# O le Pale o Laei Samoa:
# The Crowning Glory of Samoan Adornment

## Examining The Changing Role of Tuiga in Samoan Culture

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Museums and Cultural Heritage, the University of Auckland, 2018.

# Abstract

From its origin as the personal adornment of Samoan Kings and high-ranking chiefs (*ali'i*), to its co-option by European colonial collectors in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, to symbolic representation in the work of contemporary Samoan gallery-based artists, and finally, its contemporary reclamation in the 21st century as a symbol of cultural identity in Samoa and the diaspora, the *tuiga* has always played an important and significant function within *Fa'a Samoa* or Samoan culture. The aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the changing role of *tuiga* in Samoan culture through time. It asserts that the *tuiga* was a distinctly rare and important form of traditional Samoan adornment and that it was one of the most valuable forms of *measina* (treasures) in pre-colonial Samoan culture. In its earliest form the *tuiga* was an embodiment of *mana*, as it occupied the head, the most sacred or *tapu* part of the body. As it rose to prominence in Samoan culture as a celebrated ceremonial adornment used not only by high chiefs, but by their *taupou* and *manaia*, the *tuiga* took on new meaning. The *tuiga* was also subjected to European influence with the settlement of Europeans in Samoa from the early 19th century onwards. The intervention of colonial collectors greatly affected the trajectory of *tuiga* in the 20th century. Today Samoan artists recognize the *tuiga* as a symbol that is ripe for artistic exploration in gallery-based practices. This aspect is also mirrored in the use of the adornment as a 21st century emblem of national and cultural identity in Samoa and particularly for the Samoan diaspora in New Zealand, Australia and America. The central research concerns of this thesis are to examine the changing role of *tuiga* in Samoan culture and through time, and to provide a succinct and comprehensive cultural biography of this unique and distinctive adornment form.

# Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to acknowledge and give thanks to the Lord for his faithfulness and grace in enabling me to complete this work. I would like to thank my parents, Milo and Raewynn, my siblings, and Edgar for their on-going support and love throughout this journey. I could not have done it without you all.

To my incredible supervisor Dr. Caroline Vercoe, thank you for your constant encouragement, input and guidance. I cannot imagine how this thesis would have fared without your invaluable insight. You were instrumental in seeing this journey through to its completion. Fa'afetai tele lava.

I would like to acknowledge the following museums and their respective curators for allowing me to examine the *tuiga* in their collections, and who sought to provide me with the utmost information regarding the provenances, histories and collectors of objects in their care; Dr. Hilke Thode-Arora of the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich, Dr. Dorothea Deterts of the Ethnologische Museum in Berlin, Dr. Marion Melk-Koch of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, and Dr. Ulrich Menter of the Linden Museum in Stuttgart. Danke schön!

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# Introduction to Thesis

From its origin as the personal adornment of Samoan Kings and high-ranking chiefs (*ali'i*), to its co-option by European colonial collectors in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, to symbolic representation in the work of contemporary Samoan gallery-based artists, and finally, its contemporary reclamation in the 21st century as a symbol of cultural identity in Samoa and the diaspora, the *tuiga* has always played an important and significant function within *Fa'a Samoa* or Samoan culture.

The aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the changing role of *tuiga* in Samoan culture through time. It asserts that the *tuiga* was a distinctly rare and important form of traditional Samoan adornment and that it was one of the most valuable forms of *measina* (treasures) in pre-European Samoan culture. While no comprehensive account of the evolution and significance of *tuiga* has as yet been written, this is irrespective of the immeasurable value placed on the adornment by Samoans.

The *tuiga* in its earliest form was an embodiment of *mana*, as it occupied the head, the most sacred or *tapu* part of the body. As it rose to prominence in Samoan culture as a celebrated ceremonial adornment used not only by high chiefs, but by their *taupou* and *manaia*, the *tuiga* took on new meaning. In order to examine the changing role of *tuiga* in Samoan culture or *Fa'a Samoa*, it is necessary to first establish the reason for its origination as a distinguished type of head adornment. The significance of the origin of the *tuiga* headdress lies in its religious or spiritual origin. It was a representation and embodiment of the intersection of the divine, celestial, and heavenly with the natural world and its earthly inhabitants.[1] When worn in traditional and ceremonial contexts, the *tuiga* was a vehicle or tool that visually and spatially enforced the political hierarchies embodied in the respective place of *ali'i* (chiefs) to their dependents; a configuration that effected and produced social harmony. The *tuiga's* role in this context was to "embody the physical manifestations of social relations"[2] in Samoan society.

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[1] Caroline Vercoe, "Samoan Dance: A Visual Art," (Master of Arts thesis, the University of Auckland, 1994), 108.

[2] Jeremy Pilcher, and Saskia Vermeylen, "From Loss of Objects to Recovery of Meanings: Online Museums and Indigenous Cultural Heritage," *M/C Journal* 11, no. 6 (2008), accessed February 14, 2018, http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/94

With the settlement of Europeans in Samoa from the early 19th century, the *tuiga*, for the first time was subjected to European influence. European collecting in the late 19th century and early 20th century saw the *tuiga* being represented, positioned, and staged within European contexts. Missionaries, photographers, colonial administrators, opportunist collectors, and cultural exhibition organizers, all used the representation of *tuiga* in various ways for their own agendas. Although still seen as a ceremonial adornment by Samoans and celebrated as such, the intervention of these colonial collectors greatly affected the trajectory of *tuiga* in the 20th century. Today Samoan artists recognize the *tuiga* as a symbol and culturally encoded motif that is ripe for artistic exploration in gallery-based practices. The incorporation of *tuiga* into artistic discourses surrounding representations of contemporary Samoan and Pacific identity represents one facet of the new role of *tuiga* today. This aspect is also mirrored in the use of the adornment as a 21st century emblem of national and cultural identity in Samoa and particularly for the Samoan diaspora in New Zealand, Australia and America.

<u>Chapter Breakdown</u>

In tracking the evolution of *tuiga* and of its function and role as an adornment form in Samoan culture, this thesis is attempting to record a cultural biography of the adornment. The notion of a cultural biography "is appropriate to specific things, as they move through different hands, contexts, and uses, thus accumulating a specific biography, or set of biographies."[3] No other theoretical model is better suited to the research aim of this thesis, which is to analyse the trajectory of the *tuiga* as a Samoan adornment, through different hands, cultural contexts, and uses, all of which have contributed to its accumulation of a unique history or biography. Drawing on Igor Kopytoff's theory, this thesis argues that in the context of the *tuiga*, "biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure,"[4] and can "reflect the

[3] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* edited by Arjun Appadurai, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 34.
[4] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* edited by Arjun Appadurai, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 34.

structure and the cultural resources of the societies in question."[5] Within this premise, the overarching research concerns of this thesis are structured into five chapters or topics:

Chapter one discusses Polynesian epistemologies regarding the significance of the head and hair, as *tapu* or sacred parts of the body. It examines pre-Christian spiritual and religious belief systems that gave meaning to the practice of adorning the head, and how this informed regional practices regarding the social function and treatment of the head and hair in Samoa, Tonga, Aotearoa New Zealand, Fiji, and the Marquesas. It also outlines specific examples of distinguished head adornment from other parts of Polynesia including Tonga, Hawaii, Tahiti, and the Cook Islands, to contextualize the significance of *tuiga* within a wider discourse on Polynesian head adornment.

Chapter two begins with an exploration of the historical and spiritual origins of the *tuiga,* which saw the emergence of the adornment as a symbolic representation of the divine descent of sacred chiefs or *ali'i pa'ia* from the Samoan deity *Tagaloa*. It then examines how this sacred origin informed the ceremonial role and function of the *tuiga* within pre-contact Samoan culture, with particular reference to the chiefly roles of *taupou* and *manaia*. This chapter also analyses the materiality of the *tuiga* and the symbolism and intrinsic value of each of its constituent parts.

Chapter three addresses the impact of Europeans and colonisation on representations of *tuiga*, through an analysis of late 19th century and early 20th century European collecting in Samoa. Within this context, different colonial agents, including missionaries, photographers, administrators, opportunist collectors, and cultural exhibition organizers, who acquired or represented *tuiga* for their own purposes, will also be discussed. A component that is essential to this discussion is the inclusion of specific case studies of *tuiga* in museum collections today, obtained through primary research carried out at the Ethnologische Museum in Berlin, the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich, and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, in Germany.

Chapter four will investigate how contemporary Samoan artists utilize, represent and re-imagine the *tuiga* as a culturally loaded symbol in their gallery-based practices. It focuses on a range of different dialogues relating to contemporary

[5] Ibid., 70.

Samoan identity, in a range of artistic mediums. This chapter specifically looks at the individual practices of New Zealand based Samoan artists Fatu Feu'u, Lily Laita, Shigeyuki Kihara, Tanu Gago, Pati Solomona Tyrell and Saint Andrew Matautia, who all explore and visually represent the *tuiga* in distinct ways.

Chapter five examines how *tuiga* function in the 21st century within performative and ceremonial or customary contexts. It begins with an exploration of the adornment's ongoing ceremonial role in Samoan village contexts, which include *saofa'i* or title-bestowal ceremonies, *ta'alolo* or food and gifts offerings, and village dances or *siva*. It also discusses the modern use of *tuiga* in Samoan tourism, commercial Pacific festivals and beauty pageants. The chapter then explores the significance of the adornment to Samoan diaspora, referencing its use in events such as Auckland's ASB Polyfest. It also explores the contemporary manufacture of *tuiga* by specific artists and practitioners today, who are part of the Pacific diaspora, investigating how the adornment has evolved to become a symbol of national identity and of the endurance of Samoan culture.

The central research concerns of this thesis are to examine the changing role of *tuiga* in Samoan culture and through time, and to provide a succinct and comprehensive cultural biography of this unique and distinctive adornment form.

# Chapter One
# The Significance of the Head and its Adornment in Polynesia

This thesis asserts that the *tuiga* is a sacred and distinct form of Samoan head adornment that has had a significant function within *Fa'a Samoa* or the Samoan culture/ way since its inception. However, it also recognizes that the *tuiga* is part of a wider Polynesian tradition of adorning the head as a way of expressing *mana* and authority. To contextualize this discussion of *tuiga* within the Polynesian tradition of head adornment, it is necessary to have a sufficient grasp of the significance of the head and of hair in pre-colonial Polynesian culture. This significance was informed by the pre-Christian religious and cultural principles of *mana* and *tapu*, which played a crucial role in the social systems of Polynesians over four millennia of migration[1] and positioned the head as a sacred bodily site that physically represents cultural and spiritual *mana*. In view of this fact, head adornment has historically occupied a ritualized place within Polynesian society to reflect these principles and to speak to the cosmologies that birthed them.

This chapter will therefore begin by outlining Polynesian creation narratives and mythologies in Samoa, Aotearoa New Zealand, and Tonga, that led to the sanctification of the head and the association of these 'sacred heads and hair' with divine *mana*. The chapter will then discuss social practices regarding the treatment of the head, as well as the different ways of dressing or styling hair for both men and women across Polynesia. It will also look at the use of the head specifically in death and funerary rites. Finally, it will provide examples of different types of head adornment produced across Polynesia and worn by high-ranking individuals to symbolize divine *mana*, authority, and power.

[1] Andy Mills, "Bodies Permeable and Divine: Tapu, Mana and the Embodiment of Hegemony in Pre-Christian Tonga," in *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures,* eds., Matt Tomlinson and Ty P. Kawika Tengan (Acton: Australian National University Press, 2016), 79.

Sacred Heads and Hair in Polynesia

Both *mana* and *tapu* are words that are found in all Polynesian languages.[2] *Mana* is defined as the manifestation of "the power of the gods in the human world"[3] which is closely connected to "organic generativity and to all forces of growth and vitality…Polynesian religious practices and beliefs are thus focused on ritual transformations of mana."[4] The potency of *mana* and these ritual transformations are regulated through restrictions, disciplines and practices that collectively come under the term *tapu*.[5]

Throughout pre-colonial Polynesia, the head was seen as the most sacred or *tapu*-restricted part of the body[6] and this belief continues to varying extents even after European contact, and into the present. The head was associated with *mana* or supernatural power[7] and was the signifier of a person's *tapu* or sanctity particularly in the case of chiefs or persons of high rank. For this reason, it was a serious breach of *tapu* to ever touch the head of a chief.[8] And because *mana* or supernatural power was always divine in origin, the head which is "the residence of divine discernment"[9] was often associated with that which was heavenly or divine as well. This is reflected in Samoan oratory tradition where the term *lagi*, usually the word for 'heavens,' is used as the honorific title for 'head.'[10]

In the account of his travels, George Vason who was part of the first group of missionaries sent to the Pacific by the London Missionary Society in 1796, recorded the manners and customs of Tongan people noting, "The head is very sacred, and for that reason they never carry anything on it; nothing is more despised by them in

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[2] Patrick V. Kirch and Roger C. Green, *Hawaiki, Ancestral Polynesia: An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 240.
[3] Patrick V. Kirch, *How Chiefs Became Kings: Divine Kingship and the Rise of Archaic States in Ancient Hawai'i* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 21.
[4] Kirch and Green, *Hawaiki, Ancestral Polynesia: An Essay in Historical Anthropology*, 241.
[5] "Te Ao Marama: The Natural World," *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed February 22, 2018, https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-ao-marama-the-natural-world/page-5
[6] Richard Moyle, ed. *The Samoan Journals of John Williams, 1830 and 1832* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1984), 245.
[7] Penelope Schoeffel, "Gender Status and Power in Samoa," *Canberra Anthropology* 1, no. 2 (1978): 70.
[8] Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi, "Samoan Jurisprudence and the Samoan Lands and Titles Court" (Public Lecture Address, University of Hawaii, Manoa, October 29, 2007) http://www.head-of-state-samoa.ws/pages/speech_jurisprudence.html
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.

foreigners, than to see them carry anything on their heads."[11] By association hair was also seen as sacred or *tapu*. This is reflected in the Samoan language where the word for 'head' *ulu* is the same word used for 'hair.' Consequently, hair was also treated with the same level of care and respect; Vason wrote that in Tonga, "when their hair is cut, it is carefully taken and buried in sacred ground."[12]

The notion of head and hair being an embodiment of one's *mana* was steeped in religious and spiritual beliefs. In Samoa, the story of creation centers on the principal god *Tagaloa* or *Tagaloa-lagi*, (*Tagaloa of the Skies)*. After raising up earth for his son *Tuli* to inhabit, *Tagaloa* asks him what grows on the land. *Tuli* replies 'The fue' (a type of creeping weed or vine). *Tagaloa* instructed *Tuli* to uproot the plant, which rotted and produced two grubs called *ilo*. *Tagaloa* then sent two helpers to earth, "*Tangaloa-tosi*, or *Ngai-tosi*, or, as he was also called, *Ngai the marker*, and *Tangaloa-va'a-va'ai* (*Tangaloa the seer),* [or] *Ngai-va'a-va'ai* (*Ngai the seer or beholder*), who were told to operate upon the two grubs."[13] As they did so, they began to form them "into the shape of men, commencing at the head (*ulu*)."[14] The head was the first part of the body to be formed and on its completion, Tuli said "'Let my name be joined with that of the head,' a portion of which was then named *O le-tuli-ulu*."[15] He continued in this manner with the rest of the body. The significance of human creation beginning with the head and then with the consequent naming of that body part in association with a deity reveals the divine importance Samoans placed upon it.

Within Maori mythology there are similar histories that exemplify the belief in the sacredness of the head and its hair. Maui is a figure that is present in multiple Polynesian cosmologies and is often portrayed as a demi-god. In one account he is known as *Maui-Tikitiki-o-Taranga* and was the youngest of five sons born to *Ira-Whaki* and his wife *Taranga*.[16] Taranga was said to have given birth to her youngest son prematurely and was therefore forced by custom to cast him into the sea. However before doing so she apparently "wrapped him up in the topknot of her hair.

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[11] George Vason, *Narrative of the late George Vason, of Nottingham, one of the first missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society in the ship Duff, Captain Wilson, 1796* (England: Henry Mozley, 1840), 35.
[12] Vason, *Narrative of the late George Vason*, 36.
[13] John B. Stair, *Old Samoa, or, Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean* (New Zealand: R. McMillan, 1983), 213-214.
[14] Stair, *Old Samoa, or, Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*, 214.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Maui Pomare and James Cowan, *Legends of the Maori* (Auckland: Southern Reprints, 1987), 134.

Hence his name Maui-Tikitiki-o-Taranga (Maui—who-was-wrapped-in-the-topknot-of-Taranga's hair)."[17] *Tangaroa* who is the god of the sea in Maori mythology "took pity on the shapeless mass of Maui, and thus Maui was brought up by him till he reached matured manhood."[18] In this instance *Taranga*'s hair was not only sacred, it was imbued with enough *mana* to protect Maui until he was discovered by *Tangaroa.*

In even one of the most renowned stories in Polynesian mythology, that of Sina and the Tuna, there is evidence of this embedded belief in the *mana* of the head and its properties. The legend of Sina and the Tuna is present throughout Polynesia with only minor variations. In Tongan lore Sina is known as Hina, and in Mangaian tradition as 'Ina, or in this story spefically as "'Ina-moe-aitu or 'Ina-with-the-divine-lover."[19] The story centers on Sina, a woman of great beauty and Tuna, who was said to be a god that could transform himself into the shape of an eel. Tuna falls in love with Sina and would visit her as she bathed in her pool. Through the jealousy of other men or because of impending floods, Tuna is killed but not before he instructs Sina to take his severed head upon his death and plant it in the ground in front of her house, promising a tree that will grow from it and produce fruit which will feed her and her children forever.[20] This tree is none other than the coconut, and the form with its characteristic three holes, is said to represent the face of Tuna himself. For this reason one of the names given to the coconut is "Te-Mata-o-Tuna"[21] (the face of Tuna).

Hair is also a significant feature in stories about specific Samoan *aitu* or spirits. Two of the most well-known female spirits in Samoa today are Le Telesa and Sauma'iafe[22] and both are said to possess long flowing hair that they wear down. Le Telesa and Sauma'iafe are modern *aitu* who emerged after the Christianization of Samoa.[23] This explains why they have long flowing hair, as women in precontact Samoa were known to wear their hair short or closely cropped.[24] Their fairly recent

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[17] Ibid.
[18] Pomare and Cowan, *Legends of the Maori*, 134.
[19] Gerald McCormack, "The Origin of the Coconut Palm," *The Cook Islands Biodiversity Database*, accessed September 4, 2017, http://cookislands.bishopmuseum.org/showarticle.asp?id=15
[20] Pomare and Cowan, *Legends of the Maori*, 96.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Jeannette Marie Mageo, "Hairdos and Don'ts: Hair Symbolism and Sexual History in Samoa," *A Journal of Women Studies* 17, no. 2 (1996): 142.
[23] Jeanette Marie Mageo, *Cultural Memory Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 70.
[24] Peter Henry Buck, *Samoan Material Culture* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1930), 621.

origin is explained by the fact that they were originally humans who were "taken alive" by existing spirits.[25]

Le Telesa and Sauma'iafe were well-known for seducing attractive young men and for possessing young women who angered them. Young Samoan women were often warned not to walk about at night with their hair out if it was long, as this would be reason enough for these two female *aitu* to 'hit' or possess them.[26] Le Telesa's traditional residence was the village of Lepea while Sauma'iafe's was Sale'imoa.[27] In their resident villages these female spirits may be seen visiting and walking around the *malae* (the central structure of every village representing the villages authority). In one account of a sighting of Le Telesa, only her hair was seen "moving around and across the *malae*."[28] Using their hair in such a way only served to add to their renown and to the notion that hair was innately *mana* (a supernatural substance).

*Aitu* in general were seen to possess *mana* simply because of their supernatural existence and abilities, however for Le Telesa and Sauma'iafe, their long light-brown or reddish hair (termed "*'ena'ena manaia*"[29]) was a definining attribute. The fact that they would attack young women who flaunted their own long hair, suggests not only that they were possessive of the trait, but that long hair in and of itself connoted *mana* and should only be worn by those worthy of being held in fear or high regard. Men who came into sexual contact with these *aitu* often fell sick or died.[30] They also displayed a red, ruddy complexion following these encounters which was said to resemble the complexions of the female *aitu* themselves, as well as their reddish light-brown hair. The association with red colouration is no coincedence as the colour red was advertently tied to *mana* and sacredness throughout Polynesia. Le Telesa and Sauma'iafe's long unbound hair was also inadvertently affiliated with their lack of sexual restraint. However this can also be seen as a signifier of their divine *mana* (which is transferred here through sexual contact) seeing as sexual

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[25] Mageo, *Cultural Memory Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific,* 70.
[26] Ibid., 470.
[27] Mageo, "Hairdos and Don'ts: Hair Symbolism and Sexual History in Samoa,"152.
[28] Richard A. Goodman, "Some Aitu Beliefs of Modern Samoans" *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 80, no. 4 (1971): 470.
[29] Mageo, "Hairdos and Don'ts: Hair Symbolism and Sexual History in Samoa," 143.
[30] Jeannette Marie Mageo, "Ma'i Aitu: The Cultural Logic of Possession in Samoa" *Ethos* 19, no. 3 (1991): 361.

fecundity and fertility were key traits associated with the endowment of *mana* among chiefs in Polynesia.

These myths and histories clearly demonstrate the symbolic connection of the head and hair to Polynesian deities and spiritual figures, as well as the transitive and divine power of the head to contain and also impart *mana*, which was "associated with the vital energies [that govern] the natural world."[31] And it is this belief which in turn helped to establish the phenomenology of *tapu* and *noa* (sacred and common), as seen through the observance of various rituals, protocols and laws throughout Polynesia, regarding the treatment of the head.

Hairstyles and Social Practices Involving the Head in Samoa

In Samoa, treatment of the head and hair was embedded in social practices. The missionary John Williams wrote extensive accounts of his two visits to Samoa in 1830 and 1832. One of the first rules of etiquette he observed upon landing in Savaii for the first time with the Samoan Chief Faauea accompanying him was the untying of men's hair as a sign of respect. Williams writes:

> When the natives learned we were friends they untied their long flowing hair and we were informed it is a custom among them to tie up their hair among enemies and to untie it among friends.[32]

The Reverend and missionary John Stair who later came to Samoa in 1838 and stayed till 1845, elaborated on this custom in his own account of 'Old Samoa' describing how,

> It was considered a great insult to enter the presence of a superior with the hair tied up, and therefore on such occasions the band confining it was removed, and the hair allowed to fall loosely over the shoulders. A neglect of this observance was regarded as an act of defiance, and resented accordingly. The

[31] Mageo, "Hairdos and Don'ts: Hair Symbolism and Sexual History in Samoa," 141.
[32] Richard Moyle, ed. *The Samoan Journals of John Williams, 1830 and 1832* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1984), 69-70.

> same etiquette was observed in the case of equals, unless on terms of intimacy.[33]

This practice was observed in even the most formal of settings, such as a war council meeting or *fono* which women were forbidden to take part in or observe. According to Williams, “On these occasions the most perfect order is preserved. All are seated except the person delivering his speech. He stands up, has his long hair let loose hanging over his shoulders in token of respect to the audience.”[34]

Hair, specifically, had a social function in Samoa and often was a direct reflection of an individual’s status and place within society. Hairstyles were gender specific with men traditionally wearing their hair long and women singeing theirs to keep it short. The only time women would grow their hair long in pre-Christian Samoa, was when they were pregnant, which denoted a state of sexual fecundity.[35] There are a variety of styles for men that Stair wrote about saying,

> The men wore their long hair either hanging loosely over the shoulders or tied up in a knot, called a *fonga*, which was worn either in front, or on the back, crown, or sides of the head, as fashion dictated; indeed they had twelve different styles of wearing the hair, each distinguished by a separate name denoting the position of the *fonga*.[36]

Stair also noted that Samoans had five different terms to differentiate between the textures of hair that existed among them, from glossy and straight to wolly and thick. The level of care designated to hairstyling and grooming was perhaps even more distingushed in persons of rank and chiefs. In Samoa the hair of chiefs was only allowed to be cut by special attendants called *soga. Soga* were not only hairdressers for their chiefs, they “performed the duties of barber, cup-bearer, trumpeter, and special messenger. Whenever the chief chose to undergo the torture,

[33] Stair, *Old Samoa, or Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*, 120.
[34] Moyle, ed., *The Samoan Journals of John Williams*, 241.
[35] Mageo, “Hairdos and Don'ts: Hair Symbolism and Sexual History in Samoa,” 141.
[36] Stair, *Old Samoa, or Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*,120.

the *Songa* clipped off his beard with a couple of cockle-shells, and also, as occasion required, was expected to *futipongaisu*, or pluck the hair from his master's nostril."[37]

Women were no less dedicated in hairstyling, despite the relative shortness of their hair compared to the men. And as Samoans were also in the habit of creating and wearing wigs used for headdresses that were worn in times of war and during dances (of which the *tuiga* would be the principal type), there were a multitude of styles that incorporated these wig frontlets (fig. 1) "formed of human hair plaited to a kind of network."[38] In fact, several styles were used for women, "each distinguished by a name denoting the kind of frontlet worn, or preparation used in dressing their hair."[39] One example saw the use of *pulu* (breadfruit gum) to stiffen the hair, while another utilized a combination of brown clay 'pomade' with limewater to produce "a much-desired shade of golden-brown to the hair."[40]

Certain styles were also observed in accordance with age and sexual status. For example, the *tutagita* was a hairstyle worn only by young women in their virginity. This hairstyle was seen by John Williams and consisted of a head "shaven bare with the exception of a long lock and tuft over the left temple."[41] Turner witnessed this phenomenon too and described young Samoan women sporting "a small twisted lock of hair, with a curl at the end of it, hanging off the left temple."[42] This pre-European practice was also echoed in Tonga, where the primary hairstyle for girls and boys was "long lock of hair (*fangafanga* for girls, *tope* for boys) on one temple."[43] For girls this lock of hair represented their virginal state or "hymen integrity"[44] and was cut after marriage if they had not had sex beforehand. Boys would have their *tope* cut once they had completed the rite of supercision (incision of the foreskin) called *kaukautapu*,[45] and could be classified as adults.

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[37] Ibid., 123.
[38] Ibid., 121.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Moyle, ed., *The Samoan Journals of John Williams*, 102.
[42] George Turner, *Samoa, A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before* (London: Macmillan, 1884), 122.
[43] Andy Mills, "Bodies Permeable and Divine: Tapu, Mana and the Embodiment of Hegemony in Pre-Christian Tonga," in *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures,* eds., Matt Tomlinson and Ty P. Kawika Tengan (Acton: Australian National University Press, 2016), 91.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 90.

