Vā and *Djalan*: Indigenous Diplomacy through Sāmoan *Tatau* and Paiwan *Vecik*

Volume I

Text

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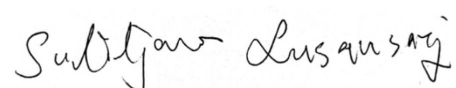
Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is the result of original work carried out by the author.



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Acknowledgement

I am 葉一飛 (Yeh, I-fei) or Suliljaw Lusausatj, an Indigenous Paiwan scholar of Taiwan. I also hold a Sāmoan title, Tauateleofiti, and a Sāmoan name, Liu. This statement marks the beginning of my journey across Oceania.

It has taken me five years to reach this final milestone in my doctoral programme. Along the journey, I have been a voyager across a transnational scholarly terrain, trying to forge a pathway for myself as well as for later generations. I have maintained my sense of belief in this journey by drawing on the protection of my Paiwan ancestors and their blessing to project this vision across a global frame. My master's thesis focused on house society in my Paiwan community, and my PhD thesis builds on this intellectual genealogy, extending my understanding through the practices of *tatau* and *vecik*, so which are embedded in the body, the land and the sea.

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Bunun *isang* (heart) has been inscribed on my Paiwan *varung* (heart), no matter how difficult the experience, and I thank you for both your Han and Indigenous heritage. My great appreciation must give to my father-in-law, Tama Bisazu Sukluman, who has just been recalled by God, alongside his *tastulumah*/*tais*-an (family) for my scholarly *daan* (pathway).

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on Indigenous diplomacy in Oceania through an examination of contemporary tattooing practices in Sāmoan and Paiwan communities in Taiwan. Inspired by Hau'ofa's essay "Our Sea of Islands," and the scope for a dialogue between Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik*, the thesis explores how tattooing might assume a role in the navigation of new relationships across Oceania.

In order to address this question, I spent over fourteen months amongst hosts in Aai-O-Niue, Sāmoa, and in numerous Paiwan communities in southern and eastern Taiwan. My method of enquiry centres on the navigational metaphors of positioning, experiencing and anchoring as a means of addressing the relationality between Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* in a trans-Indigenous context. Adopting a reflexive autobiographical approach, I focus on embodied encounters as the grounds for an Oceanian alliance.

I suggest that Sāmoan relationality, or *vā*, is profoundly expressed through the extended tattooing family and through the embeddedness in customary values (*fa'a-Sāmoa*) of my hosts in the *sā* Li'aifaiva clan. This concept finds a parallel in Paiwan epistemology of pathing (*djalan*) and in customary protocols (*kakudan*), articulated in the process of navigating across contemporary Oceania, led by Paiwan tattooist Cudjuy Patjidres. While preserving their distinct cultural protocols, the relational pathing of *vā* and *djalan* provides protocols for an Indigenous diplomacy, and the wayfinding knowledge that allows us to traverse Oceania.

This thesis documents the critical position of the *sā* Li'aifaiva in Sāmoan *tatau* and contemporary Sāmoan society. It sets out a theoretical framework for understanding relationships among contemporary Indigenous Oceanian communities. Building on Hau'ofa's vision of Our Sea of Islands, it positions Paiwan within the Oceanian realm, and establishes a sense of Indigenous diplomacy that will ground the development of future relationships.

Key words: Our Sea of Islands, Indigenous tattooing (Sāmoan *tatau* & Paiwan *vecik*), *vā*/*djalan* (relational pathing), wayfinding, Indigenous diplomacy

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Glossary

Sāmoan	**English**
'āiga	extended family
'ava	Kava, Piper methysticum for ceremonial use
ala	road, path
ali'i	chief
alofa	love
apisā	sacred *tatau* lodge
fa'aaloalo	respect
fa'alavelave	family event
fa'alupega	honorifics of formal greeting
fa'a-Sāmoa	Sāmoan way of living
fa'atulima	formal mutual acknowledgement of honorifics
faga'u	coconut oil
faife'au	pastor
fale	house
fanua	land
fofō	Sāmoan massage
fono	meeting, council
fu'e	fly-whisk
gafa	genealogy
gagana Sāmoa	Sāmoan language

‘ie lavalava	piece of clothes
‘ie toga	fine mat
lega	turmeric powder
logo	sound
malaga	formal travelling
mālōfie	formal term for Indigenous Sāmoan *tatau*
malu	women’s *tatau*
malae	open ground in the centre of village
matai	chief (general use)
mea alofa	gift, charity
moa	middle
moana	deep sea
nofo	sit
nu’u	village
pe’a	men’s *tatau*
sā	forbidden
sama	coconut oil mixed with turmeric powder
sāmaga	*tatau* completion ceremony
saofa’i	title bestowal
siapo	barkcloth
soga’imiti	*tatau* wearer
suafa	chiefly title
tagata	human

tala o le vavau	legend
talanoa	dialogue
tali	reciprocate and receive
tanoa	wooden bowl for *'ava* liquid
tapu	taboo
tapua'iga	blessing
tatau	Indigenous Sāmoan tattoo
tautua	obligated service
to'ona'i	Sunday feast
to'oto'o	cane of orator
tufuga ta tatau	*tatau* practitioner
tulāfale	chiefly orator
vā	relational space
va'a	canoe

Pinayuanan	**English**
cakal	men's house
cemas	spirit
dilu	cutting board
djalan	path, road
djamuq	blood
inaljan	Indigenous community
kaciljay	stone
kakelayan	hook

kakituku'an	education space
kamulau	pomelo throne
Kavulungan	sacred mountain of Paiwan
kidung	ash underneath pot
kumakuma	spider
lima	hand, five
ljaljedjekan	social hierarchy
ljavek	sea
mamazaniljan	chief (also spelt *mazazangiljan*)
naqemati	paramount creator
ngadan	name
pakazuanan	trace
palakuwan	men's house
palisi	ritual, taboo, blessing
Pinayuanan	Paiwan language
pulingaw	female ritual specialist
qatjuvi	snake
qumagan	guardian alcove of house
saigu na vecik	tattoo practitioner
saviki	betelnut
siqunu	pocketknife
umaq	house
vaqu	millet
vavua	plantation land
vecik	tattoo, mark, record

vulung	hundred-pace snake
vuvu	grandparent, grandchildren, ancestor
wava/vava	wine
zeliyulj	payment

Preface

My ancestors formerly lived at Djulidjuliq, a Paiwan community situated in the upper reaches of Taimali Creek. Amongst the many remaining *upu*, or a rocky base of a house, enclosed by stone walls, is Lusausatj, where my father Madilis was born, and his umbilical cord was buried. Under the colonial policy of the times, his mother, Lengelj, led some of the extended family members to the current settlement, Lupakadj, while others were relocated in multiple communities along the National Number Nine Highway (台九線). One of the consequences of the post-war economic surge in Taiwan was that my father became part of the new, more mobile lifestyle and migrated to Kaohsiung City, in southwestern Taiwan, from where he would travel back and forth with his bike along the route to Lupakadj. I grew up knowing how to return to Lupakadj by watching the landscape transform from concrete buildings to mountains and ocean, with stopovers at petrol stations, hills, convenience stores, or carparks as my father pulled the car over for short breaks.

As an urban-born Indigenous person, I was told that I was Paiwan as a primary school pupil. The history class never spent much time on the topic of Indigenous issues. I was unaware of anything about village life or Indigenous culture until learning about the Austronesian language family after entering secondary school and University. I became lost and desperate to understand who I was. I found that there was no clear path to understanding, and the villagers would need to re-identify me through clues in my genealogy. After completing my postgraduate training, in which I focused on the topic of the age-sets of men's groups (*palakuwan* or *cakal*) and traditional social chiefly hierarchy in the Paiwan Tjavualji community, a voice was telling me to return back to my father's community, Lupakadj, which is only a five-minute drive from Tjavualji.

Lupakadj is an Indigenous-Taiwanese Han settlement which used to have a reputation as "a village of gangsters" in which many men shared migration experiences and wore

contemporary tattoos. But if the tattoos were a stain on Lupakadj's reputation, another voice told me that it would be these same tattoos that would overturn the stigma. Paiwan tattoos, or *vecik*[1], have become the thread or path leading me home. Lupakadj and the adjacent communities in Taimali Township are small villages, or *inaljan*, that reflect many of the macro- and micro-histories of struggle over politics, displacement, vocations, health, and education in other Indigenous villages in Taiwan. These factors have forced my People to travel back and forth between their homelands and foreign territories in search of better lives.

During visits home, I was told that tattoo wearers were gang members or criminals, and so I never received one; I was told these tattoos were introduced from Japan, that they were not part of Paiwan culture. As a secondary school student, I began to feel the need to understand how Paiwan People had traditionally worn *vecik*, especially after witnessing a traditional *vecik* on the back of an elderly village woman's hands without having the chance to hear her story before she passed away.

Whether with enthusiasm or reluctance, we are all navigating on our journeys away from or back to home, in search of a sense of belonging. I found a path to the Pacific, and then retraced my steps to my homeland of Taiwan, a journey much like that of my ancestors between villages and across mountains and valleys. While my route has extended to Australia, Sāmoa and beyond, on the way I dreamed of them whispering to me: "Tattoo your left foot, step out firmly and boldly on your path." Tattooing has shown a path not just for me but also for other nations (Indigenous communities and the state).

The view towards the west has always dominated political, diplomatic and social perspectives in Taiwan. Although villagers and the government have begun to develop pan-Austronesian pathways in order to open stronger multilateral relations across Oceania, non-governmental and governmental initiatives are poorly articulated or coordinated. Studies of

[1] The consonant [*c*] of *vecik* is pronounced [*ts*].

Indigenous diplomacy in Taiwan have been limited, even if villagers have continued to engage in this practice. These customary and contemporary interactions are described not as diplomacy but as “cultural exchanges” (*文化交流*) which denotes simply a form of interaction. Small-scale diplomacy amongst communities deserves more attention.

Thankfully, we have begun reviving our culture, as our *vuvu* (grandparents) did for affinal or intra-village alliances, and we are building strong bonds between men’s and women’s groups (*青年會*) and continuously nurturing these connections through mutual visits and reciprocation. Indigenous forms of diplomacy are central to mutual recognition, and practices that ensure mutual benefit in this way act to reduce the obstacle of geographical distance, enabling alliances over even greater distances, whether across the Pacific or the globe, much as modern governments do for international alliances. This idea led me from Paiwan to navigate towards Sāmoa, an Austronesian Indigenous territory where Sāmoans have engaged both Indigenous and contemporary values in much the same way as Paiwan People. This navigation consists of a circular movement between Sāmoa and Paiwan, with the former playing the leading voyage, and inspiring the latter, Paiwan, to find a pathway. On the way, I branched out to Tauranga, Aotearoa New Zealand and Mo’orea, French Polynesia.

After years of wondering how best to broach the topic of *vecik* and its paths, I came across a Paiwan legend about “*Sisan djalan [jaran] ti Tjukutjuku nuakumakuma*” (a spider weaving a road for Tjukutjuku), which speaks to the themes of *vecik*, road (*djalan*) and navigational traces (in this case, a glass bead), all of which are central to my thesis. Strangely, I had never heard this story while in Paiwan, but I was fortunate to come across it just as I began my writing journey.

> *Manu ka tjalu riliriling azua ti Tjukutjuku mavetjek azua a kalat. Au izua zua ita a ini ka linengelengan. Vaik azua ti Tjukutjuku a na temugul tua nemanga. Tjalu zua i pana izua zazua a vatsal a parisi arhavars azua a avtsal. Ini ka malengelengeleng a*

katarajan nua zua a castal tui ki na qatsa. Ui izua zazua tjagul i vetsekadan tua zia a vatsal. I zua azda a ti Tjukutjuku. "Ai-anga zua a tjagul uka ken a sema zua!" Aia zua ti Tjukutjuku.

As Tjukutjuku walked across the doorsill, her glass bead bracelet broke, and a bead fell but could not be found. Tjukutjuku lifted her burden on top of her head and left home. By the shore, there is a waterhole, a highly sacred waterhole. One can scarcely see the bottom of this hole, but at its centre there is a big rock. Tjukutjuku stood there blankly, wondering how she could get across to the rock in the centre.

Izua zua a kumakuma a kipuravaravat tua zua ti Tjukutjuku. Seman apu azua a ti Tjukutjuku. Ka sivuluq azua a patak. Arapen nua zua a kumakuma. "Tjengerai sun kumakuma ta ku sinu patak?" Aiain ni Tjukutjuku, "Ui! Avan a kulinai nu qemujal!" Urhi ku si linai! "Urhi ku pizza tua ku kinanuka a semakesak! Aia zazua ti kumakuma."

There was a spider annoying her. Tjukutjuku prepared a betelnut and dropped its stem. The spider picked up the stem, and Tjukutjuku asked, "Do you like the stem that I dropped?" The spider replied "Yes, I want it for an umbrella when it rains. I am now making the thread…"

"Nu maia tua zua saka tjengerai sun! Ku su pavaiai tu riau! San djalanan [jarannan] aken! San djalanan [jaranan] aken a pasa zua i vatsekadan tua zua i vatsal a tjagul," aia zua ti Tjukutjuku. Kijekets azua kumakuma tua zua vecik [vetsik] nua rima ni Tjukutjuku. "Akumaia su ki jeketsan a ku vecik [vetsik]?"aiain ni Tjukutjuku.

"Tjengerai aken." Aia zua kumakuma. "Nu tjengerai sun, urhi kudu vecikan [vetsikan], urhi pase qilain a ku vecik [vetsik]. Sa ku pavain tjanusun," aia ti Tjukutjuku. "Veciki [Vetsiki] ana aken! Sa na ke san djalan [jaran]," pia zua ti kumakuma.

Tjukutjuku said "If you like the stem, build me a bridge and I will give you more betelnut stems in return. Build a bridge to the big rock in the middle of the waterhole." The spider then crawled onto the back of Tjukutjuku's hands and rested where she wore a tattoo. Tjukutjuku asked "Why have you stopped there?" The spider said, "Because I like it." Tjukutjuku continued, "If you like the tattoo, I will draw a design for you. Let me transfer my tattoo to you." The spider responded, "If you first tattoo me, I will build you a bridge."

Saka sini patsatsurutsuruj nua zua ti Tjukutjuku uta tua zua a patak nua saviki. Azua ti Tjukutjuku lengelengelengan azua a qidun. Qatsaqatsan sa vesiki azua a kumakuma. Avan nu sika izua nua zua a vecik [vetsik] nua zua a kumakuma aia. Sini vecik [vetsik] ni Tjukutjuku. Seman djalan [jaran] azua a kumakuma. Qemelesai anga saka maia tu pakazuan ni Tjukutjuku a sema zua i tua tjagul i vatsekadan tua zua a vatsal a qatsaqatsa zaza a vatsal a ini ka malengelengeleng a kajunangan aia tua ki na qatsa aia (Hu, 2011, pp. 89-91).

Tjukutjuku left many betelnut stems for this spider. It was said that Tjukutjuku picked up a piece of charcoal and used it to draw designs on the spider's body. As a result, the spider still wears the design that was drawn by Tjukutjuku. The spider then began to build a bridge between the shore and the waterhole, weaving its web back and

forth. It was said that the hole is so deep that one cannot see its base… (Hu, 2011, pp. 89-91, my translation).

The woven bridge then allowed Tjukutjuku to reach the rock, which became her house thereafter. Her mother picked up the green protective glass bead that Tjukutjuku had dropped on the floor as she left her house for the rock. The glass bead leapt up and guided the mother from one point on her path to another until she eventually found her daughter, who was wearing a weaving tool. Tjukutjuku blessed all the other villagers, along with her father and a brother, and relocated the village alongside her new place (Hu, 2011, pp.101-105).

This thesis is a record of my journey through ideas and writing, a voyage that is both linear and circular, tracking back through the connecting nodes of Indigenous tattooing. Sāmoan values of relationality and a Paiwan sense of connectivity guide us along this route. This thesis is a roadmap which serves not only to acknowledge Indigenous ways of pathing in the pursuit of decolonisation, but also as an ethnographic foundation for deploying trans-national bridges across the ocean.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Wayfinding and Tattoo in Paiwan and Sāmoa: An Introduction

This first chapter locates my study within various relevant literatures and discussions on tattooing and Indigenous diplomacy, and makes the case that there is a significant if largely unexplored connection between these two themes.

The existing or available literatures on tattooing in Paiwan and Sāmoa are substantial, and provide an essential platform for my own research. There is an extensive literature which documents the trans-national experience of Sāmoan tattooing (*tatau*), both spatially across Oceania as far as North America and Europe, and temporally from the pre-Christian to contemporary eras. Although the Sāmoan old saying, *fale lua o le ʻāiga mālōfie* (two extended families of the *tatau* heritage of Sāmoa) has been passed down orally over many generations, most of the literature focuses on the work of the *sā* Sulu'ape of traditional tattooists, largely neglecting the second family, the *sā* Li'aifaiva.[2] On the western margins of Oceania, at the probable motherland or ultimate origin of the Deep Time Austronesian diaspora, tattooing in Taiwan has received much less scholarly attention and perhaps a greater degree of colonial control; in consequence, the relevant literature on Taiwan is less extensive, and discussion is not as developed as it is for tattoo in Sāmoa. Here, the focus of my research and reading has been on the tattooing practices of my own Indigenous community of Paiwan, which have experienced a significant revival since about 2008.

Paiwan territory extends across a wide range of environments, from the mountainous centre of southern Taiwan down to the coast, encompassing both land (*kadjunangan/fanua*) and sea (*ljavek/moana*). Eastern Paiwan communities, in particular, share legendary and

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[2] Throughout the thesis, I use "the *sā* Li'aifaiva" or "the Levi family" to refer to the *tatau* clan (extended family). Note that "The Levi family" or "the Levis" refers to the nuclear family with Li'a's spouse, Ropeta of the *sā* Li'aifaiva. I use "Li'a" or "Li'aifaiva" (shorter form of Li'aifaiva and without "the *sā*") to refer to the *tatau* practitioner himself.

ceremonial connections to the Pacific Ocean (Lusausatj, 2012), and my study unfolds as a path outwards from this ancestral connection to the sea, across the Ocean to Sāmoa, before tracing a return to reflect on what a voyage across the Pacific might bring to a new understanding of Paiwan traditions and tattooing practices. Such a voyage is also an act of diplomacy – and, in my case, an act of *Indigenous diplomacy*—and the second part of this chapter thus maps out what is currently understood by Indigenous diplomacy.

This thesis focuses on Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* in order to consider the case for their engagement as forms of Indigenous diplomacy. The specific notion of Indigenous diplomacy is not a new idea worldwide but remains somewhat unfamiliar in Taiwan, despite considerable experience in this realm under the label of *cultural exchange*. We are used to defining diplomacy as action on an international level, but less prone to consider it as an inter- or intra-community activity, such as the practices of alliance through marriage, adoption, oath-taking, or providing chiefs with offerings, common across Indigenous communities in Taiwan. Following an Indigenous diplomatic pathway does not imply geographic proximity, but acknowledges the scope for interaction between trans-Indigenous nations in both customary and autonomous contexts in the post-colonial era. Bilateral relationships are not restricted to peoples who are locate adjacent to each other.

While linguistic evidence has recognised the close Austronesian affiliation between the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan and Indigenous Pacific Islanders, recent diplomatic pathways have been opened up to Oceanic Peoples—including Melanesian and Australian Indigenous communities—independent of engagement between governments, and particularly through creative arts exchanges. Sāmoans have long kinship histories linking them to Fiji and Tonga, and a shared Indigenous heritage that includes *tatau* and related tangible media such as barkcloth and fine mats. During the era of modern globalisation, *tatau* has reached other Indigenous communities, serving as a bridge for local

and diasporic communities. *Tatau* has also become a symbol of Sāmoan cultural and national identity and an inspiration for artwork and cultural revival beyond Sāmoa. Similarly, in the ongoing process of Paiwan cultural revival, inter-community connectivity has been strengthened using *vecik*—tattooing, painting, researching and carving—as the basis for a shared identity.

In an important recent statement, which contextualises much of my work in this thesis, Salā George Carter, Greg Fry and Gordon Nanau (2021) have proposed the concept of Oceanic diplomacy as a project which seeks to open a dynamic relational space by decolonising the state-centric bias of much analysis, and drawing on and preserving Indigenous legacies of ancestry, cosmology and epistemology.

1.2 Tattoo

1.2.1 Tattooing in Oceania: A Brief Review

Tattooing practices in Oceania, particularly amongst Austronesian-speaking Peoples in Southeast Asia, Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, draw on broadly similar values in cosmology, politics, and genealogy. Their imagery can be found in other material forms, such as weaving, carving, painting and ceramic decoration. They have all been undermined to varying degrees as a result of foreign contact and constraint. Finally, in recent decades, movements to revive Indigenous tattooing have emerged across Oceania.

Towards the western end of Oceania, in the Philippines, the Indigenous Cordilleran communities in Northern Luzon share a strong practice of tattooing which formerly included a mummification process that can be dated to as early as the 12th century CE (Salvador-Amores, 2017, p. 37). Ancestral tattoo designs were related to head-hunting practices (Krutak, 2013). After a long period under Spanish rule, Indigenous communities commenced their revival movement under the leadership of the renowned female leader, Whang-od

Oggay, and the diasporic group Four Waves (Tatak Ng Apat Na Alon tribe) led by Elle Festin in Los Angeles (Krutak, 2017, pp. 57-61). Amongst the Indigenous Iban of Sarawak, as with Kalinga in the Philippines, traditional tattooing represents a competitive genealogical life story of manhood, reflecting a sense of bravery and glory. This finds parallels amongst Iban women who practise weaving for their individual reputation (Krutak, 2012a).

Moving further into Oceania, tattooing is widely considered as a form of wrapping (Harris & Douny, 2014), functioning as a moral covering for sociocultural purposes (Gell, 1993). This is the case for both men and women in places such as Palau, the Carolines, the Marshalls, the Marianas and the Gilberts in Micronesia, as well as Fiji and Solomon Islands in Melanesia. Communities in all of these places express shared ancestral values relating to navigation and sea voyaging either by wearing ocean-related tattoo designs, or by reflecting their reliance on land resources through tattoos of terrestrial creatures. Additionally, tattoos served genealogical and political purposes. Throughout the region, tattooing was accompanied by an acoustemology or soundscape associated with the production of tattoos. Most tattooing practices were significantly weakened by more intensive European contact since the 19th century (Krutak, 2013). However, as described by Spennemann (2009, pp. 146-147), Marshallese tattooing has gained in popularity because of its symbolic role in reconstructing a sense of national pride.

According to Gell's analysis, it is possible that the relative lack of record of Tongan *tatau* is attributable to its role within a hierarchical social system in which he claimed that there were court and demotic modes of *tatau*, the former being less public and practiced only by Sāmoans (Gell, 1993, pp. 106-107). This is understandable as Tonga had been historically allied with Sāmoan society via marriage, reciprocity and *tatau*. Their present connection to each other has been weakened due to colonialism and Christian conversion; recently, a small number of Tongans have picked up tools or received men's *tatau* to reaffirm this ancient

genealogical connection (Powell, 2012; The Coconut TV, 2019). As for the *ta'tatau* of the Cook Islands, the only source available to me is the drawing of Te Po Kurikuri, though the depiction is heavily influenced by European artistic conventions of the time (Utanga & Mangos, 2006, p. 320). In the 1980s, the practice of tattooing and its motifs were socially stigmatised in the Cook Islands; nevertheless, in 1992 at the South Pacific Festival in Rarotonga, Cook Islanders launched a new revival of tattooing inspired by the work of overseas artists (Mangos *et al*., 2011).

While much of the ethnographic literature on Tahiti has paid little attention to local tattooing practices (*e.g.* Levy, 1973; Oliver, 1981), Karl Von den Steinen (1988, pp. 128-149) describes a myth about the joy of Kena at receiving a full-body tattoo, and the origin of the pattern, *Vai o Kena* (Kena's pool). William Cummings (2003) describes the influence of Tahitian tattooing on European sailors in the late eighteenth century; while the practice of tattooing in Tahiti suffered a decline after colonial settlement and Christian conversion, it was revived during the 1960s in protest against French colonisation. Today, tattoo designs express the wearers' sense of belonging and brotherhood at a small scale, and Tahitian-ness on a larger scale (Kuwahara, 2005), as well as their sense of fashion (Stevenson, 1996, p. 32). This sense of cultural identity, or *ma'ohi*, is interwoven in politics and economy, and strongly evident at *Heiva* events and the Festival of Pacific Arts (Kuwahara, 2006; Stevenson, 1990).

Elena Govor (2005) provides us with a detailed account of tattooed wearers in Nuku Hiva (Marquesas Islands) through illustrations produced by Russian voyagers who also received Indigenous tattoos in the Pacific as early as 1804. The images and their associated texts document how the sacred and hierarchical status of Nuku Hivan society determined the wearing of tattoos, but notes that the absence of subsequent research into these tattoo designs leaves a gap that is difficult to bridge.

Both Indigenous Hawai'ian men and women were formerly tattooed using a compound of line and geometric motifs (Kwiatkowski, 2012, p. 1) but these practices suffered under the region-wide ban on tattooing by missionaries during the 19th century (Kwiatkowski, 2012, p. 49). From about the 1970s, tribal and other non-Indigenous designs of tattoos were introduced to Hawai'i. At the same time, members of the US Peace Corps who had been working in Sāmoa brought back tattoos with Sāmoan motifs, which were viewed at art events. Polynesian tattoos began to increase in visibility, further contributing to the revival of Hawai'ian tattooing traditions (Allen, 2010, pp. 128-129).

The *tā moko* of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand was regarded as a mark of bravery for men and of genealogical memory for women in pre-colonial times. Today, Māori tattooing serves as a strong somatic representation of cultural identity, in defiance of Europeanisation (King, 1972/2018; Nikora *et al*., 2005; Te Awekotuku, 2002 & 2006). In Rapa Nui (Easter Island), tattooing is called *ta*, and both men and women wore it on faces, torsos, limbs and backs using the bird-bone combs and method of tapping. Its patterns were represented on *tapa* and body painting. The work was carried by an expert called *maori* or *takona* but was abandoned by missionary (Métraux, 1971, pp. 237-248). The use of bird designs was particularly salient and considered as a representation of the sea that links to the goddess who led people to this Island (Krutak, 2012b). Indigenous tattooing on bodies is considered the petroglyphs on rocks that brings ancestral protection for wearer and land (Croucher & Richards, 2016).

Festivals have become places allowing tattooists to share thoughts and exchange techniques, and the regional revival inevitably displays diverse faces (Utanga & Mangos, 2006). However, as the motifs and meanings change, tattooing is occasionally challenged (Stevenson, 1996). Over the past two decades, tattooing in Hawai'i, Tonga, and Tahiti (and to some extent in the Cook Islands, and amongst Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, as well as

Paiwan) has experienced a resurgence through engagement with the *ta tatau* of Sāmoan *tufuga* or tattooing specialists. Sāmoa has been the primary source for tattooing's revival in Oceania. Its cultural richness connects with other places and inspires tattooers to articulate local and translocal motifs and techniques, reflecting the core concept of 'Our Sea of Islands' in Oceania for this thesis. Born and raised in a Paiwan family settled in a city, I emerged with a constrained sense of Indigenous cultural values, but I have been encouraged by the contemporary Indigenous self-empowerment movement across the Oceanian or Moanan communities, and I navigated my way towards Sāmoa to fulfil this growing sense of reconnection of Austronesian family bonds.

1.2.2 Matai and Tatau in Sāmoa

Sāmoan society is politically hierarchical, led by a chiefly figure, known as *matai*. Forms of *matai* status include the *ali'i* and *tulāfale* (or talking chief). The former holds a sacred status, playing the role of mediator in dispute or conferring with the *tulāfale*. The son of an *ali'i* is appointed as the leader (*manaia*) of the untitled men's group. The talking chief, in general, functions as a secular role in representating the *ali'i,* announcing and leading delegations (*malaga*) (Meleisea, 1995, p.7; Hu, 2005, p.42-43; Holmes, 1974, p. 26), and using oratory, known as *fa'alupenga*, on formal occasions (Holmes, 1974, p. 29). There are multiple levels of hierarchy within the *matai* system for both types of chiefs at the family, village and district levels (Hu, 2005, p. 42-43; Homles, 1974, p. 25), with titles and honorifics varying according to the holders' social and political status (Meleisea, 1995, p.2).

The social order differentiates between titled and untitled villagers according to their roles and authority. This order is spatially represented by the allocation of seated positions at a meeting (*fono*) in a house (Meleisea, 1995, p.7; Holmes, 1974, p. 25), with the more privileged individuals seated closer to the centre. Traditionally, a Sāmoan person is untitled before receiving *tatau* which transforms them into a fully recognised adult amongst the

members of a men's group, known as '*aumaga* (O'meara, 1990, p.76; Mallon & Galliot, 2018, p. 14). This mark, as a sign of recognition, entitles an individual to be conferred with a *matai soafa* (chiefly title) after their serving work (*tautua*). The value of the title, however, has seen some devaluation, with the growing influence of individualism, capitalisation and migration.

In most traditional accounts of the origins of Sāmoan tattooing, two Fijian women are said to have brought tattooing to Sāmoa (Krämer, 1995, p. 71; Hu, 2005, p. 82; Mallon & Galliot, 2018, pp. 23-24). Sean Mallon indicates that these Fijian female ancestors, Filelei and Tufou (2005, p. 148), passed on the tools and the knowledge of tattooing to the legendary figures Tilafaigā and Taemā (Mallon & Galliot, 2018, p. 22). Another version identifies Fitiuta in Sāmoa's eastern islands of Manu'a as an origin site; Fiti (in Sāmoa) may have been confused in the past with Fiji. Manu'a was once the political centre of Sāmoa, so it is also possible that Fiti, Viti or Fiji may have been a reference to Fitiuta (Mallon & Galliot, 2018, p. 22).

The two women, who were twins, crossed the ocean from Fiji to Sāmoa, sang, "Tattoo the women, not the men." When they saw a beautiful shell in the water, they dived for it, and as they swam back to the surface, they sang "Tattoo the men, not the women" (Steubel, 2010, p. 104). Despite difference amongst the various narrative versions, they all agree that the female ancestors arrived at the eastern end of the island of Savai'i, travelling along its northern shore, and then crossing the strait to the village of Safata in southern Upolu. On the way they stopped at multiple places and met *matai*, and in the end, they gave the tattooing instruments to the tattooing clan, the *sā* Su'a (Mallon & Galliot, 2018, pp. 23-24; Steubel, 2020, p. 104).

While these traditions are widely known, details of the passage of these legendary figures through Safotu and their encounter with the legendary man Lavea have often been left

out. Similarly, the genesis of the title Li'aifaiva is largely undocumented in most sources. Regardless of these omissions, it is widely accepted that Taemā and Tilafaigā travelled between Fiji and Sāmoa, passing through multiple places on Savai'i, and leaving an *ala* (pathway) for the legend of *tatau*. Places and place-making play pivotal roles in the memorialisation of these ancestral paths. In addition to the link to Fiji, *tatau* may also have been introduced to the Tongan nobility by Sāmoan *tufuga* who were not bound by the *tapu* preventing commoners from touching the bodies of chiefs (Mallon & Galliot, 2018, p. 23).

These variations on the origin narratives, as Mallon and Galliot argue, are largely concerned with precise details such as the names of chiefs and places, which are nevertheless highly significant for the contemporary *tufuga ta tatau* (tattoo practitioner). What seems to be at stake for *tufuga* in the current context is to assert the links between one's own kin and place of origin with the territorial and clan foundations resulting from the encounters with Taemā and Tilafaigā (Mallon & Galliot, 2018, p. 23).

Knowledge of Sāmoan tattooing is transmitted orally and visually though practice, but tattoo designs are also lexically and visually preserved on materials such as bark cloth and pottery. Koojiman (1972, p. 1) observes that Sāmoan bark cloth, or *siapo*, is made of the *u'a* (paper mulberry) which has its origins as a domesticated plant in Southern China and Southeast Asia, from where it was presumably introduced through the ancestral migration of Lapita Peoples across the Pacific (Chang *et al*., 2015). Amongst a variety of patterns used on bark cloth, some are clearly identical to those used in *tatau* (Winter & Cochrane, 2009, p. 36; Meredith & Fitiao, 2017, pp. 253-254). Although bark cloth makers may produce the same motifs in rather different styles, the subjects are often identical, such as seabirds, in reference to navigation (Meredith & Fitiao, 2017, p. 254). The *siapo* functions as an object of exchange and a link to *gafa* (lineage), as well as the sacredness of ritualistic events. As the tattoo wraps

and protects the skin, so too does the *siapo* sanctify the wearer and mark them as distinguished (Thomas, 1995, pp. 143-144).

In addition to the shared motif elements of *tatau* and *siapo*, the black and yellow turmeric used on barkcloth are also sources of dye for tattooing (Taule'alo, 2017, p. 260). The black dye, or *lama,* comes from the burnt soot of the kernel of the candlenut, and the yellow dye is from the turmeric root (*lega*) (Winter & Cochrane, 2009, p. 37). The *lega* is used in the completion ceremony, rather than in the tattooing itself.

Natural spiked tools dominate tattooing practice in Island Southeast Asia (Ambrose, 2012, p. 13), and unmodified tree thorns are used by Austronesian-speakers as far east as Sāmoa (Mallon & Galliot, 2018, p. 21). The earliest known material evidence for Oceanic tattooing are the post-Lapita tattooing needle combs found in Tongatapu, Tonga, which are dated to about 2700 years ago (Furey, 2017, p. 165). Although there are Lapita period sites in Sāmoa, no archaeological tattooing-related implements have been found there (Mallon & Galliot, 2018, pp. 21-22). Roger Green (1979) has suggested that similarities in the decorative design elements, motifs, and structural combinations found across the Polynesian region on bark cloth, human skin, and wooden objects derive from ancestral decorative styles once applied to pottery (see also Herdrich, 1991, on star designs).

Sāmoan tattooing was well documented during the German colonial period (1900-1919). Marquardt (1889/1984), in the first work focused exclusively on *tatau*, described in some detail both designs and their placement along with specific terms for men's *pe'a* and women's *malu*. Augustin Krämer's study of Sāmoan culture (1995 & 1999) has been a major resource for *tatau* as well as many other aspects of Sāmoan life, describing the *tatau* origin narrative, and illustrating tattoo equipment and designs alongside descriptions of working sessions. Although Marquardt and Krämer offer limited analysis, both studies have contributed significantly to the description of Sāmoan culture and society, paving the way for

later researchers. Drawing on their work, as well as that of subsequent scholars, I now summarise Sāmoan tattooing with regard to its cultural and social significance

Tattooing is both a spiritual and physical practice, marking the passage of a Sāmoan boy to manhood (Hu, 2005, pp. 82-83; Maliko, 2012, p. 195). In a group of *matai* (chiefly titled men), *tatau* demonstrated the social prestige of the receiver and the receiver's family (O'Meara, 1990, p. 76; Hu, 2005, pp. 82-83); both the highest chief's son and talking chief's son possessed elaborate marks on their skin. The former received a higher quality of tattoo in order to represent his social status, but there is a collective companionship amongst receivers (O'Meara, 1990, pp. 73-74; Franco, 1991, pp. 128-134). A tattooed man is formally referred to as *soga'imiti*, whose status deserves an *'ava* ceremony, while a man without tattoos is said to be like a rotten taro that is not harvested (Maliko, 2012, p. 195).

Krämer (1995, pp. 70-71) believed that *malu* designs on legs and other tattoos on hands were largely decorative and made men more attractive to women (Marquardt, 1889/1984, pp. 15-17). Beyond decoration, Krämer (1995, p. 80) argued that there was clearly an element of ritual in tattooing practice, as tattooers placed their subjects under the protection of specific gods to prevent death from excessive bleeding; this did not imply, however, that tattooing was a religious act (Krämer, 1995, p. 71). Marquardt stated that tattooing was always primarily about decorating the body, rather than a holy or religious act (1889/1984, pp. 15-16).

The global spread of Christianity and other monotheistic religions has had significant consequences for Indigenous cultures, and this is evident in Sāmoa following the arrival during the 1830s of the London Missionary Society (LMS). Conversion to one Christian denomination or another was inevitably influenced by political concerns; the rivalry between the Wesleyan Methodists in Tonga and the LMS in Sāmoa has been documented by John Garrett (1974). In Sāmoa, the mutually beneficial relationship between one of the paramount

clans, Mālietoa, and the LMS pioneer John Williams accelerated Sāmoan conversion to Christianity. While the former was pursuing supremacy offered by Western goods, the latter was in search of political strength for his church (Robson, 2009). During the same period, French Catholicism focused on assimilating Indigenous religion to Christianity through a political alliance with the chiefly family Mata'afa. Sāmoan cosmological figures and values such as Tagaloa, *atua*, *aitu*, and *tapu* were re-contextualized within European frameworks, enabling missionaries to introduce the new *lotu* (act of worshipping) (Hamilton, 1998).

Importantly, where missionaries in the Society Islands were able to implement a total ban on *tatau* and corporal punishment, with considerable success, this was not the case in Sāmoa. Anne D'Alleva (2005) observes that the continuity of *tatau* practice in Sāmoa is partly the result of political contestation amongst Catholics, Congregationalists, and Methodists. Where power in the Society Islands was heavily centralised with the support of the missionaries, in Sāmoa, customary law continued to be executed at a village level by *matai* members, which prevented the dominance of a single ruler. The Wesleyans tended not to reject *tatau* entirely due in part to their competition with the LMS in Sāmoa, and that same competition indirectly assisted the local growth of the Marist mission. The punishment prescribed by the LMS for those who broke the proscription on *tatau* was hard labour and blotching of their *tatau* in black colour, reflecting contemporary European norms around corporal punishment (D'Alleva, 2005, p. 96); the Catholics tended to be more lenient towards customs such as tattooing, although strongly proclaiming a stricter stance on marriage and divorce (Hamilton, 1998, p. 172). However, this apparently open attitude toward *tatau* may also have reflected the perilous position of the Marist mission during its first decade, which was marked by extreme destitution and poverty, undermining the authority of the priests, who complied with Sāmoan customs rather than attempting to control them (Mallon & Gaillot, 2018, p. 55).

The coexistence between God and *fa'a-Sāmoa* has been a central concern for Sāmoan society and scholars (*e.g.* Kamu, 1996; Maliko, 2012; Latai, 2015); more recently, Matt Tomlinson (2020) has approached this question through the notion of contextual theology to examine issues of biblical re-interpretation, women's roles, Indigeneity and the environment. Similar studies have addressed the tension between communalism and individualism in Sāmoan society, and transformations in the social value accorded to *matai*, *tatua*, and reciprocity in family obligation (*fa'alavelave*), during the post-war period (Meleisea, 1995; O'Meara, 1990). However, although Christian conversion has been one of the more powerful influences on the nature of change in most Polynesian cultures, it has had relatively little effect on the social structure of Sāmoa, where there was less investment in religious sanctions (Holmes, 1974, pp. 96). There has been a similar resilience in Sāmoan incorporation of a British legal code and other foreign values (Macpherson, C. & Macpherson, L., 2010), with responses such as the Village *Fono* Act of 1990 serving to protect the essential integrity of local systems, despite a fundamental tension between the individualism of the foreign code and Sāmoan norms of hierarchical authority and communal responsibility. Significantly, for my study, there is very little attention paid in much of this literature to the question of *tatau*, despite the challenges posed to the protocols of *fa'a-Sāmoa* and thus to the traditional custom of *mālōfie* (the formal term for Sāmoan *tatau* practice).

By 2000, although the influential works of Marquadt (1984) and Krämer (1995 & 1999), containing much detail on *tatau*, had become available in English and accessible to a wider Sāmoan readership, there had been no new studies on the topic before they were published. Since 2000, there has been significant attention paid to *tatau* in scholarly publications, and often in a transnational context. As mentioned above, oral histories have been documented describing the regional relationships with Fiji and Tonga through *malaga* (travelling): Sean Mallon (2005) has traced inter-island and transnational connections

through tattooing both before and during the colonial period, as tattoo receivers have crossed the region, and tattoo designs have blended with European and American influences. Albert Wendt (1976) argues that the "blending" of Sāmoan tattooing has influenced local and national imagery while also transforming practices elsewhere.

Tatau has become a significant symbol of popular culture or identity for overseas Sāmoans, adopted as "identity fixer," strategic signs of identification with a cultural heritage for both the self and others (Treagus, 2008, p. 190). Treagus suggests that receiving and wearing Māori *moko* and Sāmoan *tatau* cannot be assumed to produce the same meanings in the contemporary world that they did at the time of European contact. In particular, the author points out that the modern role of tattooing is little discussed (Treagus, 2008, p.190). Changes in tattooing practice have also emerged, driven in part by the introduction of modern technology. Cioffari (2006) argues that the nature and distribution of change in the development of tattoo art development often reflects unequal access to resources, for example between urban and rural areas. In Sāmoa, this may be reflected in the preservation in rural areas of a stronger influence of *fa'a-Sāmoa* on the practice of *tatau*.

In a globalised economy, commodities and people now travel both physically and virtually, and almost instantly, around the globe (Mangos *et al*., 2011). Events such as tattooing festivals have become marketplaces in which tattooing, as a form of commoditisation, is monetarily exchanged. Through this mixing and negotiating of tattoo design and practice, these events also play a major role in reconstructing notions of Indigeneity in a context of cultural revitalisation. Bernadette Samau (2016) has been using social media to discuss issues such as the debates around the ownership and commercialisation of *malu* and its transformation from privileged to common status. For Sāmoans, ownership of the decision to receive *malu* is left largely to the tattooee's family. However, Miranda Forsyth (2012) has explored uncertainties around the ownership of *tatau*

in Sāmoa (and other cultural practices elsewhere in the Pacific), pointing out varied forms of recognition of ownership by the tattooing families, the government and the public.

Since 2010, a number of new books on *tatau* have been published, the first since the 19th century works by Marquadt and Krämer. *Tatau: Sāmoan Tattoo, New Zealand Art, Global Culture* (Adams *et al.*, 2010) is focused primarily on the work of a small group of tattooists, with photographs by Mark Adams depicting *tatau* practice but limited analytical insight. Anthropologist Sebastien Galliot's work on Sāmoan *tatau* (2010) marks a milestone in its long-ranging historical coverage of the changing technological and ritual contexts for tattoo practice, not just in Sāmoa but also in the broader Pacific region. In more recent work on the Sulu'ape clan, *Tatau: Marks of Polynesia exhibition and catalogue* (Agcaoili, 2016) illustrates the contemporary generation of customary and modern tattooing practitioners, with details of genealogical discourse and photos; again, the focus here is not on analysis. Sean Mallon and Sebastien Galliot (2018), in another work focused on the Sulu'ape clan, provide a comprehensive review of the history of Sāmoan tattooing, ranging from Indigenous narratives to scholarly works, to showcase its traditional and diverse modern forms of representation. Much of this recent corpus of study focuses on the work of the Sulu'ape clan, leaving the other significant *tufuga* family, the *sā* Li'aifaiva, largely unaddressed; it is this imbalance that my own study of Sāmoan *tatau* seeks to redress.

1.2.3 Indigenous Tattooing Practices in Paiwan

Traditionally, the practice of tattooing was carried out amongst seven of the sixteen Indigenous Peoples that are recognised by the Taiwan Government: the Atayal, Seediq, Saisiyat, Truku, Rukai, Paiwan and Pinuyumayan/Puyuma, each of which has its own Indigenous customary values and practices.

Literature leaves very few clues for Paiwan *vecik* tattooing before and during World War II (1895-1945), but gained in quantity afterwards. There are passages on the origin of

vecik only preserved in certain villages. Six versions of tattoo origin narratives can be identified, with three collected from surviving Indigenous narratives and the others documented over several centuries. The three versions of oral narratives all originate from the central territory of the Paiwan People in Pintung County, providing an origin for *vecik* that links to the sacred *qadjuvi vulung* (Hundred-pace viper) that symbolises one of the Paiwan People's essential cosmological values. According to the version in Rarukruk (力里村) (Ho, 1960, p. 18):

> In ancient times, the world was flooded, all of mankind was dead except for an older brother and younger sister. The siblings resided in Bute, Kaburrugan temporarily. Because they were the only two people surviving from the flood, the sister tattooed her face to prevent them from becoming extinct. Her brother was enticed and married his sister. Unfortunately, the offspring they gave birth to were all handicapped. Therefore, they decided to separate and one migrated to Paqaroqaro, the other went to Pairang. Their children got lost as well and the one named Kazagiran reached Rarukruk.

The other version recorded by the same author (Ho, 1960, p. 18) begins in the southern Paiwan community of Timor (三地門):

> The chiefly family originated from the snake and an egg of the Sun, so the descendants tattooed the marks of the snake and the Sun in commemoration of their ancestors. The tattoos also symbolise social status at birth.

Chou (2013, p. 6) and Sadjiljapan (2013, pp. 24-26) have both worked to preserve *vecik* practice in the village of Puljeti (佳興) and share an oration that has further detail on tattoo origins:

> It is said that there once was a hundred-pacer [snake]. It lived on a big rock sitting in the middle of the water fall and rapid currents of a river; it fed on

> betelnut and later gave birth to a baby girl. One day, a hunter of the village went hunting in the deep forest. He met this girl and wanted to bring her back to the village together. The hunter's mother, however, was suspicious. She doubted that the girl was human and thought she had transformed herself from a forest fairy with the intention to hurt the villagers. The girl was powerless to defend herself. Knowing this was a trial from the hunter's mother, she had no other choice but allowed the mother to clean her body until the shape of the sun appeared on her right shoulder and the shape of mortar and pestle engraved with snake-designs appeared on her left shoulder. Soon the hunter's mother realised she had offended the girl, and they decided three days later that a marriage proposal should be made with a wedding to follow.

Descriptions of Taiwan Indigenous tattooing by Chinese authors can be traced back as early as the sixth or seventh century, when Emperor Yang of Sui (隋煬帝) of the Sui Dynasty (581-619 A.D.) was attempting to promote his political dominance, reaching the eastern region called 流求 or 琉求, which presumably is in present day Taiwan. In *Suisu* vol. 81 (Wei, n.d.), it states that "Women are tattooed on their hands using the marks of worms and snakes." This clue does not specify the location referred to, but it does align with Paiwan women's customary *vecik* protocol today.

After the Sui Dynasty, there are few published references to Taiwan Indigenous tattooing. Not until the Qing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) did an educator and governmental officer detail their observations on Indigenous People's ways of living (Huang, n.d.):

> Chiefs, deputy chiefs and executive chiefs wear tattoos on the shoulders, back, chest, arms and armpits after marriage. Tattoos are executed with needles using soot as ink. Chiefs wear human figure designs, while deputy chiefs and executive chiefs wear general designs. Female chiefs wear tattoos on the back

> of their palms with general designs that allow for the recognition of their social status.

The other observer, Zhu (n.d.), notes that:

> Flower designs are tattooed on shoulders, chests and arms using dark soot. Chiefs are tattooed with human designs, aristocratic villagers are tattooed with flowers, tadpoles, worms and fish characters. The receivers endure the pain for they cannot disobey the teaching of their ancestors.

These two passages broadly resonate with what we know today of Paiwan tattooing, though the details of the tattoo designs appear less accurate.

By the period of the Japanese Occupation in the 1940s, Paiwan People had already been forbidden to practice their tattoo traditions for a considerable period of time (Chou, 2013, p. 23). The intervention of foreign powers saw the collapse of Paiwan social structure and the weakening of traditional authority, and the Paiwan tradition of hand tattooing also succumbed (Chou, 2013, p. 31).

Ho (1960, p. 6) points out that Paiwan tattooing was not closely related to head hunting and was thus not totally banned under Japanese rule; rather, it gradually fell into disuse due to the stigma of its association with being uncivilised. Other than the Report on Investigations into the Customs of Aboriginal Peoples (Chiang, 1918/2003), it is not surprising that during this chaotic period, written work seldom focused on topics such as tattooing. Noticeably, soon after the removal of colonial rule, young women at Puljetji swarmed to get tattoos, in a huge resurgence of interest. Still today, women from Puljetji preserve the customs relating to tattoo, and many can still recall the stories of individual motifs. This momentum, however, did not extend to other villages, or inspire a revival movement in Paiwan society, and it would be twenty years after Ho's (1960) study of

Indigenous tattooing practices appeared, followed by the work of Chen on Indigenous material culture in 1988.

From the early 2000s, analytical studies of Paiwan tattooing have been produced by Indigenous scholars. Calivat Tjakulavu (2004) has focused on *vecik* (*徽號*), or family totems, in Chievtskadan (七佳) village, pointing out that the protocols of social hierarchy are marked out in designs, including tattooing; these designs reflect fauna and landscapes, and their values are embedded in oral traditions. While Tjakulavu's study does not have a strong focus on tattooing, three other books on *vecik* were published in 2013: Chen (2012 & 2013) provides an overview of the cultural and technological elements of Paiwan tattooing along with narratives provided by tattoo wearers. Chou (2013) focuses on *vecik* practices in the community of Puljeti, showing how the motifs and their positioning indicate the social status of their wearers. Also working on *vecik* in Puljeti, Sadjiljapan (2013) emphasises the concept of *ljaljedjekan*, or the protocol of social hierarchy, to demonstrate the links between the wearers of tattoos, their motifs and ancestral authority over Indigenous land.

During the past twenty years, the *vecik* revival among Paiwan People has maintained its momentum, and initiated a series of collaborations with museums. From 2012 to 2017, the Laiyi Indigenous Museum (來義鄉文物館) and the Taiwan National Museum has played an important role in collaborating with Paiwan communities in the revitalisation and preservation of Indigenous cultural heritage across urban and rural areas (Chen *et al.*, 2018).

Paiwan *vecik* reflects this local impetus for revival and preservation, but it has also appealed to scholars worldwide. Lars Krutak (2018), for example, has focused on the pioneering Paiwan *vecik* practitioner Cudjuy Patjidres (宋海華), confirming the importance of Paiwan social protocols but showing how family engagement in the practice and completion of *vecik* is also critical to its reproduction.

All of these studies of Paiwan *vecik* are significant in terms of future preservation and revival, but the sources mostly relate to Paiwan communities in Pingtung, rather than in Taitung, as the former has generally retained richer and more coherent expressions of Paiwan cultural heritage, while the latter is confronted by cultural and social changes introduced by other Indigenous or non-Indigenous Peoples. These studies have also been monopolised by a focus on women's *vecik*, leaving men's tattoos hardly touched. Moreover, these works pay attention solely to villagers who wear ancestral tattoos; how Paiwan People narrate their experiences in receiving non-Paiwan tattoos is not addressed. There is little sense in these studies of the position of Paiwan villagers within Taiwanese society, let alone within a transnational context. The emphasis thus far has been on visual forms of *vecikan* (tattoo designs) in relation to social and cultural values, to the exclusion of other sensory aspects of tattooing practice, such as the distinctive sounds. Given the profound impact of globalisation and colonisation on Paiwan tattooing, there is also little mention of the extent to which the practice of *vecik* today coexists with members of other Oceanic communities. These are some of the gaps which my own research has sought to address.

1.3 Wayfinding and Indigenous Diplomacy: *Vā* and *Djalan* in Our Sea of Islands

1.3.1 Our Sea of Islands

Epeli Hau'ofa's passion for decolonisation is evident in his early writing such as 'The Writer as an Outsider' (2008d). In his seminal essay, *Our Sea of Islands* (2008a), Hau'ofa proposes to decolonise a conventional Western perspective of small islands set in the great ocean of the Pacific. Rather than viewing the sea as an obstacle, he re-frames the ocean, or *moana*, as a bridge, that transcends nation-state boundaries. In his collected essays, *The Ocean in Us,* Hau'ofa (2008c) envisions *Oceania* to encompass all those who are committed to Oceania and connected to one another through shared cultures, ancestral histories, *etc*, a definition

which seeks to transcend the limits of ethnicity and nationhood. In *Pasts to Remember* (Hau'ofa, 2008b), Hau'ofa explores the ontology and epistemology of Oceanic Indigeneity, contesting the monopoly of colonial perspectives over the region's history. In their place, he asserts a role for oral histories grounded in local temporalities that are not necessarily linear or progressive.

