# TAPA CULTURE

# Ancient knowledge | Sacred Spaces

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**Introduction: Tapa Culture**

In Samoa and Tonga, Tapa is made from treated bark of the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera L. Moraceae*) (Bunnell 2004). The word tapa refers to the uncolored border of completed *siapo/ngatu*, and its generic use for bark cloth is attributed to early mariners. The finished product *siapo* (Samoa) and *ngatu* (Tonga) remain an aspect of female cultural knowledge and wealth. Significantly, despite the evolution of tapa materials and discontinuity of functional uses of the textile; gendered spaces within which tapa exists is maintained and women are still considered the cultural knowers, producers and presenters of this important heritage art form.

This paper is based on the findings of a qualitative study exploring the views of contemporary cultural communities on the cultural memory and practice of tapa in Samoa and Tonga. It begins from the premise that Tongan occupation of Samoa, believed to have lasted about 300 years and ending around 1300 A.D. (Meleisea 1987), invariably resulted in shared cultural practice and ideologies. Tapa culture is posited as a significant epistemological site of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. The process of meaning-making in symbolic interactionism is examined through the lens of the motif as cultural symbol and textual narrative. Additionally, the spiritual concept of vā (relational space) is presented as a life philosophy reinforced through the lived experience and practice of tapa culture. The main assertion is the idea that holistic understanding of tapa requires a re-positioning of narrative that begins from an indigenous standpoint (Koya Vaka’uta, 2013).

**Tapa Classification**

*Ngatu* is widely produced and used in modern day Tonga, whereas *siapo* production has been on the decline from the mid-twentieth century (Mallon 2002). Notwithstanding, Samoans maintain that tapa remains culturally valuable although they recognize the impact of changing lifestyles and market economy on cultural practice with tapa use in ritual frequently replaced with bales of fabric or cash.

The primary traditional categories of *ngatu* and *siapo* are color-based; red-brown (*ngatu tāhina/siapo tasina*) and black (*Ngatu tā’uli/ siapo ‘uli*). *Ngatu tāhina* is commonly referred to as white or brown tapa, and *Ngatu tā’uli* as black tapa. Samoans describe the same categories, but there are fewer lived experiences of seeing or knowing about black tapa. Red-Brown *siapo* with its characteristic white boarder is described as *siapo tasina/ngatu tāhina* and has multiple cultural and functional uses in both sites. Comparatively, the *mana* (spiritual dynamic) and *tapu* (sanctity) of black tapa is clearly demarcated in its reservation for Tongan weddings and funerals. Tongans speak of the significance and use of black tapa, but fewer say they maintain these in personal collections. William Mariner described black tapa used in the funeral bed and screen in the 1800s as ‘coarse’ “…emblematical of poverty and sadness” (Dale 2006:208). Contrastingly, *ngatu tā’uli* used for rejoicing (weddings) was said to be of “very superior quality” (Ibid). Koojiman (1972) provides some detail:

The *ngatu’uli* used at weddings have a finer texture and are less stiff. Two kinds are mentioned as very important in this connection, the *kumi hoko* and *kumi kupu*, names with distinct sexual implication (*kumi* means to look for, to seek; *hoko*, to join; *kupu*, a member or a part). The *kumi hoko* is the gift of the bridegroom to the bride; the *kumi kupu* is given by the bride to the bridegroom. The *kumi hook* is a *ngatu* with the central portion blackened with candlenut soot and a white border. […] At the marriage ceremony, the male *kumi hoko* and the female *kumi kupu* are folded together and rolled up into a single very large bale to serve as a seat for the wedding couple (Tamahori 1963, p162). Over these two, symbolic *ngatu’uli* is laid a tapa called *ve’etuli* belonging to the more profane category of Ngatu tahina… (Kooijman 1972: 321-2). [Emphasis added]

*Siapo ‘uli* very dark brownish-black cloth is described as having designs of mostly ‘leaves and foliage’ patterns barely discernable (Krämer 1994). There is no explanation of its function within ritual or daily life although one participant said that his family collection once included a prized black tapa which may have been used in death rituals (Taulealo 2012, in Koya Vaka’uta 2013: 175). Worthy of note, a photograph in Neich & Pendergrast (1997: 33) matches the description of *Siapo ‘uli* although the caption reads: “Siapo Tasina, Samoa. This is one of the rare heavy bark cloths that has been rubbed on an elaborate wooden *upeti[[1]](#footnote-1)* followed by several heavy coats of overpainting that have almost obliterated the design, leaving only a simple subtle rectilinear pattern which glows dully in the light.” Could this have been an oversight?