As mentioned previously hairstyling or adorning the head was also important in times of war. Williams noted how Samoans prepared themselves, making specific reference to the use of *tuiga* as well. He wrote:

> They liked to decorate themselves in their best when they go to war putting on all the trinkets they can procure by way of ornament. They tie their long hair tight on the top of their head in a large knot. They have attached to their hair large tufts of red feathers or tufts of human hair dyed a lightish brown, a string of blue beads round the neck & a head dress of the nautilus or other shell."[46]

Fig. 1 Decpiction of a Samoan Woman wearing a wig frontlet. From John B. Stair, *Old Samoa or Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean.*

Marquesan Hairstyles

In the Marquesas Islands, both men and women wore a range of elaborate and distinctive hairstyles. Hair texture among the Marquesan people was noted as being either straight or curly, with woolly or course hair more prevalent in lower ranking classes.[47] As well as black or brown hair, auburn coloured hair, sandy or flaxen hair, and even red hair was reportedly seen. These hair colours were produced through

[46] Moyle, ed., *The Samoan Journals of John Williams*, 243-244.
[47] Edwin N. Ferndon, *Early Observations of Marquesan Culture, 1595-1813* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), 10.

dyeing by application of the sap of the *papa* plant, which acted as a bleaching agent and was also used in skin-bleaching processes.[48]

Fig 2. A partially tattooed Marquesan man with his head shaved except for two horn-like tufts of hair. Engraving by John Swaine.

Marquesan men were known to have either short or long hair. A common hairstyle seen among the men (fig. 2) was "to shave most of the head except for one long lock on either side. Each of these was tied in a knot and occasionally wrapped in white bark cloth, the end result appearing like a pair of horns."[49] For women, short hair was a common style in lower-ranking classes while the upper classes wore their hair long and occasionally tied it in a knot on top of the head. In addition to these there were very extreme cases of individualized styles. For example, one style saw one side of the head completely shaved and the hair on the other side left long. Another saw the shaving of the head to form patterns. And a completely shaven head was at times seen on both men and women.[50]

Fijian Hairstyles

Hairstyling was an important aspect of personal adornment among Fijians as

[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

well. Because of the texture and wiriness of their hair, several types of ornate coiffures were worn by Fijian men (fig. 3) and particularly by high-ranking chiefs who had their own personal hairdressers.[51] Men's hairstyles usually featured portions of hair that had been dyed white or red, or treated to give an ashy or sandy colouring that contrasted their natural jet-black hair. They could also include large sections where the hair had been twisted into cords or braids with some men wearing "a number of these braids so as to form a curtain at the back of the neck, reaching from ear to ear."[52] One style saw the hair gathered up in a red knot on the crown of the head while the rest of it was shaved and another saw the hair moulded into a spherical shape with a roll or section just above the forehead that was dyed white. A popular style was to shave most of the head but to leave "three of four rows of small clusters"[53] which looked like small tufts or bushes that had been planted. A particular style that worn only by chiefs of high rank was characterized by conical-shaped locks that extended or radiated out from the head.[54] The process to achieve it was often time consuming because;

> Each lock is a perfect cone, about seven inches long, having the base outwards; so that the surface of the hair is marked out into a great number of small circles, the ends being turned in, in each lock, to the centre of the cone.[55]

Men of rank wore this style as they were the only ones who could afford to have such an intricate hairdo maintained. In regard to women's hairstyling, married women sported styles similar to men, but which were not as large or extensive. Young women in contrast, often wore their hair gathered into "a large woollen mop, of a reddish hue, falling over the eyes."[56]

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[51] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* (London: A Heylin, 1858), 157.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] John George Wood, *The Uncivilized Races of Men in All Countries of the World* (San Francisco: J. A. Brainerd & Company, 1883), 926.
[55] Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, 158.
[56] Ibid., 159.

Fig. 3 Different hairstyles worn by Fijian men. From Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians.*

Death and Funerary Rituals Involving the Head in Polynesia

Even in death the head was treated with great ceremony. In Samoa, if a man was to die on the battlefield and his companions had no way of carrying the body back with them, the head was cut off and "interred with as much ceremony as if the whole body was obtained. The head is considered the sacred part [while] the body will be left to be devoured by the wild dogs & cats."[57] Inversely, if one were to capture the head of an enemy, he would also cut it off and carry it as a trophy, demeaning his enemy and exalting in his own victory and that of his chief, who he would present the head to as a gift.

In these instances, Tahitians were known to take even greater care in ensuring that the heads of their principal chiefs would not fall into enemy hands. They feared that should the enemy obtain the heads or skulls, they would use them for "vile purposes by using it as a sauce cup into which to dip their food as they eat which

[57] Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, 245.

becomes a taunt & reproach to the children & children's children."[58] A well-known example of this was recorded by Williams who describes how the Tamatoa family who were the reigning monarchs on the island of Ra'iatea, abused the skull of a chief of Borabora. Their method of abuse was to allow worms to gnaw on the flesh of his skull.[59] This act significantly demeaned the victim and diminished his *mana*.

In Māori custom, hair could be used in sorcery, or *makutu* (the black arts) and great care was taken to never allow the hair of a chief to be discarded carelessly. According to Buck,

> Chiefs used their personal taboo as a means of protection. Their hair was cut in a specific locality termed a purepurenga. Personal taboo was concentrated in the head and extended to the hair. The falling hair infected the purepurenga locality with the chief's taboo. The family spirits which protect a chief's taboo act in a manner very similar to the familiar spirits of a sorcerer. Anyone who interfered with the taboo place was attacked by the spiritual guardians of the chief's taboo.[60]

In Hawaii, when human sacrifice would take place the skull of the victim was often preserved afterwards and "put on a *paehumu* pole: as the most important part of the body it stays in the temple with the gods."[61] When this did not occur it was usually because the head would have already been gifted to the high-ranking chief or *ali'i* who was responsible for killing the man or taking him prisoner. More often than not, it was the jaw and specifically the teeth that were given to one of the *ali'i*, usually the king. These were then used to adorn his clothing and other possessions; the teeth would be "attached to his loincloths and feather cloaks or to his vessels (spittoons, bowls, etc.), sacrificial drums, or sacred conch shells."[62] Perhaps one of the most famous examples of this is the death and consequent dispersal of the body of Captain Cook. Cooks remains were awarded to a handful of *ali'i*, all of significant rank in

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[58] Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, 245.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Peter Henry Buck, *Regional Diversity in the Elaboration of Sorcery in Polynesia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 14.
[61] Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 338-339.
[62] Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, 339.

Hawaiian society. What is interesting is that only the most high-ranking of those *ali'i* were given parts of the head. Kamehameha was given the hair, King Kalani'opu'u was given the lower jaw (with teeth) and Kekuhaupi'o, who was the son-in-law of the high priest Holoa'e was given Cook's skull.[63]

In Tonga, when someone was being prepared for sacrifice or execution, which often applied to the wives of dead chiefs (who were expected to follow them to the afterlife), or to those who were going to be euthanized, "their heads were shaved and painted with turmeric prior to killing."[64] Tumeric, known as *'ega* in Tonga and *lega* in Samoa, had many significant uses in Polynesian societies as a type of cosmetic and a form of ritual adornment which often denoted a state of tapu. Those that were to be sacrificed and were prepared with *'ega* were even called "*tangata tapu* or 'tapu men.'"[65] These procedures once again highlight the Polynesian notion of the head as the most sacrosanct part of the body, even in death.

For Tongan people the notion of the head being *tapu* was reflected in the most basic interactions within families and communities. Commoners or *tu'a* were expected to bow in the presence of *hou'eiki* or chiefly figures, and to place the backs of their hands on the soles of the chief's feet. The more pronounced manifestation of this gesture was to place the chief's feet upon one's head.[66] This was a physical illustration of the authority chiefs held over their people. As in all Polynesian societies touching another person's head was otherwise forbidden. In Tonga, adult men were *tapu* and it was therefore extremely dangerous "for a man's child or wife to ever touch his head."[67] This practice was even more extreme in persons of high rank. For example, when a *hou'eiki* or chiefly person died, those people attending the body "were forbidden from approaching the head and sat facing the deceased's feet."[68]

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[63] Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, 339-340.
[64] Andy Mills, "Bodies Permeable and Divine: Tapu, Mana and the Embodiment of Hegemony in Pre-Christian Tonga," in *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures,* eds., Matt Tomlinson and Ty P. Kawika Tengan (Acton: Australian National University Press, 2016), 85.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Irving Goldman, *Ancient Polynesian Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 518.
[67] Andy Mills, "Bodies Permeable and Divine: Tapu, Mana and the Embodiment of Hegemony in Pre-Christian Tonga," in *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures,* eds., Matt Tomlinson and Ty P. Kawika Tengan (Acton: Australian National University Press, 2016), 83.
[68] Andy Mills, "Bodies Permeable and Divine: Tapu, Mana and the Embodiment of Hegemony in Pre-Christian Tonga," in *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in*

Even in eating and drinking, the head was revered. When the Tu'i Tonga or King of Tonga ate, only his attendants or *matapule* could serve him and witness him eating. All others were not permitted to look upon him while he ate and therefore faced the opposite direction. This was because the Tu'i Tonga's head, specifically his open mouth and gaze, were portals to his *manava* (embodied lifeforce) and "had a radiant debilitating capacity at distance"[69] because of their ability to impart his *tapu*. Captain Cook witnessed this protocol (called *kaitafoki*) in person when he invited two Tongan chiefs aboard the HMS *Resolution* for lunch. The lesser of the two chiefs refused to eat in front of the other chief and instead went "to the other end of the table and sat and ate with his back towards him."[70]

Another Tongan protocol that involved the head was the shaving or singeing-off of hair when someone died. When a man died his children shaved their heads. When a chief died all those under him singed their hair. The removal or shaving of hair was also accompanied with mass self-mutilation of the head, known as *foa'ulu*.[71] Examples of *foa'ulu* included the beating of scalps with clubs, or cutting with knives. Cheeks were also pierced or scoured until they bled. All these acts point to the head as the seat of ones *tapu* and its role in acting out culturally appropriate responses to various events or phenomena. The numerous protocols surrounding the treatment of the head in Tongan society formed a necessary part in regulating 'relational' *tapu* which saw the transferal of one's *mana* through varying forms of contact between persons of different rank.

When these protocols or laws were not carried out, terrible consequences always ensued. For common people, breaking the laws of *tapu* for example by touching another person's head could bring sickness upon the victim that would only be lifted by the man whose *tapu* or sanctity had been contaminated. The man could do so by performing "*amohi* (relation stroking) of the head, throat or belly"[72] on the victim. If someone did not respect the *tapu* of a high-ranking *hou'eiki* he risked certain death. This was mirrored in the Hawaiian *kapu* system and in Fiji as well.

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*Pacific Languages and Cultures,* eds., Matt Tomlinson and Ty P. Kawika Tengan (Acton: Australian National University Press, 2016), 93.
[69] Ibid., 95.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 93
[72] Ibid., 84.

A prime example of this was the death and cannibalization of the Wesleyan missionary Thomas Baker in Fiji in 1867, which occurred when he touched the head of a Fijian chief. Baker was attempting to reach the inland tribes of Viti Levu who had not yet been Christianized. He met a local chief of Navatusila by the name of Nakatakataimoso who he preached the gospel to in hopes of converting him. When the chief refused, Baker, who had given him a comb as a gift, insulted him by attempting to remove the comb from his head. In touching the chief's head Baker broke one of most important laws relating to the observance of a Fijian chief's *tabu* or sanctity. This not only represented a complete disregard of social etiquette, it was seen as deliberate affront to the chief's *mana* (which symbolically resides in the head). Such an act warranted immediate death and with the help of another chief from Navuso, Baker along with his seven companions were killed and eaten with portions of his body being distributed throughout Navosa.[73]

That Baker's death occurred as recently as 1867, shows how deeply entrenched these notions regarding the sanctity of the head were in Polynesian culture (which extended to Fiji), even after the arrival of Europeans. To this day Baker remains the only missionary in Fiji who was killed and eaten, illustrating the gravity of his crime and the persistence of cultural practices that observed the head as the most sacred part of the body.

## Different Examples of Head and Hair Adornment in Polynesia

Understanding the significance associated with the head in Polynesian culture suggests that the adornment of the head was part of a holistic understanding of the body, with the head being the most sacred body part. All Polynesians adorned their heads however there was a wide spectrum of adornment forms that often reflected one's gender and position in the wider social system and hierarchy. The lower classes often wore simpler forms of head adornment while the more lavish and symbolically significant headdresses were exclusively reserved for the nobility of Polynesian society i.e., high ranking chiefs or *ali'i* (lords and chiefly persons). In some cases, certain headdresses were set apart to be used only for a single paramount figure in a society such as the Tu'i Tonga (the King of Tonga) or the Chief Mourner in Tahiti.

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[73] Basil Thomson, *The Fijians: A Study of the Decay of Custom* (London: Heinemann, 1908), 107.

This section will examine some forms of distinguished head adornment in Polynesia as well as adornments incorporating human hair.

Hawaii

The most prominent form of head adornment among Hawaiian men was the *mahiole* or helmet (fig. 4). *Mahiole* were made in a number of different styles "each consistent with the social position of the wearer."[74] They had a basket-like wickerwork structure, usually made from *'ie 'ie* vines, with "raised arches on each side to accommodate the wearer's ears, and a high crest running from the forehead to the back of the neck."[75] Feathered *mahiole,* with their fine netting and brightly coloured feathers, were reserved for high chiefs and kings only and were often paired with feather cloaks (which were the most prestigious item of adornment for *ali'i* (chiefs) symbolizing their divine rank). Other more rare forms included hair *mahiole* which were covered with human hair taken from "a vanquished enemy for decorative purposes,"[76] and *mahiole* with protruding mushroom-shaped ornaments; these were worn by warriors and lesser chiefs.

*Mahiole* were unique to Hawaii and were a crucial part of royal and upper-class regalia. They were instant signifiers of rank and according to the style and form, denoted the wearer's level of authority and *mana.* The form and shape of crested *mahiole* also referenced a particular hairstyle called *'oki mahiole*[77] which saw the hair "closely cut on the sides and a ridge of hair on top."[78] This hairstyle itself had divine connotations as representations of the Hawaiian God Kū often depicted him with a crested head, similar to those seen in *mahiole* or the *oki mahiole* hairstyle.[79]

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[74] Peter Henty Buck, *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1957), 231.
[75] Nicholas Thomas et al., *Artefacts of Encounter: Cooks Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), 185.
[76] Buck, *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*, 243.
[77] Mary Kawena Pukui, *Hawaiian Dictionary; Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 455.
[78] Jeffrey L. Gross, *Waipi'o Valley: A Polynesian Journey from Eden to Eden* (Indiana: Xlibris Publishing, 2016), 495.
[79] Val Crohn-Ching, "Mahiole" *Public Art Archive*, accessed February 22, 2018, http://www.publicartarchive.org/work/mahiole-0#date

Fig. 4. John Webber, *Portrait of Kaneena, a Chief of the Sandwich Islands in the North Pacific Ocean*, late 18th century, print, 21 x 16.2 cm, Collection of the British Museum, London.

One of the most coveted forms of Hawaiian adornment that incorporates the use of human hair is the *lei niho palaoa* or whale tooth necklace (fig. 5), which was worn by the greatest *ali'i nui* of Hawaii. Although this necklace was not a form of head adornment, its use of human hair, which originates from the head, made it intrinsically *mana*, The *lei niho palaoa* is,

> A hook shaped ornament made originally from a sperm-whale tooth (palaoa or palaowa) and suspended by two coils of braided human hair. Cords are attached to the upper ends of the coils to tie at the back of the neck so that the coils hang over the breast with the free end of the hook forward.[80]

The coils themselves are made from a very fine, thin braided plait that can measure up to 500 metres in length, and which is looped continuously through and around the pendant to form the thick rope-like coils that are tied around the neck. This feat of craftsmanship with human hair, which would have taken thousands of hours of

[80] Buck, *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*, 535.

labour, reflects the value placed on it and the Polynesian belief in hair being a sacred substance that would endow the ornament with *mana*.

Fig. 5. A *Lei Niho Palaoa* in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The hook shaped pendant is also a point of interest as its form is not readily recognizable. It has been likened to a protruding stylized tongue; however, many deem that its "crescent-shaped form may metaphorically allude to the role of the necklace as a vessel for supernatural power (mana)."[81] If this is true, the use of hair, an intrinsically mana substance, would be an appropriate material to pair with the whale-tooth pendant.

Tahiti

The Tahitian *ari'i* or nobles had three basic types of headdresses; the *taupo'o* (cap or hat), *hei* (wreath), and *ta'amu'upo'o* (turban).[82] *Taupo'o* were the most rare type of headdress worn by people of high status. The most famous *taupo'o* was made

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[81] "Whale-tooth Necklace (Lei Niho Palaoa) Hawai'i" *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed September 11, 2017, http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/313842
[82] Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1985), 286.

of feathers and named "*te-ata-o-Tu* (the-cloud-of-Tu)"[83] and along with a *maro' ura* or feathered loincloth, formed the ceremonial dress worn by those "being invested with important titles"[84] or presiding over important religious rituals. *Tu* was one of the chief deities in Tahiti and the naming of this particular *taupo'o* in relation to stories of *Tu* signified its importance as a religious garment. On Cook's third voyage (1776-1780), he witnessed a ritual human sacrifice, which was presided over by Tupaia, a Tahitian from Ra'iatea who was also Cook's navigator.[85] Tupaia was seen holding both the *maro 'ura* (feathered loincloth) and the famous *taupo'o* '*te-ata-o-Tu'* with its characteristic red feathers, while officiating the sacrifice. *Ta'amu'upo'o* or turbans were a more common and popular form of headress. They were made from fine *tapa* (barkcloth) and were often formally worn by high-ranking warriors. Like Hawaiian *lei*, Tahitian *hei* were often made with feathers when worn by high-ranking individuals (as feathers were closely associated with divinity). For example, the Kings own counsellor had a particular type of *hei'oro'oro* ('wreath with feather clusters') that he wore in the Kings presence, which was "made of glossy black feathers set upright, and standing high around the head."[86]

*Fau* headdresses, which ceased to be produced around the end of the 18th century due to socio-political systematic changes in Tahiti, are striking examples of the stylistic range of headdresses made in Polynesia. Typically made out of split *'ie 'ie* vine fibres, the *fau* consisted of a cylindrical framework that could stretch over 1.2 metres in height, with a shield-shaped splayed piece attached to its front. This frontal piece was usually covered and fringed with feathers whereas the cylindrical frame was often left bare. So imposing were these headdresses when worn that George Forster, who was the naturalist on Cook's second voyage, is believed to have described one as a "monstrous helmet of war of five feet high."[87]

[83] Ibid.
[84] Karen Stevenson and Steven Hooper, "Tahitian Fau: Unveiling an Enigma," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116, no. 2 (2007): 204.
[85] Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, 286.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Stevenson and Hooper, "Tahitian Fau: Unveiling an Enigma," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116, no. 2 (2007): 192.

Fig. 6. Headdress (*fau*) made of vegetable fibre basketry, covered in black feathers and edged with tropic bird feathers with plaited barkcloth ties, acquired by Captain James Cook, 1753-1800, Collection of the British Museum, London.

Drawing on written accounts such as Forster's, as well as drawings, paintings, and the two surviving *fau* still in existence today (fig. 6) in the British and Pitt Rivers Museum collections, it is clear that these headdresses were symbolic adornments meant to visually differentiate and elevate high-ranking naval chiefs or chiefly warriors. Forster and his father Johann Reinhold, as well as Cook himself all made mention of these enormous 'helmets' which they saw being worn by only a select few at an impressive naval review of at least 159 canoes at Matavai Bay on the 26th of April, 1774.[88] While they would have been too large to be worn during actual battle, their significance in symbolizing the *mana* of important figureheads, and the divine favour they were supposedly endowed with (which all feather adornments represented), made *fau* important personifications of military power and *mana* in the context of warfare.

[88]Stevenson and Hooper, "Tahitian Fau: Unveiling an Enigma,"193.

Cook Islands

In the Cook Islands, coir caps or coconut fibre helmets made from coiled sennit, were popular headdresses for warriors and were worn during battle. In Atiu, coir caps or helmets were known as *taka'a* (fig. 7) and were renowned for their ability to protect warriors from sling stones.[89] In contrast to adornments like the Hawaiian *mahiole* or Tahitian *fau*, coir caps were utilitarian in function and were not restricted to one class or rank (when worn in their most basic form).

Fig. 7. Coir caps or *taka'a* from Aitu, in the collection of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

On the island of Rarotonga, these caps could take a more conical shape with a "higher…pointed apex provided with a loop of sennit."[90] (fig. 8). Although still referred to as a kind of war-cap worn by warriors, this type of cap was specifically noted for being worn by priests and religious figures during an "offering [of] food to the gods on a marae."[91] It also differs from the Atiu caps in its decoration, which included bunches of black feathers and cowrie shells attached to the front with another streamer of feathers hanging down the side.

Coir caps often formed the foundation for much more lavish chiefly feather headdresses which were embellished with materials such as feathers, and which denoted elevated rank, social standing, and divine *mana*. The only surviving coir cap still in use in Rarotonga is one such headdress (fig. 9), owned by the chiefly Makea

[89] Ibid., 83.
[90] Peter Henry Buck, *Art and Crafts of the Cook Islands* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971), 87.
[91] Ibid.

family.[92] Interwoven into the coir cap of this headdress is a feather framework made from an abundance of cock's plumage and tropic bird red tail feathers. This headdress bears many visual similarities to the Samoan *tuiga*. Interestingly the Makea dynasty of Rarotonga trace their lineage to back to Samoa through one of Rarotonga's founding ancestors Karika[93] who is said to have originally come from Manu'a,[94] which may explain this.

Fig. 8. Drawing of a Rarotongan war cap, collection of the British Museum, London.

Aitutakian feather headdresses differed slightly in decoration but like the Makea headdress from Rarotonga, used a coir cap as the foundation for their feather headdress or *pare kura* which sported an abundance of red feathers as the name suggests (*kura* is the term for red feathers like *ula* in Samoan). *Pare kura* were striking headdresses comprising "a cocounut fibre helmet [coir cap] and woven net attachment from which thick tresses of human hair hang down the length of the back. A front panel of densely packed red feather clusters is set beneath an impressive crest of tropic bird (tavake) tail feathers which rise up dramatically to frame the face and head."[95]

[92] Buck, *Art and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, 88.
[93] Matthew Campbell, "History in Prehistory: The Oral Traditions of the Rarotonga Land Court Records," *The Journal of Pacific History* 37, no. 2 (2002): 227.
[94] Niel Gunson, "Great Families of Polynesia: Inter-Island Links and Marriage Patterns," *The Journal of Pacific History* 32, no. 2 (1997): 145.
[95] "Artefacts of Encounter: Pare Kura Cook Islands Headdress at MAA" *Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*, accessed August 21, 2017, http://maa.cam.ac.uk/aofe/news_pare_kura_02_2013.html

Fig. 9. Drawing of the Makea Headdress or Rarotongan chief's headdress, collection of the British Museum, London.

This assemblage of highly *tapu* materials effectively transforms the wearer and his head into a visual nucleus of *mana* and authority. It is not surprising therefore that a high-ranking chief supposedly named Te Po, was depicted proudly wearing this type of headdress by the Reverend John Williams (fig. 10).

Tonga

Feather headdresses called *fae* or *faefae* also existed in Tonga and were worn by *houeiki* or chiefs during a "festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition.[96] However the most rare and renowned form of headdress in pre-Christian Tonga was the *palā tavake* (fig. 11), a fanned feathered headdress that was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, the supreme ruler and divine king of all Tonga. The *palā tavake* was made with spiralling barkcloth-covered sticks which fanned out in a crescent shape over the head, and were each adorned with red and white feathers. Its express purpose was to mark the wearers divinity and *mana* and this is reflected in its construction and materials. The Tu'i Tonga title and line is said to originate from the

[96] Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1929), 127.

god Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a who impregnated a human woman resulting in the birth of a son, ‘Aho’eitu who was given the first title of Tu’i Tonga and the authority to rule over the islands.[97] This divine lineage is what made the Tu’i Tonga the most powerful figure in Tongan society and because the *palā tavake* was intended to be worn by him, it needed to represent this.

Fig. 10. John Williams, *Portrait of Te Po, a Chief of Rarotonga*, 1839, print, 17.4 x 12.2 cm, collection of the British Museum, London.

[97] Phyllis Herda and Billie Lythberg “Featherwork and Divine Chieftainship in Tonga” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 123, no. 3 (2014): 282.

The use of an abundance of feathers is enough to rank this headdress as a sacred form of adornment. The red and white feathers which would have come from the red-breasted musk parrot and the white-tailed tropic bird[98] are the only types of feathers used throughout the whole headdress and yet each bird only had two of each feather. Some of the barkcloth strips and bindings are *ngatu'uli* (fig. 12), a black variety of barkcloth which was made with candlenut soot in a very time-consuming process and which meant that it was "reserved for chiefly usage."[99] These materials combined, served to visually differentiate the Tu'i Tonga, to reinforce his connection to the god Tangaloa, and to showcase his "own personal efficacy as [the] earthly representative of divinity."[100] That they ceased to be produced at the same time that the Tu'i Tonga line began to decline (in the late 18th century) shows the deeply personal connection of this sacred regalia to the figure of the Tu'i Tonga.

As all these examples demonstrate, head adornment particularly headdresses, especially those worn by Polynesian nobility, were complex assemblages that were encoded with meaning and value. They incorporated rare materials that were considered highly potent or *tapu* and were made to further embellish the most *tapu* part of the body in an appropriate way. In effect these creations not only speak to the *mana* and prestige of high ranking individuals, they effect transformation. And this idea of the transformative ability of sacred headdresses is what makes the Samoan *tuiga* very interesting.

## Conclusion

This chapter has provided a contextual basis for this thesis' discussion of the *tuiga* by outlining the role and overall significance of the head and its adornment in wider Polynesia. It has emphasized the importance of underlying religious beliefs and spiritual epistemologies, which permeated pre-contact Polynesia, in constructing notions that equated the head with symbolic representations of *mana*.

It has explored the social role of hair and its various styles in Polynesia, as well as social and ritual practices involving or using the head, which reflected its culturally

[98] Phyllis Herda and Billie Lythberg "Featherwork and Divine Chieftainship in Tonga," 282.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., 284.

encoded significance. This chapter has also examined in detail, specific forms of distinguished head adornment from throughout Polynesia, discussing their importance and function within their respective societies. In doing so it has demonstrated that religious and cultural epistemologies have always had historical agency in the development of head adornment in Polynesia. And as the next chapter will establish, this extends to the development and social implementation of *tuiga* in Samoan culture as well.

Fig. 11. John Webber and John Hall, *Poulaho, King of the Friendly Islands'* 1784, engraving on paper, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki, Auckland.

Fig. 12. Feather headdress thought to be the last surviving *palā tavake*, Museo de America, Madrid.

# Chapter Two

# Tuiga: A Samoan Adornment

The connection between distinguished forms of head adornment to religious belief systems in pre-colonial Polynesian culture demonstrates the significance of the *tuiga* headdress as a sacred adornment of *Fa'a Samoa* or Samoan culture. This chapter will explain the divine origins of the *tuiga* and its connection to *Tagaloa,* the supreme deity in pre-Christian Samoan cosmology. In its earliest form, the *tuiga* was a headdress reserved solely for the highest rank of chiefs in Samoa called *ali'i pa'ia* or 'sacred chiefs.' The *tuiga* was an expression of their divine *mana*, which derived solely from their genealogical links back to the god *Tagaloa*. This meant that the *tuiga* was an adornment that was imbued with intrinsic cultural value from the time of its inception. The *tuiga*'s use as a personal adornment of paramount chiefs made it akin to a crown and designated it as a *measina* (treasure) of the highest form in Samoa.