Hau'ofa's *Our Sea of Islands* approach has been influential across Oceania, and beyond. James Clifford (2001) draws on Hau'ofa's vision to examine the mobility of Kanak people in New Caledonia, observing that movement between places is also a form of attachment to place, reflecting an Indigenous ontology of cultural continuity negotiated through bodily mobility. David Hanlon (2009) has also been inspired by Hau'ofa in exploring the relative neglect of Indigenous histories in Micronesia, partly as a consequence of American militarisation, tourism and education. Paul Rainbird (2007) follows Hau'ofa in pushing back against Western visions of islands as remote, isolated and small, and proposes a subversive approach that would recognise the significance of *islandscape* for archaeology in terms of temporality, movement and relationships. Katerina Teaiwa (2014) adopts a global frame which values equally the importance of attachment to place and the trans-local and trans-Oceanic linkages between People; the quality of smallness identified by Hau'ofa is further developed by Katerina Teaiwa as a counter-strength against imperialism in the region and throughout the Oceanian diaspora. Teresia Teaiwa (2004, 2005, 2010, 2014 & 2017) has led the way in implementing Our Sea of Islands as a foundation for Indigenous-led forms of pedagogy and academic enquiry; at the ANU, Katerina Teaiwa also applies Hau'ofa to the classroom (Hennessy *et al*., 2017). Likewise, Wesley-Smith (2016) has identified a strong need for pluralistic and interdisciplinary approaches to Pacific Studies as a pedagogical ethos, echoing *vā*, which interweaves spatial relationality and vital discourses to avoid an essentialised understanding of Pacific cultures and societies.

Hau'ofa's approach has had its critics too. Ron Crocombe (1976) points out that this romantic perspective of Oceanic life leaves no space for the darker influences of politics, hierarchy, and bureaucracy. Glenn Banks and Andrew McGregor (2011) draw awareness to the regional injustices reproduced by the ongoing domination of the region by Australia and New Zealand through their positions on matters such as refugees and the Pacific Islands Forum. Katerina Teaiwa acknowledges Hau'ofa's signalling of the importance of an Oceanian sense of relationality but stresses that nation-state boundaries have profoundly jeopardised Islander agency in addressing shared regional issues, and that decoloniality is a trans-Indigenous and global social movement that extends far beyond the region (K. Teaiwa, 2007 & 2020).

As a framework, Our Sea of Islands has served to subvert the ways in which Islands and Islanders have been imagined, promoting the decolonising of Oceanian Indigenous Peoples, the interrogation of familiar disciplinary and geographical terms and concepts, and the re-consideration of the ocean as a massive space for connectivity. What is missing for me in much of the writing thus far is any sense of the capacity for extending these insights to the western Pacific rim, and to the experience of Indigenous Peoples in island settings such as Taiwan and Japan. Hau'ofa's writing has focused on the impact of offshore western hegemony on communities in territories with a majority Indigenous population (such as Tonga or Sāmoa), but his approach also has considerable potential for understanding minority Indigenous Peoples who are fighting against the dominant group *within* a state (Jolly, 2001, p.422-423), as in Taiwan.

Unlike Western hegemonic powers, which are keen to dominate regional security and economy, Taiwan Indigenous Peoples offer alternative pathways to reframing relational space to the Pacific (Katerina Teaiwa, 2014, pp.75-76).

This thesis sets out to explore this potential of Our Sea of Islands to voyage intellectually to regions other than Polynesia, including Micronesia and Japan. Taiwan, as the likely historical point of departure for all Austronesians should not be excluded from this engagement. It is this spirit that I trace my ancestral route, using Indigenous tattooing as a form of visual and mental navigation, and travelling physically from Taiwan to the centre of Polynesia—Sāmoa—before returning home with a gift that seeks to fill this gap in scholarship. In order to examine Our Sea of Islands within its original, more narrow scope, we need first to consider a Sāmoan ontology of relationality.

1.3.2 Vā: Sāmoan Relationality

Albert Wendt (1999, p. 4) points out that the Sāmoan view of reality is the concept of *vā*, or *wa* in Māori and Japanese. *Vā* is the space in between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All. The space that is context, giving meaning to things by cherishing, nursing or caring (*'ia teu le vā*) for the relationship. The meanings change as the relationships and contexts change. Wendt introduces a vocabulary of Sāmoan words derived from *vā*: for example, *manava*, which refers to stomach (*mana,* power and *vā,* space) and in its verb form to breath; *vā* and *sā* (forbidden/sacred) combined form the noun *vasa*, or ocean; and *vanimonimo* is a space that appears and disappears (Wendt, 1999, p. 5). Tuagalu (2008) provides further insight on *vā* in a Sāmoan sense, which interweaves with *fealoaloa'i* (social structure) and fortifies *fa'asinomaga* (identity, *e.g. matai*, land and Sāmoan language) for Sāmoans. *Fealoaloa'i* is maintained and strengthened by *fa'alupega* (honorific). Social distance is built through a negotiable *tua'oi* (boundary) which corresponds to the actual boundaries of lands. In addition, *vā tapua'i* identifies the interplay of self and the self's action, as recognised by *fa'amanuiaga* (the blessing of an elder or chief) and *vice versa. Vā*

tapua'*i* also serves as a spiritual praying of support. Lastly, the *vā* between people is a negotiated, interpretative and shifting space (Tuagalu, 2008, p. 114).

Maliko's (2012) brings Sāmoan cultural concepts into the clerical realm, observing that in *tapua'i*, the human is asking God for service—for the God's, not to offer the gods praise, service or worship as in the new Christian understanding. The Christianised meanings of *tapua'i* and *tapua'iga* as church service or religious worship have reversed the roles of *tautua* (service), where the worshipper now becomes the *tautua* (servant) who serves the Christian God (2012, p. 229). This holistic view of *tapua'iga* brings together people much as those who do the action (fishing, fighting, playing, *etc*.) are at one with those who perform *tapua'i*; and both groups communicate with their *Atua*. The circular form of the temple or house and *'ava* bowl is symbolic of the inclusiveness of the socio-religio-political life, as everyone has a *'āiga* (family) and belongs to a *nu'u* (village) the hierarchical structure of which was first developed by their creator Tagaloa. These encompassing structures determine people's identities, identities which are embodied by every Sāmoan who is born into and belongs to this continuum of Atua, land, family, and ancestors as constituted in the act of *tapua*'*iga* (Maliko, 2012, p. 235).

Fofō (2003, p. 11) extends the same emphasis on *vā* to the social-spatial domain, showing how the concept of *tuao'i* (boundary) serves to describe relational space. Vigilance in maintaining (*tausia*) good relationships and observing their boundaries is a foundational practice in Sāmoan tradition. Social *tuao'i*, like land boundaries, are also dependent on village sanction, in that one learns how to practise and nurture *vā* relationships in the village. Aiono (1997) observes that Sāmoan *fa'asinomaga* is founded on three main poles (*poutu toa*): firstly the *matai* or chiefly titles to which one has genealogical ties; secondly, the land (*ele'ele ma fanua*) which is attached to those titles; and, lastly, the Sāmoan language, *gagana*

Sāmoa. The Sāmoan language is regarded as fundamental to the way in which Sāmoans differentiate between Sāmoans and non-Sāmoans.

In the diasporic domain, Sailiemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009) examines *vā* in the context of *i'nei* (here, home/place, household, village, land, nation), which is intimately tied to *'āiga*, *matai* and genealogy. She suggests that *malaga* (movement) is an Indigenous mode of obligation (*fa'alavelave*) which includes *tatau,* rooted in the soil through *tausi fanua* (care for the land) and intertwined through the movement of people; amongst mobile contemporary Sāmoan communities, the concept of *i'nei* enables the maintenance of *vā* in a moral economy. Moving from one place to another refers to a movement within the concept of place rather than specific places. Lilomaiava-Doktor claims that home is not a static place: instead, *i'nei* and *fafo* (overseas, abroad) meet and overlap in various places in the diaspora as contemporary population movements maintain social space, *vā*, between people (2009, p. 12). Likewise, Ka'ili describes Tongan genealogical bonds (*hohoko*) in terms of caring for socio-spatial relations (*tauhi vā*), expressed through the metaphor of weaving together communal obligations (*fatongia*) and ties to families (*kāinga*) and land (*fonua*) amongst diasporic Tongans. In Maui, Hawai'i, this engagement takes the modern form of tree-trimming, trade in carving and remittances from business, through which Tongan relationality is further nurtured by the church (2005). He specifically suggests that memories of their voyages and spatial mobility are inscribed and recorded in their culture, most notably through chants, stories, and songs extolling these great human adventures and achievements (Ka'ili, 2005, p. 86).

Ka'ili (2017) also points out that the concept of *vā* in either a Tongan or Sāmoan context refers to multiple forms of relational space that require nurturing, protecting, sharing, caring and decorating (*tauhi vā* or *teu le vā*). He then introduces the complementary concept of *tā* to construct a Moanan or Oceanic ontology of *tā-vā* in which time and space structure a

reality that is accessible through each of the senses. *Tā* and *vā* are composed of both the spatial dimensions of height (top/bottom), width (left/right) and length (backward/forward), and as cardinal directions including *tokelau* (north), *tonga* (south), *hahake* (east) and *hihifo*/*lulunga* (west) which collectively describe the dimensions of time and space for Moanan societies. Concretely, space (*vā*) manifests itself in *uho* (content) while time (*tā*) expresses itself in *fuo* (form) (Ka'ili, 2017, p. 35), both of which contribute to harmony and symmetry. *Vā* can be observed in the beauty (*mālie*) of material or body art including *tatau* (Ka'ili, 2017, p. 41 & pp. 43-44) which features a rhythmically repeated beat (*tā). Tā* reveals a spiral form of time, referring to a future that is behind and a past that is in front, which is reflected in the relative age and social rank of interlocutors (Ka'ili, 2017, p. 36). Wendt suggests that *tā tā* (to strike repeatedly), refers to the rhythm unique to each *tufuga ta tatau*, and to the rhythm adopted by the person receiving a *tatau* in order to combat/withstand the pain (1999, p. 3).

In a Sāmoan context, there are many forms of *vā*. *Vā o tagata* refers to the relational space between people; *vā feiloa'i* refers to the protocols of meeting; *vā fealofani* refers to the brotherly and sisterly love that people should show one another; *vā fealoaloa'i*, to respectful space and *vā tapua'i*, to worshipful space (Tuagalu, 2008, p. 110). Epistemologically, an appreciation of *vā* has been extended to a variety of disciplines. Take pedagogy for example: Melani Anae (2010), as a member of the New Zealand-born Sāmoan minority, draws on her own diverse genealogy in explaining how Sāmoan relationality, *teu le vā*, has become a key methodological principle in her teaching, and a way to understand the relationship between Sāmoan and New Zealand/Aotearoan society. *Teu le vā* incorporates *fa'a-Sāmoa*—the holistic framing of its associated institutions and concomitant values—as a way of knowing, of living and enacting multileveled social, cultural and political relationships (Anae, 2010, p. 225). Pursuing this line of thought on *teu le vā*, Anae (2016) emphasises the secular and

sacred realms of relational space in which relationships require reciprocal action and mutual respect; *teu le vā* provides Sāmoan values for a practical pedagogy focused on cultivating and maintaining the in-between-ness of space. Maliko echoes Anae's perspective, stating that *fa'aaloalo* is often translated and understood as respect. The word stems from the root term *alo*, which is the frontal or facial or stomach side of a person, as opposed to their back; it also means to face somebody—*alo mai* means 'face this way'. The repetition of *alo* in *fa'aaloalo* designates not only the physical facing of two people or groups towards each other, but also an anticipated exchange of respect, hospitality and love between them (2012, p. 213).

In the context of recent developments in transportation and communications technology, *vā* has become central to Oceanian engagement with the Internet. Wesley-Smith (2003) argues that in order to decolonise, the Internet could potentially be a useful platform for pedagogical purposes for Pacific Studies, if used ethically. Instead of disseminating knowledge inside the conventional space of classrooms, and reinstating hegemonic methods of teaching, Wesley-Smith introduces the *Moving Culture project* implemented at the University of Hawai'i, in which cultural diversity and interaction play significant roles. While cyberspace appears accessible to students, Wesley-Smith reminds us that the issues of a lack of resources and limitations on the sense of community online need more consideration. Cresantia Frances Koya Vaka'uta (2017) suggests that social media provides a liminal space that blurs the moral values of customary and technological places. She further argues that the concept of *teu le vā* is challenged amongst e-families and on cyber culture by different generations.

This review of some of the literature on Oceanian ontology and epistemology has identified the strength of its origins in grass-roots practices. Concepts such as *fa'a-Sāmoa* and *vā* have undoubted resonance for Sāmoan and Tongan communities, but it is worth asking how these same concepts are reproduced and interwoven in diasporic settings such as

Aotearoa New Zealand. This thesis takes *vā* as a point of departure in exploring the local ethos and regional circulation of Sāmoan tattooing practices. The *vā* of *tatau* is present in *gafa* (genealogy), *matai* (hierarchical system), *tautua* (social commitment), *'āiga* (extended family), *fa'alavelave* (family event), *sāmaga* (tattooing completion ceremony) and *malaga* (formal travelling); as well as in *alagaupu* (proverbs), *fa'alupega* (honorific), *fa'aaloalo* (respect), *usiusita'i* (obedience), *vā fealoaloa'i* (social distance), *saofa'i* (title bestowal), and legends, orations and place-naming. These practices, in turn, take place within and resonate with the concrete structures of space such as *apisā* (sacred tattoo lodge), *fale* (house), *falesā* (church), *nu'u* (village), and *fanua* (land), and beyond to Indigenous enclaves such as the designated spaces at international tattooing conventions.

The Indigenous-oriented nature of my thesis is based on a cross-national and multi-sited engagement, which inevitably confronts the challenge of translation between two (or more) ethnic groups. I do not consider *fa'a-Sāmoa* as directly applicable to any groups other than Sāmoan society, but there is value in understanding how *fa'a-Sāmoa* has confronted globalisation. Similarly, the effort made to both preserve the concept of *vā* and apply it to new fields such as pedagogy is valuable for Indigenous communities beyond the immediate region of Tonga and Sāmoa. Given my interest in understanding possible points of articulation between Paiwan and other Oceanian communities, serious consideration of the lessons and experiences of *fa'a-Sāmoa* and *vā*, and their histories of survival of the colonial period, is an essential and important step. Lana Lopesi (2018) has suggested that the forces of western hegemony which have created artificial lines to define geo-political territories have constrained Indigenous Oceanians from recognising and acknowledging ancestrally continuous and related values across the region. Our vision of Oceania cannot be controlled by this history of political disarticulation. My thesis is thus an exploration of the scope for an

Indigenous Taiwan diplomatic relationship with the region that might allow for and foster better bilateral understandings of existing cultural, social, economic and political realities.

1.3.3 Weaving Pathways: Austronesian Wayfinding

The notion of *wayfinding* is not strange to Austronesian societies. Ancient voyagers navigated across both land and ocean. Although there was no formal notion of diplomacy in the modern sense, their cross-boundary movements and exchanges acted precisely as forms of Indigenous diplomacy.

In the Austronesian-speaking family, a notion of mobility is marked by the term *djalan* (in Paiwan), *dalan*, *laran*, *lalan*, *dan*, *lalana*, or *jalai*; also by *ked*, *ara*, *rael* and *ala* (in Sāmoan) (Tryon, 1994, pp. 506-508; Fox, 2021, pp.3-5). All of these terms refer not only to the road in a material sense but also to the spiritual world that guides travellers from their points of origin (Fox, 2021). Austronesian narratives of origin, describe competitive processes and the journeys towards pre-eminence of individual clans, along with a keen sense of relatedness through kinship (Fox, 2006, pp. 234-236). In the Cook Islands, the term *ara* refers both to road and genealogy, which allow one to track the movements of ancestors, perhaps along different kinds of path. This pathing is then politically cemented by marriage and stabilised through *mana* (Siikala, 2006, pp. 47-54). The Indigenous Bunun People of Taiwan generated nodes along these paths by naming and preserving relationships through names in specific genealogies. Those family members who are given a family name, *ngan*, are considered to share a common relationship, or *ara*. *Ara* ideally circulates within an extended family, on one hand stabilising the bonding a group of name holders, on the other, creating a boundary to distinguish them from other families. Lin (2021) describes how Bunun villagers map their ancestral domain at Laipunuk, after their forced colonial relocation in 1932, as an embodied process of recalling and storytelling.

Origins may be conceived of as multiple and access to them may be provided by diverse means. Dreaming, contact with spirits, the recitation of formulaic wisdom, the witness of the elders, or the presentation of sacred objects as evidence of links to the past may each provide forms of access to the past (Fox, 2006, p. 5). Further developing the notion of journey, Fox (2021) observes that *pathing* is a metaphor shared across the Austronesian language family and thus ancestrally embedded in navigational practice; *place nodes*, such as artificial or natural objects in the landscape or skyscape, anchor travellers' paths when voyaging into unknown regions. Legendary events and the experiences of ancestors along the path are recalled through rituals of narrating, singing, drumbeating, and reciprocating, and are inscribed by naming the nodes encountered en route. In this way, the path takes shape and becomes inserted into cosmological understandings that serve to guide movement ahead and towards the afterworld. Pathing emphasises movement (backwards and forwards), while also illuminating particular routes.

Wayfinding, defined here as navigating with Indigenous knowledge, is a significant avenue for Indigenous agency, drawing on the Oceanic experience of voyaging while recalling stories of the past and paving a way into the future. Wayfinding begins with positioning, anchoring a storyteller at a starting point, and drawing on objective and metaphoric skills that contribute today to projects of decolonisation (Iosefo *et al*., 2020); wayfinding provides a powerful impetus and resource for decolonising action, liberating Pacific Peoples from the prescriptions of academia and the state. In practice, this concept privileges the capacity of an individual to map and to express intention about the direction of movement, and enhances the ability of Indigenous People to engage in genealogical inscription of their landscapes and seascapes, tracing an arc between the past and the future.

Within the region, examples of such wayfinding activity include the Kula Ring in Papua New Guinea, which provides a central logic for Islanders to voyage from one place to

another, during which the values of the named places, objects and memory are preserved in pursuit of social status; this form of pathing inevitably confronts new forms of flow through engagement with Christianity, capitalism and modern navigational technology (Kuehling, 2021). Sudo (2006) suggests that routes between islands in Micronesia are preserved in oral histories and reproduced in practical form as pathways of tribute (*sawei*) which maintain socio-political authority across matrilineal hierarchy groups (Sudo, 2006, pp. 57-72). Teresia Teaiwa (2017) proposes the canoe as a foundational metaphor in navigating her pedagogical voyage, which stresses cooperative methods of teaching and learning for lecturers, tutors and students alike, empowering learners from heterogeneous cultural backgrounds. Foregrounding an Indigenous-based knowledge inspired by a navigational stick chart from the Marshall Islands, she was able to engage in *akamai* (being smart or clever in Hawai'ian) to carry out an innovative, interdisciplinary and autonomous methodology for higher education across multiple levels.

Likewise, in Polynesia, Spiller (2012) has highlighted wayfinding as a navigational methodology by drawing on Māori ontology and epistemology to emphasise the relational connection of compass (Indigenous ways of perceiving), conduct (reciprocity), and contour (narration) for researchers, and amongst wayfinders and researched communities. Matapo and Baice (2020) apply these ideas to the education of Pasifika and Māori students in universities, arguing that a wayfinding approach emphasises collectivism, genealogy, and storytelling through *talanoa*, pushing back against the commoditised and individualised ethos of neoliberal academia.

1.3.4 Conceptualising the Path (Djalan) in Paiwan Ontology

The Paiwan concept of *djalan*, referring to a road or path, is also associated with sameness (*tadjalan*). A study of eastern Paiwan communities suggests that *ta-djalan* [*ta-djaran*], along with *ta-nasi-an* (same breath) or *ta-djamuq-an* [*ta-jamoq-an*] (same blood), denotes a lineal

relationship within a stem-centric cognatic network which can follow either matrilineal or patrilineal connections (Matsuzawa, 1976/1986, p. 470). The concept of *ta-djalan* [*ta-djaran*] is focused on the ancestral precedence of chiefly families, which are described as the *ni-apul*[3] (tree-root) of a village (Matsuzawa, 1976/1986, pp. 474-475).

Ta-tsukulan (a couple) and *ta-umaqan* (a residential house) correspond to *ta-djalan* [*ta-djaran*] in a genealogical sense (Ferrell, 1982, p. 476). The former indicates the smallest blood-tied unit of a household (a couple and their children), while the latter is a broader notion that refers to family members who co-reside in a house, including those who are divorced, or who have deceased children or spouses. Members of *inaljan* (communities) who move out for a period of time are still considered as belonging to *ta-umaqan* if the requirements of reciprocal assistance are fulfilled (Ferrell, 1982, pp. 455-459). In other words, migration does not infringe on the solidarity of the *umaq* (house) or *djalan* (route); on the contrary, reciprocity fills a crucial symbolic role in maintaining family bonds beyond the original living space.

In addition to *djalan*, *zua*, meaning "over there" or "there is," denotes a person or object that can be reached or connected with through a certain direction. The stem *zua* has various lexica that are relevant to *djalan.* Among them, *pakazuan* or *pakazuanan* refers to a physical path on which footprints or traces are left (Ferrell, 1982, p. 363). This word further denotes the marital tracks, *pinakazuanan* (or *djinavacan*) in pursuit of a balanced hierarchical status with a partner. This lineage route is preserved in family genealogies that are narrated in the form of *tjaucikel* (true legends) or *milimilingan* (fictional discourses). While the former is held to be true in terms of their genealogical content, the latter are regarded as fictional, recounted largely for allegoric or educational purposes (Hu, 2011, p. 85). *Tjaucikel* establish

[3] *Ni-apul*, however, could have been misspelled. *Ni* is a suffix referring to "your" and the closest spelling and pronunciation of the word *apul* is *kapu* (shorter form of *kaikapu*), which means head-carrying cloth. *Kapaz,* on the other hand, refers to a root (Ferrell, 1982, p.110).

links to a family's narratives on issues such as origins, migrations, social reproduction, and individual histories (Kao, 2004, pp. 60-62).

The concept of a route can be clearly seen in Maljeveq (五年祭 or 人神盟約祭), a ritual shared across Paiwan communities which recreates ancestral pathways from the sacred mountain, Kavulungan (*vulung* means being old; *vulungan* the thumb or the scared sharp-nosed pit viper), and their travels southwards and eastwards to ensure the prosperity of their descendants. At the conclusion of this event, the ancestors are sent back to Kavulungan. Hu (2011, pp. 180-186) points out that the ritual discourse (*rada*) serves as a *djalan* [*jaran*], channelling Paiwan eagerness for spiritual strength (*ruqum*) in order to gain fortune (*sepi)* and life (*nasi*) from the Naqemati (the paramount ancestor). This narrated road acts as a protection (*paserem*) from defilement, allowing Naqemati from the *kalevevan* (the sacred world) and human beings from the *kacauan* (the secular world of humans) to meet through the *rada*. As Hu emphasises, the *rada* is a road (Hu, 2011, p.182). In the social context of Paiwan, marriage, becoming sworn siblings, and intra-community alliance all play a role in defining and constructing cross-boundary relations. Though each of the spatial realms discussed above may appear rigid and fixed, they actually contribute dynamically to the reproduction of relationships in social structure, lineage and cosmology, which are decoratively demonstrated in decoration and preserved through oral narrative.

1.4 Diplomacy of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples in the Pacific

1.4.1 Contemporary Paiwan People's outward Relationship

These same precepts of Paiwan diplomacy at a local level are increasingly mapped out on a larger scale across Oceania. Not all mobility contributes to the promotion of diplomatic connections, but the recent history of Indigenous Peoples initiating pathways beyond the islands of Taiwan illustrates the scope for extension of these local practices onto a broader

regional stage. The Rover Incident in 1867 provoked a series of diplomatic encounters between Paiwan People, the US, Japan and the Qing government of China, and indirectly triggered the Mudan Incident (牡丹社事件) in 1874 (Eskildsen 2005), embroiling Paiwan People at the centre of international contestation. During World War II, when Taiwan was ruled by a Japanese military administration, villagers from various Indigenous communities (including Paiwan) were recruited and sent mostly to the Philippines and Papua New Guinea to fight against the Allies. This experience was later memorialised by the descendants of these soldiers, who collaborated with a higher educational institute (National Taitung University), to showcase the re-encounter between Amis and Paiwan Peoples and Papua New Guinea after more than a half of a century. A wooded sculpture named The Wind of the Takasago Giyutai (高砂的翅膀) was set up on the coast of Papua New Guinea, facing Taiwan, showing an eagle with its wings raised in order to deliver the sacrificed souls back home to Dulan in Taitung (Tsai, 2009, 2011 & 2017).

Although they had no voice in the diplomatic process of the war, Indigenous Peoples travelling overseas as Japanese soldiers during World War II established a shared cross-national experience, despite ambivalence in their sense of loyalty to communities, fellow soldiers and political states. Huang suggests that the Soul of Yamato（大和魂）provides a path towards a re-examination of the sense of Japanese identity for the Takasago Giyutai (高砂義勇隊; Takasago Volunteers Troops) both during and after the colonial period (2011c).

There are other shared transnational histories of the post-war period, based on activities such as fisheries and overseas labour in the Pacific[4] and Atlantic oceans, and in the Middle East. After the war, Taiwan experienced an economic boom, and many young

[4] My father worked for a fishery company and was an apprentice on a fishing boat to the Philippines. One of my uncles was a crew member on a fishing boat that cruised as far as American Sāmoa, and recalls how prosperous the local tuna industry was at the time.

villagers left in pursuit of higher pay; but this boom also led to further loss of Indigenous territories. As a result of government policies, Paiwan villagers of Lalauran[5] (along with Amis People of Sasalah who live in the same village) lost their lands and shifted their economic focus to fisheries. This became viable as Lalauran is located on a plain close to the seashore, where fish were trapped by the undercurrent (Yang, 2017, p. 40).

1.4.2 The Trans-Indigenous Diplomacy of Contemporary Taiwan Austronesian Peoples

In 2000, the former President of Taiwan, Chen Shui-bain, signed a treaty-like document with the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan, "A New Partnership Between the Indigenous Peoples and the Government of Taiwan", in order to formally recognise their relationship. A delegate from Taiwan has been present at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII, 聯合國原住民議題常設論壇) in New York since 2009 (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Taiwan, n.d.). This formal recognition of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples has particular significance for Taiwan's relations with the independent states of the Pacific.

Since 1994, the Taiwan Government had established diplomatic relations with Palau, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Tuvalu, Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Fiji and Papua New Guinea (Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.), although some of them had ceased this alliance. Outlining the diplomatic histories of Taiwan's and Japan's relationships with Pacific states, Stringer (2006) observes that Taiwan provides an economic benefit for its partners while seeking international recognition in return.

In 2013, New Zealand and Taiwan established a bilateral free trade relationship, known as the Agreement between New Zealand and the Separate Customs Territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu on Economic Cooperation (ANZTEC; 臺紐經濟合作協定). In this agreement, the Indigenous cultures of Māori and Taiwan Indigenous Peoples

[5] Sasalah is an Indigenous settlement of Amis People who fish in collaboration with Paiwan People of Laraulan, also living in the same community.

are explicitly protected in the contexts of economic development, natural resources, mass media, educational strategy, human rights, *etc.* (New Zealand Commerce and Industry Office, n.d.). This agreement is particularly important because Taiwan and New Zealand have no direct diplomatic relationship, and the Agreement thus creates cultural exchange opportunities for Indigenous Austronesians on either side, and opportunities to meet Indigenous partners to discuss issues such as autonomy, natural resource use, education and climate change.

Mona (2007) reviews these international diplomatic engagements between the Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines and Taiwan, and proposes an expanded diplomatic relationship with alliance members in the Pacific in order to strengthen regional collaboration and negotiation in the context of political pressure from the People's Republic of China.

Guo (2017) identifies a growing decolonising impetus amongst island states in the Pacific, and emphasises the deployment of cultural relationships and Austronesian diplomacy, such as art exchanges in the Festival of Pacific Arts. Lin (2019) and Fan (2019) describe the role of women's empowerment in this engagement with the Pacific—including Tsai Ing-wen as the current and first-ever female President of Taiwan. In a series of works, Jessica Marinaccio explores the role of cultural performance as a form of diplomatic engagement between Taiwan and Tuvalu (2019a), observing that the Taiwan-Tuvalu relationship is bound up with geopolitical concerns (2019b); she also contends that the notion of Austronesian diplomacy has been unevenly understood by different partners in these relationships (2021).

In Sayun Dosu's master thesis (2022), she examines the notion of soft power through providing an overview of how Council of Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan implements policy

of Austronesian relationship, using the Six-year Plan for the Austronesian Forum (2020-25)[3]. However, Lai (2014) observes that the contrast between the promotion of imported foodstuffs on one hand, and Indigenous Nauruan knowledge of food, diet and sense of aesthetics on the other, has tended to undermine the project.

The Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture (FESTPAC), which consists of various cultural events including tattooing, has emerged as a particularly significant diplomatic forum for Indigenous Peoples. Collaborating with museums is another important avenue. Figueira (2020) describes the *Dispossessions* exhibition, organised by Indigenous Taiwanese curators in collaboration with UK academics, highlighting the role of Indigenous People as non-governmental agents of foreign diplomacy, and the nature of their entanglement with the government and its agendas.

There is thus a broad understanding of Austronesian identity as the basis for a new form of diplomatic strategy between states, but the roles of non-governmental organisation and other social movements remains under-explored. Paiwan and other Indigenous Peoples have engaged in trans-border relationships for at least a decade, yet exactly how this grassroots process of Indigenous self-empowerment is practised in Taiwan and overseas remains a wide descriptive and analytical gap. In considering how to approach this gap, the experiences of other Indigenous Peoples engaged in Indigenous diplomacy are instructive.

1.4.3 Transnational Indigenous Diplomacy

De Costa (2009) challenges the contemporary hegemony of conventional state diplomacies over definition and practice, recognising the long-standing history of Indigenous diplomacy well prior to the colonial encounter. Despite being acknowledged by the United Nations, Indigenous diplomacy tends to be limited in global politics. Chrismas (2012-13) proposes a

[3] See the website of Austronesian Forum for more: https://austronesianforum.org/en/menu/92C9FA5FDC5FA166FCE0C2A2CD32E578/info.html

model of multi-track diplomacy which would include roles for government, non-government or professional, business, private citizen (building individual cross-cultural relationship), research/training/education, activism, religion, funding, communication and the media—an approach that would allow for Indigenous diplomatic contributions. In the field of education, Richardson (2012) considers the mediating role that teachers play in negotiating political differences between Indigenous and educational collaborators, in order to promote a decolonised education for Native American Peoples. Abele and Rodon (2007) explore how kin bonding, as a social and political basis for exchange, has enabled the establishment of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference across Canada, Greenland, America and Russia. Internationally, this transboundary alliance strengthens the political position of Inuit in negotiations with non-Inuit residents over self-governance.

Trudgen (2011) argues that Indigenous Australian diplomacy and justice systems, practiced by the Yolngu People, have not been acknowledged by the government. Inter-community relations have been in place for thousands of years, grounded in a shared cosmological basis (the dreaming) and practised through *wurnan* (a system of pathing) such as marriage and material trade (De Costa, 2009). Brigg (2011) proposes that Indigenous communities of northern Australia have a long history of diplomatic engagement with visitors from Makassar in eastern Indonesia, through the sea cucumber trade. This maritime connection has produced a flexible and relational diplomacy that is based on Indigenous forms of exchange and mobility, in contrast with nation-state models of bilateral alliance. De Costa (2007), also working with Yolngu examples, show how Indigenous cosmologies which foreground mobility and exchange challenge both the boundaries of European convention, and the relationships implied by bounded polities. Myatt (2021) extends this analysis by showing that how Western diplomacy exercise a form of violence in its emphasis on exerting authority over the counterpart, while Yolngu-Makassar diplomacy through mediation

promotes a mutual respect. Phipps (2016) show how customary Aboriginal cross-country engagements through singing, dancing and storytelling have become transformed into festivals that serve a diplomatic role in education while generating benefits in the search for self-reliance. Singing at these intercultural venues, the band Yothu Yindi, which consist of Australian Indigenous and Papuan players engaged in the diplomatic role of education by mixing Yolngu and global popular genres for reclaiming ancestral pathways that lead the Aboriginal value and social justice in the Mainstream (Corn, 2010).

The Tao, Indigenous People from Orchid Island in eastern Taiwan are culturally and linguistically similar to Batanese People from the northern end of Luzon. According to oral histories that can be traced back 300 years, it is believed that these two Peoples moved back and forth between Taiwan and Luzon using traditional boats. This traditional relationship has been reproduced through contemporary bilateral visits between Taiwan and the Philippines (Yang, 2012).

Drawing on these insights into Indigenous forms of diplomacy, I approach Sāmoan *vā* in relation to the notion of Paiwan *djalan*. If *vā* emphasises the relational space in-between, then *djalan* refers to the interconnected linear space of the path. I propose to work with the conjoined notion of *vā-djalan* in order to explore not only their shared ontological value, but also their epistemological reproduction through a variety of forms of reciprocity.

1.5 Research Question, Goals and Indigenous Methodology

1.5.1 Research question and Goals

Indigenous tattooing is the bridge or vehicle through which I explore the interwoven-ness of Indigenous rootedness and flow, which are both characteristic of Oceanian tattooing cultures. Much as Austronesian ancestors migrated from Taiwan to remote Oceania using natural signs to find their way, I consider Oceanian Indigenous tattooing a form of bodily compass that can

serve to direct me on my route. Accordingly, the key research question for this thesis is, "how has tattooing—as *tatau* in Sāmoa and *vecik* in Paiwan—assumed a role in the navigation (positioning, experiencing and anchoring) of new relationships across Oceania?" Indigenous Oceanian relationality provides an intellectual spine to the structure of this thesis, which sets out to:

1) re-examine the Sāmoan proverb, *fale lua o le 'āiga mālōfie* (literally "two houses of tattooing extended families"), and establish the *sā* Li'aifaiva's connection to Sāmoan tattooing traditions;

2) re-conceptualise tattooing under its own Indigenous terms for both Paiwan and Sāmoa, which have been greatly simplified through Western adoption and use;

3) elaborate on tattooing practices by promoting the importance of *sensing* Indigenous practice, not just visually, but specifically through the hearing of sound;

4) consider how *tatau* and *vecik* are engaged as dynamic and communicative vehicles in the negotiation of trans-Indigenous engagements;

5) elaborate on Indigenous Oceanian diplomatic encounters between Sāmoa and Paiwan, redrawing the boundary for Paiwan *within* Oceania, and becoming what I call *Oceanian Paiwan*; and

6) navigate between Sāmoan and Paiwan ontologies of relationality.

1.5.2 Towards an Indigenous Methodology

Katerina Teaiwa (2015, p. xv) conducted her "homework," rather than fieldwork, across multiple nation-states in the Pacific to track the history of mining amongst Banaban communities in Kiribati, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, and Fiji, using a combination of

archival research, autoethnography, visual and critical discourse analysis, and storytelling. She describes this practice as "transdisciplinary research." Teaiwa positions her ancestral identity through her research method and process, adopting phosphate mining in Banaba as a pathway towards home through which she was able to rediscover her genealogy and engage with her communities using film. As she suggests, doing homework rather than fieldwork provides a paradigm for her decolonising methodology.

Following a similar pathway, my field/homework addresses two core sites in Sāmoa and Eastern Paiwan, along with other locations in Aotearoa New Zealand, Tahiti and Mo'orea. I worked first in Paiwan villages across Pingtung County and Taitung County, which are culturally and geographically close (but somewhat distinct), providing me with contrasting perspectives on the place of *vecik* in contemporary Paiwan society. While I did not imagine it in these terms from the outset, tattooing led me to voyage amongst these different places. By nature, tattoos and tattooing practices, which are highly mobile and can be transported from one place to another, lend themselves to voyaging. This traditional mobility has gained further momentum through advanced transportation and communication technologies, further blurring previous borders and opening new paths for trans-Indigenous engagement. Michael Christie (2006) suggests that a trans-disciplinary approach tends to be a negotiated method through which Indigenous Peoples can become empowered in relation to modes of academic research that have long been dominated and owned by Western researchers.

I worked in Paiwan villages in Southern and Eastern Taiwan from February to April, from July to August, and September in 2018, over a total of four months. Research in Sāmoa was conducted near a total of ten months in three stages: from May to July, and September in 2018, and then from October 2018 to April 2019. A final stage was conducted in June 2019 for two weeks.

In Taiwan, the places where I worked including tattooing spaces in homes, cultural villages, workshops, conventions, galleries and museums. Most of my work in Sāmoa was in the village of Aai-O-Niue (Figure 1.1, 1.2), where the Li'aifaiva family resides. Aai-O-Niue, literally the settlement of Niue, is situated on the northern shore of Upolu in Sāmoa. This village was originally under the authority of a Sāmoan *matai*, and then became a settlement of Niuean immigrants working as mission teachers and labourers.

I visited the family three to four times a week, mostly in the *apisā* (sacred tattoo lodge). Usually, I entered and sat on the floor without asking any questions throughout my visit. I learnt through my body, experiencing all kinds of cultural protocols. I took no pictures of the *tatau* or the receivers and their families without their informed consent. Serving as a stretcher allowed me to participate in a variety of types of space where tattooing work was carried out. Again, I asked no questions but chatted normally or remained quiet while working. If I did want to put a question to anyone, I waited till they had a break.

Other sites where I worked included the Sāmoa Tourism Authority, Museum of Sāmoa, Olivia's Accommodation, and the Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Sāmoa (EFKS; also known as the Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa, CCCS) and the Museum of Sāmoa. Interviews took place either on public occasions or at private properties such as MacDonald's, coffee shops, offices, churches and interviewees' houses, with written consent forms completed.

In Taiwan, interviews were carried out in informants' workplaces or houses in Pingtung and Taitung (Figure 1.3, 1.4). Research consent was given either orally or by completing forms. My goal was to work with a wide range of people with opinions on traditional and contemporary tattooing. Some of the places in which I met people included tattooing locations and demonstrations in various villages, along with a tattooing convention and an exhibition.

The selection of two or more locations for my research inevitably invites questions of comparison. But Sāmoa and Paiwan are not simply controlled groups selected for a structured comparison. While starkly different in terms of the demographic and political position of their Indigenous populations, Sāmoa and Paiwan share strong ties culturally and historically. There is also the issue of my familiarity with Paiwan, and my respectful attitude towards Sāmoan culture as an outsider, my approach respects the unevenness of these two communities, drawing asymmetrically on the experiences of Paiwan People and Sāmoans. Much of my focus in this thesis appears to be on Sāmoan tattooing and Sāmoan culture and history, with Paiwan playing a counterpoint. Thus, Chapter Three on the Genealogy of the *sā* Li'aifaiva, addresses the *tatau* practitioner's family histories, with no examination of Paiwan *vecik*. However, in Chapter Six, I return to the ongoing Paiwan diplomatic movement while reflecting on Sāmoan *tatau*.

My ethnographic strategy was to focus on two tattoo artists and to rely on the snowball technique to expand my circle to others in Sāmoa and Paiwan. In Paiwan, I was introduced to clients and family members of the tattoo practitioner, Cudjuy Patjidres (Figure 1.5). It was relatively easy to engage with young Paiwan tattoo receivers, most of whom I had known before commencing this study. In Sāmoa, I had a strong relationship with the *tufuga ta tatau* Li'aifaiva Imo Levi (Figure 1.6), who originated from Safotu in Savai'i, and is currently based in Apia, the capital of Sāmoa. The *sā* Li'aifaiva is largely ignored in most academic publications or documentaries on the tattooing history of Sāmoa. I had more or less formal interviews on six occasions with Li'aifaiva Imo Levi and his father, Lavea "Fosi" Levi along with his mother, Matautia and wife, Papali'i (Figure 1.7). I did not conduct formal interviews with Cudjuy, as we already had strong shared connections and a relationship which allowed me to develop my understanding based on our informal conversations.

In total, I conducted 40 face-to-face interviews in Sāmoa, along with another 25 across several Paiwan communities. The interviews lasted from between one to three hours, depending on the topics discussed and the personalities of the interviewees. A semi-structured interview format allowed my partners in conversation to speak freely. A reciprocal sharing of thoughts and ideas during these conversations was critical in putting interviewees at ease in discussing personal information. I shared my genealogy and talked about my desire to promote Indigenous culture, and my position as an intermediary between academia and communities. I described my work as a form of *tautua* (service) for my people. The interviews took the form of conversations with reciprocal exchanges; I found that this approach liberated me from my academic training and allowed me to act as an Indigenous storyteller. This negotiated role almost always reduced ethnic, national and political differences, and elicited a response.

Bearing my own ancestral heritage and learning from my Sāmoan family and their network, I have been particularly inspired by Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (2012), who emphasises a collaborative and negotiated strategy of self-determination and mutual respect when working with Indigenous communities.

In Paiwan, my passion for this research reflected my personal journey which has led me to a deeper understanding of contemporary Paiwan society. This journey mirrors the travels of my *vuvu* (grandparents or ancestors), who navigated in the forest and ocean, and who have encouraged me not to be scared in unfamiliar lands.

In order to decolonise my own research, I have described my work and my experiences as vividly and as honestly as possible. This autoethnographic approach, which I think of as wayfinding, with ancestral knowledge and culture as a compass, requires continuous adjustment and reflection, and involves challenges and sometimes failure. Autoethnography draws on my sense of belonging in an Indigenous community, filled with

ancestral and genealogical connections and empowerment that allow me to work between the past, present and future. I follow the pathway of these *ama* and *ina* (father and mother), I trace the steps of my *vuvu,* grappling with difficulties, pausing, and then continuing on the journey. Autoethnography transforms my role as a pure researcher into that of an Indigenous storyteller.

This thesis consists of three major Parts, Positioning, Experiencing, and Anchoring, adopted as a metaphor for the act of voyaging across mountains and seas by Oceanic Peoples, allowing the reader to navigate the analytical flow throughout the text. If the three Parts constitute a journey of diplomatic wayfinding, each chapter plays a role as a knot in the navigation of the passage, before returning to the end of the looping voyage.

The Introduction sets out an overall perspective on how I concurrently weave together several Indigenous ontologies, generating a diplomatic connection between Sāmoan and Paiwan societies. In Positioning, Chapters 2 (The Places of Sāmoan Tatau and Paiwan Vecik) and 3 (The Sā Li'aifaiva Tradition) provide a starting point before beginning the actual voyage of reading. These chapters foreground the diplomatic act, using the focus on places alongside an Indigenous tattooing family. The two chapters in Experiencing, Chapter 4 (Tattooing Practice in Sāmoa and Paiwan) and Chapter 5 (Sensing Sāmoan Tatau and Paiwan Vecik) explore the embodied experience of *tatau*, which is structured around by cosmological and ritual engagements, with multiple forms of sensory embodiment. The third and final part, Anchoring, consists of two chapters: Chapter 6 (Paiwan Vecik in Oceania) and Chapter 7 (Sāmoan Tatau and Paiwan Vecik as Embodied Diplomacy: Some Conclusions).

The first of these chapters elaborates on the realisation of a diplomatic act through a shared basis of value in Oceania, leading to the return home to Paiwan in Taiwan, with Oceanic values. The final chapter concludes the navigation of the thesis by responding to some of the theoretical materials introduced in the thesis and proposing the notion of

embodied Indigenous diplomacy, which amplifies our understanding of the agency of action for Indigenous Peoples. The thesis ends by signalling a number of likely topics for further study.

Part A: Positioning

Chapter 2 The Places of Sāmoan *Tatau* and Paiwan *Vecik*

2.1 Introduction

Pacific Islanders are attached to their lands for more than just environmental or subsistence reasons. Legends that link ancestors to land are carefully preserved. Likewise, Indigenous tattooing is a visual demonstration that also links directly to communal narratives that address the legendary origins of territories and of travel routes which are connected to the genealogies of titles. This is not to claim that Indigenous values have been perfectly preserved over centuries, but to acknowledge how Oceanian tattooing reflects both deep traditions and responses to the flow of globalization, and how these two influences are interwoven in one another.

Along this course, the first part of this thesis, titled Positioning, consists of first two chapters that orient my study and initiates a trajectory towards the key argument of my thesis, which lies at the intersection of Indigenous tattooing and Indigenous diplomacy. Accordingly, the focus of Chapter Two is on how *tatau* and *vecik* represent their embeddedness within Indigenous landscapes, and how these values are reproduced in contemporary spaces. This chapter sets out the pathway along multiple landscapes and places with which Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* have interconnected across Oceania.

In this chapter, I explore Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* through their connections to a variety of places and spaces. In Sāmoa, I understand storytelling to trace a path through the past, present and future to illustrate the ancestral route from Falealupo, Sataua, Safotu and Salelāvalu in Savai'i, as evidence for the *sā* Li'aifaiva rights in *tatau*. This path leads us to Aai-O-Niue and the Levi family's residential property in this village. I will examine how the family preserves and represents *fa'a-Sāmoa* (the Sāmoan way) on a piece of freehold land in an urbanised area, comparing their efforts with the work done by the Sulu'ape family at the

office of the Sāmoa Tourism Authority (STA) in the capital of Apia. I also explore the Levi family's agency in place-making at their home.

Both in Sāmoa and Paiwan, I address the tattooing space as a learning space: as a *falea'oga* in Sāmoa, where the *'āiga* and visitors practice traditional courtesy and reciprocity; and as a *kakitulu'an*, or classroom, in Paiwan, in which visitors are free to learn, teach, rest and eat without scheduling, as they do at home. I suggest that both Li'aifaiva and Cudjuy remain tied to Indigenous protocols while practicing tattooing. Both the Indigenous values in the *falea'oga* and *kakitulu'an* are grounded not only on the Indigenous lands, but along the mobility.

I argue that the *djalan* (road or path) in Paiwan serves as a visible and memorable pathway, embedding Indigenous ideas of time and space. The *ala* finds its parallel in the Sāmoan *vā*, which allows for the negotiation of a relationship between a piece of freehold land in Apia and customary land in Savai'i. In terms of *tatau*, *vā* connects people and practices to various kinds of landscape in a clear pathway to contemporary Sāmoa. In the final part of this chapter, I explore Cudjuy's *djalan*-paving as interweaving spaces amongst non-Indigenous and trans-Indigenous Peoples.

2.2 Interweaving Places around Sāmoa

Sāmoa is located in the central Pacific Ocean with Tonga to its south and Tokelau to its north. Etymologically, the word, *sāmoa*, consists of the prefix *sa*- for being sacred, forbidden or taboo, and *moa* for being in the middle. Therefore, *sa-moa* literally indicates a sacred spiritual centre. The word *toga* in Sāmoan indicates the direction of south; *to'elau* refers to prevailing easterly winds which blow from the northeast through east to east-southeast from May to October and are commonly known as tradewinds (Milner, 2012, p. 270). The prefix *vāi*, which is similar to *vā*, has the meaning of space in between and helps compose the word

vāito'elau (Milner, 2012, p. 310). *Vāito'elau* denotes northerly wind in the months of November and March and is always accompanied by rain (Milner, 2012, p. 310). In short, Sāmoa is linguistically situated as the important centre both regionally and spiritually. The place of Sāmoa serves as the "knot" of *vā* amongst those territories linked by navigation and wind patterns.

2.3 Narrating a Route: Legendary Paths from Savai'i to Upolu

Narratives of Sāmoan *tatau* suggest genealogical routes in which legends, ancestors, historical events, and place names are orally embedded in villagers' collective memory. According to the villagers from whom I enquired, place names reflect navigation from the west to the east of Sāmoa and its adjacent region (Figure 2.1).

The journey begins from the village of Falealupo. This place is located in the northwestern end of the coastal area on the island of Savai'i. Geographically, this village is situated at the nearest point to one of the main islands of Fiji, Vanua Levu, although there is a one-thousand-kilometre gap between Falealupo and Fiji.[4] The legendary ancestral women Tilafaigā and Taemā landed on Falealupo along with the tattooing tools, or *'au*, and the route is mapped with their track along the northern and eastern region. Before reaching the village Safotu from Falealupo, the legendary twins travelled in the dark to a new place named Alisia in Samauga. In Sāmoan, *alisi* refers to crickets that make sounds at night. Alisia literally describing the cricket's chirping sound like crying. Therefore, this place was named for what the goddesses heard when they approached this place at night; the sound was a part of the landscape, making the place name a signpost vividly remembered by villagers.

[4] However, the other version of the location of the so-called "Fiji", is the village of Fitiuta to the east of Falealupo on the northwestern end of Manu'a Island in American Sāmoa. According to the *sā* Li'aifaiva's statement, and their *matai* title in genealogy, Fiji refers to the current Republic of Fiji located to the west of Sāmoa, which reflects to the direction of Austronesian migration at large.

The narrative tells that the twins continued and arrived at a valley, then accidentally tumbled along with the *'au*. Li'afaiva explains:

> Before you [the twins] came to our village Safotu, there is a hill going down, the hill is called Sasa'aga'au. *Sasa'a* means to pour, to spill. Because it was dark they couldn't see where they were walking, and they thought there was a piece of flat land, but they puh, puh, puh...the girls [twins] tumbled and rolled over down the hill and they spilled the tattooing tools and they probably put them back…so it called Sasa'aga'au because the tools are called *'au* and then they came to Safotu.

The description above is unwritten in any archives I have read. Li'a talked about the other oral history of discovering the village of Safotu in the district Gagaifomauga[5]. Li'aifaiva states:

> The girls were on the way, when they were sailing from Fiji back to Sāmoa, seeing the shape of the island, that's called *uo fotumaiata*, this means you can just see the landscapes where the light coming through. The full name of *safotumaiata* is *safotumaiata o* Sāmoa. Right after seeing the land, she [Laufafautoga who is the wife of Tuifiti], gave birth a child because she was heavily pregnant and named that baby girl Fotu. That girl Safotu settled in the village of Safotu, she is the queen of this area.

Li'aifaiva emphasises the historical significance of Safotu and says:

> When the twins came, they came here and look for their Fijian family in Safotu, they came here for Lavea. Safotu was like a main city in ancient time

[5] In Samoan society, a district (*itūmālō*) is comprised with multiple villages (*nu'u*) in a territory and is authorised by a paramount chief.

> because it has a harbour where the Fijian-Tongan kingdom settled. From Safotu, the people grew all the way to Upolu.

As in *sa-moa*, the prefix *sa-* indicates sacredness and *fotu* means to emerge or to appear (Milner, 2012, p. 69). Thus, Safotu, according to this oral history, is a landscape defined by the route of legendary figures who had relationships with Fiji and Tonga. The narratives are like symbolic *tatau*, connecting sites and their stories.

In pre-Christian days, there were three types of *tufuga*: *tufuga ta tatau* (tattoo practitioner), *tufuga fau fale* (housebuilder), and *tufuga fau va'a* (boatbuilder). These *tufuga* were priests responsible to Tagaloa (Sāmoan God). These specialists had prestige and big houses. The twin's arrival location in Safotu is called *āfolau toi*. The informant explains that *āfolau* refers to a big house, or *fale tele*, specifically built for the *tufuga*. The word *toi* comes from the word *tō'ai* (Milner, 2012, p. 270), meaning where a person arrives; therefore, *āfolau toi* indicates the specific spot in Safotu where the ancestral girls arrived. On arrival, the twins looked for Lavea in particular because Lavea had genealogical bonds to Fijians who had settled in Safotu. Curiously, I asked Li'a whether he had ever lived in Safotu. He responded:

> Uh, no, never lived in Safotu, that's why I want to live in Safotu. But my parents, like I said, my parents are here. I can't. It's hard for me to live in Safotu when my parents are here. It's very different in terms of the village life. Uh, its customary protocols control the lifestyle. Here [Aai-O-Niue], we are living on freehold land. There's no structure and system. That's why we can tattoo at night and do whatever we want. If we were in Safotu right now, stop tattooing at night. There would be more village protocols. If there's no tattoo work, then go plant some *taro*. Work with the land. You have some cows, pigs or chickens. That's the lifestyle I want, it'll make more sense to live that life to

> do this work of tattooing, it'll revive the legend. But Peta [Li'aifaiva's wife] cannot live in Savai'i because she's used to the town, the city life.

