. He had been handsome because of the red garment he wore. Having removed it he became repugnant in the eyes of the lady. Listen carefully, my friends. If we put aside faith in Jesus the Saviour, the Holy Spirit will find us most repulsive. Because God is pleased with us and wants us owing to our faith in and desire for Jesus, the sole Redeemer. Wear the faith, it is good for us. Let us not dispose of it lest we become repugnant as the chief; lest the Holy Spirit abandon us" (GBP, p. 151-1).

Tagaloa-lagi (or simply Tagaloa) is generally accepted as the high god of pagan Samoa. The abode of this god and his progeny is the sky (lagi) whence they descend (mythically speaking) to participate in human affairs including, as in the tale, marriages. Tagaloa-lagi is perhaps the most important figure in the mythology of Samoa and several other Pacific islands and after whom the Tagaloa cult of Polynesia is named (Cf. Williamson, 1933: 257, 324). He is not only the creator of the Samoan cosmos but also the primeval ancestor of the Samoan race. Hence all important Samoan
genealogies claim Tagaloa-lagi as their first common ancestor. The tale provides an example of the principle of dualism which Handy (1927:34f) claims was well known to the Polynesians. Tagaloa-lagi and his family, on the one hand, represent among other things the positive, nature superior, sacred and divine, mana, male principle, light, life, occult knowledge, day and strength, while the chief and his family represent, on the other hand, the negative, nature inferior, common and unsacred, the physical, the female principle, darkness, destructive influences, ignorance and death (Cf. Handy, 1927:37). The theme of the tale is the attempted marriage of Tagaloa's daughter and an earthly chief. Each symbolises qualities that are, as stated above, opposite yet complementary to each other. The marriage, however, fails to materialise because the chief fails to wear the red skirt which is, as it were, a magical symbol of efficacy, power and mana. For red is the sacred colour of the god Tagaloa (Cf. Handy, 1927:146). Stripped of this symbol, the chief becomes "ugly" and reverts to the negative status of the earthbound. Without the union with Tagaloa's daughter, he remains a "fish" of Tagaloa. That is to say he occupies the structural position in society that a sacrificial human victim occupies in relation to a deity, in this instance, Tagaloa (Cf. Handy, 1927:193-4). A fish, in ancient Polynesia, was a metaphor for a human sacrifice. The tale also points to the existence of hierarchy in the cosmos with the high god Tagaloalagi and his family reigning supreme. Mankind is ranked far below (because created by the gods) and can only hope to bridge the gap with the divinities through the use of magical symbols and formulae. This cosmic hierarchy is depicted as being "natural", as being in the order of things and therefore unquestioned. With the acceptance of this belief, it is relatively easy to legitimate and to extend the reality of hierarchical relations to the Samoan social world. This world was, in fact, a very hierarchical one (See chapter 2).

T5: Morning at Saua

"The story of the prominent expression, the morning at Saua. It is a good morning, in which Tumupu'e, the son of Valomua at Satupa'itea, danced while Salevao, who is the devil, sang. Then the red tropic bird screeched and the fretful child Fua ceased to cry. Applications of the story. What is Saua? This world, perhaps also Bethlehem where Jesus was born. Perhaps Saua is also Samoa. And what is the morning at Saua? This was the day Christianity reached Samoa. Of many days, this was the good one because on this day was received the message of Jesus the Saviour. But who is the red tropic bird? It is Jesus and the Holy Spirit today. And who is the
boy that cried? Perhaps it is the evil of the world which was thought would never go to sleep but now controlled and no longer the child that cried but one who sleeps peacefully once the red tropic bird of Jesus, his painful death, the Holy Spirit and its works in the hearts of people, had screeched. And who is Tumupu'e who danced? It is we. Let us dance with prayer in secret places, reading of the bible, obedience and endure difficulties for all the ceremonies pertaining to God. This is good for us as it will cause the Holy Spirit to descend and quieten the boy Fua who represents the evil against which it was thought the wrath of God could not be assuaged. However, the descent of Jesus to the world and his death changed all that" (GBP, 152-3).

The word "taeao" is a very important one in Samoan culture and is often mentioned in ceremonial speech. In fact, ceremonial speech which made no reference to taeao would be considered poor speech, perhaps even insulting. Literally it means morning but when used in speeches, the word is used metaphorically to refer to a great historical event. Great events in Samoan history are called taeao. Thus the arrival of the LMS missionaries in Samoa in 1830 is referred to as the "morning that was at Matanitu Feagai Ma Le Ata", the name of the place where Williams and Barff landed in Savaii in 1830 (See Chapter 3). The morning that was at Saua was one of the great events in pre-Christian Samoa. (For a comparative version of the same tale, see Brother Herman, 1955:45f). The tale epitomises many of the old pagan beliefs of Samoa. For instance, the aitu Salevao plays a central role, together with a human, Tumupu'e, in attempting to humour the "fretful child Fua". In Brother Herman's version, the child cried because his parents had been killed but the child was not Fua but the aitu Salevao himself. At any rate because of the dancing and singing the child's feelings were finally soothed. Saua is the name of the place where this event took place. A little later, according to Brother Herman's version, the child resumed crying. This time, animate and inanimate objects helped humans and spirits to comfort the boy. Thus the "trees cavorted; the red tropic bird screeched; the banners fluttering in the trees and the booming wooden gongs joined in the din" and "even the dead rose from their graves to see what all the rejoicing was about. Then the rocks and the earth began to cry, for the crowds of spectators prevented them from enjoying the spectacle" (Brother Herman, 1955:46). Eventually the boy stopped crying and this second event is known as the morning at Samana. These two "mornings" are associated with expressions of welcome on festive occasions. But, as stated before, this tale epitomises ancient pagan beliefs. It reveals a traditional cosmological view of a unitary world where the natural and supernatural are merged in the reality of existence. As
Handy puts it, to the old Polynesians there was no gulf between the natural and the supernatural, between subjective and objective. The word "nature" signifies "all that for the Polynesian constituted his world of perceptive experience, including both the physical and the psychic" (1927:6). This is the same view put forward by Firth with regard to the Polynesian Tikopia. And Leenhardt refers to this type of thinking as mythic and as related to what he describes as a mode of affective knowledge (1979:195). In the tale we see humans, spirits, animals, trees, rocks all combining in a common activity. To the Samoan pagan, this was reality.

T6: The Coconut Tree of Leosia

"This is the coconut tree that Leosia planted to cover the entrance where dead persons go. This coconut tree was useful in the old days of the dark land. Because when a person died his soul flew to the entrance to enter the chiefs' pit or that for ordinary people. If the soul of the dead person flies to the entrance and strikes the coconut tree of Leosia it returns to live again in the body. But if it does not strike the coconut tree of Leosia and enters it does not return and continues on its journey to the land of spirits. This is the story of the coconut tree of Leosia which was located between Tufu and Falealupo. Perhaps the coconut tree of Leosia is Jesus today who receives our souls when we die. Let us fly towards Jesus to receive and give us life. Let none fly elsewhere or straight into the entrance which is eternal damnation. Fly to Jesus with faith, obedience and repentance. Fly thus because it is appropriate and be received by Jesus up there. Do not stop and fly or fly recklessly, but aim towards Jesus who covers the entrance of terrible disaster which would have been the result of sin" (GBP, p. 165-6).

This tale describes the pagan beliefs of the Samoans about the journey of the soul to the Samoan Hades. There are two main versions of this myth, the details of which are essentially the same except that the entrances to the underworld are located in different places (one in Manu'a, the other in Savai'i) (Williamson, 1933:324-6). The version by Penismani, however, was the more popular one since it was accepted by the majority of Samoans in the western isles. According to this, the entrance (fafa) to the underworld was located at the western extremity of the Samoan islands and after death all souls (agaga) travelled there, including those from Manu'a on the eastern end. Just as Samoan society was stratified in terms of power and rank in real life, so was
the society of souls in the afterworld\textsuperscript{4} stratified. The afterworld was but a mere extension of the everyday society of Samoans and so one's rank in real life was retained there\textsuperscript{5}. The only authority that they would be subject to was that of the spirit rulers, of Saveasi'uleo in Pulotu (the Samoan paradise where the chiefs lived) and mischievous spirits in Salefe'e (where the ordinary people lived). From there the spirits and souls of the departed ventured forth to mix with and influence the destinies of men. Death was thus not the end of life but its continuation at a different level (Cf. Williamson, 1933:340-1).

Certain Christian concepts relating to developments after death resemble some of the old Samoan pagan concepts. For example, the Christian Heaven corresponds to the Samoan Pulotu (the abode of the chiefs after death) and Hell corresponds to Salefe'e (the abode of the "commoners"). But there are also some basic conceptual variations. While in pagan Samoa one's rank in life determined one's position in the afterworld, according to Christianity such a position is determined by moral merit, the saving power of grace and belief in Christ's sacrifice on the cross. With the introduction of Christianity, the chiefs discovered that they could be burnt in hell fire if they led a wicked life (from a missionary point of view). The early writers on Samoa, including the missionaries, have commented on the extremely negative reaction from the chiefs when confronted with this Christian belief and this because the concept of hell fire was foreign to their traditional way of thinking and the possibility of being burnt in hell fire was considered by them to be an affront to their dignity. According to Samoan pagan belief, the souls of chiefs always went to Pulotu except in very rare circumstances when, as a result of an evil life (by Samoan traditional standards), souls of some chiefs might be forced to join those of the "commoners" at Salefe'e. But even here the punishment did not consist of being burnt in hell fire but rather in the loss of mana and mobility. Souls here were, in the metaphor of myth, like stones: they were "bound" and "locked into place". It is remarkable that Penisimani never once refers to hell fire in his writings. For hell fire, he uses a metaphor such as evil, disaster, damnation. In this tale, for instance, "the entrance of terrible disaster" is clearly a reference to hell.

\textsuperscript{4}As used here, "afterworld" refers to the final destination of souls as distinguished from the underworld where souls enter at death and from which they make sorties into the world of humans.

\textsuperscript{5}A similar observation has been made by Firth with regard to the Tikopia who are racially related to the Samoans (Firth, 1967: 340-1).
"The story about the war in Tutuila between Tuveve and Satele, a war lasting many generations. Satele came to Upolu and Savai'i to seek assistance. The Upoluan sailed from their shores for Tutuila while the Salafaians jumped on their coconut rafts and proceeded to Tutuila. Behold, the war had not been lifted. Why? Because La’aumalu was wreaking havoc among the troops, hence the difficulty in waging the war. Then Lavea, a chief of Safotu, devised a scheme as follows: when a battle was being fought and the La’aumalu was causing destruction, let the spear be replaced by the big *taro* (edible root of the plant *arum esculentum*) and the club by the big coconut, big fish, large portion of pork, large biscuit and large breadfruit. "These are our weapons," said Lavea. The Salafaians troops did as Lavea said. The battle was fought. Tuveve’s troops hurled spears, to them were thrown *taro*; they threw stones, to them were thrown coconuts, breadfruit, biscuits and large portions of pork. Behold, Tuveve’s troops gathered up the food and took them inland where their chief Tuveve was. Then Tuveve thought perhaps some person of authority (*pule*) was on the seaward side. He said what a loving and wonderful authority was this; perhaps it was Lavea of Salafai because of his good authority. "We hurled spears but they threw back *taro*, fish and pork. I will accept this gesture of Lavea because love should be exchanged for love. Let the war cease because of this benevolent authority and let us submit and unite with the government.” And it was done. Tuveve submitted because of this gracious scheme of Lavea. Applications of the story. Who is Lavea? Jesus. Who Tuveve? The devil. Tuveve fell to the trick of Lavea. The devil’s kingdom is overthrown owing to the loving scheme of Jesus. Spiritual battles should be fought in a similar manner. Let the world be angry but let us throw to it the spear of love, the true word of Jesus, because for this reason did Jesus come to overthrow the devil’s kingdom. Jesus’ supporters among Tuveve’s war party, throw love to the world even while it and heathen lands show ferocity so that Tuveve might hurry down and Jesus’ kingdom be unified here below” (GBP, p. 438-9).

Tuveve and Satele are chiefs of Tutuila island, 40 miles east of Upolu, and now part of American Samoa. Lavea is a chief of Safotu on the island of Savai’i. The tale, in brief, concerns a war between Tuveve and Satele and Lavea’s stratagem to bring it to an end. The causes of the war are not mentioned but historical records do point to the frequency of wars in old Samoa. In the absence of a strong centralised government administering a uniform system of laws, force was often the final resort for settling disputes between families, villages, districts and islands. Hence the glorification of war
heroes and the high status that they enjoyed in pre-Christian Samoa. The war between Tuveve and Satele was, it appears, a largely localised war but one nevertheless in which, in accordance with traditional practice, both sides had eagerly sought allies.

An important aspect of Samoan wars was the part played by the war gods. Their help in war was assiduously sought and for this reason the reading of omens purported to express the war god's wishes was a vital part of war preparations. In this tale, La'aumalu, Tuveve's war god, was demonstrating its powerful mana by "wreaking havoc" among Satele's troops, or so it seemed to the war participants. The victories gained by Tuveve's party were interpreted as the result of the participation of this war god. To resolve the stalemate, Lavea resorts to the stratagem mentioned in the tale, with fruitful results. His acts earn the admiration of Tuveve who interpreted them as those of a man of "loving and wonderful authority" (*pule*). Through his mediation, Lavea brings to an end a lengthy and destructive war.

4.3. Summary

In these tales, I have elaborated on some of the main ideas that they contain. I have, for instance, referred to the great power exercised by the chiefs and their ability to banish the common people for the violation of taboos (T1); the importance that the Samoans attached to virginity, the ideal marriage between a chief and a virgin, the custom of the public defloration of a bride and the Christian concept of the Devil (T2); the traditional Samoan custom of polygamy (T3); the Samoan high god, Tagaloa-lagi (T4); the importance of *taeno* (T5); traditional beliefs concerning events after death (T6); and warfare among the Samoans especially in relation to the custom of seeking allies and to the belief in the power of the *aitu* to affect the outcome of wars. The narratives, as myths, serve to both validate the social order and to transmit traditional knowledge.
Chapter 5

The Parables of Penisimani

In this chapter, I examine the fa'ata'oto or parables of Penisimani as he himself describes them. The fa'ata'oto are tales with a moral lesson but at least two of the tales, that about Tui A'ana Leuotele and embalment of the dead, have a historical basis to them. For example, Tui A'ana Leuotele was a historical figure from whom many of the important genealogies in Samoa today are traced and embalment of the dead was practised in pre-Christian Samoa. What the tales have in common, however, are the Christian moral lessons they contain. As with the tala of Chapter 4, they are re-interpretations of traditional tales and folklore by Penisimani to explain the new teachings of Christianity. And as in Chapter 4, I shall restrict my comments after each parable to further elaboration on the traditional beliefs and practices of the Samoans.

The word "fa'ata'oto" means a parable, or a story with a moral lesson behind it. It comes from the prefix "fa'a" meaning to make, or to cause to, and "ta'oto" meaning to lay down. Thus "fa'ata'oto" means to cause to lay down (Cf. Jackson, 1982: 59). In the fa'ata'oto, the telling (or laying down) of a story is followed by the drawing of a moral lesson from it. The story itself may be based on an imaginary or real event but that in itself is only of secondary importance. What is of primary importance is always the message, teaching or moral lesson presented in the story. The moral lessons are those not of Samoan traditional culture but specifically of the Christian religion and these stories may, therefore, be properly described as Christian apologues. There are 14 stories classed as parables in the Penisimani manuscripts of which 10 have a Christian religious component and four have none. I have selected six

1While this is obviously Penisimani's ultimate goal, several of the parables, P1, P2 and P3, are themselves based on traditional moral fables.
of these parables for inclusion here.²

The stories contained in this selection of *faata'oto* from Penisimani are about three brothers who engaged in the dangerous venture of "collecting" winds (The Three Brothers), hunters who cheated a bush spirit (The Hunting Brothers), the cunning of the flying-fox (Bird of the Sky), a unique custom among the friends of Tui A'ana Leuotele (Friends of Tui A'ana Leuotele), the custom of embalming the dead (Parable About Death) and the war between a Samoan hero and a Fijian warrior of renown (The Fe'e and Uluave). The story about embalming of the dead deals with an ancient Samoan custom that is well documented by the early LMS missionaries to Samoa. The custom among the friends of Tui A'ana Leuotele has been handed down to us in the form of a legendary tale, the kind of tale that would have found favour with Hocart and the historical school of mythology. The rest of the tales, however, fall clearly into the mythic category as expressed in terms of Leenhardt's perspective of myth. It is possible that Uluave's abduction of the Fe'e's wife might have been based on a true historical event but in the absence of other corroborating evidence it is regarded here as essentially mythic, as involving the transmission of certain Samoan values and beliefs.

5.1. Leenhardt and Myth

Leenhardt's approach to an understanding of myth is a useful model to apply in an analysis of the folktales in Penisimani's parables. This is not because myths do not legitimise the social order by pointing to precedent, as Malinowski maintained (1954: 108) but because in these particular folktales, I wish to emphasise the nature of traditional belief as such.

For Leenhardt, there are two modes of knowledge, the affective and the rational. The first, also called the mythic form of knowledge, involves the emotions, "encourages attitudes, views, disciplines, and a conscience" (Leenhardt, 1979:193). The second involves the intellect, deals with the real world out there and is "developed by method and we never stop clarifying it" (Ibid, p. 193). The first may be described as a subjective form

²Though Penisimani refers to the *faata'oto* as parables, this is for classificatory purposes only for, in fact, all of his folktales and words (chapters 4 and 6) may properly be considered as parables because, as in the *faata'oto* traditional narratives are being used to illustrate Christian themes.
of knowledge, the second as objective. The two modes of thought are complementary, however, and man needs both in his life for the adoption of one and the exclusion of the other leads to a grave imbalance which needs to be corrected. As Leenhardt says, man erred "by constructing a world with the affective and mythic mode of knowledge alone" and he would have erred also by going to the other extreme (Leenhardt, 1979:195).

Myths for Leenhardt are not, in their fundamental essence, just stories "but rather ways of circumscribing immediate emotional experiences that discursive language could not express" (Clifford, 1982:202; cf. Burridge, 1969: xxi, Levi-Strauss, 1978: 17 and Young, 1983: 11). To paraphrase Leenhardt, myths enable people to grasp the human and social realities of their societies and to live in them comfortably and confidently and for as long as the traditional structure of their societies persists (Leenhardt, 1979: 183, 195; cf. Geertz in Lessa and Vogt, 1979: 79). But myths are more than just mere forms of traditional knowledge. They are also lived experiences. Referring to the Canaques of New Caledonia, Leenhardt says,

Myths are alive in them; though they are not articulated on men's lips, they articulate themselves before our eyes in men's behavior.