In addition to outlining the historical and spiritual origins of the *tuiga* and its connection to *Tagaloa*, this chapter will explore how these attributes influenced the transition of the adornment into practical and ritual uses within a myriad of Samoan cultural contexts. It will begin with a discussion of the symbolic relationship between the *tuiga* and the sacred roles of the *taupou* and *manaia.* The chapter will then discuss the functionality of the *tuiga* within different social and ceremonial contexts and will investigate how its use within these contexts helped to enforce social structure and political hierarchies. Lastly, it will examine how *tuiga* were constructed and assembled prior to and during European contact in Samoa. This will be followed with an in-depth analysis of the adornment's materiality (including hair, feathers, shells and their symbolism and significance).

## The *Tuiga* and *Tagaloa*

In pre-Christian Samoan religion *Tagaloa* or *Tagaloa-le-lagi* (*Tagaloa of the Skies*) is the supreme deity and progenitor of all things. In the words of His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi, "All life-forms are the issues of *Tagaloa*: from the

heavens, moon and stars through to the sea, the trees and land and including all animal and mankind."[1] Although *Tagaloa* is said to have created mankind through the *fue* or creeper vine, which brought forth human beings, he did not impart *mana* to the race as a whole. Instead "he gave *mana* to humankind by marrying mortal women whose offspring were the ancestors of the paramount lineages of Samoa. The *mana* of the god was transmitted by sexual intercourse and procreation and perpetuated through bloodlines."[2] Both Stair and Krämer noted the belief of chiefly titles being founded on a mythology that links back to *Tagaloa*. These bloodlines belonged to the *ali'i pa'ia* or sacred chiefs "who held the principal titles of the maximal lineages from which almost all lower ranking sub-lineages of Samoa trace their origin and from which their *ali'i* derive their *mana.*"[3]

The fact that it was these paramount chiefs alone (with their respective *manaia* or *taupou*) who could wear the *tuiga* shows an irrevocable link between the adornment and the god *Tagaloa*. The *tuiga* was first and foremost a symbol of descent from the deity, and secondly of the *mana* that was imbued in the individual chief who wore it because of this descent. That the term *tuiga* has been ascribed the meaning "to touch the heavens"[4] only serves to further support this story of origin. *Tagaloa* is said to reside in the ninth heaven, the highest realm, where he is known as "*Tagaloa*, the creator, and *Tagaloa*, the immoveable."[5] The word *tuiga* can be read in connection to the verb *tutu'i*,[6] which means to pierce. *Tui* can also mean to be pierced, pricked or injected.[7] The term "to touch the heavens," used in relation to *tuiga,* can therefore be more accurately expressed as 'to pierce the heavens' or 'to be pierced by the heavens.' This double meaning articulates the spiritual function of the *tuiga*. When worn by a paramount chief, the *tuiga* is a visual representation of that chief's elevated

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[1] Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi, "In Search of Harmony: Peace in the Samoan Indigenous Religion" *The Colloquium Organized by Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 12-15 January, 2005* (Samoa: T. Tamasese, 2005), 3.
[2] Penelope Schoeffel, "Gender Status and Power in Samoa," *Canberra Anthropology* 1, no. 2 (1978): 70.
[3] Ibid., 71.
[4] Caroline Vercoe, "Samoan Dance: A Visual Art," (Master of Arts thesis, the University of Auckland, 1994), 108.
[5] John Fraser, "The Samoan Story of Creation: A Tala," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1, no.3 (1892): 178.
[6] George Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary* (Papakura: R. McMillan Southern Reprints, 1984), 389.
[7] Semisi Ma'ia'i, *Tusi'upu Samoa: The Samoa Dictionary of Papali'i Dr. Semisi Ma'ia'i, Vol I* (Auckland: Little Island Press, 2010), 417.

status and spiritual right to pierce, touch or attain to the heavens, the abode of *Tagaloa* from whom he descends. More importantly the *tuiga* is a visual marker that a particular chief has himself been pierced and injected with *mana* by *Tagaloa* (through direct descent).

The Tui Manu'a and his *Tuiga*

This discussion is further extended when looking at the prominence of the Tui regime in Samoa and in Western Polynesia. Many of the old paramount chiefs referred to in historical and mythological accounts of Samoa use the prefix '*Tui'* such as the Tui Manu'a, Tui Fiti, Tui Atua, Tui A'ana, and so on. In this context the word *tui* is defined as "a high chief, [or] a king"[8] and was used for those very chiefs that belonged to the class of *ali'i pa'ia*, whose lineages linked back to *Tagaloa*.

The title of Tui Manu'a (Lord or King of Manu'a) is considered one of the oldest paramount chiefly lines in Samoa. Like the Tu'i Tonga, the Tui Manu'a had direct links to *Tagaloa*. And like the wearing of the *pale tavake* by the Tu'i Tonga, the *tuiga*, when worn by Tui Manu'a represented the divine link of his chiefly title to *Tagaloa* as well. Manu'a refers to the islands of Ta'u, Ofu, and Olosenga (which today are part of American Samoa). Ancient Samoan oratorical histories describe Manu'a as the ruling centre of a vast Polynesian empire.

Krämer writes that earliest kings of Manu'a called themselves *Tuimanu'a ma Samoa 'atoa* or King of Manu'a and all of Samoa "in which the word for 'all of' (*'atoa*) did not only refer to Samoa as such, but also to all surrounding islands, as Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga, Tahiti…all of which had to bring Tuimanu'a food tributes (umiti)."[9] Krämer also concluded that "by about the year 1100 the pre-eminence of Manu'a in Samoa had come to an end."[10] Despite its decline, Manu'a is still acknowledged today as the mythological birthplace and former political centre of Samoan society. For example, the famed cerermonial cry "Tui Manu'a e lo'u ali'i e" which translates to "Tui Manu'a, thou art my lord" was still used afterward all

[8] Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary*, 321.
[9] Augustin Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. I* (Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1994-1995), 9.
[10] Ernest Edgar Vyvyan Collocott, "An Experiment in Tongan History," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 33, no. 131 (1924): 170.

throughout Samoa at the funerals of high chiefs and when a warrior took someones head in battle.[11]

The symbolic importance of Manu'a is also based on Samoan creation narratives. Manu'a and Samoa were said to be the names of two sons born to the couple Night and Day, who *Tagaloa* had created and given the realm of the first heaven to. Night and Day had many children, including all the stars and constellations. However, *Tagaloa* the creator said to Night and Day "Let those two youths, Manu'a and Samoa, descend and be the rulers of the progeny of Fatu ma le Eleele (the first human pair), and their names shall be appended to the royal title of Tagaloa the Unchangeable, who is king of the ninth heaven. He was therefore, entitled King of Manua-tele and all Samoa."[12] Thus Manu'a was the first land mass peopled by humans and it was only after Manu'a had been founded that *Tagaloa* supposedly went on to create the islands of Fiji, Tonga, Savai'i, Upolu and Tutuila, with their respective human populations.[13]

The Tui Manu'a "derives his sanction from Tagaloa"[14] as the title itself is said to have originated in some form from the deity. Tagaloa is described as either a direct ancestor of the Tui Manu'a or the divine authority that conferred on him his title. *Tagaloa* is able to take the form of many different gods all with the first name *Tagaloa*. As mentioned previously he is credited as the progenitor of all creation. So when the Sun (Lā) combined with the darkness (Ui) in union, the deity *Tagaloaui* or *Tagaloa-a-Ui* was born.[15] *Tagaloa-a-Ui*'s firstborn son was *Ta'etagaloa* (which literally means 'the issue of *Tagaloa*') who in some accounts was the first Tui Manu'a.[16] Other oral histories dictate that *Tagaloa-lagi* (Tagaloa of the Skies or Heavens) bestowed the heavenly title of Tui Manu'a on an existing chief.[17]

The various connections, both mythological and historical, of the Tui Manu'a to Tagaloa gave the chief great *mana*, which is expressed primarily in the considerable *tapu* (sanctity) that was placed on his body, food and resting place.

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[11] Margaret Mead, *Social Organization of Manua* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1930), 191-192.
[12] Ibid., 150-151.
[13] Ibid., 151.
[14] Ibid.,176.
[15] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. I*, 569.
[16] Mead, *Social Organization of Manua*, 162, 177.
[17] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. I*, 526.

However, this was also expressed through personal adornment. For the purposes of this thesis, I argue that the *tuiga* would have been a crowning adornment for the Tui Manu'a, aimed at representing the divine origins of his power. It is also more than likely that the tradition of high chiefs wearing *tuiga* originated in Manu'a (given its early historical significance in Samoa and Polynesia).

It was later practiced throughout all Samoa that the right to wear a *tuiga* was reserved for high chiefs only.[18] By extension these chiefs could allow their *taupou* and *manaia* (chiefly princes and maidens usually related to the high chief) to also wear the *tuiga* for a range of ceremonial occasions. However, Manu'a was even more distinct in this respect because aside from the Tui Manu'a the only other person who was ever permitted to wear his *tuiga* was his personal *taupou*, called the *fa'ana*, who acted as an honorary personal servant.[19] She would do so at *ta'alolo* (food offerings), where she was the only person that was allowed to wear the *tuiga*. Traditionally *ta'alolo* were lavish food offerings attended by boisterous celebration that featured a large procession with multiple *taupou* and *manaia* wearing *tuiga* and swinging war clubs. To restrict the wearing of *tuiga* to a single figure, the *fa'ana*, whose role ornamented the title of the Tui Manu'a, and who essentially was an extension of this paramount figure, shows the importance of the headdress as a personal adornment of the Tui Manu'a alone.

Also mentioned in reference to the Tui Manu'a is the sacred personal headdress called *Ao ma pa'ia,* "that King Tuimanu'a puts on during his coronation."[20] *Ao* in Samoan has a number of meanings, four of which illustrate the relation of high chiefs to head adornment. *Ao* was the formal word for a chief's head, a title of dignity given to chiefs, a word to refer to daylight or the dawn, or a word for cloud.[21] *Pa'ia* is the word for sacred. So, the title *Ao ma pa'ia* refers to a headdress embodying the sacred head or title, or sacred cloud of the Tui Manu'a. According to Su'apa'ia, "it is the most well-guarded secret in Manu'a where the crown-like headwear is kept after each coronation."[22] Although not explicitly stated (due to its obscurity), it is more

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[18] Mead, *Social Organization of Manua,* 114.
[19] Ibid., 184.
[20] Kipeni Su'apa'ia, *Samoa, The Polynesian Paradise; an Introduction to Ancient and Modern Samoa and the Polynesian Triangle* (New York: Exposition Press, 1962), 101.
[21] Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary*, 58.
[22] Su'apa'ia, *Samoa, The Polynesian Paradise; an Introduction to Ancient and Modern Samoa and the Polynesian Triangle,* 101.

than likely that this symbolic headwear was a *tuiga*, considering the significance of the adornment to ancient Samoan culture. The use of *tuiga* by paramount chiefs and kings such as the Tui Manu'a perfectly exemplifies the inextricable link between the *mana* of one's head (and what was worn on it) to the heavenly, divine and deified realms.

<u>The Relationship of *Tuiga* to the sacred roles of *Taupou* and *Manaia*</u>

It has been established that *tuiga* were the reserved adornment for high-ranking chiefs or *ali'i* and that this extended to their *taupou* and *manaia,* but what exact value were these chiefly roles endowed with and why?

The *manaia* was the son of a chief and was the hereditary heir to his father's title and authority within the family. The *manaia* "was the strength of the village…[while] the taupou has been described as the female ornament of the chief's rank."[23] The *manaia* presided over the *aumaga*, the council of untitled men, completing daily tasks related to the up-keep and labours of village life. The *taupou,* the ceremonious honoured virgin was traditionally the daughter of the chief, and likewise was head of the council of untitled and unmarried women, known as the *aualuma* who formed her 'court' (fig. 13).

The ceremonial roles of *manaia* and *taupou* were universally respected and upheld. This is because they demonstrated "the two poles of the chief's office, its responsibility for formality most appropriately portrayed through a virgin girl (the quintessence of the female side), and its regard for the practical and efficacious represented by an energetic young man."[24] Beyond this basic description, *taupou* and *manaia* were living embodiments of *mana* and a hyper-realization of the relationship between chiefly brothers and their sisters, known as *feagaiga*. Pratt defines *feagaiga* in the following ways: "1. an established relationship between different parties, as between brothers and sisters and their children. *Lota tuafafine le feagaiga.* Also between chiefs and their *tulafale.* 2. An agreement, a covenant."[25]

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[23] Irving Goldman, *Ancient Polynesian Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 266.
[24] Ibid.
[25] George Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary* (Papakura: R. McMillan Southern Reprints, 1984), 128.

Fig. 13. A *taupou* and her entourage, most likely members of the *aualuma*.
Photographic print by John Paine, 19th century, taken in Pagopago, American Samoa.

Jeanette Marie Mageo goes into greater analytical depth about the particular type of *feagaiga* relationship upheld between brothers and sisters saying,

> Chiefs and sisters are considered repositories of their family's *mana*. Samoan chiefs have *mana* by virtue of their titles (Shore 1982:69-70). Traditionally, the sister was considered the source of her family's *mana*. "The chief basks in the glow of his sister's *mana*," Shore tells us, "his power a reflection of her status" (1981:199). It is incumbent upon these two figures to contain *mana* through their *mamalu,* for the greater good of the polity. Like the chief's *mamalu*, that of his sister is equated with inactivity and solemn silence (Shore 1989:157). Unlike his, her *mamalu* is also coincident with virginity (Schoeffel 1979:178-180; Shore 1981:196-197, 199)…The *taupou* is the ceremonial virgin of the village and is an idealized version of the sister. Her role in the village corresponds to that of the sister within the family."[26]

For this reason, the *taupou,* when wearing a *tuiga* became a potent symbol of civic duty, in whose personage was combined the collective *mana* of an entire family

[26] Jeanette Marie Mageo, "Ma'i Aitu: The Cultural Logic of Possession in Samoa" *Ethos* 19, no. 3 (1991): 354-355

group or village. This is why, "traditionally the girl's private self, and the sexuality associated with it, was to be subservient to the greater glory of her 'aiga and her village."[27]

According to Schoeffel, "*feagaiga* expresses the idealized principles by which order exists in Samoan society at all levels of organisation. It contrasts sacred, moral ideological principles with utilitarian, functional or 'profane' human actions, in a social contract by which the former imposes order and dignity upon the latter."[28] If applied to the relationship between chiefs and their sisters, the sister (which as Mageo states is a source of the families' *mana*) or *taupou* figure (idealized sister-role) is the source of those 'sacred, moral, [and] ideological principles' which 'impose order and dignity' upon the 'utilitarian, functional or profane human actions' of her male chiefly counterpart (*manaia.*)

In this context, the use of *tuiga* can also be seen to represent one of the essential components of a *feagaiga* relationship, which was "the notion of sacred power complementing secular actions"[29] (perhaps this is why in Manu'a, the *tuiga* was only worn by the Tui Manu'a and his *taupou*). The adornment was the embodiment of sacred power or *mana* (originating from *Tagaloa*) that was used to complement a number of secular actions within Samoan society. Interestingly this did not confine its use to *taupou* figures alone, as the principles of *feagaiga* (which privilege women as the vessels of *mana* above males) might suggest. In fact *tuiga* were worn with equal distinction and just as frequently, if not more, by high-ranking male chiefs and *manaia* as by *taupou*. This reflects how intricately bound to one another the roles of high chiefs, *manaia* and *taupou* were, considering that the *tuiga* was used interchangeably between them.

The *Tuiga* and the *Fue*

This thesis also proposes that a more radical explanation of the *tuiga*'s function in relation to its use by *taupou* and *manaia*, was to transform them into living and symbolic representations of the *fue* (flywhisk). This is because the *tuiga*'s overall

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[27] Ibid., 355.
[28] Penelope Schoeffel Meleisea, "Daughters of Sina: A study of Gender, Status and Power in Western Samoa," (PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1979), 280.
[29] Ibid., 281.

shape when worn, and its principal use of human hair, mirrors the form and purpose of a *fue. Fue,* which are flywhisks, were part of the sacred regalia carried by chiefs[30] or *matai* and especially orator chiefs or *tulafale* (who were never seen formally addressing anyone without one in hand).

While *fue* are not generally thought to be sacred adornments, their purpose and symbolism is just as significant as the *tuiga*'s. It must be noted that the word *fue* is used as "the general name for all creeping plants"[31] or vines but was the specific name of the supernatural vine mentioned in the Samoan creation story. The *fue* was the only thing that grew on the land that *Tagaloa-lagi* first pulled up from the depths for his son *Tuli*. When the *fue* rotted away, the two grubs that it produced eventually were formed into the shape of the first human beings. For this reason, the *fue* is often referred to as "*fue-tagata,* the Man-begetting vine."[32] *Tagaloa* is also said to have used the *fue* more than once to produce the first human populations of particular islands that he formed, including Upolu and Tutuila. In this case the grubs from the rotting *fue* produced four persons; Tele, Upolu, Tutu, and Ila who were collectively called the children of the *fue*.[33] As their names suggest, Upolu and Tele become the ancestors of all people living on the island of Upolu-tele or Upolu for short, and Tutu and Ila, likewise peopled the island of Tutuila.[34]

Perhaps because of its metaphysical qualities and its ability to produce life, *Fue* was also referred to as a son of *Tagaloa*.[35] In one account *Fue* as the son of *Tagaloa,* came down from heaven and became the progenitor of the population of people occupying a "the two flat lands."[36] He was also known by two names, which were *Fue-tagata* and *Fue-sa*[37] (sacred vine). The prominence of *fue* in Samoan epistemologies, whether as a life-giving vine, or as personified son of *Tagaloa*, implies a deep-seated connection between the *fue* (in the form of the flywhisk), and the *mana* of *Tagaloa* which not only produced human life, but which continued to be

[30] Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary*, 164.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Johannes Carl Anderson, *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians* (London: Harrap, 1928), 390.
[33] Ibid. 391.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Fraser, "The Samoan Story of Creation: A Tala," 170.
[36] Anderson, *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians*, 391.
[37] Ibid.

imparted genealogically to his descendants who were the sacred high chiefs or *ali'i pa'ia* of Samoa.

That orators' flywhisks are called *fue*, after the creeping vines referenced in Samoan cosmology, is no coincidence. The *fue* as a flywhisk, composed of a long wooden handle from which a thick head of long braided coconut-fibre 'hair' extends out, resembles the creeping vine that the name refers to. Its use by figures of chiefly authority and power is not coincidental either. Just as the first *fue* vine was used to supernaturally bring forth life, *fue* or flywhisks can be seen as symbols and instigators of *fa'amana* meaning "to show power or extraordinary energy"[38] (in a supernatural sense) especially in formal speechmaking called *lauga*.[39] Traditionally orator chiefs, who speak on behalf of *ali'i*, and who must by adorned with a *fue/*flywhisk when doing so, emphasized the divine descent of *ali'i pa'ia* to *Tagaloa*. In this respect the strands or hairs of the *fue* can be seen to metaphorically represent bloodlines connecting back to the god. Like the *tuiga,* when used thus, it represented divinely ordained authority to embody the *mana* of *Tagaloa*.

When a *taupou* or *manaia* wears the *tuiga*, they physically transform themselves into living *fue* (with their bodies representative of the handle and their heads, with *tuiga,* imitating the head of the *fue* with its long strands) (fig. 14). Just like *fue*, they are ornaments of their chiefs' rank and *mana* and are subservient to him. They are also living embodiments of divine authority. Terms such as *fuefueali' i*[40], which can refer to a number of chiefs congregated together, or the distinguishing of a great chief at his death when "many come to him each with his *fue*"[41] also point to this sacred relationship between chiefs and this particular adornment. The visual allusion to the *fue* through *tuiga* also illustrates the reinforcement of a social hierarchy in village life where *tulafale* (orator chiefs who use *fue*) play a significant role.

[38] Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary*, 123.
[39] Ibid., 176.
[40] Ibid., 164.
[41] Ibid., 165.

Fig. 14. Two photographs of Samoan couples, both of which feature either a *taupou* or *manaia* wearing a *tuiga*. From the Photo archive of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg

The Standardization of *Tuiga* in Samoan Culture

Although originally reserved for high-ranking chiefs in Samoa, the *tuiga* would become a standardized Samoan adornment used by these high chiefs in all manner of cultural contexts. This development occurred following the decline of the Tui Manu'a and his empire, and the flourishing of the political organizations of Upolu and Savai'i from the year 1100 onwards.[42] *Tuiga* were not only emblematic adornments for particular chiefs, they began to be associated with chiefly families and even whole villages and because of this were used in range of different contexts that all had ritual importance within the Samoan ethos.

*Tuiga* headdresses became the most prestigious form of ceremonial head adornment in pre-colonial Samoa and were noted as symbols of status in Samoan society by a number of European missionaries such as John B. Stair, and colonial collectors like Dr. Augustin Krämer who visited throughout the 1800s. Krämer, who

[42] Augustin Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. I* (Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1994-1995), 11.

made two expeditions to Samoa between the years of 1893 and 1899, first mentions *tuiga* in his monograph on the Samoan Islands as a headdress that was one of the "festive adornments of the higher classes."[43] Stair writes that *tuiga* headdresses were used "in war and dancing"[44] and were the "usual adornments of the high chiefs."[45] He also accurately points out that because they are mentioned in "some of the very old traditions, they would appear to have been very ancient and distinctive tokens of rank."[46]

<u>Tuiga in Warfare</u>

In times of war, in addition to turbans of bark cloth or *siapo* being worn by warriors to distinguish themselves,[47] *tuiga* were worn ceremonially by chiefs (fig. 15), in the same manner that feathered cloaks were worn in Hawai'i. The use of *tuiga* in this context is significant because war and feuding were an integral and recurring phenomenon in Samoan society that was well established prior to the arrival of Europeans. To give an example of the frequency and long-standing history of warfare in Samoa John Williams recounted in his journal a visit he made to the island of Apolima where he came across a peculiar basket filled with stones and fastened to the ridge of one of the sacred houses.[48] In the basket he counted 127 stones, each deposited to account for one battle fought. This record becomes even more impressive when one realizes that "this was the list for one portion of the islands only"[49] and that "a stone was not placed after every conflict or battle, but simply at the close of each struggle or campaign, the stones being larger or smaller according to the duration of the conflict."[50] Essentially each stone represented a series of battles, and even wars.

Warfare was the ultimate test of mental and physical prowess and was an avenue for ambition; chiefs could acquire titles, land and material wealth if victorious

[43] Augustin Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II* (Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1994-1995), 332.
[44] John B. Stair, *Old Samoa, or, Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean* (New Zealand: R. McMillan, 1983), 117.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Peter Henry Buck, *Samoan Material Culture* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1930), 615.
[48] Stair, *Old Samoa, or, Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean* (New Zealand: R. McMillan, 1983), 243.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

in battle, expanding their influence and adding to their *mana* and renown. For this reason warfare in Samoan culture was imbued with ceremony and ritual, of which the *tuiga* was a symbolic feature. It is a well-known fact that *taupou* (usually chiefly daughters)*,* who fulfill the ceremonious role of the honoured virgin and who are "the female ornament of the chief's rank, combining the honor of princess and queen"[51] traditionally wear *tuiga* as part of their ritual attire (as do their male counterparts known as *manaia*). However it is not as well-known that *taupou* customarily accompanied warriors to war, fulfilling an important role whereby "they would stand in the front line to attract the attention of the protective deities of the group and/or to be taken as wives by the enemy in case of defeat, thus allowing a massacre to be avoided and war to be transformed into alliance."[52]

Women were seen as neutrals in warfare so while "it was customary for the *taupou* to march at the head of a war party going into battle as their ceremonial leader, the representative of their honour…it was considered a particularly dreadful insult to kill her."[53] The *tuiga* being a signature adornment of any *taupou* was thus not only a symbol of status for the high-ranking women wearing them, but of the priestly role of coveting divine favour in battle.[54] When victory was not realized in battle, these women still acted as intermediaries for their male counterparts, becoming the wives of their conquerors[55] and creating "territorial and military alliances"[56] between the two groups, which maintained political hierarchy through the formation of alliances.

War games or sports were also a common feature of Samoan life. Club fighting (fig. 16) in particular or '*aigofie* was a popular past time among young men that continued even after the arrival of Europeans. Traditionally whole villages would engage in competitions setting aside a day for the event. Speeches and customary salutes would take place before coconut leaf rib stumps were selected and cut into the

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[51] Irving Goldman, *Ancient Polynesian Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 266.
[52] Serge Tcherkézoff, *First Contacts in Polynesia: The Samoan Case (1722-1848): Western Misunderstandings about Sexuality and Divinity* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2004), 61.
[53] Meleisea, "Daughters of Sina: A study of Gender, Status and Power in Western Samoa," 368.
[54] This notion is also seen in Hawaii where feathered cloaks were worn in battle by high-ranking chiefs, and in Tahiti with chiefs wearing *fau* headdresses before naval battles to symbolize their divinity.
[55] Meleisea, "Daughters of Sina: A study of Gender, Status and Power in Western Samoa," 367.
[56] Ibid,. 334.

shape of clubs.[57] The first challenger selects his opponent from the other 'team' with each successor fighting to stay victorious for the most bouts and "so it continues till all the people at the village green have had their turn one after the other"[58] and one of the villages can be named the strongest.

Stories of champions who excelled in *'aigofie* are still known today. One such man was Atiogie who defeated all the opponents he came across, causing his blind father Fe'epo to clap with joy when he heard the news while lying in his hut. To this day the proverb "pati pati ta'oto – to clap one's hands lying down,"[59] originating from the story of Atiogie and Fe'epo, is still used to express particular joy.[60] Understanding Samoans' propensity for warfare and the importance they also placed on war-related past times, it comes as no surprise that *tuiga* were also occasionally worn during *'aigofie* games as well.

Fig. 15. Seuao, the wife of a chief of Savaii, taken in 1869 by Johan Stanislaw Kubary.

[57] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II,* 390.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. I.* 335.
[60] Ibid.

Fig. 16. '*Keulenfechten auf Samoa*' or Club Fighting in Samoa. From Eric Scheurmann, *Der Papalagi*.

Tuiga in a Dance Context

The most common and widely known use of *tuiga* popularized after European contact, was in dances (fig. 17). Most Europeans who saw *tuiga* in the 1800s were first exposed to them while watching performances. One account reads as follows,

> Men and women generally dance separately, but sometimes together. On this occasion, first entered five or six splendid looking fellows in full native costume, wearing small aprons of red *dracæna*, which, being oiled, glittered and reflected a dark red light…On their heads were full wigs of a reddish colour, frizzed out gloriously, made of their own hair…worn in war and in the dance. Around their foreheads they twine strings of large beads, made from the pearl nautilus-shell, or coronets of the flowers of the scarlet hibiscus.[61]

[61] Thomas H. Hood, *Notes of a Cruise in H.M.S. "Fawn" in the Western Pacific in the Year 1862* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1862), 49.