It is the lack of his experience of living in the ancestral land in Safotu that encouraged him to revive the culture in Apia[6].

2.4 Lavea and Li'aifaiva: The Emergence of the *Matai* Titles (*Suafa*)

When the goddesses arrived at Safotu in Savai'i, Li'aifaiva's father, Lavea, was the first person for whom they searched. At the time, he was pigeon snaring, a type of sports ancient Sāmoan gentlemen played, but felt an intuition that something strange was happening at home. The intuition is described as *lili'a,* when a person cannot breathe in the air; *faiva* denotes a regular work such as hunting, going fishing or sailing. Therefore, the sensory experience of *lili'a* combines *faiva,* forming the title Li'aifaiva in commemorating the visit of Tilafaigā and Taemā to Lavea.

This event fills a gap in many versions of Sāmoan legends, which fail to describe how Lavea met the goddesses. Deacon Kasiano Leaupepe, who is the Chairman of the Sāmoa Council of Churches re-stated this context, further confirming that Tilafaigā and Taemā went to Salelāvalu where they gave the tools to Su'a in Safata of Lefaga. From here, the clue about Lavea is adds on, connected to how the other tattooing family, the *sā* Su'a, received the tools of *tatau*.

Li'aifaiva's father expresses his concern about not having anyone bestowed the title Lavea. Although he has not selected a candidate from his five sons, the father holds a stronger expectation that his fourth son, Li'aifaiva, will revive the family heritage; presumably, this title will be conferred to this descendant, which leads him to hold both titles.

[6] Refer to the section of the place of residence in this chapter.

Additionally, one of the titles Li'a holds, Selelimalelei, also connects to the *tatau* heritage from the village Asau.

Given these genealogical contexts, I raised a further enquiry about the clan *sā* Tulouena which is often documented in the literature. I was wondering how "*fale lua o le ʻāiga mālōfie*" (two families for the *tatau* heritage) interconnects amongst the *sā* Li'aifaiva, the *sā* Su'a and the *sā* Tulouena. Li'a suggests that:

> The *sā* Tulouena is a son of Su'a in Salelāvalu in Savai'i. Over time, the Su'a gave their sons tools and they began tattooing. There is a Sāmoan saying, "*Sāmoa na tofi*", [literally] meaning Sāmoa has established. It means you can't create new things. For example, the *fale lua*, you cannot change to *fale tolu* [three], *fale fā* [four], or *fale lima* [five], you cannot alter those things. Just *lua*. The Tulouena family's story is from where the girls arrived.

The *sā* Tulouena's *tatau* genealogy of receiving the tools originated from Tilafaigā and Taemā in Falealupo. However, according to Li'aifaiva, the account of the tools being given to someone in Falealupo is uncertain. The twins only arrived there, searching for Lavea in Safotu because of his Fijian connection to the twins. While the myth about the *sā* Su'a and the *sā* Tulouena is documented in a recent monograph, the reference consists of a single word "*muaifaiva*" (the first of the craft) (Mallon & Sebastien, 2018, p.23). No further details of the Levi family's version of the myth are available in the literature. As a researcher, I was fairly confused by these narratives since the oral details are inconsistent. This confusion, however, did not last long after I was aware that some legends are told in favour of most villagers' views, while others can be understood to vary across family contexts.

2.5 The Village of Salelāvalu and Mata'afa in Upolu

The following narrative by Li'aifaiva tells how "*fale lua o le āiga malofie,*" which are the *sā* Li'aifaiva and the *sā* Su'a, first appeared at the village of Salelāvalu in the east of Savai'i:

> When Lavea came home and was told that two girls were coming to look for you but they have left. He said "*kelua li'aifaiva,*" meaning no wonder I was *lili'a* when I was during my *faiva*. He went to look for the girls and found them in the village of Salelāvalu. They [the twins] came across the family Su'a when Lavea came across. The girls told them, Oh, Lavea, I have just given Su'a the message, and the message is the tattooing tools. Because you went home when we came to see you, and we have given Su'a the tools, so Su'a would be the toolmaker, while you are the tattooer. But when you do the tattooing, you do not use the title Lavea, you use the title Li'aifaiva to commemorate the time when we came.

This passage denotes the "*lua*" in the proverb referring to the *sā* Li'aifaiva and the *sā* Su'a. It is also believed by the storyteller that the very first person receiving *pe'a* was named Tuianatamalagi by a *tufuga ta tatau*, Li'afaiva Pauli. Besides, the title, Pauli, held by one of Li'a's brothers, Tinoi, is reckoned a potential connection to a *tatau* master, Li'afaiva Pauli. The man is believed by the villagers in Salelologa to be the first ever *tufuga* tattooing the *pe'a* for a Sāmoan man Tuianatamalagi in Sāmoan history.

According to the discourse above, the title Li'aifaiva originated in Safotu and was possibly bestowed to a Sāmoan man Pauli in Salelologa[7]. Li'a (the current Li'aifaiva title holder) suggested that Pauli was an apprentice or descendant of the Li'aifaiva clan in Safotu.

The narrated journey continues to the southeastern area of Upolu. According to Li'aifaiva himself, the origin of the *sā* Sulu'ape comes from the village Matafa'a in the

[7] Salelologa is situated in the southeast of Savai'i where there is a wharf connecting to the other in Mulifanua in the western end of Upolu.

district of Lefaga. The father, Paulo the senior, of the Pasina family was a building master for a *matai* Lalaga. This chief bestowed a title Sulu'ape to the father for his contribution. Paulo the senior was also a stretching assistant for a *tufuga* named Su'a Popo of Savaia, learning the training in Gagaifo in Lefaga. In these accounts, the *sā* Su'a in the village of Savaia and Gagaifo in Lefaga, Upolu, and the *sā* Li'aifaiva along with Lavea originating from Safotu, Savai'i are considered as the "two" tattooing *āiga* in Sāmoa history. It should be noted that this version of the origins of Sāmoan *tatau* shows that a legend in an orally transmitted history may vary depending on the perspectives of individual storytellers.

2.6 Settling: The Levi Family in Aai-O-Niue

The village name Aai-O-Niue literally means a settlement of Niue. It is the place where settlers from Niue came as recruits for copra and cotton plantations in 1865. At the time, the village was under the authority of the paramount *matai* Seumanutafa, who allocated land to the Niuean immigrants. The newcomers served the *matai* and received permission to occupy the land in return (Matheson, 1987, pp. 65-66). A lack of land ownership by Niueans caused them a sense of insecurity. Their presence was tolerated reluctantly and their only legal access to land was through freehold and marriage into local families, gaining rights in land as their children inherited them (Apa, 1987, p. 25). Some families openly identify as Niueans and they wish to retain that identity but, according to Matheson, the present occupants can scarcely trace their connections to the Niuean pioneers (Matheson, 1987, p. 68). A commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Niuean settlement was celebrated and organised by the Congregational church of Aai-O-Niue[8]. Currently, the villagers are Sāmoanised, hardly displaying differences in lifestyle, language or appearance. Lavea noted that Niuean

[8] Learn more on RNZ news: https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/319114/niue-community-in-samoa-marks-150-years.

settlers came to the area when the Germans were present, and that to this day the Niuean-heritage families have not been bestowed any chiefly titles. He continues that although we were sitting on freehold land, traditional protocols still deserved respect. “Even though I’m on freehold [land],” he said, “I can do whatever I want to, but I’m not stupid. I need to be careful.” According to Li’a, the settlement is divided into customary land and private-owned land, between which a fence was set up. A Congregational church (EFKS)[9] stands on the former on which Li’a’s father was born, while the house of the Levi family situates on the latter, by which the clan of Li’a’s mother purchased. Li’a’s father holds the *matai* authority in the customary area of this village.

Noticeably, Sāmoans identify with their genealogies, which means the actual birthplaces of individuals do not necessarily ground sense of identity. However, this village is filled with remembered histories, combining genealogy and traditional practices such as tattooing, title bestowal (*saofa’i*) and *tatau* completion ceremonies (*sāmaga*). In this urbanised space, ownership of the land and a felt bond to *tatau* tradition frames it as a *fa’a-Sāmoan* place.

On one side of the village, the land is individually owned but the customary Sāmoan way of life is reproduced; on the other, in which is the church located, Li’aifaiva’s father lived. Both places are meaningfully entangled with individuals and collectives alike in terms of land tenure, Indigenous identity, and histories of Christianisation and cultural practice.

The village fence plays a role in separating two types of land tenure. But it does not constrain people from entering one place or another. At around nine o’clock on Sunday morning, the church members dress up in white, preparing to go to church on foot by going through the fence with the gate unlocked. The bell rings and pastors are ready to preach.

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[9] EFKS is an acronym of Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Sāmoa that is also known as Christian Congregational Church of Sāmoa (CCCS), the church founded by London Missionary Society missionaries.

Hymns and blessings fill the air during this one-hour service. After the church service, the Sunday lunch feast, or *to'ona'i,* took place back in Li'aifaiva's house for family time. The fence is clearly set up for land ownership but enables people to experience different lifestyles through going back and forth. We see a place that is purchased and individually owned but is indigenously preserved; we also see a place that is communally owned and administrated by a chief but is characterised by Christianity.

The current residence of the Levi family is situated in the urbanised area of Sāmoa, to the south of the village of Aai-O-Niue, which is close to the boundary of the village of northern Maluafou. The villages are bordered by Logan Road to the south. The residential area consists of a main house, garage, warehouse, tattooing sacred lodge, or *āpisa*, a shower room and toilet, and small patches of grass and rocky land, all of which are fenced either by iron or plants. Outside the residential border, there is a gate and multiples rows of fences to separate the spaces of the Congregational church of Aai-O-Niue, Rendezvous Restaurant, and the headquarters of Bluesky (one of the main telecom company in Sāmoa).

The house of the Levi family is of mixed Sāmoan-European style, a rectangular flat construction with a rocky square in front of the main entrance. Often, the rocky space becomes a carpark for temporary use. The interior of the house is spacious and ventilated, sunlight can easily brighten the space. There are dozens of photos of family members arranged on a shelf next to the television. Photos are of weddings, life milestones and a portrait of the family by Li'a. One of the pictures of Li'aifaiva, the stretchers and me is placed on it as well. Multiple paintings of Li'a's father, Lavea and Matautia, who is Li'aifaiva's mother, are hung on a wall. These are proudly showcased to represent the *alofa* (love) of the family using Li'a's artistic skills inherited from his parents. Matautia often sits on the left of the living room, closest to the pictures of her; Lavea usually takes a seat in the centre which matches his social role as a distinguished *matai*; otherwise, he would have a

seat on the right side in front of the television for reading. On the same spot, Li'a and his wife, Papali'i, often sit together on the right of the living room. This is my favourite spot as well because I would not impolitely occupy the elderly paramount chiefs' seats. There are a couple of small round dining tables arranged aside for Lavea, Matautia and visitors. A couple of plastic *fala*, or mats, for general use are on the floor (Figure 2.2).

The living area is openly shared with the kitchen without any block in-between. On a rafter, several Sāmoan water and tattooing ink containers are on hooks. Here, the living room functions as the dining area as well. A big wooden dining table, the space for sharing food and chatting, also functions as a working desk for Lavea who was a Vice-Chancellor of the Sāmoan courthouse. This is where we had interviews with Lavea, Li'aifaiva and Papali'i. During visiting feasts, the visitors would sit aside the table with servants (members' of *'aumāga*) standing by. When we finished eating, the servants placed containers with clean water and hand towels on the table. After cleaning up, eaters would say *tai lava* (*fa'afetai lava*), meaning "thank you very much (for the food)," and move to the couches to have dessert (ice cream) served by the *'aumāga*. The servants never approach the dining table but stay focused on the service. The servants would eat in the kitchen after we finished eating at the table. A young boy, named Popo, often played the role of announcer to loudly inform everyone when the plates were set up and ready for prayer and blessings, then served. This announcement was always delivered sitting down, as he did in the *apisā* when lunch was ready, to demonstrate Sāmoan courtesy and appreciation to food providers.

In the *'umu* (kitchen) of the house, modern appliances and utensils are arranged. The untitled young men along with a housekeeper spend their time entirely in the kitchen, apart from serving in the dining and living area when they were in the house. I was trying to act as

a member of the *'aumāga* as I did for my Paiwan villagers[10], but was advised to sit back without working (I couldn't help but being willing to help in the kitchen also because of my role as a fieldworker). Mostly, men were the people working and they were rarely assisted by young or married females in the kitchen. Those servants, likewise, do not use the toilet and shower room in the house. They use the ones outside the main house next to the warehouse. Some bedrooms were located by the living area, one of which was used for storing pieces of fine mats, or *'ie toga*.

In front of the main door of the residential house is the rocky outdoors *malae*. A garage stands next to it. Dogs chase each other around, romping and barking at unfamiliar visitors who enter through the gate. Hens and chicks move back and forth for food on the grass. A cloth hanger is placed on the square (and in the garage in case of rain) to let the sun dry out fabrics. This work is done by Rina, a housekeeper for the Levi family.

The square was where vehicles temporarily parked. The garage was roofed by steel plates and paved with concrete on the floor. There were two motor bikes, one of which was a Harley Davidson, a birthday present gifted by Li'aifaiva to his father, Lavea. Some used and damaged mats were wrapped and put aside. Rina took advantage of this space for hanging out clothes. A billiard table was covered with a piece of plastic canvas. The stretchers, or *toso*, Tiso and Titi, used the surface of this canvas in preparing *sama* (coconut oil blended with turmeric powder), the *'ava* liquid for the *sāmaga*. The garage also functioned as a working studio in which the *toso* made the tattooing tools or, *'au*.

The warehouse is full of the family's old belongings which preserve many memories. In the event of a garage sale, all kinds of stuff were moved out and placed on tables or the

[10] In some Paiwan and Pinuyumayan (Puyuma) villages of southern and eastern Taiwan, young men attend in *cakal* or *palakuwan* (men's group), or *青年會* to learn surviving and hunting skills in the mountain and serving for villagers in all kinds of public events. The motto: "為部落服務," serving for Indigenous communities, is predominantly valued. For more information, refer to Sulijaw Lusausatj (葉一飛) 2012 master's thesis on Men's House (Palakuwan) and Social Hierarchy in Eastern Paiwan: A Case Study of Tjavualji, https://hdl.handle.net/11296/8xzhzn.

floor for sale. The items included women's purses, backpacks, utensils, electronics, sports and diving gear and heavy machinery parts. One item attracted my attention—the tattooing machines—along with bottles of ink, spare needles and a bunch of tattoo magazines. Li'aifaiva was attempting to clear them out because he no longer holds a machine needle for tattooing; rather, he uses the *'au*. One night, I had a dream about the Paiwan ancestors telling me to have the tattooing objects preserved as they represent the owner's journey as a tattoo practitioner. I told Li'a this dream, and he did remove them from the table and store them back in the house.

A funeral of Li'a's female cousin was held in this place, particularly the rocky square and garage. Family members flew from American Sāmoa and Hawai'i and came from other places in Sāmoa for this ceremony. Church hymns, family mourning, *'ie toga* exchange and eating all took place here. All the belongings usually placed here were moved away in order to create a spacious area for the event. Meanwhile, Li'a's *tatau* work was temporarily halted during the mourning time.

2.7 Places of *Tatau*: *Apisā* and the Sāmoa Tourism Authority (STA) in Upolu

2.7.1 Apisā: Place of Tattooing and Learning

In Sāmoan society, the sacred tattooing place is called *apisā*, which consists of *api* (lodge) and *sā* (forbidden or sacred) (Figure 2.3). Traditionally, this lodge functions a working space not only for *tufuga ta tatau*, but also for carpenters and builders. In the case of Li'aifaiva's *apisā*, it is an elliptical room with a low wooden wall rising 50 centimetres above the floor. The roof is supported by timber poles around the floor. The roof and ceiling are framed with purlins, rafters, and a main beam. The roof is covered by pandanus leaves atop the beam and poles carved with Sāmoan designs by Li'a. The floor upstairs is made of timber plates mostly covered by mats (*fala*). The edge of the *apisā* is surrounded by a round wooden fence edged

by plants. This fence isolates unnecessary disturbances, leading witnesses to enter the lodge. Therefore, people do not intrude into the space, and are kept out of it if they persist in standing. Li'a leaves an entrance open to welcome all visitors from the proper direction before sitting or talking. He emphasises this protocol as it is rude if visitors approach without sitting down while tattooing. His dream is to go back to Safotu and just work from there, said Li'a.

Clearly, Li'aifaiva was genealogically tied to the village Safotu where the titles Lavea and Li'aifaiva originated and Sāmoan protocols well observed. While standing up is allowed, entrants can only sit and talk properly on the floor after walking in the space.

On the side of Li'a's working space, in addition to having his *'au* next to him, a Catholic cross and a pig tusk (traditionally for making bone needles) were hung on a post. A watercolour painting of tattooing work by Li'aifaiva was hung on another front pole, right above his toolkit box, close enough for the assistants to reach necessary items such as sanitiser or cleaning wipes.

When visitors enter the *āpisa*, they can see Li'a, his staff and clients on the right, before picking a spot to sit. Unknown visitors would sit farther away, while family members and friends of the Levis and the clients would be allowed to sit nearer. There is no written rule, but people are aware of how other customarily behave in the *āpisa*. When I first went into the lodge, I sat quite far away from everyone, but was able to take a closer look after the Levi family and I had built up our relationship. I was even able to help lift receivers' legs after I was recognised as a family member.

Witnesses' sitting areas are either next to tattoo-receivers or three to five metres away from them. Those who took pictures or were accompanying others spent most of their time close to the workers. Elderly family members sat mostly on the other side, where they could not see how the tapping was going but provide heartfelt support nonetheless.

A ceiling fan and spotlights stood above people's heads in order to keep smooth working conditions. An amplifier played local broadcasts or Li'a's favourite music from YouTube. A television was hung on a post on the opposite side to the working group, but was rarely turned on.

A rest room was built approximately ten metres away from the *apisā*. This private space was particularly for *pe'a* and *malu* receivers to have a quick cleaning after a daily session. This room is divided into a toilet and a shower space. The latter was deliberately constructed naturally with plants. Li'aifaiva insists on the importance of washing throughly in the humid and warm climate in Sāmoa. The facility was later upgraded with minor renovation which created a cleaner and lighter environment for shower-takers. Occasionally, family members would go with tattoo-receivers for this process. This shower room reflects how Li'a insists on "staying clean" both during and after tattooing.

Another piece of grassland east of the *apisā* was used as a carpark for visitors. Multiple coconut trees, banana trees and other types of plants were grown here. The greening lends the family and their work the sense of a hidden space, leaving the environment as rural as possible despite its closeness to the urbanised territory of the capital, Apia. As the interview revealed, Li'aifaiva's heart was settled in Safotu but he realised that his family members' jobs were all based in town. Despite the minute chance of physically settling down in Safotu, their *matai* titles from Li'aifaiva's father or mother family have genealogically pinpointed the heritage of *tatau* in many places of Savai'i and Upolu to which they remain connected.

The *tatau* completion ceremony, or *sāmaga*[11], is held in the *apisā*. Participants who were invited sat around the lodge, leaning on the posts or wooden fence. The *sā* Li'aifaiva

[11] It is also considered a rite of passage in a general sense, during which a tattoo receiver enters into a forbidden condition in great pain. After this liminal process, he or she becomes reborn as an individual going toward the next life stage. See Chapter Four for more details.

remains in the same spot. Two servants, who are usually the stretchers, set up a *tanoa* (wooden bowl for *'ava*) at the entrance. New *tatau* receivers, *soga'imiti,* danced in the centre and were surrounded by other attendees singing and grooving along with music. Cheerful sounds filled the place at this moment. Sometimes, Li'a was so overjoyed that he hit his hand on the floor to mark the tempo at high volume. I once observed a tattoo-receiver who was so fulfilled that he could not help but climb on one of the posts, exclaiming and dancing, which made visitors laugh joyfully. In such moments, we see a changing atmosphere of the *apisā* from maintaining sacredness to prompting celebration. Later, gift exchange took place in and out of the *āpisa* to end the *sāmaga*. Importantly, pieces of *'ie toga* were demonstrated openly in front of attendees, followed by other items presented to the *sā* Li'aifaiva in gratitude.

The place is meaningful as a base for cultural revival, symbolically adorned by peoples, ceremony, and gift exchange through which the customary *fa'a-Sāmoa* is represented on a piece of privately owned property. *Sāmoanisation*, as a process of making embeddedness, blurs the boundary of roles in types of land ownership which also paves the way for connecting Indigenous culture for the Levis who are based in urban territory, holding *matai* titles originating from Safotu at the same time.

Li'aifaiva's wife, Papali'i Ropeta Lei Sam-Levi[12], considers the space of the *apisā* serves not only as a workplace, but also a space for *a'oga*, or learning, Sāmoan protocol. For her as a young woman who was born to a family with Chinese heritage and then married a *tufuga ta tatau*, Li'aifaiva, the *apisā* symbolises inclusiveness for those overseas Sāmoan desperate for reconnection to the motherland. This space, as if a classroom, where learners can practise and is tolerant of mistakes. This teaching and learning process, both for the Levis and their guests, include the fine mat presentation, orating, tattooing and the

[12] I use both Papali'i and Peta to refer to the same person.

ceremonies of *'ava* drinking, title bestowal and *tatau* completion ceremony, which functions for reconnection to the Sāmoan culture and people's sense of belonging.

Despite the short-term stays of the tattoo-receivers, it is apparent that making a meaningful place is an ongoing activity. Culturally, this space is not customary land, but Indigenous value to nurture the *vā* is preserved in pursuing the sense of rootedness in this learning space through *tatau* and its associated social norms for both overseas Sāmoan visitors and this *tatau* family. The *āpisa* and the Levi's residential house mix modern structures and facilities with traditional Sāmoan cultural and social elements and family relations.

2.7.2 A Comparison of the Tattoo Space in the Sāmoa Tourism Authority (STA)

Compared with Li'aifaiva's place, which is deliberately hidden in a natural environment, the Sāmoa Tourism Authority in downtown Apia is a good contrasting example of urbanised place-making.

The Sāmoa Tourism Authority (STA), also known as the Cultural Village, is less than five minutes' drive from Aai-O-Niue, standing next to the government building and Beach Road[13]. The Sāmoa Central Bank is situated to the northwestern side of STA, around a two-minute walk. This place belongs to the government and caters especially to overseas visitors. The location of STA is close to the Apia Cruise Terminal, where international ships anchor. Therefore, ship passengers can easily reach STA along the seawall's footpath in approximately 20 minutes. According to my observations, very few local villagers entered the area apart from the staff members and cultural performers, but the Indigenous style of the administrative office's exterior can easily attract people's attention on the road.

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[13] The Beach Road is also the place for the March during the Anniversary for the Independence Day of Sāmoa on the 1st of June every year.

This outdoors space features various forms of Indigenous cultural demonstration such as tattooing, carving, barkcloth-making, *umu*-making[14], and dancing, along with a souvenir store. The other renowned tattooing clan, the *sā* Sulu'ape, is based at one of the lodges which was obtained from the government by Li'aifaiva's father, Lavea, as his strong senese of *tatau* advocate[15]. The father assigned the *sā* Sulu'ape who was tattooing in *Faleasi'u*[16]and Li'aifaiva who was the former's stretching assistant at the time to involve in this project.[17]Li'aifaiva himself has not used this space for his *tatau* work.

Before entering the tattoo lodge, there is a signpost requiring visitors to wear *lavalava*[18], take off shoes and hats, and then sit and watch in the proper way (Figure 2.4). This cultural protocol functions well for Indigenous Sāmoans, but less well for visitors who are not Sāmoan even if they recognise the signs. Failures to observe protocol are greatly distracting for the working members, particularly when tourists from a large cruise ship visited the lodge without complying with the instructions. Li'a responded, "see, we hold the value trying to keep the *fa'a-Sāmoan* protocols at my home."

The demonstrators at STA intended to preserve and display what they consider to be the authentic values of Sāmoan society; nevertheless, this scenic spot has become more popular. It is hard to tell whether visitors who spend at most a couple of hours around the harbour can gain a sense of the cultural heritage. If *vā* (relational space) is always constructed interactively, the kind of *vā* generated in a traditional *apisā* is qualitatively different from that in a noisy urban area full of distractions. Thus, this tattooing space at STA serves more as a non-place bridging localism and transnationalism, which is similar to intersections like

[14] *Umu* is an Indigenous Sāmoan outdoor oven on rocky ground. Through using banana leaves to create multiple levels, food is placed on them depending on the temperature.
[15] For more about his actions see Chapter three.
[16] A village located in the northwestern area of Upolu.
[17] How Leava obtained this opportunity requires further study.
[18] *Lavalava*, the shorter form of *'ie lavalalva* that used to be *siapo* (barkcloth), generally refers to fabric cloth worn on the lower body in present days in compliance with the cultural protocols of the Sāmoan *tatau*.

airports, train stations or department stores. Its accessibility harmonises with its commercialism and the government's desire for nationalist symbolism. The cultural value is honourably showcased but its maintenance is a struggle. On the other hand, although Li'aifaiva's place is located fairly close to the capital, we see a resilient strength from the *'āiga* as a cultural gatekeeper in safeguarding their family prestige for the Sāmoan society.

2.8 Indigenising Tattooing Spaces in Oceania

2.8.1 Indigenous Ink in Manuka, Aotearoa New Zealand, 2015

In November 2015, Cudjuy and I were invited to a tattooing event themed Indigenous Ink[19] at Manukau Institute of Technology in Manukau, Auckland, in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous tattoo practitioners assembled from Aotearoa New Zealand, Taiwan, Japan, the Philippines, Sāmoa, Tonga, Tahiti, the Cook Islands, the US, Canada and Greenland. This marked our first journey to an international convention that drew on Indigenous engagement in Aotearoa New Zealand. The event lasted three days and all the Indigenous artists invited stayed in a Māori meeting house, or *marae*.

Inside a hall of the research building of the Institute, all the artists were allocated independent booths. There were three Indigenous groups, Sāmoan, Hawai'ian and Filipino, arranged in the inner area (Figure 2.5). Other artists, including Cudjuy and Māori artists who used tattoo machines, were located on the periphery along the walls, corners, stairs or even spots close to the toilets. Each group in the hall could decorate their standing boards and working desk using stickers, business cards, posters, tools, photo albums, printed flags and other delicate pieces of cloth. Some booths in the centre were for modern tattoo artists. The working platforms for Sāmoan, Hawai'ian and Filipino groups were approximately nine

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[19] A short article on Indigenous Ink 2015: Up Close and in the Skin by Sean Mallon was published on the website blog of Te Papa Tongarewa Museum, https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2015/11/19/indigenous-ink-2015-up-close-and-in-the-skin/.

square meters large and 50 centimetres higher than the concrete floor on which the artists could sit and work on pieces of carpet with removable barriers set up to prevent interruption. Their locations showcase them as featured artists for the event.

Dining space was on the first floor with free food available. Other food stalls were set outside the building for general visitors. Unlike other festivals in other cities, there were no cultural performances or contests organised at this event.

At the time, Cudjuy was a tattoo beginner using a "machine gun", despite having tattooing experience in his adolescence. He believed that his workspace was where less experienced practitioners were placed—on the outer part of the hall. Cudjuy observed and learnt from the corner. Those who were advanced in the practice were organised in the centre where they were most visible. Cudjuy's and my sense of unfamiliarity in the space was intensified not only because of the language barrier, but also the looser networks we had with those Indigenous Peoples who had already bridged trans-Indigenous relationships across Oceania.

Cudjuy gained an opportunity for internship when he was invited by the Indigenous Hawai'ian *tatau* master, Sulu'ape Keone Nunes, to his working platform. Cudjuy sat aside the working group, saying nothing but maintaining his full concentration on observing the tapping method and the assistants' engagement. Cudjuy later told me that Nunes' invitation was evoked by his knowledge about the ancestral reconnection to the Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples of the Austronesian migration. This shortened the distance of social networking and offered a warm embrace for shared heritage, which created a greater capacity for Cudjuy to begin his journey in pursuing *vecik* revival for Paiwan.

Throughout the event, we wore T-shirts on which a Paiwan design and Chinese characters of 魯巴卡茲 were printed. We also dressed in Paiwan outfits at separate events such as the Indigenous opening ceremony. We did this in order to showcase our sense of

Indigeneity as Paiwan from Taiwan, demonstrating the inclusiveness in which we share various forms of Oceanian cultural heritage distinguished from Chinese ethnicity. This opened dialogues to exchange thoughts about motifs and designs of clothing stitching and *vecik*. We decorated the stall with its standing board to create our temporary comfortable place. Cudjuy posted old pictures of tattooed villagers that caught many visitors' attention. He stuck a national flag of Taiwan in the booth in order to demonstrate our nationality. This place-making in showing the flag later drew an enquiry by a Facebook user about tension between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan, since the former do not necessarily recognise the red, blue and white colour design as representations for Indigenous ethnic groups but see it as referring to collective history colonised by the Chinese. This is indeed a complicated issue. However, when in an international atmosphere in which a sense of Indigenous belonging predominates, this flag helps situate our national identities for observers.

2.8.2 Tatau i Mo'orea in Mo'orea, French Polynesia, 2018

My fieldwork extending to French Polynesia and Aotearoa New Zealand with Paiwan villagers was guided by Cudjuy Patjidres, who was invited by the convention-organising teams as one of the featured artists. Both groups were appointed with a team leader. While travelling to Mo'orea the team was led by Sakinu John Lu from Lalauran, and Mavaliv Mulinu from Kaljaljuljan was the one committed to Tauranga.

Both paths were meant to provide reflexive experiences for comparison between Paiwan tattooing and my fieldwork in Sāmoa. Despite apparent contradictions in legislation between *fa'a-Sāmoa* and European values, Sāmoan society can be seen as a role model for regularizing Indigenous law during precolonial and postcolonial ages. Sāmoa has its colonial history but is an independent state with lawfully autonomous authority. The Indigenous Peoples in French Polynesia and Aotearoa New Zealand are both Austronesian speaking

Peoples, however, they are in vulnerable positions under French and New Zealand law and government. Their social and political struggles echo those of Indigenous Peoples who have been fighting for justice in Taiwan.

It is considered that the Indigenous tattoo event titled Tatau i Mo'orea in French Polynesia was the first international tattooing showcase in which Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples participated. Thanks to the team leader, Sakinu John Lu (呂約翰), who has been maintaining strong relationships with Indigenous and Chinese network since 2013, the group's journey was possible. We were treated as close guests by the Chinese Tahitians who appointed a tour guide for us, and an interpreter, Penny Chen, who is of Taiwanese descent and was married to a local family. In addition, a camera team along with a Paiwan reporter were assigned by the Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV) to produce serial episodes of newsreel.

The event was themed Tatau i Mo'orea, 1st Traditional Tattoo Festival, from 12 to 18 November 2018 at a compound of open lodges located at the village of Paopao in the northern area of Mo'orea. Passengers were able to commute by ferry from Papeete in Tahiti to Vai'are on Mo'orea in around 30 minutes. The Gump research station of the University of California–Berkeley was approximately a five-minute walk from the venue. The venue consists of several semi-hypaethral houses which were either built of timbers for new houses or decorated with natural plants for concrete ones. Each of the houses was divided into a variety of booths for tattoo practitioners. The Sulu'ape family was allocated an independent *fale*, alongside a group of Māori *moko* artists who used tattoo machines and were settled in another bigger house. Additionally, practitioners who were Tahitian, and the Filipino, Bornean and Taiwan Indigenous groups, shared space in multiple houses. Compared with the one Cudjuy and I attended in Manukau, the place was more Indigenously organised both with wall-blocked areas and open spaces. Practitioners used either machine needles or tapping

methods. Both types of artists were free to choose their preferred area although assigned spaces were reserved for those invited who brought larger numbers of attendants (Figure 2.6).

Visitors could browse freely along the paths and receive tattoos from whom they preferred. There was no price displayed for tattooing on the desks or on the ground, although items such as printed T-shirts, postcards, books and food had fixed prices. Many artists, including Cudjuy, displayed items like fans, stickers, bags and other handicrafts which were on sale or for free. Camera teams from TV stations and independent filmmakers browsed the venue, collecting footage. Cudjuy and I were interviewed by a Māori correspondent for Māori Television in Aotearoa New Zealand and a French documentary producer.

The opening ceremony was held at the grass square of Aimeo Lodge, in the middle of which a number of sacred stones were placed. The Tahitian elders gave formal remarks and blessing for the event followed by the Māori People paying their respect with a *haka.* Successively, a presentation of a huge piece of Sāmoan barkcloth (*siapo*) was gifted by the Sule'ape family (Figure 2.7). An electric-powered sailing boat was prepared onshore for artists to travel from the venue for to the tattooing workplaces, which symbolised a voyage of Oceanian Islanders. A workshop was arranged for the village pupils at the tattooing venue. Taiwan's Indigenous delegation demonstrated a children's song using numeric lyrics of Austronesian cognates[20] to create a sense of shared community followed by a scholar specialising in Tahitian tattooing history who gave a short talk. Other events such as oral presentations and Indigenous dance performances took place in different venues.

At the end of the event, a Sāmoan *'ava* ceremony was conducted by the *tufuga ta tatau* Paul Sulu'ape, assisted by a Sāmoan tattoo artist, Tyla Vaeau, as the *taupou* and an *'ava* bowl server who dressed in Tongan fine mats. All the Oceanic Indigenous tattooists

[20] The numeric cognates of one to ten in Paiwan language are *ita*, *drusa*, *tjelu*, *sepat*, *lima*, *putju*, *alu*, *siva* and *tapulu*; In Tahitian, they are *tahi*, *piti*, *toru*, *maha*, *pae*, *ono*, *hitu*, *va'u*, *iva* and *ahuru*. Additionally, in Sāmoan, they are *tasi*, *lua*, *tolu*, *fa*, *lima*, *ono*, *fitu*, *valu*, *iva* and *sefulu*.

assembled in a circle, sharing the *'ava* with brief remarks. Those attendees who had others' respect were sitting down and served first, while younger ones were standing in the back of the former (Figure 2.8). Throughout the event, a carving artist from the Taiwan delegation, Sisilj (希細勒), spent his time carving a post from a trunk of coconut. The wooden carving was then gifted to the organiser and posted by all men of our group at the central square during the closing ceremony in order to present our connection to Tahitian culture. This was a trans-Indigenous occasion full of respect, acknowledgment and reciprocation.

This was a great opportunity for artists all over the world to reunite and exchange techniques, nurturing one another. Thus the *vā*, foregrounded in Sāmoan and Tongan ontology, manifests a broader affective connection to all the attendees in various forms and collectively safeguards shared values throughout Tatau i Mo'orea.

2.8.3 Tattoo & Extravaganza in Tauranga, Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019[21]

The other tattooing convention in Aotearoa New Zealand which Cudjuy Patjidres and other Paiwan villagers attended was in Tauranga in the harbourside of North Island. Compared to the previous journey to Manukau, this event intended to approach to a place with a richer Indigenous perspective. This event was themed as Tattoo & Extravaganza in April 2019, organised by a group of Māori tattoo artists and consisting of Indigenous workshops for invited Indigenous practitioners for five days at a assigned *marae* and a variety of events in the two-day convention located at the Trustpower Stadium in Baypark for general visitors and other non-Indigenous tattoo artists. In the first few days, the Indigenous artists were arranged to stay and sleep at a *marae* in Tauranga in which many old photos of Māori elderly People were hung, and delicately carved and painted ancestral posts and walls stood. The purlins and beams on the ceiling were fully painted with Māori spiral marks in red, black and

[21] The same event in March 2020 was not cancelled but Cudjuy decided not to attend due to the concern about international travelling and quarantine due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

white. We were told to take off our shoes when entering, and not to eat or drink inside the sacred place. Alcohol was strictly forbidden in the *marae* and the dining area nearby.

A *pōwhiri* (Indigenous Māori welcome ceremony) took place in front of the *marae* for all the overseas visitors. Hawai'ian *tatau* master Sulu'ape Keone Nunes was temporarily assigned to be the visiting group's leader to acknowledge the Māori warrior's ceremonial challenge which was followed by speeches given by multiple artists on behalf of Indigenous nations of Aotearoa New Zealand, Hawai'i, Tahiti, the Philippines (Filipino-American) and Paiwan. A tattoo practitioner from Canadian First Nations along with a female artist from the Cook Islands attended the event as well, although they did not give formal remarks. The non-governmental delegation of Taiwan consisting of multiple Indigenous members was the only invited group that had more than 10 attendees. Despite being unable to reach the *pōwhiri,* they dressed in Indigenous outfits on their arrival when entering the *marae*.

On the second day in the Indigenous workshop, all artists and delegate members went on a visit to Mt Maunganui in the coastal area of Tauranga. A Māori tour guide, Que Bidois, directed us and narrated the legends about lava embedded on the land and ocean. This mountain had been transformed into a hiking region where there were many footpaths intertwined with Māori People's ancestral values of landscape, respect and sacredness.

On the weekend during the final two days, all visitors interested in Indigenous cultures or getting tattoos were welcomed into the stadium. Multiple rows of booths were organised not only for Indigenous tattoo practitioners, but also for international non-Indigenous tattooists who were invited. A row of booths for Māori People was aligned with a performance stage in the inner-central area. On the other side of the Māori were booths for traditional hand-tap practitioners from Tahiti, Hawai'i, and Taiwan. Three higher platform were assembled for these artists who could interact with one another and visitors without barriers (Figure 2.9). As at Indigenous Ink in 2015, Cudjuy hung a national flag of Taiwan on

a wall, receiving no political interruption as had often happened at other international events. Visitors in the front rows could take a look at the tattoo design albums and the works on the workplace. During the closing stage, a Hawai'ian *kava* ceremony was conducted by the Hawai'ian *tatau* team right at their booth. All Indigenous artists were invited (including Cudjuy and his stretcher) to sit in a circle. Two Hawai'ian assistants served the *kava* bowl one by one in order. This took place in the air-conditioned and well-lightened venue, creating a space apart in a Polynesian Indigenous way to connect with one another across trans-Indigenous networks communally and ceremonially.

Other art forms such graffiti art and live band performances were demonstrated outdoors; stalls for hand-made items for sale were showcased, along with retailers selling food and drinks outside the stadium. Amongst the outdoor booths were some which provided body and facial painting for kids, who were accompanied by their parents and happily selected the inks for the experience. The organisers held a session of painted body demonstration for children who could walk on the catwalk of the stage. While a handicapped child confidently demonstrated his painted body with a wheelchair, others were highly decorated using cardboard or plastic bags on their bodies. Both gained visitors' cheers and applause.

As we can see from the description above, the notion of sharing and exchanging were considerably emphasised throughout the Indigenous-oriented event. Educating younger generations was also promoted by the organisers in this friendly place.

2.9 Tattooing the Paths back to Taiwan

2.9.1 Kaohsiung Tattoo Convention, Taiwan, 2018

In order to gain a comparative insight, I went to a tattooing convention in southern Taiwan. The 2018 9th Taiwan Kaohsiung Tattoo Convention (2018 第九屆台灣高雄國際紋身展)

was themed as "十年磨一劍 [22]," organised at the International Convention Centre in Yancheng District, Kaohsiung City, Taiwan (Figure 2.10). The event was located on the ground and first floors of the building. The stalls were all on the ground hall by machine needle users. Unlike Indigenous-oriented conventions, here tattoo albums and priced drawing samples, either for selling printed items or the tattoo works, were openly displayed for potential customers. Well-designed stickers and business cards were available for free. The convention was diversified with Taiwanese, Japanese, American and Chinese style to characterise the contemporary tattooing culture in Taiwan. The event emphasised the commercial purpose through the tattooing work and accessories such as machine needles, inks and printed T-shirts. According to Ho (2010), tattooing in Taiwan is often considered scary, therefore, advertisers try to make tattoos warm and friendly by emphasising on the stories of the marks. However, I did not see families attending the event. Instead, visitors consisted mostly of individual young people. Seemingly, the organisers did not emphasise Indigenous tattooing for the event but become aware of our values by designing a poster with a tattooed Indigenous woman[23].

In addition to the poster, a photo exhibition of Indigenous and Taiwanese tattooing heritage was curated on the first floor for all visitors. The Indigenous display was accompanied by non-Indigenous photos of religious characters, or 八家將 [24]. The independent venue, however, was hidden upstairs and very few people took the lift to reach the exhibition hall. A lack of proper direction caused this inaccessibility. Most visitors were

[22] "十年磨一劍," literally means spending ten years to make a sword, refers to making a masterpiece takes much time and effort.
[23] The poster was designed with multiple cultural figures, one of which was an Atayal elderly lady with facial tattoo, and was displayed at the entrance of the venue.
[24] 八家將, literally *pat-ka-chiòng*, is a Taiwanese religious guarding figure whose face is painted in specific colours and designs to lustrate bad fortune and bless for security and prosperity in a religious event, or 陣頭 (*tīn-thâu*).

attracted by the entrance which was easy to locate and featured the tattooing sound. The peripheral space of the display was unknowingly isolated (Figure 2.11).

At the same event in the following year of 2019, I was asked by Cudjuy to draft a letter to the organiser for the same event, enquiring in anticipation of the convention. The organisers then invited the Hawai'ian tattoo master Sulu'ape Keone Nunes and Paiwan tattoo artist Cudjuy Patjidres who work with tapping methods to set up their working booth in front of the entrance.

From an isolated space to a highly visible spot, this alteration was as a milestone. The organiser began to recognise the importance of Oceanic Indigenous tattooing, creating a friendly space for the artists to nurture a closer relationship.

2.9.2 Place of Vecik: A Kakitulu'an for Cudjuy Patjidres' Vecik Work

Turning to our focus back to Paiwan *vecik* on the Cudjuy Patjidres' contemporary workplace of tattooing. Cudjuy Patjidres is a Paiwan man whose origins are in two communities in the southern area of Taitung. The village of Sapulju in Jinfeng Township is where Cudjuy's mother's genealogical ties are. Situated to the eastward of the village is Lupakadj in Taimali Township where his father's genealogical birthplace is. Lupakadj (and Tjavualji) is the community in which my father was born and the root of my sense of Indigenous belonging. Sapulju is mostly settled by Paiwan villagers who have a bond with villages in Pingtung County. However, Lupakadj is resided in more by Taiwanese Han. Approximately one-third of the total population are Paiwan who genealogically connect to Puyuma/Pinuyumayan People in the northern area of Taituing City and Beinan township.

Most of Cudjuy's patrilineal uncles and cousins are living in Lukakadj. Cudjuy is used to working at the square in front of the house in Sapulju where villagers comfortably assemble. I was at his work as a stretcher many times, and we shared lunches or dinners prepared by Cudjuy's mother. Adult villagers visited and chatted with us, with much

laughing out loud. A concrete floor of three by three square metres was a perfect size for unfolding pieces of sitting mats. On the mats, assistants set up working lamp, wipes, vaseline cream, sanitised gloves, water bottles, talcum powder, cushions and pillows in order. Assistants must not forget to prepare two important items, bottles of wine (*vawa* or *vava*) and betelnuts (*saviki*), for blessings for smooth work and a refreshing body condition.

Meanwhile, Cudjuy worked on installing new steel needles with thread according to the length of the combs on his tapped sticks. He was used to placing a Bluetooth speaker and playing Tahitian or Hawai'ian music throughout the work. Adults observed the tattooing with curiosity and took seats greeting one another as kids hung out with friends freely around the place. From Cudjuy's angle, he was able to see whoever dropped by and greet them at loud volume. Cudjuy told me that he enjoyed working in front of the house, with which the visitors were comfortable. He echoed Papali'i's description of the *apisā* as a *falea'oga* (learning space or classroom) in Aai-O-Niue. His home functioned not only as a residence but also for the purpose of education as a *kakitulu'an* (learning space), for younger generations (Figure 2.12). A workshop on travelling to the 2018 Tatau i Mo'orea and visits to Tahiti was held at the same spot. Cudjuy's family members, elderly villagers and group mates were all invited to attend (Figure 2.13).

The companion serves a significant element in *vecik* work as it causes great pain. In the case of traditional tattooing, tattoo-receivers' family members would sit aside, singing and chatting to distract the receivers' attention from the painful tapping. This collective work draws on a distinct way of tapping compared with the machine tattoo user in a studio. Therefore, Cudjuy's place was socially nurtured both by his and the tattooees' families.

Lunch or dinner was prepared on a table by the Patjidres family, and visitors were warmly invited to enjoy together.

> I like the way we do at home. I'm feeling comfortable because we don't have to rush, and I know these people so much since I was a kid, they are my family and relatives coming here. I can do the tattooing smoothly. When I get tired, I stop and drink a little bit, and then carry on, said Cudjuy.

After working in the front yard for years, Cudjuy decided to switch to a different place and move upstairs to the roof floor of the same house in early 2020 (Figure 2.14). The new work spot used to be an open garret located atop of the first level with outdoor stairs connected. The steel stairs were built outside the bedrooms especially for Cudjuy, tattooees and other visitors in order to cause less interruption to his ageing family members. Family members jokingly asked that Cudjuy should have held up a completion ceremony for the stairs and people invited could celebrate for the small renovation.

Space in the garret is spacious with timber plates flattened on the ground serving as the floor on which pieces of sitting mats bought in a market at a Sāmoan community in Mangere, Auckland were unfolded. A private bedroom for Cudjuy was constructed in a separated space. The walls of the workplace were beautifully decorated with hanging scrolls of calligraphy and Chinese painting alongside some pieces of processed animal skins, Indigenous carved objects and some hard copies of event invitations. This decoration represented Cudjuy's sense of Indigenous belonging and personal taste of aesthetics that were intertwined with his life and working experiences across Paiwan and the urban and Oceanian region. In February 2020, a ceremony for acknowledgement of an apprentice took place in this new place, followed by *kava* liquid sharing using millet wine. The Tahitian apprentice was tattooed in acknowledgement of his relationship with Cudjuy[25].

In addition to Sapulju, Cudjuy rented a room in an apartment close to National Tsing Hua University (NTHU) in Hsinchu City. This small space was especially meant for his work

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[25] I will detail this ceremony later in this chapter.

on weekends (Figure 2.15). Although not as professional as we are used to seeing, again Cudjuy decorated the wall using printed canvas and event posters to create a unique place in which sleeping mats and pillows were placed aside for rest overnight. Those visitors who live in northern Taiwan could commute to this location and go back in one day. Indigenous university students were appointed to stretch for Cudjuy's work. This working style contributed to a learning space not only in his villages in Taitung, but also for the young Indigenous People living in the city. Thus, this place serves as an enclave, consistently reproducing the practice of tattooing in support of the survival of the Paiwan heritage away from People's hometowns.

2.10 Summary

Chapter Two has begun the process of positioning the thesis, examining a variety of places and spaces to locate the connection of the *sā* Li'aifaiva to different legendary, residential and working territories. In Sāmoa, I follow a legendary path from Safotu in the north to Savai'i in the southeast, extending to Aai-O-Niue in the northern area and Mata'afa in the southern area of Upolu. Along the route of the *sā* Li'aifaiva, mostly in the north of the two islands, oral narratives are positioned and remembered through the names of legendary figures, *matai* titles and places. The Sāmoan landscape is filled with *fa'a-Sāmoan* values in which each of the villages, house, and *apisā* serve as knots or nodes, preserving genealogical discourses that are interwoven from one to another. While the two most important ancestors, Taemā and Tilafaigā, voyage on sea and land, their *malaga* from Fiji to Sāmoa and across Savai'i is orally embedded and acts as a strong connection of cultural heritage, enabling the Levi family to engage in their genealogical commitments, even while living on freehold property in Aai-O-Niue, at some distance from Safotu. The Levi family's bond to this private land was acquired and reproduced through the marriage between Li'a's mother and father. While the

former was the previous owner of the land, the latter plays a role as paramount *matai* for the village.

If the *sā* Li'aifaiva's commitment to *tatau* is grounded in Sāmoa, Cudjuy also demonstrates his bond to home villages in Taitung and workplace in Hsinchu but takes a broader pathway by attending various tattoo conventions across Taiwan and Oceania. These journeys to and from Aotearoa New Zealand and French Polynesia, build on his sense of rootedness in Paiwan but demonstrate a growing confidence in his awareness of working across trans-Indigenous spaces. For Cudjuy, ideas of Indigeneity are bound up with the concept and distribution of Austronesian identity as a whole. His *djalan*, travelling overseas and back to his hometown along the pathway of tattooing, demonstrates a changing form of Indigenous diaspora in contemporary times. Both Li'aifaiva and Cudjuy alongside their tattooing partners have voyaged beyond island boundaries across which Indigenous relationality has been positioned along various landscapes and places. This Oceanic interconnectedness, therefore, opens a pathway for Indigenous diplomacy.

After examining these spatial realms, I narrow down to the context of contemporary oral narratives articulated by the members of the Levi family, in order to further explore their life stories around *tatau* in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 The *Sā* Li'aifaiva Tradition

3.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the discussion in Chapter Two of the relationship between Sāmoan *tatau* and place, in dialogue with a similar relationship between Paiwan *vecik* and place. The storytellings narrated by each family member showcase the importance of interconnected genealogy through self-reflexive, self-exploring and negotiating processes in various contemporary settings across Oceania for Indigenous diplomacy. Here, I address in some detail the tradition of *tatau* practice of the *sā* Li'aifaiva. Almost all of the available sources in contemporary tattooing practice in Sāmoa focus on the work and traditions of another family of *tatau* practitioners, the *sā* Sulu'ape (*e.g.* Mallon & Galliot, 2018; Adams *et al.*, 2010; Agcaoili, 2016), who have held a relationship of apprentice to the *sā* Su'a[26]. While acknowledging the great contribution of the Sulu'ape family to Sāmoan society and tradition, I was intrigued by the phrase: "*Li'aifaiva ma le fale lua o le 'āiga mālōfie*" (the *sā* Li'aifaiva is one of the two extended families practicing *tatau*) and sought to understand the position of the *sā* Li'aifaiva in terms of Sāmoan *mālōfie* (formal form of *tatau*), and the nature of their claim and connection to the origin of this *tatau* legacy.

To uncover this history of the *sā* Li'aifaiva, I examine the genealogical journey of the family towards Sāmoan *tatau* by focusing on four core members of this household. Through multiple *talanoa* with this family in Aai-O-Niue in northern Upolu, I focus on the *tatau* master, Li'aifaiva Imo Levi, who was born and raised in Sāmoa but has experienced a highly diasporic life that triggered his desire to revive his family's legacy of *tatau*. Li'aifaiva's wife, Papali'i Ropeta Lei Sam-Levi, learns and works as Li'a's partner, in fulfilment of the familial commitment. I describe their experience in the shared but non-Sāmoan design of tattoos received in the US to commemorate a personal tragedy. Li'aifaiva's father, Lavea Fosi Levi,

[26] See more detail in the section, The Village of Salelāvalu and Mata'afa in Upolu, in Chapter 3.

who is a Sāmoan *matai*, traces his descent from the island of Niue. I portray his role as storyteller for his son's lineage, detailing the genealogical significance of his family from Safotu for the resurgence of the *sā* Li'aifaiva legacy in Sāmoan society. Matautia Rula Levi, Li'aifaiva's mother, serves as one of the strongest sources of support for this family, and her hand tattoo represents her deep trust in Li'a. I will also showcase a genealogical trace through which Matautia is linked ancestrally to the other prominent tattooing family, the *sā* Su'a.