As to color symbolism, there is speculation as to the significance of red and black, the specifics of which seems to have been lost over time. Potauaine & Mahina (2011) argue that red signifies maleness and black, femaleness. Other ideas were in line with Samoan interpretations of color, assigning black to death, darkness or the unknown, while red was associated with vitality, life, blood and genealogy. Samoans further speculated that the color red may be interpreted in three main ways; as the color of nobility, a contrasting aesthetic; and, as lifeblood.

Were other colors used in *ngatu* and *siapo*? And if so, what was their function? Early writings on *siapo* suggest there were four different processes used in designing and coloring of tapa in Samoa; rubbing via *upeti fala* (now *papa elei*), free-hand painting (*mamanu*/ *tutusi*), immersion in taro swamp black mud (*fuipani*), and smoking (*fa’asau*) (Buck 1930; Koojiman 1972). Buck (1930) describes various woods which create colors “*from yellowish-brown to dark brown”* (in Koojiman 1972:218). And, while Pritchard made use of numerous colors in her contemporary *siapo* designs, the basic colors used in *siapo*, today, are primarily black and brown. In Tonga, the smoking of mats for coloration does not correlate to *ngatu* practice and it is widely held that tapa is generally comprised of the basic shades of brown and black.

**Size matters!**

Both *ngatu* and *siapo* are distinguished by size. *Tapa’i ngatu* – a large bale of *ngatu* is a prized possession of Tongan women kept for unexpected familial and community obligations. It is measured in lengths called *langanga* measuring 45 – 60 centimeters or 1 – 2 feet (Arbeit 1994:14). Where previously, *langanga* was measured in hand lengths, today metric rulers are used. Similarly, Samoans refer to the number of times the *upeti* (board) appears on a *siapo* with each length of the board referred to as ‘a head’ (*ulu*).

Where *ngatu tāhina* often begins as *tapa’i ngatu*, *ngatu* appears to have been made as a complete piece for specific cultural rites. In Samoa, this clarification is not made. Each *siapo* is produced as a complete tapa and passed on through cultural obligation and reciprocity. Despite the lack of documentation of a Samoan t*apa’i ngatu* counterpart, it is not inconceivable especially if larger *siapo* was used in Old Samoa as discussed in the next section.

In Tonga, when obligations arise, *tapa’i ngatu* is unrolled, langanga measured and cut, before final over-painting in black ink is completed. *Ngatu* produced from *tapa’i* *ngatu* are called *fola’osi* containing 4 to 7 *langanga* or *fātuua* with 8 to 10 *langanga*[[2]](#footnote-2). Even though the smallest culturally acceptable *fola’osi* is 4 *langanga*, 3 *langanga* were said to be sometimes ‘disguised’ during presentation which was interpreted as indicators of the cost of *ngatu* and decline of cultural values.

Another size category is *fuatanga*, a high ranking tapa cloth made as a complete *ngatu* *tahina* or *ngatu* with an even white border around all four sides. *Fuatanga* may be designed as a complete *ngatu* with 4, 5, 6, 8 or 10 *langanga* (Kalavite 2010:124). When considering the minimum of 4 *langanga*, it is useful to recall that the functionality of tapa as clothing, blankets and burial shrouds. Could 4 *langanga* be an estimated practical length? Considering symbolism and functionality of tapa, it is presumptuous label these arbitrary.

Larger prized *ngatu* include *launima* (50 *langanga*) and *lautefuhi* (100 *langanga*) while their *siapo* counterparts are called *ululima* (50 *ulu*) and *uluselau* (100 *ulu*). Curiously, Pratt (1960) provides two words associated with very large *siapo*. *Fa’alau* is “the name of a large *siapo*” (117) and, *ululasi* “to be very numerous. Used in counting the width of *siapo* by *upeti*” (102). Given that 100 lengths were countable, how large exactly were *fa’alau* and *ululasi*? Speculatively, the length and uses of *siapo* may be in-line with that of *ngatu*, supported the assertion that burial shrouds were *ululima* or *uluselau* (Pritchard 1984). Samoans agree that these are rare in modern times, its’ production impacted by the use of fabrics and Tongan *ngatu*. This trend is attributed to convenience and modern lifestyles.