Krämer also makes mention of *tuiga* being assembled as part of the process of preparing a village for night dances and also for those visitors who would join them. He writes,

> When the council of a village thinks of making a night dance…a messenger goes to the other places for them to come. So the place gets ready and says: Let only one family dance!...strip off the material for tying… arrange the hair ornament and the triple staff forehead shield of the head ornament, get fine mats out of the bundle to dress the village maiden…Then the other village comes…so the company dancers anoint themselves and tie loincloths on; the son of a chief puts on the head ornament and neck chain…this first dance is called *solisiva,* for no common people participate in it, only sons of chiefs.[62]

According to Krämer's account both the village maiden or *taupou* and the chief's son or *manaia* participate in the dances while wearing a specific 'head ornament.' It is clear that this head ornament is indeed the *tuiga,* as it is the only headdress that has the characteristic 'triple staff forehead shield' and which was worn by both *taupou* and *manaia*. In fact, as mentioned earlier, a *tuiga* headdress was the recognized *pièce de résistance* of formal attire for *taupou* and *manaia* and was one of the adornments that singled them out from other dancers. A *taupou* or *manaia* in festive attire was a striking figure to behold which is probably why most eye-witness accounts of *tuiga* seen by early European visitors were congregated around festive dances.

In addition to night dances such as *solisiva* (which were reserved for high-ranking chiefs and their families), larger political and public festivities "such as weddings of high chiefs, bestowals of titles upon chiefs, victory celebrations and death"[63] could also warrant the use of *tuiga* in performance. One such celebration was the return of the exiled chief Iosefo Mata'afa to Samoa in 1898, which Krämer (who was a personal friend of Mata'afa) witnessed. The celebration took the form of great food offerings or *ta'alolo* where typically,

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[62] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 376.
[63] Ibid., 377.

> Each village marches along in a crowd of several hundred people and places huge amounts of prepared food at the feet of the title chief. Several sons and daughters of chiefs adorned with head ornaments and fine mats always dance ahead of such a crowd. With war clubs in their hands they race ahead of the procession, stop suddenly, throw the clubs or knives in the air, catch them cleverly often behind their backs and juggle them passing under their arms and legs, in short perform all kinds of skillful manoeuvres.[64]

Krämer's description here of those skillful maneuvers with clubs and knives are reminiscent of the actions seen in *ailao,* the segment directly before the performance of a *taualuga* when the dancer brandishes the club or knife (*nifo oti*) in reference to the symbolic use of *tuiga* in warfare. The *ailao* and *taualuga* which today is inextricably linked with the wearing of *tuiga* were very important ceremonial dances, celebrating victory in war, and the *mana* conferred on a high chief through this victory.

*Taualuga* formed the finale in a series of performances and were regarded as special standing items stylistically different to all other types of dances like the *talalo, fiti, vila* and *mamau*, which were all sitting and/or group dances. When the time came for a *taualuga* to commence, "a chief from among their circle encourages the dancers to rise; 'taualuga, tu i luga' is the cry and now the standing dances begin, often including the most fanciful stage performances. First only the village maiden rises; soon others follow suit."[65]

As Krämer describes the *taualuga* saw the *taupou* or *manaia* perform first as a solo dancer while supported by clowns called *aiuli* who through their exaggerated and buffoon-like movements "endeavor to set off the dignity and grace of the principal performer."[66] The *taupou* or *manaia* on the other hand is graceful and vigorous in their movements, showing skill that goes beyond ordinary merit and which showcases great virtuosity. One such *taupou* who was renowned for her graceful dancing during Krämer's time was Pepe of Falefa. According to Krämer her signature performance was known as "the dance of the butterflies…[where] she drops to her knees, now she

[64] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 377.
[65] Ibid., 370.
[66] F. J. H. Grattan, *An Introduction to Samoan Custom* (Papakura: R. McMillan, 1985), 121.

jumps up in flight, she herself floating along like a butterfly until bending her knees she crouches down, while her abdomen whirls around in circular motion."[67]

Fig. 17. '*Tanz der Häuptlinge und Dorfjungfrauen*' or Dance of Chiefs and Village Maidens. From Eric Scheurmann, *Der Papalagi*.

It is inaccurate to presume that *taupou* or *manaia* wore *tuiga* every time they danced but it must be noted that in a dance context *tuiga* were not just objects of decorative adornment; they were also symbols that acknowledged the presence of the establishment at festive events and enforced social and political hierarchy. This is particularly relevant to the *taualuga*. As Martin Leung-Wai explains,

> The *taualuga* is seen as a reflection of social status in Samoan culture and the idea of a metaphorical dualism. Richard Moyle talks about the roles of the Samoan titled hierarchy of *matai*: The positions of the *ali'i* (chief) and the *tulafale* (orator). He claims that the *taualuga* is an example of how Polynesian dance can strengthen and maintain social structures…For example, the bond between the *taupou* and *aiuli* is an important role for the *taualuga* compared to the bond between the *ali'i* and the *tulafale* for the operating of a village. During public occasions the *tulafale* makes every effort to praise his *ali'i.* The

[67] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 372.

> *ali'i* continues his loyalty from his *tulafale* by offering generous portions of any gifts received during events, such as weddings or funerals. It is clear that the two roles within the *taualuga* and the chiefly events must be embraced at all times. If there is no *aiuli* in the *taualuga*, then the dance would not represent the *taupou* very well. [In the words of Moyle] "Either person acting alone is relatively ineffectual, but, as a complementary pair, their influence permeates Samoan society as a whole."[68]

In effect, the *taupou* wearing a *tuiga* still represents the class of *ali'i pa'ia* or sacred paramount chiefs who work in tandem with *tulafale* (orator chiefs) who traditionally did not wear *tuiga* and are represented in the *taualuga* by the *aiuli*. The wearing of the *tuiga* supports the notion that *taualuga* dances are visual displays of appropriate chiefly relationships and the social order or harmony that results from it.

As all the above examples demonstrate, the *tuiga* and its use within a range of ceremonial contexts, speaks to its encoded meaning as an object and symbol of *mana*. The *tuiga* functions primarily within its transformative ability to embody cultural constructs while being used, and to encourage culturally appropriate responses that allow for social and political harmony in Samoan villages.

## The Construction of *Tuiga*

"Tuiga, *s.* a head-dress made of hair. *'O lona tuiga*"[69]

Early accounts of how traditional, pre-contact *tuiga* were constructed vary in their descriptions. This is probably because, unlike other types of headdresses which were fixed, the *tuiga* was not a single or complete object. It was made up from a number of components or parts that would be assembled together to form a composite headdress. Krämer's description of the *tuiga* includes only three components: a plate or shield made of turtle shell attached to the triple staff which are called *lave*, the hair

[68] Martin Leug-Wai, "The Taualuga: A Spatial Study; A Considered Look at Space and Movement," (Master of Architecture thesis, Unitec Institute of Technology, 2012), 18.
[69] Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary*, 322

*lauulu* or hair bundles, and the feather ornament known as the *'ie 'ula*.[70] Interestingly he considers *pale fuiono*, the *nautilus* shell forehead band, as a separate adornment item that was worn in addition to the head adornment or *tuiga*, and the whale tooth necklace or *'ulalei* which were known as "flying ornaments"[71] or *taupepepepe* and were "particularly popular at dances and food offerings."[72] Stair also makes a clear distinction between *tuiga* and frontlets or crowns known as *o le pale* that were another form of "head-dress in common use amongst the higher ranks"[73] and often paired with *tuiga*. Stair's initial description of a *tuiga* is even simpler than Krämer's. He writes that "the *tu'inga* was a small mat or framework covered with hair or red feathers."[74]

Stair and Krämer's writings are valuable sources of information however their very simple descriptions of *tuiga* (in comparison to later more detailed ones) show only the essential materials used that constituted an understanding of its basic form. It is also important to note that *tuiga,* including its materiality and production, underwent a number of changes during the 1800s. This is illustrated perfectly between the two descriptions in which Krämer lists the mirror (which he says has replaced the turtle shell plate) as one of the basic parts of *tuiga*, an object that Stair omits from his own definition, and most likely because mirrors were yet to be incorporated into the production of *tuiga* during Stair's time. More detailed analyses were accomplished as more *tuiga* were sold and collected by Europeans due to the influx of western materials and currencies that overturned the indigenous economic systems and saw the devaluation of objects like *tuiga*.

From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, *tuiga* are described in more detail as headdresses consisting of brown or "bleached human hair supported on a foundation of bark cloth and embellished with a *lave* upright framework decorated with feathers and a forehead band of shells."[75] Grattan's 1948 description of a *taupou* in full attire offers a more well-rounded idea of the *tuiga*'s make-up. It is described as a "spectacular headdress composed of five main parts. These are the base (*laulau*), the fuzzy decoration (*lauao*) of bleached human hair, the frontlet, originally of nautilus

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[70] Augustin Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 332.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Stair, *Old Samoa, or, Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*, 117.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Peter Henry Buck, *Samoan Material Culture* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1930), 615.

shell (*pale fuiono*), the sticks (*lave*), originally three but now up to six in number, and the ornamentation of red parrot's feathers (*'ie ula*). The sticks form a framework in which are inset numbers of small mirrors in place of the plaques of pearl shell previously used."[76] At the time that this observation of *tuiga* was made (1948) *pale fuiono* frontlets or crowns were fixed as a key component of the *tuiga* headdress, and were not distinguished from it.

A fact that is commonly overlooked is that *tuiga* were very precious items that incorporated materials that were extremely rare and expensive. The inner bulb of the nautilus shell, used to make the *pale fuiono*, was often imported by Tongans into Samoa from Tonga and Fiji, as well as being locally sourced. The same is true of the red feathers used in the '*ie ula*. Samoans would use their local parrots called *sega* to source these crimson feathers however the red feathers imported from Fiji by Tongan traders were seen as more beautiful and valuable. To understand how precious these feathers were to Samoans, it should be mentioned that Tongan fleets of large *'Alia* (double-hulled canoes) would sail to Samoa to obtain Samoan fine mats or *'ie toga* in exchange for red parrot feathers that the Tongans had obtained in Fiji. A large commercial network connecting Fiji, Tonga and Samoa was built upon the trade of these precious red feathers among other things, and wars were even known to have occurred over their trade.[77]

As mentioned previously, the central plate or shield used to fasten the *lave* framework to the *tuiga* headdress, was made of turtle shell. Turtles, known as *laumei* in Samoan, were also figuratively known as *i'a sā* or Sacred Fish. Throughout Polynesia the turtle was seen as an extremely sacred animal, and as in many other parts of Polynesia, in Samoa turtles that were caught could not be eaten by anyone but had to be handed over to the high chief as it was the right of high ranking chiefs alone to eat turtles, sharks and other types of sacred fish. The *lave* frame was also decorated with *tifa*, large mother of pearl shells that were sanded down to reveal a smoothened surface and iridescent sheen. After European contact, mirrors began to replace *tifa* on the *lave* due to their reflective quality. Considering the value of these various components in pre-European Samoa, it would have been very hard and costly to acquire all of the materials to create a *tuiga* in the first place. This is why only those

[76] F. J. H. Grattan, *An Introduction to Samoan Custom* (Papakura: R. McMillan, 1985), 116.
[77] Paul Geraghty, "Pulotu, Polynesian Homeland," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 102, no. 4 (1993): 365.

of high chiefly rank could wear the headdress, as they were usually the only individuals with enough resources and influence to acquire the materials needed.

Prior to European contact Samoans were known to traditionally manufacture three different types of *tuiga* (fig. 18). The first two being ones that were previously discussed, called *tuiga* or *tuigalauulu* indicating the use of hair bundles or *lauulu* as its principal component. *Tuigalauulu* had two sub-types depending on the type of hair used; one with normal undyed hair, and the other with dyed or bleached hair resulting in a light brown or blondish hue.

The second and more rare form of the headdress was known as a *tuiga'ula*[78] and used only red-feathers, not hair, as its dominant feature. *Tuiga'ula* consequently had a slightly different form. They were also not as common as *tuigalauulu* because as stated above, red feathers were akin to gold in Samoa (and in wider Polynesia) and were very costly. These three different types of *tuiga* may account for slight variations in written descriptions of the headdress. Also included in traditional *tuiga* was the *selu tuiga* a type of comb which,

> As the name implies was associated with the *tuinga* headdress of human hair and was probably used more before the elaborate *lave* frame with mirrors was introduced into the decorative scheme. The term *selu tuinga* is sometimes applied to the long vertical comb made of green midribs which on account of its length was sometimes used as a framework for feathers with the *tuinga* headdress.[79]

The Materiality and Symbolism of the *Tuiga* and its Assemblage

This section will examine the materiality of the *tuiga* and outline the preparation of each of the components used in assembling the composite headdress. In addition to this it will also discuss the symbolism of each of these materials and their overall effect in imbuing the *tuiga* with *mana*.

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[78] Stair, *Old Samoa, or, Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*, 117.
[79] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture,* 627.

Fig. 18. Three seated young women wearing items of clothing often worn during dances and ceremonial occasions. Manono, Samoa, 1893. Reverend George Brown, Collection of the Australian Museum. (notice the *tuiga'ula* on the central figure and the *tuigalauulu* on the figure on the right).

In his writings on the formal attire of *taupou* and *manaia* Grattan says "the dress and adornments assumed for dancing or similar entertainments have little ceremonial or traditional significance; they are for decorative purposes only and to lend an air of festivity to the proceedings."[80] While this is a generalization, it is important to refute his statement in the context of this thesis' discussion of *tuiga* and to emphasize that *tuiga* were not simply decorative headdresses but were established symbols of power that were saturated with culturally encoded meanings.

## The *Lauulu* or Human Hair Bundles

The first step in the production of *tuiga* was to procure hair that would be used for the *lauulu* bundles. Although a thorough discussion of the symbolism and *mana* of hair was made in the previous chapter, it is important to once again stress its significance as a *tapu* substance and how this transformed adornment items like *tuiga*. Another term often used for *tuiga* headdresses is the word *lauao*, the literal translation of which is "a chief's hair [or] *'O le lauao o le ali'i*."[81] The use of this term would not

[80] Grattan, *An Introduction to Samoan Custom*, 117.
[81] Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary*, 174.

have been lost on Samoans. Hair in general was sacred and a chief's hair, was doubly so.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Samoan women generally kept their hair singed short while men grew theirs long. However for the purpose of creating *tuiga,* young girls were known to grow their hair out at the request of Chiefs.[82] "The type of hair preferred is frizzy (*mingimingi*) and thick (*pi'ipi'i*)."[83] After the hair has grown the desired length and is cut, it is sectioned off and tied into small tufts that will make up the whole *lauulu* bundle (fig. 19). The process of tying the hair into these small sections or tufts is called "*fa'atavaitui* and the tufts so tied are *fua* or *fuatifuati lauulu.*"[84] Each tuft has one end that is bound tightly with extra thick (*tuatua*) coconut fibres to create a closed loop or eye. Using these loops, all the tufts of hair can be strung onto one piece of cordage, creating the *lauulu* bundle. According to Krämer at least 60 individual tufts of hair were used to make up the hair ornament or *lauulu*. [85]

Fig. 19. A *lauulu* hair ornament showing the lining up (*fa'atavaitui*) of tufts of hair and the tying of ends to create loops or eyes. Berlin, Germany. Collection of the Ethnologische Museum. Photographed by Talei Si'ilata

[82] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 616.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 333.

Once the entire bundle is assembled, the hair ornament is ready for dying (if the chief desires the hair to be bleached or *fa'aenaena*[86]). There are two methods of dying the hair. The first involves the use of lime whereby

> The tufts are rubbed well with coral lime or soaked in a wooden bowl in a thick mixture of lime. They are then hung up on the cord exposed to the sun and rain in the open air. Some hair is sufficiently bleached in three months, but dark hair requires relimeing at the end of three months.[87]

The second method uses salt or sea water;

> The long cord carrying the tufts is tied to a pole at both ends so as to stretch out the tufts. The pole is dipped in sea water and one end stuck in the ground to allow the tufts to bleach in the sun. The dipping in sea water and exposure in the sun is repeated daily until the hair is thoroughly bleached.[88]

At the end of either of these methods, the bundle of tufts is rinsed in a mixture of water and *laumea* leaves, which forms an adequate lather that removes debris and cleanses the hair. Krämer reports the use of oranges as another type of bleaching agent used by Samoans to lighten the hair.

The entire process of making *lauulu* was very time consuming, as some *tuiga* were known to have multiple *lauulu* ornaments or hair bundles. A particular *tuiga* from Savaii that was examined by Buck, had five bundles (or cords) "on which were 32, 32, 31, 21, and 26 tufts, making 142 tufts in all."[89]

The *Lave* or Triple-Staff

The construction of the *lave* framework, which was traditionally a triple-staff configuration has undergone the most transformation out of all the components that make up a *tuiga*. Krämer's description, which is based on the earlier forms, dictates

[86] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 616.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

the use of three *lave,* to form the triple-staff. These were made out of coconut leaf ribs wrapped with white *siapo* (barkcloth) pieces and adorned with red feathers tied at consecutive intervals along the staffs. [90] The central plate or shield to which the three *lave* are bound, is commonly in the shape of pentagon and is made of turtle shell with ties attached either side to fasten it to the head. These plates would have then had mother-of-pearl shells called *tifa* attached on top of them, a feature that was almost extinct in Krämer's time with the introduction of European mirrors. The triple staff also gave way to modern configurations using up to five or six *lave* which were reinforced with two or three crossbars near the base allowing for easier attachment of the glass mirrors (fig. 21). The precursor to this modern innovation was the use of "an elaborate form of midrib comb…known as *selu tuinga*...Such combs or midrib frameworks [were] decorated with feathers including the long feathers of the *tava'e'ula*, a species of tropic bird."[91]

As mentioned previously the *tuiga*'s spiritual function is to pierce the heavens, a notion which is reflected in the word *tutu'i.*[92] In this symbolic context the upright placement of *lave* on a *tuiga* (fig. 20) physically illustrates this piercing motion and is a crucial component that reflects the spiritual origins of the adornment as a headdress that intersects the spiritual and earthly realms.

[90] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 332.
[91] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 616.
[92] Ibid., 389.

Fig. 20. A *tuiga'ula* featuring the prized red feathers, a beaded *pale fuiono* and a three-pronged *lave* with mirrors. From the Photo archive of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg

Fig. 21. Modern *lave* framework with glass mirrors attached. From John B. Stair, *Old Samoa or Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean.*

The *'Ie Ula* or Red Feather Adornment

The bundle of red feathers known as an *'ie ula* adornment (fig. 22) was made using the feathers of the *sega* bird or with red feathers retrieved from Tonga and Fiji. For *tuiga*, these feathers were tied tightly and overlapping on on a string "so that a cord as thick as a thumb and about 20cm long is formed."[93] White feathers could also be used and were attached at the lower end of this cord. Krämer states that around "twenty such cords make up one *'ie ula* which is tied to a little stick to put it in places at home"[94] (fig. 23).

According to Buck, true *tuiga* were constructed with only the *lave* framework and *lauulu* hair ornaments. Feather ornaments or *'ie ula* formed what was known as an *'ufi* or cover, additionally placed on top of a *tuiga*. They could be attached to the hair, tied around the base of the *lave,* with shorter feathers also being attached directly to the *lave* themselves.[95]

Fig. 22. An *'ie ula* feather ornament. Berlin, Germany. Collection of the Ethnologische Museum. Photographed by Talei Si'ilata

[93] Ibid.
[94] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 334.
[95] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 619.

Red feathers, like human hair, were a substance of intrinsic *mana* and were recognized throughout Polynesia as a colour of divinity, which meant that they were reserved for use by chiefly figures who often traced their lines of ancestry to divine deities like *Tagaloa*. Red was the colour of blood and the Samoan word *toto* or *totototo*[96] was used to describe both the colour red and blood. In discussing the manufacture of red feathers for *'ie ula,* Krämer recounts the tale of a chief named *To'ovalu* who had an *'ie ula* tucked into the back of his *siapo* (barkcloth), called in this context a *fa'amatatalo* ("a red ornament like a tail, fixed to the lower part of the back"[97]). Because of this, *To'ovalu*, also called *So'oalo*, "found favour with the heavenly Sinataeoilangi"[98] who was a daughter of Tagaloa-lagi,[99] the principal deity in Samoa. *Sinataeoilangi* was so enamoured she later married him. This example attests the considerable value of red feathers and the sacredness of their source, the *sega* bird.

Fig. 23. A traditional *'ie ula* ornament complete with a wooden stick., Germany. Collection of Augustin Krämer at the Linden Museum. Photographed by Talei Si'ilata

[96] Ibid., 395.
[97] Ibid., 125.
[98] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 334.
[99] Ibid., *Vol. I*, 32.

The colour red was often associated with *Tagaloa*. His personal abode in the ninth and uppermost heaven was called the *fale 'ula*[100] which means 'red or crimson house.' Unsurprisingly, this was also the name given to the guesthouse of the Tui Manu'a where he held all his important *fono* or meetings.[101] The Tui Manu'a's *fale 'ula* was said to have been gifted to him by *Tagaloa* along with his title.[102] The incorporation of red feathers in *tuiga* worn by the kings of Manu'a would have been immediately recognized as being symbols alluding the *fale ula* of *Tagaloa*, especially when placed on the very top of the headdress. Red feathers were thus a physical symbol of supernatural blessing and were therefore appropriated for use in *tuiga* by chiefs, either seeking divine favour (perhaps like To'ovalu), or proudly displaying the fact that they were already favoured.

The *Pale Fuiono* or Nautilus-Shell Headband

Although *pale fuiono* or nautilus-shell headbands and frontlets could also be worn a separate adornment objects, their traditional use within the *tuiga*'s construction warrants a detailed analysis of their production as well. The parts of the nautilus shell that were used to construct *pale fuiono* were "the innermost segment…the 'core' [*ute* or *utefuiono*]"[103] and the septum just after it. These were ground into a uniform shape and drilled with holes to attach to a headband made of *siapo* or cloth. It was the bluish pearl-like sheen of these specific parts of the shell that was greatly admired and coveted by Samoans for the purpose of adornment. The *pale fuiono* traditionally consisted of two rows of shells; the upper row was made with multiple 'core' pieces or *ute* while the lower row contrasted this with the use of septum pieces from the same shells.

The 'core' pieces on the upper row were "cut off square and directed downwards on the band"[104] while the septum pieces were also "cut off square at the end, directed upwards [on the band] and rounded off below."[105] This configuration

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[100] John Fraser, "The Samoan Story of Creation: A Tala," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1, no.3 (1892): 178.
[101] Mead, *Social Organization of Manua*, 183.
[102] Ibid., 177.
[103] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 335.
[104] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 618.
[105] Ibid.

(fig. 24) was well thought out as the lower septum pieces "have a natural convexity facing outwards so that the concavity [of their straight cut upper edge] fits over the lower part"[106] of the 'core pieces' above it. These pieces are then sewn onto the headband with one continuous thread on the upper row and knotted loops on the bottom.

Fig. 24. *Pale fuiono* showing the upper and lower rows with the configuration Buck describes in *Samoan Material Culture.* Stuttgart, Germany. Collection of Augustin Krämer at the Linden Museum.

This arrangement made for a truly stunning piece of adornment which Krämer describes as surpassing "all other ornaments fashioned by primitive peoples."[107] It is also clear to see why *pale fuiono* were a popular form a head adornment that was often worn on its own. Many Europeans who saw them likened them to diadems or crowns. Their use within *tuiga* was also justifiable for both practical and creative reasons. As Buck explains, when positioned correctly, *pale fuiono* "cover both the lower end of the *lave* and the edge of the bark cloth covering so that they conceal as well as embellish."[108] And because they were an original Samoan invention, they were an appropriate component for what was seen by many as the emblematic headdress of all Samoa.

[106] Ibid.
[107] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 335.
[108] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 619.

The Foundation or *Pou* (Siapo Turban)

The construction of *tuiga* has been described as "an addition of various elements that have not developed into one structural combination." And while the headdress had an overall standardized form, because the nature of wearing a *tuiga* required constant assembling and disassembling, it is likely that the more intricate arrangements of shell or mirror plaques, feather ornaments, and *lave* stick configurations, were open to personal preference, giving each headdress its own individual character and allowing *tuiga* to become sygils of different chiefly titles and high-ranking families.

However, assembling these status symbols was by no means an easy feat. The most crucial tool in ensuring that the *tuiga* would be assembled correctly and with stability was *le pou* or simply the *pou*, a *siapo* turban with a giant bun or knot on the top of the head which everything is attached to. It is to the *pou* that the *lauulu* hair tassels or bundles are wrapped around and attached, with the red feather or *'ie ula* ornaments on top of that. The *pale fuiono* hides the bottom of the *pou*, which is wrapped around the head. Buck gives an in-depth analysis of this important feature in the assembling of the *tuiga* on the head, writing,

> The foundation (*pou*) is formed of a sheet of the thin *lau u'a* form of bark cloth. This is laid over the head and tied circumferentially round the head by a cord passing over it round the back of the head, across the temples and round the forehead. The cord comes low down above the outer end of the eyebrows in order to keep the sheet on firmly and prevent it being pulled upwards. When tied, the outer margins of the sheet are folded upwards and twisted to form an upward projecting knob on the top of the head. This knob is termed the *pou* (post) and gives support to the headdress. It must be large enough and high enough to allow the cords bearing the hair tufts to be tied to it.[109]

Once the *pou* was fastened to the head, the *fa'atavaitui* cords holding the *lauulu* hair ornaments are wound around it in a manner that ensures they sit on the back and sides of the head. After this the *lave* framework or latticework, either with

[109] Ibid., 618.

its tortoise shell and *tifa* (mother of pearl shell) plate or mirrors, is positioned front and center, with its side ties going to the back of the head, under the hair tufts, and around the *pou*. The *pale fuiono* conceals the edge of the *pou* which is tightly fastened around the forehead and also the base of the *lave*, ensuring that the frame does not move. All the ties and cords fastened to the knot of the *pou* are skillfully concealed beneath the many bundles and tufts of hair, which extend out and around the back of the head.

The weight of the *tuiga* alone, once fully constructed and fastened on the head, is enough to make its wearer tire. However, the attachment of the *pou* which needs to be tightly fastened with cordage around the forehead and above the eyes, has been known to lead to the "constriction of the blood supply causing headaches, pain, and even fainting."[110] For this reason chiefs and especially *taupou* and *manaia* who wore them for ceremonial festivities and while dancing, were eager to remove them as soon as possible.

The considerable time, effort and labour that went into producing each of the components that makes a *tuiga* shows the specialist degree of workmanship required for adornments that were reserved for high-ranking chiefs in Samoa. It also solidifies the *tuiga*'s place within this category as one of the ultimate expressions of *mana* and *pule* (power) within Samoan society.