I argue that the *sā* Li'aifaiva's storytelling is a form of *vā* which interweaves the pathway, *ala,* that travels across the different *tu 'āoi* (boundaries) of Indigenous spaces and temporalities. Their commitment is grounded in Sāmoan ontology, *vā*, which is interwoven through the family's *suafa* (names and titles), *fanua* (land), *malaga* (travelling), and *tautua* (commitment). All the social and cultural elements of *fa'a-Sāmoa* exist together in a dynamic but resilient rapport, reciprocated and nurtured by each another, and contributing to a closer relationship. This chapter aims to provide another avenue for understanding the *sā* Li'aifaiva's commitment to the revival of *tatau* heritage.

3.2 Li'aifaiva Imo Levi: Becoming a *Tufuga ta Tatau*

Li'aifaiva[27] Imo Levi is the fourth of five brothers in the Levi family, and the only member with a significant commitment to Sāmoan *tatau*. Other siblings hold different positions within the family, three living in Aotearoa New Zealand and a brother residing in Northern Ireland. Li'a's father, Lavea[28], and mother, Matautia[29], have established a small offshoot of the larger Levi family, raising Li'a with four other brothers, all of whom married (Table 3.1)

[27] Since Li'aifaiva Imo Levi holds multiple *matai* titles as shown in Chapter Three, I will use Li'aifaiva or its shorter form, Li'a, to refer to the same person. His given name, Imo, is used in quotations.
[28] See the section on Lavea Fosi Levi: The Genesis of a Sāmoan Tattooing Advocate in Chapter Three for more detail.
[29] See the section on Matautia Rula Levi: The Role of Li'aifaiva's Mother in Chapter Three for further detail.

Li'aifaiva's workplace a wooden *apisā* (tattoo lodge) which is located on the family's property, just fifteen metres from their residential house.

The *apisā* is often filled with family members of the tattoo receivers while Li'a works. He often works more than ten hours a day, for six days each week, Sundays being set aside for church services and family gatherings. The apparent stability of his career hides an earlier mobility, shared with many Sāmoans whose lives are characterised by transnational movement between Sāmoa and Aotearoa New Zealand. During his childhood and adolescence, Li'a also pursuing opportunities for better education and self-recognition. He states:

> I went to a private school, the Robert Louis Stevenson, primary, and all the way to the secondary school in Sāmoa. [At the time] I had the opportunity to leave to New Zealand on a rugby scholarship. I attended a grammar school in Auckland. I finished the study and eventually had to seek an opportunity to attend a university in Auckland, to do a Bachelor's degree of Civil Engineering.

Li'aifaiva's father, Lavea, added that:

> All my children went through private schools, so it's very unusual for a Sāmoan kid growing up in urban Apia and hardly had any connection to [Sāmoan] culture in the village to end up becoming a tattoo artist. Because Imo left when he was very young to go to study in New Zealand. Because he was a very talented rugby boy and then he went there and was trained very hard. He relied on his older brothers who were also going to universities and he was a fourteen-year-old or younger at the time when he left us, it was hard for us. But he wanted to go because he was doing very [well], he was a brilliant rugby player.

For Li'afaiva, this adolescent experience led him to recognise who he was as a Sāmoan, living away from the family and homeland. He received a *pe'a* when he was seventeen and regards it as a mark symbolising his sense of cultural identity, of belonging to customary Sāmoan society. Li'a's strong sense of pursuing Sāmoan *tatau* was strengthened by a pause in his studies in order to reconnect to his status as a true descendant of Lavea (Figure 3.1, 3.2). He continues:

> As I was growing up, my father kept telling me that we are the descendants of one of the tattooing families of Sāmoa. As far as I can remember, my father has been involved in Sāmoan tattooing, but I probably didn't pay any attention to tattooing. You know, when you were young, I guess I had no interest in traditional stuff, I went to predominantly *palagi* school, like private school at that time, so a lot of expectations for kids from their parents, they wanted them to attend to school, so my friends were *afakasi*[30], my friends were *afakasi*, we just did *palagi*[31] or *afakasi* things and didn't pay attention to the culture. When I really grew up and maybe left Sāmoa, this is a huge part of that I developed my interest in my culture very strongly. To that point when I got tattooed… actually before in the high school during the final year, I came back to Sāmoa for Christmas, that was when I urged my parents that I really wanted to get a traditional tattoo, the *pe'a* when I was 17 at that time and that was my first ever tattoo. During when I was getting the *tatau* I was told by my father that we are actually from descendants of *tatau* legacy. The third year of my study in civil engineering for my bachelor's degree, my passion was too strong to ignore, my learning on campus… and I tried to convince my parents if I

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[30] *Afakasi* literally stands for "half-caste," in reference to Sāmoans with European heritage. It is rarely used now, given its origins in racist thought.

[31] *Pālagi* refers to people of European heritage.

> could take a break, a year-break, to come and pursue and bring back the tradition of our family, the Lavea family [the *sā* Li'aifaiva]. They weren't supporting, but once in the end once I went through it, they were fully on board, fully supporting. Despite their concern about my future, my studies, as soon as I was committed to pursuing it, during the tattooing apprenticeship, they were very supportive.

Li'aifaiva's father responded that "knowing your genealogy is very important in Sāmoa. So, as I was growing up, my father kept telling me that we are the descendants of one of the tattooing families of Sāmoa."

Li'a's narratives reminded me of when I returned to my Paiwan communities two days after presenting my first seminar at the ANU in February 2018. I had not expected my field research to being so immediately, but my first experience of stretching for Cudjuy's work of *vecik* took place in Sapulju, the hometown of his mother's extended family. I was filled with excitement as a novice, watching the blood and ink mixing together while the patterns took shape. Likewise, a strong sense of the passion in *tatau* encouraged Li'aifaiva. He talked about the opportunity that allowed him to approach his heritage as an assistant.

> I first did the apprenticeship with Alaiva'a, he is known as Sulu'ape Petelo sometimes, but his real name is Alaiva'a Sulu'ape, and has two sons, Peter, and Jr. I was stretching between the three of them about a year and a half. I also stretched for Lafa'ele Sulu'ape, I also did some stretching for Su'a Kafili, Pasiga Sepu, Larence Achin. Three of those are from the family of Sulu'ape and one of them is independent.

At the time, Li'aifaiva was a young man interested in various tattoo styles, such as Sailor Jerry, Americana or Japanese, alongside traditional Sāmoan *tatau*. He also attempted to develop drawing skills while he was a tattoo practitioner working with machines. As Li'a

told me, "When tattooing, I want to portray their grandmothers who passed away so I can tattoo a good portrait from them." This motivation took shape in a dream of opening a tattoo shop that could provide all the different services for Sāmoan People. He had not opened a shop when I interviewed him, but his return to study in Sāmoa was pivotal (Figure 3.3).

> So, after a year and a half working for all the *tufuga*, I enrolled in an art school to learn fine arts here in Sāmoa. I was a mature student. I just really wanted to develop my drawing skills because I was passionate about all tattooing. Just as modern kinds of tattooing, I have the interest in all forms of tattooing… and I picked up skills like carving, I also learned how to paint, I learned how to stain glass and it opened up a lot of opportunities. After graduating, I put together a group of us who graduated, and I set up an art group where we would go to different hotels, doing artwork in different hotels, and we got paid for this, like carving, painting, all sorts of forms.

Li'a's father was proud of what his son has decided to do, stating:

> When Li'a came back after one trip, he said, I had enough stretching, I want to go to the fine arts school. Now that I decided that I'm an artist. He said to me, mum and dad, now that I know that I am an artist so I can pick up a brush and learn a little bit about painting… because by then he was doing a bit of work with the machine. When Li'a started… I was crying. Somehow, something was telling me because I never had any intention that when my son would take up [this work], it's so dear to me and my family.

Li'aifaiva was further encouraged to approach tattooing in 2013, through an indirect opportunity to paint the dome at Immaculate Conception Cathedral in Mulivai (Figure 3.4). He stated,

> I got approached to paint Mulivai Cathedral, at that time the church was getting built. We worked on the area of the church, so we worked on the painting of the whole area, you see the dome, *pe'a* is on it, so we painted that.

The dome painting shows a *fono* (chiefly meeting) in which *matai* members are sitting in a *fale* (house) alongside Jesus Christ, with his apostles standing outside the *fale*, showing the encounter between two groups of people from distinct cultures. Li'a spent a considerable period of time on the work. His father Lavea recalled:

> Back in 2013, Mulivai Cathedral was in the making, they started looking for artists to paint. And one of his [Li'a's] art teachers called him and he said "Ok, I'm available and he spent a lot of hours on there." We met [at home] in the morning and he came home at twelve at night, leaving for the work in the next morning again.

Li'a shared with me an experience of his completion of *pe'a* for a Sāmoan man between 2014 and 2015 (Figure 3.5). I was surprised that his work was so delicately produced, and thought that it reflected a very long period of experience and skill. He recalled that,

> I sat down and I made my own tattooing tools without any help, yeah, self-taught, and from then on, I started my first *pe'a*, that was the end of 2014. I finished my first *pe'a* for a tattooee, his name is Fuata, it was my first accomplishment of *tatau*, When I finished Fuata in early 2015, I have [been] tattooing ever since until today. (Figure 3.6).

This self-taught approach to method has played a major role in Li'aifaiva's development. Cudjuy has had much the same experience, recalling a watershed in his career in 2009, after I had given him an archival photo of a chiefly Paiwan man with a full upper body *vecik*:

> I was very impressed that the *vuvu* had a wide range of tattooing in the old days... It was not until you offered me a picture from the writing of Ho[32], when you were a graduate student at the Institute of Anthropology at the National Tsing Hua University, that I began to understand what Paiwan tattooing really was…that was the initiation of me becoming interested in our culture of tattooing.

Cudjuy does not belong to a member of a Paiwan aristocratic family and traditionally he is not allowed to receive the body mark of *mamazangiljan* (chief). However, he opened up the possibility of the rebirth of Paiwan tattooing. It is understandable that reviving a culture may consist of both original and alternative modes of negotiation, articulation and loss. Cudjuy left his hometown when he was an adolescent, spending most of his time working in a city, but maintaining a strong connection to his homeland in Taitung up to the present. His journey of reviving *vecik* practice is profoundly rooted in an Indigenous ethics, emphasising the significance of informed consent on a family level in support of the customary values of Paiwan social hierarchy.

During my stay in Sāmoa, I went to Li'a's house nearly every day of the week, and would meet his wife, Peta (shorter form of Ropeta; the *matai* title holder of Papali'i), occasionally. Every time she approached to talk to Li'a in the *apisā*, she wore a piece of *'ie lavalava* or a fabric material out of courtesy, but she did not have a *malu*. In response to my curiosity, she explained:

> I have been wanting a *malu* for over three years now but Li'a he wasn't ready. I think it's different when it's family, especially me, his reasoning is saying, I just want to be at my best because Li'a has only been tattooing for a few years.

[32] Ho, Ting-jui (何廷瑞), was one of the few ethnologists whose work addressed Indigenous tattooing practices in Taiwan.

> His work is becoming better and better as time goes. I think he was finding that confidence knowing that he was at his best and just preparing to be comfortable to tattoo a family member, because I think it's a little harder, um, when he tattooed his mum's hand as well. It was a different feeling.

Cudjuy and Li'a shared this same experience. Their multiple multicultural tattoos on bodies do not surprise me. I was more intrigued by the way in which Li'a reflected on his transnational vision:

> I got the American eagle. I wanted something to represent my travel to America. What better represents America? An American eagle. So it's very Americana. [It looks a bit Japanese or Chinese.] Yeah, it's got the influences because the design has many influences from different cultures, so it's got a Japanese feeling to it. [Who did the tattoo for you?] A friend named Troy in Texas, he actually came to Sāmoa and he worked in the *fale* with me, and he was bestowed a *matai* title by my father, but sadly he passed away last year.

Li'aifaiva also has a contemporary tattoo with Micronesian designs:

> After that, I did a drawing, a 360 degree-view of my leg piece, and I gave it to Alaiva'a and he hand-tapped this tattoo. It's based on the Yapese [design] of the Yap. Actually, it's funny that this is the reason [because] I have the feeling that I have small calve muscles, and this tattoo can essentially make the calf bigger. Did I achieve it? [Yeah, yeah yeah!] So, it is strategically placed, to make my calf muscles look bigger. I know the muscle never moves so this part would never move, just like the bones on the spine, and this tattoo usually comes up to the shoulders on Yapese People's bodies, but I didn't want to take away from the *pe'a*, I want to keep the *pe'a*.

3.3 Papali'i Ropeta Lei Sam-Levi: A Perspective from Li'aifaiva's Wife

When I first visited Sāmoa in 2015, I was struck by the presence of the Chan Mow Commercial building, situated in the very centre of Apia. This is a Chinese business company established locally for 70 years. The first migration wave of labour force from China can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Today, Chinese-Sāmoan descendants living in Sāmoa number about 30,000[33] and amongst them is Li'aifaiva's wife, Papali'i Ropeta Lei Sam-Levi:

> I was raised in a family that was far less traditional than Li'a and his family. So, I mean, my dad, he's very Chinese. He's just very hardworking businessman, you know, and I feel like my mum, um, she's also Chinese too, by the way, half Chinese. And although I come from a very important family to Sāmoan [society], my parents chose to stay away from traditional cultural practices. So, my family even the way we eat it's a lot more on the Asian side. Even though I have *matai* title, but that was just my effort being a part of my Sāmoan side and my Sāmoan family. But, my parents chose not to be involved in a lot of traditional practices. [Though] my mother was always the one that tried to encourage us whenever you can take your Sāmoan side and do things for your Sāmoan side.

When Papali'i became a member of the Levi family, she came to realise the distinct role that she had to play:

> Coming here to this family has really brought out that passion for me to learn more about my own culture. Being in a family where my husband is a tattooist, you know, I have no choice but to learn about it and try to gain all the

[33] Figure as given in https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_in_Samoa.

> knowledge about tattooing and what he does, so that I can support him the best way that I can.

The strong sense of being Sāmoan contributes to the couple's dedication, as it does for those Sāmoans living overseas who are keen to retain a sense of connectedness. Therefore, I asked her about why it was more common for overseas-born Sāmoans to receive *pe'a* or *malu* from Li'aifaiva, rather than those living in Sāmoa. Papali'i conveyed a sense of empathy for those making a decision about receiving a tattoo:

> My family, we are not cultural, and we know nothing about fashion. So, I'm a little embarrassed and I can understand their feeling… I think, I'm involved even though my family wasn't culturally involved, but we live here [in Sāmoa] where we see it every day, we don't feel disconnected like the people living and studying overseas for many years. When you see the world, you realise how big the world is and how much you miss home, and how much you don't feel a sense of belonging overseas. I read people's emails that told me getting a tattoo [*tatau*] is the start of reconnecting. Some people emailed just to ask like, "am I worthy of the tattoo [*tatau*] because I don't speak the language well," or "I haven't been to Sāmoa for a long time, my family doesn't practice cultural things?" They feel like they are not worthy of something. They'd say: I don't know how to speak Sāmoan, I don't know anything about the culture, but I really want to reconnect, but I feel I'm not worthy because my grandfather [said that] it's a very old thinking. I think it really affects people, the younger generations are losing the culture.

Papali'i's reflections identify the dilemma confronting younger generations trying to decide whether to learn customary protocols or receive *pe'a* or *malu* first. This emphasis on learning customary protocols and language before seeking a tattoo is often strengthened by other

family members. She explained the Sāmoan saying "*ka muamua le guku ae le'i ka le kigo,*" which refers to the customary reciprocity involved in nurturing social relationality through service, or *tautua*:

> You know, because a lot of the older generations, they always say "Tattoo your mouth first before you tattoo your legs [*ka muamua le guku ae le'i ka le kigo*]," meaning learn [to speak] first before you get tattooed. And I think it's been wrong when many times the new generations are scared because they feel like they live in a world where they grew up understanding the culture and they are disconnected. And the older generations, they look at them and say, "Oh, you're bad, you're bad for not knowing how to speak." And then when the child says, I wanted to get it, get the tattoo [*tatau*], they say, "Don't get the tattoo [*tatau*]. You don't know anything about your culture…"
>
> The Sāmoan traditional tattoo, as Li'a would have probably already explained, it's just like how you get a *matai* title. It is not something to make you a king or make you any better than anyone else or something special. It's a *tautua* that we provide so that you can start your journey of serving others. So, we serve you with this tattoo in order for you to serve others. I always tell them the tattooing is the start of your journey to finding yourself, reconnecting and learning about your culture. In those days they didn't have smartphones or social media, they didn't see things that are happening unless they watched TV, so their way of living was always the culture. Nowadays we have many different influences. We have opinions. It's difficult and it's dying as long as we don't revive it and continue it. This is our duty. I think the meaning of the saying on Sāmoan *tatau* has been twisted in so many ways…

> [Li'a] has commitments to his family. I have commitments to my family, so this is the work that we do as a family. Tattooing is our family. And if you understand Li'a's goals, reviving his family [heritage], in a way…this doesn't only benefit me or benefit Li'a or people who are here now, it will benefit the next generation, like my kids or our children. It will benefit them to know, and this is the work that their father or grandfather has done to revive for family connections. You know, as long as we are not practicing it in these generations, it's dying. The language and everything and the influences are done. Like Taiwan where you explained about how you lost the tattooing because of the Japanese. That's an outside influence. And I feel like Sāmoa, we are all under threat of losing our culture to the influence.

I shared my experience of a similar situation which Cudjuy had to negotiate when Indigenous tattooing was experiencing a resurgence in Taiwan:

> Cudjuy, my brother, he is not a descendant born in a chiefly family, but he is now wearing a full chiefly body tattoo [*vecik*] which traditionally was only allowed to chiefs. I said to the people who questioned him, "If he didn't do this, who else would do." The culture is changing and it's now our responsibility to revive this work. It doesn't mean that you are going to show off. We should revive the design and the tattooing first. It's the representation of your duty on your body as a commoner wearing a chiefly design. So, the meaning that we represent is different from how elderly people think… his body is like an example of education to people to show what to do and what not to do. Like you said, the meaning is changing but this is because the loss is ongoing.

Reviving *vecik* not only refers to the mark itself, but also evokes the engagement and acknowledgment of Paiwan customary protocols. Cudjuy has been involving himself in this learning progress, carrying this commitment to Indigenous Peoples other than Paiwan, such as the Drekai, Atayal and Seediq. In other words, he has been playing the role of a modern hunter (*cinulan*), despite the uncertain direction in which he is clearing the path (*djalan*). His strong sense of motivation in pioneering this resurgence does not reduce the challenges; rather, it encourages him to embrace his role as a wayfinder in the forest for Indigenous communities across Taiwan. Cudjuy's commitment to Paiwan frames my role as a scholar, inscribing another form of *vecik*—words—on pieces of paper. In this sense, my symbolic role as a tattooing practitioner does not differ greatly from his.

I was also intrigued by the shared design of the tattoos on Papali'i's and Li'a's arms. I was particularly curious about this, as it was the wife's first tattoo (Figure 3.7), but one done not by her husband who is a *tufuga ta tatau.* Papali'i talked about a journey to the US where they both received the tattoos that represent the shared history of the couple via their connection to the ocean:

> I have my first tattoo. Li'a also got one, we got this done in the States in Las Vegas… we always wanted Li'a to be the first one to tattoo me, you know, just because he's an artist. But, we were tattooed by his good friend Mike. It has a significant meaning for both of us, the swallow bird is known to be used by sailors. It represents like hope and overcoming a hardship in life. So, if you can imagine sailors out on the sea, they're trying to find land and struggling out and seeing when they see the swallow bird, it's like a sign of hope. That's the sign that we're overcoming the hardship. That's why it wasn't a problem for us to get tattooed, you know, for me to be tattooed by somebody else because we were both getting the tattoo and it also meant a lot to us…

> But it also represents the first trip to America that I've gone on with Li'a. I took time off my work and went with him and experienced what he experiences when he travels. So, this tattoo represents that we traveled and voyaged [together]. In a way, it's also collecting my journey.

Many archives have documented the perspectives of the tattoo practitioners, but the voice of the partner of wife is also a critical perspective which reveals a shared genealogy of resilience in the lives of members of the extended *tatau* family. In this sense, through these small but meaningful contemporary marks, the bond to each other is nurtured; the presence of these tattoos on their bodies is thus a somatic embedding of the shared memory of the hardships they have experienced together.

Papali'i also plays a significant role as Lia's partner in finding a balance between work and health:

> It's a struggle to find time to spend together because our work is hectic. I think it doesn't bother me as much because I know the scheduling of people who want a tattoo from Li'a. You know, he has to get this work done before the next week coming. So, I have that understanding, but we've been talking about balance as the key between work commitments and family. We wouldn't see each other for days and we only live about a ten-minute drive apart. That's because we all finish [work] late. And it took me, to be very honest, it took me a while to get to the stage where I've just understood as a wife…like health, that's the part that a lot of people don't see after everyone has left. Five years ago, I remember him as a very fit, passionate young man wanting to start his career in tattooing back in 2016. And now it's a little bit more difficult because he's not eating well. He doesn't have much time for exercising. I

think after four consecutive years of nonstop tattooing, it has had a huge toll on him…

So, I tried my best to inform people about food before they come, that's my job in the background. You can buy three *tala* meals for the workers and everybody, or you can just make a simple sandwich or salad for the *tufuga*. I think the mistake that we've made in the past with scheduling is that we never had scheduled breaks. We do have the holiday breaks. Like there's the Easter break or Christmas. But it's not enough to recover after months of non-stop tattooing and travelling, the fatigue all builds up. This year in particular, we made a goal to really schedule the breaks and keep onto it. A lot of the times we do schedule breaks, but we are just overwhelmed with people coming in, like if somebody comes and tells you a story about themselves and their journey and how they want to come. It's almost our duty to accept and help this person…

But, we have to be a little bit more stubborn this year because of Lia's health. His body is slowly collapsing. He has discovered different pains. We really need to exercise and do constant massage and diet. So, I'm encouraging him to do the laundry, do all the things around the house while I'm working. I really need him to be in a good shape and good health in order to continue the work we do so that we can be healthy and raise a healthy family… he's cleared out the schedule this month, January. We had a few people scheduled but he couldn't do it. This is the first time that he said to me, "I can't continue, I need a break." It was very hard to turn away those people because they travelled from overseas. I think our goal this year to put health first.

The passages quoted above indicate the support of a woman for her husband and the family. This labour is often concealed in order to maintain the man's sense of esteem. However, the companionship of a wife or partner is indispensable in keeping the *tatau* work on track. I interviewed them in 2018; since then, Li'aifaiva and Papali'i have remained committed to this work – not only to each other, but also to their two sons as parents until October 2021 in Aotearoa New Zealand before they returned to Sāmoa.

3.4 Lavea Fosi Levi: The Genesis of a Sāmoan Tattooing Advocate[34]

Lavea Fosi Levi is a paramount chief holding multiple *matai* titles, including Malagamaali'i, Vui, Fiaalua'e and Tauateleofiti (Table 3.2). Lavea is the father of five sons in the Levi family, and serves as a judge responsible for general crimes at the court house and tenure cases at the Land and Title Court. At the end of 2018, we had an interview talking about his family's genealogy of Niuean heritage on his mother's side:

> Niuean People came to Sāmoa because the Christian faith came here in the 1830s. This was brought by the London missionaries or the LMS[35], which came from Tahiti, Rarotonga and then Tonga and Sāmoa. Sāmoa is one of the last islands of Polynesia where white men came. Sāmoa was skipped out of the picture for a very long time because it had a reputation of being savages and not nice people… My mother's father was Niuean, he arrived in Sāmoa as a young boy. At the time he was three years old. And as he was growing up with his parents in Apia village, Aai-O-Niue, he was adopted by the high chief of Apia. And then when my grandfather was growing up in his new Sāmoan

[34] I first met Lavea in the *apisā* while his son, Li'aifaiva, was working in June 2018. At the time I was quietly sitting to one side and Li'a's father Lavea was the first person who approached me to talk. I express my warm appreciation to Lavea Fosi Levi for breaking the ice for me.

[35] The London Missionary Society, or LMS, originated from England, and reached Sāmoa in the 1830s (Robson, 2009, p. 21). Today, the LMS remains largely dominant over Catholic and other Protestant churches in Sāmoa.

> family in his early twenties, he went back to Niue and married a Niuean woman [who was my grandmother].… my mother she was from Niue, sent to Sāmoa to take care of her father's Sāmoan family because her father was Niuean and he was a preacher coming to Sāmoa to be the pastor for the Niuean congregation in Sāmoa in the late-1800s. So, I'm half-Niuean, Sāmoan-Niuean.

Mission work certainly played a central role in the history of Lavea's family, but the need for labour was also a significant factor in the migration of Niueans to Sāmoa. In discussing the genealogy from his father's family, and their status in Sāmoan society, Lavea proudly told me that:

> My father was from a quite a prominent Sāmoan family of three villages. Safotu is where the Li'aifaiva title comes from, under the high chief title Lavea in Safotu. I also take the Lavea title, too. Now my son is a *tufuga ta tatau* and he's taking up the Li'aifaiva title. And as the only boy, with my sister, in the family, I followed my father in trying to learn Sāmoan culture, with all of what's required of a young Sāmoan male.

Lavea elaborated on the family's links to legendary ancestors to present members, invoking ties that extended between Tonga, Fiji and Sāmoa, which connects specifically to Safotu (Figure 3.8):

> Our particular family links up through the connection between Safotu and Sataua. The story goes that Tuifiti, the high prominent chief of Fiji in those days called Tuifiti Lautalatua… Uh, he ended up being together with a Tongan lady and this Tongan lady is Laufafau Toga. She was a daughter of Tautui Tonga, or the prominent high chief of Tonga. And then Laufafau Tonga issued Tauateleofiti. Tauateleofiti, that's my first *matai* title. She then issued two

> people, a brother Ututaufiti and a sister Selega Tuitoga, and another sister, Fotumaiata Sāmoa. So Tauateleofiti, he started the village of Sataua; Ututaufiti he started the village in Savai'i called Avao, and Selega Tuitoga she started a district in Savai'i called Letusalega. Fotumaiata Sāmoa, the sister, started the village of Safotu. So, from the children of the Tuitoga lady and the Tuifiji of Fiji, we have very strong ties with Safotu and Sataua.

During Lave's adolescence, he enrolled at a Catholic boarding high school in the village of Moamoa, close to Mount Vaea in Upolu. Sulu'ape[36] Paulo II Pasina and Lavea were classmates, Paulo's brother, Sulu'ape Petelo Pasina was at the same school. They have other siblings, Sulu'ape Alaiva'a (also known as Petelo) Pasina and Sulu'ape Lafa'ele Pasina. Their father was known as Sulu'ape Paulo I. When Lavea left the school, Paulo II and Petelo earned the title of the "tattooing brothers." Lavea recalled that after the boarding school, he then went to an electrical college, and became an electric technician, and that this was the period that he received the *pe'a*. The *pe'a* was completed by his mother's brother, Su'a Fa'alavelave. Su'a Fa'alavelave was also a stretcher for Paulo's father, Sulu'ape Paulo I.

During the 1970s, Fosi worked for Sāmoa's Electric Power Corporation (EPC). At the same time, Lavea was sponsored and went over to New Zealand under a New Zealand government scholarship. While in Hamilton, he took up another skill in scuba diving, and later began his career in charge of an underwater diving company, deepening and widening submarine channels using explosives in the Aleipata Islands to the southwest of Upolu, and at the village of Salelologa in Savai'i. In 1978, Lavea married Matautia in Aotearoa New Zealand and moved back to Sāmoa. Afterwards, he became attached to the police and was engaged in their newly established diving team. He said, "I am talented and I'm a shooter

[36] The Sulu'ape family is a renowned *tatau* clan of the village of Matafa'a in Sāmoa.

with sniper rifle and pistol. I represented Sāmoa in the Commonwealth Games. That was also why I was hooked up to the police department."

In 1996, Lavea organised a tattoo event for the 7th Festival of Pacific Arts in Sāmoa (Figure 3.9). He had heard a radio broadcast saying that the tattoo event at the Festival was going to be cancelled. A strong sense of motivation as the descendant of a *tatau* family encouraged him to meet the festival board to halt the suspension. He recalled that:

> The organisation of the arts festival was in progress, I heard there were two more weeks to go before the opening and I heard an announcement over the radio as they were interviewing the people putting this thing together. They couldn't get the *tatau* going and they were scrapping [it] from the festival… I went to speak with them and say I heard you were scrapping the *tatau* section of the festival and I'm here to ask why and if there is a way that I can be of help. Because I feel we are leaving out of a very important part of our history, part of our culture… I told him that I don't know if you know Sāmoa has only two tattooing families, the Su'a, and the Li'aifaiva in Safotu. I am a descendant of the [*sā*] Li'aifaiva and they don't know. And for that, I am here to ask you please give me a chance. I can work and try and get the *tatau* family back to them.

Lavea successfully collaborated with the team, proudly reviving the tattooing event. He commanded commissioning seven *apisā*, each of which contributed a tattoo practitioner along with assistants. He showed me some old pictures of the march led by him during the Festival, which was themed *Tala Measina* (literally meaning "unfolding fine mats" to showcase the best of Sāmoan heritage) in Apia. All the members exposed their bodies with *pe'a*, with some *matai* wearing *siapo* (barkcloth), and holding *fu'e* (chiefly fly-whisk) and *to'oto'o* (chiefly canes). Through his involvement in restoring the event, Fosi began realising

the significance of gaining knowledge as a leader, and this enthusiasm led him to enrol at the National University of Sāmoa (NUS) in 1997 (Figure 3.10).

> The university started in 1984 and I went back in late 1997 to NUS. And the reason why I went back to university was because in 1996, I was in charge of putting together the *tatau* family of Sāmoa at the arts festival [Festival of Pacific Arts]. I was sitting in the main house where the Sulu'ape were tattooing and I was the one answering the questions by the tourists. After two or three days, I started getting some smart young people [tourists] asking some questions, but at this time I had no knowledge of what was going on at the university of what it teaches.

Lavea told me this experience as I was interested in how much he knew about the deep history of Pacific Islander migration, and this is exactly what those tourists had asked him. Fosi found that it difficult to respond to the questions and decided to go back to university to pursue higher education.

> When these students left at the Festival, I turned around and said to Sulu'ape, hey, you heard our conversation with these students and he said he was very fascinated about it because he is also a teacher in trade. He was a science teacher in trade. I said to him, I think it's about time for you and me to go back to university, and he agreed with me.

Until 2021, this passion pushed him to engage in reviving *tatau* heritage, and particularly the place of *sā* Liaifaiva in Sāmoan history. During this period, he continually played the advocate in maintaining the momentum of the *tatau* revival. Assembling all of the *tufuga* in the 1996 Festival was an important example of what he has been advocating as a leader. Li'a added that:

> My father has been always involving in tattooing festivals, even in charge of an international tattooing convention that he held in 2001 in Saleapaga, and hosting another a few years later along with the *sā* Sulu'ape.

In 2010, Lavea once again assembled the tattoo community to come together to plan organisation going for the 50th celebration of the country's independence in 2012 (Figure 3.11). Unfortunately, Petelo and Paulo II[37] along with many other *tufuga ta tatau* had passed away.

Another example of promoting Sāmoan *tatau* comes from Lavea's own experience of receiving *pe'a* twice. I have not heard of any other receivers deciding to receive *tatau* a second time, as the pain would be exceptional. Before getting the first *pe'a*, the sense of commitment from being a member of the chiefly family of Lavea and Li'afaiva had grown and became stronger. His first decision to receive *pe'a* was in 1972, during which the *tatau* become a somatic inscription on his body of the family's genealogy (Figure 3.12). However, the decision was not easy:

> I just woke up one morning and I just wanted it because I heard that I'm an heir of the genealogy for the family. So, I thought to my duty as an heir of the *sā* Li'aifaiva, I must have *pe'a*… without my body having a page for the writer, where does he get the page to write on and keep on that tradition? My grandfather was a pastor, or a *faife'au*, and he had his *pe'a* but my father didn't have a *pe'a*. When I told my father that I wanted a *pe'a*, he cried, "Why do you want it? I didn't want you to have a *tatau*." He couldn't believe that I could bear the pain because he didn't have this. He was the son of a *faife'au* and in those days, *faife'au* were not allowed to wear *tatau*, otherwise, my father would be banned from the church.

[37] Sulu'ape Paulo Pasina died in 1999 and was buried in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Lavea admitted that he was banned from going to church because of the *tatau*. This was a great hardship for him to bear. His inscribed genealogy was once again hammered into skin with even greater pain in 1996. Fosi recalled that his second *pe'a* was tattooed by by Sulu'ape Petelo Pasina, after the 1996 Festival. He reasoned that, "It was to make the colour clearer because the blood kept coming out when it was first tattooed by Fa'alavelave, [and] the colour was faded out." While showing me the photos of the work in 1996, he jokingly claimed that, "I'm a 1972 model."

3.5 Matautia Rula Levi: The Role of Li'aifaiva's Mother

Li'aifaiva's mother, Matautia Laumea Rula Levi[38] is a descendant of the Ahio Tupou family of the Pea settlement in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. She is a prestigious female *matai* holding many chiefly *suafa*, and was CEO of the Sāmoa Housing Corporation in Apia. The table shows the *matai suafa* originated from Matautia's family genealogy, and the six titles she currently holds (Table 3.3, Figure 3.13).

On graduating from Sāmoa College[39] in 1973, Matautia received two scholarship offers (there was no university in Sāmoa at the time), and was able to choose between medicine at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji and economics in Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand. Rula opted for the degree at the Wellington School of Business and Government at Victoria University, Wellington. Matautia and Lavea were already together and both felt sad when she had to leave. Lavea reflected that "during the 1970s, there were opportunities for Sāmoan young people to study in Australia, America and New Zealand. She was one of them studying overseas and one of the first Sāmoan graduates in economics from Victoria University in Wellington."

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[38] Hereafter, I will use Matautia, one of her most commonly used *matai* titles, or her given name, Rula, to refer to Li'aifaiva's mother.

[39] Sāmoa College is a secondary school established by the New Zealand Minister of Education in 1953.

The brief separation of the young couple did not jeopardise their relationship, which was strengthened when Lavea earned an opportunity to work for the Electric Power Corporation as an apprentice in Aotearoa New Zealand. They were able to live together from 1974, and in 1978, Matautia and Lavea became married, leaving for Sāmoa after a week. Why did they have their wedding somewhere other than in Sāmoa? She replied:

> If we got married in Sāmoa, there would be a big event here, but we just wanted to be together, so we become a couple in New Zealand and my family members came for our wedding where we could enjoy the celebration. But there was a different view, we only wanted it small up to ten people, but my uncle didn't understand. They wanted a formal Sāmoan wedding with all members involved, such as my Dad's brother, who are the closest members to my parents, and Fosi's mum's sister. We just wanted to invite them to New Zealand for our wedding dinner and we would pay for it but thing didn't happen as we wished. My uncle took over the decision, he is like an authoritative man, he wanted to be in charge, but at least we got married.

During the early 1990s, Matautia received her *malu* in a room of the Levi family's current residential house. There was no *apisā* there at the time. The house used to have three rooms, one of which was the front area of a sitting space in which she received the *tatau* by Sulu'ape Petelo. Li'a had not realised he would become a *tufuga* in his future life. Once Li'a and Peta became married, and the latter moved in as a daughter-in-law, this space was renovated to consist of four bedrooms, with one for the young couple. As we have seen, space is transformed and functions in different ways to match changes over the residents' life cycles.

During 2014 and 2015, Matautia along with her friend, the former Prime Minister, both received tattoos by the son, Li'aifaiva, during this early stage in his career. On the

evening of the day when he had completed the tattoo for Matautia's friend, and was supposed to begin his mother's tattoo, Li'a was unable to carry on and proposed another day in the same week, possibly due to the pressure. Over the previous six months Li'a had made efforts to improve his work, and had developed considerable experience as an apprentice, but tattooing two senior women was a challenge on another level.

Matautia asked her son to tattoo her hand using three designs that have distinct meanings to her ((Figure 3.14). First, she wanted him to tattoo five seagulls on her each of fingers to symbolise her five sons; second, as a faithful member of the Congregational church community in Aai-O-Niue, she wanted him to tattoo a couple of Christian crosses; and third, to tattoo her with his signature mark. This combination of ideas of a mother being tattooed by her son was a breakthrough for Li'aifaiva. Matautia held a strong belief that this was a plan from God. Both of the tattooees were proud of Li'aifaiva's work as a young tattoo practitioner, and the mother literally wears her pride. She believes that the hand tattoo strengthened the umbilical bond between her and her son: "When my son tattooed me, I felt comfortable and proud, I think because I delivered him, [although] I felt very exhausted, it made me bond with him, we are much closer."

Matautia considers the marks on her hand as a visual form of her life story or genealogy, from her ancestry through herself to the next generation (the five seagulls) to whom she gave birth[40]. Her husband, Lavea, had played a role in motivating their family heritage of *tatau*, by receiving his *pe'a,* and she was maintaining this momentum. She referred to the tattoo as a *malaga* – a journey of cultural value – to refer to an emotional and spiritual path of connection to ancestors, God and family members.

[40] In addition to the hand tattoo by her son, Matautia also wears a tattoo of an armband, or *taulima*, by the *tufuga ta tatau* Fa'alavelave, who was also the master tattooing Lavea's first *pe'a*.

Matautia accompanies Li'a visibly and invisibly in the workplace. She goes to the *apisā* and prays for smooth work for her son and all the other participants. Since her experience of pain is recalled whenever approaching the lodge, she prays that they can avoid infection and other irritations. Occasionally, Matautia would avoid entering the *apisā* due to the annoyance of the tapping sound, which also reminds her of her own painful experience of tattooing. She described the memory triggered by the sound when she was receiving her *malu* (Figure 3.15):

> It's in the ritual that you understand how traditional, meaningful and deep the culture is. So, while I went through the pain, the pain had meaning, if I want to enjoy, then I would be proud of the connection between *tatau* and me. This is not something you go and show it out, you carry it with pride.

As a child, Li'aifaiva thus grew up with his father telling him about the oral history of the *sā* Li'aifaiva and Sāmoan culture. The work of reestablishing family genealogy is centrally important and draws on contributions from every member of the family, whether visibly or invisibly. Lia's father always accompanies him at his tattooing work in the lodge, after his own daily work at the Court. Peta and Matautia assist invisibly in the background. During the *tatau* completion ceremony, *sāmaga*[41], for example, Matautia prepares the turmeric powder for Li'a's assistants to mix with coconut oil and apply to receivers' bodies when the ceremony is about to begin; Peta helps Li'a to arrange the bookings and to advise the families of the tattooees on attending the ceremony. The household servant or visitors are involved in other work, such as settling at the proper location and delivering soft drinks and meals to the attendees. Like the *tatau*, the final event is organised collaboratively, and carried out by all members, rather than individuals, including me placing sitting plastic sheets for oiled receivers. Matautia commented:

[41] I will detail the ceremony in the next chapter, Tattooing Practice in Sāmoa and Paiwan.

> Li'a has contributed to his work a lot. See those fine mats, very precious in our culture like (that given in) funeral. In funerals, fine mats are given out. When Li'a got some fine mats during *sāmaga*, we give some of them that were of good quality to the funeral. Therefore, that is Li'a's contribution to our family in these forms.

However, both Papali'i and Matautia are concerned about Li'a's health. While he was on a rugby scholarship, he was very fit, but as a result of the consistent tattooing, he has been lacking time for exercise. Time management poses a threat to Li'aifaiva's life. People normally work eight hours a day and take breaks on weekends, but Li'a works over eight hours a day for six days, barely leaving Sundays for himself and his family. I used to observe Li'a's work over ten hours a day. He and his assistants would finish working around midnight at the *apisā*, and then another session would begin first thing the next morning. Li'a is so dedicated to his work, often tattooing for multiple tattooees in a day, leaving little time for sleep.

Like many others of his generation, Li'a is fond of browsing the Internet, watching videos on his mobile phone, and sometimes posting images of his work on Facebook and Instagram. Photos of his receivers' *tatau* and the ceremony used to dominate his accounts, but since their new-born baby, pictures of family members have taken over, which means that he is spending more time doing something other than tattooing.

The *tufuga ta tatau* relies on Matautia and Lavea for their guidance as mother and father, as he is the only one of five sons, along with his wife Peta, playing a pivotal role dedicated to the maintenance of this heritage. Despite all the difficulties she has witnessed and shared, Li'a's mother continues to stress the urgency of the revival for the tattooing family's inheritance:

> We have to keep *tatau* culture alive, we are happy because we want to raise the family, we also aim to revive our heritage as our mission, we have to keep patient and the love to do it. So, we will support my son wherever he wants to go, and he will have a network to support him.

Matautia and Lavea insist on the Sāmoan customary protocols in raising their sons to look after the community as a whole, rather than pursuing individual benefit as *matai* title holders. Therefore, the value of nurturing social relationship is constantly promoted. She mentioned that:

> We are in a traditional family but also a modern family. We can possibly say we are in the middle class, we secure jobs with the best hopes for our children. Fosi and I were based in town early, we grew up in families with a lot of members. There was no college to go to and jobs were hard to find… so we want to prioritise our children.

Once, as I was sorting out my fieldnotes in a cafe, Matautia came in with her friends. She saw me in the corner and generously handed me 50 Sāmoan *tala*. I refused initially but then accepted, as I was aware that my refusal could have been interpreted as impoliteness in Sāmoan society, given her role as a distinguished *matai* and a mother who saw me in need of financial support. I accepted this help knowing that it was now my obligation to reciprocate. Matautia told me:

> I always believe your heart in coming here, your decision to be here is made by the Lord. You deserve it and we deserve it. Everything comes from the heart, you embrace God and for your people. In the end you will get what your object aims at. I think you gain and pray enough to achieve the goal. I know it's not easy. That is the best gift for you to give us, and it would be documented [by my research] and it will go far.

I was tested by Li'a earlier, when I began fieldwork, in order to ensure my "clean heart." The term was once again emphasised by Li'a's mother. Building up this connection through our shared social bond (*teu le vā*) matters not only in terms of *alofa*, but also in terms of my *varung* (heart in Paiwan language) for the Levi family. According to the Sāmoan Dictionary (Milner, 2012, p.60), *fatu* refers to heart, seed, or grain which also has refers to core and essence, and to making something up/composing (a song, for example). In other words, the *fatu* can be constructed through time, during which the act of respect is key in the articulation of the dynamic relationship between or amongst individuals, and requires constant nurturing built upon the mutual commitment of the *matai*.

3.6 From Sāmoa back to Taiwan: A Reversed Vision of Austronesian Articulation

I was (and remain) profoundly grateful to the Levi family for accepting me as a member of their *'āiga* (extended family). This kind embrace triggered my curiosity about the role of my own cultural and biological heritage of Paiwan in Taiwan. I raised the question of the connection between Taiwan Indigenous Peoples and Pacific Islanders, and Lavea responded:

> I first I did a double major in Sāmoan studies and history, not only of the Pacific, but also that of across the world at the NUS. It was when I realised that I also had an interest in looking at history and I first knew about the country Taiwan. One of the subjects was the origins of the Polynesian People, and I have so many books about the travels across Polynesia. One of the studies was the study of language, that was when I knew the oldest Polynesian language is still spoken today, spoken by the Negritos [Indigenous Peoples] in the Island of Taiwan… I know for my family that tattooing tools came from Fiji. But, from my studies, I personally believe that we started off from Taiwan. They came down through the Philippines, Indonesia, and travelled

> down [south], right [east] to Fijian Islands and then we [ancestral Sāmoan voyagers] left Fiji Islands. We lived in Fiji which was first settled by Melanesians. It's true, you know, when I first met you and you were introduced as an Indigenous Taiwanese, I felt so warm to you because I found out that the connection between Sāmoa and Taiwan when this was happening in 1996.

I put the same question to Li'a, because he wears a tattoo of Micronesian design on his calf. In addition to making his calf stronger, he said:

> I just like the look. It's also paying tribute to our ancestors where we came from South-East Asia. I believe they came through the route. They came through Micronesia, the Yapese are all part of it, some stayed in Yap, some still sailed along into Oceania.

I responded by saying, "We are losing our tattooing culture. It's now time for you or for Sāmoan People to bring [us] the culture back to the origin." By this, I was intending to say that this return seemingly reverses the original direction of voyaging from Taiwan to Sāmoa.

In Sāmoan society, the notion of Indigenous Peoples is less evident in village life and discussion. The Island of Taiwan is commonly recognised, but the so-called Austronesian connection between distant Taiwan and Sāmoa in the central Pacific is less known. The family members stated that the knowledge of Austronesian dispersal was acquired by those People who have a tertiary education from places such as the National University of Sāmoa. Culturally, Sāmoans emphasise their kinship to Fijian and Tongan society. Customary law remains central to social life in the villages and grounds the national administrative and legislative system, despite the introduction of modern law from the West. Compared with Māori People in Aotearoa New Zealand, who have been struggling for autonomy and their rights, much like Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan, their response did not surprise me since

Sāmoans and Sāmoan culture lie at the heart of the nation. Throughout my fieldwork in Sāmoa I was usually identified as Japanese or Chinese because of my Asian-looking features. This did not surprise me either because of the long-term history of Chinese settlement and investment in this territory.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, the Sāmoan phrase "*Li'aifaiva ma le fale lua o le 'āiga mālōfie*" has guided my ethnographic *djalan* in search of a tattooing family. Through a *talanoa* session at their house in Aai-O-Niue, I explore narratives by the four family members regarding the role of Sāmoan *tatau* in their lives. Li'aifaiva was initially unaware of his role as a *tufuga ta tatau* but then began to follow the track of his *tatau* heritage through his father Lavea's wayfinding, using legendary narratives and his double-tattooed *pe'a*, and with the collaboration of his wife Papali'i. The shared design of the couple's tattoos and Li'aifaiva's mother's marks served to inscribe her husband's and son's pathways towards reestablishing this family's privilege in *tatau*. Cudjuy's perspective on the classroom echoes the couple's learning space at the tattoo lodge. Both the concrete and somatic places secure their sense of belonging, weaving between and interlocking the past, present and future.

Throughout their journey, the Levi family have expressed the sense of *alofa* (love) and *fa'aaloalo* (respect), to ensure a profound relationality (*vā*) to one another. The *malaga* (travelling) in pursuit of education, marriage and professional careers is linked to places in which *suafa* (chiefly title), *tatau* and contemporary tattoos are interwoven to symbolise their genealogical narratives. Their commitment to preserving Sāmoan values has led me back to the notion of Austronesian migration from Taiwan to the Pacific, in an attempt to reconnect Our Sea of Islands, from Sāmoa back to Paiwan, using the shared experiences of cultural revival.

Chapter Two and Chapter Three have provided a Positioning for this journey. The places introduced in these chapters tell us who we are and where we can begin our travels. We pause, standing still like Paiwan hunters, to perform a *palisi* (blessing) with *saviki* (betelnuts), *vava* (wine) or *tjamaku* (cigarette) before going into the unknown bush, acknowledging our *vuvu* (ancestors) who live on these lands and praying for safe hunting. Our respect secures our steps on the land, and in this way we sense no fear and can bravely approach the pathway ahead. The voyage has begun, leading us to the next part of this thesis, Experiencing. We will travel to another core theme in Indigenous diplomacy—embodiment—to examine how the voyage is crafted through practising and sensing Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik*.

Part B: Experiencing

Chapter 4 Tattooing Practice in Sāmoa and Paiwan

4.1 Introduction

Modern tattooing is a business practice consisting of mutual agreements, techniques of using machinery, and transactions made in cash at a studio. Artists have specific tastes or styles, and their work in this highly visual art form is evaluated at competitions. Indigenous tattooing operates quite differently, however. This chapter is the first of two that describe the Indigenous tattooing experience, with reference to the Indigenous methods of *tatau* and *vecik*, as practiced by Li'aifaiva and Cudjuy. A timeline of before, during and after the tattooing process serves to structure my analysis.

In general, both in Sāmoa and Paiwan, Indigenous tattoo designs and placement on the body are strongly interwoven with issues of hierarchy, landscape, gender protocols and reciprocity. Sāmoan *tatau* preserves rich protocols, such as names for each motif, design, stick technique, toolmaking and the completion ceremony. Li'aifaiva insists on a high standard of sanitation and sterilisation to ensure a clean working environment. In his practice, Cudjuy, while pursuing ancestral values, has found a way to revive the momentum of *vecik* by appropriating Oceanic methods of tattooing, such as tapping and a cooperative working style, while remaining connected to Paiwan customary laws.

I emphasise that Indigenous tattooing is part of a package of cosmology, in which the visualisation of *tatau* and *vecik* represents a form of navigation between intertwined houses, families and genealogies, lands, and customary authorities. On the one hand, the notion of *vā* underpins the entire process of Sāmoan *tatau*, including the social space of practitioners and receivers, ancestral and new methods of working, and the roles of reciprocity, respect, and ceremony, even as these change with time. On the other, Cudjuy's *djalan*-paving for the revival of *vecik* represents an early navigational stage in which he carefully weaves trans-Indigenous forms while remaining close to Paiwan customary protocols.

I argue that the word "tattoo" or "tattooing," although introduced to the West from the *tatau* of Polynesian languages, has become simplified to mean merely a visual, individualised art in fulfilment of the wearer's aesthetic tastes. The significance of Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* rests instead on both tangible and intangible values which cannot be compromised through mingling with modern tattooing. Through this analytical dialogue between *tatau* and *vecik*, I aim to demonstrate that Indigenous diplomacy is constructed upon both the cosmological protocols practised by Sāmoans and the wayfinding experienced by Paiwan People.

4.2 Etymology of *Tatau* and *Vecik*

Etymologically, the word *tatau* can mean to count or to buy; Krämer concludes that it was used in buying and selling, and also recorded the word meaning being corrected or artfully done. To say *ta tatau* means to strike correctly or in four-edged figures, since in the Sāmoan tattoo pattern there are no curved lines, at least no circular ones as amongst the Māori, where tattooing is called *moko* after the crooked legs of the lizard (Krämer, 1995, p. 69).

In the 1770s, a German scholar, Johann Georg Adam Forster, introduced the word, *tatau* into German science diction in Berlin in 1871 and used it in his Pacific voyaging diary from 1776 to l780; it was spelt *tattowing* in English at that time (Krämer, 1995, p. 69). Lavea told me that the word was introduced to English when Captain Cook's scribe, William Anderson, recorded Tongans using the word in reference to a traveling party of Sāmoans.

For Paiwan, Raleigh Ferrell collected vocabulary[42] associated with tattooing. *Vecik* [*Vetsik*] refers to writing, tattoo, and design on carving or beadwork; *vencik* [*v/n/etsik*] is the verbal form of "to write" or "to design"; *si vecik* [*si-vetsik*] suggests a writing or drawing

[42] In explaining the lexical meanings, I retain the original spellings used by the following authors. The [*ts*] sound is correspondence to [*c*] in the current vernacular context of Paiwan. Spellings that show multiple forms according to the sources of dialects reserve the identical meaning.

implement; the word, *vavecikan* [*va-vetsik-an*], a writing desk or school in western Paiwan; *vinecikan* [*v/in/etsik-an*] is a present perfect verb for something which has been written or drawn; *pa vecik* [*pa-vetsik*] refers to an act that causes writing (*e.g.* to register at police station) (1982, p. 348).