Myth is felt and lived before being conceived and formulated. It is the word, the figure, the action which circumscribes the event in the heart of man, emotional as a child, before becoming a fixed story

(Leenhardt, 1979:190).

In the words of Crapanzano, "the myth as story, is for Leenhardt a fallen form of the myth" (in Leenhardt, 1979:xviii).

In these parables of Penisimani, particularly the first two, we perceive many of the mythic beliefs of the pre-Christian Samoans. The beliefs, for instance, of men being able to "collect" the winds and of offering a sacrifice to the bush spirit may be regarded by some today as fairy tales but in pagan Samoa they were mythic realities, believed in and acted upon by the Samoans. They were lived experiences, as Leenhardt defines mythic realities. When, for instance, the physical vehicle of a Samoan god, such as a bird was found dead, "the mourning of the people was great; they wept over it, and cut their heads with stones. Then with solemn ceremony and repeated laments, the dead bird was tenderly wrapped in a mat or siapo (tapa) and publicly buried" (Pritchard, 1866:110-111). These stories, therefore, in pagan Samoa, would have aroused strong emotions among the Samoans, being intimately connected
with their own beliefs and convictions. Today, as a result of Christian influence, they would appear to be just fairy tales. The myths are no longer lived realities, their meanings acted out in real life, but a collection of tales without the magical power (mana) traditionally associated with them. Having lost this primordial power, myth understood as no (magical word) no longer situates men in time, raises them to a higher plane or calls them to existence (Leenhardt, 1979: 136-7). For Christianity, in destroying the powers of the traditional divinities, simultaneously destroyed the mana of myth. Stripped of this mana which gave force to social experience myth became paradoxically meaningless in essence and became degraded to the level of a just-so story. In the place of myth, the Christian missionaries placed the teachings and traditions of a European Christianity and these are now today's myths. In these parables by Penisimani we see this process of substitution exposed in analysis; we see the meaning of traditional narratives being stifled in order that Christian ideology might triumph. And thus the origin of that distinct form of discourse which Barthes describes as myth: a "message sent in a certain code" (1982: 105) or "ideas-in-form". Implicit in Barthes's approach to myth is the condemnation of the apparent dishonesty of mythmakers in presenting myth as if it were natural or needing no further justification. In fact, in Barthes's view myth is the result of a kind of semantic deception (see Ch. 7). In Penisimani's parables, we see this same deception at work and with the same consequences.

P1: Parable About Three Brothers

"The parable about Ti'iti'i, Fatugati and Fatugata, three brothers. Ti'iti'i used to collect the winds and there was none left to be collected except the Maileula. This was because the Maile lived in a cave. Said Ti'iti'i, "My brothers, Fatugati and Fatugata, never go to where the Maileula is lest you die but wait till I wake up and then we shall hunt the Maile. But now I want to sleep." Ti'iti'i slept, then Fatugati said to Fatugata, "Fatugata?" The latter replied, "Yes?" Fatugati continued, "What do you think if we go to where the Maileula is to hunt it and thereby make our name famous as Ti'iti'i is famous for all the winds he has collected? Let us make a name for ourselves with the Maileula." Said Fatugata, "Alright." The two then went to hunt the Maileula. Behold the Maileula set upon the two brothers and they perished. Ti'iti'i awoke, he looked around, his brothers were not present. He suspected they had been killed by the Maileula. Ti'iti'i was right, the two had been killed. Applications of the parable. Who is Ti'iti'i? The word of God written in the bible and the pastors because
they are telling us to stop doing wrong things. Who is the Maileula? The devil and the ways of the world and jealousy. But who is Fatugati and Fatugata? It is the church and teachers and children who had been taught. Behold many have suffered misfortune because of the desire for fame, like Fatugati and Fatugata. Many teachers have also suffered misfortune because of their stupid argumentativeness over bad things. Thus ends this parable" (GBP, p. 203-4).

We are dealing here with Samoan mythic conceptions about natural phenomena, winds, and a traditional allegory at the same time. The winds were important to the pre-Christian Samoans for many reasons including, for example, determination of the most appropriate time for making long sea voyages. The names for some of the points of the compass were derived principally from the prevailing winds, such as the matu (the north wind), to'elau (the north-east wind), tua'o'oloa (south-east wind), la'i (the westerly), toga (south or south-west wind) and the fa'atiau (north-west wind) (Brown, 1910:349). Pratt (1977) also lists the names of the winds. Samoans, as they still do today, were able to identify many different kinds of winds each of which had its own characteristics. Some, like the fisaga (Williamson, 1933:145-6) and the to'elau were liked; others such as the la'i were disliked (GBP, p. 42-3). I am not aware of any specific wind god on the record but Wilkes refers to Mesua, Faana, Tinitini and Lamamau as being the Samoan gods for lightning, rain, whirlwinds and other natural phenomena (1852:191). It appears that the pagan Samoans regarded the winds more as mysterious natural forces which were controlled, to a certain degree, by the gods themselves, rather than as gods. From a scientific point of view, the Samoans perhaps could not account for the origin of winds. Traditional folklore indicates that the Samoans believed the winds "lived" in caves from which they sallied forth to cause either happiness or misery to humans. In this myth, for instance, the Maileula lives in a cave and in another myth about Ti'iti'i the latter sought the west wind at the fa'a, the entrance to the Samoan underworld. The unpredictable nature of winds made it necessary, in Samoan belief, to bring them under control and hence, in the tale, the attempt by the brothers to catch the Maileula. The attempt fails and two of the brothers are killed.

Ti'iti'i is famed in Samoan folklore as the catcher, collector, keeper of winds. It seems to have been his hobby. It is very likely that the Ti'iti'i of this tale is the same referred to by the German ethnologists Stuebel and Von Bulow (in Williamson, 1933:145-6). Both Stuebel and Von Bulow give slightly different versions of the same tale concerning Ti'iti'i's attempt to catch the west wind (la'i) at its source. In Stuebel's
version, Ti'iti'i had captured all the winds (which he put into a coconut vessel) except the la'i. In trying to capture this wind "he pursued into a cave a dog, which turned out to be the god Salevao, and was imprisoned in the cave and died" (Williamson, 1933:145-6). In Von Bulow's version, Ti'iti'i went too near the fafa, the entrance to the Samoan underworld, made the god angry, fell in and died (Ibid, p. 146).

As an allegory, the tale warns against the danger of indiscretion, of not taking advice and of ambition, those negative qualities which led to the death of the two brothers. The lesson is given a Christian significance when Penisimani refers to the many Christians who had come to misfortune because of their "desire for fame" and "stupid argumentativeness".

**P2: The Hunting Brothers**

"A parable. The story about two brothers who went hunting in the bush. It is said that they decided that the first bird they caught would be given to the spirit deity (aitu) of the bush. Thus they decided to serve their aitu by giving him the first bird they caught. The bird was caught. It was not given for the aitu but stuffed into their hunting basket. They kept the bird for themselves instead of giving it to the aitu. They lied. Another bird was caught. Again it was stuffed into their basket and nothing for the aitu. Behold the lying. Then they caught a rat. Only then did they give it to their aitu. Because the rat is a bad thing. Applications. Behold, the coconut oil was prepared as an offering to God. Later word came that it was not given as an offering but instead only a shilling or a sixpence, comparable to the rat given to the aitu of the bush which is God. Refrain from doing this lest the aitu of the bush becomes angry and then causes the mountain ridge to be thick with clouds causing hunters to lose their way and so perish. God will be similarly angry with those who make bad offerings in connection with the death of Jesus. And then we will no longer know the love of Jesus in heaven, if Samoa again becomes a land of darkness (pouliuii), and there will be evil (malai) everlasting" (GBP, p. 355).

Again in this tale, we are dealing with the traditional beliefs and practices of the pre-Christian Samoans. As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, the Samoans had gods galore known under generic terms such as atua, tupua or aitu. Aitu seems to have been

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3 A malevolent spirit mentioned in Chapter 4. See also Turner, 1884:49-51.
the most common expression for a god or deity. Literally it means a spirit, a disembodied soul essence but one possessing superhuman powers and influences. The *aitu* referred to in the tale is the spirit or god of the bush where the hunters were hunting. In Samoan pagan religion, just as chiefs ruled over families, villages, districts and country, so did *aitu* rule over geographical areas. Certain *aitu* were identified with certain physical localities and bush areas were no exception. One might speak of such gods as tutelary spirits. In the tale, it is not necessary for the hunters to know the name of the bush spirit: they need only realize that such a spirit existed. And in accordance with Samoan religious notions and custom, the hunters had to make an offering, a kind of first fruits offering to the bush spirit - the spirit ruler of that locality. But, as in the tale, the hunters went back on their word and offered a rat, a "bad thing", instead. The hunters are guilty of deception and disrespect towards the bush spirit. In pagan Samoa such atrocious behaviour would have meant the punishment of the hunters by the *aitu* of the bush. Penisimani hints at such punishment when he says, "Refrain from doing this lest the *aitu* of the bush becomes angry and then causes the mountain ridge to be thick with clouds causing hunters to lose their way and so perish". But there was also another side to Samoan mentality which led a Samoan, if possible, to try to cheat the *aitu*. One did so at one's risk though.

Penisimani finds in the tale a moral lesson with a general significance to Christianity. His Christian allegory focuses on the need of church members to remain faithful to their commitments to donate coconut oil\(^4\) to the church.

P3: Bird of the Sky

"The parable about the bird of the sky. The bird of the sky had a conversation with the rat. Because in those days, the rat flew while the bird of the sky crawled. This was the *flying-fox*. The rat looked down below and saw the *flying-fox* gnawing at the *pulu*\(^33\) tree. Then the rat came down and gnawed the *pulu* together with the *flying-fox*. The *flying-fox* said to the rat, "Mr Rat?" The latter replied, "What do you want?" The *flying-fox* continued, "Sir, can you lend me your feathers so that I can try them to see if I can lift myself up with them to there or not? If I cannot fly

\(^4\)Coconut oil was an important source of revenue for the early Christian church in Samoa. It was donated by church members, stored by the missionaries and later sold to merchants for cash.
up with them I shall come down again and return them to you. But please hold on to my walking-stick. When I come down give me my walking-stick and I return your feathers." The rat replied, "No problem in granting your wish for after all are you not my friend?" The flying-fox said, "Sure, give them to me and I shall return them this evening when I come down." The rat gave his feathers to the flying-fox, the flying-fox flew up and stood on a banana tree. The rat told the flying-fox to come down for him. The flying-fox replied, "Wait till I fly up further to there to see what it's like." The flying-fox flew again and stood on a coconut tree. The rat now cried out, "Hey, what is this? Mate, you have almost reached the top with my wings: Come down now, it is almost night-time, with my wings, I am going to come up."

Then the flying-fox said, "No, you stay down below with my walking-stick for you to use, and let me have your wings." And so he flew off. The flying-fox continued to fly higher, perhaps as high as the mountains. The rat continued to shout louder to the flying-fox above to return his wings and to take back his walking-stick. He, the rat, did not want an orator's staff, only his wings. The rat spoke in vain because he could no longer be heard by the flying-fox who had by now flown to great heights, exuberant with joy because of the wings he had won by a stratagem. The rat finally took the walking-stick and set off. There was nothing more he could do as the flying-fox had stolen his wings. And so it remains today. Who is the flying-fox? It is we. Even though the flying-fox rejoices because of his wings acquired through his lying trick it is the most miserable of birds because it does not know how to stand on a tree. Its head hangs down, its bottom faces upwards. Are its manners good? None whatsoever. Because the reward of its lying to the rat has caused its head to hang downwards. It cannot stand properly on a tree branch like all the other birds. Thus will sinners suffer punishment because of their evil behaviour. The flying-fox delights in flying high but its habits are ugly. Arrogant people will be like this one day"

This tale appears to have been a popular one in pagan Samoa since a version of it is also in Kramer (1902). It is essentially an apologue, that is, a tale with a moral lesson but is again re-interpreted by Penisimani to give a Christian message. There is no evidence that the pagan Samoans accepted as literally true the events in such tales. These were either allegorical, that is to say, symbolic, or had a literal meaning only within the context of their religious beliefs, for instance, the reality of the gods incarnate in birds, fish, animals and insects. Those creatures which were not regarded as sacred, because not the ata (representations) of their aitu, were regarded as common,
as belonging to nature. In this tale, the religious aspect is not involved as there is no claim made that either the flying-fox or the rat is a god (aitu). So the only other possibility left is that the tale is an allegorical one and it is my belief that this was also how the pagan Samoans viewed it. The plausibility of this opinion is evident from the structure of the tale itself. The two main characters are the flying-fox and the rat. The former desires to have the rat's wings, borrows them with the promise he would return them, breaks his promise and keeps the wings. We can then provide pairs of contrasts: the flying-fox is clever, the rat stupid; the flying-fox is deceitful, the rat gullible, and so on. We are thus dealing with pairs of contrasting qualities which may be regarded as socially undesirable. They are mediated by social qualities which occupy a position halfway between two extremes. Thus, for instance, we might say that the socially desirable quality which occupies a middle position between the extremes of deceit and gullibility is caution or prudence. If the rat had been cautious or prudent, it would not have lost its wings. The tale, therefore, urges the due exercise of prudence.

P4: Friends of Tui A'ana Leuotele

'The parable about Tui A'ana Leuotele. He had many friends, perhaps ten or whatever. Each friend was a chief. They had plenty of food to eat: fish, pork, taro, and so on - in fact, everything. They ate together in the evenings. When travellers came across the friends as they were about to eat, they would go and get some water for the friends to wash their hands with. Then the chief of these friends would command that all the food be turned over to the travellers because they had obtained water for the friends. Then the food would be given to the travellers. But the travellers who were foolish, who did not know this custom of the friends about getting water, would not eat - because they did not get water for the friends to wash their hands with. Applications of the story. Who is Tui A'ana Leuotele? It is God. Who are the friends? His word and his ceremonies and his kingdom, because there are many good things in it prepared for people. And who are the wise travellers who obtain water? Those who receive Jesus the Redeemer of the world. But who are the foolish travellers who pass on knowing nothing about the custom of the friends, who do not obtain water for the friends to wash their hands with, who have nothing to eat? Those who do not receive Jesus the Saviour of the world. They will starve in the day of the great famine and saddened by disaster everlasting. It is fitting for us to obtain water for the friends to wash their hands with lest we fail to eat the spiritual food, the blessing without end but eternal.
Lift up the water of faith in Jesus.

Lift up the water of perseverance.

Lift up the water of prayer.

Lift up the water of the May offering.

Lift up the water of risking danger on behalf of all God's ceremonies.

Lift up the loving water to the people of God.

Lift up the water of fear of God.

Lift up the water of repentance for sin.

Lift up the water of desire for forgiveness.

Lift up the water of desire for the Holy Spirit.

Lift up the water of humility before God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the one God.

Then shall we eat the food of the friends on the day of death and judgment” (GBP, p. 361-2).

The Tui A'ana chiefly title is one of the highest titles in Samoa and possibly second only to that of the Tui Manu’a title in terms of ancient origin. For many centuries before the arrival of Christianity in Samoa, holders of this title held the reins of supreme power in Samoa. That is to say, the Tui A'ana titleholder, even those who were not uniformly recognised as the tafa'ifa (king of Tutuila and Western Samoa), was the official head of the ancient governments of pagan Samoa. The power of the Tui A'ana chiefs was finally overthrown by the island of Manono shortly before the arrival of the first LMS missionaries in 1830 and Manono then, under Leiataua and Tamafaiga, became the ruling power in Samoa (Cf. Williams, 1984:221). Now Tui A'ana Leuotele was one of the most important figures in Samoan history. Kramer gives an account of Tui A'ana’s genealogy (Kramer, 1902:168) and several oral traditions about him (Ibid, p. 197). He is, for instance, regarded as the first Tui A'ana
known within recorded history. Before him, the ancestors of the Tui A'ana title were largely mythical figures. It is probable that he lived after the Tongan occupation of Samoa (900-1,200 AD). The custom of Leuotele and his friends, referred to in the tale, is best understood as an oral tradition. We are told not only that Leuotele and his friends formed a select society of gourmets but also that they behaved towards travellers in a certain way. The story, we may assume, had been transmitted orally for centuries in Samoa because it served as a precedent to explain the expression "the friends of Tui A'ana Leuotele". More probably the story served to explain how this particular Tui A'ana came to be called Leuotele. The word "leuotele" means one who has many friends. We thus have the full significance of this chief's name. "Tui A'ana" means king of A'ana district in Upolu and "leuotele" means one who has many friends. The tale, therefore, serves to reinforce the meaning of the chief's name. If there was a dispute over the meaning of the name, this tale would act as a sign post to the true solution. It sets a precedent for the correct explanation of the name "leuotele" which is a compound of the words "le" (the), "uo" (friends) and "tele" (many).

This parable is a particularly fine specimen of Penisimani's style. The last part is very poetical and combines the best of Samoan rhetoric and Christian teaching. The repeated use of the expression "lift up the water" is a characteristically Samoan method of rhetoric and gives the whole passage a kind of literary (and psychic) potency. The same expression is a metaphor borrowed from the traditional kava ceremony where the master of ceremonies (an orator chief) calls for a cup of kava to be filled and to be offered to a particular chief, the ritualistic expression being repeated until all the important chiefs in a kava ceremony have been served. Thus "lift up the water" (literally "scoop up the water") parallels the lifting up of a cup that had been filled with kava and is to be presented to a kava participant. It is respectful language used in the context of ritual and ceremony and is here applied in the context of a Christian parable.

P5: Parable About Death

"The story about the parable of life's end, about Po'upupu, a chief of Palauli, and his children. He became sick and was about to die. Then he made his will, that if he should die that his body would not be buried but be embalmed. And it was so done. After awhile the children went to the corpse to oil it and to dress its features
to see if they resembled theirs. Behold, the corpse's features were no longer like theirs. Applications of the story. Who is Po'upupu? God. Who are the children? The pastors, the church, the teachers. What is the coconut oil? The word of God by which we are oiled and made to resemble God. It is the Sunday sermons, this and that, done from day to day in God's ceremonies. But we do not resemble the features of God our father; our behaviour and all our other actions do not meet his standards. This is the parable" (GBP, p. 384-5).

Embalment of the dead was not widely practised in pagan Samoa as most corpses were buried. However it was practised in some parts where the art of embalming was highly developed. This art, called fa'a-Atua-lalaina, was formerly practised in Samoa by two families, Sa-le-Tufuga and Sa-Mataafa (Stair, 1897:184) and every effort was made to preserve the body for as long as possible after which the bones were washed and carefully preserved. With the Christianisation of the Samoans, the practice finally ceased when the last few practitioners of the art passed away and the missionaries had made it abundantly clear that burial of the dead was the preferred Christian mode. Health factors might have contributed to the missionary preference for burial but there was also a clearly theological factor involved: a Christian belief in the general resurrection of the body, a belief which required the careful preservation of earthly remains six feet under the ground.