The Symbolism of the Constructed *Tuiga*

In essence the *tuiga* represented "the balance and harmony felt between humans, nature, and with the gods."[111] When worn in dance and at ceremonial functions, the *tuiga* helped to visually illustrate the apex of Samoan society: occupied by the high-ranking chiefs (and their *taupou* and *manaia*) who everyone else positioned themselves around. The social organization of Samoa, with these high-ranking chiefs or *ali'i* at its center, implied a natural and sought-after balance between all humans who came under their authority. This harmonious arrangement was of course a reflection of the hierarchical order of the heavens, where the gods resided according to their rank and authority. The Samoan high chief wearing his *tuiga* was

[110] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 619.
[111] Vercoe, "Samoan Dance: A Visual Art," (Master of Arts thesis, the University of Auckland, 1994), 108.

therefore like the god Tagaloa-lagi, the supreme, who resides in the ninth and uppermost heaven, reigning over the other eight heavens beneath him. The *tuiga*'s use of the most rare and prized natural materials also represents the intersection and harmony between the natural world and the spiritual world:

> Rows of crushed nautilus were worn, fixed to a *siapo* base on the forehead. These shells symbolized the underworld, Pulotu. The large [*tifa* or mother of pearl] shell attached to the front of the headdress reflected the sun – the heavens – and thus graphically illustrated the balance of the underworld, the earth and the heavens.[112]

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter has considered the symbolic role and place of *tuiga* within pre-European and colonial Samoan culture by firstly asserting the importance of the historical and spiritual origins of the adornment in relation to the god *Tagaloa*. It has discussed the play of *tuiga* within the socio-political roles of the *taupou* and *manaia*, as a representation of the dynamics of *feagaiga*, and as an embodiment (when worn) of the divine symbolism of the *fue* or flywhisk. It has explored the range of cultural practices that the *tuiga* was traditionally used in, in an attempt to establish a well-rounded and complete image of its significance to defining aspects of pre-contact Samoan society and *fa'asamoa* (Samoan culture). This chapter has also reviewed the materiality and symbolism of the *tuiga* through a systematic analysis of each of the components that are assembled to make the headdress, including the *lau ulu* hair bundles, the red-feathered *'ie ula* adornment, the *lave* framework, and the *pale fuiono* headband.

In evaluating the spiritual origin or significance of the *tuiga* and the influence of this foundation to its implementation as a standardized adornment form used in a number of social, ceremonial and political contexts, this chapter has established that the *tuiga* was an essential Samoan adornment which played significant and ongoing role in reinforcing codified cultural relationships and social constructs. Its traditional

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[112] Ibid.

role within the Samoan ethos greatly contrasts the co-option and social repositioning of the *tuiga*, during the 19th century by European colonial stakeholders in Samoa, a subject that will be discussed in the following chapter.

# Chapter Three

# Late 19th and Early 20th Century European Collecting and the Representation of Tuiga

The previous chapter established that the role of *tuiga* in *Fa'a Samoa* or Samoan culture prior to European contact was inherently bound to indigenous belief systems and the social hierarchy that resulted from these beliefs. This chapter moves away from a discussion of the role of *tuiga* in Samoan society, to instead address the substantial and irreversible change effected by colonialism and European contact on indigenous Samoan culture (*Fa'a Samoa*), and by extension the use and function of adornments like the *tuiga*. The advent of colonialism in Samoa represented a turning point in the evolution of the *tuiga* as a cultural adornment and its later use in the 20th century. To assess the impact of European influences and colonialism on the trajectory of the *tuiga* through time, this chapter will specifically focus on late 19th century and early 20th century European collecting in Samoa, and representations of *tuiga* that reflect these European influences.

The first encounter between Samoans and Europeans was in 1722 when a Dutch expedition led by Jacob Roggeveen passed through islands.[1] This was followed a French expedition led by Louis-Antoine de Bougainville in 1768[2] and another by the French explorer Lapérouse in 1787.[3] By the early 1800s the colonisation of Samoa had begun as Europeans established themselves fimly within Samoa through the formation of missionary and trading outposts. The introduction of Christianity during this colonial period completely overturned indigenous Samoan religious belief structures, and for many, drastically changed the social order. This greatly affected how *tuiga* headresses were viewed, represented and valued. They were no longer seen as sacred crowns of the highest ranking chiefs; they were decorative instead of symbolic, and the incorporation of new materials introduced through colonisation, saw major modifications to the *tuiga*'s previously codified construction. The

[1] Tcherkézoff, *First Contacts in Polynesia: The Samoan Case (1722-1848): Western Misunderstandings about Sexuality and Divinity*, 16.
[2] Ibid., 22.
[3] Ibid., 28.

disruption of the socio-political order in Samoa as a result of colonisation also meant that the priviledge of its use was no longer confined to chiefly figures of the *taupou* or *manaia*; the *tuiga* was worn freely by any Samoan performer or model in cultural exhibitions studio photography.

Using these histories as a point of reference and the mass removal of Samoan *measina* (treasures) including *tuiga*, that resulted from them, this chapter will consider the ways that *tuiga* were represented by different European collectors in Samoa. Traders, missionaries, photographers, cultural exhibition organizers, colonial adminstrators amd opportunist 'collectors' all had different agendas for collecting and/or representing *tuiga*. In addition to outlining their possible motives for incorporating *tuiga* into European contexts, this chapter will examine specific examples of *tuiga* in museums today.

The methodology of this chapter relies heavily on primary sources in relation to these specific examples. Most of come from primary research undertaken at the following German museums; the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, the Ethnologische Museum in Berlin, the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich, and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig. The inclusion of these case studies will support the research aims of this chapter in examining the effect of late 19th and early 20th century European collecting on colonial representations of *tuiga.* They will also highlight the transformation of the adornment's form, construction and meaning through the 20th century.

Opportunist Collectors of *Tuiga*

Some of the earliest European settlers in Samoa during the 19th century were traders. The prominent German merchant company J.C Godeffroy & Son, originally from Hamburg, had begun call into Apia from 1830 and later chose the port as their center for trading in the Pacific.[4] Another important German company was the *Deutsche Handels und Plantagen-Gesellscahft* (German Trade and Plantation Company) commonly known as the DHPG. These companies or the settlers working for them often amassed impressive collections as an additional activity to their primary business of establishing plantations for the trade and export of goods.

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[4] Sylvia Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1934), 63.

The Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, Germany has four *tuiga* in their collection, two of which are a testament to the collecting activities of these traders and merchant companies in Apia during the late 19th century. The first of these, PO1033, was gifted by Theodor Weber in 1888. Weber was a well-known German figure in Samoa, having arrived in the islands in 1861 from Hamburg to head up the main agency of the J.C Godeffroy trading company in Apia.[5] He would later become a Consul of the German Empire for Tonga and Samoa and play a key political role in Germany's administration there. The *tuiga* he gifted to the museum (fig. 25) although not in the best condition, shows the stylistic shift that occurred in the late 1800s and early 1900s in creating *tuiga* that were single structures instead of composite headdresses that used various elements and individual objects. PO1033 has a kind of cloth hat or cap designed to fit over the head and attached to this is a large hair bundle (presumbly a number of *lauulu* bundles) fastened and bound around a cylindrical structure protruding from the cap. The headdress also has a triple-staff *lave* wrapped with red fabric and decorated with nautilus shell bulbs and red feathers.

The second *tuiga*, PO924, was actually bought by the city of Leipzig for the Museum für Völkerkunde from the J.C Godeffroy trading company in 1885. Unfortunately it is missing and while the only indication of its size and appearance is based on the file card (fig. 26), this reveals some interesting insight into what the *tuiga* would have looked like.

Fig. 25. PO1033, the *tuiga* gifted by Theodor Weber. Courtesy of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, Germany.

[5] Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa*, 67.

Fig. 26. File card for PO924, the missing *tuiga* bought by the city of Leipzig for the Museum für Völkerkunde from the J.C Godeffroy trading company in 1885. Courtesy of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig.

It is labelled as a chief's headgear, is 55cm in height and has almost all the components of a traditional *tuiga*. It is described as having a helmet-like covering made of tapa on which sits a wig. The point of interest here is that the *lave* or rods, which are usually configured in patterns of three called *dreistab* ('three rods') are different in this *tuiga.* Instead what is visually represented is a bunching of numerous thin rods or *lave.* This is confirmed by the language used on the file card which describes "ein aus Stäbchen zusammen setzler Kamm befestigt" or "a comb made of sticks fastened together." The file card also states that this comb sits in front of the wig (hair bundles) and is surmounted by feathers from the red-tailed tropic bird (*Phaethon rubricauda*). It also notes that at the precise junction of these feathers and the 'comb' sits a round European pocket mirror (as illustrated).

Peter Buck argued that *lave* with the "wider framework diverging outwards and upwards is a modern development to provide a framework for the introduced

glass mirror."[6] This type of *lave* is the most common and recurring style in *tuiga* and it quickly became standardized following European arrival in Samoa and the dissemination of new materials such as mirrors. Buck states that the more elaborate form of midrib comb known as *selu tuinga* was originally used with the *tuinga* headdress as its name indicates[7] and that these combs or midrib frameworks were decorated with feathers including the long feathers of the *tava'e'ula*, a species of tropic bird (*Phaeton rubricauda*) and were the precursors of the more elaborate form of modern *lave*.[8]

It is very likely then that this particular headdress may be one of a few surviving *tuiga* that still incorporates this earlier style of *lave* with its use of a traditional *selu tuiga* and long *tava'e'ula* feathers. Its rarity is made all the more interesting by the fact that it combines a very old, pre-contact style of *lave* framework, with a contrasting European pocket mirror. The use of mirrors in *tuiga* would have seemed like a superior alternative to the usual *tifa* or mother of pearl shell mounted on the *lave* of traditional *tuiga*. The uniqueness of this *tuiga* and its combination of old and new materials is perhaps what caught the eye of the Godeffroy collector. As a trader he would have been looking at the commercial value of the *tuiga* as an ethnographic object which could be sold to other collectors or museums.

## Missionaries that Collected *Tuiga*

Reverend John Williams of the London Missionary Society was the first European missionary to visit Samoa when he landed in Savai'i in 1830. His time there famously spurred on the establishment of the LMS in Samoa and the official adoption of the Christian faith there as well, through the conversion of chiefs like his companion Malietoa Vainu'upo.

With the introduction of Christianity in Samoa, many traditional objects or adornments that were considered pagan in origin were discarded or put out of use. Krämer made note of this in particular relation to a carved idol acquired by Thomas Heath, one of the very early LMS missionaries to Samoa. The wooden idol was "seen

[6] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 616.
[7] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, 616.
[8] Ibid.

in 1836 by two separate parties of missionaries, at Amaile in the Aleipata District of Upolu Island, where it was associated with the preserved bodies of two important chiefs, almost certainly of the Mata'afa family."[9] Heath recounted how "some families had roughly carved wooden idols as representatives of deceased chiefs to whom they paid religious homage."[10] To this Krämer adds "it is very probable that the missionaries at that time collected the idols and sent them to England."[11] While this was Heath's initial intention with the particular wooden idol sighted at Amaile in 1836, he instead gifted it to Queen Victoria along with an assortment of other 'curiosities' in 1840.[12]

Although not as explicitly 'pagan' as carved idols, it is possible that *tuiga* were also discarded in this fashion (given their association with 'deceased chiefs') and given to missionaries who sent then them back to England. It is also well known that many missionaries detested Samoan *poula* (night dances), which were notorious for ending in a kind of unrestrained sexual party.[13] Williams wrote one of the earliest accounts of *poula* noting "some low blackguard dances that exceed in obscenity anything I ever read or heard of."[14] He also recorded dancers in *poula* wearing the "nautilus shell head dress & blue beads," which may be a reference to *tuiga*. If this is case, the *tuiga's* inclusion in *poula* may have provided the impetus for some *tuiga* or parts of the headdress being discarded or given to the missionaries after conversion to Christianity.

This would explain why some *tuiga* or *tuiga*-related objects were included in the large collections amassed by the London Missionary Society. Because the oldest examples of *tuiga* that still exist today date as far back as the 1870s, finding *tuiga* from this time period that are still intact is very rare. The organic materials used to bind the headdress together such as coconut fibre or senit, and *siapo,* naturally

[9] Janet Davidson, "The Wooden Image from Samoa in the British Museum: A Note on Its Context," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 84, no. 3 (1975): 352.
[10] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 244.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Davidson, "The Wooden Image from Samoa in the British Museum: A Note on Its Context," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 84, no. 3 (1975): 354.
[13] Mageo, "Hairdos and Don'ts: Hair Symbolism and Sexual History in Samoa," *A Journal of Women Studies* 17, no. 2 (1996): 144.
[14] Moyle, ed. *The Samoan Journals of John Williams, 1830 and 1832* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1984), 247.

deteriorate over time. Very old *tuiga* would also have been made in the traditional way and were therefore only fully assembled when worn on the head. When they were not being used, they were stored in parts.

For this reason, many old collections of Samoan artefacts, including the collection of the London Missionary Society, contain evidence of once possessing multiple and whole *tuiga* but today can only show some of the parts for it. For example, the British Museum has in its collection two human-hair bundles, both distinctly different and formerly part of the London Missionary Society's collection (fig. 28). It is clear that these hair bundles were originally part of two different *tuiga*; a fact which is acknowledged in their respective descriptions which read,

> Piece of a band of human hair, bunched together with vegetable fibre and sinnet cord. Used to make a headdress called a tuiga, worn by a Chief's son or daughter in ceremony. From London Missionary Society. No.157.[15] (fig. 27)
>
> Human hair headdress of chief; made of long strands of bright reddish brown wavy hair; end of each strand doubled over a tied in loop with fine fibre, & strands then strung on a thin cord. From London Missionary Society. No. 224.[16]

Fig. 27. Human hair bundle originally from the London Missionary Society. Collection of the British Museum, London.

Fig. 28. Original London Missionary Society object label. The British Museum, London.

[15] "British Museum – head-dress" *The British Museum*, November, 2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3481328&partId=1&searchText=tuiga&page=1

[16] Ibid.

Another type of *tuiga*-related object present in the collection of the British Museum are *pale fuiono*. There are three *pale fuiono* at the British Museum, all from the 19th century. One of the collectors of one of the *pale fuiono* (fig. 29) was LMS missionary Reverend William Wyatt Gill whose eldest daughter married a missionary in Samoa.[17]

Fig. 29. *Pale fuiono* collected by Rev. Wyatt Gill. Collection of the British Museum, London.

Interestingly another of the British Museum's *pale fuiono* was supposedly gifted by the Samoan high chief Malietoa Laupepa in 1887. That he would gift such an object indicates the value that was still placed on *tuiga*-related objects at the time, as gift-giving, when undertaken by chiefs was a very symbolic and important ritual that involved the highest-valued cultural goods. However, the gifting of this particular *pale fuiono,* most likely to LMS missionaries (which later found its way to the British Museum), was probably a gesture of good will on the part of Malietoa Laupepa, who during the 1880s-90s was a key political figure in the Samoan Civil Wars. At the height of the political turmoil, American, British and German colonial powers were set to war over the islands of Samoa. Malietoa Laupepa, most likely seeking the backing of the British powers, probably gifted this *pale fuiono* to symbolize this.

### *Tuiga* in Early Photography in Samoa

The inclusion of *tuiga* in early photography in Samoa rose to prominence through the work of photographers such as John Davis, A.J. Tattersall and Thomas Andrews. What is most interesting about representations of *tuiga* in the images produced by these photographers, is that they show the *tuiga* being used both in

[17] Niel Gunson, "Biography – William Wyatt Gill" *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* December, 2017, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gill-william-wyatt-3615

ceremonial contexts within *Fa'a Samoa* practices that Samoans were still engaging in during the late 19th century, and in the highly staged studio portraits of Samoan men and women that catered to the European print media and postcard industries.

John Davis (born in England in 1831) compiled "the first substantial body of work by a photographer in Samoa"[18] with his earliest images dating back to the 1870s. Davis was known for pioneering photographic studies of Samoan customs and this is can be illustrated in images he took of village functions, such as the photograph of a "group of men and women armed with traditional weapons,"[19] taken in the early 1890s (fig. 30).

Fig. 30. John Davis. *A Group of Men and Women Armed with Traditional Weapons*. Photographic print. 1890s.

In contrast to these images, which showed a strong interest in traditional Samoan culture, Davis was also known to produce commercial studio photographs that catered to the phantasmal notions of Samoa as an untouched paradise populated

[18] John Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography* (New York: Taylor & Francis Publishing, 2008), 996.
[19] Leonard Bell, "Eyeing Samoa: People, Places, and Spaces in Photographs of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire,* edited by Felix Driver and Luciana Martins, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 169.

with “nude or sparsely clad Pacific women.”[20] He is quoted as having once recounted to a visitor how,

> Hundreds of native girls and youths presented themselves at his studio in hopes that they would make photographs of commercial value for book illustrations and for selling to tourists. Yet he chose only two or three at the most, who possessed the thick lips and sensual features which coincided with the stock European idea of the South Sea type.[21]

This ‘south-sea’ archetype, as seen in the example of Davis’ 1893 photograph entitled *Samoan Princess Fa’ane* (fig. 31), usually featured bare-breasted women wearing a *tuiga* headdress and carrying a large club or *nifo oti* (knife).

Fig. 31. John Davis. *Samoan Princess Fa’ane*. Photographic print, 1893.

[20] Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002), 221.
[21] Ibid.

As the above anecdote shows, these women were almost never traditional *taupou* or 'Samoan princesses' despite their labelling as such. Interestingly their "'ornamental' or 'passive' pose"[22] became a standardized '*taupou*' pose in photographic portraits (fig. 32). In this context, the *tuiga* was an adornment that was meant to enhance the sexual appeal of Samoan women and to play into European misconceptions of "Samoans as primitive types inhabiting an unchanged Eden that did not participate in the Western world of technology, progress and time."[23]

Alfred John Tattersall, who was born in New Zealand 1866 and who had worked alongside Davis, acquired his negatives after his death in 1903 and continued to sell them for many years.[24] Like Davis, his own photographs showed that he would have seen *tuiga* being used in a traditional Samoan context. Tattersall's 1925 photograph (fig. 33) of "Chiefs in Ceremonial Dress at Mulinu'u"[25] shows a number of Samoan chiefs all wearing elaborate *tuiga* and seated on the *malae* (open space) at Mulinu'u, the traditional place where royal persons were buried.

Fig. 32. Photograph featuring the ornamental *taupou* pose. Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.

[22] Lisa Taouma, "Getting Jiggy with It: The Evolving of Pasifika Dance in New Zealand," in *Pacific Art Niu Sila: The Pacific Dimension of Contemporary New Zealand Arts*, edited by Sean Mallon and Pandora Fulimalo Pereira, (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2002), 135.
[23] Alison Nordström, "Paradise Recycled: Photographs of Samoa in Changing Contexts," *Exposure* 28, no. 3 (1991-1992): 15.
[24] Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography,* 996.
[25] "Tattersall, Alfred James, 1866-1951," *National Library of New Zealand,* accessed February 11, 2018, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22596683?search%5Bpath%5D=items&search%5Btext%5D=alfred+tattersall

Fig. 33. Alfred John Tattersall. *Chiefs in Ceremonial Dress at Mulinu'u.* 1925. Collection of the National Library of New Zealand.

Fig. 34. Alfred John Tattersall. *The Present Faumuina Mata'afa and his Wife.* Collection of the National Library of New Zealand.

Tattersall was also known to photograph Samoan families in their traditional attire. This practice can be seen in images such as the portrait of Faumuina Mata'afa and his wife, taken in the early 1900s (fig. 34). In the photograph, the couple stand side by side in an outdoor setting with Faumuina Mata'afa's wife wearing an elaborate *tuiga* and a *titi* (skirt) made of feathers. They both also carry a *nifo oti* (knife). The differences between this photograph and Davis' *Samoan Princess Fa'ane*, are immediately apparent. Although both women in the photographs are essentially dressed the same (they are bare-breasted, wearing *tuiga* and holding a *nifo oti*), Faumuina Mata'afa's wife is not posed provocatively or overtly sexualized. She stands front-on and is gazing directly into the lens of the camera. She is dignified and proudly positions herself on an equal plane to her husband.

Out of the three photographers that this section discusses, Thomas Andrew is often regarded as the most prolific producer of Samoan photographic content. Andrew was born in New Zealand in 1855 and photographed some of the most iconic early images of Samoa, which are still referenced to this day. When Andrew first arrived in Samoa, he worked as an assistant to Davis. Like Davis he produced a number of historical photos, particularly of Samoan political figureheads in the late 19th century. However, he extended his views and practice further than Davis in producing staged re-enactments and even nude studies of Samoan women.[26]

In his representations of *tuiga*, Andrew was known to photograph both men and women wearing the adornment. In these images (fig. 35-38) male and female figures are visually represented as *taupou* and *manaia*. This is not only evidenced in the wearing of *tuiga*, but also in the presence of other adornments usually worn by *taupou* and *manaia*, which included *ula-lei* (whale tooth necklaces) and wooden war clubs, or *nifo oti*. Although influences of the visual tropes of noble savage and dusky maiden can be some of the staged photographs produced by Davis, Tattersall and Andrew, the use of a codified visual formula made up of traditionally sacred Samoan adornments, makes these images very unique. It illustrates that some Europeans, in representing *tuiga* for their own colonial contexts (such as in print and post card photography), still alluded to the adornment's significance within a *Fa'a Samoa* or Samoan culture milieu.

[26] Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth Century Photography,* 996.

Fig. 35. Thomas Andrew. *Manaia* (Chief's son). Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg

Fig. 36. Thomas Andrew. Photographic print. Collection of the British Museum, London.

Fig. 37. Thomas Andrew. Photographic print (1890). Collection of the British Museum, London.

Fig. 38. Thomas Andrew. *Talolo, Son of a Matai in Vaimoso who worked as Robert Louis Stevenson's Cook.* Collection of the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

Photography as a Tool of the Missionary

As previously demonstrated in this chapter, Christian missionaries were the first 'quasi-ethnographers' of Samoan culture in the 19th century, and with the additional use of photography, provided some of the most authentic images and visual accounts of traditional Samoan life. One of the most prolific missionary photographers was George Brown, who was an Australian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary that travelled to Samoa in 1860.[27]

Over the 48 years that Brown spent in the Pacific, he took 904 photographs in Samoa, mostly between the years of 1876 and 1903,[28] and many of which included *tuiga*. His style was unassuming, taking the form of highly individualized, elegant portraits with natural decorative elements as his backgrounds (fig. 39-41). Unlike many studio photographers, Brown always attempted to record the name, status or profession of his subjects. And more importantly in his work,

> The common tropes of the exotic 'other' are not constructed. The status of both genders is indexed by their poses, clothing and possessions. Men are not depicted as warriors. Orators are seen with flywhisks not with clubs, spears or weapons. Women are pictured seated or in standing pose, not in reclining or sexually suggestive poses.[29]

In other words, Brown was effectively rejecting the visual tropes and constructs that were so common in studio photography. This is because he had a different agenda in photographing his subjects. For missionaries like Brown, photography was initially a great diversion in what was an isolated lifestyle. But more notably "it provided…a way to visualize and legitimize their work."[30] They could garner more support and fund-raising from congregations in their homeland for further mission work by producing photographic documents that showed the reality of life wherever they were stationed. Missionaries were known to sometimes photograph indigenous practices that they found most abhorrent for this very purpose.

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[27] Virginia-Lee Webb, "Missionary Photographers in the Pacific Islands: Divine Light," *History of Photography* 21, no. 1 (1997): 13.
[28] Ibid., 16.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., 15.

In this manner Brown avoided recreating,

> …Scenes for the camera based on information he obtained but did not witness. Cultural practices and ceremonies were neither performed nor re-created specifically for the camera. For the most part, modes of representation and the tropes employed by Brown derive from his own aesthetics, beliefs and feelings, both positive and negative towards peoples and cultures. He used the local surroundings as backdrops to picture the various people within their own environment.[31]

Fig. 39. Reverend George Brown, *Girl of Rank with Tuiga*, *Savai'i, Samoa*, 1893-98.
Collection of the Australian Museum, Sydney

[31] Ibid.

Fig. 40. Reverend George Brown, *Three Young Women*, *Manono, Samoa*, 1893. Collection of the Australian Museum, Sydney.

Fig. 41. Reverend George Brown, *Chiefs and Rulers, Lufilufi, Upolu, Samoa*, 1900. Collection of the Australian Museum, Sydney.

This desire to authentically document traditions and customs also served the agendas of anthropologists from this period that were "developing field methods to obtain first-hand data about cultural differences"[32] and using "information gathered by missionaries to write about Pacific cultures."[33]

Photography was also shown to Samoans by missionaries, as part of their narrative of conversion that "included several tropes"[34] one of which focused on the spiritual 'darkness' of non-Christian peoples, and the ability to bring 'light' to this 'darkness' through conversion to Christianity. To metaphorically illustrate this notion, missionaries such as Brown used lanterns, and would also project photographic images of Christianized people using these lanterns to reiterate their arguments.

## *Tuiga* in Cultural Exhibitions and Fairs in Europe

The inclusion of *tuiga* in Samoan performances at 19th century cultural exhibitions in Germany and other parts of Europe is a well-recorded fact. Dr. Hilke Thode-Arora of the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich refers to these exhibitions as "ethnic shows,"[35] a phenomenon that became popular in the 19th century where,

> People from foreign cultures were hired for a period of several months – sometimes even years – and usually toured throughout Central Europe, in order to demonstrate to paying audiences' activities deemed "typical" of their culture.[36]

For Samoans participating in these shows or cultural exhibitions, the use of *tuiga* in their performances and activities would have been encouraged or even enforced, so as to maintain the notion that audiences would see authentic or 'typical' cultural practices.

## The Tuiga at the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich

[32] Virginia-Lee Webb, "Missionary Photographers in the Pacific Islands: Divine Light," *History of Photography* 21, no. 1 (1997): 15.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 19.
[35] Hilke Thode-Arora, ed. *From Samoa With Love* (Munich: Hirmer, 2014), 54.
[36] Ibid., 79.

A particular *tuiga* that was used in one of these cultural exhibitions now resides at the The Museum Fünf Kontinente or Museum of Five Continents in Munich. As the only *tuiga* in the museum's collection, the headdress has been well preserved given its age.

The *tuiga*'s construction features a solid leather-clad helmet that was repurposed to form the base of the headdress. The helmet is slightly split on one side and fitted with leather straps or laces to allow for loosening and tightening on the head of the wearer (fig. 43). At the very top of the helmet is a protruding metal rod, most likely made of brass and fastened to the leather with 4 bolts. To this, a three-tiered *lave* framework is attached, with the protruding brass rod secured to the central wooden rod of the *lave* (fig. 44). Staff and conservators at the Museum Fünf Kontinente who have examined the *tuiga* have speculated as to whether the helmet was originally a German spiked helmet, which may account for the protruding metal rod (however this is still unclear).

The *lave* framework has two lateral sticks bridging the three principle rods (evidently to stabilize them) however these are hidden behind two medium-sized mother of pearl shells or *tifa* that are placed one above the other. The lower and bigger of the two has patterns and a chevron border carved onto its surface (fig. 45), an interesting feature that is rarely if ever seen on other *tuiga*. Framing the *lave* are two big bunches of *lauulu* hair bundles with some red but mostly green feather *'ie ula* ornaments sitting atop it (fig. 42). The *lave* sticks themselves are thick, wrapped with *tapa* and decorated with coconut coir bows. A *pale fuiono* also encircles the helmet base, which is covered with *tapa* (fig. 46).