Chen (1988, pp. 251-252) indicates that the Paiwan call tattooing *vencik* [*vuntsik*], and to tattoo *ki vecik* [*kivutsik*]. Paiwan connect the custom with their system in which tattoo marks differ according to the social status of the individuals. According to Calivat Tjakulavu, who wrote Paiwan ethnography in Tjuvecekadan, Pingtung, *vecik* [*vetsik*] refers to an emblem that communicates and represents with the use of physical and tangible materials. Examples are designs on carving and stitching; *vecik* encode symbolic values (2004, pp.11-12). Therefore, *vecik* has close relations with traditional lifestyles, cultural phenomena and aesthetic conceptions of Paiwan (Chou, 2013, p. 13). The tattooing of the hand is *vencik* and the designs on the back of the hands are called *vecik* (Chou, 2013, p. 11; Chiang, 2003, p. 283); another reference is *kivuncik* and *vuncik* (Ho, 1960, p. 18). However, Sadjiljapan reminds readers that Paiwan People do not share an identical usage of tattooing; in her writing, she uses the Paiwan term *vencik* for the outcome of the work and *vencikan* for the visual designs of tattoos (Chou, 2013, p. 12; Sadjiljapan, 2013, p. 24).

To denote practitioners, there are likewise several terms which different authors spell differently. Paiwan People use *saigu na vencik* [*saigo na vutsik*] or [*saigo no vuntsik*], referring to a tattooer, who is either a man or a woman born from the chiefly family (Ho, 1960, pp. 20-22; Chen, 1988, pp. 251-252). Each village had one or two practitioners who might be men or women. Most were aristocrats by birth, and also shamans. Practitioners from non-aristocratic lineages could tattoo simpler designs (Chen, 1988, pp 251-252).

Because there are multiple spelling conventions and differing vernacular usages of tattooing terms, in the following texts of this thesis, I use Cudjuy's spelling for Paiwan terms.

In general, I use the noun *vecik* to refer to the act of tattooing and the outcome of the practice; *vencik* as the verb; *vencikan* for the motifs or designs of tattoo, and *saigu na vecik* for the practitioner. Following from the above, the definitions of *tatau* and *vecik* and their derivatives are as follows:

1) Sāmoan *mālōfie* or *tatau* (shorter forms, *mālōfie and tatau*): Motifs, designs, placements, ways of practice, cultural protocols, and wearers' social positions are strictly applied to receivers. The term *pe'a* refers to man's *mālōfie* or *tatau* and *malu* to woman's *mālōfie* or *tatau*;

2) Paiwan *vecik*: Motifs, designs, placements, cultural protocols, and wearer's social positions are strictly applied to receivers. Both tapping and machine tattooing are considered acceptable. The term *vencikan* refers both to the motifs and designs of man's and woman's traditional tattoos;

3) Tattoos with Sāmoan design(s) or contemporary Indigenous tattoos: Motifs, designs, and placements are flexibly applied to wearers, whether Sāmoans or non-Sāmoan. Designs are often appropriated from *tatau*. The method of tattooing can be conducted by tapping or using a machine tool. There is not strict sexual protocol, however, men and women respectively sharing distinguishing marks and tattooed areas at large;

4) Tattoos with Paiwan design(s) or contemporary Indigenous tattoos: Motifs, designs, and placements are flexibly applied to wearers, whether Paiwan or non-Paiwan. Designs are either appropriated from or inspired by *vencikan*;

5) Tattoos with non-Sāmoan/non-Paiwan design(s) or contemporary tattoos: Motifs, designs, placements and receivers are not regulated by customary norms. There is no sexual protocol, either.

4.3 Comportment and Cultural Protocols for Tattooing Practices

In Sāmoa society as a whole, being seated and wearing *ʻie lavalava* are traditional requirements. There are no similar requirements to wear traditional costume in Paiwan but respectful behaviour is expected. In Sāmoa, when entering the *apisā*, the *tufuga*, *toso* (tattoo assistant) and *ta'oto* (receiver) are on one side of the space, beneath a ceiling fan and several working lamps. The workers sit cross-legged around the tattoo receiver, and adjust their positions when necessary. I have not seen Li'aifaiva stretch his legs while working, but one of the *toso* did stretch legs in case of numbness.

Receivers lie down on the floor close to the working members, according to the *tufuga*'s instruction throughout the work. Men's and women's legs are bent or extended when necessary. Lying down for hours is considered one of the great irritations they have to bear other than the pain of being tattooed. They lift their upper body after lying down for a long time and quickly move their body on the side while remaining sitting.

In general, visitors are expected to sit in the *apisā* and greet villagers, leaving no one outside the entrance. Visitors have to take off their footwear, sunglasses and hats and wear *ʻie lavalava*. Men, in particular, should hide their groin as much as they can. People should sit down on the floor as soon as they pick a location. They should be cross-legged or lie back against the poles. Alternatively, they are allowed to cover their thighs, calves and feet with sitting mats if their lower limbs are stretched straight out. The *toso* ideally should obey the protocol when stretching.

The practice of *tatau* is only conducted by *tufuga ta tatau* using traditional tools, or *ʻau/autā* and assisted by stretchers, or *toso*. Throughout the work, a dignified and prestigious manner of comportment is required, and food for the tattooing work group is always prepared by the tattooee's family.

Depending on the social status of the receivers, the practice for *tagatanu'u* (general villagers) was somewhat less restraint (Marquardt, 1984, p. 11). Sons of *matai* should experience tattooing together, and avoid receiving *mālōfie* alone; they should always be accompanied. Once the first tap strikes, the work will not be halted, although multiple periods of rest are necessary. Incomplete *mālōfie* (*pe'amutu*) causes great shame for tattooees and their families. After completion, there is a big feast with dancing (Marquardt, 1984, p. 12).

In Paiwan, there are few written descriptions of cultural protocol for receiving *vecik*. Nevertheless, historical pictorial archives show that Paiwan People used to tattoo and to be tattooed in a sitting position on the floor. This is true for women's work but less clear for men. Cudjuy follows this Paiwan pose while also appropriating Hawai'ian and Sāmoan tattoo practitioners' working styles in his practice. Not only does he remain cross-legged, one or two stretchers sit on the right and left side of a recipient. Cudjuy does not sit on a chair or ask receivers to lie on a standing bed as machine tattooists do. Male receivers are asked to lie down as in Sāmoan and Hawai'ian practice. For women, he instructs them where to put their hands in relation to their seated or lying bodies depending on where the tattoo is being placed.

There is no literature recording how visitors behave during the work. In Cudjuy's practice, which takes place close to the floor, watchers sit on the floor or on chairs around the team. The literature also gives no clue to recipients' dress. In most of the case in chiefly Paiwan, family members wear traditional outfits to attend the tattooing.

Cudjuy maintained traditional protocols including refusing to allow pregnant women to witness the work (Chen *et al*., 2018, p. 22; Ho, 1960, p. 22; Sadjiljapan, 2013, p. 29). Witnesses are not allowed to comment lest they cause an unsuccessful outcome (Sadjiljapan, 2013, p.29). Recipients should avoid getting the same *vencikan* design as the first-born, who deserves the most privileged pattern. If there is more than one candidate in a chiefly family,

priority in receiving aa tattoo and the selection of designs must be given to the first-born descendant; other candidates can receive tattoos, but, their designs must be of a lower status (Sadjiljapan, 2013, p.29). In addition, a father cannot tattoo his son or daughter (Chou, 2013, p. 35); women can be tattooed only after experiencing menstruation (Ho, 1960, p. 22; Chen, 2013, p.198). Cudjuy told me how a girl who was his assistant began menstruating and had to step aside. Consequently, she was not able to join in, but stayed from a distance to observe the work. Cudjuy asked the receiver's family members to take over in that case. Making fire in the morning is also thought to jeopardise the tattooing work due to the heat (Sadjiljapan, 2013, pp. 28-29). If the tattooed hands are inflamed (*semezasezam*), the work is stopped (*maljekuya*) (Chou, 2013, p. 37). Villagers in mourning should avoid approaching the work (Chen *et al*., 2018, p. 75). Sneezing and farting cause detachment of the receiver's soul and should be avoided; tattooees do not eat rice or pork during the practice or immediately afterward (Ho, 1960, p. 22; Chou, 2013, p. 35; Sadjiljapan, 2013, p.29).

4.4 Preparation of Sāmoan *Tatau* and Paiwan *Vecik*

Discussion takes place before the work begins. At a meeting between Li'aifaiva and prospective tattooees which I attended, the tattooees pulled over their car and approached Li'a along with his family. Li'a then invited them to sit inside the garage to begin developing a relationship as he did not know them yet. The *tufuga* admitted that he occasionally received unexpected visitors, often at night when he was preparing to go to sleep. He would not refuse visitors dropping by his house, and would welcome them especially if they came from overseas.

His wife Papali'i managed the booking for all tattooees. According to her, tattooees would send emails to her and request a suitable time. She then set it in a calendar on her

mobile phone. Potential receivers were asked to have their bodies physically prepared, eating proper food and having sufficient sleep.

In precolonial Sāmoa, the wooden handle of a tattooing tool (*ū*) was made from the *fu'afu'a* tree (*kleinhovia hospita*/guest tree)[43]. The three parts of the tool, serrated blade, handle and connecting toe, were tied together with coconut fibre (Marquardt, 1984, p. 9). On the tip of a striking stick, the fan-shaped item was tied with little combs made from the pelvic bones of slain enemies. Lavea reminded me that "during the wartime, when the people are dying, *tufuga* came out with his knife and started cutting up the human bones for his instrument; that's why spirits are associated with the tools" (Figure 4.1).

A small needle-bone comb made of boar tusk is normally 1.5 centimetres wide and is tied to the flattened turtle shell. The comb was bound with one to three pieces, each of them with fifteen to twenty teeth. The equipment, or *o le 'au*, was thus formed. Depending on the practitioners' working styles, there were at least four different widths of fan-shaped turtle shell for various designs. A 35 centimetres long tapping stick, *sausau* or *'auta,* was made for the insertion, the fine teeth cut from the hard bone blade with the utmost precision (Marquardt, 1984, pp.9-10). For detailed work only the narrowest ones are appropriate (Krämer 1995, p. 80). Nowadays, the shapes of the tapping and tapped sticks remain traditional, however, the method of their manufacture has been replaced by modern materials using electrical-powered machines.

I had an opportunity to see the making of Li'aifaiva's tools. The maker was the *tulāfale* (orator), Mulitalo (Figure 4.2), assisted by a boy, Popo. The work of making the *'au* took place in the garage, with a grinder and pieces of sandpaper on their working desk. Multiple wooden sticks were shaped. The width and length were generally the same, around 20 centimetres long. They were placed in order to be fixed and attached to a piece of fan-

[43] According to Milner (2012, p. 294), however, *ū* refers to reed grass or reed cane.

shaped plastic glass. Each of the sticks was grooved and dried on top. Often, the maker tried tapping after grinding for testing, as if he were tattooing. If it was not perfect, he would fix again. The plastic glass had a groove in which Li'a had been using disposable steel needles (Figure 4.3).

For ink in pre-colonial Sāmoa, the Aleurites moluccana (candlenut) was collected and burnt, with the soot sticking to the inside of a coconut shell. The pigment then was scraped out from the surface and stored in a green coconut (*niu*) which was closed with a roll of *siapo* (barkcloth). The soot was pounded (Marquardt, 1984, p. 9; Mallon & Galliot, 2018, p. 189). One elderly informant wearing his *pe'a* told me about the process of making the ink, noting that the ink as "the venom" because of its poison that causes great pain.

Li'aifaiva's wife Papali'i emphasises that making ink and weaving fine mats are both involved in the social reproduction for men and women:

> When a Sāmoan boy is born, his grandmother makes the ink. The ink is like a boy. It's for the boy. She starts making the *lama* to prepare for his tattoo, the older the boy grows, the more the *lama* is made…if a Sāmoan baby girl is born, she starts weaving, the finest mat that will be for the exchange during the wedding, so the finer the weaving, the more expensive it will be.

For Paiwan, due to the lack of literature on men's *vecik*, I will describe the preparation steps only for women's hand tattoos, adding observations from Cudjuy's experience. I will try to reconstruct the procedure with archival and fieldwork material. Note that all of the steps shown do not necessarily take place in the order given here.

A traditional Paiwan tattoo stick was bound with a pair of steel needles, or *chiam* or *djiam* (in Taiwanese dialect; an imported type of needle), with linen thread on a bamboo stick, or *se-aulu* (Figure 4.4); the bamboo stick is about forty centimetres long; the needles were also wrapped with linen thread, about two to three millimetres in length (Chen, 1988, p.

251; Ho, 1960, p. 20). The thorns came from the pomelo tree, called *kamurav* or *kamurau* (Chen, 1988, p. 251; Chou, 2013, p. 33; Chiang, 2003, p. 287; Chen et al., 2018. p. 22; Chen, 2013, p. 199). Compared with modern steel needles, the pomelo thorns can cause greater pain, according to Cudjuy. The most common tool for tattooing in Puljetji was a piece of wooden crutch attached with an iron needle at one end (Chou, 2013, p. 33). Until quite recently, Paiwan tattooists used a small knife about twenty-five to thirty centimetres long to strike the needles. The handle of this knife was also employed as a blood scraper (Chen, 1988, p. 251; Ho, 1960, p. 20) (Figure 4.5).

Cudjuy was able to develop his own way of making tattooing tools (Figure 4.6). He has been considerably self-taught, referring to videos on the Internet and tattoo practice at conventions. He has also been instructed by other Indigenous tattoo artists. The first non-electrical-powered needle stick was made in 2015 after Cudjuy was invited to observe the master Keone Nunes at Indigenous Ink in Manukau, Aotearoa New Zealand. Until I began collecting data for the fieldwork, Cudjuy had been used to making the tools in his room at National Tsing Hua University.

A struck stick consists of three parts: the handle, lacing and needle-attached area. In terms of the holding area, the surface shape of a stick is significant to Cudjuy. He insisted that the holding location for fingers had to fit his hand. Therefore, each stick was customised for his grip. Some of them were made curved rather than straight. He also has figured out that the more circular the stick, the more likely it rolls. This holding part was designed to be thinner on one side and thicker on the other, which makes the lacing area heavier and helps the striking. On the heavier side, durable thread was laced to protect the surface of the wood from damage after repetitive tapping. The thread also fixed the joint between the plastic and the stick. The lacing area is nailed through the plastic into the top of the wood. The top of the stick was grooved to hold the glass tightly. The needle-attached area of the plastic was also

grooved. The width of the grooved area varies depending on the length of the comb. Whereas steel needles were fixed by medical tape or dental flosser, bone needles[44] were laced by thread.

Cudjuy purchased steel needles from a tattoo studio (Figure 4.7). The circumference of each needle varies, with multiple smaller needles bundled on each tip. Striking sticks are made of wood, and lighter than the one gifted by Keone Nunes in Tauranga. The hitting point was wrapped with medical tape to reduce the damage from countless striking.

In the precolonial period, Paiwan practitioners collected charcoal ash (*qidung*) with a knife (*sigunu*) from the bottom of a cooking wok or stone slate (Figure 4.8, 4.9). A sere of millet stalk (*singilj*) was collected and applied on the struck spot in order to fix the colour of tattoos (Figure 4.10). Black nightshades (*sameci*) served that same function (Figure 4.11). The tattoo practitioner would prepare a piece of fabric (*kadradri*) for absorbing water, wrapping it over a receiver's hands. The fabric was also held in the palm by a tattoo recipient to stretch the skin. The skin of the banana (*qapulu na veljevelj*) would be tapped to push the juice out (Figure 4.12). This liquid was for reliving pain, and for cooling down a baby with a fever (Figure 4.13) (Chou, 2013, pp. 65-91).

Both Li'aifaiva and Cudjuy accept modern chemical-ingredient ink for their works. They simply purchase it at tattoo shops. Li'a needs to purchase it overseas, as it is unavailable in Sāmoa. It is relatively convenient in Taiwan, especially in Taipei. Both artists pay attention to the thickness of the ink they purchased.

In Paiwan, after preliminary discussions with families of tattoo recipients (Figure 4.14) and blessing (Figure 4.15), the work is ready to begin. There is not a blessing for Li'a's work but discussion is pivotal. Before setting up Li'aifaiva's working space in the *apisā*

[44] Cudjuy has been working on making the bone needle made of animal's teeth but had never applied them for his work. He stated that the sharpening was quite challenging because the thinner the teeth, the easier they broke apart.

(Figure 4.16), needles, sanitiser, and wipes had been purchased and set aside for the work. Setting up the tools is the work of the *toso*. Li'a was used to beginning his daily session around nine to ten o'clock. The stretchers had to come to the space earlier and prepare all the items needed. One of the *toso*, Tiso, was more experienced, responsible for sterilising the tattooing tapping sticks, replacing brand-new steel needles and wrapping them with plastic. All the *'au* would be placed, leaving their combs on the top edge of a small basin. The practitioner could see the combs rapidly and pick the one most suitable for the design. Meanwhile, the other stretcher, Titi, wrapped all the pillows and a mattress with saran wrap. He squeezed the air as much as possible out of pillows and tied up the openings. This kept the plastic perfectly attached on the surface of pillow in a sealed space. A spray bottle of water, wet wipes and a barrel of clean water will be readied by the same assistant. Young boys or visitors can tidy up the sitting mats to cover all the wooden surface of the floor. Tattoo recipients had to be ready on site before Li'a came in. Once he sat, recipients lay down for the daily session.

Traditionally in Paiwan, the practice was often conducted in winter to cause less pain and inflammation (Chou, 2013, p. 75; Ho, 1960, p. 12; Chiang, 2003, p. 287; Chen *et al.*, 2018, p. 22). A ventilated and bright space was preferable (Chen *et al.*, 2018, p. 22). It took place in a small hut, or *panpan,* specially built for this purpose. To prevent intruders, a bamboo stick was placed in front of the hut. A Paiwan person who wished to *vencik* had to present drinks to the paramount chief in order to decide a date for the operation (Chen, 1988, p. 252; Chen *et al.*, 2018, p. 22).

As for Cudjuy's preparation of his workplace, since he worked in multiple sites, he packed all items in his luggage. Before working, a stretcher assigned by him took all tools out and set up a working space (Figure 4.17). They unfold mats (usually three-piece ones bought in the Philippines and Aotearoa New Zealand) to create an area of nine square metres. An

electrical socket was necessary for connecting the cables of a lamp, his mobile phone and wireless bluetooth speaker. Cudjuy prepares the needle on his own and then pours a certain amount of ink in a tiny container covered with plastic wrap at the bottom. He would then link to the Internet and play Hawai'ian or Tahitian music.

Meanwhile, assistants work on placing other relevant items such as the lamp, wipes, a bottle of clean water and a container of vaseline around the mats, in easy reach. The working light was adjustable and stood close to Cudjuy. A stack of fabric wipes was folded and put on a small wooden tray; the bottle was attached to a hose on a lid so the users were able to aim at the skin rapidly. After Cudjuy puts some vaseline on a glove and dips first amount of ink, the tattooing would begin.

4.5 Tattooing Practices

4.5.1 Designing, Measuring and Stencilling

In Li'a's designing *mālōfie* (Figure 4.18), one can see minor changes of alignment. These nuances demonstrate his sense of aesthetics for each *soga'imiti* (*tatau* wearer). Motifs are not altered. When tattooing with Sāmoan designs, he appropriates motifs from *pe'a* and *malu*, adopting them in patch-like designs for recipients. Designs show clear edging with small spaces in-between. Depending on the decisions made in *talanoa* (discussion), Li'aifaiva would ink a combination of multiple motifs of *tatau* according to receiver's genealogy.

Compared to Sāmoan artists, Cudjuy applies diverse techniques to fulfil recipients' expectations. There are three methods: 1) Adding a new tattoo on an uninked area of skin. This method has been applied to a great number of his clients who wear *vecik* or tattoos of Paiwan designs. 2) Piecing, a common method of Cudjuy and other tattooists. For example, a younger cousin of Cudjuy was inked using piecing to circle the cousin's existing tattoo with Sanskrit characters and a Christian cross. This often requires practitioners' additional work of

designing. Cudjuy uses this method for tattooees who wear designs of Japanese or Chinese cultures such as dragons, heads of ghosts, sacred figures of Taoism or Sanskritic characters. 3) Covering refers to a technique where an existing mark is entirely or partially overlapped by a new tattoo (Figure 4.19). If the extent of a tattoo is large, he uses water ink to simulate the outcome of the designs for a receiver (Figure 4.20).

When tattooing is about to commence, techniques of measuring, and stencilling are used. Li'aifaiva relies heavily on visual measurement, and his work tends to be freehand. In measuring, Li'a asks a recipient to stand closer or farther away from him and turn aside or around. When a recipient lies down, he adjusts his position slightly to observe his or her skin and body. This process takes only a few seconds. While tapping, he is using ink with *'au* to flick in black colour for the purpose of measuring. Stretchers have to clean the tattooed area carefully and avoid wiping the temporary outline.

Because references on traditional Paiwan *vecik* are lacking, Cudjuy drew inspiration and advice from various sources. One day in the first half of 2018, Cudjuy and I went to Pintung City for a meeting with the Paiwan artistic master Sakuliu Pavavalung (Figure 4.21) who is talented in diverse forms of artwork (carving, sketching and writing), and has dedicated his career to the preservation of Paiwan cultural heritage.

During this visit, Cudjuy was honoured to be presented an album of Sakuliu's drawing designs. We were granted permission to take pictures of his creative patterns in other albums. These marks are characterised by Sakuliu's Indigenous wisdom and knowledge which sticks to the traditional motifs of the sun, the hundred-pace snake, human figures, pottery, and butterflies, but are not limited to the styles shown on old objects. His manuscript was gifted to Cudjuy for free use.

This album was later jokingly named *"武功秘籍"* (kung fu reference book) by Cudjuy at tattooing festivals. Visitors can discuss options with Cudjuy and choose designs on

their own. These designs are considered Paiwan, and suitable to non-Paiwan or non-chiefly Paiwan tattooees. While this reference significantly helps Cudjuy's work and disseminates Paiwan visual art for foreigners, he has begun creating patterns of Paiwan designs and tattoos for villagers with his own designs.

In precolonial times, a practitioner used the blade of a knife, *sigunu* to *seman djaljan* (which literally refers to making a pathway) for stencils on the surface of skin using ash or charcoal, followed by the actual tattooing (Chen, 2013, p. 199; Ho, 1960, p. 22; Chou, 2013, pp. 75 & 77) (Figure 4.22). Cudjuy has been using a red pen of water ink and a ruler to stencil lines on a receiver's skin. This is carried out especially when the extent of the design is large. This work illustrates a basic outline which allows the practitioner to measure and balance. Receivers are able to take a quick look at the temporary drawing to prepare for the successive work. In recent work, he hands it over to one of his apprentices, Terau Leau, who is a Tahitian dancer with artistic background.

A handmade cylinder with a carved design is created by Cudjuy. The small tool is carved with motifs of triangles, zigzags or diamond shapes which function as if a stamper to roll with red ink along the area to be inked. Cudjuy applies stencil paper as well for the same purpose (Figure 4.23). This stencilling dramatically accelerates the working efficiency.

4.5.2 Tattooing

Tattooing with tapping seems to be straightforward and repetitive but it requires great deal of practice, patience and experience. When I first held a tapping stick and a stick with a needle comb, trying to simulate the movement as if there were a receiver, I found it was a challenging to align a single line, not to mention a curved one or more delicate marks.

Li'aifaiva strikes the comb into skin tissue and tidies up a line back and forth (Figure 4.24). Consider the example of *tapulu* (outer area on thighs of *pe'a*), for which Li'a uses the widest comb of needles and taps repetitively on unfilled areas. This creates a solid backing.

His skill makes the colour tidily aligned, causing no blank spots between hundreds of crossing points if the tapping runs vertically. Doing so, he can avoid striking the same spot excessively to prevent over-broken skin. If striking in parallel and crosswise in turn, it will cause very wounded skin, breaking the dead point of elasticity, which results in snapped surface of the skin. Li'a describes the overworked skin as a broken rubber band. Consequently, the skin tissue absorbs less ink since a scar takes more time to heal, and causes the ink to fade despite being black and shining in the first place. The difference between intact and faded colour depends upon tattoo practitioners' experience.

Li'aifaiva has stopped using a machine needle, entirely carrying out the customary method of tattooing. He considers himself a traditionalist who is obligated to preserve an ancestral way of work. He values Sāmoan wisdom, saying "if it's not broken, don't fix it…The tapping is still working efficiently and tattooing with a machine does not mean one will go faster." He compared traditional and modern tattooing techniques to the difference between soccer and rugby: "It's just a different game because you need different skills."

In traditional Paiwan *vecik* (Figure 4.25), practitioners made incisions (*tjumuketjuk*) by holding a pocketknife and hitting the needle-stick so the needle punctures the skin, causing bleeding (Sadjiljapan, 2013, pp. 75 & 77; Chou, 2013, p. 77; Chiang, 2003, p. 287). A hammer (*tjuqetjuq*) is sometimes used instead of a pocketknife for tapping (Chou, 2013, p. 77). The practitioner then scrapes charcoal ash from the bottom of a used wok or stone plates, then binds the needles in parallell on a stick (Chou, 2013, pp. 65, 67 & 69). The tattooist uses the knife to dip the soot and applies it to the bleeding area (Sadjiljapan, 2013, p.79) (Figure 4.26). Starting from the left hand, followed by the other, men received ink from lower arm, shoulder, chest, ending at the back; women from the back of hands, fingers and then wrist (Ho, 1960, p. 22; Chou, 2013, p. 77). The tattooist tapped ink on the same spot up to four times (Chen, 1988, p. 252). During the operation, the practitioners used ash of millet mixed

with water and leaves of nightshades to fix the colour (Figure 4.27, 4.28), followed by chewing betelnut and once in a while spat the juice on the affected area to stop excessive bleeding (Chen, 1988, p. 252; Ho, 1960, p. 21). The tattooed lines and designs might not emerge properly, consequently, the whole work would need to be conducted two or three times for a better appearance of the *vecik* (Chen, 2013, pp. 200-201). Although the work can be finished in days, it takes several times to re-colour the wound, which takes up to a half a month (Chen, 2013, pp. 199-201).

Cudjuy used to use a machine needle, but discarded this technique and has used the traditional tapping method since 2015 (Figure 4.29). When doing straight lines, he simply applies ink to skin and links each linear shape together. He continues connecting the hyphen-like motifs by repetitive tapping, with approximately thirty percent of the length covering the previous one. Since some ink on the comb is splashed or left on the struck spot, he would dip it and continuing tapping. This skill allows him to avoid dipping ink from a container and leads to a smoother working tempo. As with Li'a's method, for Cudjuy the comb goes back to tidy up lines which have been inked. When tattooing curved lines such as an arc or circular shape, a tapping stick with a single needle is deployed. Cudjuy creates dots, linking them as a linear motif. All his works, whether customary or contemporary *vecik*, rely on this repetitive tapping.

4.5.3 Stretchers and Stretching

The customary method of tattooing in Sāmoa requires assistants to work together as a team. For Li'aifaiva's working style, two assistants are needed (Figures 4.30). For the revival of Paiwan tattooing, the artist adopts the Polynesian style of having two helpers. Stretching is a process of apprenticeship for become a tattooing artist in both places.

Cudjuy invited assistants of diverse ages, genders and ethnic groups to help him tattoo (Figure 4.31). In addition to Paiwan, Cudjuy has had assistants from other Indigenous

backgrounds: Atayal, Truku, Amis/Pancah and Bunun. In recent years he has developed a regular working style with a Tahitian and a Paiwan man as stretchers during his travels for tattooing (Figure 4.32). The former goes overseas with Cudjuy and has language proficiency in French and English.

In Cudjuy's work, children are often asked to do stretching work for their parents who are receiving tattoos. Cudjuy insists on this collaboration with family members, kids in particular. They can do stretching once in a while and hang around with peers when feeling bored. They also do favours like buying food or soft drinks for the working people and villagers. More importantly, this space becomes a *kakitulu'an* in which pupils are able to learn the practice along with their parents. Wearing gloves, stretching, wiping ink off and fanning to make a breeze are essential for the educational experience.

For Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik*, stretching requires consistent strength. The best way is to push and then stretch the surface of the skin as hard as possible. The strength comes not only from the palms and fingers but also from full-body weight. Fingers need to be placed as close as possible to the tattoo, allowing ink to penetrate easily. Li'a is sometimes unsatisfied with insufficient pressure or an inappropriate angle, and he moves stretchers' hands himself.

Two assistants don't stretch skin simultaneously as Li'aifaiva works. Rather, one stretches first, the other follows next, depending on the angle. Very often practitioners tip ink at regular intervals for around three seconds on average, during which stretchers switch body poses and stretching angles. Li'a's working pace is fast and rhythmic. His assistants are required to press and clean as he goes. Stretchers who do not follow the tempo of tattooists could slow the rhythm of tattooing, eventually causing errors and frustration. Cudjuy uses vaseline on his glove, but Li'a does not, explaining, "it is nearly impossible for the *toso* to press if I apply slippery cream on the skin."

Wiping off ink and blood requires efficiency and quickness. The piece of cloth becomes darker, drier and dirtier during long work, and stretchers have to find a whiter part of the cloth to use for wiping. Once the cloth becomes completely stained, assistants replace it. Li'a insists on using non-woven fabric which must be replaceable and hygienic for every single receiver. Cudjuy prefers to purchase disposable wet wipes available in most stores. This type of cloth grants a high level of sanitation as well. Assistants hold wipes by two hands while tattooing at all times. There is no need to grab the fabric that is put aside when practitioners dip pigment. In this way, stretchers can clean the skin faster than the practitioners move, smoothing the work. A spray bottle is kept ready to clean skin efficiently and decrease the friction for less pain. In addition to stretching, other forms of assistance for tattoo artists include fanning for a breeze in hot weather and to keep pests away, and adjusting lamps during the work.

4.5.4 Becoming Oceanic: A New Way of Stretching in Paiwan

Because archival information reveals few clues of how Paiwan tattooing teamwork was organised, artists like Cudjuy adopt Oceanic forms and practices. Cudjuy was inspired to use Polynesian styles after attending tattooing events in Aotearoa New Zealand, Sāmoa, Hawai'i and French Polynesia. The 2015 Indigenous Ink Festival spurred his work in hand-tap tattooing. As discussed in Chapter Six, he was invited by Hawai'ian tattoo artist Keone Nunes to join his collaborative work in 2018. At the time, tapping was the main focus of Cudjuy's observations, but stretching by Nunes' assistants work also modelled ways for Cudjuy to improve his tattooing teamwork. In Taiwan, Indigenous tattooing cultures share with five other Indigenous Peoples, in addition to Paiwan. The revival of tattooing in Paiwan drew on the participation of those communities. Since their revivals have lasted approximately five years, many aspects of the heritages are experiencing

experimental and educational development in which appropriating proper methods seems inevitable.

4.5.5 Procedures of Tattooing Work

There is not a detailed literature illustrating the tattooing of *mālōfie.* For *pe'a*, Krämer (1995, pp. 82-90) does describe five sessions for the whole work. In general, Li'aifaiva follows the steps which Krämer outlines. Li'aifaiva's usually begins work around ten o'clock in the morning. After the tools and space are set up, he sits and picks a proper stick for the design that is going to be made. After dipping the soot, the stretchers pull the skin and Li'a begins tapping. Occasional visitors drop by and they warmly greet each other.

After working until around two o'clock in the afternoon, he pauses. Everyone has lunch together in the *apisā*. It is protocol to stay and share the offering provided by receiver's family without leaving too soon. Before the session resumes, Li'aifaiva and the recipient take another short break. The work continues at around three o'clock. Family members such as Lavea and Mulitalo come after their occupational work is finished for the day.

Li'a finishes a daily session between five and ten o'clock depending on the working conditions. When the session is over, Li'a sprays sanitiser liquid on his hands. He shares some tips for aftercare with his clients. Tattooees are advised to apply coconut oil and wash their skin at least four or five times a day. They need to stay out of the sunlight and humid environment as much as possible.

The procedure for traditional *vecik* is outlined in some written works, but it no longer practised. Practitioners started from men's hands followed by lower and then upper arms. Chest, shoulder and back were tattooed successively, and the last session was finished from the back to the chest, with marks of human heads or snakes. Female *vecik* were begun from the back of left palm and then fingers; wrists were inked last (Chen, 1988, p. 252; Ho, 1960, pp. 20-22; Chou, 2013, pp. 77, 93), using *tavaliyan* (zigzag shape, wave shape; Chen, 2013,

pp. 199-200). Men's tattooing work lasted one or two months while women experienced the work for two days (Ho, 1960, pp. 20-22; Chiang, 2003, p. 287; Chen *et al*., 2018, p. 22). All the work was shaped by the customary hierarchical order (Chou, 2013, pp. 95, 97, 99, 101, 103). As mentioned, since Cudjuy has adapted great deal of Polynesian style of work, it is necessary to address his work in comparison to the ancestral way of tattooing.

After setting the working space and stencilling the outline, the stretcher puts some vaseline cream on the recipient's skin. Cudjuy picks up a striking stick that is attached to a comb needle, and dips ink on the needle and taps it into the skin. While working, Cudjuy changes the needle-attached sticks depending on the patterns and sizes of designs. Unlike traditional methods in which practitioners applied soot after using the needle, now the ink is injected into the skin tissue when he strikes. Between an interval of two taps, the assistants wipe off the ink and Cudjuy carries on. This process will continue repeatedly until completion. At noontime, the people take a lunch break and then carry on right away. Children or Cudjuy's mother help prepare food. After working for hours, he wipes the receiver himself after the last striking so he can observe the new tattoo carefully. Music keeps playing and the tools either remain in the same place or are packed into luggage for the next batch of work. Depending on the range and healing time, Cudjuy will revisit the tattooee again to reapply ink. In the case of a Drekai chiefly women, Cudjuy and I went back to her house and fix the colour for her since the colour of the tattoo changed over time. There is no specific method of aftercare but washing the tattoo multiple time a day and keeping away from wet and heat to avoid infection are priorities for Cudjuy and his clients as for Li'a and his in Sāmoa.

4.6 Body Placements, Tattoo Motifs and Designs

4.6.1 Body Placements of Tatau and Customary Vecik

Sāmoan man's *tatau*, *pe'a*, is inked mostly on the *torso*, reaching from the waist, buttock, thighs to knees. The lower back is tattooed as well with delicate patterns of multiple motifs which includes a design of two spears linking the *va'a* to ribs on both sides. Navels are solidly patched in black colour and nearby areas are tattooed. Designs on the buttock and groin will be located considerably close to anuses and membrums (Figure 4.33). The counterpart of *pe'a* is women's *malu*. *Malu* is worn only on thighs of women. Tattoo designs that are appropriated from *malu,* such as marks of arms or the back of a hand, are not considered *malu*. Designs of *malu* cover entire thighs between buttocks and knees. Black ink encompasses the front and side part, leaving more intensive colouring in the back of thighs. Some wearers' dotted designs extend below the back of their knees (Figure 4.34).

Unlike Sāmoan *pe'a* and *malu*, Indigenous Paiwan tattoos are not linguistically gendered; both are called *vecik* (Figure 4.35, 4.36). Paiwan men's *vecik*, *na kivecik a ukaljay*, covers the upper torso ranging from both sides of the chest, shoulder, and entire arms to wrists. *Vecik* also extends to the back of the shoulder, reaching the waist on the lower back. Designs of *vecikan* run parallel on the chest, shoulder and scapula, leaving a curved area that reaches the back. A small design on the inner-lower arms is also in parallel. Designs of *vecikan* extend on the upper bodies of men and are relatively less delicate than Sāmoan *tatau*. Woman's *vecik*, *na kivecik a vavayan*, is inked only on the backs of hands. Some women's *vecik* reaches both wrists and their adjacent areas with specific motifs. There is one case amongst my informants who has tattoos on her lower arms. This extended area is considered her personal decision and is not mentioned in the literature. A single motif is tattooed on each knuckle and joint on the back of the hand. Motifs such as hooks or cutting boards on finger and wrist areas represent a wearer's distinguished socio-political position in her community. In addition to the torso and hands with realistic characters, Paiwan men were also tattooed on

knees and calves; Paiwan women on their arms, knees and the calves. The designs mainly consisted of lines and dots (Chen, 1988, p. 252).

According to my data, traditionally both men and women in Sāmoan and Paiwan societies do not tattoo on the head, face, neck, stomach, throat, calves or feet. There are no chest tattoos for women, either.

4.6.2 Body Placement of Tattoos with Sāmoan, Paiwan and Non-Indigenous Designs

In general, both Sāmoan and Paiwan People tattoo on limbs, wrists, arms, shoulders, chests, waists, legs, and feet. In practice, for those people with non-traditional tattoo styles or placement, receiving tattoos with Sāmoan or Paiwan designs later on causes no problem. I have seen some Sāmoan men get a *pe'a* partially over an earlier non-traditional tattoo on the same spot.

Other than the traditional areas for *tatau* and *vecik*, armband- and wristband-style tattoos, anklets and patches are popular for both men and women in Sāmoa and Paiwan. I once interviewed a male Sāmoan Congregational Christian Church pastor who wears a tattoo on his wrist which a watch is able to cover. Tattoos on the chest and upper arms are popular for men. They tend to tattoo sleeves of design with *pe'a* on one or both arms. Calves are tattooed for men as well. Some Sāmoan and Paiwan informants suggest this design makes their legs look stronger. Furthermore, Paiwan men who wear Japanese, Chinese and Oceanian tattoos choose their arms, legs, chest or back for the ink. Sāmoan women prefer to wear tattoos on the backs of their hands, and I met one girl who wears a tattoo on her palm. Sāmoan men do not receive tattoos on their hands. Foreign female clients sometimes get Sāmoan tattoos on their spines. Smaller and more hidden places such as fingers and ears get tattooed by some Paiwan women; some female wearers are tattooed on their thighs by Cudjuy.

4.6.3 Motifs and Designs of Tatau and Vecik

Motifs of *pe'a* (Figure 4.37, 4.38 and Table 4.1) and motifs of *malu* (Figure 4.38, 4.39 and Table 4.2), and designs of *pe'a* (Figure 4.40, 4.41 and Table 4.3) and designs of *malu* (Figure 4.42, 4.43 and Table 4.4) consist of marks associated with the sea (*e.g.* fish, jellyfish, starfish, seagull and net), land (pandanus, centipede and caterpillar) and stars. Other motifs are connected to cultural values of Sāmoan society such as reciprocity, protection, and the importance of family and genealogy. The term *pe'a* literally refers to the flying fox (*Pteropus samoensis*). Some believe that the *pe'a* resembles a flying fox hanging upside-down. While ocean symbolism (canoes and spears) remains significant, the designs on the right half and left half of the *pe'a* are also strongly tied to the genealogies of both father's and mother's family. Furthermore, I suggest that *pe'a* symbolises a *fale* (house), and the inner structure including the ceiling in particular, as representative of protection for members of the family. The *fale* is tied to social reproduction, cultural and political protocols and cosmology as a key Sāmoan symbol. This interpretation also works for *malu*, as the literal meaning of *malu* is to protect. Motifs are shared amongst men and women receivers regardless of social position, but with subtle difference in design.

As for motifs of Paiwan man's *vecikan* (Figure 4.44, 4.45 and Table 4.5), motifs of Paiwan woman's *vecikan* (Figure 4.45, 4.46 and Table 4.5), and designs of woman's *vecikan* (Figure 4.47, 4.48, 4.49, 4.50) and man's *vecikan* (Figure 4.51, 4.52), visual details for women are better preserved than for men in the literature. Motifs vary from one receiver to another depending on the individual's customary position. In general, the motifs consist of three kinds of characters, 1) marks of a human, 2) marks of nature (*e.g.* the sun, territory, creek, snake, worm, teeth, spider and mortar), and 3) marks of other geometric patterns (*e.g.* line, dots, hook, cutting board and rectangular). Each of them is named and has multiple forms of representation that symbolise wearers' paramount privilege (Chou, 2013. pp. 95, 97, 99, 101 & 103; Chen, 1988, p. 253; Ho, 1960, pp. 22-23; Chen *et al.*, 2018, pp.18-19;

Sadjiljapan, 2013, pp. 30-37; Chiang, 2003, p. 286). Particularly in Pingtung villages, marks consist of the sun, stars, straight lines, rectangles, crosses, human figures, teeth, the skin of Hundred-pace snakes, spiders, cutting boards, hooks, pestles, waves, dotted flowers, snowflakes, and scorpionflies, along with incomplete designs (Chen, 2013, pp. 204- 217). Since Paiwan belongs to the Austronesian language family, wave designs might be connected to canoe voyaging despite a lack of terminology in the vernacular (Tjakulavu, 2004, P. 29). This brings the notion of navigation into a sociopolitical realm. I note that the motifs of *vecikan* function as a pathway to recognising ancestors, families and the social order. The use of different motifs tells of higher or lower status of villagers in Paiwan society, reflected in the carvings in houses, the dress code, and land ownership.

4.7 Tattoo Completion Ceremony and Reciprocal Payment

The completion ceremony for *tatau* is *sāmaga* (Figure 4.53). This word comes from *sama* which refers to liquid mixed with coconut oil and turmeric powder. It stands for the formal accomplishment of tattooing. During the month-long process, a tattooee endures great pain and eventually becomes a tattooed wearer, *soga'imiti* (Figure 4.54).

There is flexibility in the ceremony's duration, service style, and kinds and quantity of gifts. Customarily, there should be a *taupou* sitting next to an *'ava tanoa*; however, in the drinking session, a boy is assigned in place of the sacred lady. I was once appointed by Lavea and Li'aifaiva to take this role, which required me to sit with my legs cross-legged and speak no words. In a few cases in which I participated, *sāmaga* were organised for two recipients (one man and one woman, or two men) at a time, if necessary. The items for exchange were prepared by both groups of attendees. The stretchers squeezed the *'ava* powder in a *tanoa* to produce the sacred drink. The Levi family went back into the residential house and dressed up with formal *'ie lavalava*. While a receiver took a shower (if the ceremony was held right

after completion), his or her family members had all the gifts (*ta'i le sua*) ready in their vehicles until the presentation began. Li'a and his family sat on one side of the workspace, and the new *soga'imiti* sat on the opposite side and was accompanied by family members. The serving group sat at the doorway, with the *'ava* basin and coconut bowl standing by for serving to all attendees (Figure 4.55, 4.56). The new *soga'imiti* then dance in celebrating the milestone (Figure 4.57).

Sua ta'i is a noun meaning the presentation to a member of a travelling party when he is a kinsman of the hosts (Milner, 2012, p. 217). Of all the ceremonies in which I participated, while people insisted on gifting customary treasure such as *'ie toga* (Figure 4.58) and raw pigs (Figure 4.59), contemporary gifts were also given (Table 4.6 and Figure 4.60). *Sāmaga* and *ta'i le sua* are only carried out for those receiving *mālōfie*. In contemporary Sāmoa, money is commonly exchanged for Li'aifaiva's work, but we should note that he and his family advocate the value of *fa'a-Sāmoa* by preserving the customary forms of work and ceremony. Their commitment is especially uncommon in the urbanised area.

There has been no record of a completion event in Paiwan communities. This may imply that Paiwan People simply do not organise them. However, material reciprocation remains critical for gift-takers and gift-givers. The traditional payment, or *zeliyulj*, was presented for practitioners from all receivers, except for members of the paramount chief's family. The client must pay in accordance with the rank of tattoo designs. The higher the rank these designs show, the higher the payment to the tattooist (Chou, 2013, p. 37). The quantity of payment varied in different villages, nevertheless, in general, it depended on social position and could be as much as bride wealth (Chiang, 2003, p. 287; Chen *et al.*, 2018, p. 24; Chou, 2013, p. 37), and could consist of clothing and accessories (*pasitungan*), clothes (*paitung*) and skirts (*pakun)* (Chou, 2013, p. 39). In the case of the village of Chaalabus, if a

men's *vecik* is accomplished, a pig was given to the practitioner, half of which was for the celebration feast. Other gifts were two harrows, four working knives, a piece of linen fabric, an axe, a white ceramic bowl, a bowl of millet wine, a suit of traditional clothes; if the tattoo recipient was a woman, the tattooist was given an axe, two working knives, a sickle, a white ceramic bowl and a bowl of millet wine (Ho, 1960, p. 20). In some cases, the receiver's father worked for the practitioner's house in return, and cash was also acceptable (Chen, 2013, p. 201). In the Paiwan community of Puljeti, money was accepted, and payments included *lami* (food), *sini vecik* (wage of tattooing work) *sauzaiyan* (working tools or cooking implements), *sipapudjalan* (travelling pay), blankets (*sicauvan*), utensils, big iron wok (*sasavelan*) and reaping sickles (*tjakaukav*) (Chou, 2013, p. 37). Payment also covers for the tattooist's physical work (*e.g.* intensive concentration of using eyes, *sipapumaca*) for two pieces of refined bowl (*kisi*) and the practitioner's time spent on sitting for blankets. Additionally, While the payment of a meal (*sivucung*) is to provide food for the tattooist on the day, *lami* is the food for the tattooist to take away (Chou, 2013, p. 37).

While valuing the importance of the customary form of payment, Cudjuy accepts monetary payment for his work. He charges depending on the extent of a tattoo regardless of how long the work takes. Cudjuy is used to paying in cash when he receives a tattoo from a practitioner. His assistants are paid by Cudjuy as well.

The process of tattooing and being tattooed is a business, but one that emphasises networking, mutual acknowledgement and respect. On our visit to a studio in Tahiti, despite Cudjuy's insistence on paying in cash for his new tattoo, the tattoo artist gave him a reference book he would usually sell to customers and a shell necklace he had won in a competition. Payment can also take the form of new tattoos. Some tattoo artists receive tattoos from others in order to mark their friendship and trust.

4.8 Summary

This exploration of the tattooing practices of Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* has provided a visual sense of the experience of tattooing amongst Indigenous tattoo practitioners, assistants and attendees. My account has drawn evenly on my own ethnographic observations and interviews, along with published and other written materials, in order to generate a comprehensive visual description.

In terms of motifs, *tatau* are characterised by their symbolism of sea, sky, and land, whereas *vecikan* tend to showcase a preference for the shapes of natural creatures and Indigenous territory in the mountainous interior to represent chiefly identity and authority. Sāmoan society shares rich protocols in the practice of tattooing, as we have seen in the example of Li'aifaiva's insistence on preserving the values of *fa'a-Sāmoa*. In the case of Paiwan, where *vecik* practices experienced first suppression and then revival, Cudjuy's work draws inspiration from a wide range of Oceanic styles while working with Paiwan customary protocols.

A number of shared features can be observed in *tatau* and *vecik* practices: both Li'aifaiva and Cudjuy use disposable tool parts and take care to sterilise items to ensure a clean working environment; and the customary laws of Sāmoa and Paiwan powerfully structure their respective practices. But the contrasting colonial experiences have resulted in fewer Indigenous protocols for tattoo designs in Paiwan than in Sāmoa.

To conclude, in elaborating on the use of specific materials, including needles, tapping sticks, and soot, along with particular ways of tattooing, I argue that Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* both differ from tattoos or tattooing produced through a broadly Western perspective. The adoption of the English term tattoo from the *tatau* of Polynesian languages confuses how we understand the work involved. Rather than considering *tatau* and *vecik* as mere visual marks, I suggest that the origin of the word tattoo—*tatau*—should be understood

as a practical cultural package, which is intertwined with genealogy, social politics, reciprocity and cosmology. This decolonising process amplifies Oceanic practices and forms of interaction, paving the way to an Indigenous diplomacy.

Chapter 5 Sensing Sāmoan *Tatau* and Paiwan *Vecik*

5.1 Introduction

Because tattooing is a highly visual art form and practice, it is rarely understood from the perspective of the other human senses, which collectively provide a broader contextual understanding of both place and practice. How can Indigenous tattooing be understood through these other bodily senses? In this chapter, I examine how Sāmoan *tatau* creates cultural spaces, with Paiwan *vecik* playing a supporting role, to examine the role of the value of reciprocity. This chapter proposes that these communal interactions preserve a sense of Sāmoan relationality through multiple forms of embodied dialogue, while also creating the platform for a diplomatic dialogue with Paiwan People (examined in Chapter Six).

While the values of *fa'a-Sāmoa* pervade various types of space in a Sāmoan context, the *djalan*, as a path towards Oceania, is also acoustically constructed in Paiwan communities. Given this, I focus in particular on the acoustic senses of sound, voice and noise to indicate the significance of social reciprocity. I also outline how the aural aspect of Indigenous tattooing is accompanied by visual, somatic and other customary forms of experience. The emphasis in my account of the acoustic contexts for tattooing is on the cultural significance of sounds, including announcements, encouragements, oratory, serving, the blessings of witnesses, '*ava* drinking, singing and dancing. This soundscape is intertwined with organic and non-organic sounds associated with *fa'a-Sāmoa*. I employ the concept of heteroglossia to indicate the mixed contexts within which acoustic hierarchy, alternation, sacredness, antagonism and diversity are located for both Sāmoan and Paiwan society.

The embodied somatic experience and practice of *tatau* is receptive to a very wide range of external influences and prompts. The embodied *vā* is nurtured and valued by the sound and voice operating reciprocally in pursuit of a harmonious social space, using

vernacular forms to acknowledge *teu le vā* (nurturing the space), *tapua'iga* (blessing), *fa'aaloalo* (respect). I suggest that this soundscape invokes Sāmoan temporality, spirituality and legendary genealogy. The place-making further enables those present to symbolically block urban noise and thus preserve the *vā*. Other sounds heard in this space, such as chatting, laughing, dog barking and church bells ringing, expand and extend this soundscape, which is pervaded by a nostalgic sense of completion. We will see how Cudjuy plays Polynesian music to create an imagined place within which to practice *vecik*, and how the tapping sound defines the arrangement of stall areas at a tattooing event.

I then proceed to explore Indigenous tattooing in its broader response to *fa'a-Sāmoa* by considering the visual, somatic and gustatory senses. My intention is to embrace all of the forms of physical experience in order to grasp the working environment within the widest holistic frame. The importance of sensing Indigenous tattooing helps us to decentre the strong visualism of Western perspectives, foregrounding a reciprocal space which paves a pathway to a diplomatic occasion on which Paiwan People's engagement in the following chapter.

5.2 The Sounds of Tattooing

5.2.1 The Etymology of Sounds

Before immersing ourselves in the acoustic, we should consider some key Sāmoan terms used in reference to sound. Linguistically, *leo* refers to voice and sound (Milner, 2012, p. 106); *leoleoā* means noisy, *leoa* is silence; *fa'aleo,* stands for holding someone in esteem; *leotele* is loud. *Leo* also has the meaning to watch over or look after. *Logo* is another key word referring to hearing perception or sound (Milner, 2012, p. 110). It also has the meaning of to tell or inform, and a gong or bell*,* which calls people to church, is considered *logo.* *Laulogo* is to echo, *logologo* is to tell, and *lologo* is to be silent. However, *fa'alogo* is to hear

or listen, pay attention, and obey. *Fa'alogoga* means feeling, while *fa'alologo* is to keep one's mouth shut, to be quiet.

In this sense, *leo* or *logo* indicate something that can be sensed by people, whether it is of organic or nonorganic origin. The sound disseminates and echoes, ensuring that relationships between speakers and listeners are grounded in harmony and reciprocity. Linguistically, it is reasonable to say that sound (including voice and noise) in a Sāmoan social context plays a significant role in the engagement of complementariness necessary to create and nurture *vā* in an acoustic space.

5.2.2 Rhythm and Timbre of Tapping by Practitioners

I made my first visit to Li'aifaiva in May 2018. I checked the Google Map and found it would not be far if I walked from my hostel. While waiting for the traffic light to turn green, I was looking for his house amongst traffic noise. As the cars drove off, leaving me in silence for a few seconds, my attention was then drawn to the sound of waves of loud and constant tapping. A lodge in which a group of people was working was the source of the sound. I could hear the rhythm but could not see how the sound was generated until I entered the *apisā*. I walked into the lodge, picking a spot at some distance from the group, watching the sticks hitting back and forth on the surface of skin through a gap between the sitters.