**Design Elements of *Ngatu* and *Siapo***

Design tablets made from coconut ribbing and stitched fronds to form patterns were used as the primary base for *ngatu* and *siapo*. In Tonga, *kupesi* *tui* is secured to papa koka’anga - a long wooden platform with curved upper surface. The tapa cloth is stretched and held in place over the *papa* and coloured dyes rubbed over the upper layer of cloth so that the *kupesi* (design) from the tablet below emerges on the top surface of the cloth. In Samoa, *upeti fala* served the same purpose (Krämer 1994; Buck 1930; Pritchard 1984; Fyfe & Findlater 2011). Whilst there are many *kupesi tui* available at the Tonga National Museum and at Tupou College Museum, *upeti fala* are not seen the Museum of Samoa’s collection. Moreover, those who mentioned Upeti Fala recalled only ever seeing or hearing of these in their childhood.

It is suggested that the wooden board, *upeti pa*pa began to take precedent in the 1930s (Pritchard 1984), a possible attraction being that both surfaces could be carved providing two distinct patterns used interchangeably (Fyfe & Findlater 2011:101). *Siapo tasina* and modern day *elei* fabrics are classified as *siapo elei* produced by rubbing of color using the *elei* (design board). The latter considered a derivative of *siapo tasina*. Contrastingly, with the lack of information about *siapo ‘uli*, there is no verification of design processes used for black tapa in Samoa. Speculatively, if the image provided by Neich & Pendergrast (1997:33) is indeed a *siapo ‘uli*, it would appear that the designs were produced with the use of a board, thereby rendering it a *siapo elei*.

The transition from *upeti fala*, originally hand stitched by women, has seen a gender shift with *papa elei* (wooden printing board) frequently carved by men. *Papa elei* are available at numerous outlets including the local handicraft market. These boards feature floral designs in place of traditional *siapo* motifs. In Tonga, a similar gender shift is seen where the beating of tapa (*fakapā*) is sometimes taken on my male members of the family to share the workload.

Another design specific to *ngatu* is called *kafa Kupesi* which is literally designs created with the use of *kafa* (coconut sennit) or *fau* (hibiscus fibre). To create *kafa kupesi,* sennit is lashed over the *papa koka’anga* to generate elegant braid like designs. One particular type of *ngatu tahini* named *pangai kafa*, comprises only designs which are *kafa kupesi*. *Hala kafa*, is another *kafa kupesi* which literally translates as lines produced by the *kafa*. The second category is *ngatu* Hingoa, “*the cloth with names”* (Mafi 1986:23). It includes *kupesi* designs such as *hala paini* or row of pine trees lining the palace roadside in Nuku’alofa; and, the *tokelau feletoa*. These provide historical references to events or nobles, and are included in Tongan Studies Subject Curriculum[[3]](#footnote-3).

*Tohi* *ngatu* refers to hand-painting, the current most prevalent methods of *tā kupesi* (creating or painting designs on *ngatu*). Previously, tohi *ngatu* referred specifically to outlining designs in black and free-hand painting of *teu* – decorative motifs or fillers. In Samoa, free-hand painted tapa is called *siapo mamanu* (Neich & Pendergrast 1997; Pritchard 1984; Kaeppler 2005). Where free-hand painting of *ngatu* is most prevalent today, *papa elei* is exclusively used for *siapo* and *elei* fabric printing.

In recent times, three *ngatu* categories have emerged based on medium; *Ngatu* *ngatu*, *ngatu* *pepa*, and, *pepa*[[4]](#footnote-4). Tongans use the term *ngatu* *ngatu* for authentic tapa cloth made from *hiapo* (mulberry). This is considered the highest ranking *ngatu* in circulation. *Ngatu* *pepa*, reinforced or thickened with a layer of fabric (Vilene[[5]](#footnote-5)) is said to have emerged in the 1990s in diaspora (Mallon & Pereira 2002) and is considered by many as a lower ranking *ngatu*. Its impact in the homeland is evidenced by road signs in Nuku’alofa indicating *ngatu* *pepa* producers and their contact numbers. *Ngatu* Pepa was defined as ‘half-caste’ *ngatu*. ‘Pepa’, was described as the lowest ranking tapa cloth made from pure Vilene or industrial paper. Those Tongans who had seen *Ngatu* Pepa and Pepa used in Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii expressed concern that the practice appears to be picking up in Nuku’alofa. While this ranking may be seen as insulting in assigning a ‘less than Tongan’ status (Lythberg 2013), Tongan scholar ‘Okustino Mahina (2012) comments:

As for the distinction between *ngatu* *ngatu* - *feta‘aki*-based *ngatu*- and *ngatu* pepa - paper-based *ngatu* - the former is primarily attributed with both authenticity and beauty and it is therefore greater in value and the latter as less authentic, aesthetic and pragmatic. Is this culture in transition or culture loss? Both perhaps… (in Koya Vakauta 2013: 164).

**Symbolism: Motif as Text**

Viewing tapa culture as an epistemological site opens the discussion to shared interpretations of motifs as elements of written text significant to communicating ideals and values in oral cultures. Deeper epistemological and cosmological references within symbolic representation are negated by overly simplistic viewing of designs as ‘purely ornamental’[[6]](#footnote-6) (Krämer 1994). Indeed, *ngatu* and *siapo* motifs emphasize cultural relationships and harmonized co-existence with nature. As a form of textual language, shared interpretations situate symbols as sites for the re-affirmation of shared cultural values. As indigenous scientists, ancient Polynesians understood the connectedness of sky, land and sea. This informed a holistic worldview centralizing relationships– with self, other people, and environment, imbued with spirituality, and reinforcing harmony and balance (Tamasese 2007; Mahina 2011).

A close reading of tapa designs show most are derived from local flora and fauna. The main differential is that one category of *ngatu* *kupesi* references nobility - a particular noble, king, or event. Table 1 presents a comparative of 14 *siapo* designs and 25 *kupesi* (*ngatu* designs)[[7]](#footnote-7). All 14 *siapo* designs[[8]](#footnote-8) and 13 *kupesi* may be clustered under land, sky and sea references, with12 *kupesi* making specific reference to nobility and comprising narratives of origin.

Table1 Tapa Designs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Categories** | **Samoa** | **Tonga** |
| ***Land*** | Trochus Shell (*Fa’a ‘ali’ao*)  Small Lines[[9]](#footnote-9) (*Tusili’i*)  Star fish (*Fa’a ‘aveau*)  Net (*Fa’a ‘au’upega*) | To rub with a bamboo stick (*Amoamokofe*)  Hea fruit (*Fakafo’ihea*)  Egg of the Malau bird (*Fuanimalau*)  Mapa Plant (*Kālou*)  Palm tree (*Longolongo*)  Slanted eye (*Matahihifi*)  Garland (*Sisi*) |
| ***Sky*** | Male Pandanus bloom (*Fa’a sigano*)  Pandanus leaf (*Fa’a lau paogo*)  Pandanus rolled leaves (*Fa’a masina*)  Breadfruit leaf (*Fa’a lau ulu*)  Banana Pod (*Fa’a tūmoa/ Fa’a moā fa’i*)  Worm (*Fa’a ‘anufe*)  Centipede (*Fa’a atualoa*) | Star (*Fetu’u aho*)  Shooting star (*Fetu’u esiafi*)  Halley’s comet (*Fetu’u fuka*)  Row of stars (*Hala fetu’u*)  Two birds (*Manulua*) |
| ***Sea*** | Sandpiper (*Fa’a tuli*)  Footprints of the sandpiper (*Fa’a vae tuli*)  Terns (*Fa’agogo*) | Footprints of the Sand piper (*Ve’etuli*) |
| ***Nobility*** |  | Sacred/forbidden turban (*Aotapu*)  Eagle (*Ikale*)  A Design reserved for nobility (Fakalala)  A Design said to replicate the designs on the cross beams of the Tui Tonga’s bedroom (*Fata’o Tu’i Tonga*)  Trilithon (*Ha’amonga ‘a Maui*)  Row of pine trees leading to the Palace (*Hala paini*)  Crown (*Kalauni*)  Seal of Tonga (*Ko e Sila ‘o Tonga*)  Lion (*Lione*)  Dove of peace (*Lupe*)  Fence design (*Tokelau Feletoa*)  Swords |