Carl Marquardt collected this *tuiga* when he visited his brother Fritz in Samoa in 1897.[37] The Marquardt brothers were known to deal in Samoan artefacts and often travelled to villages, establishing sources from which they could buy objects to sell back to German collectors. This particular *tuiga* apparently belonged to a *taupou* with the title 'Magumagu' from the village of Faleata and it is likely that she was a participant of the Samoan troupe who went to Germany to perform in the first ethnic show organized by the Marquardt brothers in the 1890s. This is supported by the presence of an envelope addressed to someone titled 'Magumagu' in Germany.[38] It is also believed that Marquardt was able to buy the *tuiga* from this particular *taupou*

[37] Ibid., 64.
[38] Ibid.

because she was just about to get married[39] and would no longer require the ceremonial headdress, seeing as she would not be eligible to serve as a *taupou*, a role which required its keeper to retain her virginity. However, this account is controversial, seeing as traditionally *taupou* did not own the *tuiga* they wore. The *tuiga* belonged to the *taupou* title or *matai* (chiefly) title with which it was associated and would have remained in the family for the next *taupou.*

Although this particular *tuiga* is very unique, when compared to photographs of other *tuiga* that were worn in the context of the cultural exhibitions in Germany (fig. 47), it seems that most utilized a helmet-like domed base on which to fasten the other components of their headdresses (fig. 48). This may have been more convenient for a travelling group of performers who would have found it tiresome to traditionally assemble numerous *tuiga* before every show. Whatever the reason was, this rare innovation highlights a possible foreign influence on the traditional of production of *tuiga*.

Fig. 42. *Taupou* headgear of 'Magumagu' from Faleata, Samoa. Collected by Carl Marquardt. Collecton of the Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich

[39] Hilke Thode-Arora (Curator, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich), email-message to author, March 17, 2017.

Fig. 43. Conservator's drawing of 'Magumagu' *tuiga* helmet-base. Talei Si'ilata.

Fig. 44. Rear-view of *lave* framework attached to protruding metal rod. Talei Si'ilata.

Fig. 45. Mother-of-pearl shell with chevron patterning. Talei Si'ilata.

Fig. 46. *Pale fuiono* and siapo-covered base. Talei Si'ilata.

Fig. 47. *Group photo with Te'o Tuvale* taken during the second ethnic show organized by the Marquardt Brothers.

Fig. 48. Close up of the group photo to show the simplified *tuiga* headdresses worn during the ethnic shows. These feature helmet-like domed bases similar to the 'Magumagu' *tuiga*.

## The Marquardt Brothers and their Cultural Exhibitions or 'Ethnic Shows'

The unique construction of these *tuiga* (of which the 'Magumagu' example is the most prominent) and their co-option by Carl Marquardt into performances at these cultural exhibitions or 'ethnic shows' in Germany was not only a feature that was

meant to help showcase Samoan cultural practices; it was part of a wider attempt on behalf of Germany to forge a unique colonial relationship with Samoa that differed from other colonial administrations in the Pacific.

This campaign of sorts was driven by a special attempt to understand and create an affinity between the two cultures (as opposed to disparity). As Harry Liebersohn describes, "the German mission in Samoa was a *cultural* paternalism, in contrast to early nineteenth-century Britain's political mission in Tahiti and Hawaii."[40] This cultural paternalism was in part a product of "the work of early German ethnologists [which] had an important implication on the way Pacific Islanders were perceived amongst Germans and, subsequently, influenced German colonial policy in the Pacific."[41] Unmistakable mythic parallels between Germany and Samoa were perceived to exist, and the motivation to take control over the islands by the German government was not instigated solely for capitalist purposes like economic gain or imperial expansion, but instead was born out of a "sense of Germany's national and cultural role"[42] and the protective attitude they felt towards Samoa, affectionately termed "the pearl of the South Seas"[43] by Samoa's governor Wilhelm Solf.

Ethnographic study and research, on the part of German academics was also "used by German colonial administrators to strengthen their control by governing Samoa within a revised and codified version of their own culture."[44] German colonial administrators also felt that the ethnic shows could positively influence Samoan attitudes toward the German Empire, especially when it took possession of Samoa in 1900. As the second cultural exhibition organized by the Marquardt Brothers was taking place in 1900-1901, the German governor of Samoa, Wilhelm Solf, wrote to the director of the zoo in Berlin saying,

> Based on my experiences I don't believe it is correct to assume the natives are indiscriminate – that they are unable to tell educated from uneducated

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[40] H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl, eds., *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 45.
[41] Sven Monter, "Dr. Augustin Krämer: A German Ethnologist in the Pacific" (Doctoral Thesis, The University of Auckland, 2010), 6.
[42] Christopher Balme, "New Compatriots, Samoans on Display in Wilhelminian Germany," *The Journal of Pacific History* 42, no. 3 (2007): 335.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Monter, "Dr. Augustin Krämer: A German Ethnologist in the Pacific," 7.

> people…the native returning to his home country is very much capable of distinguishing and reflecting on the gradations of our social and bureaucratic ladder…in view of the prevailing circumstances in Samoa it can only be agreeable to the government…if the returning Samoans create positive publicity for Germany among their associates through stories and descriptions.[45]

Solf was writing in response to fears that the Samoan troupe would end up disdaining German people, due to the vulgarity and over-enthusiasm of the German public towards the Samoan performers. That he had an understanding of the shrewdness of Samoans in judging the character and capabilities of their German counterparts reflects not only the personal respect he had for them, but also the political hindsight he was taking into account, considering that Samoa had just come out of a series of civil wars.

Within this colonial, paternalistic context, all of the Marquardt Samoan cultural exhibitions that took place in Germany, the first of which was in 1895-1897, followed by the second in 1900-1901 and a third from 1910-1911, featured the staging of these uniquely constructed 'hybrid' *tuiga* in performance. While it may be farfetched to assume that their distinct construction, being influenced by German spiked helmets, was an attempt to visualize a cultural affinity between Samoans and Germans, it is appropriate to assume that these *tuiga* played a significant (and pseudo-political) role in familiarizing German people with Samoan culture.

*Tuiga* for Sale?

As mentioned previously the Marquardt brothers were known to deal in Samoan artefacts, sourcing objects from villages to sell to overseas collectors. In light of this it is also arguable that the inclusion of multiple *tuiga* in their cultural exhibitions was a ploy to encourage would-be collectors to buy *tuiga* and other artefacts from them. Carl Marquardt officially began his business of ethnographic collecting in 1901, with the intent of dealing with and supplying museums. He did this by sending out bidding

[45] Thode-Arora, ed. *From Samoa With Love*, 126.

brochures for ethnographic objects from Samoa, which he had apparently collected over the last twenty years. This collection according to Carl included,

> Almost everything the Samoans of our time have ever produced. Anyone who has seen the museums in Germany, as well as the eligible ones abroad – not least those in the Australian capitals – knows how sparsely endowed they generally are with objects from the Samoan islands…And indeed, not much is left anymore to take from Samoa these days. Yet the few pieces that may still be extant after the devastation of the past wars should be worth their weight in gold.[46]

As well as putting various ethnographic artefacts up for sale to museums throughout Europe, Carl also stipulated that items listed in the brochure could be replaced as there was a steady supply from Samoa which could be sourced through his brother Fritz.[47] His collecting was therefore merely another avenue for financial gain, which he saw as a viable option with the growing demand of foreign cultural artefacts from museums in Europe.

As curator Dr. Hilke Thode-Arora aptly describes, "Marquardt thus viewed the objects he offered for sale in terms of the paradigm espoused in 19$^{th}$-century-ethnology that a culture could be fully grasped in its material and spiritual expressions: *ethnographica* were seen as pieces of evidence for certain aspects of the foreign culture that could be replaced with other similar and equivalent samples."[48] Marquardt was essentially providing whole collections, summarized in a set object list, which he believed gave a complete and all-encompassing view of Samoan life. This is illustrated by the fact that Marquardt collections today can be found in museums in Frankfurt, Dresden, Cologne and Munich, and are all very similar to one another.

Unlike established ethnographers, Carl Marquardt's interest in ethnographic dealing was not born out of a deep-seated belief in preserving a people's culture. Marquardt, although meticulous with the documentation and provenance he provided for his ethnographic objects, was none-the-less "firmly anchored in the pro-colonial

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[46] Thode-Arora, ed. *From Samoa With Love*, 54.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

German-European environment"[49] of his time. The active role he took in organizing Samoan cultural exhibitions in Germany is a testament to this. He was also known to deal in ethnographic objects from places he had never been too such as New Guinea. The Marquardt brothers were not members of the academic or financial elite in either Germany or Samoa, instead "they earned their livelihood with jobs that came up and in which they aspired to gain a certain expertise to then build on." This pragmatic approach is what led them to deal in ethnographic objects (which included *tuiga*) and to utilize it as a form of trade.

Government Officials who Collected *Tuiga*

Although later credited as one of the pioneering ethnologists of the Pacific, Augustin Krämer originally came to Samoa as a government medical officer.[50] He was born on the 25th of August 1865 and "as a Marinearzt (Navy Surgeon), naturalist and later as an ethnologist…visited the region on a number of occasions."[51] Krämer made five different expeditions to the Pacific between the 1890s and 1911 and two of these were to Samoa. By his second Samoan expedition he had begun to develop what would become a lifelong interest in *Völkerkunde* (ethnology) and this in turn led him to amass a large collection of artefacts and to write a two-volume monongraph on the Samoa Islands entitled *Die Samoa Inseln*. Today this publication is held in very high regard by Pacific scholars and Samoans alike and is used in the Land and Titles Court of Samoa.

Today we know of at least two *tuiga* that Krämer collected. The first of these is at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, with the rest of his collection. This particular headdress was a traditional example of a *tuiga* with a composite structure, which is evidenced by the fact that it is not assembled, and only its parts are recorded in the Linden Museum collection. This is also confirmed in Krämer's two-volumed monongraph where he writes about the production and manufacture of traditional *tuiga*, accompanying this text with images of its various parts that he has collected.[52] These included "the triple staff (lave), the hair ornament (lauulu), the feather

[49] Ibid., 57.
[50] Peter Henry Buck, *An Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1945), 30.
[51] Monter, "Dr. Augustin Krämer: A German Ethnologist in the Pacific," i.
[52] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. II*, 332-333.

trimming…[and] the Nautilus headband (pale fuiono)."[53] All four of these separate objects can be seen in the collection at the Linden Museum (fig. 49-51), three of which are shown below.

Fig. 49. *Pale fuiono* collected by Krämer. Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany.

Fig. 50. *'ie 'ula* feather ornament collected by Krämer. Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany.

Fig. 51. Turtle-shell plate and *lave* collected by Krämer. Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany.

What is immediately striking about these objects and their configuration is that they represent the most traditional materials and methods that were originally used in the making of *tuiga* prior to European contact. The *pale fuiono* for example is only constructed with two rows of nautilus shells. In later images of *tuiga* this number is sometimes doubled (fig. 52). The feather ornament is also tied to a wooden prong that would have made it easier in traditional *tuiga*, to attach to the base of the headdress. The shield or anchor of the *lave* framework is made of turtle shell or *laumei* and the *lave* itself is three-pronged and wrapped with white siapo. All these features point to early configurations of the *tuiga* before the introduction of beads, mirrors and other materials changed its make-up.

[53] Ibid., 330.

Fig. 52. Photograph of *taupou* wearing a *tuiga* with four rows of nautilus shells (two *pale fuiono* instead of one). Collection of the British Museum

There is also a partially complete headdress (fig. 53) at the Ethnologische Museum in Berlin that is recorded as having been collected by Krämer. It sports a handful of *lauulu* hair bundles attached to a four-pronged wooden *lave* framework, decorated with coconut fibre ribbons tied in bunches on the ends and a set of three mother-of-pearl shells mounted at its base. When tasked with assembling an exemplary *tuiga* for an upcoming exhibition, the museum took this particular object and added more *lauulu* hair bundles to it as well as the ‘*ie ula* feather adornment, and a *pale fuiono* in an attempt to complete the ensemble (fig. 54-55). The result reveals the considerable challenges involved in assembling *tuiga* and confirms Peter Buck’s definition of a traditional *tuiga* headdress as “an addition of various elements that have not developed into one structural combination.”[54]

[54] Buck, *Samoan Material Culture,* 619.

Fig. 53. Partially complete *tuiga* collected by Krämer. Collection of the Ethnologische Museum, Berlin.

Fig. 54. The partially complete *tuiga* reassembled with other collected items. Collection of the Ethnologische Museum, Berlin.

Fig. 55. A completed *tuiga*, assembled with different collected items. Collection of the Ethnologische Museum, Berlin.

In collecting these specimens Krämer was making a calculated decision to preserve examples of the materials that constituted 'true' or authentic *tuiga* and this

stems from his wider interest in salvage anthropology. Krämer voiced the need to preserve "the cultural heritage of the slowly dying-out peoples of the Pacific"[55]and as a result of these beliefs he "sought out the oldest [Samoan] individuals with the greatest knowledge of tradition"[56] to help him document and preserve what remained of 'authentic' Samoan culture. He attended local council meetings or *fono* and developed friendships with *tulafale* (orator chiefs), who later helped him to translate and document the prestigious *fa'alupega* (honorifics/ titles of rank), genealogies, and oral traditions of various villages and families, for his writing. These efforts put him at the forefront of salvage anthropology in the Pacific according to George Steinmetz who stated that, "Krämer's goal of reversing the tide of history through a kind of salvage colonialism [was] modeled on the salvage anthropology that he helped to pioneer in Oceania."[57]

His interest in preserving what he thought was authentic Samoan culture (which included traditional *tuiga*), was also informed by his interest in German Völkerkunde which he explains in his monograph writing,

> Ethnology seeks to fathom the depth of the soul of a people, its spiritual and intellectual property, the foundation and course of religion, history and forms of government based on language, myths, legends and traditions. Ethnography on the other hand is concerned with manifestations and external aspects such as anthropology (somatology), sociology and industry based on geography and the natural sciences… Völkerkunde is neither ethnology nor ethnography but an amalgam of the two."[58]

Krämer's collecting and writing activities are thus an embodiment of the spirit of German Völkerkunde, which sought to cultivate a complete and all-inclusive understanding of a single culture.

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[55] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa, Vol. I* (Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1994-1995), vii.
[56] George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 302.
[57] Ibid., 301.
[58] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa, Vol. II* (Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1994-1995), vi.

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, three specific *tuiga* will be analyzed collectively, as examples of 'outlier' *tuiga* forms in museum collections. All three of these *tuiga* defy the traditional style and form of pre-contact *tuiga* headdresses and illustrate the extent of European collecting which began in the late 19th century but continues to this day. In the context of this chapter's discussion of European collectors and their representations of *tuiga*, these examples also provide wonderful insight into how the colonisation of Samoa revolutionized the production of *tuiga*, as evidenced in the great artistic licence involved in the creation of *tuiga* in the present day.

London: The British Museum

Like the Museum Fünf Kontinente, the British Museum in London has just one complete *tuiga*). The headdress (fig. 56) was acquired in 1936 from the British auction house Glendining & Co.[59] and its provenance prior to this purchase is not known or recorded. Its description reads as follows.

> Headdress or tuiga made of bunches of yellow (dyed) human hair. The middle section consists of three pearl shells strung together with vegetable fibre cord, below this are three rows of nautilus shells. The top part of the headdress is made of three projecting spikes covered with fibre or possibly barkcloth, two nautilus shells are attached to the outer spikes and four nautilus shells (fuiono) are attached to the central spike. Red feathers decorate all three spikes.[60]

The *tuiga* is approximately 85 cm in height and 27 cm in width. Its three *lave* are very long while the base of the headdress itself is small in comparison. It only has a few *lauulu* hair bundles fanning out from an almost hollow interior. The only anchoring mechanism seems to be the *pale fuiono* bands, which would have sat

[59] "British Museum – Head dress," *The British Museum,* December, 2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=497365&partId=1&searchText=tuiga&page=1
[60] Ibid.

directly on the forehead of its wearer as opposed to on a tapa turban; the traditional base of all *tuiga* headdresses.

Fig. 56. The *tuiga* acquired from the Glendining & Co auction house. Collection of the British Museum, London.

Its simplified features, high degree of finish and its acquisition date suggest that it was produced in the 20th century, when *tuiga,* like many other Samoan *measina* or treasures, were losing their original value and symbolic cultural meanings. It is possible that it was made as an item for sale (given its presence at an auction house); a practice that would have been unthinkable prior to European contact but which was later plausible with the introduction of new commodities and forms of wealth that overturned the traditional Samoan 'economy' and its material goods.

New York: The American Museum of Natural History

Similar in style and vague historical context is the *tuiga* headdress displayed in the American Museum of Natural History (fig. 57). Other than the name of the donor, which is listed as 'F. L. Zimmerman,' nothing else is known of the *tuiga*'s provenace and how it came to the museum.

Like the *tuiga* in Leipzig, this headdress is one complete object that has a fitted black cloth cap with a *pale fuiono* attached on its the lower edge. It also features a standard *lave* framework with three wooden rods that have been wrapped in red fabric and decorated with white feathers. Tied to the *lave* are strings of '*ie ula* feathers and thick hair bundles or *lauulu* which drape over the sides of the cap.

Fig. 57. The Zimmerman *tuiga*. Collection of the American Museum of Natural History.

The mother of pearl shells mounted to the *lave* framework are very refined and have been cut, shaped and smoothed down to show only the most white/iridescent part of the shell. Again this high degree of finish is evidence of a burgeoning market and the new manufacturing techniques that emerged in the 20th century to accommodate this.

The Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig

In addition to the two *tuiga* previously discussed, the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig has a third *tuiga*, PO2616, whch is a recent acquisition and was collected by curator Birgit Scheps in 2004. It is signifier of the diversity of style and manufacture seen in modern day *tuiga* in comparison to their older traditional counterparts and it is also a testament to the on-going interest of European museums in updating their collections for cultural relevancy. PO2616 (fig. 58) has a central crown-like base wrapped in tapa and decorated with small, patterned shell configurations and a mother-of-pearl 'shield' at the base of the headdress from which three coconut-fibre bound *lave* extend upwards. What is interesting about this *tuiga* is that instead of having traditional *lauulu*, it uses bundles of coconut fibre or coir instead, to imitate the human hair usually seen in *lauulu* bundles. This feature is echoed in some of the *tuiga* seen at the ASB Polyfest (which is discussed in the last chapter). It also has no *'ie ula* or any other feather ornaments attached to it.

Fig. 58. PO2616, the *tuiga* collected by Birgit Scheps, 2004. Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig.

This chapter has sought to investigate how different European collectors co-opted and represented the *tuiga* in a number of ways during the late 19th and early 20th century, relative to their respective agendas and personal convictions or interests. It

has also examined how the colonial reprogramming of *tuiga* within European contexts by these figures had far-reaching effects on how Samoan culture was perceived by Europeans and represented in photography, print media, cultural exhibitions and written ethnographies of the time. This chapter has also aimed to provide a comprehensive analysis of the stylistic range of *tuiga*, exemplified in case studies drawn from museum collections all over the world.

In short, the co-option of *tuiga* by European collectors and colonial figures in the late 19$^{th}$ century and early 20$^{th}$ century not only saw the representations of the adornment evolve and change, it also informed the later trajectory and use of *tuiga* in the 21$^{st}$ century. By examining the impact of European contact and collecting on Samoan culture through an analysis of various colonial figures and their representations of *tuiga*, this chapter has provided a contextual basis for the following chapters, which are concerned with how the adornment would take on a new phenomenology and range of meanings in different contemporary contexts.

# Chapter Four

# Tuiga: A Visual Motif in the Contemporary Gallery Practice of Samoan Artists

This chapter will examine how the *tuiga* has been utilized and employed by Samoan artists in gallery-based art practices. The use of *tuiga* by these New Zealand based Samoan artists is directly linked to conversations about identity in all its forms; gender, sexual, cultural and urban, and is part of understanding their unique diasporic and transnational engagement with Samoan cultural values and ideas. This chapter is structured around specific artists who have referenced *tuiga* in their practices. These artists are Fatu Feu'u, Lily Laita, Shigeyuki Kihara, Tanu Gago, Pati Solomona Tyrell, and Saint Andrew Matautia, and collectively they represent three generations of Samoan artists working in different mediums. This chapter will therefore highlight how these artists are representing and re-imagining the *tuiga* conceptually and stylistically within their work.

As a visual motif in the gallery-based practices of Samoan artists, the *tuiga* functions outside of its usual ceremonial and performative context. The symbol of the *tuiga* and its representations become a malleable resource that Samoan artists can use in a number of artistic dialogues, which relate to contemporary Samoan identity. For these artists, the *tuiga* is a powerful creative agent that can communicate themes such as traditional Samoan values and customs, the influence of colonialism and its historical legacy in Samoa, changing or shifting gender roles, the fluidity of sexual identity, familial ties or social relationships within the Samoan *aiga* (family) unit, and contemporary notions of Samoan culture and identity within New Zealand. The discussion of these themes in tandem with detailed visual analysis of specific artworks will serve to question the role of the *tuiga* as a vehicle for the artistic expression of a range of contemporary Samoan and Pacific realities.

Fatu Feu'u

For Samoan-born artist Fatu Feu'u, the *tuiga* is symbolically tied to aspects of *Fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan way), which is a "binding element in his entire body of work."[1] Drawing on motifs commonly found in traditional Polynesian art practices such as tapa, tatau,[2] weaving, and carving, Feu'u combines traditional forms with contemporary elements to "convey symbolic visual narratives that transcend purely decorative readings of his works."[3] His early print, *Tuiga* (1988) (fig. 59) is a prime example of this.

Fig. 59. *Tuiga* by Fatu Feu'u. Lithograph, 1988. From the archived collection of the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa.

[1] Sean Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists: O Measina a Samoa* (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2002), 125.
[2] Caroline Vercoe, "Art Niu Sila: Contemporary Pacific Art in New Zealand," in *Pacific Art Niu Sila: The Pacific Dimension of Contemporary New Zealand Arts*, edited by Sean Mallon and Pandora Fulimalo Pereira, (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2002), 192.
[3] Ibid.

The print depicts a ceremonial mask or stylized carving that has been adorned with a traditional Samoan *tuiga*, complete with a yellow-beaded *pale fuiono*, human hair fanning out on the sides, and a three-pronged *lave* framework embellished with either mirrors or *tifa* (mother of pearl shells) and red feathers. This print was used as the featured artwork for the poster of Feu'u's 1988 exhibition entitled "Pacific Ceremonial Masks" which featured a series of the artists' paintings on New Zealand flax paper.[4] Feu'u is clearly using the *tuiga* in this print, to help create an image that is an amalgamation of different Pacific art traditions. Ceremonial or carved masks are not produced in Samoa or other parts of Western Polynesia. The elliptical eyes and stylized, wooden-like facial features depicted in the print are more reminiscent of carved idols produced in Eastern Polynesia or the ceremonial masks seen in Melanesian cultures. However, Feu'u asserts a Samoan context for the print by titling it *Tuiga*.

A more traditional rendering of the *tuiga* is seen in another print by Feu'u called *Alo Alo* (1990) (fig. 60), which again depicts a masked figure who the artist describes as "a woman of high birth, [or] high rank"[5] wearing the traditional Samoan headdress. The mask in this print is more simplified than in the *Tuiga* print, and it is produced in black and white. The explicit reference made by Feu'u to a *taupou* (a chiefly daughter of high rank) in the work, positions this print in close relation to the significance of *fa'asamoa* values in the artist's practice. 'Alo' is a respectful word for son or daughter,[6] but the title also refers to 'fa'aaloalo' (reverence) which is one of the guiding principles of *fa'asamoa* along with 'ava' (respect) and 'alofa' (love and compassion).[7]

Both *Tuiga* and *Alo Alo* were produced at a time when Feu'u was first starting to use Samoan cultural references, motifs and patterns in his work. However, the fact that the two prints were only produced two years apart is surprising because of their striking differences. The stylized mask references seen in *Tuiga* are completely

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[4] Karen Stevenson, *The Frangipani Is Dead: Contemporary Pacific Art in New Zealand* (Wellington: Huia, 2008), 39.
[5] "Alo Alo," *Auckland Art Gallery – Toi o Tamaki*, accessed February 15, 2018, https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/12892/alo-alo
[6] Ibid.
[7] "Fatu Feu'u," *Tautai Guiding Pacific Artists*, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.tautai.org/artist/fatu-feuu/#prettyphoto[group]/7/

replaced in *Alo Alo,* with more naturalistic facial features. *Alo Alo* also shows more detail in its depiction of jewellery in the form of earrings and a necklace. This visual progression reflects how the *tuiga* became more personalized visual motif in the artists work through time.

Fig. 60 *Alo Alo* by Fatu Feu'u. Lithograph, 1990. From the collection of the Auckland Art Gallery

Lily Laita

The use of the *tuiga* in Lily Laita's paintings are always in reference to representations of the Samoan warrior goddess *Nafanua*, or to the ceremonial figure of the *taupou*, both of whom occupied positions of power and authority in Samoan history. For the New Zealand born artist, the *tuiga* is a symbol of power.

Laita creates very dynamic paintings that usually reflect her personal experiences, mapping or referring to key moments in her life "where a discovery or turning point has inspired her and moved her forward."[8] Her painting *Vahine Pasifika* (1998) depicts a ceremonial *tuiga* headdress adorned with modern materials including kitchen or cleaning utensils, and lottery tickets. The work (fig. 61) examines "the roles of contemporary Pacific women, combining historical facts…with contemporary

[8] Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists: O Measina a Samoa*, 126.

realities."[9] The *taupou* who wears the *tuiga* in the painting is also seen seated with her hands reaching into what first appears to be a *tanoa fai'ava* or kava bowl when in fact it is the seat of a toilet-bowl (a traditional duty of the *taupou* was to mix and strain the '*ava* drink in kava bowls for formal occasions). Laita's use of the *tuiga* in this work is to illustrate the contemporary expectations and realities of Pacific women in New Zealand, which associates them with domestic work, low-paid cleaning jobs, and gambling.

Fig. 61 *Vahine Pasifika* by Lily Laita. Oil on builders paper. 1998.

Also depicted in the work is a grandmother[10] who in contemporary Pacific homes often takes on the role of guardian and teacher of cultural traditions, linking the successive generation (who are part of the diaspora) back to a spiritual notion of homeland through the transmitting of knowledge. Laita acknowledges the inherent value of Pacific women in sustaining culture and portrays important roles presided over by Samoan women (as matriarchs and traditional *taupou*) to exemplify this. The use of the *tuiga* here is in specific reference to the clash of traditional and contemporay gender roles of Samoan women. The *tuiga* is a literal construction of symbolic materials that represent the harsh realities ostracizing many Pacific women today.