This auditory encounter was my initial experience of *tatau* in Sāmoa, and one that would become a part of my life as I became more comfortable sitting aside the *tufuga ta tatau* and *toso* over many months. I was intrigued by the rhythm and volume of the tapping sounds, which varied with the different striking modes depending on the size of the comb and part of the body on which Li'a was working. He told me:

> So, obviously, with the bigger comb, the rhythm is slower because there's more surface that you are trying to penetrate to the skin. It's a much slower rhythm at a little bit heavier weight. The smaller the comb, the faster the

> rhythm because it doesn't take much to penetrate to the skin. That's why you get the different rhythms. Obviously on the bone [of the receiver's joints], I tap a lot lighter because it's on bone, there's no need to strike hard because there's a very solid surface behind the skin at that point. There's less rhythm on a bigger tool because it's just tapping, since it's just constant tapping, but with the small ones, there's a stronger rhythm.

During this stage, Li'a was able to talk with visitors. His could even take his eyes away from the striking point before stopping because he was aware that the solid surface was larger and there was less scope for error. During this session tattooing *tapulu tele* on the outer sides of a man's thighs, the background music was almost drowned out by the tattooing. The louder the music, the heavier the tapping. Occasionally, the pitch of the tapped sound would surge, reaching all corners of the lodge space.

Compared with other hand-tap tattooists whom I had observed, the rhythm Li'a made was shorter and quicker; according to his statement, this helped him to cause less damage on skin. Less damage produces less scaring, and helps the colour of the applied ink to remain clear and strongly outlined after the wounds had healed. Li'aifaiva continued:

> You know, some *tufuga* hit the same spot too many times before they move to the next pattern, maybe six times. I think mine is, three or four… like one, two, three, four and then one, two, three, four, and then one, two, three, four, from one small spot to another. Others go one, two, three, four, five, six; one, two, three, four, five, six, and even more. So that's why there's different rhythms. It depends on the type of wood you use. And also depends on the contact point on the *sausau* [tapping], whether you're closer to the hand or further out. *Pah pah*, *pah*, *pah* [simulating the heavy striking sound], it's a lot more thump, you can hear tapping over the thumping sound.

In addition to the rhythm, the tapping sound varies depending on the contact points of the two sticks and other materials. By sensing this, he could tell the condition of the sticks:

> If you strike the *sausau* of the combs on different places of the *sausau*, just from there I can tell by the sound where I need to strike the contact point of the *sausau* and the *'au* [tool]. I can figure that out just by listening, and also, I can figure out if there's a crack in the stick by the sound. It needs to be replaced when the stick splits, not breaks, but splits. A little split can affect the rhythm and it affects the sound.

In general, Li'aifaiva and Cudjuy both tapped rapidly. The speeds varied depending on the spots of the inked placements. Tattooing larger patches or straight lines was faster than on smaller areas and curved lines. I had not understood how fast they both worked until observing the Hawai'ian tattoo master Sulu'ape Keone Nunes's tapping, which was relatively slower. Individual tapping styles are the key to the quality of work. Tones of tapping vary from one set of sticks to another, as a result of the weight of the wood and condition of the sticks. Timbre can be generated differently depending on the striking points. When beating larger areas, Li'a's tapping sounded crisp, while Cudjuy's tended to be more rough. The sounds became rhythmic when they were tapping smaller patches and shorter lines. Dipping into the ink takes only a few seconds, so the stretchers have to follow the pace, quickly looking for the right spots and angles for pulling or pushing the skin in order to maintain the rhythmic pace. These elements in combination generate a tempo which contributes to smooth work and a better quality of tattoo.

Li'a was used to tapping in the air several times after dipping the ink and before applying to the skin. With this particular rhythm, he was maintaining his tempo for the upcoming strikes, cueing the stretchers to get ready. The tapping was literally telling them, "I'm about to tap, you two get ready." This tapping sound, therefore, was not to penetrate but

to communicate amongst the practitioner, assistants and the receivers. Li'a and his assistants occasionally joked around and challenged the receivers in order to motivate them. Whenever a new motif was about to be inked, the receiver would know their skin was about to be broken and that the pain would resume once again. In other words, tattooing is about listening as well as watching. As we can see here, the sound of tattooing acts to sonically emplace a navigational spatiality on the body, while also serving as a means of interactive communication for all those involved.

A specific type of sound is generated when Li'a gently throws the comb-attached stick back into a container, where it clashes with the steel surface. This sound means he is switching to another *'au* with which to strike. A final, slightly louder throw of the stick after the very last tapping is finished is to tell himself, the stretchers and the receiver that the final pattern is complete. Li'aifaiva then sprays with a sanitiser over the last inked spot, and the new, shining *tatau* is then shown to each of those present.

One weekend, I visited Li'a, as I usually did, but I was surprised even as I approached his lodge to hear no tapping sound. No one was working and a bunch of old items had been placed in and around the *apisā*. I was drawn by a high-pitched noise coming from the warehouse. It turned out that a couple of people were working on the making *'au*. A bundle of wooden and plastic material had been placed on a working desk. A *tulāfale*, Mulitalo, was making rudimentary sticks with a grinder, trying to adjust the perfectly jointed points between platforms of plastic glass and the tips of sticks with a hammer. Along with a young boy, Popo, he was working as a member of *'aumāga,* watching and learning to help the *matai* or others around the storage area. The rotational speed of the blades and sanders was generating the noise. The high pitch of the sound broke my sense of nostalgia, because I had imagined it to be a traditional method, using tools made from natural sources for the process. This workplace was used to store all kinds of items, including two motorbikes, a pool table

and equipment for bodybuilding (which was not frequently used). A garage sale had just finished, leaving small numbers of machinery parts or antiques on the ground. This weekend without the sound of tapping was unusual, as Li'a usually worked from Monday to Saturday each week. Now, the sound of tapping was temporarily halted and the sound of making *'au* had taken over, giving the *tufuga* a break.

In Cudjuy's experience, with reference to the Polynesian tapping method common to Li'aifaiva and Nunes, the types of sounds correspond to a social hierarchy, as he observed at the 2015 Indigenous Ink festival in Manukau, Aotearoa New Zealand.

> I was sitting aside after settling down at our booth, and I found all the customary tattoo practitioners were tattooing in the centre of the venue. They had larger and higher workspaces… The Hawai'ian tattooist was making a tapping sound like *kiah*, *kiah*, *kiah*… The Sāmoan tattooist was making a tapping sound like *kiah*, *kiah*, *kiah*… the sound was so loud that it was penetrating into my brain. The visitors were pretty much attracted to their spaces by the loud sounds. I was using a machine needle, so my sound was like *ts*, *ts*, *ts*. Man, that was an astonishing moment! I felt like I was a new-born beginner who had just learnt tattooing with a machine needle, so I could only sit at the corner. I was so glad to be invited by Keone to his stall in the central area of the venue, right next to the tattooists from Sāmoa, and this was the very beginning of my passion for reviving our traditional culture.

5.2.3 Sensed Sounds by Receivers

It is not only Indigenous tattoo practitioners who have a specific sensory understanding of their work, as receivers also have their own understandings. A *pe'a* receiver, Tupa'i, told me that wearing a headphone was completely unhelpful as the tapping sound encompassed his entire sensory frame, while ambient sounds, such as the music played out from the speaker,

were a nightmare to him. He did mention a song played out from the speaker which recalled memories of his family in his home country. Likewise, the conversation amongst the *tufuga*, *toso* and other witnesses distracted him from the pain. This helped especially when he was involved in the conversation, even if he contributed very little. He was also able to tell how deep the needles were penetrating by sensing the rhythm of the tapping. The sound reveals a location on a body. The timbre of the *sausau* (tapping stick) can also be heard. For example, if Li'a was tapping rhythmically and loudly, Tupa'i could tell that the area was the outer part of thighs, on which solid black ink is applied.

For Tupa'i, the physical pain fused with the sounds of the environment. The tapping sounded like scratching on the surface of windows with nails or drilling solid objects on the ground and made him very annoyed. Although the noise ended after every penetration of the needle, it lingered in his mind, triggering unintentional physical reactions such as sweating. This would happen when he was in the *apisā* waiting for Li'a to show up. According to him, the post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) stemmed from the association of the pain with sound. As he described it, experiences such as waiting for a traffic light on the road, entering the tattooing lodge, or even watching the assistants set up the tools, mats and pillows, were all challenging for him as a recipient. He would begin to re-experience the sensory trauma when he got to Li'a's workplace, recalling the pain endured over each of the sessions.

Despite the enormous challenge this presented to Tupa'i, he developed mechanisms to maintain his motivation, acting as a shield to deflect the sounds associated with his pain. He found that Li'a's practice of stencilling outlines, using the blade of the needle, was more painful than the actual tapping. The tapping sounded to him like a ticking clock, and he began to count in his mind, in time with the tapping, to distract his senses from the pain:

> The *puka* [holding breath] voice, I try to count how long I could hold my breath. I would count like one, two, three. And then I would try to see like a

countdown in my imagination. I would try to see the numbers in different colours and continue to try to do this like one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, as he's *ts*, *ts*, *ts*… [tapping sound]. Then, you know, that could only take you so far, and then you've gotta find something else to distract you.

Tupa'i's recollection does not represent the experience of the majority of receivers. Factors such as the duration of each episode, and individual tolerance for pain, can produce very different responses. Broad-ranging tattoos such as *pe'a* cause considerable pain, but smaller tattoos that take less time to accomplish are unlikely to produce a sensory reaction to hearing the sounds of tattooing. A Japanese recipient wearing a tattoo with Sāmoan designs by Li'a on his thigh said that the sound did not irritate him even though his session lasted for four hours. A Paiwan tattooee, Ulung Lupiliyan, said that because the act of tattooing was invisible to him while he was lying down and receiving, the intervals of the vibrating sound allowed him to sense the progress of the tattooing, penetration by penetration, and this knowledge that the work was headed towards completion sustained him.

Another Sāmoan woman, Florence Fololе Tupuala, talked about the differentiation between customary and modern ways of tattooing, and emphasised that the latter did not take much of her time. She received two contemporary tattoos, in Auckland and Sāmoa respectively, and stated that her sense of the punctures from the machine needle in Sāmoa was like a soft vibration, continuing that, "the Papua New Guinean tattoo was done by poking and tapping and was more painful than the machinery tattoo on my palm… the tapping was rhythmic and consistent and was not aggressive." Though both methods of tattooing caused her great pain, the acoustic impressions differed, with the tapping being rhythmic, while the mechanical vibration was constant but had no rhythm.

On the contrary, a *malu* wearer, Isabella Rasch, felt that the loud sound of tapping was not uncomfortable despite the sharpness of the needles penetrating her skin. She recalled the

space being filled with a mixture of sounds including human voices, adding that "the *tufuga* and *toso* were sometimes encouraging and sometimes challenging me." A father who is a pastor of the Congregational church, Reverend Efu Efu, supported his son receiving *pe'a* and emphasised that sound was part of the short-term pain on the surface of skin. The pain in the inner body was the most important part of being a *soga'imiti* (traditionally tattooed individual):

> No, no, I feel that he [his son] needs to have the courage to bear that sound because pain in the body cannot compare with the pain in the heart, in the mind and our soul. Bearing the pain in the body, it's just for a short time, but if you've got pain within your soul in your mind, it will probably take your life because you don't know how to control that.

Cudjuy explained that machine tattooing actually scrapes the flesh. Tupa'i echoed this:

> The machine is like a scrape, it feels like it's scraping, that tattooing, [while] the *'au* feels like punctures. Like you can feel *ts*, *ts*, *ts*… Um, the machine, I think there's just two sensations when they're creating the line and then when they're doing shading. But with the *'au*, when he's creating the pattern line, when he's doing the *tapulu*, when he's doing the small designs and then depending on the small design, sometimes he [Li'aifaiva] taps differently. There are different sticks. You know, it [machine needle] is just a buzzing sound, *zzz, zzz, zzz*, and then the one with the machine, we'll have some petroleum jelly, you put it on the skin, so it'll slide…when he [machine tattoo user] is scraping, you don't have stretchers stretching your skin.

Noticeably, practitioners and wearers from different cultural backgrounds employ varied onomatopoeia to describe the tones of tapping. A Japanese wearer explained the sound as *pang*, *pang*, *pang*, which tends to be gentle because it is cresting smaller motifs; Cudjuy,

who is a Paiwan tattoo artist, uses *kiah*, *kiah*, *kiah* to express his astonishment of hearing the sound in festivals. Li'a said it was like *pang*, *pang*, *pang* with a rapid tempo to showcase his style of work. Other witnesses described it as *pah, pah, pah* or *tah, tah, tah* to indicate the tapping sound.

5.3 The Sound of *Fa'aaloalo*

I use the notion of *fa'aaloalo* (manner of respect) in the context of tattooing to indicate the space in which respectful behaviour amongst *sausau* (practitioner), *toso* (stretcher)*, silasila* (witness) are given voice. I consider this language of honouring as a form of sound, which derives its cultural importance not only from of its content, but also from its tone, volume, rhythm, and frequency, each of which resonate with the value of reciprocity.

5.3.1 Fa'atulima

As Li'aifaiva explains, the oral protocol of *fa'atulima*, which means literally to "offer a hand of welcome" is the reciprocated formal greeting when meeting an *ali'i* and *tulāfale*, and refers to the initial process of acknowledging a visitor to the lodge. Once both parties have taken their positions at opposite ends of the house or the meeting place, the visiting family orator would start his speech (Fuimaono, 2020, p. 102).

> You address a *tufuga* [in this way]: "*afio maia lau afioga*, Li'aifaiva *ma le fale lua o le 'āiga mālōfie*." If the Su'a is tattooing, you say the same thing but in a different way, "*susu maia lau susuga, Su'a ma le fale lua o le 'āiga mālōfie*." So, this is how you address a *tufuga* who is a *tulāfale* or *ali'i* title holder. *Afioga* is when you're addressing a *tulāfale*, but you have to be careful because you can't say *afioga* to everybody. *Susuga* is [the term] when you are addressing to an *ali'i*. They mean the same thing, but you can't address *susuga* to a *tulāfale*. For the family the *sā* Li'aifaiva or the *sā* Su'a, you say "*fale lua o*

> *le ʻāiga mālōfie.*" *Fale* is house, *lua* is two, *ʻāiga* is family, so it's two families who tattoo. Su'a were supposed to be the only clan who could make the tools for Li'aifaiva to tattoo. So, *afio maia lou afioga,* Li'aifaiva *ma le falelua ʻāiga mālōfie*. It's like saying Sir Li'aifaiva, but this sir, which is *afioga*, is only referred to a *tulāfale*.

He then introduced a metaphor to explain the honorific (*fa'alupega*), and jokingly referred to my "fake" *matai* title:

> Have you ever seen like those movies during the [time of the] kings and knights… once a princess or a duke walks into like the ballroom and they have a scroll and they call out that person's…this is a duke, so it's his accolades? It's their achievements, may be their honorifics…um, so they call out the honorifics for that person…it can be done by anybody. *Fa'atulima* is a chiefly thing like acknowledging somebody. If you go to somebody's house and the owners do not *fa'atulima* to you, that means you are not welcome. It's like a formal welcoming and you go in. That's why we say your *matai* name when you come into the *apisā*. So that's why we say "Two Dogs Fighting[45]" to you.

Sāmoan society greatly values the oratorical skills which members of *ʻaumāga* employ in speaking in formal meetings. In addition to learning the *gagana Sāmoa* (Sāmoan language), it is important to absorb the proper attitude by generating the appropriate sounds; listening over the long-term serves as an enculturating role for those without titles. Apprentices watch, act and listen to voices to learn how to embody politeness in a formal context. Despite the introduction of a writing system, participating at events and listening to oratory is still a necessary and significant avenue for those hoping to become chiefs. The

[45] "Two Dogs Fighting" is a mischief of *matai* title jokingly addressing to my visit because whenever I came, Li'a's dogs began barking and chasing around the *apisā*. The title was to mark this circumstance even the pets had stopped making noises and become familiar with me.

proper use of honorifics by a *tulāfale* represents a formal connection to the recipient's genealogy, which reproduces appropriate relationships amongst the *ali'i,* other listeners and the person speaking in this hierarchical society. The speaker would then reciprocate orally or through material tribute, generating a respectful space of harmony. Li'a added that:

> Every *matai* has an honorific and you have to learn them to do *fa'atulima*, from experience that you learn from going to the villages to go into the *fa'alavelave* [obligatory family event]. During these times, those words are spoken, and you have to memorise them, and you have to get it right. You can't say the wrong honorifics to the wrong *matai*. It's rude. So, when people come here and they say *malo sausau* Su'a, all the boys at the *apisā* would jump in and correct the person.

A Catholic deacon, Kasiano Leaupepe, who wears a *pe'a,* explained the honorifics that a visitor normally addresses to a *tufuga ta tatau*. There is a specific form of language for practitioners and the place, reflecting their spiritual nature, and clearly distinguished from everyday speech.

Visitors are thus expected to learn the correct protocols by observing, listening, memorising and speaking. I heard the term, *tulou*, an apologetic word used on entering the house of a god, which indicates an expression of deference, begging someone's pardon when forced to do something against convention (Milner, 2012, p. 286); this term is often used whenever someone approaches or seeks to pass a distinguished person, to avoid rudeness, perhaps similar to "excuse me" in English. I quickly learnt this terminology, not only in the *apisā*, when I unexpectedly passed in front of sitters or standers, but also through other events.

5.3.2 Sounds of Encouragement

In the *apisā*, a variety of phrases are voiced loudly by witnesses to encourage the process, the working participants and accompanying family members. These forms of voice were spoken only in Sāmoan throughout the tattooing process, with the initial speech eliciting a response from the *sausau* or *toso*, creating a reciprocal flow. Table 5.1 lists all the forms of encouragement that I recorded at each of my visits, adding others not heard in Li'a's *apisā* but documented by Mallon and Galliot (2018, p.203).

As mentioned above, the basic tapping rhythm is generated by the *sausau* (*tatau* practitioner) and reacted by the *tali 'au* (*tatau* receiver). This corresponds to the interactions between those present. If one speaks, the other has to respond. A consistent rhythm is created orally, leaving no person isolated or silent. Everyone speaks respectfully and is replied to harmoniously. This form of interactive sound plays a pivotal role in the co-creation of the tattoo process, as explained to me by a *matai*:

> *Tali* means to answer, that's why he says like *mālō le tali 'au*. You're answering and you're responding to the *'au*. You're telling *mālō le tali 'au* to the guy getting tattooed. Like he's responding well to the tattoo and he's answering well to the puncture.

Puka, as the informal form of *puta*, is pronounced with the [*k*] sound, and literally means to be fat. In a tattooing context, it refers to the act of inflating the stomach and holding the breath, most commonly practiced during the final session when tattooing the bellybutton. The term *puka* is uttered out loud only by *toso* to the receivers, requiring them to inflate their stomach so as to create a harder surface for this area of soft skin. When Li'aifaiva was completing the design on *pute* (the design on and around the bellybutton), *talipute* (often tattooed in a cross pattern between the *pute* and *punialo*) and *punialo* (the net-like design under the bellybutton), receivers are constantly hear this order to try to keep stomach inflated after breathing in. A third assistant, ideally a close male friend or family member of the

recipient, sits in front of the receiver and joins the work by stretching the skin toward himself. The stretchers knew how to pull correctly when they hear the *puka* command. Once the receiver is holding their breath, the two main *toso* pull from the right and left sides, with the third assistant adding extra strength and stretching the skin toward the receiver's head. Therefore, in addition to the literal meaning of *puka*, it also serves as an acoustic cue for the work of tattooing. During the process of pronouncing and hearing *puka*, receivers have been undergoing considerable and constant pain, while the witnesses wait and bless the working people in an atmosphere of building excitement. The sound of *puka* also marks the time during which people become aware of the imminent completion and forthcoming celebration of the tattoo. If the *puka* command is ignored by the receivers, or the receivers cannot control their bodies from moving after hearing it, the *toso* then say "*'aua le mīnoi, fa'amolemole*" (do not move, please) or simply "*'aua*" to tell them not to move. *Fa'amalosi* means to stay strong or stay brave, and is said to receivers to encourage them to bear the pain manfully. Since the body is arched with pillows beneath the back to extend the *puka* position, the pain was greatly heightened during this phase. After finishing his sessions, a *soga'imiti* roared loudly "I hate [hearing] *puka.*"

After a long period of participation in the *apisā*, I began to understand that companionship is of major importance to a receiver, especially when the *matai* has insufficient familial support as a result of people going to work during the day. Therefore, I decided to sing Paiwan chants for the *sausau*, *toso* and *tali'au*, much as Sāmoans did in the pre-colonial era. Around eight or nine o'clock one evening, the *sausau*, *toso*, *matai* and I assembled under the spotlight, continuing the daily session after all of the other visitors had left the *apisā*. A sense of sympathy reminded me of *tautua*, or service, in a Sāmoan context, which refers to the social requirement for each untitled man to fulfil his obligations. This was evoked by Li'a's mother, Matautia, who had told me many times about the Sāmoan value of

"reciprocity." Although I wanted to leave, I decided to stay and accompany them. The notion of nurturing each other struck me profoundly, given how much the *sā* Li'aifaiva had supported me, and it was my responsibility to help back. I came back to the lodge, noticing that the receiver's face and hands were sweating. He could not help moving, which was interrupting Li'a and his stretchers, Tiso and Titi. As Sāmoans do for their people, I started singing Paiwan songs to this *matai* who was experiencing significant pain in receiving the *pe'a*. I chose those Paiwan songs sung in my village during the annual harvest festival (*seman a cavilj*). These melodic hymns are cheerful and pleasant, especially when the dancers sing and dance in *mulenan* (a cultural event of dancing for blessing). Aware of the protocol, I avoided singing those songs reserved for *mamazangiljan* (chiefs). I seamlessly linked the songs together to avoid any breaks, trying my best to distract those remaining from feelings of exhaustion and pain.

First, I sang gently directly to the receiver, and then I gained more confidence, increasing in volume to reach all of them as Li'a made no signal to stop me from using foreign songs for the blessing. The receiver, *toso* and *sausau* responded after the session was finished by saying "*mālō, Suli*" to thank me for the *tapua'iga*. In turn, I appreciated them for educating me on the importance of companionship. I also realised that the blessing need not necessarily be expressed in Sāmoan; rather, the key is that the *alofa* (love) and *fa'aaloalo* (respect) are convoyed in this communally focused society.

My intention in singing was also inspired by literature that documents the involvement of chanting in tattooing. However, I heard no solo or choral singing in the *apisā* during my involvement, possibly as a result of the music and broadcasts played from the amplifier, or the distraction of the traffic noise, both of which constantly penetrate and interrupt the work in the lodge, preventing people from chanting to maintain a customary acoustic space for tattooing.

Although it was neither sung nor heard in the *apisā* during my fieldwork, *pese o le tatau*, literally the *tatau* song (Table 5.2), retains its cultural significance as a record of the origins, routes, and protocols of Sāmoan tattooing. The absence of customary song in the *apisā* was a topic of complaint by Li'a's father, Lavea: "Nowadays the tattooing [participants] and the people don't yell and moan and groan, but these are the sounds that we heard. In the old times they used to play guitar and sing."

The formal timbre and the volume of vocalisation distinguish Pese o le Tatau from normal speech or song, drawing the listener's attention in ceremonies such as *fa'alavelave*. The volume varies depending on the occasion; the smaller the space and distance, the lower the volume and *vice versa*. This form of *fa'atulima* can be sung fairly softly when the singers are sitting close to the work spot. I sometimes took a closer seat in order to practice speaking the honorifics. The key was to have all the listeners hear the sound, to create a harmonious space of *fa'a-Sāmoa*.

While formal and informal forms of pronunciation of Sāmoan consonants such as [*t*] (*fa'afetai*) *and* [*k*] (*fa'afekai*) were both spoken, Sāmoan was predominantly spoken throughout the *fa'atulima* in favour of the value of *fa'aaloalo* and *tapua'iga*. These *fa'atulima* and encouraging phrases can hardly be translated into English and must be voiced in Sāmoan to fit the cultural and linguistic context of the place. This encouraged speakers who were less proficient in Sāmoan to learn this protocol in support of the *sā* Li'aifaiva's emphasis on the educational purpose throughout *tatau* in *apisā*. Otherwise, family members would perform *fa'atulima* on behalf of the receivers, who were able to present acknowledgement in English in *sāmaga*. In addition, ambient sounds such as the ringing of mobile phones or playing of music must be avoided to maintain the ceremonial status of the place.

Vocal sound around tattooing in Paiwan is largely in Chinese, apart from the traditional blessing (*palisi*) conducted by a ritual specialist (*pulingaw*). Paiwan language is not widely understood by younger villagers, and speakers and listeners thus tend to articulate their sense of Indigeneity through alternative means. For example, Cudjuy's tapping and his favourite genre of music both draw on Polynesian culture, producing a heteroglossic space.

5.4 Sounds in *Sāmaga*

The ceremony of completion, *sāmaga,* has been described in Chapter Four. Here, I focus on this event in terms of sonic space, emphasising the cultural importance of sound in a domain often dominated by the visual. I do not mean to suggest that sound is generated independently of other sensory forms, but it is an essential component which requires attention.

The *tapua'iga* blessing was voiced not only during the tattooing practice, but also in the *sāmaga* by a *tulāfale* who sat beside the *tufuga*, facing the participants and presenting his remarks on behalf of the paramount *ali'i*, Lavea. This *matai* orated publically to acknowledge the ceremony for both groups (the *sā* Li'aifaiva and receiver's family), speaking directly to the representative person of the latter's attendees. Each of the attendees remained silent, concentrating fully on listening as the orator was speaking. The other *tulāfale* representing the receiver and the receiver's family then responded to the *tatau* family. In this way, this form of blessing was reciprocated by both groups in turn.

Another form of *tapua'iga* was conducted between *tufuga* and *soga'imiti*, and between the *'ava* drinkers and *soga'imiti* in the sitting circle. An announcement was made by one of the stretchers, Tiso, who was also sitting down in front of a *tanoa* for the ceremony. He presided over the *'ava* serving by giving orders to the server, Titi. Each of the orders was articulated respectfully, using titles (*suafa*) and personal names, with regard to the rank of the *matai* and their social position. After the liquid was stirred in the *tanoa* and poured into a

bowl, Titi passed the bowl to the attendees, who expressed their acknowledgement and wishes, before drinking. The *gagana Sāmoa* (Sāmoan language) was preferred, but English was acceptable if speakers had poor proficiency. The blessings were warmly and loudly made. Humility and harmony are key to maintaining the sacred atmosphere. Notably, men and boys shout out or roar in performance events, using *tsi-hu,* a distinctive style of sound. In the case of *sāmaga*, the *'ava* server roared depending on the bowl and gifts which the passer was going to hand over. In particular, a louder, longer and higher pitch of roaring would be used with reference to the *tufuga,* the paramount *matai* and the *soga'imiti* present at the celebration. The role of bowl server was sometimes performed by Tiso's younger brother, Popo (around seven years old at the time), whose *tsi-hu* sound further contributed to the pleasant ambience of the event.

As the lodge is an educational place for younger and overseas Sāmoans, the stretchers learned how to announce in accordance with the hierarchy of chiefly titles. The stretcher, Titi, had served and listened to similar announcements many times. He was rehearsing the formal form of the language out loud outside the lodge before the ceremony began. All of his knowledge was accumulated from his experience of listening at each ceremony.

While blessings are spoken in turn by individuals, other vocalisations such as chanting are communally expressed. Chants were sung in Sāmoan in the beginning of the *sāmaga*. Led by the first singing *matai* (usually Li'aifaiva's mother, Matautia), each of the chanters sat around the space following the melody. Singing was accompanied with musical harmony and was amplified in the chorus parts. While individual voices were not necessarily loud, this communal chanting generated a louder sound, achieving a status of high dignity for the lodge. Visitors who did not know how to sing were invited to pay their respect by following the melody.

The *sāmaga* was filled both with customary and modern sounds. After the blessing, singing, and announcements in Sāmoan, as mentioned above, the newly tattooed receivers stood up and danced along with the music that was played from a speaker at the corner of the space, to celebrate their achievement. Every attendee followed the cheerful tempo, moving around the edge of the ceremonial space, leaving the receivers in the centre. The sound reached beyond the lodge, pulling the visitors in to move together. While the women moved gracefully to the rhythm inside, the boys and stretchers either remained inside or moved out. Li'a sometimes hit the floor to make a loud sound in time with the rhythm, expressing his ecstatic emotion. The music blaring from the speaker was Sāmoan, with a heavy beat but cheerful melody, which harmonised with the atmosphere of the celebration. Similarly, the music played for a *sāmaga* at an indoor space in Auckland was followed by *pati* (clapping) to accompany the beat. Occasionally, laughter would break out if someone's dancing style was funny.

In the case of *sāmaga*, the *sā* Li'aifaiva purchased *'ava* powder packed in plastic bags at the markets for use at the ceremony which was held four times a month on average. The preparation of the *'ava* would be conducted by Li'a's assistants on a pool table covered with canvas in the garage. Two *toso* prepared a *tanoa* filled with water and squeezed the *'ava* liquid out through a filter cloth. The cloth was immersed in water again to ensure that the *'ava* powder was entirely used up. During serving, the server stirred the liquid repeatedly before filling into the bowl. This move was meant to ensure that the mixed liquid left no sediments at the bottom of the container.

The process generated a sputtering sound, marking the intervals between one drinker completing their speech and the next preparing to drink. During these intervals, the announcer would loudly cue the next drinker for the server. The server then stepped toward with an even pace towards the drinkers. The sound of steps was then repeated, taking the

empty cup back to the *tanoa* and stirring it again. This stepping continued from the first to the final drinker, the distance between the *tanoa* and the drinker varying each time. The sounds of stirring and announcing, along with the server's movements, marked a sequence that was in accordance with the order of *fa'aaloalo*.

During the exchange of gifts, items were carried into the *apisā* while a presentation speech was given by the *tulāfale* on behalf of the giver. Another *tulāfale* on behalf of the *sā* Li'aifaiva accepted the gifts and acknowledged in return. The recipients of the gifts immediately acknowledged their counterpart back again. Gift-giving also involves the interweaving of voices and other sound. *Fa'afetai, fa'afekai* (informal form of *fa'afetai*)*, tai lava* (the short form of *fa'afetai lava*) and thank you were amongst the phrases regularly voiced to express the gratitude of the receiver.

In addition to reciprocity, Lavea told me that the exchange of gifts was central to transparency. Various forms of gifts were presented to demonstrate social and political status. Of all the gifts presented to the *tufuga*, only pieces of *'ie toga* (Lavea terms it as "customary money")*,* as the most salient form of gift, would be deliberately unfolded and displayed in front of family members of the *soga'imiti*. These pieces were then re-folded by Li'aifaiva's stretchers, as members of the *'aumāga.* The participants could not help but be impressed by the quality of the *'ie toga*. Since the *'ie toga* can be both wide and long, with its edge touching the floor, the friction of the fabric generates a rustling sound while being folded and unfolded for the demonstration. The sound was clear and crisp, coming from the friction of the thousands of tiny holes of the woven material, emphasising its uniqueness from other gifts that do not make a sound when being presented. In addition to the visual impact of the presentation, this particular production of sound reflected the status of the chiefly *matai* and the sacredness of the space. On hearing the sound of the *'ie toga* being unfolded, those present would understand immediately that something prestigious was about to be presented.

While the forms of sound examined above are easily sensed, there are other, quieter tones which can be heard in ceremonial contexts. I refer to these as the sounds of obscurity. They consist of significant sonic acts, generated only by the *toso*, *tufuga*, or *matai*. Note that although these inorganic sounds are made and disappear rapidly, every listener remains silent while they are generated, rendering them particularly salient. The sound of oiling is made only by the *toso* applying liquid mixed with coconut oil and turmeric powder, or *lega*, to create the remedy liquid, *sama*, for the legs, lower back and waist of the new *soga'imiti* at the beginning of the *sāmaga*. Hands are dipped in the liquid and rubbed across the receiver's full body, a motion that produces a greasy and slippery sound, while making the skin shine with a light yellow colour. The cracking of an egg is performed uniquely by the *tufuga*. In doing this, Li'aifaiva walked toward the *soga'imiti* with his hand holding an egg which he then cracked on top of the *soga'imiti's* top of head. The cracking sound is obviously low volume, heard only by the receiver. The cracking symbolises the rebirth from untattooed to tattooed individuals. This process can be understood as a newborn chick breaking the egg's shell and emerging into a new life stage.

To'oto'o (the chiefly whisk) is possessed and held only by *tulāfale* to represent their aristocratic status in ceremonies. When speaking, the holders swing the whisk several times toward the floor and then carry them on the shoulder. The whisking move generates the sound of friction on a solid object, and prepares people to receive an oration. Speaking becomes an interactive mode through the practice of remaining voiceless. A listener must stop talking while a *matai* speaks. Although focused listening involves no vocalisation from the mouth of hearer, the sound of silence speaks to all of the sense of honour, respect, love and appreciation for the speaker and the *sā* Li'aifaiva. One speaks, while the other listens intently, and then *vice versa*. The *vā*, thus, is bridged via orating and listening, in this order.

In summary, *tatau* and *sāmaga* in the *apisā* create a ceremonial atmosphere, demanding that people behave in compliance with the protocol of *fa'a-Sāmoa*. Speech is intertwined with legend and honorifics, but these Indigenous values are also represented by patterns of volume, tone, periodicity, rhythm and melody, in tattooing and in song. All these forms of sound contribute to the ceremonial setting and performance, during which courtesy and protocols are closely observed.

5.5 Ambient Sounds in the *Apisā*

While the various forms of ambient sound play a role in the construction of Sāmoan space in the *apisā*, other types of nonorganic sound outside on the street reflect the urban soundscape of the city of Apia. I refer to the notion of heteroglossia to describe the range of external sounds sensed in and around the *apisā*.

Although the working area was occasionally silent, especially during sleepy afternoons, most of the time human voices intruded on the continuous sound of tapping. In addition to the formal Sāmoan speech forms such as *fa'atulima* (honourable responsive greeting) and *fa'alupega* (privileged honorifics), people would chat in Sāmoan or English with the *tufuga* and visitors. They would greet each other and then talk about casual topics relating to daily life. Laughter was a frequent sound during these cheerful conversations. Even louder laughter could be generated when jokes were made.

These casual conversations also happened while Cudjuy was tattooing. He either got involved in the conversation or left visitors to interact amongst themselves. Funny topics would provoke a reaction from the practitioner, requiring him to take a short break. However, conversations could also become disruptive when those working had to respond to more difficult questions that needed time to digest. For example, there was a camera team making

an outdoor TV programme in the village of Auba in southern Taiwan, unintentionally distracting Cudjuy by asking questions that he had not been informed about in advance.

Both Li'a and Cudjuy played music during their work. A standing speaker was positioned beside Li'a's working spot, and music was played from either his own or his stretcher's mobile phone. While the radio was frequently turned on for listeners, Li'aifaiva's favourite genre was popular music, with strong rhythms that brought him energy:

> Sometimes I play rap music because we listen to Sāmoan songs every single day [from] the same radio station…why don't they play different songs? It's always the same! And now you get rap music, a different feeling and different atmosphere. At this point, it doesn't even matter, but it just has to be different. Whether it's good or bad and pleasant, I just want difference, it gives you variation.

The stick would hit the skin, back and forth, following the rap beats, with his head nodding in time. This bodily harmony did not disturb his work, but rather accelerated his pace and cheered his mood.

However, the music had to be turned down or off when *fa'atulima* and *tapua'iga* were being spoken. When he could not reach with his hands, Li'a would sometimes use his stick to adjust the volume when a visitor was delivering a formal acknowledgement. If both Li'a and the stretchers had dirty gloves, I would also be asked to turn down the volume for an orator's blessing. The music would also be turned off when eating, as prayers were said. The sounds of *fa'a-Sāmoa* took priority over modern ones in the *apisā*.

Cudjuy had a bluetooth wireless speaker connected to his mobile phone, and Tahitian and Hawai'ian music were his favourites, filling the tattooing space with a smooth and light tempo. This work habit was transferred to other spaces where he

practiced tattooing, whether at his studio in Sapulju, with recipients in Indigenous or non-Indigenous communities, or at booths in international festivals. This mixture of styles of space echoed his mixed (Oceanic and Paiwan) method of tattooing, as well as his lifetime experience of mobility. Music, however, was selectively played in accordance with the type of space. The venues mentioned above were under his control, at least in terms of his choice of music, but he avoided playing Polynesian music when tattooing for chiefly Paiwan villagers, especially inside an ancestral house or a chiefly residence.

Entrants to Li'a's *apisā* were required to remove their shoes in order to access the sacred space. Their light steps could be heard crossing the surface of wooden floor, especially during *sāmaga* when most noise was avoided and attendees were quiet. While bare feet on wooden boards could be heard they were largely silent on the concrete floors inside the house. The more vigorous walking involved when Li'a was cracking eggs or *toso* were serving *'ava*, as described previously, was more audible. The higher volume and rhythm of stepping distinguished these activities from more formal or ceremonial occasions characterised by lighter and random steps.

Sound is produced from outside the *apisā*. From the *apisā*, sitters could readily see vehicles passing on Logan Road through a row of trees. Despite its narrow width, the commuter traffic on this road was constant. These sounds were always present in the *apisā*, whether during tattooing, blessing, eating or ceremonies. The noise generated by the vehicles penetrated into the *apisā,* disrupting the concentration of the occupants, ultimately leading Li'a to create his own sense of place. He resisted these urban sounds by growing plants between the residence and the road:

> You know, we are right next to the road, this little street of ours is quite busy for a little road, it should've been quiet. What's even worse? The container

> [trucks] are really loud and I really don't enjoy it. I really don't like it. I don't like the noise pollution here where we are because it takes away the pristine, because I want to hear nature. That's why I try to plant as many trees around as I can, I wanted to be closer to the greenery.

In contrast, Cudjuy's studio space at home in an apartment isolates his work from traffic distractions. He pays no attention to the noise, unless drivers pulled over and approached him for a greeting.

Animals such as pets, chickens, and other birds were present in and around Li'aifaiva's residence. The chickens and their chicks would stroll, clucking, on the grass around the lodge (but never up the stairs to the *apisā*), and the rooster crowed often at dawn, but sometimes more randomly. The crowing was so loud that it pervaded every corner of the residence, even when the rooster could not be seen.

The dogs were more active, chasing each other around the yard, from the rocky land in front of the residential space, to the garage and the *apisā*. Dogs in Sāmoa are highly aggressive, as I discovered on the morning of my arrival, when a dog bit my right calf. Dogs would bark at anyone not familiar to them, fulfilling part of their function as house security. During my first visits, whenever I entered the gate into the Levi's family's house, their dogs would jump up and begin barking at me, and then fight and bite each other. Li'a and the *toso* jokingly gave me the fake *matai* title of "Two Dogs Fighting," to acknowledge my appearance. Occasionally, the dogs would climb into the *apisā* only to be driven away very roughly by those present. However, these animals and their noises played an important role in rendering this urban space more rural, generating a sense of nostalgia for more traditional spaces amongst those present.

5.6 The Sounds of Apia

5.6.1 Vehicles, Music and Car Horns

Since the *apisā* was so close to the centre of town, the traffic sounds led me to a broader contemplation on the sounds of the capital. Loud music was often played on the old buses, which kept their windows and doors open. My fieldnotes document this experience:

> I went to the main bus station and waiting on some stairs along the beach. Many young vendors were carrying drinks, water or crackers in boxes on their shoulders. They shouted out loud to attract the attention of the passengers. The passengers bought through the window and didn't need to get off, as the vendors would kindly come closer to pass the items up. I then hopped on an old well-painted bus because I was tired of walking home. The music was so loud from a terrible speaker right above the driver. I've seen some drivers install extra bass amplifiers in the back seats. I wished I had had earplugs… the passengers didn't talk, and I was surprised as this was so different from how they interacted with people at home or on the street. They just sat and waited… while I was waiting for the bus on road, I could sense it from a distance by hearing the engine, the sound of the exhaust, and the noisy music as it came along the road. My god, they liked Reggae and Heavy Beat so much but somehow the radio was never turned on. Don't expect the bus to pull up at a stop, just tap on the glass with a coin or pull on the ring wire. The crisp sound of the coin on glass directed the driver to pull over. It seemed the drivers always knew where passengers hopped off and rarely missed the spots. I'd always hold my coin throughout the trip in case I wanted to stop somewhere else before the hostel. The same coin then was handed over to the drivers who threw it into their boxes filled with other coins, the clinking sound

> following each passenger saying *tai lava*, which means thanks. I was often the only Asian face on the local buses.

One time an elderly guest at Olivia's Accommodation was complaining about his experience of taking a bus. In addition to the uncomfortable seats that made his back painful, he found the music on board was extremely annoying. The mixture of music and the engine sounds was bad enough, but could be worse if the tone of the speaker was old.

> I often walked to a library along the main road. This was not a pleasant journey because of the scorching weather and fast driving vehicles. Oh gosh, I had no idea why the drivers always honked on the road even though the traffic was fine… walking on the road was good until Lailoa [Sāla George Carter's younger sister] greeted me at a corner while she was going to turn after making a honking sound. I finally realised that the reason why honking was so frequently heard on the road was not because of traffic conditions. They honked because they had seen someone who was family or a friend either on the footpath or in a vehicle. If the friends or family members were also driving, they honked back in response with smiling faces.

As we have seen, both the *apisā* and public spaces more generally were filled with waves of sound. These various melodies, animal sounds, voices and inorganic noises are factors in place-making, resisting, competing and becoming enmeshed with each another in the creation of a hybrid acoustic environment. Although it can sometimes feel like noise, the sounds of Apia constitute a Sāmoan style of soundscape, reflecting in its own way the values of *vā*.

5.6.2 Quietness, Seashell Horning and Church Service

I do not mean to say that downtown Apia is constantly noisy. On Sundays, Apia became as quiet as rural communities. Nearly every store was closed except for Chinese businesses. The fish market and grocery markets would be busy and full of customers from about six o'clock

in the morning, before the church service. After the service, villagers would head home and begin preparing for the lunch feast using the materials just purchased. In Sāmoan society, Sundays are for their faith and families, a day for recovery and healing, and a break. Very few cars other than taxis are on the roads.

On weekday evenings, people hear the conch shells being blown to mark the *sā* (sacred) status of the church service. All pedestrians and vehicles on the road stop where they are and wait for around fifteen minutes before proceeding, under the instruction of men from the nearest village. One day I was jogging along the seawall near Vaiala, where a service was about to take place. I kept running until a man stopped and told me that the church service was about to start, not to cross the road and to remain where I was quietly, as this was respect for Sāmoan culture. I did as he said. I heard the other sounds of horns letting the villagers know that the service was finished and the *sā* was dismissed, and that people and cars could move on. This sequence of sounds around the evening service could be heard every day. The concept of heteroglossia captures well this sense of a soundscape composed of diverse sources of sound; through the making of these sounds, the respect to the gift-givers was conveyed, and the *vā* between two groups of people was sonically bridged.

5.7 Embodying the Ontology of *Fa'aaloalo*

In the previous section, I have described various kinds of sound in the capital as a whole. I will now extend this reflection on the physical realm by focusing on human bodies. I use the term, somatic sense, to refer to the multiple embodied experiences of tattoo practitioners and receivers. I begin with the most salient move—sitting.

5.7.1 Sitting

There is a substantial Sāmoan vocabulary that addressed forms of sitting (Figure 5.1). *Nofo* is to sit (Milner, 2012, p.157). During tattooing and *sāmaga,* those working adopt the lower

poses of sitting and lying down, with witnesses and other visitors seated in the cross-legged position, in accordance with the values of *fa'a-Sāmoa*. Activities such as announcements, blessings, oratory, eating or drinking *'ava* are all conducted in this sitting pose. Sitting appropriately is critical for Sāmoans in displaying respect for chiefly individuals within a sacred place. An overseas visitor remained standing in front of Li'aifaiva was thus acting inappropriately, although he was simply trying to find a better angle from which to observe the work.

Nofo can also refer to staying, dwelling, living and siting, in the context of a person holding the title of *matai* (Milner, 2012, p.157). Speakers use the terms *iai* or *nofoānofo* to refer to being seated in the manner of chief at a meeting (Milner, 2012, p.435). Holding this seated pose for a period of time is a central feature of appropriate behaviour. The Sāmoan term for bestowal, *saofa'i*, literally refers to sitting still and talking, allowing the day to pass (Milner, 2012, p. 435, 200, 435); *evaeva* or *alaala* indicate talking in the evening, passing the time of night (Milner, 2012, p. 435). Sitting in Sāmoan society expresses bodily status and social relationships in space, as well as the time of day. While sitting expresses the value of stillness, it also marks the passage of time, sensed by the tapping of *tatau* (striking and receiving), the serving of *'ava* (giving and taking), and engaging in *talanoa* (talking and listening). Sāmoan spatiality is built upon this reciprocity of respectful comportment, of both tangible and intangible forms of exchange, nurturing the *vā* in the space in-between.

The correct sitting position is cross-legged. Visitors enter the *apisā*, and pick a spot to sit. If they are feeling uncomfortable, the legs can be stretched out, but only when a piece of *fala* (sitting or sleeping mat) is available to cover them, to avoid the appearance of rudeness. Sitters can lie propped on posts, but lying down flat is considered impolite. However, during *sāmaga*, newly tattooed legs are stretched out in order to display them. In this pose, the tattooed area can be displayed and is more easily oiled for the next session by the assistant.

While sitting correctly is important in all contexts in Sāmoan society, the lowered body also features when receivers kneel on the ground in the bestowal ceremony in order to demonstrate a sense of humility and honour. This seems to happen only when untitled individuals are asked to switch from sitting to kneeling while accepting Sāmoan titles, with the bestowers remaining in a standing position. This ceremonial stage demonstrates a hierarchical relationship in which the receivers enter into the *matai* groups from their untitled roles in the communities. I was also required to be on my knees to accept the title bestowed by the paramount *matai*, Lavea.

In addition to sitting and kneeing, untitled villagers lower their heads to show good manners whenever walking into the *apisā*, especially in front of those seated. Sunglasses, shoes and hats are all removed.

5.7.2 Wrapping Courtesy

Male receivers wore nothing but a piece of *'ie lavalava* throughout the *tatau* session. Female tattooees did the same, adding sports leggings underneath the cloth to protect privacy. While being inked, the receivers experienced a transformation from being naked to being clothed, with the *'ie lavalava* functioning temporarily as a cloth. Very often, the pigment and blood stained the cloth, turning the colourful printing designs black and red. All those working people, along with the visitors, are required to wear *'ie lavalalava* on their lower bodies to show courtesy. Note that the length of the fabric had to be longer than knees, including when seated in the cross-legged position. A spare piece of cloth was available for walk-in visitors who wanted to enter the lodge. I once saw Papali'i using a jacket to cover her thighs and calves, with her hands holding the edge in case it dropped down, but this happened only once when she had an urgent message for Li'a. Otherwise, wearing *'ie lavalava* was the most important element of the dress code.

If wearing material is the dress code for all those present, the status of becoming *soga'imiti* (a tattooed individual) symbolises a *tatau* person's state of being clothed. This inking represents both wearing the pattern and bearing the family and social commitments. Li'aifaiva once told a *soga'imiti* (a *malu* wearer at the time) that "It will be only a beginning because you're just wearing the *mālōfie*, it's a *mālōfie* clothing. Your *tautua* won't stop. Your learning as a tattooed person won't stop." This reflects Albert Wendt's argument that the nakedness of fabric clothing was a Western concept, while *tatau* serves as an inscribed form of clothing for Sāmoans (1999, p. 400). From Li'a's perspective, a cloth of *malu* provides the appearance, but the family genealogy and knowledge of *fa'a-Sāmoa*, particularly as they relate to the protection of one's *'āiga,* are must to be protected and more important for the individual to be truly Sāmoan. The *malu* serves to connect diasporic Sāmoans in navigating their process of learning *fa'a-Sāmoa* across the journey of their lifetime, with *alofa*, *fa'aaloalo* and *tapua'iga* inscribed in their minds, confirming a sense of belonging.

During the completion ceremony, the receivers' bodies were thoroughly oiled by a server with *sama*, a yellowish mixture of coconut oil and turmeric powder (Figure 5.2). The oiling helped in the healing process, alleviating the pain for newly tattooed bodies. The oil also acted to brighten the *tatau* designs, making them stand out more clearly. Ceremonially, this oiling with *lega* also marked a liminal or watershed moment, separating them from their previous condition, and introducing a new stage in their lives. I experienced this same stage when I was bestowed a *matai suafa*. I was fully anointed with coconut oil on those parts of my skin not covered by a piece of barkcloth or *siapo,* before the *saofa'i* commenced. The oil on my skin shimmered, serving the same role as in *sāmaga*.

The cracking of an egg by the *tufuga* for the *soga'imiti* in *sāmaga* allowed the albumen and yolk to fall from the shell onto the top of receiver's head, symbolising a stage of rebirth. The egg would not flow but often stuck to the hair, hardening to hold it in place. Like

the *sama*, the egg represented a new life, and *tatau* and *suafa* recipients would leave it in place throughout the completion ceremony.

5.8 Communal Somatic Discomfort

While the discomfort of tattooing for the receiver seems self-evident, the ways in which practitioners, tattoo assistants and recipients sense that discomfort requires some consideration. In the following section, I address the forms of physical discomfort in order then to explore the broader realm of embodied feelings.

Pain is predominantly sensed on the skin (Figure 5.3). A *pe'a* receiver described the pain as being like "waves." The levels of the pain varied and fluctuated depending on the period of time and which areas of skin were being tapped.

> I think what hurts the most was when he [Li'aifaiva] was making the patterns. He was setting up the frame. Even a machine tattoo, when you're doing the outline, that's what hurts, that's what's breaking the skin… But when you are shading and when he's doing the *tapulu* [the solid tattooed area on outer part of thighs], it starts to go numb because it's like when somebody is hitting the same spot, you start just get used to it… but the wiping by the stretchers sometimes hurts when it's getting dry. It's like scratching especially when the *toso* are digging my belly button…

Only during the last session of *fa'aupega* (the net-like design that is tattooed beneath the belly button) did he begin to cry, as the pain was unbearable. The relief did not last long because the irritation of the healing process followed directly from the tattooing stage. It took at least two weeks for the wound to stop being painful, during which even taking a shower was an unpleasant daily routine. Squeezing puss from the wounded parts was a normal physical reaction, but it made the inked area swollen. Thankfully, his Sāmoan girlfriend took

him to get antibiotics from a pharmacy to improve the healing process. I have seen other *pe'a* receivers become ill as a result of infection and inflammation. A female wearer, Isabella Rasch, who has a tattoo on her hands and thighs added that it was more painful on the hand than on the thighs because the needles struck nerves and bones. Although the *malu* is more diffuse as a design, and the skin on the thighs can tolerate more pain, it was still painful on the joints. She added that both thighs took three to four hours, during which she would take three-minute breaks before the work carried on; but she preferred not to take breaks just to reduce the period of pain.

Muscle fatigue and pain impacted all those present and could be particularly difficult for those people who had not sat down for long hours (Figure 5.4). Stretchers must maintain sufficient strength throughout a session. I have observed one of Li'a's stretchers asking a child to punch his shoulders to release the pain. It was common to see Li'a and stretchers lying down on the floor during breaks or leaning on posts while having lunch or after a day's work. This pain is particularly challenging for stretchers who are beginners. I used to help Cudjuy with his tattooing and experienced powerful pain in my lower back after long hours of teamwork. I felt the muscle fatigue while sitting on the floor from morning to afternoon but, in the end, I had to use my lower back to support my spine. I could hardly stand up with my back stretched, although I used to lay over poles to reduce the pressure on my back.