It is easy to relegate flora and fauna patterns as simple representations of what early Polynesians saw in their world around them. As an epistemological inquiry, however, multiple layers of linguistic complexity and mythological references emerge. The significance of metaphors, analogies and literal meanings within cultural symbolism cannot be ignored[[10]](#footnote-10). For instance, the shared cosmological reference to *tuli* (plover[[11]](#footnote-11)) in Koya Vaka’uta (2013, Appendix F):

In both Samoan and Tongan mythology, the plover is said to have flown down from the heavens (*lagi[[12]](#footnote-12)*) to explore the newly created earth. In the Samoan chant, O le Solo o le Vā recorded in the 1800s, tuli is said to have acted on the instructions of Tangaloa. Tuli pecks at a worm to form the first humans. In the Tongan, *talatupu’a*, it is Tangaloa Atulongolongo who shape shifts and is the plover Kiu who carries this out. Tapa and tattoo designs make reference to this important cosmological reference. It refers to the point at which these cultural communities came into being (See Tamasese, 2009). It is interesting that the Tongan *ngatu* *kupesi* is called *ve’etuli* rather than *kiu*, which reflects the historical connection between the two cultural communities.

*Siapo* features three designs that reference this creation myth *fa’avae tuli* (plover feet), *fa’a tuli* (like the *tuli*), *fa’anufe* (like the worm) and in Tonga, the Ve’etuli (plover feet) does the same.

The assertion by Tuna Fielakepa (2012) of Queen Salote Tupou III’s instruction that *ve’etuli* was high ranking and reserved for royalty (Ibid:161) and Koojiman’s (1972) explanation of its function in wedding ceremonies within the marriage seat, is insightful. In lieu of these, I argue that *ve’etuli* is symbolic and may also point to the sourcing of Samoan brides for nobility custom in days of old.

[The] symbolism of *ve’etuli* is clearly one of procreation in the wedding ceremony reflecting a blessing and the wishes of a fruitful marriage that will bear offspring. Where the *tuli* (plover bird) was responsible for the creation of humankind, the *ve’etuli* is a symbolic reference to the cultural desire to continue bloodlines and strengthen genealogies (Koya Vaka’uta 2013:161).

If this cosmogonic myth provides a reference for three designs, what cultural narratives may be found for other motifs? This presents a research perspective linking mythological cosmology of oral tradition and cultural symbolism used in tapa.

**Tapa: A Site of Being and Becoming**

Tapa had dichotomous utility as textile in household use as well as a cultural item of value. It is pivotal in nurturing or maintaining relational spaces as the gift/cultural wealth of women: *me’a’ofa ‘a fafine*, Tonga; *mea alofa a fafine*, Samoa. It is also symbolic of *feagaiga*, the sacred bond between brother and sister/ male and female, in Samoa. Tapa is a primary cultural items used in social obligations including presentation by father to the mother of a new born; wedding bedding; gifts; dowry; and funeral bedding. In Tonga, *ngatu* was used as inner clothing for deceased, and, in both communities, for wrapping of bones after exhumation of a grave and ceremonial oiling of bones.

Tapa as textile had multiple functionalities in it household uses[[13]](#footnote-13). Thin gauze was used as lint for wounds and as a medicinal strainer for babies. Soft trimmings of white tapa were used for baby mattresses and for the elderly. Soft tapa was used as baby blankets and completed tapa as adult blankets. It was used for clothing including turbans, sarongs, ponchos, undergarments, turbans and belts. In the home, it provided traditional partitions and mosquito curtains and, strips of old tapa were used as lamp wicks. *Tapu* (sacred) uses included bandages in circumcision, sanitary pads and during childbirth. In Samoa, an additional *tapu* use included the wedding ritual of deflowering. Modern use includes white tapa as a medium for contemporary art work in place of canvas and *ngatu*/*siapo* as a means of livelihood. In Tonga *ngatu* still has currency and is sometimes used as security for loan schemes by money lenders.

The life philosophy that emerges from Tapa culture is that of relational spaces - self, others (gods, living and dead) and natural environment. Vā as the space is continuously reaffirmed (Thaman 2004; Tamasese 2005, 2008; Ka’ili 2008; Anae 2010) and offers an appreciation of what it means to be Samoan or Tongan and to belong to those cultural communities.