*Fa'afofoga Mai Ia Nafanua* (fig. 62) is a sculptural work that was constructed by Laita during the *Tautai Pacific Sculpture Symposium* of 1998.[11] The work features a large clay sculpture of a woman preparing kava or *'ava*. When producing the work

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[9] Stevenson, *The Frangipani Is Dead: Contemporary Pacific Art in New Zealand,* 106-110.
[10] Ibid., 110.
[11] Paul T. Kennedy and Victor Roudometof, eds., *Communities Across Borders: New Immigrants and Transnational Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 166.

the artist said, "I'm making four clay coconuts which represent the four familial lines in Samoa; a ring mat, representing the ava bowl, and a tuiga suspended in mid air to represent Nafanua, the goddess of war."[12] Like *Vahine Pasifika*, the representation of the *tuiga* in this work is gendered, but unlike the previous work, here it is a symbol of empowerment. Nafanua was not only a goddess, she was responsible for conferring the four familial paramount chiefly lines of Samoa known as the Tafaifā (represented by the clay coconuts in her work), onto the high-ranking chiefly Queen, Salamasina.[13] Nafanua also challenged traditional gender roles in Samoa (due to her divine origin as an *aitu* or spirit[14]) and fought and killed men in a particular war in western Savai'i known as "A'ea i Sasa'e ma le A'ea i Sisifo (conquest of the hills to the east and to the west)."[15]

Laita's *Nafanua Triptych* of 2001 (fig. 63) features similar imagery of the goddess seen in the sculptural work *Fa'afofoga Mai Ia Nafanua*. Here she is painted wearing a *tuiga* headdress that is only just visible, while preparing *'ava*. Like the the title of her 1998 sculpture, the *Nafanua Triptych* features Samoan text which reads 'fa'afoga mai Nafanua' which can be translated as 'listen [or] hear me Nafanua.'

Laita's appropriation of the *tuiga* as a representative adornment of the goddess Nafanua, positions the *tuiga* as a symbol of power and closely associates it with powerful Pacific female figures. While it is possible that the goddess wore a *tuiga* there are no explicit references to this in Samoan oratory traditions. Laita's association of the *tuiga* with Nafanua is therefore a deliberate and skillful attempt to reposition the adornment as a contemporary symbol of Samoan feminism and empowerment. The considerable feats of the goddess in war, which were of mythic proportions, afforded her great *mana* and the *malo* (political authority over all of Samoa),[16] something that was not traditionally held by women, until the time of Salamasina.

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Penelope Schoeffel and Gavan Daws, "Rank, Gender and Politics in Ancient Samoa: The Genealogy of Salamāsina O Le Tafaifā," *The Journal of Pacific History* 22, no. 4 (1987): 183.

[14] In Samoan mythology *Nafanua* was the daughter of *Saveasi'uleo*, the half-man half-eel God who ruled *Pulotu* (the underworld), and *Tilfaiga*, who along with her twin sister *Taema* brought the art of *tatau* to Samoa from Fiji.

[15] Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Samoa* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1987), 13.

[16] Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 13.

Fig. 62. *Fa'afofoga Mai Ia Nafanua* by Lily Laita. Sculptural work produced during the *Tautai Pacific Sculpture Symposium* in 1998. Image retrieved from the University of Auckland's Art History Image Database.

In referring to these histories and Nafanua's importance in Samoan oral traditions, Laita is using the imagery of the *tuiga* (in representing Nafanua) as a mnemonic device to speak to the triumph of Samoan women through history and to counter negative and reductive stereotypes of contemporary Pacific women.

Fig. 63. Detail from *Nafanua Triptych* by Lily Laita. 2001

Shigeyuki Kihara

Shigeyuki Kihara[17] utilizes *tuiga* in her work but in a way that is completely different to Laita. Kihara uses the *tuiga* as a symbol of colonial change. Kihara's photographic and performance installation works are derived from colonial photography of *taupou* who wore the ceremonial headdress, and the historical performance of Samoans in cultural exhibitions and world fairs in Germany during the late 19th and early 20th century. Kihara's practice is concerned with "Pacific culture, gender identity, indigenous spirituality and colonialism"[18] and she often recreates and revises images from Samoa's colonial past, to create conversations relating to contemporary Pacific issues.

In her *Black Sunday* series (2001), Kihara takes a number of historical photographs and postcards, editing and arranging them into collages that are then re-photographed. One of the works in this series is entitled *Tasi ae afe: One but a*

[17] Kihara was born to a Japanese father and Samoan mother in 1979 and identifies as *fa'afafine*, a term which signifies a 'third' gender accepted in Samoa where men live 'in the manner of women.'

[18] "Shigeyuki Kihara – Fa'afaine: In the Manner of a Woman, Triptych 1," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed 1 February, 2018, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/538528

*Million* (fig. 64) and reuses a photograph of a *taupou* wearing a traditional *tuiga*. In the work, the original black and white photograph of the *taupou* is slashed with vertical bars that vary in thickness, and that are red, blue, yellow and white in colour. These multicoloured bars cut through the picture plane of the original photograph, dissecting not only the face of the *taupou* but the *tuiga* on her head. The various parts of the *tuiga* including the *pale fuiono* and central mirror sitting at the base of the *lave*, are cut in two or visually scattered. Theses coloured bars physically rupture the image and represent colonial change.

Kihara's aim is to disrupt the co-option of the *tuiga* by colonial photographers and to reclaim the adornment as a symbol of cultural identity. She does this by overlaying the photograph with colours that specifically reference the materials used and seen in *tugia.* Red refers to the feathers used in the *'ie ula* bundles (red feather ornaments) which were traditionally attached to the *lave* framework, blue represents the nautillus shells of the *pale fuiono* whose blue or purple-ish sheen made the shells greatly sought after for use in the *tugia*. White is used to represent the reflective brightness of the mirror (seen in the photograph) which is attached to the base of the *lave*, and yellow refers to the light brown or bleached human hair used in *tuiga* headdresses.

Colonial photographs of Samoan *taupou* often portrayed them as "figures of 'leisure' or 'pleasure'"[19] and perpetuated "the 'ornamental' or 'passive' *taupou* pose."[20] Interestingly the *taupou* in this image is staring directly into the camera, disallowing the voyeuristic impulse seen in other photographs of *taupou*. The overall structure of the image is also meant to highlight the *tuiga*, as the original photograph is cropped to only show the *taupou* from the neck up.

Another aspect of the *tuiga*'s place in colonial history that has influenced Kihara's work is the German *Völkerschau* or cultural exhibitions that Samoans participated in in the early 20$^{th}$ century, which featured the use of *tuiga* in dances and re-enactments of Samoan rituals. The artist described the exhibitions as "a popular form of exotic entertainment and colonial theatre at the time."[21]

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[19] Lisa Taouma, "Getting Jiggy with It: The Evolving of Pasifika Dance in New Zealand," in *Pacific Art Niu Sila: The Pacific Dimension of Contemporary New Zealand Arts*, edited by Sean Mallon and Pandora Fulimalo Pereira, (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2002), 134.
[20] Ibid., 135.
[21] "Culture for Sale – Shigeyuki Kihara," *Vimeo*, accessed 12 December, 2017, https://vimeo.com/40031800

Fig. 64. Shigeyuki Kihara, *Tasi ae afe: One but a Million,* ink jet on canvas and mixed media, 2002, 60 x 90 cm. Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

*Culture for Sale* (2012) is an interdisciplinary work combining live performance and video installation, that conceptually references the practice of Samoans performing in traditional dress (which included *tuiga*) at World Fairs or cultural exhibitions in Germany and other parts of Europe. Commissioned for the major three-year project 'Edge of Elsewhere' run by the Campbelltown Arts Center and 4A Center for Contemporary Asian Art, *Culture for Sale* debuted in Sydney in 2012.

The work featured four individual Samoan performers, one male and three females (who are from the Samoan community in Sydney), dressed in cultural attire consisting of *siapo*, mats, and *tuiga*. The performers were placed on raised plinths scattered throughout the gallery space. As the title suggests the work critiques the on-going commercialization of Samoan culture and in light of this the performers were instructed to only dance briefly when a member of the audience put a monetary offering into a small bowl placed in front of them. Accompanying these live performances were video installations consisting of four monitors showing recorded footage of the performances by the same individuals in the gallery space. Visitors once again had to pay-per-view and were instructed to insert a 20 cent coin before the installation would play. When questioned about the experience the performers

expressed feelings of betrayal, exploitation, and even claustrophobia.[22] Audience members at times ignored them completely or else awkwardly cheered them on and clapped at the end.

*Culture for Sale* (fig. 65) sees the restaging of the Samoan body and of *tuiga* in a gallery setting that references the German cultural exhibitions or *Völkerschau.* What is problematic about the work is that Kihara is in effect, reconstructing a similar colonial and Euro-centric framing of Samoan culture that was seen at these exhibitions. This extends to her use of the *tuiga* as well; it is simply an exotic adornment used by the dancers in their performances. Unlike *Tasi ae afe: One but a Million*, there is no disruption of the colonial framework in this installation that sees the *tuiga* being represented as a symbol of colonial change or cultural reclamation. Kihara, whether explicitly or passively, is still allowing for the *tuiga* to be co-opted into Western representations of Samoan culture.

Fig. 65. Shigeyuki Kihara, *Culture for Sale* (2012), still from video of live performance in gallery.

Tanu Gago

Tanu Gago's use of the *tuiga* and of the Samoan body in his 2010 work *Where is Your Gratitude?* is more nuanced and speaks to the function of the adornment within a contemporary art setting. Although born in Samoa, Gago is "one of twelve

[22] Ibid.

adopted siblings brought up by a Maori Irish mother in South Auckland."[23] His photographic practice references this and "draws on his unique perspective and life in South Auckland to make art that directly engages with urban social issues including the fluid nature of ethnic and gender identities."[24] This unique perspective stems from his personal experiences as a gay Samoan man but also extends from being a Samoan-born but New Zealand raised Pacific Islander who is constantly negotiating his place within the cross-cultural politics of contemporary Pacific identity.

His performance work *Where is Your Gratitude?* (2010), which is part of a larger three-channel video installation entitled *You Love My Fresh,* also deals with this theme and sees the *tuiga* used in a performative conversation which focuses on the duality of New Zealand-Samoan identity. The work (fig. 66-67) features Gago and his sister Julie McCormick performing a Samoan *taualuga* dance to an original musical arrangment of the New Zealand national anthem. Both are dressed in traditional Samoan *siapo* and fine mats, to reflect their cultural heritage and the place of their birth. McCormick in particular is fully adorned with the attire of a *taupou* complete with a *tuiga*. This visual aesthetic coupled with the audio of the national anthem "addresses their cultural anxieties of having to perform to a cultural standard of being biologically Samoan but sociologically Pakeha."[25]

The *taualuga* in *Where is Your Gratitude* is performed solemnly; neither Gago nor McCormick smiles in the work. This differs to the performers seen in Kihara's *Culture For Sale* installation, who smiled and cheered loudly while dancing. However, this may in reference to the fact that *Where is Your Gratitude* is semi-autobiographic in nature whereas *Culture For Sale* is not. The video also slices the footage of the two while they are performing, offering 360 views and zooming in at various times on different parts of their bodies such as their moving hands, and their faces. Both Gago and McCormick when facing the camera, fix their gaze directly on it, challenging the viewer.

[23] "Twelve Questions: Tanu Gago," *The New Zealand Herald*, accessed February 4, 2018, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=11262190

[24] Ron Brownson, *Home AKL: Artists of Pacific Heritage in Auckland* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki, 2012), 123.

[25] "Where is Your Gratitude (YLMF) 2010," *YouTube*, accessed February 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y0ZPJYPXyhU

Fig. 66. Tanu Gago, *Where is Your Gratitude?* Video installation. *You Love My Fresh* series, 2010.

The editing made in the footage also produces visual repetitions of the figures as they are performing (fig. 66). These configurations are not all arbitrary. The patterns, as well as the actions and gestures seen in the dancing, are meant to accompany and represent the lyrics of the New Zealand national anthem. For example while the line 'Guard Pacific's triple star' is being sung, the figure of the *taupou* (McCormick) is repeated three times on the screen (as in fig. 66) with her arm outstretched. The epithet applied to the nation of New Zealand in the anthem, which identifies the country as the 'triple star' of the Pacific, is embodied and represented by the thrice-repeated image of the *taupou*. It also metaphorically references the relationship between New Zealand and its Samoan community, which is significantly the largest community of Samoans in the world.

Gago's combination of New Zealand nationalism and Samoan culture in the work is to visually construct a contemporary Pacific identity that encompasses both. Gago's representation of the *tuiga* within this context, gives the adornment a contemporary function and meaning. It becomes a contemporary symbol in the representation of New Zealand/Samoan identity. Interestingly the *tuiga* worn by McCormick, has a triple-staff *lave*, that can be seen to reinforce the 'triple star' motif referenced in the New Zealand national anthem and in the dance she performs.

In Gago's words the work "talks about cultural duality and the manner in which cultural identity is constructed and performed to an expectation that validates authenticity based on superficial and aesthetic double standards."[26] In this respect the *tuiga* is perhaps positioned to at first reflect these superficial standards, however as

[26] "Where is Your Gratitude (YLMF) 2010," *YouTube*, accessed February 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y0ZPJYPXyhU

the work goes one, the viewer soon realizes that the representation of the adornment goes beyond this reading.

Fig. 67. Tanu Gago, Detail in *Where is Your Gratitude?* Video installation. *You Love My Fresh* series, 2010.

Pati Solomona Tyrell

Pati Solomona Tyrell also uses *tuiga* in his art, specifically in photographic works that depict his family and speak to the relationships he has with them.[27] Tyrell is a New Zealand based Samoan interdisciplinary artist whose deep interest in performance has produced a unique lens-based practice. Following his completion of a Bachelor of Creative Arts at the Manukau Institute of Technology, Tyrell garnered considerable praise for various exhibitions and works in 2017, establishing himself as a prolific artist on the contemporary Pacific art scene. Originally from Kirikiriroa, Waikato, Tyrell grew up as a *fa'afafine* or "queer Samoan"[28] who was painfully aware of the lack of representation of sexually diverse brown bodies in mainstream media. He says he has always had the unwavering support of his family who he

[27] "Pati Solomona Tyrell – 'This is a celebration of starting to be comfortable with myself and where I sit in the world,'" PIMPI KNOWS, accessed February 2018, https://pimpiknows.com/2017/08/01/pati-solomona-tyrell-this-is-a-celebration-of-starting-to-be-comfortable-with-myself-and-where-i-sit-in-the-world/
[28] Ibid.

credits as the source of his creativity,[29] however the fact that this is not always case for others has led to a desire to explore notions of urban Pacific *fa'afafine* and queer identity in his art.

Tyrell featured in Tanu Gago's 2012 photographic series *Avanoa o Tama*, which challenged preconceived notions of Polynesian male sexuality and investigated the performative nature of masculine identity in Pacific spaces through a cultural and queer lens. As two of the founding members of the arts collective *FAFSWAG*, both Gago and Tyrell are at the forefront of "Pacific artists blending activism and performance to examine interconnected questions of race, class and sexuality in Auckland."[30] *FAFSWAG*'s appropriation of the dance form known as vogueing[31] is a key component of this practice. However, what is interesting about Tyrell is that he has never used or represented the *tuiga* in vogueing or in any performance works for *FAFSWAG.* Tyrell's use of the *tuiga* is as a symbol of his Samoan heritage. The deployment of the adornment in his photographic practice is closely connected to his perception of his parents, and their affirmation and acceptance of his identity as a *fa'afafine*. This is epitomized in the 2017 photographic works *Mātua* and *Solomona & Aotea* (fig. 68-69).

*Mātua* (fig. 68) is a photographic portrait of Tyrell with his parents. The work is set in a domestic garage or fale ta'avale where all three of the figures are seated on a plastic mat. The garage is an important space for the Samoan diaspora because it plays a "significant role in supporting the continuity of elements of Samoan social organization and the reproduction of Samoan culture and tradition."[32] The fale ta'avale (garage) can be used as

> Married men's quarters (faletama); meeting places for migrant village councils of chiefs (maota o le nuʻu); a home for newly formed church

[29] "Loose Canons: Pati Solomona Tyrell," *The Pantograph Punch*, accessed January, 2018, http://pantograph-punch.com/post/loose-canons-pati-solomona-tyrell
[30] Anthony Byrt, "Art of Disruption: Fafswag's Alternative Look at the Pacific Body," *Metro Magazine*, April 26, 2017, http://www.noted.co.nz/culture/arts/art-of-disruption-fafswags-alternative-look-at-the-pacific-body/
[31] "Auckland's Underground Vogue Scene," *VICE Video: Documentaries, Films, News, Videos,* accessed February 15, 2018, https://video.vice.com/en_au/video/fafswag-aucklands-underground-vogue-scene/58fd57ce4481229552ceeb4
[32] Cluny McPherson, "A Samoan Solution to the Limitations of Urban Housing in New Zealand," in *Home in the Islands: Housing and Social Change in the Pacific,* eds., Jan Rensel and Margaret Critchlow (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 171.

> congregations (fale sa); venues for housie-based fundraising; sites for the new language retention movements (a'oga 'amata); and practice venues and recording studios for the production of a new genre of Samoan migrant music.[33]

The plastic mat is another symbol that places this work within a diaspora narrative. These mats are a common feature of many Samoan and Pacific households, and its use here aludes to the fact that we are seeing the artist in his family home.

Tyrell's parents are dressed with traditional Samoan *tapa* cloth and mats while he wears a an *'ie faitaga* (modern Samoan garment) and shirt. All three of them sit facing the camera and are each adorned with a different *tuiga*. While all three *tuiga* have brown hair and red feathers, Tyrell's father Solomona, wears a *tuiga* with four *lave* or rods while his mother, Aotea, wears one with only three. The artist's own *tuiga* has no *lave*. Solomona's *tuiga* uses both mother of pearl shell and mirrors at the base of the *lave* framework. Aotea's features only mirrors and again Tyrell's is devoid of either. Tyrell's *tuiga* interestingly has a modern, *pale fuiono* with extensive beading which is not seen in the other two.

Tyrell says of the work,

> *Mātua* for me was an exploration of my identity. I was learning about living in the space between my gender, culture, geography and time. This is a celebration of starting to be comfortable with myself and where I sit in the world. Understanding that I navigate a space that isn't traditionally male or female. Understanding that I am a gift of my mother and father. Understanding that learning about my Sāmoan culture is a life journey.[34]

The variation in the style and design of the three *tuiga* shown in the work is therefore representative of Tyrell's relationship to his parents, and his exploration

[33] Cluny McPherson, "A Samoan Solution to the Limitations of Urban Housing in New Zealand," in *Home in the Islands: Housing and Social Change in the Pacific,* eds., Jan Rensel and Margaret Critchlow (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 171.

[34] "Pati Solomona Tyrell – 'This is a celebration of starting to be comfortable with myself and where I sit in the world,'" PIMPI KNOWS, accessed February 2018, https://pimpiknows.com/2017/08/01/pati-solomona-tyrell-this-is-a-celebration-of-starting-to-be-comfortable-with-myself-and-where-i-sit-in-the-world/

Samoan culture, which he describes as a 'life journey.' That his own *tuiga* is not as extensive in design or as large as his parents' can be seen to reflect their greater understanding of Samoan culture, which he is still learning about. The modern addition of the beaded *pale fuiono* on his own *tuiga* speaks to the more contemporary perspective he has of culture and gender, in comparison to his parents. However, this does negate their acceptance of him. His parents are clearly depicted sitting in solidarity with him, which shows their support of their son and the fact that they are also comfortable with 'where he sits in the world.' This is an important aspect of the works narrative.

Fig. 68. Pati Solomon Tyrell, *Mātua*, photograph, 2017.

In *Mātua* the *tuiga* is an intergenerational birthright representative of the passing on of cultural knowledge and identity from parents to children. Tyrell is making a clear statement here about the importance of his Samoan heritage to his artistic practice and to his sense of identity. His sexuality does not negate his legitimacy as a *tama samoa* (Samoan man) and although the Pacific community in many ways still condemns celebrations of queer identity, his own *aiga* accept and affirm who he is. A unique characteristic of the *tuiga* is that it is traditionally worn by both sexes. Tyrell, being aware of this, uses it as a device to counter cultural stigma

and to validate his place within a Samoan visual canon, as a proud "femme, queer Sāmoan"[35] who moves freely between male and female spaces.

Tyrell's *Solomona & Aotea*, features his parents by themselves, facing one another, sitting on the mat cross legged, and laughing in the garage. This work is less formal than *Mātua* and is celebration of the *alofa* (love) shared between his parents. The depiction the couple both wearing *tuiga* is a trait that is not commonly seen in contemporary representations of the adornment. Tyrell is purposely exploring the gender-fluid quality of *tuiga* (which is based on the traditional precedent of the *tuiga* being worn by both high-ranking male chiefs, *manaia* and female *taupou*), to affirm his own identity. The use of *tuiga* here can also be seen as the artist's way of honouring his parents, who both wear an adornment that traditionally was reserved for very high-ranking and important chiefly figures in Samoan culture. He is alluding to their role as chiefly and important figures in his own life.

Fig. 69. Pati Solomon Tyrell, *Solomona & Aotea*, photograph, 2017.

[35] Ibid.

Tyrell also uses *tuiga* as a contemporary adornment. One of three magazine covers the artist produced for the Auckland publication *Paperboy* (fig. 70) featured artist and art historian Tyla Ta'ufo'ou, dressed as a fashionable, urban *taupou* wearing dark purple lipstick, a black bodice showing the tattoos on her shoulders and coconut hoop earrings. Tyrell's fusion of cultural grandeur with pop-culture flare broadens the spectrum of Pasifika representation and allows indigenous narratives to be part of the wider discussion of popular culture in New Zealand.

Fig. 70. Pati Solomona Tyrell, Paperboy cover, July 2017.

Saint Andrew Matautia

Like Tyrell, commercial photographer and artist Saint Andrew Matautia uses the *tuiga* as a representation of Samoan culture and identity. Matautia exhibited for the first time in the 2017 show *Sauniga*, curated by Jodi Meadows, which also

featured artists Pati Solomona Tyrell and Uelese Vavae.[36] His contribution consisted of a series of photographic portraits, sometimes in triptych form, depicting staged scenes of historical Samoan and Tongan figures performing traditional dances or ceremonial practices. The works were produced Matautia says,

> In response to my personal experience through aesthetic education that is very Eurocentric in nature and does not currently cater to the demographic unless the individual is that way inclined to include their culture within their own work, which I did. The experiences depicted are also influenced by tā-vā [time and space] – and consider retrospective, current and future timeframes.[37]

Fig. 71. Saint Andrew Matautia, *Fafau – Bound by Culture*. Photograph. *Sauniga* exhibition, 2017.

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[36] "Sauniga Exhibition," *The Coconet*, accessed January 12, 2018, http://www.thecoconet.tv/creative-natives/island-arts/sauniga-exhibition/

[37] "Sauniga features works by Saint Andrew Matautia, Pati Solomona Tyrell and Uelese Vavae," *Tautai Guiding Pacific Arts*, accessed January 28, 2018, http://www.tautai.org/exhi/sauniga-features-works-by-saint-andrew-matautia-pati-solomona-tyrell-and-uelese-vavae/

One of his works, *Fafau – Bound by Culture* (fig. 71) was used for the official exhibition flyer of *Sauniga* and features a young woman dressed as a Samoan *taupou* wearing a *tuiga,* with her mouth covered and bound. The *tuiga* worn by here is a modern construction featuring a large *tapa* headband with small shells and rectangular mirrors, and both red and white feathers.

The symbolic binding of the mouth, coupled with the title of the work, at first reads as a statement of the harmful influence of traditional cultural values on the freedom of expression for young Pacific islanders. However, given Matautia's interest in the lack of cultural representation in tertiary curriculums, this could be read instead as a commentary on the need to normalize and vocalize indigenous Pacific narratives in education. The staging of the work sees the *taupou* sitting in a black frame that is reminiscent of gothic arched windows seen in churches and other old European buildings. The juxtaposition of the inactive *taupou* within a physical confine that references European architecture and Christianity alludes to the harmful effects of colonisation on Samoan culture, which is represented by the *tuiga* being encased in this black structure. The work ultimately calls for an acknowledgement of the importance of cultural identity (symbolized by the *tuiga* headdress) to creative practice. *Fafau* refers to the irrevocable link between Samoans and the culture that they are bound to.

## Conclusion

Samoan artists Fatu Feu'u, Lily Laita, Shigeyuki Kihara, Tanu Gago, Pati Solomona Tyrell and Saint Andrew Matautia, all visually represent the *tuiga* in distinct ways and for a number of different reasons that relate to the underlying aims of their respective gallery-based practices. For Feu'u, the symbolic use of *tuiga* in two of his early prints not only signalled the beginning of the incorporation of Samoan motifs and patterns into his work, it emphasized the importance of *Fa'a Samoa* as an fundamental framework for his entire practice. Unlike Feu'u, Laita's use of the *tuiga* form in her practice was gendered. The representation of *tuiga* in her work saw the adornment function as a potent symbol of Samoan femininity that specifically referenced powerful female figures like *Nafanua*.

For Kihara the *tuiga* is unquestionably tied to historical and colonial representations of Samoan culture. However, the conceptualization of *tuiga* within her

work also allows for the counteraction and disruption of these historical colonial narratives, to reflect their contemporary legacy in Samoa today. The use of *tuiga* in Gago's work is very personalized and represents cultural duality. For the artist, the adornment is an iconic symbol of his Samoan heritage, but it also reflects the deeply fraught relationship he shares with this heritage. Conceptually Gago's *tuiga* references the performative aspect of Samoan culture, but its staging also implies tension in having to construct and perform cultural identity within a diaspora context. Tyrell also uses the *tuiga* to explore his identity, both cultural and sexual. In this context the *tuiga* is used to symbolically affirm his place as a young Samoan man within his own *aiga* (family) and with specific reference to the relationship he shares with his parents. Matautia's representation of the *tuiga* is used to critique the stifling of cultural expression in New Zealand and is a statement of the autonomy of Samoan culture and identity, even within a diaspora context.

The considerable variation in the functionality of the *tuiga* as a visual motif in the contemporary gallery practice of Samoan artists is one example of how the adornment has taken on a new phenomenology and range of meanings within a contemporary context. The next chapter will return to a discussion of the *tuiga*'s role in ceremonial and performative contexts in Samoa in the 21st century. It will also explore the final trajectory of the *tuiga* into a symbol of national and cultural identity particularly in the diaspora.

# Chapter Five

# The Role of Tuiga in the 21st Century

This chapter will investigate the role of *tuiga* and how they function in the 21st century, both in Samoa and the diaspora. It will begin with a discussion of the on-going ceremonial role of *tuiga* in Samoan villages and its specific significance within *saofa'i* or title-bestowal ceremonies, *ta'alolo* or food and gifts offerings, and in the context of village dances or *siva*. This chapter will then examine how *tuiga* function in Samoa, outside of village life and particularly in tourism, commercial Pacific festivals and beauty pageants.