The sense of rigidity defeated everyone in the lodge. Receivers frequently looked rigid when they attempted to sit or stand after lying for hours. I used to hold a *pe'a* receiver's hand, helping him get up because he could barely do it on his own. They would strategically stretch their muscles and joints by sitting for several minutes, dragging their bodies by hands around the *apisā* to find a comfortable position to lie on the poles. As they wore no underwear, genitals were carefully covered using blood-stained *'ie lavalava*. Occasionally,

they would stand up slowly for the *tufuga*, so the latter could observe the design of *tatau* before the former went to take a shower.

The feelings of pain and exhaustion often come together. The former could be heightened by the latter, and *vice versa*. Undoubtedly, fatigue plays a critical element in the experience of tattooing every single day. While receivers can recover over weeks of rest, Li'aifaiva would not stop working after completing a *tatau*. The work depleted his physical strength, to the point of burnout after taking no breaks between one receiver and the next. I have seen Li'a constantly coughing with a weary face, even as the tattooing remained smooth and the outcome was of high quality. Similarly, fatigue for the stretchers would cause their hands to tremble, jeopardising the work. Receivers also contributed to the quality of the tattooing work by keeping in good health. An informant told me that he was concerned about getting sufficient sleep prior to working. Sufficient rest allowed him to combat the pain and to recover faster. A good recovery is critical, particularly for those people experiencing severe skin damage. Papali'i told me that:

> I had my first experience of stretching when we were in America. There was nobody to stretch… after all these years, you know, I really came to appreciate the work that they do. It's not easy because I would feel like tired, just tired. My shoulders, everything. How can I complain when this is what they do?

I used to do stretching work for Cudjuy for many hours a day, so I told her of my similar experience:

> You know, I was a stretcher for my brother's work and we tattooed for a chiefly woman in her ancestral house. So, we were working inside the house and that was the day we took 13 or 14 hours to complete her hand tattoos on both hands. Uh, we were extremely exhausted. I don't know how I drove back home.

Sitting down cross-legged for ten minutes or so is possible for most people, but it becomes a significant challenge as time accumulates. Numbness is the most common physical reaction to maintaining a pose for hours. Stretchers had to maintain their strength while remaining stable. They use the dipping-ink interval (usually less than three seconds) to stretch their legs but otherwise avoid moving as much as possible. Visitors who needed to stretch their legs were allowed to do so, but hid them beneath a piece of *fala*. In a rare situation, I stretched out both my legs in turn without a *fala* while I was assisting. I learnt this from a stretcher, but it was considered acceptable only when stretchers did not have enough time to search for a *fala* during the interval.

The stretchers' fingers frequently slipped because of the application of water or cream on the skin. Throughout Li'a's and Cudjuy's work, water from a spray bottle was used by stretchers to humidify wipes for cleaning ink and blood off the skin; this also reduced slipperiness on the skin. However, wiping with too much water actually did not help to remove the ink and blood but, instead, left blurred tracks, resulting in a slippery surface. I was asked to wring the cloths dry to get rid of unnecessary water. Creams such as vaseline helped the skin to absorb the ink. The cream, however, reduced the friction required for stretching, resulting in fingers slipping and loss of strength in the stretch. Having to reapply the hands to stretch would affect the tattooists' tapping pace. Cudjuy used cream and wet wipes at the same time in order to keep a smooth working pace.

Intensive work over a long period would result in sore eyes for the practitioners. This impacted especially on Cudjuy, who was used to wearing a pair of glasses during work to maintain a good tattooing pace. Eyestrain was worsened when the light in the workplace was too low, and Cudjuy would work with a portable lamp beside him while tattooing, adjusting the lamp stand to improve the light.

Sunlight streamed into the *apisā* when a tattooing session extended into the afternoon, usually at around four to five o'clock. The light fell on the side where the *sausau* and *toso* sat, reflecting off the oiled skin of the receiver, further irritating Li'aifaiva's eyes, until the curtains were drawn. More commonly, light was introduced to reduce shadows and balance the light contrast. Li'a once asked me to switch the wall lamps – two rows of LED lamps hanging between the pillars and ceiling on both his right and left hand sides – in order to brighten the workspace after the sunlight had faded.

In Sāmoa, sunlight means heat, and people often sweat in the humid and scorching weather. While most people felt sweaty after walking into the *apisā*, and picked up fans to cool down, practitioners and stretchers were able to focus on the work despite the sweat. The ceiling fans were working well, but the lack of hydration gradually eroded their stamina. Often, it was the responsibility of the stretcher's family to offer soft drinks. Receivers became sweaty not only because of the temperature but also due to the pain. When receiving tattoos, Cudjuy and Tupa'i both sweated on their hands and faces because of the high degree of pain they were experiencing. Flies were often enticed by bleeding wounds in this weather and while they were not a threat, they were a distraction for the stretchers who were trying to stay still. Family members or young boys would use fans to cool down the workers and drive the insects away. Swelling was one of the bodily reactions commonly shared by tattoo practitioners and receivers, but seldom noticed as watchers were more focused on the work and its outcome. Li'aifaiva told me:

> This is all from tattooing, all my joints, my wrist are really bad. My wrist and both my elbows, I have to snap them in place… the thumb is not designed to be moving or doing anything for grip… Like my thumb, I don't know if you can see, it's swollen. If I were tattooing constantly like ten plus hours by Saturday, this thumb would be really big.

Not surprisingly, receivers with broken skin tissue exposed to heat or germs have weaker resistance to bacteria, and several of my informants had to see doctors and take antibiotics in order to relieve infection and swelling.

The hardening of skin through calluses and scarring is common but rarely visible. Sitting cross-legged for long periods can produce calluses on the skin over the ankle bones. Li'a showed me the callus on his foot:

> You see the callus on my foot from folding my legs. It's always on the bottom. I'm used to putting my left leg on the bottom… If you look at the callus, it's very thick on the tip. It doesn't feel like the skin. That's broken.

Scars are rarely generated but happen when skin tissues are perforated back and forth causing ulceration. The initial inflammation and swelling of the receiver's skin would produce a permanent mark, altering the colour of the ink. "The best way to prevent this is to apply ink on skin efficiently by hitting fewer times", said Li'aifaiva.

Wounds become itchy a few days later, while recovering. A Japanese tattoo wearer, Mr K described the healing area becoming itchy a week after the inking. Surprisingly, itchiness was his main memory, whereas others focused on the pain during receiving. Lightly tapping the itchy areas alleviates the irritation without interfering in the skin's recovery. A Paiwan man also became itchy a few days after receiving a tattoo, and responded by slapping on the tattooed area and covering the wound by applying plastic wrap over the wound to avoid exposure to germs and friction.

5.9 Summary

In this chapter, I have detailed the acoustic and somatic realms of experience amongst practitioners, tattoo assistants, receivers and visitors. This multi-sensory account of Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* further elaborates on the practice and experience of Indigenous

tattooing. I focus in particular on “hearing” *tatau* in order to examine how Sāmoan tattooing is sensed aurally. Again, Paiwan *vecik* plays a supporting role in this chapter, in dialogue with Sāmoan *tatau*. In examining the sounds, voices, noises and silences generated by tattooing, humans, creatures, speakers and vehicles, I propose that the soundscape of Sāmoan *tatau* consists of multiple, trans-generational sources amongst the tools, the lodge, and even the road around the Levi family’s house. These spaces become meaningful places. The *vā* is nurtured through an acoustic bridging, interweaving and composing the social spaces for each of those present. Each of the attendees is subject to these reciprocated protocols, filling the spaces with the harmonious values of *fa’a-Sāmoa*. Visitors, including diasporic Sāmoans, American, Japanese, and Indigenous Taiwanese, embrace the sounds and respond in acknowledgement. In this way, Sāmoan acoustics functions as a diplomatic bridge for people of multiple cultural backgrounds and creates respectful places.

Sounds also reference different forms of listened time. By this, I mean that sounds repeated consciously and unconsciously over generations form a bridge between secularity and sacredness, as well as between linear and interrelated temporalities. While *fa*’*atulima* forms a consistently acoustic background, pop music is played at the same time. Both temporalities coexist, with the former asserting priority over the latter in the *apisā* (when *fa*’*alupega* is presented, the volume of the speaker is turned down). The sounds of the city contribute another layer of acoustic interaction: while Li’a attempts to partially block the traffic sounds to make a comfortable workplace, drivers honking their greetings and people calling out to each other on the road form an integral part of the soundscape for contemporary *tatau* practice. Cudjuy’s preference for playing music, on the other hand, reflects his *djalan* of building a connection to the acoustic place of Polynesian cultures. Stretchers and tattoo receivers can sense the inked area by hearing the rhythm, the tapping, exchanging of gifts or the speech of *matai*, all of which contribute to a temporal dimension of the customary

protocols. In other words, the sounds resonate with and are enhanced by the sensory forms of witnessing, practicing and drinking *'ava*.

While many of these sounds are generated according to Sāmoan protocols, which they effectively reproduce, body positions reflect Sāmoan forms of relationality, as illustrated here by the sitting poses, the oiling of tattooed skin, wearing '*ie lavalava*, and cracking eggs on heads. All these forms of movement embed *vā* through ceremonial performance.

The embodied sensory experience demonstrates the values of *vā*, but the unpleasant sensations also enhance the sense of communality amongst the practitioners, assistants and the receivers. The pain and irritations nurture a social space in between the different participants. Similarly, through shared sensory forms, Sāmoan People have created a diplomatic pathway for Paiwan People, with the navigational guidance of *vā* and *djalan*.

Chapters Four and Five have sought to illustrate the multi-sensory contexts of Indigenous tattooing, which produce particular forms of experience for Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* that are both technical and sensory. These distinctive attributes forge parallel pathways for *tatau* and *vecik*, allowing us to understand how they are willingly engaged as bridges or vessels for Indigenous diplomacy. The next Part examines more closely the conduct of Sāmoa-Paiwan diplomacy in Apia, viewed largely from the perspective of a travelling Paiwan delegation, tracking their journey outwards to the Pacific, and then back again to Taiwan, generating and following a series of voyaging knots that chart a course for future diplomatic wayfinders.

Part C: Anchoring

Chapter 6 Paiwan *Vecik* in Oceania

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the journey of Paiwan People across Oceania through an examination of contemporary tattooing practices at trans-Indigenous events. I draw on Hau'ofa's essay "Our Sea of Islands" to explore the connections between Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik*, adding ethnographic stories documented in French Polynesia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Beyond treating this as another example of cultural exchange, I want to understand how the tattooing practices of Indigenous Peoples function as pathways of Indigenous diplomacy. This chapter asks how Indigenous tattooing might assume a role in launching and navigating new relationships across Oceania, using the various reciprocal occasions associated with tattooing cultures. In order to address this issue, I describe the societies of Sāmoa and Paiwan in terms of their basis in family (*'āiga* and *ta-umaqan*). My enquiry centres on the metaphors of Paiwan pathway (*djalan*) and Sāmoan relationality (*vā*) to explore connectivity across Oceania.

The pathway begins with the experiences of Paiwan *vecik* wearers in Taitung. I explore how their sense of Indigeneity, and of Oceanic and Austronesian inclusiveness, is enhanced and represented by the tattoos. In Sāmoa, I begin my journey in 2015 with a ceremony of naming and the event of *saofa'i*, or bestowal, exploring the process of working in Sāmoa as a Paiwan ethnographer, following the mythic origin path of Sāmoan *tatau* from Fiji. During the same visit, Cudjuy received a tattoo with *pe'a* design inked by Li'aifaiva, after Cudjuy and I had attended Indigenous cultural events in Manukau, Aotearoa New Zealand in 2015; this is the moment which Cudjuy considers as marking the initiation of his revival of *vecik*. Moving onto accounts of communal events in Mo'orea, French Polynesia, and Tauranga, Aotearoa New Zealand, between 2018 and 2019, I portray a variety of forms of trans-Indigenous reciprocity through the shared

culture of Indigenous tattooing. In early 2020, the journey then brought me back to Cudjuy's village of Sapulju, Taitung, where he organised an *'ava*-like ceremony as part of his acknowledgment of a Tahitian as one of his apprentices. This ceremony provides a prime example of the conduct of Indigenous diplomatic connectedness between Paiwan and Oceania.

I point out that the mobility involved in this journey of Indigenous diplomacy has a distinctively circular style of travelling back and forth, usually spending days to weeks and significantly interacting through diverse forms of gift taking and giving. Re-embodying the ancestral Austronesian migration history, the Indigenous ontology of the *djalan* of Paiwan People is interwoven with Sāmoan *vā*. Through my analysis, I have shown that these two Austronesian communities and cultures have shared distinctive forms of voyaging, goals and pathways. As such, I suggest that trans-Indigenous practices and events such as tattooing can act as a bridge between Paiwan People in Taiwan and other Oceanic communities in pursuit of an Oceanian diplomacy.

6.2 Narrating Paiwan Articulation with Oceania

In recent decades, the mobility of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples has experienced a dynamic transformation. Their routes extend across Indigenous regions in Taiwan and Oceania, reaching out to the First Nations Peoples of Australia. Motivation for this movement out of Taiwan ranges from travel on vacation or on business, to employment, family reunions or studying overseas. There has been an increasing number of Indigenous travellers joining artistic and scholarly programmes, either on individually or in groups. Governmental and non-governmental groups have sought to engage in these trans-Indigenous social networks to fulfil national and individual goals of cultural exchange. Through tattoo, these experiences

are somatically inscribed on the voyagers' bodies to represent their journeys to Indigenous societies in Oceania.

In this section, I draw on the representations of Paiwan *vecik* and tattooing with Oceanian Indigenous designs, unpacking the narratives provided by Paiwan wearers to examine their articulation to the Pacific world, and how they re-contextualise a stronger sense of Paiwan Indigeneity through wearing these tattoos. Zuzu Nasi, a Paiwan woman from a chiefly family who studied in Aotearoa New Zealand, observes that:

> It's a strong sense of rapport in Māori communities, they believe their ancestors migrated from Taiwan… in this social atmosphere, I was more serious about reconsidering who I was, where I originated from, and this brought me back to Paiwan culture which I should be proud of. Tattooing on hands is a mark that is the extended canvas of your skin… Māori People didn't expect me to be Māori but taught me about their sense of dignity and cultural identity. This affected me a lot, so I got tattooed after I came back to Taiwan.

She wears a traditional hand *vecik* by Cudjuy, produced with a tattoo machine. She expressed her hope to wear a tattoo with a Māori design (*kirituhi*) once she resumes her PhD programme in Aotearoa New Zealand:

> Because we are *whānau* [extended family], it would be a great honour to carry their design, but this happens only after consent from the Māori community. It differs from those you can purchase in a tattoo shop, which become commercialised… I wouldn't consider it a transnational mark, it'll be a mark within a People because we are Austronesian… I went to gatherings and I introduced my nationality of Taiwan, many Māori attendees saw me as their close family member, the sense of bond with us Taiwan Indigenous Peoples is even stronger than their relation to European New Zealanders. There will be a rainbow bridge for the deceased to cross into the ancestral

> world, and they told me they will go back to the ancestral place, Taiwan, after passing away.

Nasi had a similar experience when she went to Sarawak and Sabah, which share a tattooing heritage. On seeing her tattoo, the Indigenous villagers treated her as a member of their family, because this heritage has largely vanished. She believes that this shared intimacy emerged as a result of a sense of shared Austronesian heritage. For her, the tattoo acted as a diplomatic spokesperson, symbolically opening her body and forming a bridge between peoples, particularly for those Peoples who have experienced colonial rule and a loss of cultural and political autonomy.

Another Paiwan woman, Seredau (Sang, Mei-Chuan[46]), who received an Indigenous *vecik* from Cudjuy, recalled a similar experience during a visit to the Chamorro community of Guam:

> I remember I met a Chamorro man who was specialised in weaving. This friend gifted me an item he made for containing lime. He admired my tattooed hands, liking them so much and gently touching them. He was crying, feeling moved when seeing my tattooed hands because my *vecik* reminded him of their vanishing Indigenous culture in Guam… I met Sāmoans and other people from Austronesian territories… a Māori man, they saw and then kissed my hands, saying Taiwan is the Island of the Motherland.

A tattooed Paiwan villager from Laraulan, Sakinu (John Lu) mentioned his tattoo journey in 2013 after sharing a drawing in French Polynesia:

> I gifted a drawing of a hand tattoo of Paiwan women to a friend in Mo'orea… I was thinking of receiving a tattoo, but I hadn't decided on a design yet, I just wanted to

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[46] Seredau is a renowned Indigenous Paiwan singer, winning the Best Indigenous Singer through the Album *Infection* (渲染) at the Taiwan Golden Melody Awards in 2018.

> wear a tattoo that was different from my life in Taiwan where many people wear designs of dragons or phoenix… it is a memory mark of traveling abroad. Then I selected a pattern from an album, it's a motif of people holding hands which represents a symbol of family. He added more motifs of ancestors, turtles which symbolise longevity, as well as shark's teeth which mean strength, and the whale which refers to wisdom… they're understandable because they share our sea culture. These echo my Paiwan community in Taimali, where I was trained in the men's group to work together. We also had rituals like *qemilja* [*海祭*] on the shores of the Pacific Ocean during the annual millet harvest festival. I treasure the gift of the tattoo, this wasn't something I bought there, this was the mark of Oceanic reconnection and I'm proud of it because it was an interaction like an education, which we subjectively wanted to do, this marked our Indigenous autonomy.

It is important to note that the tattoos received in Oceania by wearers under the age of forty embed family genealogies on their bodies that are rooted in their homelands. Tattoos serve a role in connecting to the places that wearers have travelled. They are like portable marks echoing space and time that can record the memories for wearers, and are inscribed as a visualised genealogy on the body for descendants.

Ljemeljeman (Annie Haung), who was born in a Taiwanese Han family but married to Sakinu in a Paiwan family, recounted that the small mark on her finger was designed by a tattooist in Tahiti; she considered it as a landmark on her body that recalls her life story, as something to be passed down to future generations. Since French Polynesia, linguistically and culturally, belongs to the broader Austronesian family, she has made many visits there, building up a relationship with her adopted Tahitian family. Her tattoo represents a link to both places, however distant from each other, intimately embedding memory, body and place across the Pacific. These wearers with Paiwan *vecikan* and Polynesian designs share a

common sense of affiliation to Austronesian cultures across Oceania. The designs, which are Marquesan, and their cultural significance are linked back to the cultures of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples, such as the symbols of ancestral faces and people holding hands.

Receiving tattoos also marks the point of change from an old to a new life. The formal head of a men's group talked about his experience of adding a new tattoo with Polynesian designs, enhancing his sense of rootedness in Paiwan:

> It was in 2013, I went to Tahiti, I told the tattooist that this [a Japanese tattoo] is not good because it didn't represent who I am as a Paiwan man… I was attempting to cover the whole design with a large-size tattoo, but I gave up the decision. The existing tattoo had been located on my body for so long, so I combined this original tattoo using another Marquesan design… this design consisted of some human figures holding hands and they symbolised the communal lifestyle in Paiwan communities where villagers always help one another… I regretted that I hadn't thought more carefully about the first tattoo. I found that being a gang member was no longer a goal for my life… actually, I was attempting to wear a traditional Paiwan man's tattoo [chiefly *vecik*] but thankfully, because I was educated in the traditional men's group when I was in a senior high school, I became more aware of the cultural protocols. I realised that I was not allowed due to my status in my village, unless I had a permission granted by a chief and members of his or her family. That was the turning point when I began understanding that the Japanese design had nothing to do with Paiwan culture.

Tattooed marks materialise the wearers' personalities and communicate with them as a reminder. This process of communication operates between the tattoo practitioner and the receiver, the tattoo and the wearer, and the wearer and society. Ljemeljeman wore a tattoo with a crayfish design which symbolises a mother's responsibility of taking care of family

members and making food as a woman in Tahitian context. She also received a tattoo with a basket-weaving design that represents the commitment to housework of women, along with a fish design to mark the lightheartedness of her pursuit of life. These tattoos undoubtedly function for her as a means of communication and a bridging connection from Tahiti back to her Paiwan community. She explained that receiving a tattoo is considered as a ritual of building trust:

> I don't really care what design the tattooist was going to tattoo me with. I accepted how I was tattooed in terms of the design. I believed in the tattooist's technique and I wouldn't justify how the tattooist's work was… the tattooist could read my mind by observing my appearance and personality, knowing what design fitted me best… the tattoo really reflected my life now, including my sense of cultural identity as a Paiwan woman and providing for and embracing family. It's a mark to remind me of the importance of connecting to people because I'm not a person who has a talent for speaking, I'm a person enjoying calm and quiet… the tattoo reminds me that interactions with people are the lesson for my life… this tattoo relieves my worries and encourages me to improve on this ability… I used to take mind courses in which I gave myself a promise to love people, to look after them and to be a warm-hearted person. I was surprised to find that the tattoo echoed my anticipation, the tattooing was more like a ritual for me to bear the pain, although I didn't know if I could, but it was critical to build mutual trust throughout the interaction [between the practitioner and the people I love].

Similarly, Ripon Maljaljaves, a young Paiwan man from Tjavualji and Sinapayan, joined the group visiting Tatau i Mo'orea in 2018 and received a tattoo with a Marquesan design on his wrist (Figure 6.1). The tattoo inscribed a history of World War II in commemoration of his family: "I told the tattooist about my family members who never came

back home from the battlefields in the Pacific. He selected a couple of motifs that fitted the idea, so I accepted them, and he began tattooing," said Maljaljaves. The tattoo was mean to represent his grandfather, who was recruited as a soldier of the Takasago Volunteers or Takasago Giyutai (高砂義勇隊) and sent by the Japanese army to the frontline in the Pacific. The grandfather never returned to Taitung and was presumably sacrificed in battle. Although he was tattooed in 2018, the story can be traced back to the 1940s; for the wearer, the mark served as a real-time and mobilised mark of memory that he can recall whenever he wants. This tattoo reconnects him to his family and restores the missing member to his family's genealogy. While the mark was received on Indigenous Polynesian land by this Paiwan person living in Taitung, it anchored his family ancestor using a Marquesan pattern on his body that links the story of the grandfather from Oceania back to Taiwan.

A Paiwan man of Jinlun village, Kimsing, referred to his experience in the fight for Indigenous land justice:

> I saw Tahitian People's strong faith in wearing tattoos that provide strength for their wearers. This faith pretty much motivated me because it echoed the Indigenous social movement in my village. This has caused great frustration and isolation to me. I need strength, I need power, the *mana*… he [the tattooist] was renowned for his high quality of work. I wouldn't regret it, so I decided to receive a tattoo. This tattoo tells me not to give up on Indigenous activism… I told the artist to tattoo a Paiwan design of an eagle's feather because it marks a sense of my cultural belongingness and it brings me bravery and responsibility, just as chiefs, hunters or warriors do to protect villagers from enemies. The tattooist asked his apprentice to tattoo me by adding their Indigenous Tahitian motifs such as circles of waves, because they stand for travellers like me travelling from Taiwan to Polynesia. My tattoo has designs of shark's teeth as well which can bring me strength, and a design of the face of ancestors who are

> accompanying me. The curved design symbolises people holding hands, which represents my solidarity with my people, my family on their customary land.

In his tattoo, we see a mixture of Paiwan and Tahitian elements, working together to reinforce his mental strength in the struggle for the autonomy of Indigenous land rights. The Paiwan forms the outline of the mark which stands for his rootedness as of an Indigenous man; the latter was embraced by the outline with the Tahitian motifs to symbolically create a stronger power. The combination of elements in the tattoo reflects the wearer's journey from Paiwan to Oceania, anchored on his return through the renewed commitment to his Paiwan village. Kimsing continued to reflect on the sense of sympathy for his community:

> This is a mixed strength with my faith… the faith teaches me how to lead these young villagers. I've never thought of giving up on these people, they are my family in my village, they are those people who dropped out of school, or had parenting or family issues at homes, I have to look after them… the faith wants me to take care of all villagers, just like how we use the term, *vuvu*, to refer to grandparents and elderly people, *vuvu* is used to refer to grandchildren and young people as well.

For Kimsing, the Paiwan term *vuvu*, which denotes both elderly and younger villagers, serves a navigational role in reproducing the village genealogy. If *vuvu* look after the young, who will themselves become older after decades, then the latter will need to honour and replicate these values for the next generations.

Yavaus Giling from the Paiwan community Sinapayan in Ginfung township is a Paiwan woman born to a *mamazangiljan* (chiefly) family. She went to the 2016 Pacific Festival of Art in Guam, receiving a tattoo by a Tahitian artist at a booth (Figure 6.2). The designs of her tattoo were inspired by the landscape of her community, which consisted of a Polynesian and Paiwan design on her lower arm close to the elbow. Travelling to Guam, choosing a Tahitian tattoo artist, and the placement of the tattoo comprised a process of

negotiation for her in both maintaining and stepping aside from the social constraints of her Paiwan heritage. She states:

> That was a short-term fieldwork at the event. There were so many cultural demonstrations. Before travelling, I was planning to receive a design of a snake at the Festival, but I gave it up because I was very cautious of the snake design which symbolises chiefly social status in my village. I don't want to be questioned if the design causes any concern to elderly villagers. I felt like geometric shapes were better options, so I enquired about the artist's own tattoos on his body, and he said the zigzag motif meant sea waves, and I liked it very much because it echoed my village's geographic location which is close to the Pacific Ocean. My village nurtures me, providing me with a place for my family to settle, the community is my birthplace. I also chose the design of shark's teeth which stands for bravery and fortitude in Polynesian culture. In Paiwan, the same motif represents the chief's land, so it was exactly what I want as a descendant of a chiefly family and I need the fortitude so much because I feel lost sometimes.

As a tattoo wearer, she takes a distinct pathway by recontextualising the notion of the tattoo away from Taiwan in order to fulfil her sense of self-esteem as a Paiwan person. Using this approach, she is able to situate herself in a buffer zone outside the Indigenous community, giving herself the freedom to choose a design linked to her village place in Taitung, but without the community's scrutiny. Otherwise, she should have worn a traditional *vecik* on the back of her hands. In terms of the designs, Yavaus disarticulates the social norm of Paiwan by appropriating a motif from the women's tattoos (representing the land or territory of a chiefly family) but locating the mark away from the traditional position on the back of her hands. This act of re-positioning was then further transformed by combining with a

Polynesian tattoo motif (the wave) which reflects her sense of Paiwan Indigeneity. Thus, we see a mixed design consisting of an entanglement of the landscapes of mountain and sea.

Wearing a tattoo with a combination of Paiwan and Tahitian design elements, her decision to negotiate with the place where she was tattooed, and with a practitioner who was not from Paiwan, reflects a complex amalgam of factors. She describes it as a strategy of escaping from a place of social expectation in Paiwan. The village is a space filled with protocols of social hierarchy insisting that she wears a traditional hand tattoo and plays a proper role as a member of her chiefly family. Her choice of tattoo blends communal and individual concerns. The traditional women's tattoo on the back of the hand is strongly asserted as a social norm, and imposes on the individual's freedom of subjectivity as a young woman of the village.

Furthermore, Yavaus believed that the tattoo acts as a reminder of the self-empowerment, as a space through which she can take control over her body, even as tattooing her was part of the work of art for the practitioner.

> It's nothing to do with religious belief. There are eye contacts or a couple of words implicitly telling me what to do and what I should become. I know they are not regulating my behaviour, but I felt how this affected my self-expectation… what you do has to match the symbolic status of the tattoo and the obligation to family affairs… the tattoo has the power of telling, telling me not to forget.

Yavaus believed that the tattooist's cultural background as a Tahitian did not violate her sense of Paiwan identity. However, having the same process undertaken by a Paiwan tattooist in a Paiwan village would probably not have met her specific taste for the art form because of the customary demands on the practitioner. Re-locating the practitioner to Tahiti helped her to affirm her individual agency of option. The re-positioning of the ink from the back of her hands to a lower arm symbolised the fulfilment of the connection to her aristocratic status and

landscape to home. In this case, we see how a dynamic sense of Indigeneity can be articulated across Paiwan and the Pacific.

Another Paiwan receiver, Druadruatj Tjautjau from Tjavualji, observes that his aesthetic taste was inspired at the same Festival in Guam, in relation to the wider Austronesian-speaking family:

> I went to Guam for the Pacific Festival of Arts in 2016, I saw many Austronesian cultures with many differences from ours. I asked them about the notion of designs as there were always meanings for the tattoos… The wearers were tattooed using their Indigenous designs and their tattoos were so wide-ranging across their bodies. Since they were Austronesian, I liked the way that they wore tattoos which fitted my taste and style. So, around two years ago, I decided to receive a tattoo on my leg by a young Paiwan tattoo artist as a gift to myself in honour of my retirement from the military.

A former leader of a men's group (*cakal*) of Lalauran, Ulung Lupiliyan, who is a PhD student writing on the social movements of Paiwan People, was tattooed by a Māori practitioner at the 2018 Tatau i Mo'orea. He says that his story of the tattoo with a design of whale representing the slogan on the flag "I Am Taiwanese. I Stand for Taiwan's Independence" (台灣獨立鯨魚旗 [47]). He decided to wear this design because the whale represents 鯤島 (*kuen dau*), literally the Island of the Whale, in reference to the Island of Taiwan (Figure 6.3). The word, *鯤* (*kuen*), referred to a giant fish or a whale in legendary times. Viewed from the sea of Tainan in southwestern Taiwan, the island has the shape of a whale[48]. More importantly, a legend in the wearer's village describes how a whale rescued the village's chief when he was drowning at sea. Villagers still perform the ceremony,

[47] This flag was designed by Denis Chen (陳志豪) who is the founder of Match Café in Taichung, Taiwan. His flag has been used widely in social movements by activists during recent years.

[48] See also https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%AF%A4%E9%AF%93.

qemilja, in appreciation of the whale's dedication. For Lupiliyan, receiving the tattoo by a Māori artist had additional cultural significance, as whales in Māori culture are the guardians of sea voyagers and providers of life source for Aotearoa New Zealand in general. His tattoo is another example of an individual negotiation of a non-Paiwan design which has strong links to landscape and legend in both Paiwan and Māori contexts.

6.3 A Return Visit to Sāmoa: Paiwan People in the *Fa'alavelave*[49]

6.3.1 A Growing Sense of Commitment to Indigenous Reconnection

Over the ten months of my fieldwork in Sāmoa, the process of conducting interviews, observing tattooing work and other relevant events had consumed most of my time and energy. In my role as an Indigenous PhD fieldworker, from a Paiwan community in which communal living is greatly valued, a sense of commitment to the reconnection of these two Peoples had grown over time. If my research on tattooing is in part a social movement of cultural revival, it should also be understood as a communal interaction within groups rather than solely as an individual scholarly work.

This sense of commitment was constantly strengthened by the atmosphere of Sāmoan society, in which familial affiliation and mutual respect are valued. Given my Indigenous heritage, and my training in a Paiwan men's group in which married and unmarried men were assembled to work on village affairs together, I found fieldwork strangely individual as an experience, even though I was not isolated. Fieldwork should be an experience that can be shared collectively, and that generates a greater social benefit for all. Accordingly, I decided to bring some of my family members back to Sāmoa in June 2019, after completing my main fieldwork in April of that year. During the intervening two months in Taiwan, I spent much

[49] *Fa'alavelave*, according to Milner (2012, p. 103), refers to anything which interferes with normal things and calls for special activity.

time organising my wedding and the itinerary of the revisit. I came up with the idea of a combined wedding photo-shoot with families both from Taiwan and Sāmoa. I approached Li'aifaiva and his family with this plan, and was grateful to receive their full support. I emphasised that the plan was for my family in Paiwan to pay our respect to the Sāmoan family. On the one hand, I was attempting to make the research more communal and with practical application; on the other, I regarded this movement as a *malaga* of *fa'alavelave* in keeping with *fa'a-Sāmoa* protocol. In other words, I tried to have the travelling diplomatic and functional for Taiwan and meet the ethic norm in the context of Sāmoan society. For me, as Katerina Teaiwa mentioned, this was homework within fieldwork (2015, p. xv).

I invited my fiancée, Ibu Sokluman (now my wife) who is of Bunun[50] heritage, from the Indigenous domain of Namasia in southern Taiwan, and my like-blood-bond elder brother, Cudjuy Patjidres, to join in this two-week *malaga* in the Pacific. During the visit, I played the role of an interpreter not only for languages (mostly between Mandarin and English) but also a diplomat between Sāmoan and Paiwan cultures. I knew that interpreting required cultural sensitivity for both families but was greatly worried throughout the trip regarding my status of neutrality. In my translations, I sometimes skipped over the complexities of an event or cultural item, simplifying its full significance for quicker understanding. I found engaging in a multilingual diplomatic exchange across Indigenous backgrounds was hugely challenging.

In approaching the task of cultural diplomacy between Sāmoa and Paiwan, our plan was based on my social network in Apia and the places where I had been in the islands of Upolu and Savai'i. The goal of the trip was to create an interactive space, through meals, tattooing, gifting, touring and visiting friends, for Indigenous tattoo practitioners on both

[50] Bunun, one of the 16 recognised Indigenous Peoples, is an Austronesian-speaking People customarily settled in the central, eastern and southern areas of Taiwan.

sides to exchange thoughts and techniques. The context for this trip was explicitly non-governmental and independent context, even though the Sāmoan government has a formal diplomatic relationship with China at a state level[51]. The trip was also pioneering and experimental in many respects, as the first of its kind between both Peoples.

On the day after our arrival at the Li'aifaiva's home, Cudjuy was invited into the *apisā*. A four-speaker *talanoa* then took place. This was the first encounter between Paiwan and Sāmoan practitioners through the connection of *tatau* and *vecik*. The Sāmoan way of dialogue served as an ice-breaking opportunity for individuals who had never met in person. They sat in the *apisā*, along with me as an interpreter. Cudjuy gifted Li'a with a Paiwan tapping stick, in order to initiate a more interactive conversation. Communicated through English and body language, this *talanoa* went fairly smoothly, a small-scale but significant event for the diplomatic visit.

6.3.2 Naming and Symbolic Tatau: Liu, Suliljaw and Tauateleofiti

The fieldwork for my PhD in 2018 and 2019 was not my first visit to Sāmoa. I had previously been to Sāmoa in October 2015 for preliminary research on a sponsored project in order to build a general picture of the society. At the time, I stayed with a local family in which a young son of the host, Iosefa Enari, alongside his father Fa'alafitele Falefatu Enari, gave me a Sāmoan name, Liu. He explained that *liu* literally referred to changing, which metaphorically represented a voyager unloading goods from a boat, to indicate my role as a traveller in search of knowledge who anchored on the wharf in Sāmoa to home-school[52] him

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[51] On this *malaga*, in order to reinforce the cultural diplomacy, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, New Zealand arranged a workshop on Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples' Tattooing at the University of Auckland on our arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand New Zealand. I also disseminated brochures from the National Museum of Prehistory in Taitung, and on a collaborative project between the Taiwan Society for Pacific Studies (TSPS) and the Centre for Sāmoan Studies at the National University of Sāmoa and Museum of Sāmoa.

[52] I hereby pay my respect to Rev. Falefatu Enari and his family members in appreciation for looking after me during my stay at their house. I would not have had this precious experience if I had not stayed with them during my three-week visit to Upolu. At the time the father was conducting home-schooling for his children while other parents normally chose to send theirs to primary school. I was appointed by him as a foreign teacher to educate the boys with my knowledge.

and his younger brothers, Melagi and Jay; I would be leaving once again with the boat loaded with other goods (the values and social networks of Sāmoan society), and voyage elsewhere.

When Li'aifaiva's father heard my full given name, Suliljaw, he was amazed that the spelling and pronunciation of the word corresponded to two Sāmoan words, *suli* and *'au.* This drew his attention as, in Sāmoan, *suli* refers to the heir of a chief, and *'au* to the tools of *tatau*. For me, this is the name passed down from my grandfather, which holds great value in my father's Paiwan genealogy; for Lavea, my given name unexpectedly combined with his status as an heir of the tattooing family in his genealogy to Safotu in Savai'i. Although this is my Paiwan name, and not one which was given by my Sāmoan family, it nurtured our bond in a unique way.

Over the period of my PhD fieldwork, many villagers had asked me about receiving a *pe'a* and taking this gift back to Taiwan. They asked this question as I did not wear a tattoo during my research on Sāmoan tattooing. I was nearly persuaded but decided not to do so, as receiving a *pe'a* is a family affair, rather than an individual call. Although my gentle refusal met with agreement most of the time, the other issue I had been hearing of was the matter of bestowing me a *matai suafa* (chiefly title) by Li'aifaiva's father, Lavea. I respected his decision but did not initially take this seriously or even consider it likely as I simply thought that I was not qualified for this honour due to my non-Sāmoan heritage.

The possibility of a *saofa'i,* or *matai* title bestowal, became reality when we made the visit in June 2019. After a brief visit to the Levi family, my wife and I were kindly asked to stay back longer for a discussion. I knew it would be a bestowal but had not anticipated that it was going to happen so quickly. Neither I nor my wife were fully prepared. The Levi family left us one night to process our thoughts and make a decision. We decided to accept the honour. Meanwhile, the family contacted other *matai* members to participate in this ceremony in Aai-O-Niue from their villages across Upolu. Their form of *malaga* to this

bestowal from other places further nurtured the *vā* on both a formal and communal basis for the event.

As a field researcher, I was aware that local politics can be an influential factor in determining the outcome of research and social networking. In this case, the decision to accept the chiefly title was inevitable, as acknowledgement of my involvement in the relationship with family members and their network. In general, after the bestowal, the recipient has to honour certain obligations to keep the relationship harmonious between both sides.

The following afternoon, Ibu and I were asked to dress in *siapo* (barkcloth), *'ie toga* (fine mat), *tuiga* (headdress) and *uila* (necklace) for the ceremony. While trying to calm our tense mood, we were greatly honoured that the paramount chief, Lavea, along with the housekeeper, Rina, were helping dress us, and teaching us how to behave in the coming ceremony (Figure 6.4). We were oiled with *sama* (coconut oil mixed with turmeric powder), which is the same liquid used in *sāmaga*. Meanwhile, Cudjuy was sorting out on a table the ceremonial Paiwan gifts that we had brought from Taiwan.

The ceremony was held in the *apisā,* the same space in which Li'a worked on his *tatau*. Three of us sat on one side, while the chiefs were on the other side, along with a *tulāfale* conducting the *saofa'i.* I was bestowed the *matai suafa*, Tauateleofiti, which can be abbreviated as Tauatele or Taua, that refers to the great war of Fiti. Li'a's father, Lavea, who also holds this title, bestowed the *suafa.* The ceremony unfolded smoothly, with the warm-hearted blessings of both groups (Figure 6.5). In a later *talanoa*, I was ceremonially recognised as a member of the *sā* Li'aifaiva and made aware of their sense of inclusion of me within this family's genealogy.

This bestowal embedded in my mind, like a symbolic *tatau* or an invisible inscribed mark, the family's relationship to the landscape, to genealogy, and to historical events. My

path from Paiwan to Sāmoa was thus complete, and I had anchored onshore within the embrace of the *sā* Li'aifaiva. This process of acknowledgement stemmed from my mobility as a Paiwan ethnographer, and transcended the nation-state and cultural boundaries to make trans-Indigenous reconnection between a Paiwan *kadjunangan* (land) and a Sāmoan *fanua* (land) through *alofa* (love) and *fa'aaloalo* (respect). I am now navigating on the *djalan* across Paiwan-Sāmoa territory within Our Ljavek/Moana (Sea) of Islands. In this way, the social space in between, the *vā*, was ceremonially enhanced through the *saofa'i*.

During the second part of the *saofa'i*, it was our turn to make a presentation to the *sā* Li'aifaiva. I became the announcer, and Cudjuy acted as the server, handing over the gifts to *matai*. These gifts included long necklaces (*zangalj*), short necklaces (*vecegelj*), and bead wristbands, all of which were made from clay and shells (Figure 6.6). All these items were delivered to Sāmoan family members according to their customary social positions. Additionally, on our trip from Taiwan to Sāmoa, Cudjuy had been working on making a Paiwan connecting cup (*langalj*), as another form of gift to be presented to the Levi family to nurture the Paiwan-Sāmoan relationship. Cudjuy himself was gifted a piece of black-and-yellow *'ie* (fabric cloth) with a character of Li'aifaiva, designs of ink, and a tattoo hammer. This fabric material was gifted to each of the new *tatau* receivers in *sāmaga*, as Li'a emphasised, to symbolise the new connection to family.

Admittedly, I was fairly helpless prior to and during the *saofa'i* because it was filled with both Sāmoan and Paiwan cultural elements. I was merely an ethnographer who had lived in Sāmoa for nearly a year. Although knowing little about *fa'a-Sāmoa,* it was hard to conduct myself appropriately in all contexts in such a short time, such as the correct use of honorifics in formal language. On the other hand, presenting prestigious gifts often happens on formal occasions such as wedding in Paiwan society. I was not sure how these gifts might be properly positioned in a Sāmoan context. "Ceremonially becoming Sāmoan" was the first

reply from other Sāmoan friends of mine after I texted them about this journey of chiefly recognition. The *suafa* semiotically represents an invisible *tatau* inscribed on my body, informing the recipient and watchers that my identification has been formally confirmed and recognised. I carry this title as a reminder which regulates my behaviour, ensuring that I am aware of the expectations they have of me. This title will now be inscribed within the genealogy of my Paiwan family.

After the *saofa'i*, we were invited to join in the *to'ona'i* (which these days refers commonly to the communal feast after a Sunday church service). To express our appreciation at the family *to'ona'i* that followed, we prepared *avai* (a traditional Paiwan rice/millet dumpling) and Taiwanese dumplings (Figure 6.7). We decided on these dishes because their ingredients – including *teuila* or *ngat* (both refer to leaves of shell ginger in Sāmoan and Pinayuanan), pieces of pork for *avai*, and flour and diced pork for dumplings – were available in the backyard and at the local market, and they were fairly easy to prepare. More importantly, they are iconic expressions of food culture in Paiwan communities and Taiwanese society. As with many Indigenous lifestyles, the value of companionship expressed through reciprocated food and eating together is deeply important in Paiwan and fitted perfectly with my Sāmoan family in the form of the *to'ona'i*.

During the *talanoa*, Li'a told me that there was no obligation attached to the *suafa* Tauateleofiti, and not to worry about the "symbolic heaviness" of the title on my shoulder. However, I believed that I could not entirely set aside the question of obligation. I had to make an effort to fulfil my commitment to this family by valuing the reciprocity, love, respect and genealogy of *fa'a-Sāmoa*. Since receiving a *matai* title was such a privilege and honour, marking the beginning of the long-term process of learning *fa'a-Sāmoa* (Chapter Four), I expected to hold the title by using my scholarly expertise as a form of contribution. Such a collaboration may potentially be viable, given the strong importance attached to

reviving their genealogical legacy by the Levi family. Lavea, who completed his Bachelor's Degree in Art (history) at the National University of Sāmoa, plans to translate my doctoral thesis from English into Sāmoan. Here, the *vā* is bridged by the title and reinforced through collaboration in the task of writing and dissemination.

6.3.3 Embodied Diplomacy: An Exchange between Patjidres and Li'aifaiva

In the morning before the *saofa'i* began, Cudjuy and I went to visit Li'aivaiva, who was working on a *malu* for a Sāmoan woman. Once Li'a had finished, it was Cudjuy's turn to receive a tattoo. Cudjuy had discussed this with me before the visit and I told him that the protocol of wearing a traditional *tatau* should include a whole pattern of *pe'a*, which obviously was impossible to complete over the few days available during this brief trip. Sāmoan *tatau* also involves forms of material payment and the completion ceremony, and I was not sure of Cudjuy's commitment to the protocol of service, or *tautua,* to wear a *pe'a*.

Li'a stencilled on the left side of Cudjuy's stomach, which was clear of previous tattoos, and then began the tapping. The design was *aso fa'aifo* (curved design on waist). The *aso fa'aifo* is supposed to be a half tattoo, connected by the design of a spear and a boat, or *va'a,* extending from the back around one side of waist. This design, however, was large and overlapped with an existing tattoo on the left side of Cudjuy's lower back. Li'a thus shortened the *va'a* marking, articulating it with the old tattoo (Figure 6.8).

At the final session, I was assigned by Li'a to be one of the stretching assistants since my close relationship with Cudjuy. For his very last part of the tattoo, *punialo* (a design under the belly botton), I switched position from Cudjuy's side to being in front of his head. I pulled his stomach skin toward me in order to smoothen the soft area. When he heard the call of *puka* (holding breath), Cudjuy inflated his stomach and, once Li'a had dipped the ink for next tapping we pulled. Cudjuy was sweating and in great pain, holding my *'ie lavalava* very tightly with his face twisted.

Cudjuy's tattoo is another somatic landmark of Polynesian culture that represents his journey across the boundary of Paiwan land from Taiwan. Li'a refused to charge Cudjuy, insisting that the tattoo with Sāmoan designs was a gift to strengthen the rapport between families. Cash denotes a business transaction, alienating the *alofa* of *vā.* Thankfully, we had prepared some Paiwan items that have cultural and social significance, to express our appreciation for Li'a's work. They were presented to the *sā* Li'aifaiva in the *saofa'i* as mentioned above.

For both sides of this Sāmoan-Paiwan family, the marking and the presentation of gifts symbolised a reconnection in the contemporary Indigenous world of two Peoples connected through the ancestral Austronesian pioneers who had dispersed from Taiwan to Oceania over the past six thousand years. The voyage was re-enacted and the connection re-activated, marking a new form of circulating mobility of Oceanian migrants. We and our offspring can now follow this path inscribed by the tattooed body. Until that day, Cudjuy had received various tattoos from Tahitian, Hawai'ian, Māori, Philippine and Paiwan practitioners. When sharing the stories of the tattoos, he could recall their history through the places of French Polynesia, Hawai'i, Aotearoa New Zealand, the Philippines and Taiwan in which he had received the marks, intertwined with memories of the participants and details of events. These tattoos embedded in his body were also traces of his *djalan* in space and time.

6.3.4 A Paiwan Vecik for Sāmoan Historian Saui'a Dr Louise Mataia Milo

Prior to my visit, while still in Taiwan, I had contacted the Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the National University of Sāmoa, Saui'a Dr Louise Mataia Milo, about her desire to receive a tattoo from Cudjuy before getting a *malu*. As a historian specialised in Sāmoan history and popular culture, Saui'a was aware of the migrations of Austronesian-speaking Peoples. Therefore, she decided to wear a tattoo with Paiwan designs in order to reestablish the historical connection with Indigenous Peoples from the island of Austronesian origin. One

morning, we met with Saui'a at Coffee Bean in downtown to talk about her thoughts on receiving a Paiwan tattoo. As a modern form of *talanoa* in a café, we had arranged this catch up to get to know a bit about each other. We recommended the design of a hundred-pace viper, which is regarded as a life source and protector, and is one of the most iconic motifs on many forms of material object in Paiwan culture. She said she was not so concerned about the quality or size of the design, or even how it might look. The significance for her of receiving a contemporary *vecik* was as a tribute to the reconnection of Austronesian-speaking Peoples from Taiwan and Sāmoa. Saui'a, who is a historian, had been looking for traces of the past, and is dedicated to higher education for younger generations for Sāmoan society's future. This mark on her right lower arm not only reflected her research interest, but also documented her genealogy at a deep, trans-Indigenous level (Figure 6.9). Since Cudjuy's *djalan* had reached the *fanua* of Sāmoa, she did not want to miss this opportunity to pay her respect to Cudjuy and Paiwan by wearing a tattoo.

6.4 In Exchange: Paiwan People's Navigation across Oceania

This section continues to track the Oceanic tattoo events in which Cudjuy participated, focusing on the description of physical exchanges between Oceanian Peoples as a path towards understanding Indigenous ways of reciprocity.

6.4.1 Journey to Manukau, Aotearoa: Commencing the Trans-Indigenous Networking

By 2015, Cudjuy had been tattooing with a machine for approximately seven years. While continuing his work, Cudjuy had also been conducting his own research to collect oral histories and written archives. Most of this work was based in Taitung, Pingtung or Hsinchu in Taiwan, and he soon recognised that it was time to travel more widely and encounter other Indigenous knowledge of tattooing by attending international Indigenous events. Cudjuy was introduced by an American anthropologist, Dr Lars Krutak, to the event organiser for

Indigenous Ink in Manukau, Aotearoa New Zealand in 2015. I was appointed to be a contact person and an interpreter on behalf of Cudjuy during the journey. This event drew our interest as it was organised in the Indigenous nation of Aotearoa New Zealand whose Māori People share a common Austronesian culture with Taiwan, and aimed at sharing traditional knowledge exchange amongst Indigenous tattoo practitioners.

This invitation to Indigenous Ink marked the initiation for Cudjuy of a process of reconnection to trans-Indigenous social networks. Cudjuy's mobile life experience, moving and working between Indigenous and non-Indigenous societies across Taiwan, encouraged him to build his own genealogical *djalan* at a transnational level. In this process, Indigenous tattooing has provided the central thread, allowing him to articulate his practice from one place to another. The resurgence of *vecik* in Paiwan has been characterised by the presence and further incorporation of multicultural elements. While the practice has focused exclusively on the search for an authentic form of Paiwan culture, as documented in the historical literature, the reviving of *vecik* has been dynamic and open to change. It has thus fairly easily engaged and intertwined with expressions of Oceanic Indigeneity.

On the second day of the Indigenous Ink convention, Cudjuy was invited by the Hawai'ian *tatau* master Sulu'ape Keone Nunes to sit beside his working group, which was gathered at the very centre of the venue. Cudjuy sat back silently, watching intently as they tapped and stretched, trying to memorise each of the steps. He admitted that he felt privileged and nervous watching them work so closely.

This event had a great influence on Cudjuy's work subsequently. He was inspired by witnessing non-machine tattooing methods, and took up and began making his own wooden tapping sticks. In case of forgetting details of what he had witnessed at the convention, he stayed awake throughout the flight home, writing and drawing the designs in his notebook. On our return, I organised a workshop to share our experiences with villagers at the men's

house in our village of Lupakadj. Inspired by this initial journey, from 2015 to 2019, Cudjuy travelled with friends to other cultural events in Spain, Thailand, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Hawai'i and the Philippines, some at his own expense, others in collaboration with cultural institutions.

6.4.2 Mo'orea, French Polynesia: Reciprocity and Collaboration in Tattooing

In September 2018, a delegation of a dozen Paiwan villagers was assembled and led by the formal head of a men's group in Lalauran, Sakinu (John Lu), to attend a tattoo festival (Tatau i Mo'orea), in French Polynesia. Cudjuy was invited and participated as a member of a group for the first time. Members of the group included a tattooist and tattoo assistants, who spent most of the time at the venue; dancers in a small troupe led by a trainer; a camera team, consisting of a correspondent and cameraman; a Paiwan carver and Atayal/Truku painter, and two doctoral researchers. Members of the group were expected to contribute in multiple ways: for example, I was a presenter at the workshop, a dancer at cultural performances, and a tattoo stretcher and interpreter (mostly for Cudjuy) at the booth. During the two-week visit, in addition to tattooing at the festival, we also visited and performed at a university, an art college and a television station both in Mo'orea and Tahiti.

In the capital of Pape'ete, on Tahiti, we were hosted and accommodated by members of the Association Koo Men Tong i Tahiti[53], on arrival. On Mo'orea, we were helped by an Indigenous Tahitian woman who had had closer relationship with Sakinu, accommodating us in a dormitory by the beach. During the preparations and break at the event, the tattooists caught up with friends who they met just a few times a year at such events. Receiving tattoos from each another built trust and reinforced relationships. For example, a Filipino-American tattooist, Elle Festin, was collecting small tattoos as symbols of friendship (Figure 6.10);

[53] The Association Koo Men Tong 1 Tahiti (中國國民黨駐大溪地第壹直屬支部) is one of the Chinese groups in Tahiti serving as a centre for preserving Chinese heritage including music, singing, dancing, martial arts and Chinese language, etc, in order to consolidate a local sense of Chinese identity.