P6: The Fe'e and Uluave

"Parable about the war between the Fe'e and Uluave. Uluave abducted the Fe'e's wife. The Fe'e was a chief of Fiji while Uluave was a Samoan chief. Uluave went to Fiji. The Fe'e's wife was sitting at home while the Fe'e had gone to the marriage feast for the Tui Fiti's wife. Uluave thereupon stole the Fe'e's wife. The Fe'e returned and found his wife missing, having run away with Uluave. The Fe'e became very angry. He could not lie down to rest because of his anger against his wife kidnapped by Uluave. Then he embarked on a war to avenge the insult against his house. He swam across the ocean in pursuit of his wife, hoping he would catch Uluave in the ocean and drown him, so that the outlaw would die. But he failed to catch up, the boat of Uluave and the Fe'e's wife having reached land. After he had given vent to

\[5\] This means literally "a fetish exposed to the sun". Samoan chiefs were fetishes because they were deified after death.
his anger at his failure to overtake Uluave and his wife, the Fe'e made his home in the coral upon which he had been sitting and stayed there and continues to do so. Applications of the story. Who is the Fe'e? The devil and troublesome people. But who is Uluave? The people of God. Just as the Fe'e ended up by making his home in a big coral after he had given vent to his anger for failing to catch his enemy, so like him are the devil and people of evil ways in this life. After blindly giving expression to their anger they will end up in disaster everlasting, just like the Fe'e. But the people of God will escape to above\(^{36}\), just like Uluave and the Fe'e's wife, enemies of the Fe'e” (GBP, p. 358-9).

The tale about the Fe'e (or the cuttle-fish) and Uluave may have been based on a historical event since intercourse between the peoples of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa in pagan times is well established not only in the oral traditions of these countries but also in the facts of genealogy and in the physical appearances of their inhabitants. For instance, as Kramer has shown, sections of the Samoan population exhibit Samoan-Tongan and Samoan-Fijian racial characteristics, the result of the mixing of races by marriage in the preceding centuries (Kramer, 1902:9-11). Still, whether based partly on a historical event or not, the tale appears to have been an important myth in pagan Samoa\(^6\). It is a kind of Samoan western: a Samoan hero takes on one of the most feared warriors of Fiji, steals his wife and condemns him to an uncomfortable existence in the reef. The tale also perhaps reflects a kind of Samoan pagan mentality which legitimised the pillage of "the other fellow", with whom one did not have formal cultural relations, the outsider, so to speak. In essence, however, I tend to believe that the tale sets a precedent, in the Malinowskian sense, of how the Fe'e came to be established in Samoa. The Fe'e was one of the most ancient and most powerful gods of the Samoans. Later, the Fe'e gradually lost its pre- eminent position among the gods and was superseded, for several centuries before and up to the arrival of Christianity, by Nafanua. The story of the Fe'e's downfall is indicated in this tale related to Pritchard by an old Samoan faipule (a village lawmaker). The tale, in paraphrase, is as follows:

"Once upon a time, the Fe'e was among the most powerful of the Samoan gods. But he was so arrogant and so cruel that people and lesser gods trembled in fear of

\(^{6}\)Penisimani, in his best story-telling fashion, gives a fuller version of this tale on pages 242-247 of the George Brown Papers.
him. One day, the Fe'e ordered his subject peoples and gods to build a rock temple for him but in the execution of the project, not a sound was to be made, a seemingly impossible task. While the work went on, another god made his appearance and offered the subject peoples and gods their freedom from the wiles and whims of the Fe'e provided they followed him instead. The two gods then fought (wrestled) and the Fe'e was defeated. And so, 'Away to the deep sea, far beyond the roaring reefs, flew Le Fe'e, whence, humbled and ashamed, poor and powerless, he has never returned'" (Pritchard, 1866:117-8).

This tale sums up well the history of this once-great Samoan divinity. Interestingly, according to Pritchard, the faipule regarded the tale as a moral allegory and he quotes the faipule as saying "-it was thus we learnt the evil of arrogance and tyranny. Even though a great chief, if arrogant and tyrannous [sic], the day will surely come when his arrogance and his tyranny will recoil upon himself" (in Pritchard, 1866:119). This tale, therefore, serves as an allegory about the danger of arrogance and of the Fe'e's fall from the heights of power. But as for Penisimani's tale, it is probably an oral tradition about how the Fe'e came to be established in Samoa. For that reason it is probably a very ancient myth.

The tale assumes a greater complexity when we consider Williamson's thesis about the existence of an original cult, which he calls the Maui cult, among the earliest aboriginal settlers of Polynesia (Williamson, 1933: 155, 217, 257). According to Williamson, the later settlers to Polynesia brought and superimposed the newer Tagaloa cult upon the original Maui cult, which was associated with the dead and the underworld, a key symbol of which was fire. Since the pagan Samoans associated the god Fe'e with the underworld, it may well be that Fe'e was originally one of the gods of the Maui cult. Again the god Maui was worshipped in Samoa under the name of Mafia'e, the god responsible for causing earthquakes. And the fact that the Fe'e came from Fiji lends support to Williamson's thesis as Fiji is said by some researchers to have been the main centre of Polynesian settlement before the Polynesians' final dispersal to other island groups such as Samoa and Tonga (Cf. Bellwood, 1978).

7Salefe'e, for instance, was a region of the underworld where "commoners" stayed after death.
5.2. Summary

From the tales which form part of Penisimani's parables in this chapter, I have referred to a number of pagan beliefs and practices of the Samoans. These include beliefs about the winds (P1), bush spirits (P2), a renowned ancestor (P4), an ancient war god (P6) and practices relating to offerings to the bush spirit (P2) and embalment of the dead (P5) as well as the moral fable about the need for caution (P3). I have emphasised that myths, in pre-Christian Samoa, were not merely stories told (for entertainment, for instance,) but realities lived, as Leenhardt describes them.
Chapter 6
The Words of Penisimani

In this chapter, I examine the *upu* or, words and their meanings, of Penisimani, which form by far the greatest portion of his writings. Of the 462 pages, for instance, of his total writings in the George Brown Papers, the explanation of Samoan words, many of which are not used today, take up 264 pages. As with the *tala* and *fa'ata'oto*, many of the *upu* are used to illustrate Christian teachings. The words range from simple ones to compounds and expressions. A simple word, for example, would be "*nina*", meaning to discuss. A compound word would consist of two words joined together to form one word or *upu*. Thus "*pomalae*" is a compound of "*po*" meaning darkness or night, and "*mala'e*" meaning the village field or green. "*Pomalae*" thus means darkness in the land, field or green. An expression consists of several words such as "*se Amoa lava a'u*" meaning, "I am a native of Amoa". This expression, according to Penisimani, was said by the people of Amoa, a district in northern Savai'i, to ward off evil. The expression may then be said to be a characteristic manner of speech of Amoa, in short, an idiom. *Upu*, therefore, include not only simple words but also compounds and expressions. Only a very limited choice of *upu* is included here to illustrate Penisimani's style of writing, his reflections on Samoan culture and Christian religious thought.

The *upu* of Penisimani illustrate many aspects of belief and practice of the Samoans and in that respect serve as a reservoir of rich knowledge about traditional Samoan culture. In this chapter, I have tried to broaden the selection of *upu* so as to cover as many different aspects of Samoan traditional culture as possible. Thus the words "*tauinatama fa'aapai*" and "*fetula'i*" refer to pagan religious practices; "*fa'aosoi'ai*" refers to visiting parties or *malaga*, which formed an important part of traditional Samoan economic organisation described in Chapter 2; "*pomalae*" refers to the traditional sport of club-fighting; "*ai o le ma'osi'osi*" refers to warfare; and "*tulaga*" refers to kinship organisation. In this chapter, I shall follow the same course adopted in Chapters 4 and 5 of explaining in more detail the traditional beliefs and practices
mentioned by Penisimani. But I shall also, at the beginning of each exegesis, elucidate further the meanings of the upu used by Penisimani. As with his tales and parables, Penisimani uses his explanations of the words to provide Christian religious allegories.

6.1. The Power of the Word

To the pre-Christian Samoans, words (upu) were more than just linguistic devices which served to convey meaning. They also had power or mana which caused things to manifest in the physical world. As Handy explains in relation to the Polynesian concept of prayer, "the power of the word' properly expressed or pronounced was made manifest externally and objectively in the mind and body of man, and in the rest of the physical world" (1927:198). Linked with "superior mana", its influence was "transmitted through the psychic atmosphere and the beings who peopled it" (Ibid, p. 198). This power of words was believed to be most evident within the contexts of traditional ritual and ceremony. It is for this reason namely, the power and efficacy of words, that the Samoans traditionally have been very circumspect in their choice and use of words and why verbal insults against chiefs were considered a heinous crime and were frequently causae belli in pagan Samoa. This was because the Samoans considered that once uttered a word could never be recalled. And this belief has come down in the expression "e pala ma'a ae le pala upu" ("stones decay but not words").

The Tikopia, racial cousins of the Samoans, also had similar beliefs about the power of words. Firth noted that the Tikopia believed "that natural objects are sentient and capable of response to human urging; and that spiritual beings can be induced to intervene in the process" (1967:200). The effect of words was not automatic, however. In more important forms of magic, such as productive magic, words served to persuade spirits and natural objects (Ibid, p. 206). Among the Tikopia, words served, therefore, to urge compliance of the spirit forces. "The other conclusion is that the hortatory word is often cathartic in function" (Firth, 1967:207). Two of the examples from Penisimani (fe tu ia i and tauinatatamafa'apoi) provide illustrations of the use of words by pagan Samoans to urge their aitu to comply with their wishes.

There are some similarities in the Melanesian use of the word "no" and the Samoan use of the word upu. Leenhardt gives three different meanings for "no",

1Both mean "word".
namely, affair, act and decision (1979:127-8). Among the Samoans, the most common meaning for "upu" is "word" but it can also denote a decision such as when a chief says "o la'u upu lena" meaning, "that is my wish", a common expression when a chief lays down the law.

So powerful is the efficacy of words as carriers of mana that the higher ranking chiefs of Samoa are forbidden by custom to speak on formal occasions, generally speaking. This task is entrusted to a class of chiefs known under various names as orator chiefs, executive chiefs or village lawmakers. Collectively, they are called tulafale or faleupolu. It was, therefore, the custom in pagan Samoa, as it is still today, for a chief, when attending a traditional ceremony, to always have a tulafale to act as his spokesman. The tulafale's duty is to make known to others the wishes and opinions of his chief. For this reason, the tulafale of a chief is addressed as lau tofa which literally means your wordship.

"Tofa" is a more respectful form of the word "upu". Since the tulafale conveys the word/words of his chief he is called the tofa or the mind of his chief. The honorific title "tofa", therefore, expresses a structural relationship, a feagaiga\(^2\), between the tulafale and his ali'i. Implicit in the custom of silence at formal gatherings on the part of the ali'i is the underlying belief that since his person is so sacred (pa'ia), his words might cause negative effects on himself or others because the higher his status the more powerful the effect of his words. Handy describes the ali'i thus:

As the first-born male of the tribe, he stood for land and people as the prime embodiment of generative power in nature; as the first-born of the divine stock,... he was the human instrument most intimately in rapport with psychic power in general; and as the first-born child of the gods, he represented them personally when they were worshipped by the people (Handy, 1927:138).

Handy's description accords with Samoan notions of chiefship for Samoans regarded their chiefs as gods, if exceptional in ability, such as Tamafaiga, or at least as mediators between gods and men - their traditional role (Cf. Hale, 1968:19-20). Being divine in origin, the ali'i were surrounded with many taboos designed to protect both themselves (from loss of mana) and others (from excess of mana) from contamination. The taboo against speaking by a chief was one such taboo designed to preserve his sacredness and mana (Cf. Handy, 1927:43).

\(^2\)See Chapter 2.
When one speaks of words or *upu*, therefore, with regard to Samoan language and culture one must also bear in mind the mythic conceptions of the pagan Samoans about the inherent power of words either as a quality of the words themselves or as a manifestation of some spirit power. When a pagan Samoan, for instance, exclaimed, "*o a'u se Amoa*" ("I am a Amoa"), he was not merely describing a fact about himself. He was also reciting a magical formula, a spell, which had certain intended effects known not only to himself but also to his listeners. The main effect intended was that since he was from Amoa he ought to be freed from public condemnation and punishment because in the remote past, an ancestor of his had made a pact with the thunder (*fa'aitiiti*) that in future all Amoans would be free from prosecution and punishment for misbehaviour. Here we have both mythic belief and precedent co-existing in the same tale (in GBP, p. 29-30).

W1: Tauinatamafa'apoi (Just to Strike and Halt)

"It is a prayer like the one above. The spirit is implored not to let the fatal blow fall but merely to threaten lest the sick person of the family die once the spirit's blow reaches the body. It is always good for us to pray. Let us pray to God when we are sick. Let us talk to Him if one of us is sick owing to Him because He is truly the cause of our becoming ill. Let us say to Him those good words, perhaps? Just make us tired of life so that we may repent of our sins if it is in accordance with His will. If not, then let Him please Himself. Let Him strike and halt us. If this is not appropriate, His will be done for this is good. It is good always to pray with these good words but let the prayer go through the suffering of Jesus because only in this manner will our prayers be answered. It is the path and the door through which our prayers pass on to God and not any eloquence on our part. The words of the prayer [to the *aitu*] are like this: "May you stamp on our transgressions committed in front of you, o spirit." The meaning of the expression is, may his feet stamp on the thing which has caused his anger with the family or the person so that the spirit may forget this thing lest he remembers that which caused his anger. "Let us be thrown into the lagoon", because the lagoon provides a haven for people when they swim in the sea, but the reef channel is bad because people drown there and suffer endlessly unless they are thrown into the lagoon and so live and able to swim to land. This is why the spirit is asked to throw to the lagoon whatever has caused his anger. "May your wrath be full." This is a comparison with the wave which was about to rise from the depths but failed to do so. This is good because if the
wave had broken the boat might have been wrecked. But it did not break, it became full on its own. For this reason the boat escaped, avoided being wrecked, because the wave became full. This is why it is said in the prayer that the spirit's wrath be full lest the person die. The spirit expresses his love to the family. Then the family says, "Please love the light." This is the family's answer, that the spirit love the moon and not them because he is a big chief. This is an expression of humility to the spirit. "Throw behind you the evil ways of this family but continue to a village with many people and turn back evil days and travelling parties of spirits so that they may go to a village with many people. As for this village it is inhabited by weeds. It is abandoned and without people." This is the manner of avoiding the spirit: the village has been abandoned and there are no people in it. Then the spirit says, "That is enough. Leave it to me to turn back those who travel by sea and the mountain ridge but you remain. There is nothing wrong with you." Then the spirit bids farewell as he is about to leave. Then the family hears the spirit's words by which he will depart, "Tutuila, Tutuila; Futiga, Futiga. I will strike this way to find what happens next." Then the spirit leaves and abandons the person through whom he spoke" (GBP, p. 447-9).

"Tauinatama fa'apoi is really an expression formed of four words: "tau", "ina", "ta", "ma", "fa'apoi", meaning just (tau) to strike (ina ta) and (ma) threaten (fa'apoi). It may be compared to an expression such as "just injure but don't kill".

It was a common belief among the pagan Samoans that the cause of illness and of death was to be attributed to the action of some spirit (aitu) usually as punishment for something done or omitted which caused that spirit's displeasure. For this reason, spirit mediums (va'a aitu and taula aitu) were often consulted to determine the reason for the aitu's displeasure so that proper amends could be made. Thus, according to Pritchard, "All diseases were held to be the visitations of the displeasure of some god, and when any one became ill, the first thing done was to consult the village priest, and through him to propitiate the offended deity" (1866:146-7). Turner observed that "As the Samoans supposed disease to be occasioned by the wrath of some particular deity, their principal desire... was not for medicine, but to ascertain the cause of the calamity" through the village high priest and to have it removed (1884:140).

Appeasement of the aitu usually took the form of an offering to the aitu, such as a canoe or a piece of land and if the aitu did not require anything, the families of the sick man, said Pritchard and Turner, would be required to confess their sins
(usually a violation of some tapu). It was a system, Pritchard makes clear, in which there was much exploitation of religious devotees by the priests because it was the priests only who profited from the offerings (1866:146-7).

In the prayer mentioned, it is possible for us to reconstruct the scenario. The family members are gathered in the privacy of their home to converse with their aitu to determine the cause of the illness. The matai, or family head, assumes the role of spirit medium, that is to say, he prepares himself to be possessed by the aitu who will speak through him. The family members address their prayers and entreaties to the spirit-possessed matai and the latter will reply not as himself but as the aitu speaking through him. Hence, the reference to the aitu speaking in Penisimani's narrative. One sees in the prayer an example of the use of words to influence the aitu to take a certain course of action namely, to divert his anger from the family. One notes the attempt by the family to depreciate their value and to enhance that of the aitu, and the flattering words addressed to the aitu. This is almost the exact model of behaviour which governs the relationships between people of superior and inferior status. As the village people (tagata nu'u) show deference to their chiefs (matai), so do religious devotees show respect to their aitu. And just as tagata nu'u attempt to please and flatter their matai so do likewise the religious devotees to their gods. This reinforces observations made by Handy, Williamson and others about Polynesian conceptions concerning the unitary nature of the cosmos and of the absence of a clear-cut line of demarcation between the physical and spiritual worlds. The spiritual world, as the pagan Samoans saw it, was but a continuation of the physical world and the spirits who lived there were like humans in many ways.

It is interesting to note that Penisimani here gives the Christian God the same powers previously attributed to the aitu, those of causing illness and of effecting a cure.

W2: Fa'aoso'ai (Encouraging Extra Food)

"This word refers to the handsome son of a chief, or the beautiful virgin daughter of a chief. If he/she goes in a travelling party and sleeps in a village, there

3For an early account of spirit possession in Samoa, see Williams, 1984:266, also Stair, 1897:223.
would be an increase in the abundance of food. The village is happy because it is the Samoan custom that the hosts want to vie in dancing skills with the travelling party that performs good dances and with their handsome manala [chief's son] or beautiful tauou [chief's daughter] who dances well. This is the reason why food to the travelling party is increased because there is something to encourage extra food... This word of encouraging food is appropriate to Jesus because his coming to this land of the world has encouraged the provision of a plentiful supply of good food. It has given rise to spiritual things and especially to physical ones. Success has been achieved because of Jesus" (GBP, p. 382).