The second half of this chapter outlines the unique function of *tuiga* in diaspora contexts. It discusses the incorporation of the adornment into important cultural festivals such as Auckland's ASB Polyfest, with an analysis of specific examples of contemporary *tuiga* that are seen there. It also explores the contemporary manufacture of *tuiga* by specific practitioners today, who are part of the diaspora and who view their making of *tuiga* as an important cultural ritual that aids the preservation and continuity of cultural practices. The final aim of this chapter is to conclude this thesis' discussion of the trajectory of the *tuiga* and its changing role in Samoan culture by discussing it as a contemporary adornment that has become an established symbol of Samoan identity and the resilience of *Fa'a Samoa* or Samoan culture even within modern-day contexts.

## *Tuiga* in Village Life

The *tuiga*, as a ceremonial adornment, is still very much alive and in use in Samoa and American Samoa, and in the diaspora. Although Samoa has a centralized government and a Head of State, and American Samoa is an unincorporated territory of the United States of America, the *fa'amatai* or *matai* system of chieftainship, which traditionally gives chiefs the "responsibility for and leaderships roles within the *nu'u*

(village) and *'aiga* (family unit)"[1] is still an active and crucial part of all village proceedings. For this reason many traditional ceremonies and rituals are still practiced today, in which the *tuiga* continues to function as important adornment. Rituals such as the *'saofa'i* and *ta'alolo* are common occurrences all over Samoa today and all involve the presence of a ceremonial *taupou* wearing a *tuiga*.

'Saofa'i (Title Bestowals)

A *'saofa'i* is "the ceremony in which a family confers a matai title to one (or more) of its members and officially asks the village matai to recognize it."[2]

Fig. 72. A *'saofa'i* in the village of Fasito'o Tai, Upolu, 2016. Still taken from a Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3C0OIMlwY4k

A crucial component of any *'saofa'i* is the *'ava* ceremony where the villages existent *matai* are honoured as well as new *matai* who have just been bestowed titles. As custom dictates, the *taupou* is given the duty of mixing the *'ava* for this formal occasion and will be dressed appropriately in *siapo* or *'ie toga*, wearing an elaborate *tuiga* (fig. 72-73).

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[1] Sean Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists: O Measina a Samoa* (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2002), 15.
[2] Alessandro Duranti, "Samoan Speechmaking Across Social Events: One Genre in and out of a Fono," *Language in Society* 12, no. 1 (1983): 10.

Fig. 73. A *'saofa'i* in the village of Faleata, Upolu, 2017. Still taken from a Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_6rhS8ksNxc

Ta'alolo (Food Offerings)

*Ta'alolo* traditionally were large food offerings or "homage feasts given in honour of title chiefs"[3] in which whole villages and sometimes districts participated. The *taupou* (or *manaia*) always had a dominant role in *ta'alolo*, a tradition that has continued today. Modern *ta'alolo* commemorate different occasions such as the opening of a Christian church or other significant building. *Ta'alolo* have been performed for prominent church buildings such as the Mulivai Cathedral in Apia, as well as for newly opened or repaired churches of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa (EFKS) in villages such as Fogapoa (1988). Modern *ta'alolo* still involve the gifting of large quantities of food, and even fine mats, but to churches or congregations instead of high-ranking chiefs. Although its function has changed *ta'alolo* today are still celebrated by a traditional procession of people bringing food offerings and mats, with the *taupou* at the forefront of the group (fig. 74-75). It is still a great honour to be selected for this role and much pomp and ceremony is attached to the *taupou* who wears a *tuiga* and dances with a

[3] Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa Vol. I*, 37.

*nifo oti* toward the church. *Manaia* are also able to fulfill this role and are often seen at *ta'alolo* as well.

Fig. 74. A *ta'alolo* in honour of the opening of the newly repaired church in Fusi, Savai'i. 2012. Still taken from a Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jwgn-f4gkBo

Fig. 75. A *ta'alolo* for the Catholic Church in the village of Lalovaea, Upolu, 2013. Still taken from a Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I1pr9T7XLUc

Samoan Siva (Dance)

Aside from traditional ceremonies such as these, the *tuiga* is also seen less formally, in celebratory dances or *siva* when *taupou* or *manaia* perform. This is usually for special occasions such as centennial celebrations or other national events that warrant the performance of *siva* by whole villages. One example of this was the 1994 presentation of *siva* by the village of Solosolo who had travelled to the village of Leauva'a where national celebrations were being held for the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the Catholic Church in Samoa. Participating in the dances was the Solosolo *manaia* who wore a distinctive *tuiga* adorned with multiple rectangular mirrors and red and purple feather bundles (fig. 76). As part of the village's presentation this *manaia* also performed a *taualuga* (fig. 77).

Fig. 76. The *manaia* of Solosolo, performing with his village in Leauva'a, Upolu. 1994. Still taken from a Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ty1WQcdPHA

Fig. 77. The *manaia* performing his *taualuga* for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Catholic Church in Samoa, 1994. Still taken from a Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJHzm3vl9_I

Tourism and Festivals

Outside of village-orientated celebrations and customs the *tuiga* features prominently in cultural performances, or *Fia fia* nights (fig. 78) put on for tourists at hotels or popular restaurants. These shows often include a *taualuga*, as the dance is still considered to be the crowning act of any Samoan *siva*. Of course this entails the presence of a '*taupou*' adorned in traditional attire that includes a *tuiga* (fig. 79). While these shows may not carry as much cultural importance as formal ceremonies like *'saofa'i* or *ta'alolo*, their inclusion of dances that necessitate the wearing of *tuiga* signifies the importance of the adornment to Samoans even today, and the notion that Samoan culture cannot be accurately presented to tourists without it.

Fig. 78. A Fia fia night at Aggie Greys Hotel, Apia, Samoa. Courtesy of Tripadvisor.

Fig. 79. A *taualuga* performance at the Tradewinds Hotel in American Samoa, 2010. Still taken from Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYluE3GD714

This sentiment is further echoed in festivals like the Teuila Festival and the Festival of Pacific Arts. Established in Samoa in 1991, the Teuila Festival has grown to become one of the country's most celebrated annual events and "one of the South Pacific's biggest cultural festivals…[featuring] traditional Siva Samoa and contemporary dance competitions, Ailao Afi/Fire Knife dancing, Umu (Samoan ground oven), tattooing and carving demonstrations, and the Miss Samoa Pageant."[4]

Many villages, churches and independent dance groups usually perform in the Teuila Festival bringing with them their *taualuga* dances and *tuiga* headdresses (fig. 80). As the festival also showcases contemporary dance groups, there have also been more contemporary performances that incorporate the wearing of *tuiga*. For example in 2002, there was a performance by the now well-established group 'Le Taupou Manaia' featuring twelve young women all dressed as *taupou* and wearing *tuiga* while performing a synchronized dance that incorporated traditional *siva* and *ailao* (the dance where the *taupou* expertly wields the *nifo oti* which swings and twists without being dropped). The aim of Le Taupou Manaia, who now have dance academies in Apia, American Samoa, and California, is "to help preserve, perpetuate, promote, and advance Samoa's cultural dances, music and other related traditional art forms. It is a standard-based school of dance with a focus on Samoa's finest 'Siva-Fa'ataupou,'"[5] or the particular art of *siva* traditionally practiced by *taupou.*

This showcasing of traditional dance is also an important aspect of Samoa's participation in the Festival of Pacific Arts. Conceived in 1972 by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community, and originally titled The South Pacific Festival of the Arts, this event is held every four years and is the apex of all Pacific cultural celebrations. With traditional song and dance being a major theme of the festival, Samoa's contributions to the event in the past have often included the performance of *taualuga* and the visual display of *tuiga* (fig. 81).

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[4] "Teuila Festival" *Samoa Travel*, accessed January, 2018, http://www.samoa.travel/event/teuila-festival

[5] "Le Taupou Manaia Dance Academy," *Samoa Travel,* accessed January, 2018, http://samoatraveldev.telepathy.co.nz/event/le-taupou-manaia-official-launch

Fig. 80. A *taualuga* featuring an honorary *taupou* adorned with a *tuiga* at the Teuila Festival, 2017.
Still taken from a Youtube video.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2&v=Ya_0TMhAdHQ

Fig. 81. A group of Samoan dancers at the Festival of Pacific Arts in
Palau, 2004, performing a *taualuga*.. Still taken from Youtube video.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ag7rWWz27fk

The traditional function of *tuiga* at these events is rarely challenged. However at the seventh Festival of Pacific Arts held in Samoa in 1996, an interesting artistic collaboration between a village traditions and contemporary performance took place in which the traditional *tuiga* was remodelled. The exchange was facilitated by the Pacific Sisters, a collective of mostly New Zealand born artists of Pacific and Maori backgrounds, who were active in the 1990s in New Zealand and whose works spanned

the realms of fashion, performance, music and film. When the Pacific Sisters were invited to perform at the festival in Samoa they were hosted by Sister and member Feeonaa Wall's family in the village of Malie where this encounter took place.

> Feeona was invited to be the *taupou* (a young female representative of the village) at the kava ceremony as a representative of her family. She dressed in true Pacific Sisters fashion. Instead of the usual purple velvet worn by the *taupou* of Malie, she wore a banana leaf headdress adorned with pheasant feathers, Pacific Sisters jewellery made from flax, tapa, paua shells and feathers, a handprinted lava lava dress by Jean Clarkson, a shell and *pu'a* seed–beaded waistcoat, and a raffia and scallop shell hula skirt. This was a big moment for the Pacific Sisters, as their style was accepted by the village within this traditional ceremony.[6]

The use of a banana leaf headdress adorned with pheasant feathers in lieu of a traditional *tuiga* for a village kava ceremony would not have gone unnoticed. Whether the villagers were willing to comply with this change because it was intiated by one of their own members (Feeona Wall) is unclear. However it is interesting that in reinventing a traditional Samoan adornment, the Sisters did so by reappropriating materials that are still classified as traditional in the Pacific (feathers and banana leaves). This contrasts the appropriation of Western materials like plastic beads, sequins and mirrors by Samoans into the production of *tuiga*.

Beauty Pageants

Today many people are experimenting with *tuiga* and the materials that are used in their production. This was seen recently at the 2017 Miss American Samoa Beauty Pageant where the one of the categories of the competition was traditionally-inspired wear. Many of the contestants wore headpieces that were either inspired by *tuiga* or were imitations of *tuiga* with more modern materials. One contestant wore a *tuiga* with

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[6] Robert Leonard and Caroline Vercoe, "Pacific Sisters: Doing it For Themselves," *Robert Leonard Contemporary Art Writer and Curator*, accessed February 2, 2018, http://robertleonard.org/pacific-sisters-doing-it-for-themselves/

traditional red feathers (fig. 82) however instead of human hair, she opted for thin strips of plain dried flax. Another *tuiga* sported bleach blonde synthetic hair with shells and coconut brooches attached to the *lave* (fig. 83). All the headdresses were elaborate and detailed, keeping the basic form of a *tuiga* while allowing for artistic innovation to match the adornment to the rest of the costume. The fact that most contestants tried to include aspects of the *tuiga* in their costume again speaks to the ongoing importance of the adornment form to notions of Samoan culture and beauty. Similar experimentation with *tuiga* is seen at the ASB Polyfest in Auckland, New Zealand.

Fig. 82. A contestant in the Miss American Samoa Beauty Pageant wearing a *tuiga* with red feathers and flax.

Fig. 83. A contestant in the Miss American Samoa Beauty Pageant wearing a *tuiga* with bleached blonder synthetic hair.

## *Tuiga* and The Samoan Diaspora

As the largest Polynesian city in the world,[7] Auckland has one the highest concentrations of Samoan diaspora with Samoan being the second most spoken language after English. The presence of a strong Pacific community in the city has resulted in events such as the Pasifika Festival at Western Springs and ASB Polyfest secondary schools cultural competition, which are staple sites where the Pacific community in Auckland can meet annually to celebrate their cultural practices. For the Samoan community who take part in these events, the inclusion of *tuiga* in their cultural performances has become an established tradition.

The ASB Polyfest

The ASB[8] Polyfest, which is the largest Polynesian festival in world, had its beginnings at Hillary College Otara in 1976.[9] "The festival's purpose was to demonstrate the students pride in their cultural identity and heritage and bring schools and the different cultures between them together."[10] Today The Samoan Stage at ASB Polyfest has three categories for schools who want to compete; *aoga teine* (all-girls schools), *aoga tama* (all-boys schools), and *aoga tu'ufatasi tama ma teine* (co-educational schools). Across all three of the categories, it is compulsory for every group participating to perform a *taualuga* as part of their routine.

A *Taualuga*, as mentioned in the second chapter, is a sacred and traditional dance performed only by a villages *taupou* (daughter of a high chief) or *manaia* (son of a high chief) and is the climax of a night of formal celebration and dancing. For Samoan groups performing at the ASB Polyfest, schools have taken the place of villages and instead of high-ranking chiefly *taupou* or *manaia* performing the *taualuga*, the most graceful and dignified dancers among the group of students are selected to take on these symbolic roles. One of the traditional elements of *taualuga* that remains unchanged is that the *tuiga*

[7] "Auckland Population 2018 (Demographics, Maps, Graphs)," *World Population Review*, accessed January, 2018, http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/auckland-population/
[8] ASB is the acronym for the Auckland Savings Bank, which is owned by the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, and is the corporate sponsor for Polyfest.
[9] "Celebrating Polyfest," *The Coconet*, accessed January, 2018, http://www.thecoconet.tv/coco-talanoa/blog/celebrating-polyfest/
[10] "Festival Background," *ASB Polyfest*, accessed February 7, 2018, https://www.asbpolyfest.co.nz/f-e-s-t-i-v-a-l-b-a-c-k-g-r-o-u-n-d

is still the crowning attire of these dancers as they perform it. However what is is also evident in these performances is the great artistic license taken by Samoans today in the construction of their *tuiga*.

As Sean Mallon describes, "at these events are many manifestations of the *tuiga*, all recognisable in basic form, but made from a great range of materials with many additional colours besides the mandatory red."[11] Many of the *tuiga* worn by a Samoan groups '*taupou*' or *'manaia'* are made completely from scratch for the occasion. The feathers or beads used in these *tuiga* may be made to match a school's colours (fig. 86). In general it is felt that the more elaborate and original a *tuiga* is, the better equipped it is to visually enhance and distinguish the performance of the wearer.

As well as a range of coloured feathers, shells and beads being used in these *tuiga* (fig. 85), the overall designs are much more ornamented. There are whole sections of beading (fig. 84), as well as multi-shaped inlaid mirrors (fig. 86).

Fig. 84. An example of a *tuiga* with extensive bead-work, Samoan Stage, ASB Polyfest 2016.

[11] Sean Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists: O Measina a Samoa* (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2002), 174.

Fig. 85. An example of a *tuiga* with many different types of shells including Paua, Samoan Stage, ASB Polyfest 2017.

Fig. 86. An example of a *tuiga* with diamond shaped mirror configuration, and beading that matches the schools colours, Kelston Boys High School, Samoan Stage, ASB Polyfest 2017.

Most of these *tuiga* are also constructed with synthetic hair which comes in a myriad of styles (fig. 87-88). Texture ranges from thick, frizzy, curly to straight. Hair colours include every shade between blonde and dark brown. The more innovative *tuiga* are ones that do not use synthetic hair. The common alternative for hair on a *tuiga* is *'afa* or coconut sennit that has been braided into strands to resemble human hair (fig. 89). Two more rare alternatives that have recently been seen are shown below. The first (fig. 90) is what would traditionally be classified as a *tuiga'ula*, the type of *tuiga* that consists only of feather bundles and no hair whatsoever. However the feathers used in *tuiga'ula* were always red (as the name implies), whereas this particular *tuiga* has feather bundles that are pale blonde, resembling the colour of bleached hair instead. The second alternative was showcased by Auckland Girls Grammar School in the 2015 competition. Their *taupou* wore a *tuiga* which featured a *pale* (headband) covered in mirrors and a *lave* framework also decorated with mirrors and feathers. However instead of using synthetic hair, feathers, or *'afa*, the *taupou* wore her own hair out, draped over the headband of the *tuiga* (fig. 91).

Fig. 88. A *tuiga* with thick wavy dark brown synthetic hair, Samoan Stage, Polyfest 2015.

Fig. 87. A *tuiga* with thick blonde synthetic hair, Samoan Stage, Polyfest 2015.

Fig. 90. A *tuiga* with pale blonde feather bundles that resemble hair, Samoan Stage, Polyfest 2015.

Fig. 89. A *tuiga* with white feathers and *'afa* (coconut sennit) instead of hair, Samoan Stage, Polyfest 2015.

Fig. 91. Auckland Girls' Grammar School *taupou* wearing a *tuiga* with her own hair incorporated into it, Samoan Stage, Polyfest 2015.

The range of stylistic variation in the production of *tuiga* for Samoan groups at the ASB Polyfest is a testament to the ongoing relevance of this particular adornment form to Samoan culture worldwide, and the preservation of Samoan identity among the diaspora. The use of the headdress is also a marker which indicates the incorporation of traditional Samoan culture into modern-day performances. While the function of traditional Samoan dances such as *taualuga* have changed with time, the role of the *tuiga* within them remains very much the same. It is still a ceremonial adornment and an expression of *mana* that promotes Samoan social order.

## Manufacturing Modern *Tuiga*

It is important to mention that not all *tuiga* used by Samoan diaspora are 'new.' The Setefano family in New Zealand has a *tuiga* that has "close to 100 years of association and memories…as a family heirloom that has been maintained and passed on through several generations."[12]

Today only a few families have completely retained their old *tuiga* which were traditionally made as composite structures. However it is common for families to have remnants of their old *tuiga*, including hair bundles, *lave* or even *pale fuiono* that have been passed down from generation to generation. There is considerable value put on these pieces because of the histories they carry. The old materials are also highly valued; "the hair of our old ladies" as Epi Setenfano describes, shows the inextricable link of these adornments to the families who owned them. Because they were made with actual human material (hair) taken from their ancestors, there is a physiological or living link to the past that is activated every time the *tuiga* is worn or emobodied by a member of the family. These pieces or remnants of old *tuiga* have even more significance for families living in New Zealand or other Samoan diaspora commnunities around the world, who feel the need to prioritize the passing on of cultural traditions and customs. In some cases, these families will have new *tuiga* made that incorporate these old pieces (fig. 92-93), preserving them for future generations.

[12] Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists: O Measina a Samoa*, 174.

Fig. 92. Old *lauulu* hair bundles with new synthetic hair bundles on top.

Fig. 93. A *tuiga* made by FotuOSamoa (Jody Jackson-Becarra) which incorporates old *lauulu* hair bundles.

This practise, along with the on-going use of *tuiga* in cultural rituals and celebrations both in Samoa (Western and American) and overseas has seen a resurgence in the production of *tuiga*. Many Samoans overseas are increasingly having *tuiga* made for them and this in turn has encouraged independent practitioners, who are self-taught, to produce *tuiga* for sale. Tauivi Designs, Tama'ita'i Kuegi's Kreations, and Tuiga by FotuOSamoa are all examples of this.

Tauivi Designs

For the owner of Tauivi Designs, Hawaiian-based Tehinamai Mataele Tafiti, the decision to design and create traditional attire was a natural one. Tafiti is half Tongan as well as Maori, Spanish and Hawaiian. Although she has no Samoan ancestry Tafiti says, "I have always been captivated by Tuiga and just the regality that it brings upon a Taupou. It is literally a crown of glory. And I wanted to show that in my work."[13] She

[13] "Tauivi Designs," *The Coconet*, accessed February 3, 2018, http://www.thecoconet.tv/creative-natives/island-arts/tauivi-designs/

began working with traditional Samoan dress and *tuiga* when she was approached by a Samoan mother asking her to create one for her daughter. Tafiti says,

> What motivated me was the young women in my community today…I found a lot of young women I would talk to would explain to me that the reason they shy away from actually wanting to learn and dress as a Taupou and even carry on the tradition is because a lot of the Tuiga and Ula are very "old", and because they were family heirlooms, a lot of the Tuiga are passed down through generations. But I could understand as a young woman myself, that what I wear affects my confidence as well. So I decided to start creating Tuiga that our generation would be more interested in wearing…All of my Tuiga are tied on to the women traditionally, onto the hair, so I bring a bit of tradition and contemporary all in one experience.[14]

For Tafiti, the interest in creating *tuiga* (fig. 94-95) was in producing a contemporary adornment that spoke to and functioned in traditional Samoan cultural contexts, while reflecting a modern style that would be favoured by younger generations.

<u>Tama'ita'i Kuegi's Kreations</u>

Designer and proud *fa'afafine* Kuegi Toilolo's own motivation in producing *tuiga* (fig. 96) springs from a very different sentiment. In an interview she said,

> I noticed that in America, our people had diluted the remnants of what a Taupou traditionally would wear; the same went for the art of Siva Samoa. I was tired of sitting back and seeing both [be] unappreciated. People didn't cherish it enough to take the time to actually create ofu and Tuigas the way they should be made. In no way am I insinuating that the way I do *laei* (traditional Samoan attire) and choreography is the one and only true way. But what I do want to show people is

[14] Ibid.

how beautiful these aspects of our Samoan art can still be without drowning it in 'palagi.'"[15]

Fig. 94. A *tuiga* created by Tauivi Designs.

Fig. 95. A *tuiga* created by Tauivi Designs.

Toilolo's business, Tama'ita'i Kuegi's Kreations, which is based in Long Beach, California, came about with the growing demand for Samoan cultural attire from members of the Samoan disapora in America. However Toilolo is very ethical about who she sells to saying,

[15] "Tamaitai Kuegi's Kreations – Laei Samoa," *Samoa Planet*, accessed February 4, 2018, http://www.samoaplanet.com/tamaitai-kuegis-kreations-laei-samoa-designer/

> I don't sell Tuigas to people who want to dress up like Princess Moana for birthday parties or Halloween. I sell them to families who need it for their daughter's Taualuga at her wedding. I sell them to a Samoan soldier representing her roots at her military base's multi-cultural day. To the afatasi Samoan and Tongan girl who is performing on behalf of her family for the Prince and Princess of Tonga...I sell to those who represent Samoa and her culture; I offer these services to perpetuate her.[16]

In an age where culture is heavily commoditized, an increasing concern of practitioners like Toilolo, is in preserving the sanctity and traditional function attached to adornments like *tuiga.*

Fig. 96. *Taupou* attire including a *tuiga* designed by Tama'ita'i Kuegi's Kreations, 2017.

[16] Ibid.

The diaspora of Samoan people throughout the world has created several contrasting dynamics concerning the production and use of *tuiga* headdresses. As a symbol it has come to represent not only Samoan culture, but Polynesian culture on the world stage. The Disney film Moana with its mixture of pan-Polynesian cultural references, still chose to depict the crowning of the main character with a *tuiga* (fig. 97).

Fig. 97. Moana wearing a *tuiga* from the Disney film *Moana*. Still taken from a Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JB5i6kgkvCg

While the *tuiga* retains some of the ceremonial function it traditionally had in Samoa, the prominence of *taualuga* dances in cultural performances worldwide has seen the *tuiga* become a representative symbol of Samoan culture in general. More specifically, it has become a signifier of femininity in the diaspora. This has allowed the headdress to become an important contemporary adornment, however it has also diminished its traditional role. The Samoan woman who dances to celebrate a graduation wears a *tuiga*, the Samoan woman who wishes to perform a *taualuga* at her wedding will wear a *tuiga*. The headdress is no longer an adornment that only belongs to high-ranking, chiefly families, it is now the property of all Samoans.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to contextualize the role of *tuiga* within the 21st century by outlining the specific ways in which the adornment continues to function in Samoa today, as well as in the diaspora. Through a detailed analysis of the *tuiga*'s continued ceremonial role in Samoan villages, as well as its commercial and tourism-orientated role outside of this sphere, this chapter has asserted that the *tuiga*'s role in the 21st century is a multi-faceted one imbued with a range of different meanings. This fact is also echoed in the discussion of the *tuiga*'s significance and function in diaspora contexts, where the adornment is seen as a symbolic and enduring symbol of cultural identity and is an important signifier of cultural continuity for Samoans who are part of the diaspora.

In specifically exploring three self-taught practitioners who manufacture *tuiga*, this chapter has also asserted that the while the *tuiga* has lost some of its historical symoblism and ceremonial value, it is still an important and distinctive form of adornment for Samoans today. This chapter has established that the *tuiga's* trajectory now situates it as a contemporary adornment form that essentially symbolizes the preservation and resilience of Samoan culture in the 21st century.

# Conclusion

*E tuai tuai, ta te maʻona ai*
It is very long coming, but will be satisfying[1]

The Samoan heading of this thesis is "O le Pale Sili o Laei Fa'a Samoa" which can be translated as "the principal or highest crown of Samoan adornment," a title that this thesis has exclusively designated to the *tuiga*, and which reflects the foundational concept upon which this thesis has built its central concerns and research aims. In mapping the changing role of *tuiga* through time and in Samoan culture, this thesis has highlighted the *tuiga*'s place and distinction as a *measina samoa* (treasure) and as the crowning glory of all Samoan adornment forms.

This thesis began with a contextualization of the *tuiga* as an adornment in Polynesia and situated it within the broader context of the importance of the head as a sacred or *tapu* part of the body across Polynesian cultures. It also examined how the *tuiga* emerged from Samoan origin stories and cosmologies, to function as a visual representation of *mana* and a focal point for authority. It has been previously stated that the *tuiga* was akin to a crown, however as this thesis has demonstrated, the adornment carried much more symbolic value than a mere crown due to its intrinsic materiality, which holistically linked it across the natural and supernatural realms recognized in the Samoan ethos.

Furthermore, this thesis has offered an overview of the key colonial agents such as missionaries, collectors, and opportunists who have played crucial, and sometimes-accidental roles in seeing *tuiga* removed, en masse, from Samoa and into museum collections around the world. For instance, the Marquardt brothers who were opportunists, and who refashioned a *tuiga* to incorporate a German spiked helmet, are prime examples of colonial agents who effected the trajectory and functional arc of the *tuiga* over time.

The final sections of this thesis have sought to demonstrate how the *tuiga* has sustained itself by looking at its representation in the contemporary art mediums of

[1] Pratt, *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language with English and Samoan vocabulary*. 264.

digital media, print, sculpture, and paint, as well as its continued function within ceremonial and performative contexts in Samoa. Its wider significance to the Samoan diaspora was also explained in this section, exploring how the adornment was standardized within festivals like the ASB Polyfest, and how it also functioned as a symbol of the fusion of contemporary identity to traditional Samoan values.

By structuring the discussion of *tuiga* around questions of the adornment's changing role in *Fa'a Samoa*, this thesis has endeavoured to highlight the impact of the adornment on the characterization of Samoan culture through time. In doing so, it affirms the *tuiga*'s place in Samoan society as an adornment of power and instantiates its ability to evolve with the culture as an embodiment of the ever-changing Samoan ethos.

Official academic recognition of the *tuiga* as a principal adornment form has been long in coming. However, the *tuiga*'s established and on-going function within Samoan culture, as well as the constant revolution and re-invention of cultural meanings that it produces and effects, ensures that further investigation of its significance, as it continues to evolve through time will only yield more in the knowledge and perpetuation of *Fa'a Samoa* or the Samoan way.

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