Cudjuy tattooed a “badge” on his ankle, followed by another from a European artist who also received a small tattoo; a Filipina-American tattoo artist from California, Ayla Roda, received a larger tattoo that covered the outer side of her calf in paying her respect to Cudjuy; members of the Taiwan delegation received Tahitian or Filipino tattoos from the other practitioners. These marks, according to the receivers, were mementoes of family bonds or travel experiences, linking to their personal histories in Paiwan and abroad, from which they acted as symbols of connectivity across the trans-Indigenous network.

Other walk-in clients received tattoos after consulting Paiwan designs in Cudjuy’s reference book (*武功秘笈*). While some tattoos reflected the receivers’ aesthetic tastes, others represented changes in their lives; visitors had a chat about Paiwan culture with Cudjuy and experienced tattoo stickers with Paiwan and Atayal motifs. Cudjuy and I spread information about the traditional designs as accurately as we could, not only to receivers but also to accompanying family members.

The *djalan* of the *vecik*, along with its associated values, helped Paiwan People and the tattooees to navigate beyond their national boundaries. As the notion of wayfinding, while remaining Indigenous value, the pathway of reviving Paiwan tattooing inevitably sees its change from the communal custom to individual affect, and from human bodies to multiple forms of demonstrations in the contemporary realm.

Throughout the event, Cudjuy and I visited other practitioners’ booths. Working in front of our booth was Mate, a hand-tap worker from the village of Ha’apiti in Mo’orea, and through him we met another young Tahitian tattoo practitioner, Hotana Hautahi. Hautahi and Cudjuy formed an immediate bond during the convention, and we visited his studio in Papeete after the festival, which Hautahi kindly opened for us on the weekend. Cudjuy was determined to receive a tattoo from him, and after a few hours of work lying down on the cushioned bed, Cudjuy wore a new tattoo with Marquesan designs on the back of his calf.

This work was done with a machine needle, perfectly slotting into a vacant space between two other Cudjuy's tattoos. While Hautahi accepted cash for the work, and was happy to offer a discount as a sign of friendship, Cudjuy insisted on the standard price as a mark of respect. In return, Hautahi gifted Cudjuy a hand-made shell necklace that he had won in a competition, along with a reference book of French Polynesian tattoo designs. In this instance, the nurturing of a relationship between two Indigenous practitioners first took the form of trade and then was enhanced through a gift.

A Filipina-Māori tattoo practitioner, Sarah (also known as MamaSez[54]), moved into a vacant space near us. At first, she utilised the method of hand poke and later switched the way in tapping. She was using a thick stick to tap a small straight line, which caused the receiver great pain due to the excessive blood mixed with ink. Cudjuy could tell that she was a beginner in this technique from the way she worked. After the closing ceremony, Cudjuy showed her his tapping method and advised her to use a thinner stick to apply the ink to prevent deep penetration by the needle[55]. He then gifted her one of his tapping sticks.

In addition to tattooing as a form of exchange, small items such as hand-drawn fans and tattoo stickers are also traded and gifted at the stall. One of them was the fans featured with characters of 台灣 (Taiwan) by an Atayal/Truku painter, Idas Losin (Figure 6.11). The fans were useful for tattooing work, both to drive insects away and to cool people down. The other was the stickers of a long, rectangular shape, with geometric patterns designed by an Indigenous undergraduate student, Yang, who was majoring in Art at the National Tsing Hua University. Children and foreign visitors were fascinated by the stickers, which provided a temporary experience of body art (Figure 6.12). While we would explain the significance of

[54] Search MamaSez on https://www.mamasez.co.nz/about-me for more information.
[55] It is noted that Sarah's method of tattooing was possibly taught by the Filipino Indigenous People in Cordillera Administrative Region, which essentially differs from Cudjuy's way of tattooing. Status of bleeding may vary depending on receivers' body conditions.

the motifs and show people where to stick them on their forehead or chin, following the Indigenous protocols of the Atayal, Truku and Seediq Peoples, the children were happy to apply them to any part of their body.

While most of the team members were Paiwan, the Atayal/Truku painter, Idas Losin, had a different goal on this trip. Once, when we were taking a break after a long day of work, I saw her standing behind the dormitory, down by the seashore, looking out at the ocean. "I'm looking for inspiration," she said. Losin has been one of the few Taiwan Indigenous artists who has realised the importance of crossing boundaries and broadening horizons into the Pacific. Her work is rooted on her twin Indigenous heritages, showcasing her concern for Indigenous cultural diversity, cultural identity, land justice and environmental preservation across Oceanian communities. This trip was part of her broader project[56], weaving her travelling experience and reflections from Taiwan to the Austronesian domains of Guam, Hawai'i, Aotearoa New Zealand, Rapa Nui and French Polynesia. In addition to painting, Losin charted her journey with tattoos added to her body at each location, as a kind of somatic travelling log. This was not unusual in itself, as people wear tattoos from multiple cultural heritages, whether these are distributed individually to emphasise their distinctive outlines or combined with other motifs as solid blocks of design. The Mo'orea event provided a perfect venue for transnational Indigenous artists to assemble in an accommodating and interactive space.

However, the social and cultural backgrounds have a complex multi-ethnic history with Polynesians, Chinese and Europeans (amongst others) present over many generations in French Polynesia. Elderly Chinese Tahitians have indicated their concern about younger

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[56] Island Hopping, Fantasy and Milky Way—Idas Losin Solo Exhibition (跳島-幻島-天河-宜德思・盧信個展); https://www.xuexue.tw/idaslosin/about.html and Islands Colors Humanity: Them and Us - A Connection within Diverse Origins & a Reflection of Cross Cultures for Indigenous, Austronesian and Han People—Idas Losin Solo Exhibition (跨島-紋色-對人—宜德思・盧信個展); https://talks.taishinart.org.tw/event/info/2020021403.

generations wearing tattoos. Our tour guide, Lucy, pointed that wearing tattoos has become a way for younger Tahitian Chinese to develop a sense of Polynesian identity, sometimes because they feel ashamed of the history of Chinese immigration as indentured labour. Conversely, many older Chinese consider tattooing to be alien to Chinese culture, marking the loss of connection with Chinese heritage.

In addition to Idas Losin, the well-known Paiwan carver, Sisilj, attended the Mo'orea event, where he also played the roles of chef, driver and ceremonial orator for the group. Sisilj set up his workspace at some distance from the main tattooing venue as this gave him more space. He found a portion of the trunk of a coconut tree as his carving material. While a saw helped him remove this portion, the rest of his carving was performed entirely using his own hand-made carving tools. Sisilj's work for this wooden post consisted of geometric shapes inspired by the experience of living in his Paiwan community. He continued carving until the closing ceremony, at which the group leader, Sakinu, decided to gift Sisilj's work to the convention organising team in acknowledgement of the local Indigenous community. All the male members of the delegation lifted the art piece on our shoulders, and then placed the carving on top of an existing pillar in the central square. We then performed a ceremonial dance and sang to convey our appreciation to the Indigenous domains of land and sea.

Although our group was a private organisation, independent of the Taiwan government, we had received a portion of our travel funding from the government. A number of minor events were organised during and after the cultural exchange at the demand of the funding government agency. Two of the group members who were doctoral students, Ulung Lupiliyan and I, gave a talk introducing the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan at the University of French Polynesia. A few days later, we attended a presentation on Pacific tattooing by a French scholar, Sébastien Gaillot, who specialises in Pacific tattooing heritage in Oceania. A camera team from Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV) organised several interviews with

advocates for Tahitian tattooing, which were later produced as a series of documentaries on the tattooing revival in Tahiti and Mo'orea. After we returned to Taiwan, workshops were held in a café for a non-Indigenous audience in Tainan City; Lupiliyan and I once again presented a talk on our reflections on the trip at the National Museum of Prehistory in Taitung; and several members were invited to an interview programme at the Taitung City branch of TITV. All of these events were broadly aimed at drawing attention to Indigenous processes of self-empowerment, based on our diplomatic experiences in Oceania.

6.4.3 Tauranga, Aotearoa: A Continuing Strategy of Trans-Indigenous Interweaving

The convention held in Mo'orea was followed by an event titled Tattoo & Extravaganza, staged in Tauranga, Aotearoa New Zealand in April 2019. The organising board consisted of Māori tattoo artists who had been to the Tatau i Mo'orea convention. Building on their experience in Mo'orea, they hoped to host further interactive cultural exchanges amongst invited Indigenous peoples, aimed ultimately at promoting Indigenous autonomy. Cudjuy Patjidres was once again invited and acted as the featured artist for the Taiwan Indigenous nongovernmental diplomatic group, led by a Paiwan lady, Mavaliv Mulinu.

This event was divided into two parts, in which the first week was entirely Indigenous-oriented at the *marae*, with visits to other Indigenous institutions; the second was a two-day festival at the end of the event which was open to the general public at the stadium. At the time, I was completing my fieldwork in Sāmoa and joined the other members who had flown in from Taiwan at the event venue. During our stay in Auckland, the Hawai'ian *tatau* master, Sulu'ape Keone Nunes, assembled all the attendees and led us to a cemetery on the way to Tauranga. It was the grave of Sulu'ape Paulo II, who had been Nunes' *tatau* mentor. Nunes and his apprentices mourned by making *kava* on the spot, and pouring it over the surface of the tombstone.

The morning after arriving, Cudjuy expressed his desire to receive a facial tattoo, asking me to find a Māori tattoo master for the work. For Cudjuy, this facial mark would show a sense of acknowledgement of the Indigenous legacy of Māori People, and the bond of shared ancestry between Māori and Paiwan. The ink would also be a mark of respect for the ancestral land of his Indigenous hosts, and their welcome to him as a mobile Paiwan tattooist. After receiving the consent and acknowledgement from Māori tattooist Turumakina Duley, the work began in a room at the back of the *marae*, while the other attendees were on a group tour (Figure 6.13). Cudjuy wanted to wear this tattoo on his forehead. Through discussion, it was decided that the design would be Māori in style, combining triangle shapes within an outline to symbolise the patterned skin of the sacred hundred-paced snake of Paiwan.

Cudjuy lay down on a bed, and both Māori and Paiwan oral blessings were delivered by the artist and another Paiwan carving artist. The tattoo artist turned his machine on, dipped it in the ink and began to penetrate Cudjuy's skin. During the hours that I sat there accompanying Cudjuy, I wondered the reactions of the other Paiwan delegates would be. One of the female delegates, who was Cudjuy's cousin, burst into tears on seeing the new ink on his forehead, unsure of the public and family reception of this new tattoo back in Taiwan.

In general, Indigenous Māori tattooing consists of *kirituhi* and *tā moko.* While the former stands for skin art and can be worn or practiced by a non-Māori person, the latter are considered marks of *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *mana* (sacredness), which can only be practiced or received by those with Māori heritage. However, this Indigenous tattoo practitioner considered all his work *tā moko.* Duley did not use the term *kirituhi,* believing Cudjuy's tattoo was inspired by the values and aesthetics of *tā moko.* In this instance, the preservation of genealogy in the *tā moko* of the wearer was held to be valid for another Indigenous person such as Cudjuy[57]. At a workshop, Duley mentioned that learning

[57] My enquiry about this use of the term was clarified by the practitioner on 23 July 2020.

conventional methods of tattooing was a process of healing, which allowed him to access the strength of his ancestors. It also represented a re-birth, in accepting ancestral ways of tattooing. However, despite the growing momentum in reviving *tā moko*, with a few notable exceptions, most Māori practitioners appear to work with machine needles rather than traditional tapping methods.

A few days later, Cudjuy received another tattoo by Tahitian hand-tap practitioner, Laurent Tevaiarai Purotu (Figure 6.14), stretched by a Sāmoan tattoo artist, Tyla Vaeau, in front of the *marae*. The tattoo consisted of a pair of Tahitian ancestral eyes ranging from Cudjuy's stomach to chest. On completion, Cudjuy was gifted two tapping sticks by Purotu. I was sitting to one side, speaking *tapua'iga* (blessing) in Sāmoan to encourage the working people, as I did in Li'aifaiva's *apisā*. Cudjuy's body inked with tattoos from multiple cultures acted as trans-Indigenous cooperation involving multiple artists from different Oceanic Indigenous nations. Other members of the Taiwan group received tattoos from Sulu'ape Keone Nunes and a Canadian tattoo artist/scholar, Dion Kaszas; and Cudjuy also tattooed Māori attendees, and the owner of the *marae* where he was staying.

Throughout this Indigenous workshop, tattooing was conducted either on beds in a room by machine needle users or on a piece of grassland in front of the *marae* by hand-tap tattooists. This space was also used for the *kava* ceremony facilitated by the Hawai'ian delegates, an event to which the Taiwan delegates were invited both to strengthen Indigenous relationships, and in acknowledgement of the ancestral role of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples in the dispersal of the Austronesian speaking family (Figure 6.15). Each of the attendees sat in a circle, with the first two bowls of *kava* reserved for the Māori ancestors and land protectors. The drinkers accepted the same bowl served by Nunes' apprentices, followed by short remarks in return. The space around the *marae*, where has been customary Māori but

colonised by European governance, temporarily became "our place," for relationship-building, nurturing, collaborating and showing respect across Oceanic Indigenous peoples.

Another example of the way in which Paiwan tattooing has become integrated within Oceania was the proposal by Sulu'ape Keone Nunes, of an exchange of *tatau* work. In practice, this idea was carried out by swapping stretchers. Both working groups collaborated with each other's assistants, and I thus worked with Nunes, who mentored me with advice such as stabilising one's strength through the hands and maintaining a proper distance from the wounded area between two hands. Likewise, Nunes' stretcher was able to suggest certain methods to Cudjuy (Figure 6.16). After this shared collaboration, both sides reverted to their original working groups. This process of shared teamwork was brief, but the experience was new to us, and marked a milestone of mutual respect and trust.

In addition to the tattooing, multiple presentations on Indigenous tattooing were held in the dining room next to the *marae*. A *talanoa* on the regional revival of tattooing was hosted by the Cook Islands tattooist, Stormy Kara, and the Atayal woman from Taiwan, Eckgo Gadzu, gave a talk on Indigenous Atayal facial tattoo culture, with comments from Cudjuy, and a Q&A session for which I interpreted. We chose the topic of Atayal tattooing culture rather than Paiwan in order to broaden understanding among the audience of the diverse tattooing heritages of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples (Figure 6.17). The survival of Atayal tattooing heritage has been a challenge for decades. Despite wide-spread recognition from the government and society in Taiwan, the Atayal tattoo revival movement has been challenged by the ongoing tension between respect for customary values and a long-standing social stigmatisation of tattooing. Nunes also presented a talk on the spirituality of tattooing work and tools. As he mentioned, the stick is considered an anthropomorphic item, which is individually named. A named stick, Limalua, literally referring to the second hand (for tattooing), was later gifted to Cudjuy.

As at Tatau i Mo'orea, Tattoo & Extravaganza's workshops for Indigenous attendees were diverse and interactive. Taiwanese Indigenous delegates were by now accustomed to introducing new members to the group from multiple fields. On this visit to Tauranga, we had a massagist, Aullas Peng, who had been trained to relieve muscle and joint pain. Peng was also an aromatherapist, demonstrating a variety of ways of addressing mental fatigue. Her skills greatly helped those tattooists who had been working long hours each day, resulting in chronic back and shoulder pain. We also prepared glass beads and threads to share our experience of making necklaces and bracelets at a workshop. I later saw Sāmoan tattoo artist Tyla Taeau wearing the Indigenous Taiwan necklace she had made throughout the public session of Tattoo & Extravaganza.

At the last dinner of our visit, the Taiwan delegates again prepared Taiwanese cuisine for the other participants, as this had been well received by the hosts in Tahiti in 2018. The cuisine was mostly Taiwanese, such as steamed rice, fried chicken, stirred noodles and eggs, and cabbage, rather than traditional Paiwan food, for which many of the ingredients were scarce at the local market in Tauranga. Sharing food is a profound form of respect, valued across Indigenous communities in Taiwan and indeed, across Oceania (Figure 6.18). After the dinner, which was produced collectively by the entire Taiwan delegation, the Māori organisers assembled in a line along a wall, and chanted for us, before performing a *haka* to acknowledge our effort to the participants (Figure 6.19).

At the final session of the Tauranga Festival, the carver Sisilj, who had been working on his masterpiece in the public eye, in front of the *marae*, sang a Paiwan song, after which the male Taiwan delegates presented his work to the leading person of the Māori organising board, Julie Paama-Pengelly, on behalf of the entire group. We then danced on the stage to show our appreciation of our Māori hosts, carrying invited tattooists on a chair to honour their work.

6.5 Pathing across Oceania back to Paiwan

Despite the assistance of social media on the Internet, tattooing is a fundamentally embodied interaction that cannot be replaced by the virtual world. While physical co-presence is obviously required for tattooing, social networking amongst Indigenous Peoples privileges the act of visiting and hosting in each other's domains and residences. The physical travels of Indigenous tattooists are critical to the creation and maintenance of their networks, and the development of a sense of trans-Indigenous community. In 2019, Cudjuy had a busy schedule, travelling to Thailand, Malaysia, Hawai'i and Sāmoa; in between these trips, he hosted overseas friends who were tattooists wanting to visit Cudjuy in Taiwan.

6.5.1 Oceanian Indigenous Tattooists' Visits to Taiwan

Hawai'ian *tatau* master Sulu'ape Keone Nunes and Cudjuy stayed closely in touch after their first meeting at Indigenous Ink in 2015. When they were both invited to the 2019 Taiwan Kaohsiung Tattoo Convention, they were the only Indigenous practitioners utilising traditional tapping methods. Since 2015, Nunes has played an informal role mentoring the development of Cudjuy's practice. He was able to teach Cudjuy fundamental techniques, such as stencilling which can greatly improve the quality of the tapping work. Cudjuy also absorbed further knowledge around tapping, lacing wires and making tools from Nunes. Although there was no formal acknowledgement to confirm their relationship, these reciprocal interactions have undoubtedly nurtured a powerful bond between them. After the tattoo event in Kaohsiung, a camera team from Canada's Skindigenous TV followed by a number of the artists to shoot a series of episodes on Indigenous tattoo practitioners worldwide[58]. Nunes was invited by Cudjuy to his village Sapulju in Taitung, and was filmed

[58] See also https://skindigenous.tv/videos/season-2/episode-taiwan/.

tattooing Cudjuy, followed by the latter describing his journey promoting the tattooing revival in Paiwan.

In the same year, a Los Angeles-based Filipina-American tattoo artist, Ayla Roda, visited Taiwan with her husband, Rain Hugh (James Granderson). Roda was invited by Cudjuy to act as a stretching assistant for him. As she practiced machine tattooing, Roda admitted that she had never stretched for tattooing, although she had witnessed it many times. She was on her knees, pushing and pulling with the right strength, and Cudjuy mentored her to wear gloves, putting a bit of vaseline cream on the back of her hand. He wanted her to add the cream on the tapped spots, but only after wiping the skin and on hearing his cue. When necessary, Cudjuy would adjust her arms so that she was able to find the best position for the work. Her husband worked beside her, witnessing and taking photos of the entire process.

Later in the same month, a Japanese tattoo master, Taku Oshima, whom Cudjuy and I had first met at Indigenous Ink in 2015, arrived in Tainan City on a family vacation. Oshima, Cudjuy and I, along the American couple who were still in Taiwan at the time, met together in the evening. While their visit to Cudjuy was not organised around a tattooing event, it was nevertheless a visit which extended and thickened the bonds between them all.

6.5.2 From Tahiti to Paiwan: Acknowledgment of a Trans-Indigenous Apprenticeship

A particularly unusual event took place in February 2020, in the form of an acknowledgement of apprenticeship at Cudjuy's newly established studio in the village of Sapulju, Taitung (Figure 6.20). Some years before, a Tahitian man, Terau Leau, had married a Seediq woman, Walis Kumu, and settled with his wife in Nantou County, Taiwan. They worked together teaching Tahitian dancing in Taiwan, developing an online streaming course when Covid-19 intervened. Over years, Leau approached Cudjuy to learn how to tattoo; first he stretched for Cudjuy on many occasions, and later was able to work on stencilling. He is

now a tattooist in training under Cudjuy, and this closer relationship led to the ceremony at which he was formally recognised as Cudjuy’s first apprentice.

In the morning, Cudjuy and the children had already assembled at the studio, waiting for other villagers and friends who had been invited. The tattooing toolkit was set ready for work, and a wooden basin was placed beside it. I was asked to fill the container with the traditional Paiwan alcoholic drink of millet wine (*vawa/vava*), rather than *‘ava*. Meanwhile, Leau was preparing to cook Tahitian-style using a customary earth oven (*ahima’a*) in front of Cudjuy’s brother’s residence in the mountains nearby.

At ten o’clock, all the attendees entered the space, sitting on the floor in a circle. Cudjuy’s assistants dressed in a mixture of traditional Paiwan clothes and Sāmoan *‘ie lavalava* or *‘ie faitaga* (a piece of *‘ie* that has pockets) and sat in front of the workplace. Cudjuy was surrounded in a line by all the assistants. The basin and the coconut cup (*ipu* in Sāmoan and *kupu* in Pinayuanan), which served as the shared container were then moved to the front. I was appointed by Cudjuy to be one of the servers to fill the drink in the cup and pass it on to the drinkers, one by one. Each of the attendees was served using the same cup. I managed to work on the delivery by referring to the Sāmoan *tatau* completion ceremony orgniased by the *sā* Li’aifaiva. At Cudjuy’s request, each of them was invited to talk about their genealogies and thoughts. Then Kumu Walis and Leau led their dancers and performed a Tahitian *heiva* (dancing). Before closing the ceremony, Leau was asked to lay down, and Cudjuy picked up the tool, inking him a mark in acknowledgement of his apprenticeship. Cudjuy and Terau formally entered a teacher-student relationship. According to Cudjuy, the mark, to which it would be added, functioned as a military rank to symbolise a growing process from beginner to advanced; following this training period, the student could then work independently. After the completion of the ceremony, all the attendees moved onto Cudjuy’s brother’s house to enjoy the Tahitian banquet, including taro, sweet potato, chicken,

marinated raw fish (*ia ota*) and fruit pudding (*po'e*); *avai*, one of the main Paiwan foods, was also served at the feast (Figure 6.21).

This event was evidently a mixture of Oceanic cultural elements. The elements included a wooden basin, wooden cup, and tattooing, alongside Paiwan and Tahitian dishes. The embodied Polynesian protocols such as sitting down, speaking, drinking and food eating, were deliberately incorporated into this ceremony. Since *'ava* powder was not available in the village, the ceremonial millet wine, which is used in rituals or ceremonies in Paiwan communities, took its place. Paiwan assistants and attendees participated in customary dress (whether Tahitian, Sāmoan or Paiwan), much as they would at Paiwan weddings, funerals, annual festivals and other contemporary social events across Paiwan villages.

There was, however, some concern at the event regarding the naming of the new apprentice. One woman from a chiefly family expressed to me that there should have been a name given to this apprentice in order to cement his role within the tattooing family and his social position in the village society. Her concern stemmed from a given name (*ngadan*) that is an identity linked to a Paiwan family or community, which demonstrates a genealogical tie with the family, positioning a person in this hierarchical society. In a house society such as Paiwan, names are the property of families and are passed from generation to generation based on ambilineal principles. A *ngadan* can also be generated to reflect the name-carrier's obligation or character. While it was not clear why a name was not given on this occasion, the ceremony surely symbolised a process of articulation of Indigeneity in which both newness and loss were represented at the same time.

Cudjuy's ceremony of apprenticeship represents the recontextualisation in a trans-Indigenous setting of a traditional practice that is undocumented in the archives. The revival of *vecik* thus requires the articulation of customary value alongside the creation of new elements that reflect contemporary conditions and constraints. Cudjuy's revival of tattooing

is a movement that draws on inspiration from external sources, while extending these newly contextualised Indigenous heritage practices to other Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan and across the world.

Another element in this revival of tattooing practices in the context of eastern Paiwan is that local society does not feature the strongly stratified values as communities in Daren township in Taitung County and most villages in Pintung County. Eastern Paiwan has historically experienced a greater degree of mobility across the island of Taiwan, and a tendency further heightened through new opportunities to travel even wider afield. While the revival of tattooing practices is strongly grounded in the traditional heritage of Paiwan, the character of that legacy cannot be defined using a firm distinction between Paiwan or non-Paiwan elements. Rather, the emergent heritage expressed through the tattooing revival reveals an embeddedness within a multi-layered Paiwan history which is now also absorbing Oceanian values.

6.6 Summary

This chapter has addressed the historical and contemporary exploration of Oceania by Paiwan People, opening with Paiwan stories about the Oceanic character of their *vecik* practices, before providing details about these tattoos and their role in a trans-Austronesian Indigeneity. Tattoos received in Taiwan and overseas expressed the bonds with families in Indigenous homelands that were experiencing forced relocation during WWII, and the exploitation of their lands for natural resources, leading to the current struggle for transitional justice. The motifs and designs of these tattoos reflect a common Austronesian heritage, projected externally to new relationships across the Pacific with the Indigenous Islanders of Oceania (Paiwan, Sāmoan, Marquesan, Tahitian, and Māori).

The theme of mobility in this chapter is extended through my second visit to Sāmoa, accompanied by my family of Paiwan (*ta-umaqan*), matching the extended family of Sāmoa (*'āiga*), which plays a central role in Sāmoan society. I intended to fulfil my obligations for courtesy, along with my role as a mediator between my Paiwan and Sāmoan families. This visit is considered diplomatic at the *'āiga-ta-umagan* (family to family) level that was designed to fit the sociocultural contexts both of Sāmoa and Paiwan. The bestowal of my title, Tauateleofiti, was another form of diplomatic alliance, with the *suafa* (*matai* title) acting as a symbolic *tatau*, invisibly embedding me within the genealogies.

The idea of diplomatic alliance is expanded through consideration of a series of visits to Indigenous tattooing events in Aotearoa New Zealand and French Polynesia. These diplomatic events amongst Austronesian Peoples feature the reciprocal exchange of both material and immaterial gifts, including tattoos, actual items, and shared food. The trajectory of the chapter then returns us to Taiwan and a ceremonial alliance to acknowledge an apprenticeship, conducted as a blend of Paiwan and Polynesian (Sāmoan, Tahitian, Māori and Hawai'ian) ways.

While Oceanic *tatau* has played the central role in these events, other cultural forms are intertwined with this practice. In addition to the prehistoric Austronesian dispersal, short-term, purposeful trips in the contemporary period, travelling back and forth across the Ocean, have reshaped trans-Indigenous identities through mobility between different Indigenous domains. Recognising Paiwan People and their heritage, their practices and values, as fundamentally Oceanic, reimagine the geopolitical boundaries encompassing the Island of Taiwan. The following chapter—the Conclusion—brings us back to the possibility of an embodied Indigenous diplomacy that embeds Paiwan in Oceania, and Oceania within Paiwan.

Chapter 7 Sāmoan *Tatau* and Paiwan *Vecik* as Embodied Diplomacy: Some Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

If the previous chapter represented the dropping of an anchor to mark a waypoint on my circular voyage, in this conclusion I maintain the trajectory of my voyage to its final destination, reflecting on the *tatau/vecik* relationship using the notion of *vā-djalan*. In doing so, I circle through forms of space along with time, which are not linear in Indigenous understandings, and propose an embodied Indigenous diplomacy that is grounded in my own experience of inter-village diplomacy amongst Paiwan communities, but mapped onto the larger scale of the trans-Indigenous encounter between Sāmoans and Paiwan People.

7.2 Embodied Indigenous Diplomacy: A Route towards Reflexivity

Theoretically, the idea of navigation has been central to my overall thesis, laying a path for me in both a linear and a branching sense. Indigenous tattooing serves as the flesh of the thesis body which is composed of Indigeneity, a concept that encompasses articulation, self-empowerment and translation by Indigenous Peoples. Indigeneity also provides a conceptual trajectory. I have plunged into the idea of the Sea of Islands through which I have tried to understand Paiwan as incorporated within Oceania. Hau'ofa's work subverts the rigid boundary that used to be seen as limited by the ocean and helps to orient my thesis in relation to the project of decolonisation. The concept of *vā* was then proposed as a means of narrowing down and conceptualising the Sea of Islands within the specific cultural and social context of Sāmoa (and also of Tonga), and providing an internal perspective on the spatial, genealogical, behavioural, vernacular, and material realms of Sāmoan society.

Through this comparative project, I became a wayfinder, voyaging from Paiwan communities to Sāmoa, and then returning, a voyage through which I found both distinct

differences and similarities valued by people in either community. Philosophically, *vā* plays the role of anchor in articulating *djalan*, becoming what I term *vā-djalan* – a framework for examining the relationship between two Austronesian Peoples in central and western Oceania, and for reflecting on how a Paiwan *kakudan* (customary way) might extend to Sāmoa and other Oceanian communities, and how *fa'asāmoa* enriches the embeddedness of Paiwan wayfinders. *Tatau* and *vecik* are concrete representations of the concepts of *vā* and *djalan*, and of the possibility of their conjuncture. It is at this conjuncture that the notion of Indigenous diplomacy has emerged, as a relational space of experience and negotiation that open up in between Paiwan and Sāmoa.

On the one hand, *vā*, in particular, emphasises the tie to Indigenous Sāmoan landscape, genealogy, and sensations. On the other hand, *djalan* theorises Paiwan People's contemporary agency, which is grounded in ancestral values. As an Indigenous Paiwan visiting Sāmoa, both *vā* and *djalan* have become intertwined through the interwovenness of my experience and my writing.

Writing on Indigenous tattooing has opened a space to explore the forms of Indigenous diplomacy through which relationality is created and nurtured amongst Indigenous Oceanian Peoples. As my ancestors did in search of new ground to settle in the territory of Paiwan, my research has taken the form of a journey, encouraged by their embrace, and guided by the practices of positioning, experiencing and anchoring**.** Aeroplanes now take off like airborne canoes, carrying us above the sea's surface, and GPS is like a digital seabird signaling the direction of lands ahead from above. Indigenous tattooing, as a representational device that enables voyagers or hunters to orient themselves towards home, has breached the boundary of the eastern coastline that has long trapped villagers on the mainland of Taiwan. Along the way, I employed each of the sensory modes to watch, hear, smell, taste and touch my surrounds.

Over the course of this ethnographic journey, I have played various roles, as an Indigenous diplomat, an interpreter at tattooing events, a speaker in workshops, and a public performer at cultural events; while, on private occasions, I was an *'ava* attendee or server in ceremonies, a Paiwan man holding a Sāmoan title, and a knowledge disseminator. Through these different roles, I have begun answering the question: how has tattooing—as *tatau* in Sāmoa and *vecik* in Paiwan—assumed a role in the navigation of new relationships across Oceania? At first glance, there is no difference between Indigenous (cultural) exchange and diplomacy in a general sense; however, I have conducted this enquiry and answered it not only through analytical description but also by physically embodying each of these roles. Embodied Indigenous diplomacy engages Indigenous tattooing as a shared bridge that crosses boundaries and creates the space for interactions. Embodied Indigenous diplomacy places particular emphasis on self-empowerment, which cannot be realised solely through by gift exchange, remittance, or communication through mass media. Like tattooing, it must take place in person.

Embodied Indigenous diplomacy is a culture-based and purposeful movement that stresses face-to-face meetings, frequent reciprocal visits, and the mutual sharing of food and other gifts exchanged through a balanced relationship. Communication technology is necessary only as a complementary tool. Participants in an Indigenous diplomatic event acknowledge and strongly associate with ancestral values as genealogical storytellers, and are not limited by nation-state boundaries. These events may be competitive or financial to some extent, but harmony is prioritized through oral agreements and other nonverbal representations. The relationship between bilateral bodies is created and nurtured over long-term engagement. Delegations are not limited to senior figures but are commonly open to the wider community, and a visit can thus involve kin or non-kin members and be of either short or long duration. Building an Indigenous diplomatic relationship refers not only to achieving

shared goals but also to recognising the embeddedness of each other's ancestors through ceremonies conducted by mediators. Dialogue is significant in allowing both bodies to develop a common understanding. Particular meeting spaces for these exchanges are not required as it is the interactions themselves are privileged, and these can occur in almost any kind of space. To communicate with the sacred and secular worlds, wood, plants and animals that generate/produce fire, smoke, liquid (water, wine, *'ava*, blood) and fabric are commonly preferred. The benefits of Indigenous diplomacy are not commonly publicised but are usually communal rather than individual. Because they are embodied, these events often include such practices as oration, singing, dancing, sightseeing, and associated cultural experiences (*e.g.* archery, swinging, artefact making).

In the context of the blended Indigenous communities of the eastern area of Taiwan, we can use the term "cultural exchange" (*文化交流*) to refer to all groups of Indigenous and non-Indigenous villagers meeting one another. "Cultural diplomacy" tends to refer to the exercise of soft power at a government level, whether by Indigenous or non-Indignous Peoples. To some extent, "diplomacy" indicates international relation building across maritime boundaries for Taiwanese society more broadly. The concept of "Austronesian diplomacy" (*南島外交*) refers also to international cultural exchange particularly between Austronesian-speaking Peoples in the Pacific. "Indigenous diplomacy" (*原住民外交*) is less frequently used, but can refer to visits between Indigenous communities conducted over short distances.

With the notion of Indigenous diplomacy, a snapshot of this kind of diplomatic exchange in a local, Paiwan context is provided by the unmarried men's and women's cultural exchange night during the annual harvest festival (*青年之夜交流*), a practice that has increased in popularity over the past twenty years. This is conducted mostly in Paiwan communities in the areas of Taimali, Jinfeng, Dawu in Taitung and some other villages in

Pingtung, independently of government support or interference. Generally, participants consist of Paiwan villagers, with the addition of some Pinuyumayan/Puyuma People and Drekai People. Here I describe one such visit, which I attended in 2016:

> The heads of the hosting men's groups deliver hardcopy invitations in person to nearby Indigenous communities prior to the event. Once these have been accepted, the heads of the other men's groups assemble all of the available unmarried villagers who are required to dress in Indigenous costume according to their age set. On the day, gifts such as bottled water, and soft and hard drinks are prepared and carried by the younger members for formal presentation. All participants travel to the events in cars or vans, driving for between five minutes and three hours. Before entering the host settlement, a brazier of fire with smoke generated from the leaves of *Daphne odera* is placed on the ground. Each of the visitors crosses through this smoke. The names of the visiting groups are loudly announced as they arrive, followed by the discharge of rifles in the air. The visiting groups are served with traditional sticky rice or millet dumplings and liquid, and then they form a dancing circle. Everyone dances holding the hands of those next to them, repeating the same steps in a circle. While the host leads the singing, the men's groups take turns to chant, often without a microphone. Meanwhile, the heads of men's groups are formally invited to the centre of the venue, where they sit together on benches, allowing for closer conversation, mostly accompanied by beer. If many groups are invited, they can readily be identified by the designs and colours of their costumes. During the dancing, the gifted drinks are served in cups to those invited and other visitors. Finally, the heads of each group lead their row of participants out of the venue, and begin preparing for the next occasion, either as hosts or visitors.

Because it is embodied, Indigenous diplomacy is filled powerfully with sensory experiences including eyes, noses, mouths, ears, hands and feet.

7.3 Nodes along the Route: The Indigenous Diplomatic Journey

Indigenous mobility often consists of these circular loops of voyage or visit and return, reflecting what Geoffrey Irwin (1994) believes was a core Pacific voyaging strategy, which was always to set a course for the voyage with the intention of returning in a loop, whether new land was found or not. Throughout my ethnographic work, I have drawn on wayfinding as a metaphor to ground my diplomatic path, using Indigenous tattooing as a bridge or vessel. This pathway consists of 1) the observed phenomena (tattooing); 2) an embodied methodology; 3) the process of writing, and; 4) the structure of the thesis. Nodes along the road, like intersections, confluences or stopovers (such as the *tapau*, a hunting lodge for Paiwan hunters to overnight in), are points that allow navigators to rest, to choose a new direction, or to return home. A node serves as a conjuncture that preserves the momentum of the voyage, articulating the known and the unknown. By connecting nodes, traces are inscribed leading voyagers back to where they begin. Along this route, the structure of the thesis, in particular, consists of a series of nodes of positioning, experiencing and anchoring—all of which set my direction (arguments) within sub-nodes (chapters), that ultimately bring voyagers back home.

Vā, epistemologically the core of Sāmoan cultural value, serves less as a spatially linear route, and rather more as a dynamic surface over which relationality can be extended. Although both *djalan* and *vā* refer to closely matching cultural and social realms, they are nevertheless culturally specific ways of framing ventures into the unknown, and their negotiated convergence through the embodied interaction of Sāmoan and Paiwan Peoples lies at the heart of Indigenous diplomacy. Tattoos and tattooing serve as vessels for this process

of navigation and wayfnding, traversing political boundaries and creating platforms for encounter. As cultural exteriors, they both seek out similar forms while showcasing their distinctiveness.

7.3.1 Positioning: Spatial interrelatedness

Both Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik* are embedded in their respective Indigenous lands, as mentioned in Chapter Two, where Li'aifaiva details the route of the ancestral twins. In Sāmoa, this track flows from the west to Savai'i, where it runs along the northern and eastern shores, reaching southwest Upolu, before eventually ending in the area of downtown Apia, in northern Upolu. Along the route, legendary figures emerged at multiple locations, at each of which place names and *matai* titles were bestowed. In this way, the *vā* of *tatau* is spatially memorialised in the form of a landscape made meaningful by narration. This *vā*, connected by Sāmoan *ala* (route), describes the trace of an ancient movement, with nodes scattered along the way, strikingly similar to that of Paiwan's *djalan*.

Traditionally, Paiwan *vecik* preserves in symbolic form a representation of the cosmology of nature and of authority over land, visible in the tattoo designs of mountains, creeks, the sun, and snakes. This spatiality further enables living Paiwan villagers to culturally promote their tattooing revival, and to geographically extend the path in search of Oceanian relationality. However, these places are not characterised solely by inherited and unchanging values, but are dynamically reproduced for and by villagers, creating a zone for the renegotiation of tattoo forms, practices and meanings, which we see in the descriptions of residential spaces, tattoo workplaces, and tattoo conventions.

Genealogy serves as an invisible but powerful bond of lineage extending from the past to the present. Chapter Three describes the genealogical transmission of *matai suafa* (chiefly titles) that are tied to specific places, a link which places the holders of these titles under an obligation to represent their status in the form of tattoos, and thus to preserve the

tradition of *tatau*. These processes of "positioning" literally provide the grounds for embodied forms of diplomacy, locating individuals within a particular space and orienting them towards specific relationships and directions.

7.3.2 Experiencing: Sailing the Path

The second part of the thesis sets out on the journey through a focus on the body in the practical and sensory realms of Sāmoan and Paiwan tattooing. Through a dialogue between the practices of Li'aifaiva and Cudjuy Patjidres, I portray their techniques in terms of preliminary, ongoing and aftermath phases of work, each of which displays both distinct and similar forms. Li'aifaiva insists on working within a traditional structure, while adopting modern elements. In contrast, Patjidres has adopted Oceanic characters and employed them in his project of revival, producing a new form of *vecik*.

Indigenous tattooing (at least in Sāmoan and Paiwan) is more than just the difference between its visual forms and those of other, non-Indigenous tattoo traditions. It must be stressed that the word "tattoo", originally appropriated from the Polynesian language, has become associated with a highly individualised, visualised, commoditised and historically marginalized art form, following its adoption by Western practitioners and their visual traditions. In contrast, Indigenous tattoos are embedded within and given meaning by the holism of an entire culture. Indigenous tattoo cannot be reduced to the action of puncturing the skin with needles and infilling the wounds with ink. In addition to these distinctive technologies and practices, an entire world of somatic experience provides the necessary context for Indigenous tattooing.

External descriptions of Indigenous tattooing have been dominated by visualism, with all of the other bodily senses marginalised. Amongst the five senses, I place most focus on the auditory, introducing "hearing tattooing" to refer not only to the embodied experience

which embraces the pervasiveness of the acoustic aspects of the work, but also to the ambient sounds that enrich the sensory experience of tattooing.

Somatic experience is also central to my description of Indigenous diplomatic acts. To engage in a meeting, one must physically sense the environment, allowing bodies to familiarise themselves with the dimensions, with all their sensory cells open. This experiencing is often highlighted when one begins on a task for the first time in a new environment, but familiarity allows the body to store and memorise experience, and enables practitioners to draw on this somatic memory rather than return to the beginning at each new location. The passage from discomfort to smoothness, as the harmony between bodies and the journey is achieved, allows new routes to be charted.

7.3.3 Anchoring: Leaving in order to return in Oceania

The canoe of this thesis now begins on the return voyage, seeking to drop anchor on familiar shores. Using the metaphor of "anchoring," I emphasise the status of Paiwan as a People of Oceania, pathing eastwards in search of diplomatic alliances with Sāmoan and other Austronesian communities. The importance of upwind voyaging has been highlighted by Irwin *et al.* (1990), who suggest that prehistoric Austronesian voyages of exploration were probably conducted as successively more ambitious loops into the wind, allowing navigators to return home using favourable winds to ensure their survival. I draw on this notion to describe Paiwan People's pathing in Oceania, much as their ancestors did in the mountains, leaving marks and signposts along the outgoing track in order to find their way home.

Indigenous Peoples prefer to visit each other face-to-face in engagements that are strongly marked by dialogue on matters of genealogy, and often characterized by reciprocity. The forms of gifting may vary but material gifts, including tattoos, are preferred. Tattoos are inked as gifts for the receivers, with the tattoo givers receiving either tattoos or tattoo-related

gifts in return. All forms of gift exchange have to be conducted in person and in a communal setting.

By extending eastward across the geopolitical boundary of Taiwan's coastal waters, Taiwan's Indigenous People have inevitably become engaged in trans-Indigenous exchanges in Oceania. I propose the concept of *Oceanic Paiwan* as a means of bypassing this artificial border and situating the Island of Taiwan *within* Oceania. This expanded horizon extends westward and allows Taiwan Indigenous Peoples to reimagine their position outside of colonial structures and boundaries. The notion of anchoring refers both to the voyager's berth in an unknown land but also to the rootedness in a distant homeland. In illustration, I consider the case of a Tahitian performer who is the son-in-law of an Indigenous Seediq family, becoming acknowledged as an apprentice by a Paiwan tattooist who has incorporated Hawai'ian, Sāmoan, Tahitian and Māori elements in his tattooing.

7.4 Beyond Indigenous Tattooing: A Broader Domain for Indigenous Diplomacy

Indigenous tattooing is just one form or expression of Indigenous diplomacy. Indigenous tattoo conventions are often small-scale and closed-door occasions limited to Indigenous attendees. Public programs are occasionally introduced, with various non-Indigenous elements including dancing, singing, tattoo contests, catwalks, graffiti, food stalls, exhibitions, bazaars, photography, music-playing and bike acrobatics. I have focused on this thesis almost exclusively on tattooing amongst Oceanic Indigenous Peoples, but tattooing is also shared through transnational exchanges by Indigenous Inuit and other First Nations Peoples in northern America. In these highly fluid spaces, Indigenous tattooing has tended to play a key role in assembling communities and individuals for collaborative performances, but while these diplomatic encounters often feature Indigenous tattooing, they are not limited to it.

Using diplomacy as an overarching analytical framework has provided this thesis with a structure that leaves open possibility of exploring Indigenous exchange practices beyond the shared practice of tattooing. To this point, I have focused almost entirely on the embodied diplomacy between Sāmoan *tatau* and Paiwan *vecik*. In practice, within Taiwanese society, diplomacy provides a significant platform for the encounter between Indigenous Peoples and Taiwanese Han. Academics in Taiwan refer to "relations" between these two broad groups to stress how they are interwoven historically, culturally, politically, and economically. To the extent that this process is the outcome of diplomatic encounters. It is because of the emphasis in Indigenous diplomacy on reciprocal exchange and mutual benefit.

This Austronesian style of diplomacy is less evident at the government level. The Taiwan government has long adopted an approach to diplomacy that appears foreign to Oceanian communities. The government positions Taiwan as the point of origin for all Austronesian nations, but this approach has met with historical and political obstacles both amongst Taiwan Indigenous Peoples and nations in the Pacific. In contrast, I argue for an Indigenous diplomacy that commonly takes place at a range of levels, amongst and between households, villages, ethnic groups and nation-states. Building on Indigenous diplomatic practices within Taiwan, my aim is to expand the horizons for such an approach to the wider Oceanic world, and ultimately to a global scale. This requires subverting the existing geopolitical epistemology in Taiwan that assumes a central role for the narrative of the origins of the Austronesian dispersal.

I propose that we should be more open-minded, embracing the liberating currents returning to us from the Pacific Ocean. I do not deny the importance of the linguistic and archaeological evidence for Austronesian dispersal; this matters in scholarly institutes. But it should be possible to be more ambitious, to create diplomatic opportunities organised by and around Indigenous Peoples on a global level. Taiwan Indigenous Peoples work with

uncoordinated policies such as an emphasis on Taiwan as the Austronesian homeland for Pacific diplomacy, or the assembly of young Indigenous delegates to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII). But these approaches fail to understand how other Indigenous Peoples position us in these international occasions. In none of the trans-Oceanian Indigenous cultural exchanges in which I participated have I seen Taiwan Indigenous People clearly identified as Austronesian. Instead, we need a united role in promoting themes of self-identity common to all Peoples in Taiwan and Oceania. Indigenous tattooing provides one of the "passports" for embodied Indigenous diplomacy by enabling transnational Indigenous Peoples to recognise us and to open forums up to us in order to discuss topics of common interest.

7.5 New Horizons

While I have tried to submerge myself within the topics of Indigenous tattooing and diplomacy as deeply and broadly as possible, new directions and possibilities have come into view.

7.5.1 Tattooing as Gift and Commodity

The scale of Indigenous diplomacy can be as small as just two people (such as the tattoo practitioner and receiver). In spaces such as stalls or studios, pairs of individuals engage in exchanges. This process is not fundamentally different from any of the other scales of diplomatic engagement. Negotiation is common to every scale, resulting in variations in price or materials. I have observed Patjidres accept reduced payments for clients who are in a closer relationship (*e.g.* family members or friends). Although both Indigenous and non-Indigenous tattoo artists accept money as the major form of payment, Indigenous exchanges often work to preserve and transform cultural values, and to resist the encroachment of capitalist logics. Indigenous tattooing relationships are characterised by a reciprocal exchange

in various forms, some of which relate to formal expressions of respect. Tattooists and tattooees share agency whether seeking profit or maintaining familial or friendship relations. Further exploration of this unstable or alternating position of tattooing between gift and commodity would seem a rich avenue for enquiry.

7.5.2 Perspectives on Tatau by Tertiary Students

Educational institutions are often considered diplomatic fora, hosting encounters between the known and unknown. In multi-cultural communities, educators also assume the role of diplomats in negotiation. But this appears less to be the case in Sāmoan society, which is instead confronted by a difference in the perspectives of young adults. Although courses on Sāmoan culture and history are provided at the National University of Sāmoa, undergraduate students exposed to global possibilities through social media and the internet appear to hold views on Sāmoan culture that differ from those of their educators and their elderly family members. For example, young women wear *malu* with shorts on campus, unthinkable for older generations. The question of how *tatau* might evoke contrasting responses from students and educators is an important area for further research.

7.5.3 Embodied Indigenous Diplomacy in Museums and Mass Media

Museum exhibitions, like the university settings mentioned above, provide important transcultural zones for visitors. Following their experience of colonization, many Paiwan People are currently focused on the work of cultural revival. The process of organising an exhibition on Indigenous culture often involves a lengthy period of negotiation between communities and curators. Indigenous concerns about specific histories and the rights and privileges of families, and about the flow of benefits, contrast with the focus of non-Indigenous curators on public education across cultures. By comparison, the exhibitions, for example of tattooing objects, are relatively simple in terms of the challenges of display in a museum setting.

One example comes from an event in which I participated, where the National Taiwan University (NTU) organised a wedding with a Paiwan village, Kaviyangan. The "bride" in this instance, was a carved wooden post representing an ancestral figure wearing a *vecik*. Stored on campus on behalf of the community since 1932, in the modern ceremony, the university was the wife taker, while the chiefly family was the wife giver. The wedding saw a resurgence of interest in the story of the post and acknowledged culturally the post/daughter-in-law's ongoing residence in the campus museum. This event is an instance of an alternative household-based diplomacy, operating beyond the context of tattooing in support of Indigenous self-empowerment with an institution prepared to collaborate with Indigenous communities[59]. Sāmoa, in contrast, presents a dramatic scenario in which the so-called "museum" and its collection are hardly maintained; instead, Sāmoan values are performed and displayed in the actual living space which is filled with *fa'a-Sāmoa* protocols. Cultural knowledge on *tatau* is better absorbed in villages than a museum. How tangible objects and intangible knowledge are understood, preserved and disseminated in these two different settings is an important area for future research.

The popular culture of tattoo designs is also an area of real potential in research on the sense of cultural identity. In Sāmoan society in particular, it would seem important to understand how *tatau* are publicised and commoditised, triggering debates on the devaluation of *malu* across social media platforms (Samau, 2016). Indigenous tattoo practitioners, who are both cultural gatekeepers and knowledge transmitters, emerge as cultural bridge builders, and their access to mass media as a diplomatic platform with exceptional reach and access is increasingly influential. Tattoo artists post designs for new clients on the internet; tattooees proudly display their new marks on social media such as Facebook and Instagram; and

[59] Also see the editorial on Taiwan's national treasure: "Plunder or reservation: Does a law protecting national treasures have the effect of keeping ancestral objects permanently out of the Aboriginal communities from which they originate?" *Taipei Times* http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/feat/archives/2017/05/25/2003671243.

television stations have identified this area as a target for the production of new movies and documentaries.

7.5.4 Reconnecting Sāmoa and Tonga via Tatau

Historically, kinship ties between Tonga and Sāmoa have been woven through marriage, material exchanges, and tattooing, all arenas for diplomacy. The men's *pe'a* from both archipelagos are similar in their visual form, if different in detail. Over centuries, Tongan tattooing traditions have been considerably weakened, and the political separation of the two modern states seems to have further widened the political gap. Recently, Tongan *tatau* has seen a revival and a growing awareness of the spiritual link between Sāmoan and Tongan origins; *tatau* once again has become a bridge for cultural connection. Quite how Sāmoans and Tongans are reconstructing the genealogical basis for diplomacy in the region deserves further study.

7.5.5 Tattooing, Indigenous Diplomacy and Covid-19

Since diplomacy, and embodied Indigenous diplomacy in particular, relies strongly on physical visits and transnational transport, the global spread of the Covid-19 pandemic has massively interrupted tattooing events and their associated diplomatic exchanges; like most other Indigenous tattoo practitioners engaged in public events, Patjidres had to cancel attendance in most public tattoo events. Although online forums have made meetings possible, they are no substitute for a practice that requires body contact. Thankfully, working from home suits most tattooists' practices, even where Covid-safe regulations insist on meeting in numbers as low as two. As I write, the coronavirus continues to impact on almost all types of public interaction and events. Yet this is also an opportunity to understand how new forms of trans-Indigenous relationship such as tattooing have adapted to these new challenges, perhaps with reference to the successful survival of Sāmoan *tatau* under the crushing impact of colonialism and globalization during the 19th and 20th centuries.

7.6 A New Beginning after a Finale

The journey of positioning, experiencing and anchoring has come to end. I first lifted my anchor in Paiwan, voyaging across the Oceanian world with Indigenous tattooing as my vessel, all the way to the *fanua* of Sāmoa. The *vā-djalan* between Sāmoa and Paiwan has been created within Our Sea of Islands. Across the largest Oceanic scale of Indigenous places, my focus has been on tattooing as the smallest scale of bodily practice. The intersections within and between Indigenous territories and spaces have generated new nodes and new articulations, but the looping trajectory of my voyage between *tatau* and *vecik* returned me finally to my Paiwan *kadjunangan*. With the knowledge gained of Paiwan's place in Indigenous Oceania, the path is clear for return voyages in both directions, equipped with new ideas and new questions.

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