This word is a compound of two words, "fa'aoso" meaning to increase and "ai", an abbreviated form of "mea 'ai" meaning food. "Ai" by itself can also mean points, as in a game, for instance, but in the context of Penisimani’s remarks, it probably refers to food.

The word is associated with the custom of travelling parties (malaga) to which I have already referred in Chapter 2. As an ancient institution, the malaga was closely tied to Samoan economic organisation. The two main purposes for undertaking malaga were first, to offset any hardships connected with a scarcity of food in a locality (usually village level) and second, as a mode of trade. Thus in times of food scarcity, as “when new food plantings had not yet matured, a village would go on a malaga to other villages which were better off and be the guests of those villages. These malaga could last several months. Later this village would act as host for the other villages. The hosts of such malaga generally incurred great expenses, especially in food, to cater for visitors but since the hosting arrangement was reciprocal it was expected that any outstanding debts would be balanced out in the end. Where trade was the main motive, the malaga party would offer food, canoes and other material goods (known collectively as oloa) in return for traditional cloth and fine mats (known as toga) (Cf. Williams, 1984:251).

Penisimani makes many references to the malaga institution which in some respects is comparable to the kula institution in Melanesia. I will comment here only on a few of them. One of the basic ingredients of a successful malaga was the need by the malaga to provide high quality entertainment for the host village. This in part arises from the traditional Samoan love of entertainment per se and in part from the

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This includes such favourite pastimes as singing and dancing but also numerous sports including club-fights.
Samoan spirit of competitiveness, the desire to outdo others. In the malaga institution, for instance, the parties compete to outdo each other in both the elaborateness and the expense of hospitality and also in singing and dancing contests at night (Cf. Williams, 1984:252). In the above passage, Penisimani makes this clear but just why the "handsome son of a chief, or the beautiful virgin" should encourage the host village to increase both the quality and quantity of food will become obvious as I proceed.

The son of the leading chief of a village is called the manaia and in both theory and practice is the head of the aumaga, the group of untitled young men whose specialty is to serve the village chiefs in warfare or in village labour. The daughter of the same is called the taupou and is the leader of the village's young and unmarried women called collectively the aualuma. Like their male counterparts, the aualuma also serve the chiefs in various tasks traditionally allocated to them. Both the manaia and the taupou occupy a very high status in Samoan society, their rank being comparable to the chiefs and, in fact, are addressed as afioga, the same way as chiefs. The presence of such personages in a malaga, therefore, add considerably to the prestige of the malaga in the eyes of the hosts and if the manaia and taupou were both handsome and beautiful (by Samoan standards) and also danced well the host village would be motivated to provide the best of everything, including food, for the malaga. Hence, the word "fa'aosofatal" (encouraging extra food).

The desire to please, on the part of the hosts, was also probably related to another significant sociological factor namely, the possibility of forming marital alliances, especially involving the manaia and the taupou, as a result of such contact. Such marriages would involve the visitors and hosts in permanent ties of kinship with far more consequential results than the ephemeral gains of entertainment or trade. But pity the malaga which had no handsome manaia or beautiful taupou and did not know how to perform dances. Such a malaga, said Penisimani, encouraged people to sit down (fa'aosofatal) and disinclined them to get food for the malaga (GBP, p. 382). Pity also the malaga that was despised, probably because it had not fulfilled previous obligations as hosts or had done so negatively. Such a malaga would be formally welcomed and dismissed the same day. The metaphor which describes this is "talii le talii" meaning, received at sea. The malaga is compared to a boat crew which is re-supplied at sea and sent off again without landing (GBP, p. 461).
W3: Fetuia'i (Spiteful Criticism)

"This word causes evil. Spiteful criticism by this person and that person causes evil to Pai and Lafa. This is how the spiteful criticism by one against another was done: "Oh spirit, I am fed up with strong and large families. Oh, I am fed up with stolen property, with cruel things, with arrogant things. Oh spirit, I am tired of stinginess and frequent scolding. Fortunate are those with many fine mats, plenty of food, much property and with many good things to eat. Oh, fortunate are those who are many and continue to increase while this family has no members. Fortunate are those who are rich. Oh Spirit, I am fed up with strong families. Often have they taken freely of the breadfruit and coconuts from the lands of families of women. They indeed see there are no people in this family yet it is being crushed underfoot because it has no members, all being dead. Oh spirit, I want to live." Perhaps the spirit has shown favour to this family and that evil will befall the cruel family as a result of such spiteful criticism by pagan and troublesome people. Such spiteful criticism was destructive in the old days of paganism because it caused many deaths and much evil to villages and families. Such spiteful criticism is a big sin because it is a form of cursing and extortion. It is good to love one another because this is the law written by Moses, "To love your neighbour as yourself". Stop the spiteful criticism because this is envy and jealousy towards one who has obtained his riches from God, whether goods or fine mats or whose work has been blessed by God" (GBP, p. 72).

"Tui" means to pierce as in to pierce with a knife. "Fetuia'i" refers to action that is mutual: A does it to B, B does it to A. The word, as a metaphor, can also be applied to words or criticism. Thus A criticises B, B criticises A. "Tui" is frequently used by Samoans in connection with criticism that is particularly stinging, spiteful or dangerous. Just as a dagger causes pain when it pierces the body, so do words and criticism cause pain to others. Thus in reply to camouflaged criticism, the Samoans would say, "ua e tula a'u" ("you have pierced me"). "Tui" is also used with respect to criticism that is not so subtle or veiled.

In the context of the prayer made to the spirit, however, "fetuia'i" means more than just ordinary criticism. As Penisimani makes clear, "it is a form of cursing and extortion". The object of the criticism is the destruction of others and in fact, the criticism is an invocation to the aitu to bring down evil on others of whom one is jealous or fears. That it was a widespread custom in pagan Samoa Penisimani has made clear and, he said, "caused many deaths and much evil to villages and families in the
old days". Whether such mutual cursing actually did cause such evil is beside the point. That it was believed to be so is highly relevant and the destruction of individuals, families and villages was connected by pagan Samoans with the effects of such imprecating.

W4: Pomalae (Darkness in the Land)

"This word refers to the sport of club fighting using the stem of the coconut leaf. This sport is called aigofie and was one of the leading pastimes of Samoa. Two competitors engage each other with coconut stems but before doing so they speak to each other and then they start fighting. The sport also sometimes causes death and this is why before the engagement each tells the other his genealogy. The speeches are studiously attended to. Gentle and good are the words they use. For example, one says, "Speak to me, good sir, on this occasion of our meeting. It was the desire that brought me to your village because you are familiar with your sport. May your village be blessed as a result. You are talented in your sport and it is my wish to aspire to the talent of your village which was first in this sport. When I leave, leave me alone. When you leave, I leave you alone also." His speech is finished. The other now replies as follows: "Thank you very much. Let us do as you say. When I leave, you leave me alone. When you leave, I will leave you alone." Behold, all these words are forgotten once they begin to strike each other. They will battle to find the stronger. Their words are no longer followed. When one falls he continues to be beaten because the land is dark. Even if one is standing and not fallen, the land is still dark because images come in two's and the other is no longer recognised. Thus the origin of the prominent expression, pomalae. Applications of the word. Where is the land in question? It is this life. Let us look carefully, lest one of us goes astray, because we have finished the speeches of the club fight; we have expressed the desires of our hearts before God in this life; we have sworn that we will obey Jesus the Saviour. Because we are in the darkness of the land. The light is coming; let none revoke his oath" (GBP, p. 68).

"Pomalae" is composed of two words, "po" meaning night or darkness and "malae" meaning village green, field or land where meetings and sporting competitions are held. "Po" is also used by Samoans as a metaphor for ignorance, evil or suffering. Thus the pagan period of Samoan history (generally before 1830) was later referred to by the missionaries and their Christian converts as the days of pouliuli, or the days of
darkness when Samoans were ignorant of the gospel. "Po" was also used to refer to a time of suffering experienced by Samoans under the yoke of powerful and generally "cruel" leaders. In this narrative, "pomalae" refers to pain and suffering experienced by the practitioners of the Samoan martial art of club fighting called aigofie.

The aigofie was one of the most popular sports in Samoa. For clubs, the two combatants used the stems (lapalapa) of the coconut leaf which were not hard enough like real wooden clubs to cause death. The aim of the sport was to beat one's opponent so as to cause him to fall to the ground and the one who remained standing was declared the winner. But sometimes combatants forgot themselves and continued to beat their fallen opponents until they died. In such an event the supporters of the fallen man would often react violently against those of the other man. Williams said Samoan sports such as throwing and fending off a spear, club fighting and shooting with bow and arrow were attended "by numerous spectators of both sexes & [sic] all ages" and generally took place between people of opposite parties, "the people of the malagna [sic] or company of visitors forming one & the people of the settlement the other party" and that victory was generally met "with shouting & exultation" (1984:249). With the introduction of firearms on a large scale into Samoan warfare in the 1840's and 1850's, the aigofie gradually declined in popularity as victory in warfare was no longer determined by club power but by accurate shooting.

W5: 'Ai o le Ma'osi'osi (Gains of Injury)

"A word about the gains of injury. This is its meaning. If we fought with another village and drove away its people, then a high chief would go to live in that village and to eat for himself only all the food of that village. Then we would be hurt in that he had eaten by himself the gains of injury, because all had worked hard and suffered in the war. Yet he would prohibit to others everything belonging to the defeated village. Because all had suffered greatly through wounds from spears, clubs, houses destroyed, hunger, thirst, lack of sleep, the cold and rain. Behold all the village people, the chiefs and government have been 'scratched' in the war but now the high chief would eat by himself the gains of injury. Applications of the word. Who are we fighting with now? The devil, the world, evil customs and evil hearts. And what are the gains of injury? All the food of the world, of the land and sea. All he [devil] does is to eat and sit up straight. His body is not scratched by the spiritual war, yet will he prohibit to others the gains of the injury of Jesus, the apostles, the prophets, the pastors and the whole church in the world" (GBP, p. 153-4).
"Ai" means to eat or points (as in a game); "o le" is the definite article; "ma'osityosi" means scratched (as with thorns). It is an expression used in connection with warfare; one might call it a metaphorical expression to refer to a specific practice such as that mentioned in Penisimani's narrative. It is capable of several meanings but the one I have opted for here is the gains (points) of injury. The expression refers to the spoils of war which are monopolised by one man and not shared evenly. During times of war, everybody suffers privations, loss, injury and even death. When the other party is defeated (tuitia), the victors take over their lands, plantations, houses and other property as the spoils of war (gains of injury). But if one chief is strong enough to claim all the spoils and excludes others from a share in them, he is said to have "ai le afu o isi" (eaten the sweat of others).

Wars were frequent in Samoa both before the arrival of the European missionaries in 1830 and for many years afterwards. As Murray says, "wars, on a greater or smaller scale, were of frequent occurrence, and sometimes they were attended with deeds of revolting cruelty" (1876:40-41). Williams also refers to the cruelty of Samoan wars in this manner: "Many of the captives men women & (sic) children they burn alive. This was the case in the last war. Some they cut open & tore their hearts out" (1984:244). The winners of these wars formed the government called the malo (the strong) while the losers had to submit to superior might and were called the vaivai (the weak) (Cf. Williams, 1984:239). The malo maintained its hegemony by demanding exorbitant tribute from the vaivai party while the latter did its best to conspire to topple the malo in a new war. If the malo was defeated, the roles were reversed. Normally, at the conclusion of such wars, the victorious party occupied the lands of the defeated and returned them only after the latter had made a formal apology (ifoga) and agreed to the amount of tribute to be paid regularly to the victors. The heaviness of the burden carried by the vaivai was often, as D. Freeman has observed, calculated to weaken the vaivai party and minimise the possibility of their rebelling. But often again, it only served to further the chances of such rebelling as the vaivai party sought to escape from their dilemma. This is aptly illustrated in the Samoan wars of the 1840's and 1850's the details of which I shall not enter into here. Penisimani's narrative is an account of one such war and of the selfish practice of a powerful chief.

^Reference to the Faitasiga War of 1830-1 when the rest of Samoa fought against A'ana District to avenge the assassination of Tamafaiga mentioned in Chapter 3.
"The Tulaga. One of its meanings is the Ilamutu, another the Tamasa. But it is the Tulaga that is here mentioned. It is exceedingly sacred. Behold, if the Tulaga takes food he/she does so alone. Only when the Tulaga finishes will the others, men and women, have their food with their backs turned towards the Tulaga. It is prohibited for anyone to eat while facing the Tulaga. Very many things are done to the Tulaga by those whose Tulaga it is whether it be a village or a group of brother-chiefs because the Tulaga is theirs in common. It is very good to adopt Jesus as our only Tulaga as this is appropriate. Let us salute him the Tulaga of above and below, the Tulaga of the spirits (aitu) and humans, the sole Tulaga of this world. Let us give Him praise for this is due to Him for He is the Tulaga of the world, thousandth heaven and the countless heavens beyond. This is their sacred Tulaga, solemn, full of majesty, sanctity, honour, power, renown in this world and extensive influence because He owns above and below, west and east, the sea and the land. Behold then the sole Tulaga of everything and who has power and influence over everything" (GBP, p. 101-2).

"Tulaga", as Penisimani says, means the same thing as Ilamutu and tamasa. They all mean, in the popular anthropological terminology, sister's child. They are all respectful terms for the tama fafine mentioned in Chapter 2. The tama tane (bilateral descendants from a male ancestor) and tama fafine (bilateral descendants from a female ancestor) relationship forms one of the basic principles in Samoan kinship organisation affecting certain rights and obligations. It represents a dual form of organisation to designate two distinct systems of descent which are not purely agnostic or uterine but nevertheless emphasise descent along sex lines. The tama tane are generally heirs to family titles and lands while the tama fafine generally have priority in rituals and exercise the power of veto in family councils. If the tama fafine claims to political power are weakened partly as a result of patrivirilocal residence, the tama fafine at the same time gain in other ways such as the material support given them by the tama tane and other forms of respect such as those mentioned in Penisimani's narrative. As an important aspect of Samoan social organisation, the tama fafine/tama tane relationship is analysed in greater detail by Mead (1930), Gilson (1970), Freeman (1948), Schoeffel (1979), Shore (1982) and others.

The custom of joking relationships (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952) between nephew and uncle was not unknown in Samoa but proper decorum was always strictly observed
where a *tama tane* and *tama fa fìne* of different sexes were involved, such behaviour being modelled after that considered proper between brother and sister. *Tama tane* and *tama fa fìne* are, after all, descendants of a brother and sister. But one other peculiarity distinguishes the *tama fa fìne* in Samoa and that is the great respect shown to them. This respect is especially evident in *tama tane/tama fa fìne* relationships involving major lineages in Samoa. Thus, as the narrative says, a village or a group of brother-chiefs may have a common *tulaga*, that is another group which they regard as their *tama fa fìne* and known to them under a specific title held by a specific person at a specific time and place. For example, the important political district of Sa Tunumafono in south Upolu has as its *tulaga* the holders of the Toleafoa title. The relationship between Sa Tunumafono and Sa Toleafoa constitutes not only mutual rights and obligations pertaining to *tama tane/tama fa fìne* relationships but also a political alliance of a major sort. The *tulaga* is indeed a position of great respect and status in traditional Samoan society.

6.2. Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed a limited selection of Penisimani’s *upu* (words). I have referred to the pagan beliefs of the Samoans concerning the magical effect of words, such as those used in prayer, examples of which are given here in W1 and W3. In W2, I have referred to the custom of the *malaga* which was very important in traditional Samoan society. The sport of *aigofie* (W4) is no longer practised but is now replaced by boxing as a major spectator sport among the Samoans. However, Samoans do not spend as much time on boxing as they used to in organising and watching club fights. The old war practices of the Samoans (W5) associated with victors and losers came to an end with the partition of the Samoan islands in 1899 and the development of modern forms of government. The *feagaiga* institution (W6) continues to be practised today between *tama tane* and *tama fa fìne*, orator and chief (*tulafale and ali'i*) and pastor and congregation. In fact, as far as religion is concerned, it has become the cornerstone of religious/secular relationships in Samoa today, unwritten but extremely effective.
Chapter 7

Myth, Parable and Signification

In the last three chapters I have attempted to interpret the meaning of the traditional narratives which form part of Penisimani's parables. In this chapter I show how this meaning is obviated by Penisimani's use of metaphor. This obviation in turn is calculated, as it were, to foreground another new meaning, the Christian message, which may be said to be the primary reference of the text considered as a totality. This primary reference is the one towards which the parts of the parables contribute. In order to bring out the total meaning of the text, I use a semiotic form of analysis based on Barthes's study of myth (1973). In this analysis, I demonstrate how the trope (single word) changes meaning from a literal to a figurative one with important consequences on the total meaning of the text. In particular I show how the transformation leads to the creation of ideology which here does not mean "false consciousness" but a particular way of thinking, a self-image. The conclusions are the natural outcome of the analysis which takes as its basic premise the belief in the objectivity of the meaning of the text "as distinct from the subjective intention of the author. This objective meaning is not something hidden behind the text. Rather it is a requirement addressed to the reader" (Ricoeur, 1977: 319, emphasis mine). Another way of putting this is that the kind of analysis I adopt here corresponds to that process of erklären which I mentioned in Chapter 1. The model for erklären is structural analysis and is intended to lead us from a surface-semantics to a depth-semantics, from analysis or explanation to the meaning of the text and to the world that it discloses. The defining characteristic of structural analysis is the forcefulness with which it points to the way we should regard a text. This chapter, therefore, is intended to reveal the truly hermeneutic character of Penisimani's texts, considered as a whole, as carriers of ideology, as presenting a particular world view.
7.1. The Components of the Parable

Generally speaking, Penisimani's narratives in chapters 4, 5 and 6 may all properly be considered as parables insofar as they are narratives which are meant to convey a second and more important meaning. This function is similar to that of allegory which, in the words of Fletcher referred to in Chapter 1, "says one thing and means another" (1964: 2-3). Most of Penisimani's narratives are characterised by the use of the copula "is" which serves as the point where meaning is transformed. For instance, "Malaesala is God", "Le Fe'e is the Devil", and so on. But there are several stories which do not quite fit the pattern, for instance, T6 (The Coconut Tree of Leosia), P2 (The Hunting Brothers), W1 (Just to Strike and Threaten), W2 (Encouraging Extra Food) and W3 (Spiteful Criticism). The use of the copula is not prominent in these narratives. Cultural and religious symbols are merely compared and not fused (and therefore distorted) by metaphor. For instance in W1, the aitu is said to cause disease because of the infringement of some obligation towards "him". By analogy God is also said to cause illness for the violation of his laws. Here the action of the aitu and of God are merely compared. If the similarity of this action is to be treated metaphorically, then perhaps Penisimani might say something like "the aitu is God". However, despite this idiosyncracy, these narratives may properly be classified as parables because their primary function is to serve as vehicles for the Christian message that Penisimani wishes to convey. With that reservation, I now apply myself to an analysis of Penisimani's parables, those in which the use of the copula is prominent. Before doing that I wish to clarify certain terms I am using. By cultural element I mean the traditional tale (tala, fa'ata'oto, upu) which Penisimani uses to illustrate his Christian message; by Christian message I mean the basic Christian teachings which are the real purpose of the parables. The cultural component and the Christian message in turn form the parable proper. This three-sided relationship may be expressed in the form of a triangle:

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PARABLE
     /
    /
   /
CULTURAL ELEMENT CHRISTIAN MESSAGE
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1By "narrative" I here mean both the traditional tale and Christian message considered as a single text.
7.1.1. The Cultural Element

I shall now summarise under the general headings of traditions and beliefs, social practices and moral lessons information of a cultural order that Penisimani has given us in his parables. This information in turn is essentially of an ethnographic nature which must be interpreted in conjunction with my synopsis of Samoan traditional social organisation in chapter 2.