Samoans and Tongans identify relationships at the center of cultural identity and agree that tapa is a tangible expression of this. This is reinforced by shared conceptions of sacred relationships (*vā tapuia*, Samoa; *veitapui*, Tonga). Nurturing relationships (*tauhi vā*, Tonga; *tausi vā*, Samoa); tending to the *vā* (relational space) (*teu le vā*, Samoa); and respectful relationships (*vā fealoa’i*, Samoa; *vā ofi*, Tonga) are recurring ideals that surface in conversations about values embedded within Tapa culture. There is consensus that cultural values exist in tapa culture through the processes of cultivation, production, presentation and reciprocity. Five core values identified at each site are presented below[[14]](#footnote-14).

Table 2 Values platform

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Samoa** | **Tonga** |
| *Feagaiga* –covenant between brothers and sisters, male and female. | *Ngāue fakataha* (unity/working together/ harmony) |
| *Fa’aaloalo* (respect)/ *Vā fealoaloa’i* (mutual respect) | *Faka’apa’apa* (respect) / *Feveitokai’aki* (mutual respect) |
| *Fa’aleagaga* (spirituality) | *Fakanofonofo Fakatonga* (hierarchy) |
| *Tautua* (duty/service/responsibility) | *Fatongia/nga*fa (responsibility/duty) |
| *Alofa* (love/compassion) | *‘Ofa* (love/compassion) |

These values are re-emphasized in tapa transition. For example, Tongan Tattoo renaissance has young men and women with tattoos designs once reserved for *ngatu*. Generally unappreciated by older generations, tattooed youth say *kupesi* is worn with pride symbolic of Tongan identity. Considering, the ban on tattooing in 1840[[15]](#footnote-15), and subsequent cultural memory loss of tattoo practice; it is understandable that cultural motifs are now sourced from kupesi *ngatu*. In contrast, tattoo designs have become acceptable on Samoan *siapo*. This cross-medium use of designs in both cultural communities is an example of contemporary expressions of being (identity) and belonging (connectedness).

**Conclusion**

Tapa remains a significant cultural marker in Samoa and Tonga providing a unique entry point into indigenous knowledge systems. There are marked similarities in classification by color, size, design elements and symbolism. This paper presented the view that holistic appreciation of Tapa becomes apparent by interrogating indigenous perspectives of communities for whom it has cultural significance. Such an appreciation begins by acknowledging that narrow western frames inform mainstream understandings and conceptions of tapa. These frames disempower indigenous knowledge systems. To give voice to indigenous epistemology is to return agency and power to indigenous communities acknowledging rich and complex socio-cultural systems from which we have much to learn.

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1. Wooden design board or rubbing tablet [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The numerical value of *langanga* corresponding to fola’oi and fātuua is disputed and may be attributed to cultural memory loss in modern day Tonga. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The local cultural studies curriculum taught at as a subject in Tongan schools. The subject is taught in the Tongan language and comprises traditional knowledge, skills and ceremonies. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. A similar undertaking by Lythberg (2013) provides alternative terms: *ngatu fakatonga* (*ngatu ngatu*); *ngatu hafekasi* (*ngatu pepa*); and *ngatu fakapālangi* (*pepa*) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Vilene - a fabric used as stiffener in the clothing and textile industry and in upholstery. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Similarly Marquardt (1899) describes tattoo culture in Samoa as nothing more than body art. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Source: Ministry of Education Kupesi records 2012; Collocott 1922; Mafi 1986; Kaeppler 1999, 2002; Suren 2009 [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Source: Pritchard 1984 and siapo.com [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Referred to as lines of sennit lashing (*lalava*) found in traditional *fale* (house). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. C.f. writings of Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta’isi Efi Head of State of the Independent State of Samoa on culture and language in Samoa, and Addrienne Kaeppler on Tonga arts and culture. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Sometimes referred to as Sandpiper. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Spelled *Lagi* (Samoa) and *Langi* (Tonga) [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. For details see Koya Vaka’uta 2013: 71,184,187. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Values listed are those specifically identified by participants in the broader study (see Koya Vaka’uta, 2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. The Vavau code edict of 1840 banned tattooing labelling it ‘idolatrous’ (Suren 2009:119) [↑](#footnote-ref-15)