Traditions and Beliefs

* Samoan conceptions of ideal marriage - T2.
* High status given to virginity - T2.
* Creative power of the sun and fertilising power of the earth - T3.
* Pre-eminence of Tagaloa-lagi, the Samoan high god - T4.
* Belief in spirits - T5.
* Belief in an afterlife - T6.
* Important role of spirits in warfare - T7.
* Mythic beliefs about winds - P1.
* Traditions about Tui A'ana Leuotele - P4.
* Beliefs about the Fe'e - P6.
* Historical contacts between Fiji and Samoa - P6.
* Beliefs about illness - W1.

Social Practices

* Great power exercised by chiefs - T1.
* System of food taboos - T1.
* Banishment as punishment - T1.
* Abduction of brides - T2.
* Existence of polygamy - T3.
* Seeking alliances in wartime - T7.
* Giving first fruits to spirits - P2.
* Embalment of the dead - P5.
* Prayer to cure an illness - W1.
* Use of spirit mediums - W1.
* Role of *manala* and *taupou* - W2.
* Travelling parties (*malaga*) - W2.
* Black magic - W3.
* Club fighting - W4.
* Customs relating to the spoils of war - W5.
* Ritual behaviour towards the sister's child - W6.

**Moral Lessons**

* Rashness brings about misfortune - P1 (the death of the two brothers who sought the *Maileula* wind).
* Be respectful and honest towards the powers that be - P2 (or else one suffers their retribution).
* Don't be gullible like the rat - P3.
* Don't be arrogant like the cuttle-fish - P6.

### 7.1.2. The Christian Message

By "Christian message", I mean the basic Christian teachings conveyed in Penisimani's parables. In practice, to dissociate these teachings from their context within the parables is difficult without a prior understanding of Protestant Christian theology and because these teachings are usually given in conjunction with cultural symbols. But I have made the attempt and the result can be briefly stated as follows:

**Christian Teachings**

* Don't break God's laws - T1.
* Avoid the traps of the Devil - T2.
* Don't fall from God's grace - T3.
* Do not abandon faith in Jesus - T4.
* Christianity brings peace and light to the world - T5.
* Seek spiritual redemption through Jesus - T6.
* Jesus overcomes the Devil's tricks - T7.
* Avoid arrogance - P1.
* Fulfil our obligations to the church - P2.
* Evil will be punished - P3.
* Life everlasting comes only through Jesus - P4.
* Be true to Christian teachings - P5.
* God will reward his people and punish those of the Devil - P6.
* God cures - W1.
* Jesus' coming has profited the world both spiritually and materially - W2.
* Avoid envy and jealousy - W3.
* Be loyal to Jesus - W4.
* The Devil is a cheat - W5.
* Honour Jesus for he is our sister's child (tulaga) - W6.

The third component of the parable is the parable itself and is constituted by the combining of the cultural and religious elements (or meanings). This results in the formulation of myth - the ideology or world-view of the author.

Now these three levels of meaning (as I call them) do not function on the same plane of reality because, as I shall shortly demonstrate, the signs of the cultural component of the parables serve as the signifiers (or forms) for the concepts provided by the Christian religious component. They are capable of functioning independently but in this case, there would be no interaction between them and, therefore, there would be no parables to refer to. But it is precisely because Penisimani's texts constitute parables that these three components should be regarded as interacting. This interconnectedness in turn constitutes the characteristic structure of the parabolic text. Seen in this light, therefore, it is evident that there is an implicit hierarchy operating
in the text: the cultural element is subordinated to the Christian religious element and both to ideology. Judged from this perspective, the Christian message may be said to be the real purpose of the parables. One can say that it is not really a record of Samoan traditional culture that Penisimani intends but rather the exposition of Christian belief and practice. The realization of this goal is also an affirmation of Penisimani's ideology: the primacy of Christian philosophy.

But the result is not as clear-cut as that because, on the one hand, the superior claims of a dominant Christianity are expressed only through the medium of semantic logic and, in fact, depend on it. The constrasting views are rendered possible only through the existence of cultural meanings which, if they were to be dispensed with, would necessarily result in the obviation of the Christian message. The three components, therefore, albeit operating at different levels, are "necessary" to each other. Cultural and Christian religious practice, on the other hand, are separate realities. The degree to which these are faithfully reflected by ideology cannot depend on wishful thinking but rather on the result of empirical investigation. Ideology may affect practice, as Max Weber suggests in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and practice may affect ideology, as the Marxists will have it, but the connection is not an automatic one. I shall not enter here into a more detailed discussion of this highly complex subject. My object is the simple one of demonstrating that a fundamental aspect of Penisimani's parables is their ideological meaning, ideology being understood as a perspective, a self-image, a world-view. I shall now attempt to demonstrate the relationship between the three components of the parable using a semiotic form of analysis.

7.2. Semiotics

Semiotics, the science or the study of signs, has only been recently developed on both sides of the Atlantic. Key figures in the development of this science include the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure in Europe and C.S. Peirce in America. It is closely related to structuralism. As Hawkes puts it, the science of signs "has become one of the most fruitful concepts deriving from the general structuralist enterprise of the last two decades, and not easily distinguishable from it" and again "its boundaries... are coterminous with those of structuralism: the interests of the two spheres are not

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2 Others include Roman Jakobson, Umberto Eco and Roland Barthes.
fundamentally separate and, in the long run, both ought properly to be included within the province of a third, embracing discipline called simply, *communication*” (1977:124).

Signs relate to the way by which communication is carried on in the world. Language, of course, is the dominant means of communication but communication can also take place by means other than linguistic. Gestures, posture, clothing, hairstyles, perfumes, accents and so on provide messages of their own. As Hawkes says,

And even when we are not speaking or being spoken to, messages from other 'languages' crowd in upon us: horns hoot, lights flash, laws restrain, hoardings proclaim, smells attract or repel, tastes delight or disgust, even the 'feel' of objects systematically communicates something meaningful to us

(Hawkes, 1977:125).

What this signifies is that the world is full of signs which are vehicles of meaning to people. Signs convey messages. What then is a sign?

A sign, according to Jakobson, has two aspects: "an immediately perceptible *signans* and an inferable, apprehensible *signatum*" which both function "as aspects of the 'indissoluble unity' of the sign..." (Hawkes, 1977:126). According to Peirce, "A sign or *representamen* is 'something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity'". Signification takes place when there is a representamen (sign), object (meaning of sign), interpretant (interpreter of the meaning of the sign) and ground (the basis on which the sign provides meaning to its interpreter). The relationship between these "determines the precise nature of the process of *semiosis*" (Ibid, p. 127). According to Saussure, a sign comprises a *signifier* (signans) and *signified* (signatum). The *signifier* is that which conveys meaning and the *signified* is the meaning itself. The two combined form the sign.

Saussure’s system of signs was used primarily to analyse language but it has general validity, as he intended⁴, for other kinds of analyses as well. The relationship between *signifier* and *signified*, says Saussure, is an arbitrary one. That it to say, there is no necessary connection between the *signifier* and *signified*. The connection is a human convention. Anything can be made into or become a sign of something else

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³Peirce also uses these two terms.
⁴See Hawkes, 1977:123.
and this applies to words as well as to other things including both concrete and abstract ideas.

It is important to note here the fact that as far as sign systems go, signifier and signified are not two separate things but rather two aspects of the one reality, the sign. Thus Jakobson refers to the 'indissoluble unity' of the sign; Peirce to the relationship between representamen, object, interpretant and ground as determining 'the precise nature of the process of semiosis'; and Saussure to the structural relationship of signifier and signified as constituting a sign (Hawkes, 1977:25). Barthes, who advanced many of Saussure's ideas, said the relationship between signifier and signified was not one of sequential ordering whereby one term led to the other but the correlation which united them. The sign was but the 'associative total' of the signifier and signified (Ibid, p. 130-1). It follows that any object which does not convey meaning, generally speaking, is empty, dead as far as meaning is concerned. And a sign from which either the signifier or signified is absent is not a sign, according to the above definition.

7.3. A Semiotic Analysis of Penisimani's Parables

If the cultural and religious components of Penisimani's parables are to be regarded separately and as having no relationship to each other then the interpretation and analysis of the signs in them would be a fairly straightforward matter of identifying the signifiers and their signifieds. To a great extent this process has been aided by the commentaries given after each parable particularly with reference to the cultural content. At this level of explanation, one is dealing essentially with linguistic signs and their primary meanings. For instance, in The Village of Leape, "Malaesala" refers to a Samoan chief. This can be expressed as a semiotic system thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Malaesala (signifier)</th>
<th>(2) Name of a Chief (signified)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3) Malaesala as Chief (linguistic sign)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Christian beliefs can also be expressed in the same manner. Thus: Jesus = signifier, Son of God = signified, Jesus as Son of God = linguistic sign. It is important to note here that the signifiers and signifieds cannot be isolated from each other without losing their significance as signs. The signs above fully expressed mean Malaesala-chief and Jesus-Son of God.
As for the third component of the parable, the parable itself, we enter a different dimension. We are no longer dealing with just primary and denotative meanings alone but also with secondary and connotative ones. This is due to the fact that the parable is dependent for its meaning on a prior semiotic chain provided by cultural signs. In that respect, its structure is homologous with that of myth as defined by Barthes (1973).

Myth, according to Barthes, is a type of speech, a system of communication, a message which is characterised not so much by its content but by its mode of signification (the way that it acquires meaning) (Barthes, 1973:109). Typically, myth transmits a society's self-image or its ideology but it does this in a certain unmistakable way (to the analyst at any rate) but which is at the same time scientific for myth belongs to "the province of general science, co-extensive with linguistics, which is semiology" (Ibid, p. 111). Myth is thus "a part both of semiology inasmuch as it is a formal science, and of ideology inasmuch as it is an historical science: it studies ideas-in-form" (Ibid, p. 112).

According to Barthes, myth is peculiar in that its structure is linked to that of a prior semiotic chain and constitutes a second-order semiotic system. The linkage is accomplished by the fact that the sign of the first semiotic chain (what Barthes calls the global sign) becomes "the first term of the greater system which it builds and of which it is only a part. Everything happens as if myth shifted the formal system of the first significations sideways" (Ibid, p. 114-5). To distinguish between the two chains, the signifier of the myth is called the form, the signified is called the concept and the sign is called the signification (Ibid, p. 117). The first chain is the linguistic system, also called the language-object, the second is the myth itself, also called the metalanguage (Ibid, p. 115).

If we apply Barthes's structural model of myth to Penisimani's parables we would get this:

5In Barthes's view, anything can function as a myth.
6"Semiology" is the European equivalent of the American term "semiotics".
7The language from which myth borrows.
8A second language used to talk about the first.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malaesala (signifier)</th>
<th>Chief (signified)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malaesala as Chief (sign)</td>
<td>God (concept)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The parable manifests in the second semiotic chain in the same way as myth and, indeed, is a kind of myth as I shall presently demonstrate.

The nature of myth, following Barthes, lies not in any supposed falsity of the ideas (content) of myth (for example, not that Malaesala and God are false concepts) but rather in the distortion of its elements, more specifically, the distortion of the meaning of the signifier (form) of the myth. As meaning the mythic signifier is full; it is already a constituted sign of the first semiotic chain; it is "already complete, it postulates a kind of knowledge, a past, a memory, a comparative order of facts, ideas, decisions" (Barthes, 1973: 117-8). As form it is empty for it is the defining characteristic of the signifier to be empty of meaning when it is devoided of a signified and so it is necessary for the meaning of the previous sign to be divested. The meaning "leaves its contingency behind; it empties itself, it becomes impoverished, history evaporates, only the letter remains. There is here a paradoxical permutation in the reading operations, an abnormal regression from meaning to form, from the linguistic sign to the mythical signifier" (Ibid, p. 117-8). The distortion, therefore, occurs when the meaning of the sign of the first semiotic chain is removed in order to pave the way for the empty signifier of the myth. As Barthes describes it, the meaning is prostituted for the sake of the myth (ideology).

Applied to T1, Malaesala in the parable, as mythic signifier, is no longer the historical personage of the chief with high status and power who banished his people for eating the prohibited fish. These facts about his life, his history, are taken from him as a sign in the first semiotic chain. As form, he is just a "letter", a frozen image to which is attached the all-important concept of God. This process of distortion is repeated several times in each of Penisimani's parables which may then be properly understood as a mass distortion of cultural signs.

Barthes is careful to point out that the form "does not suppress the meaning, it only impoverishes it, it puts it at a distance, it holds it at one's disposal. One believes
that the meaning is going to die, but it is a death with reprieve; the meaning loses its value, but keeps its life, from which the form of the myth will draw its nourishment" (Barthes, 1973: 117-8). The mythic signifier, therefore, functions ambiguously between the two poles of meaning and form. As Barthes explains further,

The meaning will be for the form like an instantaneous reserve of history, a tamed richness, which it is possible to call and dismiss in a sort of rapid alternation: the form must constantly be able to be rooted again in the meaning to get there what nature it needs for its nutriment; above all, it must be able to hide there. It is this constant game of hide-and-seek between the meaning and the form which defines myth (Barthes, 1973:117-8).

When meaning is present, the form weakens in significance, when absent the form shines forth in all its glory. The form thus functions very much like a turnstile. When we attach meaning to Malaesala, we tend to lose sight of the myth. When we regard it as a mere form the meaning is absent, we see only the myth. I will say more about this alternating relationship later.

7.4. Myth As Ideology

Barthes distinguishes three ways of interpreting a myth.

1. By focussing on an empty signifier (form).
2. By focussing on the full signifier (meaning).
3. By focussing on both meaning and form.

The first provides symbols (for the concept), the second provides alibis or excuses (for the concept) and the third provides the realities of myth. Focussing on the first two types destroys the myth (because we are able to see through the deceptions of the myth); focussing of the third type "consumes the myth according to the very ends built into its structure: the reader lives the myth as a story at once true and unreal" (Barthes, 1973: 127-8). To relate myth to history (i.e. as an ideology of a particular period of history), according to Barthes, one must view myth from this last perspective. I shall now do this with regard to Penisimani's parables which, as I have demonstrated, are in their structure, ideology at the level of myth. But first I shall consider the nature of Penisimani's ideology.

Ideology, as I stated earlier, is a society's idealistic image of itself. It is the message of the myth, the myth being defined as the signification in a second order
112

semiotic chain. This ideology is not to be found in either the empty signifier of the
myth (form) or the full signifier (the meaning derived from the linguistic sign of the
first semiotic chain) but in both combined. It is, therefore, essential that when referring
to ideology, it is this combined meaning that is being referred to. What then is
Penisimani's ideology? The answer is, it is the meaning represented by the linguistic
sign of the first semiotic chain of explanation in his parables and the same sign
stripped of its history and made a frozen image (the form) of something else. It is
Samoan culture full and yet empty of meaning at the same time. It is full because it
is the basis of the myth, empty because it is drained by the concept, Christianity. And
it is drained precisely because of the destructive use of metaphor in allegory. "Pushed
to an extreme, this ironic usage would subvert language itself, turning everything into
an Orwellian newspeak" (Fletcher, 1964: 2-3). Weiner also refers to the "pathological"
effect of allegory or metaphor on language because it renders "permeable the ordinarily
opaque boundaries of convention and exposing them as subject to performative and
particularizing influences rather than immutable superorganic constraints" (1986: 25-6).

The expression "Samoan Christianity" describes Penisimani's ideology well because
it epitomises the signification of his myths: cultural + Christian meaning = Samoan
Christianity. Pushed to its logical conclusion, perhaps the presence of the word
"Samoan" may be a little superfluous for ultimately it is only Christianity that really
counts in the parables-as-myth. Nevertheless I use the above expression. In the table
below, I rearrange the semiotic chains by substituting other values for the terms that
had been used hitherto. In this new form, we perceive the formation of ideology as
follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malaesala Chief (signifier)</th>
<th>Cultural Meaning (sign) FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief (signified)</td>
<td>Christian Meaning CONCEPT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Samoan Christianity SIGNIFICATION

This structure proclaims Samoan Christianity as the ideology or the message of
Penisimani's parables. We thus have an ideology which can be related to the Christian
practice which developed in Samoa after 1830.
7.5. Christian Practice and Ideology

The LMS missionaries to Samoa had from the outset and as a matter of policy utilised the traditional infrastructure as the pattern for church development. This comes out very clearly in their deliberate design to earn the friendship and the protection of the chiefs, the extension of the traditional *feagaiga* relationship to the missionaries and native pastors and in the nature of church organisation.

The perfect example of nurturing close ties with Samoan chiefs is Williams’ cultivation of friendly relations with Malietoa Vainu’upo in 1830, an action of historical importance and which determined in an instant, as it were, the future felicitous course of the development of Christianity in Samoa.

The extension of the *feagaiga* relationship⁹ to the LMS missionaries and their native assistants was a very early development and ensured for the missionaries a stable place within the traditional social framework. The *feagaiga* status gave them a much needed identity, ensured for them the material support of their congregations and elevated their status in the eyes of Samoan society. For the extension of the *feagaiga* status to the LMS missionaries entailed the granting of those traditional rights and privileges of the *tama fa'afine* which both in theory and practice stood for honour and sacredness. And the granting of this status was formalised by a ritual. Thus, according to Inglis, the *feagaiga* "is instituted during the special service of induction and is sealed afterwards by the giving and receiving of a 'fine mat' by the chiefs of the congregation, and by feasting" (Inglis, p. 270).

Church organisation was also patterned on the traditional structure. Thus the church administration was divided into ecclesiastical districts (*matagaluega*) and sub-districts (*pulega*) which in turn were based on the geographical boundaries of the traditional political districts and sub-districts. Each district was served by a number of pastors in charge of a religious congregation at the village level and they in turn served under the general supervision of an Elder Pastor or *Faife'au Toaina* (Inglis, pp 250, 302f).

Evidence of traditional influence was also noticeable in the composition of the administrative bodies of the church such as the Annual General Conference and church

⁹See chapters 2 and 6.
committees. The position of the chairman of the Annual Church Conference was, as a rule, given to a high chief. Past chairmen, for instance, in more recent years, have included two former prime ministers of Western Samoa and senior chiefs, Mataafa Fiam and Tofilau Eti, and Fuimaono Asuemu of American Samoa. The Committee of Church Elders was (and still is) the most powerful and influential committee in the church. It was the most conservative element in the church for its basic policy was that "church polity was to be based only on Samoan culture" (Inglis, p. 241). The composition of the other church committees was also influenced strongly by the realities of traditional political organisation with chiefs occupying the key positions. Most of the church deacons, moreover, were titleholders. As Inglis makes clear, the effect of this traditional influence on the church has had a negative effect on the need for change within the church because the decision-making process of the church was to a considerable extent affected by the values and opinions of the elders and chiefs (Ibid, pp 241, 247).

Another possible traditional influence on the church was the holding of the annual church conference in May, the month traditionally set aside for the old pagan worship of the Samoan deities, especially those of Atua and A'ana districts. For example, the annual feast to Le Fe'e (cuttle-fish), the war god of A'ana district, was held annually in May, and also at Leulumoega, the venue of the Annual Church Conference. Inglis says,

Although the month of May was chosen, possibly for climatic and educational as well as other reasons, there may have been a subconscious alliance between feasts held for the war gods and for the fonotele (annual meetings of the church)

(Inglis, p. 81).

Other traditional influences were also to be seen in the social roles of the pastors and chiefs. For example, the role previously exercised by the pagan priest (taulaitu) was taken over by the church pastor and with that role also went the immense power formerly wielded by the pagan priests. The chiefs (matal), formerly family priests, continued to play that role but this time in the name of Christianity. They led the family prayers in the evenings as of old but these prayers were no longer addressed to the aitu. Instead they were addressed to the Christian God.

It can thus be seen that in fact Samoan tradition had a big impact on Christian practice just as Christianity had a similar impact on Samoan culture. One may thus
speak of a syncretistic form of Samoan Christianity which emerged after 1830. Christianity provided a new religious philosophy (this was, after all, the primary purpose of the LMS missionaries) but Samoan culture supplied the infrastructural framework of traditional organisation, statuses and roles.

How does Penisimani's ideology, which I have decided to call Samoan Christianity, relate to the historical practice of the LMS church in Samoa such as I have outlined? As Barthes will have it, to relate a particular ideology to a specific history one would need to focus on the mythical signifier "as on an inextricable whole made of meaning and form" and that in doing this "I receive an ambiguous signification: I respond to the constituting mechanism of myth, to its own dynamics, I become a reader of myths" (Barthes, 1973: 128).

Looked at from the above perspective, the notion of Samoan Christianity exhibits a similar status of ambiguity. It is at once meaning and form. As meaning, we clearly see signs of cultural influence: the feagaiga, church organisation, the statuses and roles of pastors and chiefs. They provide an alibi, an excuse, a justification for Christianity. The missionaries and their followers can say with pride, "Look, we have not destroyed Samoan culture. On the contrary, we have preserved it." As form, however, these cultural signs are deprived of their history and become transformed into religious symbols. They are overwhelmed, become the mere instruments of the concept which is the hard-core message of Christianity.

Yet in accepting this ideology, as a reader of myth does, we cannot afford to look at meaning and form separately otherwise we will only succeed in destroying the myth underlying the ideology. Ambiguity, therefore, is not the essence of myth for, as Barthes says, ambiguity is but a "false dilemma. Myth hides nothing and flaunts nothing: it distorts; myth is neither a lie nor a confession: it is an inflexion" (Barthes, 1973: 129). Rather, the essence of myth is its attempt to naturalise the concept, to make it appear logically connected to the first semiotic system or chain. In this process, myth "transforms history into nature" and everything happens as if the mythic signifier "naturally conjured up the concept", as if it "gave a foundation to the signified..." (Ibid, p. 129-130).

The myth reader does not see the myth as a semiotic system in which there is a relationship of equivalence but rather as a causal process in which the first semiotic system naturally leads into or causes the other. Where there is only a semiotic system,
he sees a factual system (Ibid, p. 131). It is apparent, therefore, that the myth in Penisimani's parables consists in this naturalising of the religious object, whereby cultural history is transformed into religious ideology by a process depicted as natural (thus the deception) and we are left with the 'innocent' impression of a Christianity as a logical outcome of Samoan culture! In fact, neither Samoan culture nor Christianity gave rise to the other. Both are contingent realities, products of historical development and not to be confused with the operations of Nature, which is the way myth depicts reality.

It cannot be denied that there were patent similarities between the pagan Samoan religion and Christianity. The Samoans might well have said, as did Leenhardt's Melanesians, that what the missionaries introduced was not the notion of spirit or soul, since they already had that notion, (Leenhardt, 1979: 164), but rather that of the body. The Samoan mental world, as Penisimani's writings indicate, was full of spirits, and there was an entrenched belief in the existence of the soul (agaga) and of an afterlife. To a great extent pagan Samoans were enslaved by the belief in the power of the aitu to determine their happiness. The social being (or personage) was tied by criss-crossing social relationships which in turn defined one's social identity. One's place was firmly rooted in the social matrix. But with the introduction of Christianity and the opening up of Samoa to foreign commerce, the Samoan notion of personage underwent a fundamental change, slow, subtle but definite nevertheless. Traditional affiliations no longer were the raison d'etre of many Samoans but signified merely part of a larger social framework which included Christianity, money-making and self-improvement. In that respect, Christianity and European civilisation helped the Samoans "to find themselves" as individuals. But to say that two religious systems shared certain fundamental beliefs is not to say that one emerged from the other. The religious concepts of the Samoan pagan religion probably facilitated the acceptance and expansion of the Christian religion but they did not "cause" Christianity to be. That Samoan culture led naturally to the acceptance of Christianity is part of the mythologies about Samoa and Penisimani provides merely one version of this mythology.

The Samoans' conversion to Christianity is not a "natural" development but part of a historical process of which there is ample record. Many factors contributed to it, some of which I have already referred to in chapter 3. The utilitarian factor, however, was a particularly important one. This is put well by Rev Inglis, a former principal of Malua Theological College and missionary in Samoa, who said that in Samoa "Christianity was accepted more for political, social, educational, material and medical
benefits than for its spiritual raison d'etre..." (p. 21). Williams has also referred to the importance of this utilitarian factor as an essential part of Samoan motivation for conversion to Christianity (1984: 237, 281). It can thus be seen that there is a strong historical basis for the Samoans' conversion to Christianity. There was no logical necessity or anything "natural" about it such as Penisimani's ideology seems to suggest to us. The "naturalness" is suggested to us only through the manipulation of linguistic signs and the extension of this belief to the level of everyday reality constitutes, for Barthes at least, the element of myth.

7.6. Conclusion

From this analysis, the evidence points to the fact that Penisimani's parables can be read, interpreted, analysed or deciphered from three perspectives. One, we can focus on the meaning of the mythical signifier. We read linguistic signs which stand for ideas which stand for things - the beliefs and practices of old Samoa. We can disregard the mythical form and ideology. To read it this way serves the purpose of the commentaries provided in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Two, we can focus on the mythical form whereby the mythical signifier is emptied of meaning and becomes merely a symbol for the concept - the message of Christianity. Malaesala is no longer a chief with a history but a frozen symbol, an ideograph representing the Christian God. Three, we can focus on the mythical signification as constituting both meaning and form and in this way, we "naturalise" the concept, make it appear as the innocent result or the logical outcome of the first semiotic system. This is achieved through the distortion of the mythical signifier or to put it another way through the distortion of the cultural meaning. The result is myth, whose message is the ideology of the myth. This ideology I have called Samoan Christianity, empty and meaningful at the same time and in which the Christian concept is naturalised, given the status of "that which goes without saying", that is to say, the truth. To express it another way, in Penisimani's parable, we are first of all made to look at the traditional narrative and its significance as if that is the end itself. But no, by the action of metaphor, a second order system of signification is created and we now find that our attention is focussed on the meaning of this second order system, irresistibly, as it were. We look at the Christian message, at Christianity, and we are no longer aware, it seems, of the meaning of the prior semiotic chain. Christianity now appears as natural but of course this is only an illusion.

If Penisimani's parables are to be analysed from a metaphorical point of view,
the results will be practically the same as those attained in the foregoing analysis. For example, "Malaesala is God" is a metaphorical statement. The key word is the trope "God". A literal interpretation of the statement is impossible simply because Malaesala is a Samoan chief, not the Christian God. Therefore, the statement has to be interpreted figuratively. The meaning of the word "God" has been "carried over" to the absent but understood signified "chief". The tension between the two meanings constitutes the metaphorical expression which must be understood as covering both the word "God" as well as the predicate represented by the copula "is" (which also implies "is not"). In other words, substitution of "chief" by "God" is not complete. Rather, it is preferable to talk of metaphor in terms of interaction between the two meanings. This also is borne out in the semiotic analysis.

Finally, it is also possible to analyse the parables from the kind of linguistic approach adopted by Fowler in his book "Linguistic Criticism". Fowler's basic position is that in order to understand the meaning of a text, one must search for it at different levels: the word, sentence and text considered as a coherent pattern of sentences. But this is not enough: one must also interpret meaning according to the function of a word or sentence within particular contexts. For contexts often provide meanings that are not readily available from a purely lexical interpretation. Moreover, argues Fowler, historical and other factors should be taken into account in the analysis of text. This type of analysis, applied to Penisimani's writings, would take this form:

Malaesala is a chief. He is God.

There are two propositions here. But since from the construction of the propositions considered as a coherent whole that the first "gives way" to the second proposition, the latter must be regarded as the prime message of the text. Malaesala is not important: what is important is that he is God, the text tells us. The message also constitutes the ideology or world-view of the author (Fowler, 1986:130). Again, this kind of analysis arrives at similar conclusions as those obtained from semiotic analysis.

These three kinds of analysis all seem to point to the same conclusions concerning the meaning of Penisimani's texts. This is due to the fact that the conclusions are not forced on the texts by the interpreter but rather the properties of the linguistic structure of the texts themselves. One of the basic properties of this structure is its ability to suppress one kind of meaning and to substitute it with another namely, the ideology of Christianity. This is the ultimate message of Penisimani's parables, the one that he wants the reader to accept. From the historical
record, the evidence indicates that this ideology was not far removed from the social practice of Penisimani's times. By this I mean that since Christianity was already universally acclaimed, Christianity as an ideology was acceptable to the masses of the people but it was still an ideology-in-the-making for the forces of paganism still lingered and ever presented a threat to the new religion. One may, therefore, properly speak of an existential situation fraught with contradictions which have to be overcome and this is the function of ideology. For as Sartre has said, "It must be understood that whatever an ideological project may be in appearance, its ultimate goal is to change the basic situation by becoming aware of its contradictions" (1963: 112). Viewed from this perspective, Penisimani's parables reflect not only the doxa of his society but also the attempt to perpetuate the same.

In conclusion, my aim has been to interpret the meaning of Penisimani's parables from an essentially hermeneutic perspective as I have described in Chapter 1. Meaning is found at several levels of the parables. First, there is the meaning of the traditional narratives (using this term generally to cover Penisimani's tala, fa'ata'oto and upu). Second, there is the meaning projected by the transformative action of metaphor in the parables - this meaning being essentially the Christian message. Third, the interaction of traditional narrative and Christian message produces what may be considered as the ultimate and most important meaning of the parables, the weltanschauung projected by the texts. In unfolding these layers of meaning I have resorted to both interpretation and analysis or, in hermeneutic idiom, verstehen and erklären. Meaning is perceived to move from a level of denotation to the mythical level of connotation, from surface-semantics to depth-semantics (i.e. from linguistic analysis to ideology). I have considered the parts in relation to the whole and back again thus completing the hermeneutic circle.
Appendix A

Samoan Originals of the Tales in Chapter 4

T1: Nuu o Leape

"O le tala i le nuu Leape na latou a'i (sic) le i'a sa, o le tuna le igoa o le i'a. Ua faalevao e le nuu ona a'i (sic), ua le iloa e le alii o Malaesala, aua ua a'i (sic) faalevao, ua le taua i lo latou alii, a ua iloa atu e le alii, i titi o le nuu, ina ua usiusi peiseai na uu, ona toatamai ai lea o Malaesala, ua tulia le nuu e le alii, ua malaia tele. Faatatau ia o lea upu. O le a ea le i'a sa? O tulafono ia a le Atua, o le i'a sa lea, atoa ma agasala, e na fua ae le lilo i le silafaga a le Atua. Aua le faalevao i luma o Malaesala o le Atua o le lagi. Soia le solia tulafono e matua sa lava. Faauta ua malaia Leape, na ai faalevao le i'a sa. E faapea foi ona malaia o tagata agasala ma solia tulafono a le Atua" (GBP, p. 20).

T2: O Le Tala ia Sinalalama

"O Sinalalama, o le tama a Ga'oga'oaletai. O Sinalalama e mau i le ititai o le moana, e alu ae ai ana lamaga i le a lalimalalama ona ui foi lea i lona ala i lalo e i le a'au le a la e ui ai i lalo. Ona togafuli lea e Manua o Sinalalama i se mea e maua ai lea fafine. Ona ave ifo ai lea o le upega ua vae i le a la o le fafine o Sinalalama. Ona o ifo lea o Manua ua lavea le fafine i le upega. Faauta ia Sina ua maua i le upega. Faatatau ia ia. O ai ea Manua? O le tiapolo. O le a le upega? Ona togafuli ia. Ao lea Sinalalama? O i tatou ia. Faapei ona tele mataupega o le upega, e faapea lava ona tele o togafuli a le tiapolo. Sinalalama e, o oe le ekalesia, o faifeau ma aao, ia mu lelei le lama, ma vaavaai le upega nei lavea i tatou, aua ua togafuli le tiapolo ia Sina o le ekalesia lea. Tatalo aua le aunoa ona mu o le lama, seia suluia le pouliuli ma le nofo ai o le tiapolo. Sinalalama e, mu lau lama, taga'i ia maualuga faitau le tusi pa'ia, tatalo to aua le aunoa, faatutuia ia lesu. Ia e faamaualugaina lona suafa i luma o tagata o le lalolagi, ina ia malamalama uma, ia lau iloa le upega o le tiapolo, nei ai se lavea. Mu la ia o le lama, o le amio lelei, o le lama lava lea e finagalo iai
le Atua. Mat V:16. Sina e, taga'i le lama, ia sega mata o le tiapolo ma loto leaga” (GBP, p. 37-8).

T3: Usuga A Le La Ia Sinaleavi

“O le tala i le usuga a le La ia Sina-le-avi. O le afafine o Moemoetinoga, na usua i e le La. Ona nofo ai lea o Sinaleavi, ua fai po foi ona nofo ai o Sinaleavi. Faauta mai, o le a toe manao le La ia Sina’avi le uso o Sinaleavi. Ua fai atu le La ia Sinaleavi, "Sina e, penia faateoe, oute fia alu i lou uso i itiiti.” Ona fai mai ai lea o Sinaleavi, "Ua lelei foi lea mea, aia e alu foi i le e vave mai foi ia te a'u." Ua fai mai le La, "Ua lelei lava.” Le Le le ua alu ia Sina’avi. Faauta, ua le toe sau le La, aua ua manao ia Sina’avi. Ua tuu feau tuu feau le La e Sinaleavi, ua le mafai mai lava. Ona laga’au lea ia Moemoetinoga lona tama i se mea e mafai mai ai le La. Ona mafai mai ai lea o le La ia Sinaleavi. Le La le ua sau ia Sinaleavi, ua moe ai i lea po. Faauta mai, o le a alu le feau a Sinaleavi i lona tama i lea lava po, ua faapea atu a Sinaleavi: "Sena e, Moemoetinoga, o o'u manao nei lava i le ponei. Sei e tolona le po nei ia toto'a, aua o lo'u manao lava ia le La.” Ai na faia’i lava i lea po pei o lona manao. Ona iu lava lea ina alu o le La ia Sinaavi ua tumau ai, a a lafoaina Sinaleavi. Faatatau ia. O ai ea le La? O le Agaga Paia, ma faifeau. Ao ai Moemoetinoga? O le Atua. Ao ai Sinaleavi? O e na mua’i iai le ala asoifua, ma e, na muai mua le ekalesia i le ua toe te’a i tua ua toe pouliuli foi. Ao ai ea Sina’avi? O e na mulimuli i ai le afoiga a le Atua ma atunuu pouliuli. Sema e, tafehe nei tatou pei o Sinaleavi, nei sola le La, ioe, nei teva le Agaga Paia ona o tatou amio leaga. Faauta mai ea, na tagi Sina i lona tama sei tolo le po ia toto’a mo ia lava. Ia faapea foi i tatou ona tatalo i le Atua o lo tatou tama alofa, sei tolo le malamalamame, o lana afioga lava lea ma lona alofa tele, mo i tatou lava e lelei ai” (GBP, p. 129-130).

T4: I’a Tagaloalagi Ma Lona Afafine

"O le ia Tagaloalagi ma lona afafine. Na ia silafia ifo i lalonei, o galue le alii i lalonei e lavalava lona leula. E le aunoa lava se aso ma galue lava faapea le alii. Ona pea (sic) mai ai lea o le afafine o Tagaloalagi, "Sena e, o la'u tane lava le la oute fia alu i ai." Ona fai atu lea o le Tagaloalagi, "Ua lelei lava lea. Ae o mai le nuu lena e toalua o Uafaafuamanava, ma Uale la te molia oe i lalo nei tuai oe i le alii, nei e alu ifo ua manava le alii i tai.” Ona o ifo ai lea. Faauta mai ua to ifo le ua, ona tatala ai lea e le alii o lona leula aua nei uaina, ona ufiufi lea i le tasi mea, aua lavalava
Iona titi. Ona tepa atu lea o le alii ua tu mai le tamaitai. Ona fesili mai lea o le tamaitai, "Le alii e, o oe ea lava sa galue ae nei?" Ua fai atu le alii, "O lea lava." Aua ua manatu le tamaitai, ai e le o le alii ina ua la leaga, aua sa la lelei o le leula sa lavalava [e] le alii, aua ua tatala i le ua nei su (sic) le leula, o le mea [lea] ua vaai gata ai le alii e le tamaitai ina nei sese, aua ua la leaga foi le alii sa la lelei lava o le leula. O le a faatatau. O ai ea le tamaitai? O le Agaga Paia lea. O ai ea le alii sa galue i lalonei? O i tatou lava ia. O lea ea le leula? O lo tatou faatuatua lava lea ia Iesu. Faauta mai, ua toe foi le tamaitai i le lagi, ua la leaga o le alii, aua sa lelei lava o le leula sa i le tino o le alii, a ua na tuu ese le leula ua inoino ai le tamaitai. Faauta mai la ia sema e, a tatou tuu ese lava le faatuatua ia Iesu le Faaola, e matua inoino lava le Agaga Paia ia te i tatou. Aua e fiafia mai lava le Atua ma mana o i tatou, ona o lo tatou faatuatua ma loto lava ia Iesu, le Togiola e toatasi. Lavalava pea le faatuatua lelei ai i tatou, aua le tuu ese ina nei leaga ai i tatou pei o lea alii. Nei teva le Agaga Paia ia te tatou nei" (GBP, p. 150-1).

T5: Taeao Na I Saua

"O le tala i le mua fetalai i le taeao na i Saua. O le taeao lelei lava lea. O le taeao lea na siva ai Tumupue, le alo o Valomua, le Satupaitea, ae muliau ai Lesalevao, o le tiapolo lea. Ona toto ifo ai lea o le Tavaetoto. Ona faatoa na ai lea o le tama tagivale o Fua. Faatatau la ia. Ai o Saua? O le lalolagi nei. Ai o Saua foi Petelema aua na fanau ai Iesu. Ai o Saua foi Samoa nei? Ao lea ea le taeao na i Saua? O le aso lava lea na faatoa oo mai ai le Lotu i Samoa nei. O le aso lelei lava lea aso ai aso uma, aua na oo mai ai le tala ia Iesu le Faaola. Ao ai ea le Tava'etoto? Iesu, ma le Agaga Paia i ona po nei. Ao ai ea le tama sa tagi? Ai o le malaia lea o le lalolagi na fai e le toe moe lava, ao lelei ua utu - ua na le tama sa tagi, ua moe lelei le tama ina ua toto o le Tava'etoto o Iesu ma lona maliu puapuaga ma le Agaga Paia, ma lana galuega i loto o tagata e lelei ai. Ao ai ea Tumupue sa siva? O i tatou ia. Ia tatou siva i le tatalo i le mea lilo, ma le faitau tusi paia e lelei ai lava, ma le usuisitai ma le anaana i sauniga uma a le Atua e lelei ai i tatou, e afio ifo ai le Agaga Paia, ia na ai le tama o Fua, o le malaia lea na fa i e le mafai ona fa'aui o le toasa o le Atua, ai le lalolagi nei, ona o le maliu ifo o Iesu i lalo nei na maliu ai" (GBP, p. 152-3).
T6: Niu o Leosia

"O le niu lea na toto e Leosia e puni tai le Fafa e o ia'i tagata oti pea oti le tino. O le Niu lea e aoga anamua i le nuupo. Aua a oti le tagata ona lele atu lea o lona agaga o le a alu i le fafa i Lualoto o alii poo Lualoto taufanua (sic). I le a lele atu le agaga o le tagata oti, ae fetoca i le Niu o Leosia, ona toe foi mai lea ua ola, ae a le fetoai ma le niu o Leosia au lele loa i le fafa ua oti, e le toe foi mai le agaga ua alu lava i le nuu o aitu. O le tala lea i le niu o Leosia. Ai ua o le Niu o Leosia lesi i ona po nei, e talia mai ai o tatou agaga i le aso e oti ai. Ia tatou feleilei faatatau ia lesu e talia mai i tatou ma faaolaina ai. Aua nei ai se lele ese pe lele loa i le fafa o le malaia lea e faavavau. Lele ia lesu i le faatuatua ma le usisitai ma le salamo i le agasala. Ia lele faapea e tatau ai ma talia mai ai e lesu i luga. Aua le tu ma lele, ma soona lele, a ia faatatau ia lesu ua na punitia le fafa o le malaia tele na fai a oo ona o le agasala" (GBP, p. 165-6).

T7: Taua Tuveve Ma Le Satele

"O le tala i le taua nai Tutuila o le alii na (sic) Tuveve ma le Satele, o le taua ua autupulaga. Ona sau lea o le Satele e tago au atu i Upolu ma Savaii. Ona faila matafaga loa lava lea o Upolu ua alu i Tutuila, ae oso niu Salafai ma alu lava i Tutuila i le tagoga taua a le Satele. Ona oo atu lea o Salafai i Tutuila, faauta ua le matau le taua. Ai sea? Aua ua fasia e le laaumalu. O le mea lea ua taugata ai lea taua. Ona togaifiti ai lea e Lavea le matai Safotu. Ua faapea le togaifiti a Lavea: "A ona tau ona taua o le taua pea ua fasia e le laaumalu, ia fai ma tao le talo tele, ae fai ma uatogie le niu latele, ma le ia tele, ma le tuafa a puua tele ma le masi tele, ma le ulu la tele. O a tatou mea tau ia e lelei ai." Ona fai ai lea o le fetalaiga a Lavea e le itu taua a Salafai. Le taua le ua tau, ua vevelo mai tao e le itu taua a Tuveve ae togi atu le talo, togi mai le maa, ae togi atu le niu ma le ulu, ma le masi, ma le tuafa a puua tele. Faauta, ua tufi e le itu taua a Tuveve ma ave i uta i le mea o ai Tuveve le alii o le itu taua. Ona masalo lea o Tuveve, ai ua i tai se pule. Ona faapea ai lea o Tuveve ona tau o lea pule alofa ua lelei naua, se pule o lea ua maeu, ai o Lavea lena ia Salafai fua i lena pule lelei, auja ua vevelo atu tao, ae fetogi atu talo ma ia ma puua, "O lea ou talia lelei a Lavea i le alofa, e lelei ona faatau alofa, ina soofua le taua au lelei pule lelei, ae tatou ifo i le itu taua ma soofua le malo." Ona faapea lava lea, ua ifo Tuveve, ona [o] lea togaifiti alofa o Lavea. Faatatau la ia. O ai ea Lavea? O lesi. Ao ai Tuveve? O le tiapolo. Ua ifo Tuveve i le togaifiti a Lavea. Ua lafo le malo o le tiapolo i le togaifiti alofa na faia e lesi. E tatau ona
faapea o le taua faale agaga ona taua (sic). Ita mai pea le lalolagi ae velo atu pea le tao o le alofa, o le tala moni ia Iesu, aua o le mea lea na sau ai Iesu na te faaumatia le malo. Le itu taua e a Tuveve o Iesu velo le alofa i le lalolagi, ae fe'ai mai pea le lalolagi ma nuu pouliuli, ae togi atu pea i le alofa, ina ia vave ifo ai Tuveve ae au tasi malo o Iesu i lalo nei” (GBP, p. 438-9).
Appendix B
Samoan Originals of the Parables in Chapter 5

P1: Fa'ata'oto i le Au Uso e Toatolu

"O le faataoto ia Tiitii ma Fatugati ma Fatugata. O le uso e toatolu lea. O Tiitii na ia ao matagi uma lava, e leai se matagi o totoe ua uma lava le ao e Tiitii. Ua toe o le Maileula e lei maua, aua o le Maile e nofo i le ana. Ua fai atu Tiitii, "Sole, Fatugati ma Fatugata, se nei lua o lava i le mea o iai le Maileula nei lua fano a seia ou ala tatou o e lama le maile a sou moe ifo." Tiitii le ua moe, ona fai atu ai lea o Fatugati ia Fatugata, "Fatugata e?" "Oe?" "Nia ea fau (sic), ina ta o ia i le mea oi ai le Maileula ta te lamaina sei taua ai o ta igoa, aua o Tiitii ua taua lava lona igoa i matagi ua ia ao uma a o le Maileula a o sei taua ai i taua nei." Ona fai atu ai lea o Fatugata, "Ua lelei lava." Le nuu le ua o ua la malaia ai i le Maileula. Tiitii le ua ala, ua vaa atu i le mea na i ai ona uso ua leai, ua masalo ua fano i le Maile. Ae moni lava a Tiitii, o le nuu ua tuu mavaega. Faatatau, o ai ea Tiitii? O le afoiga a le Atua ua tusia i tusi pa'ia ma faifeau aua o loo vavao mai ia te i tatou. O ai ea le Maileula? O le tiapolo ma tu a le lalolagi ma le loto leaga. Ao ai ea Fatugati ma Fatugata? O le ekalesia ma aoao ma tama iti sa aoao ina. Faauta ua toatele e malaia, ona o le faafaitaua pei o ia tama o Fatugati ma Fatugata. Ua toatele aoao e malaia i le finau tele i mea leaga. Ona gata lea o le faataoto" (GBP, p. 203-4).

P2: Uso Na Faimanu

"O le faataoto. O le uso na faimanu, ua faapea le tala i ai. Fai mai na la filifili, ai se manu e ului maua ile 'ave lea manu ma le aitu o le vao. Ua iu lava i ai la la filifiliga, ia tautua lava o lo la aitu ia muamua lava sana manu taumafa. Le manu le ua maua. Faauta mai, ua le avea ma le aitu aua fafa o i la la ola faimanu, ua fai ma laua a ua le avea ia le aitu o le vao, ua tala pepelo. Toe maua le tasi manu foi, ua fafa foi i la la ola fainanu, a ua le ai lava lo la aitu. Faauta i le pepelo. Ona maua lea o le Imoa. Ona faatoa ave ai lea ma lo la aitu. Aua o le mea
leaga le Imoa. Faatatau la ia. Faauta mai ea, na fai lava le moli o le taulaga i le Atua, i le ua maua tala ua le avea i le taulaga, a ua ave le seleni, poo le sisipeni, o le Imoa lea ua ave ma le aitu o le vao o le Atua foi lea. Soia le faapea nei ita le aitu o le vao ona taupua o ai lea o le tuasivi ona sese ai lea i le ala e fai manu ai ma oti ai. E faapea ona toasa o le Atua i le fai taulaga leaga i le maliu o lesu. Ona tatou le iloa ai lea o le [alofa] o lesu i le lagi pea toe pouliuli Samoa nei, ona malaia ai lea e faavavau” (GBP, p. 355).

P3: O le Manu Lagi

"O le faataoto i le manu lagi. O le manu lagi, na fai la la faatau ma le Imoa. Aua sa lele le Imoa, a e totolo le manu lagi. O le Pea foi lea. Ua vaai ifo le Imoa o gaupulu le Pea i lalo nei i le eleele, ona alu ifo ai lea o le Imoa ua la gaupulu faatasi. Ona fai atu ai lea o Pea, ua faapea atu, "Le alii e le Imoa?" Ona fai mai lea o le Imoa, "Sea ea?" Ona fai atu ai lea o le Pea, "Le alii e, sei au mai nai ou fulu so'u faaataina ae poo ou te ma lele i luga i lai pe leai. A o'u le ma lele foi o'u alu ifo avatu ou fulu, ae sei e tali ae lou tootoo lea. A o'u alu ifo foi avane lo'u tootoo ae avatu ou fulu." Ona fai atu ai lea o le Imoa, "E fai ona faapefa, sei tau avatu foi. Ua le fai ea pe, a e avea ifea se ou (sic) ave ea foi, e le o lata uo foi." Ona fai ai lea o Pea, "Toe au maia foi avatu ai nanei pea o'u alu ifo." Fulu o le Imoa e ua avatu i le Pea. Le Pea le ua lele ae, ua tu i le fai. Ona fai ae lea o le Imoa, ia alu ifo mo ia. Ua fai ifo le Pea, "Tali ae a so'u toe lele ae foi i luga i lai pe pei o ai." Le Pea le ua toe lele, ua tu i le niu. Le Imoa le ua valaau ae, "Ai 'oi, o le a lea, le alii, o le a e oo atu lava i lugana ma o'u apaau. Le alii e, alu ifo ia a po, ma o'u apaau o le a ou alu atu i lugana." Ona fai ifo ai lea o le Pea, ua faapea ifo, "Soia nofosao ia i lalona ma lou tootoo lena e te tootoo, ae fai mo'u ou apaau ona lelei ai lea." Le Pea le ua lele maualuga, ai ua feagai ma mauga, le Imoa le ua uiu tele lava i luga i le Pea, e ave ifo lava ona apaau, ae alu ifo i lona tootoo e le fia fai tootoo usu fono lava ia na o lona lava fia fai apaau e pau lava ia te ia. Ua faifua ni upu a le Imoa, aua le toe lagona ifo e le Pea, aua ua maualuga ona lele fiafia i ona apaau ua mau i lana togaftiti. Le Imoa le ua iu lava ina tago i lona tootoo ua alu lava ma ia, pela a toe faapefa ua sola lava le Pea ma ona apaau. O lea lava le 'au aina. O ai ea le Pea? O le tiapolo. Ao ai ea le Imoa? O i tatou ia. E ui lava ina ua fiafia o le Pea i ona apaau ina ua mau i lana togaftiti pepelo, ua malaia lava lea manu i manu uma lava. Aua e le iloa tu pea tu i se iaau, ua faatautau lona ulu i lalo aua u le muli i luga. E lelei ea ana tu? E leai lava. Aua o le tau i lana pepelo i le Imoa, o
lea ua tautau ai lona ulu i lalo, ua le tu lelei i se la ose laau, e iai manu uma lava. E faapea lava tagata agasala ona malaia i le leaga o amio. E fiafia le Pea ina lele maualuga ae mataga ona tu. E faapea lava tagata faamaualuga i se aso” (GBP, p. 356-7).

P4: Tui A’ana Leuotele

"O le faataoto i le Tui A’ana Uo Tele. E tele lava ana uo, pe 10, pe fia? E tofu lava le uo ma lona matai. E tele taumafa e fai ai, o le i’a ma le puaa, le talo, etc., e aofia lava i ai mea uma. E papae i le afiafia. A maua ane e se malaga ale ala o papae ia uo, ona o lea e asu vai e avae fafano lima o le uo. Ona fai atu ai lea o le matai o lea uo, e fuli ane uma lava taumafa ma le malaga, aua ua asu vai. Ona fuli lava lea o taumafa ma lea malaga. A o le malaga e faavalea, e le iloa lea tu o le uo o le asu vai, e le aai, au a e lei asu vai e fafano lima o le uo. Faatatau la ia. O ai ea Tui A’ana Le Uo Tele? O le Atua lea. Ao ai uo? O lana aifo lea ma ana sauniga, ma lona malo, au a e tele mea lelei oi ai ua saunia mo tagata. Ao ai le malaga atamamai ua asu vai? O e ua talia lesu le Faaola o le lalolagi. Ao ai le malagavalea ua o loa e le iloa le uiga o le uo, ua le asu vai e fafano lima o le uo, ua leai ni a latou mea e aai ai? O e ua le talia lesu le Faaola o le lalolagi. O lea matelaina i le oge tele lava, ma le faanoanoa i le malaia e faavavau lava. E lelei ona tatou asu vai e fafano lima o le uo nei tatou le aai i le mea e ai faale agaga, o le manuia lea e le uma ae faavavau lava.

Asu le vai o le faatuatua ia Iesu.

Asu le vai o le faamalosi.

Asu le vai o le tatalo.

Asu le vai o le taulaga i le Me.

Asu le vai o le anaana i sauniga uma lava a le Atua.

Asu le vai alofa i tagata o le Atua.

Asu le vai o le matau i le Atua.

Asu le vai o le salamo i agasala.
Asu le vai o le fia faamagaloina.

Asu le vai o le fia maua o le Agaga Paia.

Asu le vai o le faamaulalo i luma o le Atua le Tama ma le Atalii ma le Agaga Paia le Atua e toatasi.

Ona tatou taumamafa aai ai lea i taumafa a le uo i se aso e oti ai ma le aso faamasino" (GBP, p. 361-2).

P5: Faataoto Nai Le Faumatauaga

"O le tala lenei i le faataoto nai le faumatauaga. O le aliina o Po'upupu, ma lana fanau, o le ali'i Palauli. Ona mai lea o lea oti, ona fai lea o lana mavaega. Afai ae oti, nei tanumia lava ia i le elelele, ae atulala (sic). Ona atualala lava lea. Ona nonofo nonofo lea o lana fanau ona o lea e uu ma faafoliga pe foliga mai ia te i latou. Faauta, ua le toe foliga mai ia te i latou. Faatatau ia. O ai ea Po'upupu? O le Atua lea. Ao ai le fanau? O faifeau ma le ekalesia ma aao. O lea ea le sua uu? O le afoiga ale Atua, o loo uu ai i tatou ma faafoliga ina ia foliga i le Atua - o lauga i le aso sa ma lea mea ma lea mea o loo faia i lea aso ma lea aso i sauniga a le Atua, ae peitai ua tatou le au foliga lava i lo tatou Tama o le Atua, e le au tatou lava iai a tatou amio, ma mea uma lava tatou te faia. O le faataoto lea" (GBP, p. 384-5).

P6: O le Fe'e Ma Uluave

"O le faataoto i le taua o le Fe'e ma Uluave. Na faoa le ava a le Fe'e e Uluave. O le Fe'e o le ali'i Fiti. Ao Uluave o le ali'i Samoa. Ona alu atu lea o Uluave i Fiti, o nofo mai le ava a le Fe'e i lo la tale, aua alu le Fe'e i le tausamaaga o le faletua o Tui Fiti. Ona ai sola mai ai lea e Uluave o le ava a le Fe'e. Le Fe'e le ua alu ane ua leai se ava ua sosola ma Uluave. Ona ita tele lava lea o le Fe'e, ua le matuu tino i fala i le ita i le ava ua faoa e Uluave. Ona sii mai lava lea o le taua o lona fale ulufia, ua aau mai lava i le vasa i le tuliloaga o lana ava, fa'i lava e maua mai i le vasa e lelemo ai Uluave ia oti le pagota. Aua le maua mai ua tuta le vaa o Uluave ma le ava a le Fe'e. Ona tautoai tautoai lava lea ina ua le maua o Uluave ma lana ava ona iu aue lava lea nofo i le Puga sa tietie ai, ua fai mona fale ua maua ai. O lena lava le au ai na. Faatatau la ia. O ai ea le Fe'e? O le tiapolo lea, ma tagata ulavavale. Ao ai ea Uluave? O tagata o le Atua ia. Faapei o le Fe'e ona toaioai i le
iu ane nofo i le Puga ua fai mona fale ina ua le maua o lona filli, e faapea lava le tiapoloto ma tagata amio leaga i le ola nei. E toaitoai lava iu i le malaia e faavavau pei o le Fe'e lava. Ae sao lava tagata o le Atua i luga, pei o Uluave ma le ava le fili o le Fe'e” (GBP, p. 358).
Appendix C

Samoa Originals of the Words of Chapter 6

W1: Tauinatamafa'apoi

"O le tatalo lava pei o le tatalo ei luma. E ole atu i le aitu aua le oo le ta ae tau ina faapoi nei otı le tagata mai o le aiga pea oo le ta i le tino a le aitu. E lelei pea ona tatou tatalo. la tatalo pea tatou mamai i le Atua. Fai atu iaia pe mai se tasi ia te ia, aua oia lava tatou te mamai ai. Fai atu ia te ia na upu lelei ea pea? La tauinafaafiuola i tatou a sei salamo pea tusa i lona finagalo, ae a le tusa faitalia lava ia. Tauinatamafaapoi pea tatou ia te ia, a le tatau faitalia lava lona finagalo e lelei ai. E lelei pea lea tatalo ia upu lelei, ae ala pea atu i le maliu o Jesu, aua na o lea e talia ai a tatalo, o le ala ma le faitotoa ia e ui atu ai a tatou tatalo i le Atua, ae le o so tatou mau upu lelei. O upu lava o le tatalo, e faapea atu: "Ta e solisoli a matou agamasosei ua fai i ou luma, le aitu e." O lona uiga o le upu, ia soli e ona vae le mea ua toasa ai i le aiga poo le tagata, ia galo lea mea nei toe manatu iaia le aitu i lea mea. ua ita ai."Ta lafoia i le alogalu i matou nei." Aua o le alogalu o le mea e filemu ai le tagata pea aau i le sami, ae leaga le tuagalu e malemo ai le tagata ma tigaina ai pea, sei loga e lafoia i le alogalu ona ola mai ai lea ma aau mai i uta nei i le lau elele. O le mea lea e fai atu ai i le aitu ia lafoia i le alogalu se mea o toasa. "Ta maona ia o lou toasa." O le faatusa i le galu na fai afati aua toe maona, ua lelei ai, aua ana fati poua tuia le vaa, ae peitai ua le fati aua maona fua le galu. O le mea lea e fai atu ai i le tatalo ia maona le ita o le aitu, nei otı le tagata. Alofa mai le aitu i le aiga, ona fai atu lea o le aiga, ua faapea: "Alofa i le malama." O le tali lea a le aiga e alofa i le masina ae aua le alofa atu ia te i latou, aua oia o le alii tele. O le upu faamaulalo lea i le aitu. "Ta lafoia ia i ou tuataafalu o amio leaga a le aiga nei, ae afio atu ia i se nuu o aina ma teetee atu asovale ma malaga aitu ia o atu i se nuu o toatele ni ona tagata. Ua aina e le vao lelei nuu ua tuufua ua le aina." O le faafiti lea i le aitu, ua tuufua le nuu ua le aina. Ona fai mai ai lea o le aitu: "Soia, faitalia au ona teetee e ui ane i vasa ma le tuasivi ae nonofo pea outou e le afaina lava outou." Ona faamavae lea o le aitu o lea alu, ona faalogo atu lea o le
aiga ua faapea lana upu e alu ai: "Tutuilatutuila. Futigafutiga. Sei tafaapea peaaneita."
Ona alu lea ae tuua le tagata sa taatala ai le aitu" (GBP, p. 447-9).

W2: Fa'aoso'ai

"O le upu lea i le manaia lalelei, poo le taupou lalelei. A alu lana malaga ae moe ise nuu ua oso mea e 'ai, ua fiafia lea nuu, au sa le tu faasamoa e fia mata siva i le malaga fai siva lelelei, ma lo latou manaia lalelei poo le taupou lalelei ma le siva lelelei. O le mea lea ua oso ai mea e ai i le malaga au sa loo iai le faaoso 'ai... E tatau lea upu i le faaosoai ia lesu, au sa oso ai taumafa lelelei e tele i lona afio mai i le nuu nei o le lalolagi, au oso ai mea faaleagaga ae maise la le tino. Ua maua le manuia ona o lea" (GBP, p. 382).

W3: Fetuia'i

"O le upu lea e tupu ai le malaia. O le fetuiai o lea tagata ma lea tagata ona malaia ai lea o pai ma lafai. E faapea ona fetuiai: "E aitue ua le lavatia atu aiga malolosi ma le toatele. E, ua le lavatia atu mea gaoi ma mea saua, ma mea faamaualuga. E aitue, ua ta fiu i le limavale ma le 'ote soo. E amuia e mau toga, ma mau mea e 'ai, mau oloa, ma 'ai mea lelelei. E, amuia o e toatele ma uluola ao lenei aiga ua leai ni tagata. Amuia o e tamacaiga i latou. E, aitu e, ua le lavatia atu aiga malolosi, ua sei au le tolifua o niu ma ulu o le mea nei o fanua o aiga taufafine. Ua fesilafai mai lava lea lea ni tagata o lenei aiga o nonofo atu i le ua tumai ai le soli ia aiga ina leai o ni tagata ua uma le oti. E aitu e, fia ola ua le lavatia atu mea faamaualuga ma le saua faapenei. E fiaola aitue." Ai ua alofa le aitu i lea aiga, o le a malaia le aiga saua ona o le fetuiai faapea o tagata faapaupau, ma tagata ulavavale. E leaga le fetuiai faapea anamua i le faapaupau, au sa tele ai le oti ma le malaia o nuu ma aiga anamua. O le agasala tele le fetuiai faapea, au sa le fetuu ma le fauto lea mea. E lelei ona fealofani, au sa le tulafono lea ua tusia e Mose, "E alofa atu i le ua lata mai ia te oe faapei o oe la'ava ia te oe." Soia le fetuiai, au sa le losilosia lea ma le mataua i le au maua ana mea mai le Atua, peni oloa peni toga, poo lana galuega ua faamanuiaina e le Atua" (GBP, p. 72).
W4: Pomalae

"O le upu lea i le faiva o Lapalapa, o lona igoa o Aigofie, o le tasi lea muau (sic) tele o Samoa. E tauafetaai i Lapalapa, e toalua tagata e fetaai, i le a fetaai, e muai tautala, ona fetaai ai lea. O le faiva foi e oti ai tagata, o le mea lea e muai tautala ai lo la nafa o le a fetaai. E matua fai lava a la lauga. E maeu lava ona lelei ma le filemu o upu e tautala ai, e faapea upu: "Fetalai mai ia ina o la ta fetaiga nei. O le manao foi lava le mea ua ta sau ai nei i lou alaala, aua ua e masani i lou faiva. O le mea foi lea ta te sau ai nei, tau ina agatonu ai o lou alaala, i le ua malu ona fai o lou faiva o le fia faaaoa mai nei i lou alaala na mua i lenei faiva. I le a o’u tea tuu mai a’u, ae tea foi tuu atu oe." Lana lauga le ua iu. Ona fai mai lea o le tasi, ua faapea mai lana tali: "Ua lelei lava lea. Ta fai a’i ia o lau fetaiga. A o’u tea tuu mai a’u, ae te’a tuu atu foi oe.” Faauta, e galo nei tautalaga pea fetaai. Ua tau i se tasi e malosi. Ua le tuliaina tautalaga, a pau i lalo so laua ua fasi pea lava. Aua o le po malae, fai lava o tu mai e lei pau i lalo, aua lava o le po lava malae, ua maga vaai ua le iloa le la tagata. O le mea lea e i ai le mea lea e i ai le muagagana nei o le pomalae. Faatatu ia. O fea ea malae? O le ola nei. E lelei lava ona tatou silasilia lelei, nei sese so tatou, aua ua uma ona tautala o le fetaiga o le loto lea ua uma ona tala i luma o le Atua i le ola nei, ua uma ona tauto, o lea tatou usuisitai ia Lesu le Faola. Aua o le pomalae lenei tatou te i ai nei. O loo sau le ao, nei ai so tatou tuumavaega” (GBP, p. 68).

W5: 'Ai o le Ma'osi'osi

"O lenei lona uiga. Afai na tatou tau ma se nuu, ae tulia, ona alu lea o se tasi alii, ua nofo ai, ma na taumafa na o ia taumafa o lea nuu. Ona tatou tiga ai lea, ina ua ia taumafa toatasi o taumafa o le ma'osi'osi, aua ua lailoa uma, ma tigaina uma tagata i le taua, a o lea na sasa uma mea a le nuu ua toilalo. Aua sa lailoa uma lava i le manua ia (sic) i tao, ma uatogi, ma maota, ma fia 'ai, ma fiaimiu i se vai, ma mata moe i le po, ma le maalili i le sau ma le ua. Faauta ua maosiosi uma nuu ma alii ma le malo i le taua, a o lea na taumafa toatasi 'ai o le ma'osi'osi. Faatatau ia. O ai ea o tatou tau nei. O le tiapolo ma le lalolagi ma tu leaga ma loto leaga. Ao a ea taumafa o le ma'osi'osi. O taumafa uma lava o le lalolagi, o le uta ma le tai. Ua na ona taumafa lava ma nofosao e le o ma'osi'osi lona tino i le taua faaleagaga, a o lea na sasafua lava taumafa o le ma'osi'osi o Lesu, ma le au aposetolo, ma profeta, ma faifeau, ma le ekalesia uma lava o i le lalolagi uma lava” (GBP, p. 153-4).
"O le Tulaga. Tasi ona uiga, o le Ilamutu, tasi ona uiga, o le Tamasa. Ao le Tulaga e taua nei. E matua mamalu lava naua. Faauta mai ea, a taute ma taumafa, e taumafa toatasi. A uma ona taua, ona taumamafa ai lea o tagata uma ma alii uma ma tama taini uma ma u iai tua o tagata uma lava. E sa pe faasaga iai se tasi ma 'ai. E matua tele lava mea e faia i le Tulaga e tagata e a latou lea Tulaga, pese nuu uma, pese usoalii uma, au a o le Tulaga e tasi a le nuu uma poo se usoalii uma lava. E lelei lava ona fai o Iesu ma tatou Tulaga tasi e tatau ai lava. Ia faalo ia te ia o le Tulaga a luga ma lalo nei, o le Tulaga aitu ma tagata, o le Tulaga tasi a le lalolagi nei. Avatu i ai le viiga ma le faane'etaga au a e ao ia te ia viiga ma faane'etaga, au a o ia o le Tulaga a le lalolagi ma le lagi tuaafe, ma le lagi tuaman o, ma le lagi tuailu, ma le lagi tuafe fafa. E a latou lelei Tulaga pai ma pau, ma le mamalu tele, ma sasatetele, ma le mamafi tele, ma le taalili tele, ma le 'a'ave tele i le lalolagi nei, ma le ma'ave'ave tetele au a e ona luga, ma lalo nei, ma sisifo, ma sasae, ma tai, ma uta. Faauta la ia i le Tulaga tasi a mea uma lava atoa. Ua galulu uma ia te ia mea uma lava" (GBP, p. 101-2).
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Notes

1. As Gunson says, "Haweis made several attempts to establish missionaries in the islands. A plan to send a party with Bligh in 1791 was thwarted by the refusal of the Bishop of London to ordain two of the missionaries - they were not university men - notwithstanding the influence of Wilberforce and the Reverend William Romaine. Another party was quickly recruited but, according to Henry Bicknell, who later went out in the Duff in 1796, the ship sailed without them" (1978:12).

2. The Society's directors adopted the following as a fundamental principle of the society, at a meeting in London, May 9, 1796: "As the union of God's people of various Denominations, in carrying on this great Work, is a most desirable Object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause for future dissention [sic], it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be differences of opinion among serious Persons), but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen: and that it shall be left (as it ever ought to be left) to the minds of the Persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government, as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God" (in Lovett, 1899:49f).

3. As Gunson puts it, "Technically, the best word with class connotations to describe the missionaries is a word which has now lost its nineteenth-century meaning, the word 'mechanic'. The early nineteenth century was very much the age of the mechanic class, the latest addition to the lower ranks of the middle classes. It was from the 'godly mechanics' that most Evangelical missionaries were drawn" (1978:31f).

4. According to Gunson, "This system of private tuition appears to have been successful; moreover it continued to be an important feature of missionary education even after institutional training was introduced..." (1978:64f).
5. According to Lovett, as Dr Bogue addressed the second group of missionaries to Tahiti on board the "Duff", December 2, 1798, "The preacher's heart sank within him as he studied the faces before him. He had never believed in the hasty methods of selection which had hitherto been followed; nor did he approve of combining missionary and commercial enterprise" (1899:57).

6. The Siovilians "accepted Jehovah as their God, built chapels and held services - services with the singing of hymns, the offering of prayers, the preaching of sermons and even the celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper" (Freeman, 1959:190). The cult also believed in spirit possession, a salient feature of Samoan traditional religion, and accepted polygyny, night-dancing, tattooing, long hair for males (symbol of Samoan paganism) and traditional sex mores (Ibid, p. 196).

7. This means, to convert the people to Christianity.

8. Since Williams's visit in 1830, it had been common knowledge in Samoa that permanent missionaries would be arriving at any moment according to a promise Williams had made to Malietoa. The fact that it took seven years before the LMS was able to send these missionaries to Samoa enabled the Methodist missionaries from nearby Tonga to set up base in Samoa and convert large numbers of Samoans to Wesleyanism by 1836.

9. This caused some problems as Malietoa refused to let the teachers live and work in other villages and thus encouraged the growth of the farcical sailor religions mentioned earlier.

10. Charles Barff and Aaron Buzacott made a follow-up visit to Samoa in 1834 and George Platt and Samuel Wilson visited Samoa in 1835 to prepare the way for the arrival of the first resident white missionaries in 1836. Buzacott was based in Rarotonga, the others in the Society Islands. Wilson, who was proficient in the Samoan language, remained in Samoa to assist the new missionaries in their study of the Samoan language and culture.

11. Tamafaiga was killed about 15 days before the missionaries' arrival.

13. Tamafaiga, Lovett says, was "a tyrannical and bloodthirsty savage, devoted to
the old idol-worship, who would most certainly have made the most strenuous
opposition to the new religion. Fauea had greatly feared this man and his influence..." (1899:288). Fauea, who was returning with Williams to Samoa in 1830, after an
absence of 11 years probably had good reason to fear Tamafaiga because of his
association with the Malietoa faction which had been of the vaivai party during
Tamafaiga's ascendancy.

14. Kotzebue said that a Tongan chief came on board his ship off Manono and
gave him three fat pigs and some fruit. In return he had given to the chief a large
hatchet, two strings of blue beads and a coloured silk handkerchief (1967:279).

15. The chief said, "Only look at the English people. They have noble ships
while we have only canoes. They have strong beautiful clothes of various colours
while we have only ti leaves. They have sharp knives while we have only a bamboo
to cut with. They have Iron Axes while we use stones. They have scissors while we
use the shark's teeth. What beautiful beads they have, looking glasses & all that is
valuable. I therefore think that the God who gave them all things must be good &
that his religion must be superior to ours. If we receive & worship him he will in
time give us all these things as well as them" (Williams, 1984:237).

16. Rev Peter Turner was the first Methodist missionary to Samoa, arriving in
1835. He established a strong mission but had to abandon it in 1839 because of a
controversy over jurisdiction with the LMS. The mission was resumed, however, in 1857
by Rev M. Dyson.

17. These wars had their roots in the civil war of 1830 occasioned by the
assassination of Tamafaiga.

18. These leaf girdles, made from the leaves of the plant *dracaena terminalis*,
formed the dress of the masses of Samoans of both sexes in the pre-Christian period
and even for many years afterwards. Chiefs and ladies of noble rank generally wore
fine mats, the 'ie sina or siapo, made from the bark of certain trees.

19. The lama, or fishing with torches at night, is still a favourite method of
fishing in Samoa. The torches attract the fish and make it easier to catch them. Today,
instead of torches, kerosene and benzene lanterns are mainly used. The word
20. The word "avi" means sought after (eg as a sexual companion) because of qualities such as beauty, wit and so on. By contrast, the words "le avi" mean not sought after. Hence, the Sun's first wife was, as the name suggests, not sought after because of some negative quality.

21. A Samoan metaphorical expression meaning to sleep with or to make one's wife.

22. This refers to living in a state of "sin". It applies to those church members who have been excommunicated because of some moral lapse or have taken up again some old pagan practices such as polygamy.

23. Saleva'o is a mischievous aitu (see Chapter 2) but is here referred to as the devil. This reinterpretation reflects the new Christian influence.

24. The tava'etoto, (phaeton rubricauda), a species of red tropic bird.

25. A figurative expression referring to Samoan society before the arrival of Christianity. The Christians refer to this period as the days of darkness (pouliuli). The expression reflects the result of Christian influence on Penisimani.

26. Another tradition has it that this coconut tree was upside down, with the roots facing upwards and the top part facing downwards. Leosia is the name of the spirit that guarded the entrance to the fafa.

27. "Salafai" is another name for Savai'i island. The word itself means the family or descendants of Lafai, the founder of many of the important lineages in Savai'i.

28. The name of the wind which literally translated means Red Dog or Beautiful Dog or Mischievous Dog.

29. The words "loto leaga" can mean either jealousy or evil heart (i.e. heart of sin) but precisely which meaning Penisimani intends is not clear.

30. Penisimani uses the Samoan word "faimanu" for hunting. It can mean hunting for either birds or animals.
31. As an offering.

32. Penisimani probably means here everlasting hell-fire. He does not use the word "hell-fire" as such a word would be considered an insult by the Samoan chiefs. Instead, he uses a euphemism, "malaia", meaning, evil, suffering, destruction or calamity.

33. The *capparis*, a source of food.

34. The walking-stick is used as an orator's staff by the Samoans. In the context of the parable, it symbolises the flying-fox's skills with words.

35. "Tui Fiti" means king of Fiji.

36. That is to say, to heaven, in contrast with evil people who will go to hell or "disaster everlasting".

37. "Full" is used here in a metaphorical way to mean satisfied. The Samoan word is "ma'ona" which means one is satisfied because one has eaten all that one could. If the spirit's anger was satisfied, his thirst for vengeance quenched, then it was presumed he would have no further cause for inflicting harm. The word is also used with reference to the wave. If the wave did not break it was because it was full, meaning satisfied.

38. Futiga is a village in Tutuila, American Samoa. In pre-Christian times, Tutuila was the place of political exile for people from Western Samoa. The spirit seems to be indicating to the family his intention of going to Tutuila, far away from the centres of political life in Western Samoa. "I will strike this way" is a metaphorical expression to refer to the power of spirits to travel wherever they will and at amazing speeds.

39. "Pai and Lafai" is the Samoan equivalent of the expression "Tom, Dick and Harry".

40. This is to assure themselves that they are not closely related.

41. "Darkness of the land" refers to the fact that one of the combatants has probably been beaten to near unconsciousness and the other in the heat of "battle" hardly knows what he is doing. To them the whole of the landscape is indeed dark.
42. This means *suffered.*